

The International May Conference on Work among Women.

V. b. b.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 6 No. 44

27th May 1926

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

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The Communist International Calls for Support of the British Miners in their Struggle.

To the Workers of the Whole World!

Moscow, 24th of May.

The fight of the British miners is a fight of the whole International proletariat. The British miners in their heroic struggle are the outposts of the miners of all countries and of the entire working class against the capitalist offensive aiming at lowering the standard of living of the working masses. The whole power of British imperialism is concentrated against the miners; bourgeoisie and government, pulpit and press stand united in the fight against the working class. The General Council of the British Trade Union Congress has, by its shameful capitulation, miserably betrayed the workers. The leaders of the railway workers have, by their agreements with the railway companies, rendered possible the resumption of railway traffic and have thereby broken the boycott of the transport of coal. The Amsterdam International and the Second International, after having

conducted support action in words, have now officially declared support action to be at an end. The Communist International calls the attention of the entire working class to the great fight of the British miners and declares most emphatically: this fight is our fight. The victory or defeat of the British miners means victory or defeat for the whole world proletariat. The action in support of the miners must still be carried on. The Communist Parties and every single Communist must take part in this solidarity action with the greatest energy and self-sacrifice. The collections of money must be continued with even greater energy. The transport of coal must at all cost be prevented.

Workers, if at any time international solidarity was the slogan of the hour it is now!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Solidarity of the Workers and Peasants of the Soviet Union for the British Miners.

Moscow, 16th May 1926.

The solidarity action of the workers of the Soviet Union for the British miners has been continued with the greatest energy even after the calling off of the general strike. Meetings are taking place in all factories, at which reports are given regarding the situation of the strike in Great Britain and the amount to be contributed by the staffs in support of the English miners is decided upon. A great number of staffs of factories are contributing far beyond the quarter of a day's wages generally decided upon. Many factories are giving an entire day's wages.

The population of the village are also taking part in the solidarity action. From the course of the meetings and the decisions adopted there is to be seen the great political development which the Russian peasantry has passed through in recent years. We can, of course, only mention a few of the many meetings which have taken place in the villages of the Soviet Union, right into the most remote corners of Siberia, in support of the British miners.

In the village of Podgorny, in the neighbourhood of Jekaterinoslav a meeting was held attended by several thousand peasants. Many peasants took active part in the discussion which followed the report on the position of the strike. Thus, for instance, a non-party peasant, whose words were greeted with great enthusiasm, said: "May the world bourgeoisie know that not only the workers, but we peasants also hate the bourgeoisie. We sympathise with the workers in their fight and hasten to their aid. The peasant knows much more about politics to-day than formerly, and knows that the world bourgeoisie is the common enemy of the working and peasant class and that they can only be vanquished by the common fight of the workers and peasants".

The participants at the meeting contributed about 3000 kilograms of grain for the miners on strike.

A huge meeting of peasants was held in Tambov, at which a successful collection was held. The resolution adopted at the meeting stated: "May the workers of England know that the many millions of peasants of the Soviet Union are in sympathy with them. Long live the world alliance of the workers and peasants!"

The peasants of the village of Kasatcheminks (Siberia) likewise decided to send their greetings to the workers on strike in Great Britain and to afford them material support.

THE STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

The Great Lessons of the English General Strike.

By John Pepper.

If we would determine which are the fundamental lessons that the general strike will teach the British proletariat, we must examine the most important experiences of the English working class, which led them to use the weapon of the general strike. Every proletariat learns in the first place from its own experience; the British proletariat however has, up to now, learned only from its own experience.

The British proletariat has had three great experiences in the last few years.

The first experience was that of "Black Friday" 1921. The miners, isolated and left in the lurch by the railwaymen and transport workers, were defeated. The lesson of this experience is that the isolated fight of one branch of industry is certain to incur defeat.

The second great experience of the British workers was that of the Labour party Government in 1924. The whole British proletariat was, in consequence of the nine months' rule of the Mac Donald Government, penetrated by the fundamental lesson that purely parliamentary methods cannot produce palpable results for the working class.

The third experience was that of "Red Friday" in the summer of 1925. The attack against the miners was repulsed by common action on the part of the railwaymen, transport workers and miners who threatened with a general strike.

The working class drew from these experiences the conclusion that common action of the workers of all the decisive branches of industry is necessary and that, in a direct mass fight outside Parliament; in other words, the use of the general strike as the most direct weapon of the proletariat.

The fact of the general strike itself will be another new experience which will determine the further line of thought of the British proletariat and the strategical and tactical arsenal of the British working class.

The first fundamental lesson of the British proletariat will be a violent shaking of the democratic and parliamentary illusions of the working class which have been deeply rooted for years. In no country of Europe have the workers had such an imperturbable faith in the impartial character of the Government, in the sanctity of Democracy, in the Parliament. The workers have now seen with their own eyes how the constitutional Cabinet is turning into a civil Commissary of exceptional law, equipped with dictatorial means of power. Legality, the great fetish of the British working class, now means the illegality of the trade unions, the confiscation of the strike funds and making every single trade union member responsible. For decades, the British Government has been able to keep up the semblance of being above party and above class; in the great general strike, however, it had to show its colours and to declare itself openly as the strike committee of the bourgeoisie. The British workers have for decades spoken of "our army" and "our navy"; now they have had personal experience that "their" army and "their" navy are the armed power of the bourgeoisie. The person of the King was also "sacred" in the eyes of the British working masses; the royal proclamation of the condition of exceptional law will now have made the British workers susceptible to the slogans of the republic.

The second great lesson of the general strike will be the criticism of the general strike as a weapon of war. The workers will see that the general strike as a defensive weapon, as a purely "economic" means of fighting, is insufficient. Just as it learnt from Black Friday the lesson that an isolated army corps of the working class is beaten, as they learnt from the experience of the Labour Government the lesson that the purely parliamentary weapon is blunt, they will now learn the lesson that the general strike is only an irresistible weapon in the hands of the proletariat when it does not limit itself to economic slogans, when it fights not only against the employers, but against the Government of the bourgeoisie. The significance of the general strike as a political weapon, the connection between economics and politics, the understanding of the question of power will be the second great, fundamental lesson of the mass strike.

Distrust of the Right treacherous leaders will be the third lesson of the English general strike. On the eve of the great fight, May 3rd, the "Daily Herald" was able successfully to issue the slogan "Trust your leaders". After the betrayal and capitulation however, the slogan of the workers will be: "Away with the treacherous leaders who have abused our confidence!"

During the fight, the great masses did not yet clearly realise the treachery of the leaders of the Right. After the fight however, they will watch the action of their leaders with eyes which have been sharpened by the fight and the capitulation.

The workers will now understand what it means when leaders like Mac Donald and Thomas get up in Parliament in the middle of the strike and declare that "they are and always have been on principle against the general strike".

One of the most important results of the general strike will be a refusal on the part of the workers to follow their old leaders. The General Council is the first step in this enormous process of casting its skin, through which the British working class is passing; — the casting of the old skin of the old generation of leaders and the rise of a new body of leaders.

The most important, the most fundamental lesson however, which the British working class will learn from this gigantic fight, will be the recognition that neither the trade unions as economic organs alone nor the merely parliamentary political fight alone can lead the proletariat to victory, to liberation from capitalist exploitation. The working class will now understand the necessity of organising a political party which can not only gain

seats, not only deliver parliamentary speeches, but is capable of organising victoriously the revolutionary fight of the proletariat.

The result of these fundamental experiences and of all the above mentioned experiences will be the rise of a Communist Party on an enormous scale. The mobilisation of the whole armed force of the State and the mobilisation of the Supreme Court of Justice which declared the general strike illegal, will have a decisive influence on the development of the Communist Party into a mass party.

The Astbury decision will have as deep an effect on the whole existence of the British Labour movement, as did the Taff Vale decision in 1901. The Taff Vale decision at that time convinced the British proletariat that, with purely trade union means, their fight was hopeless; that the power of the State and class justice could deprive them of the right of picketing strikers, that the trade unions collectively could be made responsible for the action of any individual member. The British working class replied to the Taff Vale decision of the Supreme Court of Justice by forming its first political mass organisation, by founding the Labour party.

The Labour party was from the beginning a Reformist, opportunist organisation; nevertheless Lenin was right when in 1908 he advocated the British Labour party being admitted to the Second International on the grounds that "the Labour party represented the first step towards the formation of a truly proletarian organisation in England, towards a conscious class policy, towards a Socialist Labour party". There can be no doubt that the Astbury decision, a repetition of the Taff Vale decision, will force the British Labour party to take a second step towards a class conscious policy, towards a truly Socialist Labour party.

The first violent shock to British imperialism through the rising competition of German and American imperialism in the nineties, had driven the British bourgeoisie to its first general attack on the British trade unions, on the British working class. The Taff Vale decision became the symbol of the general offensive of the English bourgeoisie against the English proletariat. The present-day crisis of British imperialism which now sees its world monopoly threatened by the superior American imperialism and by the progressive industrialisation of the colonies, has driven the British bourgeoisie to a new general attack on the working class. The mobilisation of the power of the State and the Astbury decision are the decisive steps in this offensive. The result of the first crisis of British imperialism and of the first offensive of the British bourgeoisie was the formation of the Labour party. The result of the second decisive crisis of British imperialism and of the second general offensive of the British bourgeoisie will without doubt be the formation of a Communist mass Party.

POLITICS

The May Fights in Poland.

By Axel.

The following article has already been sent to the press. Ed.

Warsaw, 17th May 1926.

What happened in Poland during the three days of May which from now on will be regarded as historical? Was it, as the Polish Reaction maintains, the "mechanical" Putsch of a narrow-minded and aggrieved General? Was it, as that section of the Polish press which reflects Pilsudski's personal views says, merely an "armed demonstration" which was not actuated by "political considerations", but which saw itself compelled to protest against the lowering of "moral authority" by the Witos government, of that Witos who was described by Pilsudski as a thief and the Prime Minister of robbers of the State? As a matter of fact it was neither the one nor the other. The May struggles in Poland represent the beginning of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people against the big landowners and the capitalists who, along with the "Kulak" Witos, were preparing a Fascist Putsch. It was a class struggle for Power, a struggle the precursor of which was the Cracow revolt of 1923, which at that time brought about the overthrow of a Witos government similar to that of to-day.

Pilsudski was right when he said, that his action did not originate out of "political considerations". He has always

suffered from a lack of understanding for the social import and the class relations of the modern social order, and therefore never had a clear and well thought out political programme. His political programme was based on two principles: the independence of Poland, and irreconcilable hate against Russia — no matter whether it be Czarist Russia or Soviet Russia!

Pilsudski embodies the idea of the national State "standing above the classes", and thus he became the national hero of the petty bourgeoisie, which understands just as little as he the class character of present-day Poland, and whose characteristic is ideological muddle-headedness. Pilsudski's fight against the National Democrats who represent capitalist Poland, does not, however, take the form of social demands. The one-time Socialist (of the social-patriotic stamp) in the early days of independent Poland worked splendidly hand in hand with the capitalists and big landowners, who immediately set about extending Reaction. When, later on, the National Democrats removed Pilsudski from his position as master of Poland and chief of the army, it was mainly because Pilsudski, as the "national Hero", rallied around him the Polish "Democracy" and increased its importance in the political life of Poland.

Pilsudski's personal influence in the army prevented the Right parties from converting the army into a willing tool for the political aims of reaction, while his irreconcilable attitude towards Soviet Russia was a hindrance to Polish industry in its efforts to get into touch again with the markets in the East. In the interest of an approaching war with the Soviet Union Pilsudski adopted a conciliatory attitude to the Ukrainian and White Russian "border districts", which, in fact, had been seized by Pilsudski himself, whilst the efforts of the big landowners of these districts and the National Democrats were directed towards colonising and Polishizing these districts by means of fire and sword. As however, with Pilsudski national interests outweighed everything and he therefore did not issue any class slogans, there existed in 1926, just as in 1918, the possibility of a compromise between Pilsudski and the capitalist-big agrarian Reaction. This was all the more so as Pilsudski's interest was more and more confined solely to the army.

If it came to open fighting, this is because Pilsudski has in recent times and against his will again become the visible head and rallying centre of Polish Democracy.

Pilsudski fought against the capitalist National Democrats on account of the army, but he thereby became in the eyes of the working intellectuals, who are suffering greatly as a result of the "sanitation" of Poland, the symbol of the fight against capitalist Reaction itself. The large estate owners and the capitalists did not give the peasantry any land, and so the peasants saw in Pilsudski who was opposing the large estate owners and the capitalists, the man who could help them in their need. A portion of the workers still saw in Pilsudski the "socialist". The lower officers, mainly the ex-legionaries who came from the ranks of the working intellectuals, the workers and peasants, likewise shared all these illusions. At the same time they saw in Pilsudski the man who constantly protected them against the Generals of the former Czarist or Austrian army.

Polish fascism, which was seeking to realise its programme, was compelled before all to get rid of Pilsudski as the personality around which there gathered the Democracy, the overwhelming majority of the peasants and a part of the working class. The Reaction already considered itself strong enough to provoke Pilsudski during the last government crisis by appointing one of his opponents as Minister for War. The provocation succeeded. Under the pressure of his nearest followers among the circles of officers and ex-officers, Pilsudski commenced his "armed demonstration", his "moral revolution".

But here there appeared a factor with which fascism had not reckoned — the class factor, Pilsudski's soldiers are mainly peasants. They immediately made as the aim of the struggle which they had already begun, the overthrow of the government of landowners, kulaks and capitalists, and this by no means out of "moral" considerations, but because the existence of this government destroyed the last hope of the peasant masses of obtaining land.

The workers placed themselves instinctively on the side of the revolutionary soldiers. Whilst the Polish social democracy (P. P. S.) was still hesitating, the railway workers began to hold up the trains conveying government troops to Warsaw. The working masses came out into the streets in order to fight

on the side of the soldiers. The P. P. S. proclaimed the general strike only after the general strike had already begun to spread to the greater part of Poland and after the Communist Party of Poland, from the first day on, called upon the working and peasant masses actively to support Pilsudski's followers in their fight against the capitalist-big agrarian reaction.

In this way neither Pilsudski nor the P. P. S. succeeded in restricting the revolutionary movement to a fight between the troops of the Marshall and the government troops. The "moral" revolution was converted into a political revolution! Only the Communist Party of Poland explained to the masses the true social import of the struggle and summoned them to the fight. The C. P. of Poland pointed out that the only guarantee for the complete victory over the reaction was to bring the broadest masses of the workers and peasants into movement. The *Czerwony Sztandar* (Red Flag), the legally appearing central organ of the C. P. of Poland wrote:

"The working and peasant masses must demand from the supporters of Pilsudski that they do not stick at half measures. To call forth all the forces capable of fighting, means to go to the masses with the slogan which corresponds to their vital interests and needs. The arming of the workers and peasants, the liberation of the political prisoners, that is the first act which will kindle the enthusiasm of the masses and increase a hundredfold the forces of the whole anti-fascist camp. Bread and work for the workers! Land for the peasants without payment! Freedom for the suppressed nationalities!"

With the resignation of the President of the State and the Witos government the first act of the revolutionary struggle of the soldiers, the working and peasant masses against fascism is at an end. But it is only an armed truce, dictated to some extent from abroad. The "government" troops are still standing in the trenches before the gates of Warsaw. The fascist staff in Posen does not recognise the new government and is feverishly preparing for a counter-offensive.

In the meantime Pilsudski is openly aiming at a compromise. His new government has called forth indignation even among the P. P. S. and the peasant Party, *Vyzvolenie*". Pilsudski intends to convene the National Assembly (the present Sejm with the whole Senate, in which the reaction has the majority) in order to elect the new State President. He has retained the old generals and the old administrative bodies. The reactionary press is still allowed to appear. And what is still worse, Pilsudski has not armed the workers, without whom a victory of "his" troops would have been impossible. He has not even given the peasants any prospect of their obtaining land. He has not opened the doors of the prisons.

In accordance with "democratic" recipes, Pilsudski is not extending the basis of his operations; he is not bringing about that which could already be realised. Pilsudski is making a retreat in the name of his "moral revolution". Pilsudski is preparing the way for the vengeance of reaction. The P. P. S. is helping him in this by continuing their vile incitement against the Communists.

The Centre parties of the peasantry are demanding agrarian reforms, but they do not issue the slogan: "Seize the land!". Only the Communist Party which the new Prime Minister places on an equal footing with fascism (!), is continuing to summon the masses to further revolutionary struggle. The soldiers, the working and peasant masses alone offer a guarantee that they will prevent Pilsudski and his social opportunist parties from preparing a needless grave of heroes. They will continue the revolutionary fight against fascism.

Pilsudski's Victory.

By Karl Radek.

The government of Witos and the President of the Polish Republic Voiciechowski have acknowledged themselves to be vanquished and have resigned. The troops of the Generals hostile to Pilsudski: Haller, Sikorski and Dovbor-Musnicki, did not come to the aid of the government. It is evident that the feeling prevailing among the ranks of the soldiers and the demoralisation among the commanders were so great, that to attempt an armed fight would have constituted a hopeless venture. The chief rival

of Pilsudski, General Sikorski, who two days previously had refused to go to Warsaw in order to negotiate with Pilsudski, now recognises the latter.

The so-called "democratic order" which has hitherto been "corrected" by a regime of furious terror against the revolutionary workers and peasants has completely submitted to the new "correcter". The victims, of the military revolt — 205 killed and 966 wounded in Warsaw — the President, who has been elected on the basis of the Constitution, the government which had the majority in the Sejm — all this has gone to the devil, nevertheless everything is in the best order.

"Pilsudski goes with democracy and democracy goes with Pilsudski" writes *Robotnik* (the Worker) the organ of the P. P. S., which lauded the victory of Pilsudski in its issue of 15th May. As a matter of fact there has taken place in Warsaw a revolt of that section of the officers consisting of the former Pilsudski volunteers, against the rule of the regular officers who were supported by the government of the capitalists and of the big landowners. Thanks to the very severe economic crisis through which the Polish Republic is passing, the revolt of Pilsudski's supporters met with a great response among the masses of the soldiers. The masses of the people did not take part in the fight. They are bound hand and foot on the one hand by the regime of terror and on the other hand by the policy of the compromising parties.

The P. P. S., which fears nothing so much as a real people's revolution, summoned the workers to a general strike only when Pilsudski was already victorious, when the government had fled, when this strike could only be a brief demonstration. But on the 15th inst. the P. P. S. suddenly changed its front against any further intensification of the class struggle. It rejected the proposal of the Communists to begin the fight against reaction in a united front; it published an article under the title: "Down with the Communists!" in which all the lies of the Public Prosecutors of reaction, of the capitalists and of the landowners against the communists were repeated.

In Warsaw the government of the big landowners and capitalists has been removed from its post, but the forces of reaction continue to rule everywhere as they have done hitherto. The *Vyzvolenie* Party, the party of the middle peasants, has put forward the slogan of agrarian reform, but only the future Sejm is to institute this reform. This means that the question of reform is to be postponed for one to two years, for the parliamentary debates and procedure will not permit of its being settled before then. A rural population of 3 millions will therefore continue to remain without land. 17,000 big landowners will still be able to retain 10 million hectares of land in their hands: that is double the amount possessed by 1,800,000 peasants. They will be able to make use of these material resources in order to organise the fight against agrarian reforms. Never in history have peasants received land at the hands of parliament, without their first having seized possession of it with their own hands.

The refusal of the P. P. S. to set up a united front against the big landowners means that the P. P. S. is once again helping the big landowning class to retain to itself possession of the land. The half of Polish industry is at a standstill. The Soviet Union constitutes for it the necessary market, but the P. P. S. cries: "Down with the Communists, the agents of Moscow!" and once again is sending its leader, Diamand, to Berlin in quest of a miserable loan, in quest of the aid of European capital. Thirty per cent of the imports to Poland are imports of articles of luxury for the upper section of the bourgeoisie and of the nobility. The refusal to form a united front means that in the future Polish industry will have to struggle to keep alive, owing to lack of raw materials, for the P. P. S. is afraid of a fight of the working masses against commercial capital, against the speculators; it is afraid of the fight for the monopoly of foreign trade, for a slogan issued by the Communists.

As the P. P. S. shows, the Polish compromisers are convinced that it suffices to replace the former member of the P. P. S. Voiciechowski, by the likewise former member of the P. P. S. Pilsudski, as President of the Republic, and to replace the Prime Minister Witos by Bartel and everything will run smoothly. It would, however, be a great mistake to believe that the revolt of Pilsudski will only end with the substitution of Voiciechowski

by Pilsudski and of Witos by Bartel, and that the P. P. S. which had hitherto participated in the bourgeois-reactionary government shall now come forward in the role of an open official of the Belvedere, a role for which it has so greatly longed.

For the first time in the history of the Polish Republic the army was in a state of civil war. For the first time not only small groups of officers, but whole regiments have taken part in civil war. This has profoundly impressed the simple soldier who had to ask himself the question: for Pilsudski or for the government? Such events do not fail to leave their traces behind them. Pilsudski who has come to power under the slogan of defending the interests of the people against the capitalists and against the big landowners, will not defend these interests. But he will not be able to justify the demand that the army shall be subordinate to him by appealing to the Constitution, for he has come to power by means of a military revolt. Pilsudski promises the White Russians and Ukrainians that they will be ruled justly, but no justice is possible here without a liquidation of the rule of the Polish big landowners. Pilsudski will not fight against the latter, but the masses of Ukrainian, White Russian and Lithuanian peasants will intensify their fight against the Polish junkers. The working masses are expecting that, as a result of the capture of power by Pilsudski, they will experience an improvement in their own situation. But what improvement is possible, in face of that devastation which prevails in Poland, without a fundamental change?

Pilsudski and the P. P. S. are afraid of these fundamental changes, for they are afraid of the fight against the bourgeoisie. The workers will present their bill and insist upon payment. Marshall Pilsudski has returned to the Belvedere. The first time he was there it was with the sanction of the bourgeoisie, but he now goes there as result of a civil war and at the head of insurgent regiments. This is not the same thing. The second entry of Pilsudski into the Belvedere will have other results than the first.

Political Developments in South Africa.

By James Shields (Johannesburg).

It is only comparatively recently that the class aspect of things has begun to develop to any appreciable extent in the political life of South Africa. Quite a number of political parties and associations have been in vogue ever since the formation of the Union in 1910, but the dominant issue for most of the time has always been the racial question.

The cosmopolitan character of the population, the teeming mass of blacks, and the absence of full political rights for the vast majority still combine in making an exceedingly complicated and difficult situation from a working class standpoint, and one which is perhaps unequalled in any other country. The racial prejudices existing between black and white and coloured manifest themselves day after day, running like a thread through every vital question and presenting an insoluble problem for the bourgeois politicians.

It is in this atmosphere of racial conflict, accompanied by an accelerating growth of class consciousness, that what is known as the Pact Government manipulates the reins of power on behalf of the master class. This Government, is a combination of the Nationalist Party and the Labour Party, and replaced the regime of the Conservative Government of General Smuts about eighteen months ago. Its advent to power was a direct result of the widespread reaction which developed against Smuts in relation to his 1922-Revolt brutalities, rather than of any constructive policy or programme put forward on its own behalf. To the slogan of "Smuts must Go" sixty three Nationalists and eighteen Labourites were returned to the House of Assembly at the last election in 1924, as compared with fifty three members of the South African Party.

From this period commences the peculiar Parliamentary combination called "The Pact" which still remains in power.

So far as Parliamentary representation in South Africa is concerned, three political parties have the field all to themselves. These are — the Nationalist Party, Labour Party, and the South African Party. Non-Europeans such as Indians, blacks, etc., are without the franchise, with the exception of the Cape coloured people and some 15,000 native workers in the Cape Province.

Between these three chief parties there is practically no difference so far as their outlook on the colour question is concerned. One and all they are out "to keep the blacks in their place" as they put it.

The growing menace of working class unity has led the Pact Government to attempt the adoption of certain proposals for still carrying on the old imperialist policy of "divide and rule", and it is in this connection that such measures as the Colour Bar Bill which debar native workers from skilled occupations, and the Segregation proposals have been brought forward by the Pact. Hertzog the Premier proposes to take away the franchise of the Cape natives and to drive a wedge between the black and coloured peoples by granting the Cape coloured equal rights with the Europeans. The red herring of allowing all the natives in the Union a voice in Parliament through seven European representatives, and the setting aside of territory solely for native development, is being drawn across the track of the blacks. It is a subtle tactic to secure the passage of the Segregation Bill and wholly impossible of being put into practice. As a matter of fact the character of these measures and the change in outlook which has recently come about in the Nationalist Party leads one to the conclusion that that Party is very quickly absorbing the ideas and thoughts of Imperialism.

At the present time even its most radical leader, Tielman Roos, who used to go the whole hog for separation from Britain, now comes forward with the phrase that "Secession is no longer practical politics", while most of the other former Republican elements in the Nationalist camp have likewise shed their republican ideas, as their enthusiastic demonstrations during the Prince of Wales visit go to prove.

This volte face must be a source of satisfaction to those upholders of race purity — the S. A. Labour Party — for, like their British namesakes, members of this party continually prattle about the Empire being a "glorious commonwealth of nations". They make fitting companions for their Nationalist partners on the Government Benches and are staunch supporters of bourgeois democratic tradition. As a National Labour Party they have been in existence since the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, when the different Labour groups of the various provinces, Orange Free State, Natal, Cape Province, etc., amalgamated. The party, however, remains merely a Labour Party in name, for its membership is confined to whites only, the blacks and coloured being looked upon with hostile eyes. The following of the S. A. L. P. is mostly made up of petty bourgeois elements of British origin and, unlike the Labour Party in Britain, the Party is not based on the Trade Unions. Indeed, in this respect the recent tendency has been for the Trade Unions to move further away from the Labour Party standpoint, thus giving rise to great alarm among Labour Party officials — already greatly perturbed at the extreme weakness of their Party's position.

This was manifested at the recent annual conference of the S. A. L. P. held at Port Elizabeth, where a so-called left wing indulged in a certain amount of radical phraseology and expressed their intention of pressing forward to the Socialist objective, even if it meant putting an end to the Pact Government. This left wing, however, is a very nebulous one indeed, and like its right counterpart believes in a "Socialism for whites only". Nevertheless its appearance is an indication of the rise of great discontent within the Labour Party itself, a discontent which follows from experience of the inactivity of Labour in Parliament in connection with working class problems. Regarding the personnel of the Labour Party left wing it is perhaps interesting to note that quite a number are ex-Communists who dropped out of the C. P. because they disagreed on the native question.

That Labour's Parliamentary reign is likely to be a short one seems probable when we take into account the dissension in its ranks, quite apart from the possibility of the Nationalist Party breaking away and forming a new alliance with the S. A. P.

In this connection it is only three months since the Nationalist leaders made great talk of bringing about "hereinizing" (union) with the S. A. P. If this were carried into effect it would mean the unity of Agrarian Capital (Nationalists) with Financial & Industrial Capital (S. A. P.), and would also signify the linking up of reactionary capitalist forces for the combined domination of the blacks. From the look of things at the moment such an outcome is quite within the bounds of probability, for this idea of domination of black by white is giving rise to what one might term "Africander Imperialism".

Evidence of it can be seen in the efforts to bring about the annexation of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, and also in the attack on Indians and natives.

Against these attacks the native workers are putting up a stiff fight, and pleasing to relate, they oppose from a **working class standpoint**. Some of the native political organisations are, of course, out and out radical in character, the chief of these being the **African National Congress**, and the **Negro Mutual Improvement Society**. These two organisations follow the ideas of **Marcus Garvey** and his American Universal Negro Improvement Association, but they are very loose associations with little organisational structure.

Another native group, in the form of the **Bantu Union**, loyally co-operates with the Government in the Cape Province.

Neither of the two racial organisations mentioned above are feared in the slightest by the powers that be, but things are vastly different in the case of the **I. G. U.** (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union), the semi-political organisation of native workers. Gradually this Union is rousing the native masses to a real knowledge of the exact nature of their problems and how they must be faced. Within recent times it has torn the racial trappings from the various oppressive measures levelled against the workers as a whole, and presented the class aspect of the situation. Its leaders also have not hesitated to declare the Labour Party a fraud and sham because of its attitude on the Colour question. It is chiefly as a result of the growing activity and organised strength of the **I. C. U.** that the recent **Sedition Bill** was introduced into the House of Assembly, although this measure is aimed even more at the **Communist Party**, which played a big part in assisting the **I. C. U.** to develop.

If this Bill becomes law the authorities will have power to deport practically any European on the flimsiest pretext, and also curtail the movements of the native trade unionist organisers. Its introduction has roused a storm of protest from all sections of workers, both black and white, and in view of this atmosphere it now seems doubtful whether it is likely to be put through in its present form. The subtlety as well as the aim of the Government is shown by its attempted sowing of hostility between the black, and white and coloured workers by means of its policy of displacing native workers for white and coloured. It uses this tactic as a double edged weapon, for not only does it tend to create hostility between the different colours, but it gives the opportunity of sacking natives and employing white workers in their places at wage rates much below the average European level.

It is being ably assisted in this process by the "**Afrikaanse Nasionale Bond**", a Cape Coloured organisation. This body is one of the two coloured organisations in the Cape Province and a staunch supporter of the Nationalist Party. The other coloured organisation named the **A. P. O.** (**African Political Organisation**) is simply the tool of the South African Party. They both function fairly effectively at election periods in mobilizing the coloured voters at the polls in support of their respective masters.

The most backward section of all the exploited and oppressed in the country is undoubtedly the **Indians**, who number roughly 170,000, of which at least four sixths reside in Natal. The great majority of this section are **colonial born workers** who, in addition to being mercilessly exploited, are now faced with wholesale repatriation to India, where they would be mostly complete strangers, and confinement to certain small areas so long as they lived within the Union. This menace confronts them in the shape of the **Asiatic Bill**, against which one or two Indian political groups such as the **B. I. A.** (**British Indian Association**) carry on a fight, but with the exception of the **Colonial Born Indian Association** these groups are only concerned with the interests of the Indian Traders. The **C. B. I. A.** however, further aims at organising the **Indian Workers** in S. Africa for **industrial demands** in the nature of increased wages, shorter hours, etc.

All the various channels through which the working class political movement is developing greatly suffer in the meantime from the lack of a real active co-ordinating centre to closely connect them up. We have a small **Communist Party** in existence, it is true, but it is still a long way off from being that real vigorous factor in the political field which serves as a common rallying point for all working-class forces, and the spearhead of attack against capitalism. Of this fact the Party itself is well aware, and it is now striving its utmost to build itself up on

a stronger and sounder basis. To the extent with which it can successfully solve the problem of getting into close contact with the working masses and allying itself to all phases of the class struggle, to that extent will it be able increasingly to bring the **united class challenge** to the forefront, and completely undermine the efforts of the bourgeoisie and their satellites to bring about the imposition of a white autocracy over the native proletariat.

Another Betrayal of the Workers by the Czecho-Slovakian Reformist Leaders.

The reformist leaders of the Czecho-Slovak Unions of Railwaymen, the Social Democratic and the National-Socialist "Union" and "Ednota", have again given proof of the manner in which they "protect" the interests of the Czecho-Slovak railwaymen. Out of the vast material on this question we shall mention only two facts which have occurred quite recently.

During the last few months the whole of the Czecho-Slovak proletariat, and the railwaymen to begin with, have been fighting in the most energetic manner against the governmental taxes on wages. The **Wage Tax Law** was adopted by the Czecho-Slovak Coalition Government (in which both the **Czech Social Democrats** and the **Czech National Socialists** take part) already several years ago; nevertheless it was not applied in practice until now, owing to the indignation which it caused among the workers. It was only very recently that, with the consent of the Reformists, the Czecho-Slovakian Government has begun to take up the energetic collection of not only the current taxes, but also of all arrears of the tax which at times amount to the **half yearly wages** of the workers. In collecting the arrears the Government does not shrink from sequestrating and selling by auction the most indispensable household effects of the workers, in which the Government officials are met with the unanimous and wholehearted resistance of all the workers of a given locality or district, which compels them to make concessions. Needless to say that in their fight against the tax on wages the Czecho-Slovakian workers have met with support and every assistance only on the part of the **Communist Party**, which has mobilised all its funds for this purpose. As a matter of fact, owing to the energetic resistance of the workers in a number of districts, there existed definite hopes that the government would be compelled to compromise, and if not to repeal the law in its entirety, at least to give up the collection of arrears.

However, at this critical stage the bourgeois government of Czecho-Slovakia was saved by the reformist leaders. The reformist leaders of "Union" and "Ednota", without consulting the other organisations of the railwaymen or the Central Committee of the railwaymen's delegates, formed a **secret pact** with the representatives of the Ministry of Finances and treated the railwaymen to the following surprise:

1. The tax on wages shall be calculated and collected not only on the fixed wages, but also on **all kinds of earnings**, even if the latter be already charged with other taxes.

2. Deduction for the payment of the tax and arrears shall be permissible to the extent of two per cent of the whole earnings.

3. The wage tax shall be collected from wages even if the amount is below the minimum fixed by law, while payment must be made also by those railwaymen who have been employed even less than a year."

Upon the initiative of the Czecho-Slovak Communists, the question as to the above quoted "pact" is to be submitted shortly for examination by the Central Committee of railwaymen's delegates, who will no doubt deliver the proper opinion upon it.

Another fact, which deserves mentioning is the following:

At the present time the Czecho-Slovak Parliament is discussing a new Bill "for the regulation of the position of government employees" and consequently, also of the railwaymen. The substance of this Bill was dictated by the desire of the bourgeois Czecho-Slovak Government to effect the curtailment of expenditure in the National Budget, both by considerable dismissals of government employees as well as by cutting down their wages. At the same time the Bill is being sponsored under the slogan of "improving the Material conditions of the Czecho-Slovak Governmental employees". As a matter of fact, this improvement will affect only a very inconsiderable per-

centage, consisting exclusively of the upper ranks of employees. At the expense of cutting the wages of the lower employees, and the abolition of a series of measures of social welfare, and of discharging tens of thousands of employees (two years ago there were already over 40,000 governmental employees discharged), the material conditions of the upper crust of officialdom are to be improved. When this Bill was discussed in Parliament, the Communist fraction endeavoured to move a series of important amendments, but the governmental Coalition, aided by the reformist leaders, managed to push through within an hour and a half the examination of 268 clauses of the Bill, comprising not less than 119½ pages of close print, and another 83½ pages of the preamble. Obviously, in discussing the Bill at such speed the government reporter hardly managed to read the headlines of the different clauses, and there could be no thought of any amendments. In this manner the reformist leaders have redeemed their solemn pledge given once to the governmental employees that they "will take the most energetic steps to amend the Bill concerning the material conditions of the Czecho-Slovak Governmental employees".

These new facts should be sufficient to convince the Czecho-Slovak railwaymen that if it is impossible to build the united front of all the Czecho-Slovak railwaymen from the top, there is every reason now to proceed in the most serious manner to build it from below.

The Struggle for Power in Lithuania.

By S. Angaretis.

Until recently the Clericals ("Christian Democrats") were in office in Lithuania. They had the majority in the Diet. The Clericals had gradually worked their way into power with the support of the other bourgeois parties and of the Social Democrats.

Before the elections in the constituting Diet in the year 1920 Smotana, a representative of the "Pashjanga" (Progressive Party), was President of the Republic. This party had its following among the town bourgeoisie and the well-to-do farmers, who were the equals of the landed proprietors or almost so. Under the presidency of Smotana all the middle-class parties held office either successively or in coalitions. During the years 1918 and 1919 the Social Democrats also took part in the Government. But, when in the year 1919 the Soviet power in East and North-East Lithuania collapsed, the Social Democrats were put out of the Government. In the year 1920, after the elections in the constituting Diet, the Progressives, too, were thrown out of the Government. The power passed into the hands of a group formed by the Clericals and the People's Party.

The Clericals are the party of the richest Lithuanian (according to nationality) bourgeoisie and big farmers in general. In order to keep the farmers better in hand, the Agricultural Union was created, the adherents of which were favoured with credit and other assistance. Furthermore, the Clericals also have a Christian Workers' Federation and they commenced the formation in 1925 of an association of small holders and new farmers, the latter of whom had received ground under the Land Reform Act. Beyond these the Clericals also had various auxiliary organisations (servants, Catholic women, teetotalers, students, etc.).

The People's Party is a middle-class-farmers' party, comprising a portion of the town (Liberal) bourgeoisie, farmers in a moderate way, the big farmers and, in a measure, the small holders. Up to the year 1922 the People's Party called themselves socialists and even took part in the reconstruction of the Second International.

All of these three most important parties, the Progressives, the Clericals forced the People's Party out of the Government banks, of which the bank of the Clericals is the largest.

In the year 1920, after the withdrawal of the Progressives from the Government, a coalition Government was formed by the Clericals and the People's Party. In the year 1924, however, the Clericals forced the People's Party out of the Government and commenced to brush up the whole of the machinery of State.

The Diet was dispersed in 1923 when the Clericals had lost power and the People's Party did not enter the coalition. In this parliament there were five delegates of the workers of the Left.

At the elections in the Diet in the year 1923 the Clericals succeeded by various machinations in gaining a majority (41 seats out of 78), but they were not sure of their victory and, therefore, got ready to effect a coup d'Etat. Something similar is happening now. In the elections of May 8th and 9th, 1926, they lost their majority.

Before the election this year the Clericals passed a number of bills directed against the Opposition. As, however, the whole country displayed great indignation, these laws could not be put into operation. The Clericals were obliged to seek other means towards their ends. The secret police proceeded in all the districts, with the exception of the Memel district, to make up candidate-lists of — the Communists and the People's Party! Throughout the country the agitators of the secret police travelled about agitating against all the parties with the exception of — the Communists. And when anybody attempted to disclose the fact that these agitators were endeavouring to make up lists of provocateurs he was immediately arrested. Furthermore, voters in favour of the workers of the Left and of the opposition were furnished with damaged voting cards so that at the count these might be declared invalid, while in some cases, no cards at all were provided.

The representatives of the workers of the Left were arrested at the meetings. The priests preached against the Opposition and maintained that it would be better to deliver Lithuania to the Poles than allow the Opposition to win. In proclamations the Fascists threatened White Terror and there were several cases of murder. A coup d'Etat to take the form either of the proclamation of military dictatorship or a Fascist rising was prepared by the Clericals for execution in the event of an Opposition victory. They also intimidated the leaders of the Rightward Opposition, who were by no means determined, with the Communist danger. One of their efforts to this end was the popularisation of the writings of the Communist Party of Lithuania concerning its relations to the Opposition and the fight with the Clericals, whereby they affected to show the leaders of the Opposition that they were mere tools in the hands of the Communists.

The Opposition relied upon the result of the election to bring them into power, but the Clericals are ready at any time to disperse the Diet in order to seize the reins of government. Success on their part in this direction is all the more likely in view of the slackness of the leaders of the Opposition and the tendency of the Social-Democratic leaders to fight against the Left rather than against the Right. On more than one occasion the Communist Party has approached the Social-Democrats with proposals for a united front against the Clerical reaction but the proposals have on each occasion met with refusal. The Communist Party has repeatedly promised support to the Opposition in its fight against the Clericals but the leaders of the Opposition betray fear of such overtures. The Clericals fully appreciate the situation and, therefore, waste no time on words but prepare for action.

CHINA

After the Retreat of the Kuo Min Armies.

By Tang Shin She.

In consequence of the support given to their opponents in the form of French aeroplanes, Japanese arms and munitions, English money and the most diverse intrigues and the broadcasting of misleading reports, the Kuo Min Armies were on April 15th at last compelled to retreat from Peking. As a result, this city of more than a million inhabitants has fallen into the hands of the worst of terrorists, the armies of Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin, composed largely of robber gangs. In addition to the White Terror a government crisis has been brought about. Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin, who vowed to fight side by side against the Reds, are now at loggerheads as to who shall take over the government.

While the two were marching against the Kuo Min armies, Chan Tso Lin expressed the wish that Wu Pei Fu should take over the Government alone, while he himself would withdraw to Manchuria. Naturally, these words met with little credence and Tuan She Sui, second to Chang Tso Lin as accomplice of Japan, who was routed by the Kuo Min armies, at once accepted them in the sense in which they were to be understood. After the retreat of the Kuo Min armies he, therefore, returned to

carry on the functions of government. In the face of threats from Wu Pei Fu, however, he again fled, this time to Tientsin. Wu Pei Fu wanted to set up Tsao Kun again as president, restore the constitution of 1923 and summon the old parliament. Chang Tso Lin was against this plan and in order to frustrate it he marched his troops into Peking. Thereupon Wu Pei Fu made the following proposal: Tsao Kun should retire from the presidency and, in order to destroy all hopes for the Reds, a military government should be formed in Peking with Tsao Kun as Generalissimo. He further proposed to improve the constitution of 1923 and to recall the Cabinet formed by Dr. W. Yen under Tsao Kun. The first proposal was at once rejected by Chang Tso Lin. Upon the basis of the second proposition a Cabinet was formed by Dr. W. Yen on May 14th, half selected from the supporters of Wu Pei Fu and the other half from Chang Tso Lin's followers. Within a few days, however, this Cabinet was dispersed by Chang Tso Lin in order that he might become sole ruler.

For more than a month now Peking has been without a government. The town is in a state of war. It is occupied by the troops of both Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin; though the troops of the latter hold supremacy. The population of Peking, who naturally desire to put an end to this most unsatisfactory condition of affairs, have long invited both leaders to visit the city personally. Both promised to do so, but so far neither of them has put in an appearance.

Sun Tschuan Fang, the powerful factor in the Jangtse district, does not bother himself in the slightest about the proceedings in Peking. The customs conference has been adjourned until a government is formed. The People's Government of Canton requested foreign powers on April 28th to refuse recognition of the military groups in Peking.

At the command of the Imperialists Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin are doing their utmost to annihilate the Kuo Min armies, and to this end are advancing against them on three fronts.

1. Starting from Peking they want to march to Kalgan. On this front the troops of Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin are operating together. Immediately after their occupation of Peking both armies moved against the Nankow Pass, a fortress lying between Peking and Kalgan. Partly because the Kuo Min armies are not greatly weakened despite their retreat, while the Nankow Pass is a difficult position to capture, and partly on account of the differences existing Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin the advance has made no progress up to the present.

2. Chang Tso Lin's troops undertook an advance against Kalgan from Jehol. The Kuo Min armies did not desire to hold Jehol on account of the long front it necessitated and have, therefore, relinquished the greater part of it to Chang Tso Lin.

3. With the aid of the Governor of the so-called "exemplary province" of Shansi, Wu Pei Fu wants to attack Kalgan from Tatung. The wily Governor of Shansi, however, who always works for his own advantage, recognises that Wu Pei Fu and Chang Tso Lin will not continue much longer to co-operate and he, therefore, refrains in reality from doing anything at all in their support.

Wu Pei Fu is doing his best alone, and with a certain measure of success, to conquer the province of Shansi, which is occupied by the Second Kuo Min Army. Fighting has lately broken out between Hupe and Hunan; Hupe (Wu Pei Fu's territory) was attacked by the new Governor of Hunan, who is in sympathy with the Canton Government. In She-Shuan, too, an engagement has recently taken place between the general favouring the Canton Government and the general favouring Wu Pei Fu. Very shortly an advance will be made against Wu Pei Fu from Kiangsi. In this way a semi-circular front has been formed against Wu Pei Fu with the Canton Government ranged among his antagonists. In order to find an escape from this awkward position, Wu Pei Fu wishes to win over Sun Tschuan Fang to his side. But the latter refrains from offering him any assistance for fear of an attack on the part of the Canton groups from Fukia; on the contrary he has several times sent delegations to Canton to assure the People's Government of his sympathy.

The spheres of influence of the belligerents are as follows:

The People's armies occupy Sachaörl, Chüyüan, Kansu, a portion of Jehol and part of Tchili, and North and Central Shensi are in the hands of the Second Kuo Min Army. The provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hunan are under the dominion of the Kwangtung People's Government. The province of Kuichow wishes to join forces with this government, while

South Kiangsi and South Fikia are sympathetic. South of Jangtse-kiang all the provinces, with the exception of Yünnan, whose governor is a Franco-Japanese tool, are under the control of the Canton Government. Wu Pei Fu possesses the provinces of Hupe and Honan, a portion of Shensi and parts of both Tchili and Shantung. Chang Tso Lin commands the greater portion of Jehol and Shantung and a part of Tchili in addition to Manchuria. At present, he and Wu Pei Fu are contending for the possession of Tchili and Shantung.

On paper, Sun Tschuan Fang possesses five provinces: Tchekiang, Nganhui, Fukia and Kiangsi; in reality the first three only are under his rule.

It is well known that Chang Tso Lin is a creature of the Japanese and that Wu Pei Fu and Sun Tschuan Fang are co-operating with England and America; but between the last two there is some divergence in view of the fact that Wu Pei Fu tends towards the English, while Sun Tschuan Fang leans towards the Americans. In recent times, General Tang She Lian, Governor of Yünnan, has been working more intensely than formerly for the Japanese and the French.

The Labour and Communist movement is absolutely illegal in the territory of Chang Tso Lin, while in the districts of Sun Tschuan Fang and Wu Pei Fu it is partially legal. Although the workers in all these districts are more or less oppressed, strikes break out constantly on account of the extreme shortage of food and the terrible price appreciation.

ECONOMICS

Crisis and Rationalisation in Germany.

By E. Ludwig (Berlin).

I.

The very existence conditions of European Capitalism must of necessity lead to the ultimate collapse of Capitalism, and German Capitalism shares these conditions of existence in common with European Capitalism.

They do not permit it to remain stable, despite the apparently successful effort towards stabilisation and, despite all constructive endeavours, leave it in a state of stagnation variegated with recurrent crisis.

The general causes of the decline of European Capitalism are to be found in the reduction of the world market. The industrialisation of the colonies and the consequent diminution of the markets available to the Capitalist powers of Europe, as well as the attendant curtailment of supplies of raw materials from the colonies, have also contributed to the downfall. A further cause is the extension of the means of production in the European Capitalist States as a result of the extraordinarily absorbent markets at hand during the war and during the subsequent period of rapid inflation. A third reason may be sought in the transfer of Imperialist hegemony to the United States of America, to which war-debt agreements and Dawes treaties have rendered all European States liable to pay tribute. Before the war, revenue from European investments flowed from the United States to Europe, but now a portion of this surplus value in Europe finds its way to the United States. The United States are supplanting English Imperialism in an ever increasing measure in South America and in Eastern Asia. The relation between America and Germany has undergone a distinct change inasmuch as the latter, which was a capital-exporting Imperialist Country before the war, has now become a capital-importing country colonised by American credit mongers.

The general conditions of existence of European Capitalism, of which German Capitalism forms a part, has taken on an unusual form under the influence of the Dawes regime. The Dawes plan made of Germany a general debtor to the general creditors of the world. The contradictions inherent in European Capitalism are observable in their clearest form in the spasmodic crises suffered by Germany. The liability to pay a tribute of 2½ milliard marks per year in conjunction with the interest and debt responsibilities to American finance-Capitalists, shouldered by German Capitalism in order to raise the milliard loan, compels the latter, for whom the usual shackles of European Capitalism have been exchanged for the

special Dawes shackles, to become the most ruthless of all countries in its striving to shake off the fetters. No way of escape is open through direct participation in Imperialist world trade on account of the weakness of the German bourgeoisie in foreign politics and an expedient is therefore sought through the round-about way of colonial claims made at Locarno and Genf. That is one way, and it amounts to becoming by the quickest and most peaceable means a junior partner of American-English Imperialism. The alternative path is that leading through a determined fight in the economic competition on the world market. This latter constitutes a capitalist offensive against the working class at home which under the peculiar conditions of existence of German Capitalism, assumes the form of Rationalisation.

II.

Reduction of the cost of production through wage cuts, intensification of work and augmentation of output through the introduction of improved machines are nothing fresh in Capitalism. The innovations are the modifications of the conditions of German Capitalism effected by the bourgeoisie through Rationalisation and the incidental phenomena.

It should be stated that what the workers in Germany are experiencing under Rationalisation ought to serve as a lesson for the whole European proletariat, for upon the precedent set by the German "defeated" bourgeoisie the "triumphant" English bourgeoisie have opened their Rationalisation campaign against the English coal-miners. Moreover, there can be no doubt that since the English bourgeoisie have opened the attack their example will be followed in every Capitalist country of Europe, for the methods of Rationalisation are, at the moment, the only ones which offer a breathing space to European Capitalism.

In the words of Carl Friedrich von Siemens, director of the Siemens electricity concern, Rationalisation was described as follows: The increasing of capacity accompanied by reduction of staff. This policy can be executed in a number of ways; for instance, suspension of activity in coal-mining and the potash industry, in which only 87 shafts out of 214 are working; modern methods embracing automatic regulators and conveyor belts are being more fully exploited; new labour-saving devices are being brought into play. Bigger and bigger capital concerns are forming to link up and execute these systems and methods and money is becoming centralised and concentrated in the hands of more and more thoroughly organised combines and more firmly consolidated trusts to form the economic basis of Rationalisation. Upon this principle the five most powerful mining concerns of the Ruhr have amalgamated in the newly founded Ruhr mining trust, which will regulate and standardise production, co-ordinate the industry and increase productive capacity. One of the first acts of the new trust is the dismissal of thousands of hands at the Phoenix Concern, one of the subsidiaries, for purposes of plant redistribution.

III.

The effect of Rationalisation is curtailment instead of augmentation of employment. This is illustrated by the absence of alteration in the roll of the industrially unemployed in Germany (if its total has not actually swollen), despite the advent of warmer season. In flat contradiction of the estimates of industrial bureaucrats, the misery of the masses and the two million unemployed and many millions of workers on short time shows no amelioration but rather intensification.

In addition to the lack of improvement in regard to unemployment we must take into account the gradual decline in standard of living of the working class through the loss in the buying power of their wages. While labour capacity is increased as a result of Rationalisation, wages in general remain at their old level. In many cases employers manage to reduce them, without much opposition on the part of the workers, by a neat application of the pressure from the army of the unemployed. The bourgeois Professor Lederer states frankly that work in Germany is not paying, that under Rationalisation the gap between the amount of work done and the sum paid for it is constantly widening and that the purchasing power of the working masses is, in consequence of unemployment and short time, 40% lower at present than it was before the war, despite the great advance in technical development.

Increased productive capacity in the rationalised industries, based upon wide-spread misery, is the third effect of Rationalisation. This finds expression in the potash industry, for instance, in a 250% increase in the capacity of the individual worker accompanied by a reduction in the total of workers employed by the potash syndicates from 30,000 to 9000. In the first quarter of 1926 the Harpener Mining Company effected an advance over the corresponding quarter of the previous year of 13% in the output and 14% in turnover while employing 5% fewer workers; a result which works out at a 19% increase in output per shift.

IV.

The results of Rationalisation, no matter how profitable they may be for the bourgeoisie at the moment, do not constitute any appreciation in capitalist economy but merely lead from acute crisis to fresh stagnation.

The technical development, the regrouping of plant and the improved methods of hustling increase the production capacity of the important branches of industry. On the other hand, the limited markets which are open to European Capitalism are limited for Dawes Capitalism too. The growing mass of output, the result of the improved apparatus of production and the ruthless exploitation of labour, cannot be fully placed, for, if the producing plant were run at full capacity, the ensuing "over-production" would only accentuate the crisis. The diminishing world market frustrates profitable disposal of the increased mass of output and, therefore, one of the tendencies arising out of Rationalisation is to enforce a lower rate of profit for the quantity of material it produces. In this period of finance-capitalist monopolies and monopolised and limited world markets Rationalisation cannot bring about any modification of prices as it did in the age of free competition when decrease of prices accompanied by an increase of output and improved organisation of capital resulted in no loss of profit. Under the dominion of financial monopoly the reformer's demand for reduced prices and free trade is Utopian.

On the contrary, technical improvements, insofar as financial control is obliged by the pressure of the struggle for the world market to utilise them, tend to enhance the power of the combines, trusts and financial fusions, both nationally and internationally. The collapse of the inflation concerns in Germany was followed by the formation of strong combines and trusts in all the important branches of industry. The improved productive capacity brought into being under Rationalisation must be constantly adapted to the requirements of a world market which is hardly extending in a perceptible degree. On the one hand, the limited world market with its keen competition enforces the continuation of Rationalisation and the augmentation of productive capacity; on the other hand, the capitalists must "regulate" the enhanced possibilities of production by maintaining and introducing closing down of plants. In the crude-steel combine the participation index stood for months at 35% of capacity. In the mines of the Ruhr, where a constant unemployment figure of 50,000 is registered, further cessation of activity involving the discharge of 40,000 more miners is contemplated. The rationalisation of the potash industry with the improvements in the plants which have remained in action has increased production to such an extent that the output can no longer be disposed of completely. Further curtailment of activity is under consideration.

V.

From the foregoing the inherent contradiction in German Capitalism becomes clear: Rationalisation conjoined to social retrogression. Every advance in the possibilities of production leads to a diminution of employment; every fresh technical improvement gives rise to further curtailment in the activity of the plant. The workers who are discharged from one branch cannot find work even in other industries. An unemployment register totalling two million or more is becoming a permanent feature just as is the case in England. The Capitalist production relations are becoming, more and more, checks upon the development of Capitalist productive power. Trusts, combines and the financial monopolies, which is the highest expression of private capital property, prevent technical progress from conferring upon the workers benefits in the form of shorter hours, better pay and lower prices.

The contradiction in principle is displayed by the recurrent movement from crisis not to prosperity but to fresh stagnation.

The same thing is to be seen in the money market. In place of the dearth of credit which led to usurious rates of interest and to an influx of credit from America under the Dawes peace a superfluity of call-money has ensued and caused a fall in rates of interest. This superfluity of money is a symptom of crisis and a proof of the fact that, despite all the Rationalisation, a portion of the German means of production can no longer be exploited because of the absence of an adequate market for the increased output of the improved production plant. Accordingly, despite the superfluity of credit accessible to certain branches of industry, there is a shortage of credit, viz. difficulty in raising long-term loans for means of production, and the rate of interest for these loans remains correspondingly high.

Again, the contradiction in principle is evident in the rectification of the balance of trade. During the great influx of foreign credit the trade balance showed a monthly deficit as high as 500 million marks; since December, 1925, an increasingly favourable balance has been recorded (88 million marks in favour of exports in January, a further surplus of 121 million marks in February and another of 278 millions in March). But this rectification of the balance of trade is only another symptom of crisis and stagnation. It is characterised, on the one hand, by a recession in the importation of raw materials and, on the other hand, by an increase in the volume exportation of finished goods which the German population can no longer buy (The increase in the exportation of finished goods in March as against February was valued at 122 million marks, representing textile goods chiefly). Impoverishment of the home market through wage cuts, wide-spread unemployment and high prices in conjunction with increased exportation of consumable goods badly needed by the masses: this is the success achieved in foreign trade through Rationalisation.

The consequences of Rationalisation suffered by the German workers should serve as a warning to the workers in every other country in Europe. While the policy of the reformist leaders of the German trade-unions who are taking part in Rationalisation shows to the workers of all countries that they should not participate with capitalists in the carrying out of Rationalism, the English workers, on the contrary, show how the Rationalisation campaign of the capitalists must be countered: It is the advance of the close ranks of the workers' battalions that will clear the path for a Government which will carry on Rationalisation at the cost of the bourgeoisie.

FASCISM

The Paris Communist Trial — a Defeat for Fascism.

By Marcel Fourrier (Paris).

The trial against the Communists Clerc and Bernardon, to which the French bourgeoisie wished to give the appearance of a case against the Communist Party of France, has ended with the acquittal of Comrade Bernardon and a sentence of three years imprisonment against Comrade Clerc. If the court had given due consideration to the jury's recommendation the logical result would have been a much less severe sentence upon Clerc.

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It was the desire of the Young Patriots to repeat in this working-class district of Paris the "mobilisation" which they had effected a few days previously in the little town of Sèvres near Paris, where they drove up in motor-lorries and occupied with their "centurie" from 9 to 11 p. m. the vicinity of the meeting-hall in addition to the hall itself and rough-handed several Communists. About 8 p. m. in the evening the "centuria" of the Young Patriots appeared in this Paris working-class district, occupied the meeting-hall and arranged patrols in the

neighbouring streets. All the members of the "centurie" were in "fighting kit" and armed with cudgels, revolvers, etc. The Communist Party had contented itself with the insertion on the morning of this day of a small notice in "Humanité", summoning all available comrades to attend the meeting at which the woman-candidate of the workers' and peasants' bloc, Lucienne Maranne, was to speak.

The meeting took place and, as was anticipated, it was a lively one. Taittinger, protected by 200 Young Patriots, was shouted down by the workers gathered in the hall. The Communist view was given a hearing.

In the meanwhile, a crowd of 8,000 to 10,000 people, most of them working-men of the district, had gathered in front of the hall and in the adjoining streets. The "centurie" began to feel that they were threatened and sent over to a second gathering for reinforcements. Another division of Young Patriots immediately hurried into the 18th district, partly in taxis and partly by the underground. The arrival of the reinforcements increased the nervousness of the crowd and hostile cries were shortly heard. In the Rue Danrémont a fight broke out and shooting which lasted a minute or two finally stampeded the crowd in which the members of the Young Patriots' scattered units mingled. Two people were killed and many who were wounded dragged themselves away from the scene in order to escape falling into the hands of the police. Immediately after the fusillade police were hurried to the spot and took up the pursuit. They succeeded in catching two of the combatants, Clerc and Bernardon, both functionaries of the Communist Party. After they had been terribly mishandled at the police station they were searched and two empty automatic pistols were found in their possession. Clerc declared that he was set upon by Young Patriots in the course of the scuffle and that he had fired in self-defence but "without aiming at anybody". Bernardon said that while the shooting took place he was jammed in the crowd, thrown to the ground and while on the ground had picked up a pistol "just as he might have picked up a stone".

Immediately after this bloody encounter the entire Press commenced a concentrated attack upon the Communist Party. Searches were made at the homes of the majority of the party leaders including that of the secretary of the Paris district, Ilbert, and a number of documents of an unofficial character were found and among them a project for the organisation of fighting groups.

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The prosecuting counsel called sixty witnesses, nearly all of them members of the Young Patriots' organisation, who maintained that they had been set upon by the corner of a dark street by a band of Communists, who, at the word of command, fell into formation and opened fire upon them.

The jury had no fewer than 47 questions to answer.

They declared Clerc guilty of shooting — Clerc himself had admitted doing so — rejected premeditation and aggravating circumstances and, further, declared for the extenuating circumstances of provocation and self-defence. According to the law the sentence for the offence may be anything from three days' to five years' imprisonment. The court withdrew, was obliged to defer in a measure to the will of the jury and passed sentence of three years' imprisonment. As far as Bernardon was concerned, the jury answered all questions in the negative and the court was consequently obliged to dismiss this prisoner.

In this way, the case which the Government, in deference to the reactionary party, desired to hang about the neck of the Communist Party resulted in a defeat for the reactionaries. A severe judgement was passed upon Neo-Fascism in France.

The verdict of the jury further proves that the middle-classes are becoming increasingly perturbed by the tactics of the Fascists, especially in view of the assumed or real helplessness of the Government against the reactionaries. They are drawing closer to the working class, a fact which deserves our attention.

INTERNATIONAL MAY CONFERENCE ON WORK AMONG WOMEN

On the International May Conference on Work among Women.

By Herta Sturm (Moscow).

The international Conference which is to be held in Moscow at the end of May to discuss work among women, falls at a time when the gigantic strike in Great Britain shows how seriously capitalism is shaken to its foundation in spite of all its relative stabilisation. The most powerful and, up to the present, most secure State in Europe is now experiencing its first serious crisis which will be of far-reaching significance for the acceleration of the fight for liberation of the international proletariat. The question of the national and international united front of the proletariat has come more than ever to the fore.

With regard to the concrete forms of the united front and its organs, experience shows us more and more clearly a great wealth of possibilities, all of which should be drawn upon exhaustively. It is up to us to make systematic use of all existing non-party mass organisations which include working women, and to develop them so as to attract and activate the women. Good fractions, women's organisations and commissions, women's departments, groups and circles of women workers and of other working women in trade unions, co-operatives in the Red Aid, in organisations of tenants, small peasants and war victims must develop a specially organised activity within the scope of the organisation as a whole. In this connection, some questions will arise to which hitherto insufficient study has been devoted, for instance the organised affiliation of working housewives to the trade unions of their husbands, a question which politically is of far-reaching importance for such weighty branches of industry as mining, heavy industry and transport.

In addition to these permanent organisations, the question should further be investigated of the creation of action and unity committees of working women, in which women of various political views — in addition to Communists, Social Democrats, Clericals and non-party women — would temporarily work together at tasks of the moment which are limited to a certain time. Committees of this kind have done good work in Germany for instance, in the campaign for the expropriation of the princes, and in Great Britain for the propaganda campaign of the trade unions among women.

The meetings of women delegates will play a unique and prominent part in all great movements for unity of the working class and especially of the masses of women. This specific form of work, which, in the Soviet Union, forms so to speak the main pillar of the party work among the broad masses of women, is still comparatively unknown in the West. Since the first broad discussions on the subject at the Third International Conference of Communist women in 1924, most sections have concerned themselves very little with the question either ideologically or practically. Only Germany, Great Britain and Finland can point to successful results, which confirm the great significance of the Meetings of Women Delegates.

These meetings which consisted of elected representatives of women workers in factories, of wives of workers in residential districts and of various organisations of working and proletarian women, became organs for the class war for the actual demands of working women over and beyond the limits of the party. But these attempts prove at the same time, just by their defects, that that which is typical in the nature of meetings of women delegates, that which distinguishes them from other forms of work and gives them their peculiar value, has not yet penetrated far enough into the consciousness of our parties and their women's departments.

For this reason the May Conference should devote special attention to this question.

The Conference will have to initiate the organisation of meetings of delegates in the West, after the progress of the re-organisation of the parties on the basis of factory nuclei has created one of the most important preliminaries for solid work in this field. A broad ideological campaign must now be started in all countries in order, by discussions within the party and

exact instructions, to prepare the soil for the organisation of delegates' meetings.

Among those organisations which, as a meeting ground for various strata of working women, offer a point of support for communist work and may thus become auxiliary organs for the meetings of women delegates, the non-party women's organisations should be given special consideration.

The categorical rejection of any form of special women's organisations by the International Women's Conference in 1921, is in contradiction to the fact that in Europe and America there is an enormous number of proletarian women's organisations, some of them very large. Beyond this, some of the practical demands of life have made it seem opportune in a number of cases for the Communist parties themselves to take the initiative in founding sympathising women's organisations. The Conference, on the basis of its experience, will have to form an opinion as to how the best use can be made of such women's organisations, under what conditions and forms they can be developed so as to avoid deviations and especially to make them serviceable without putting more important tasks of the movement as a whole on one side.

The work among the women of the East demands special forms and methods which must take into calculation the peculiar significance of Eastern peoples and their fight against imperialism in world politics and also the special conditions in the situation of the women. On the lines of former international resolutions on the question of the Orient, special stress must still be laid on the methods of the women's clubs and their support of and participation in the national revolutionary movements. In keeping with their position in the world, China and Japan will be in the foreground.

The Conference will also deal with the question of peasant women, but only in a brief instructive report. The lack of practical experience in work among peasant women in the West and the lack of means for tackling this work at once, force us to a certain self-restraint, whilst on the other hand, the critical situation in various highly capitalist industrial countries in connection with the great campaign for national and international trade union unity demands the greatest concentration of forces on getting hold of the women in factories and trade unions.

In order to carry through all the tasks with which they are faced, the Communist Parties require a well-functioning party apparatus. The special organs for the work among women, from the women's department of the C. C. down to the woman organiser of the factory nucleus, still show certain deficiencies in their construction and their work, and in many cases are absent altogether. The latter applies particularly to the factory nuclei in which, up to the present, the larger sections are almost the only ones which can give evidence of practical attempts and success in work among working women. In this connection, the reports of a Moscow district women's department and a nucleus in a large women's factory in the Soviet Union will show in a concrete way what can be done in various fields by a woman's department and a nucleus which are well constructed and firmly incorporated in the whole party apparatus. In this respect the question of the circles of women workers round the factory nuclei will be of special interest, for, in the West and the East — as once in the Soviet Union — they form and will form a preliminary stage for the meetings of delegates.

The last point of the Conference deals with the political training and the Press for propaganda among women. The problem of political training is two-fold. In the first place, a still more intensive ideological campaign has proved necessary within the working class, including the Communist party, in order to break down the prejudices against the participation of women in political life. In the second place it is indispensable that a staff of theoretically and practically schooled Communist women should be systematically educated. The Conference will be able to give practical instructions for a solution of this task, on which depends essentially a fundamentally clear, purposeful activity among the masses.

As regards the Press, a still more decisive course than hitherto must be taken with the object of winning over large non-party masses, especially of women workers. The enlistment of working women correspondents, the vivid description, especially through telling illustrations, of the life of the women workers and peasants in the Soviet Union and turning to account the workers' delegations to the Soviet Union will play an important part in this question.

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The same thing is to be seen in the money market. In place of the dearth of credit which led to usurious rates of interest and to an influx of credit from America under the Dawes peace a superfluity of call-money has ensued and caused a fall in rates of interest. This superfluity of money is a symptom of crisis and a proof of the fact that, despite all the Rationalisation, a portion of the German means of production can no longer be exploited because of the absence of an adequate market for the increased output of the improved production plant. Accordingly, despite the superfluity of credit accessible to certain branches of industry, there is a shortage of credit, viz., difficulty in raising long-term loans for means of production, and the rate of interest for these loans remains correspondingly high.

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With regard to the concrete forms of the united front and its organs, experience shows us more and more clearly a great wealth of possibilities, all of which should be drawn upon exhaustively. It is up to us to make systematic use of all existing non-party mass organisations which include working women, and to develop them so as to attract and activate the women. Good fractions, women's organisations and commissions, women's departments, groups and circles of women workers and of other working women in trade unions, co-operatives in the Red Aid, in organisations of tenants, small peasants and war victims must develop a specially organised activity within the scope of the organisation as a whole. In this connection, some questions will arise to which hitherto insufficient study has been devoted, for instance the organised affiliation of working housewives to the trade unions of their husbands, a question which politically is of far-reaching importance for such weighty branches of industry as mining, heavy industry and transport.

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The meetings of women delegates will play a unique and prominent part in all great movements for unity of the working class and especially of the masses of women. This specific form of work, which, in the Soviet Union, forms so to speak the main pillar of the party work among the broad masses of women, is still comparatively unknown in the West. Since the first broad discussions on the subject at the Third International Conference of Communist women in 1924, most sections have concerned themselves very little with the question either ideologically or practically. Only Germany, Great Britain and Finland can point to successful results, which confirm the great significance of the Meetings of Women Delegates.

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The Conference will have to initiate the organisation of meetings of delegates in the West, after the progress of the re-organisation of the parties on the basis of factory nuclei has created one of the most important preliminaries for solid work in this field. A broad ideological campaign must now be started in all countries in order, by discussions within the party and

exact instructions, to prepare the soil for the organisation of delegates' meetings.

Among those organisations which, as a meeting ground for various strata of working women, offer a point of support for communist work and may thus become auxiliary organs for the meetings of women delegates, the non-party women's organisations should be given special consideration.

The categorical rejection of any form of special women's organisations by the International Women's Conference in 1921, is in contradiction to the fact that in Europe and America there is an enormous number of proletarian women's organisations, some of them very large. Beyond this, some of the practical demands of life have made it seem opportune in a number of cases for the Communist parties themselves to take the initiative in founding sympathising women's organisations. The Conference, on the basis of its experience, will have to form an opinion as to how the best use can be made of such women's organisations, under what conditions and forms they can be developed so as to avoid deviations and especially to make them serviceable without putting more important tasks of the movement as a whole on one side.

The work among the women of the East demands special forms and methods which must take into calculation the peculiar significance of Eastern peoples and their fight against imperialism in world politics and also the special conditions in the situation of the women. On the lines of former international resolutions on the question of the Orient, special stress must still be laid on the methods of the women's clubs and their support of and participation in the national revolutionary movements. In keeping with their position in the world, China and Japan will be in the foreground.

The Conference will also deal with the question of peasant women, but only in a brief instructive report. The lack of practical experience in work among peasant women in the West and the lack of means for tackling this work at once, force us to a certain self-restraint, whilst on the other hand, the critical situation in various highly capitalist industrial countries in connection with the great campaign for national and international trade union unity demands the greatest concentration of forces on getting hold of the women in factories and trade unions.

In order to carry through all the tasks with which they are faced, the Communist Parties require a well-functioning party apparatus. The special organs for the work among women, from the women's department of the C. C. down to the woman organiser of the factory nucleus, still show certain deficiencies in their construction and their work, and in many cases are absent altogether. The latter applies particularly to the factory nuclei in which, up to the present, the larger sections are almost the only ones which can give evidence of practical attempts and success in work among working women. In this connection, the reports of a Moscow district women's department and a nucleus in a large women's factory in the Soviet Union will show in a concrete way what can be done in various fields by a woman's department and a nucleus which are well constructed and firmly incorporated in the whole party apparatus. In this respect the question of the circles of women workers round the factory nuclei will be of special interest, for, in the West and the East — as once in the Soviet Union — they form and will form a preliminary stage for the meetings of delegates.

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In order to ensure international leadership, support and animation of the work of agitation and propaganda, it will be the duty of the Conference to give an expert opinion on the founding of an international bulletin which will transmit, fructify and intensify the international experiences of the sections — a task which will have to be more strongly emphasised in the period before us.

The value of this Conference will be still more increased in that, apart from the discussions of the Conference, the Women's Department of the C. P. of the Soviet Union will give the delegates an opportunity of improving their knowledge as to the excellent work and achievements of the Soviet Union and of its leading party, the Bolsheviks, in raising the creative powers of the masses of women in every sphere and in giving them complete social freedom, by instructive lectures and excursions at the source.

Work in the Mass Organisations of Women in England.

By A. E. Scott.

In England we have two main mass organisations of working women, the Women's Sections of the Labour Party and the Women's Co-operative Guilds. There are other organisations such as the Railway Women's Guilds, but the method of work is the same, and if we deal in the main with the work in the Women's Sections of the Labour Party it will make clear the general conduct of the work of Communist women in the big non-Party organisations.

In the Labour Party all individual members are members of the ward committees, (all Parliamentary Constituencies are divided into wards) and pay their subscriptions to the Party through the wards, but also, the individual members are organised into men's and women's sections. These sections meet separately, and elect an equal number of delegates to the governing body of the local Labour Party, the General Committee, on which the affiliated Trade Unions in the locality are also represented.

The Women's Sections have their own officers, President, Secretary etc. and hold their own National Conference once a year. There are no separate subscriptions to the Women's Sections, the expenses are met from the general Party funds. The Women's Sections have the right of affiliation to other bodies, and often the Sections are affiliated to the local Trades Council.

The women members of the Party are organised in their Party fractions, which work in the same way as the Party fractions in other organisations. The work is carried out under the control of the women's propaganda committee of the local, working in close touch with the Local Party Committee, and the comrade in charge of the work in the Labour Party and Trades Councils.

In the Women's Sections there is a speaker for nearly every weekly meeting, and it is possible for our Party women to obtain Party or left wing speakers on subjects of interest. Further, the discussion arising out of the address gives our comrades a very good opportunity for making clear the difference in outlook of the Communist Party. For instance nearly every women's section has had a speaker from the No More War Movement, and on this occasion, by means of questions and taking part in discussion, it is possible to counteract a good deal of the pacifist propaganda which appeals directly to the women.

There are always a number of conferences to which a Women's Section is invited to send a delegate, called by the Labour Parties, the I.L.P., the Women's International League, the Communist Party etc. It is very useful to go as a delegate to some of these conferences, and then to make a report on the proceedings of the conference at the next meeting of the section. The fraction should also consider if it is possible to send a left wing sympathiser also to the conference, so that they will get a better understanding of the position of the organisations concerned. In this way, the bourgeois character of the Women's International League was made clear to some of the members of one Women's Section.

In connection with the National Conference of Labour Women held in May of each year, the Central Women's Pro-

paganda Committee always sends to the local committee, resolutions to be put forward on to the Agenda, with some brief speakers' notes on the importance of these resolutions. Then, after the resolutions put forward for the agenda are discussed, there comes the question of the election of delegates to the conference, and the instructions to be given to the delegates on the resolutions which appear on the agenda. Here again, our comrades have a big opportunity to discuss clear and concrete working class issues which are of special interest for women.

Some of the local and district women's propaganda committees have called delegate meetings in their localities and these have proved very successful on the whole.

The Party has issued an invitation to all organisations in the locality which have working women as members — Labour Parties, Co-operative Guilds, Independent Labour Party branches or women's sections, women's Trade Union branches, the Trades Council, Railway Women's Guilds, etc. The meeting is called on some definite issue of importance to the workers. The first delegate meetings were called just before July 1925, when the question of the miners' lockout was the burning question and the delegate meetings were called to consider what part the women could play in the struggle.

The campaign for the release of the prisoners was also used for the calling of delegate meetings.

At these meetings resolutions were passed in support of the Party's position, and on a number of occasions a Women's Council of Action was set up for the purpose of coordinating the activities of the working women in the locality. The majority of the members of the Councils would not be Party women, but the councils would act under the leadership of the Party. Some of the Councils of Action which were set up in July and during the Release the Prisoners campaign out of the delegate meetings, took an active part in the organisation of International Women's Day.

The calling of delegate meetings has proved very valuable from the point of view of breaking down the prejudices which exist against the Party and of showing to the women workers the serious purpose of the Party. The meetings are held definitely under Party auspices with our own speakers and resolutions which enables us to make clear to all the organised women in the locality exactly the position of the Party.

Even though we have not yet been able to get women from the factories to our delegate meetings, they have been extremely useful in increasing the influence of our Party and making clear our policy to working women.

On March 21st in Mansfield a very successful delegate meeting was held to prepare the work of the women in the industrial crisis. At this delegate meeting 300 delegates were present representing 55 organisations.

After the Liverpool Conference of the Labour Party when again it was decided to turn the Communists out of the Labour Party, it was decided that it was necessary to form a Left Wing in the Labour Party. In the Women's Sections our comrades were active in bringing the question forward, and in getting a speaker from the Left Wing Committee to speak on this, and then later to get delegates sent to the Left Wing conferences which were held all over the country, and to affiliate to the Left Wing Committee.

The arrest and imprisonment of the Communist leaders, and the miners of South Wales brought tremendous sympathy for the Party, and on this question the working women went wholeheartedly with us, and worked well in raising funds for the Defence and Maintenance fund and the organising of the petition. Women also were very prominent in the demonstrations which were held for the release of the prisoners.

The Party organ is always on sale at the meetings of the Women's Sections, even where it has been forbidden, as in that case it is sold outside the meeting instead of inside. Also when we have our woman's paper coming out regularly, it is in organisations such as the women's sections of the Labour Party that we can work up a good circulation.

The work is very much the same in the Co-operative Guilds. Special issues also come up in the Guilds, as for example, the question of the attitude of the Co-operative Societies if there was a miners' strike or lockout; the point of view that there should be no politics in the Guilds; affiliation to the Minority Movement; questions arising from the Co-operative stores themselves, their prices and the dividends they pay etc.

The work outlined above is preliminary work, so to speak, gradually breaking down the prejudices of working women

against the Party, and gradually drawing them towards the Party. This work has to go on all the time, but it is not enough. Very definite efforts must be made to get the women actually to join the Party, and this has been done slowly but steadily. Very often it will be found that women feel that they are too ignorant to join up with the Party and want to know more about politics before they do so. And here it has been found very useful to form a discussion circle with some of the Left Wing sympathisers, to discuss matters of importance in the Section or Guild, and also to have general political discussions. In this way we can keep in close touch with our sympathisers, and at the same time bring them nearer to the Party and give them some insight into political questions.

There is a great field of activity in these organisations of working women, and it is important that they should be taken up seriously. In England, our forces are very small, but the effect of the work that had been done in the women's sections of the Labour Party was made clear at the last Labour Women's Conference, where, although we had only 10 delegates, the support that was obtained for the point of view put forward by our delegates, and for our resolutions was far beyond what our numbers would lead us to expect. In the conference this year (which at the moment has been postponed owing to the general strike to get the Communists out of the Party, we have 7 delegates to the Conference, and all our resolutions are on the agenda. The work is very difficult, and very slow in showing results, and the more successful it is the greater is the opposition you have to face from the right wing elements. But nevertheless, the work presents the best opportunities for increasing the influence of the Party over the organised women of the working class.

The Women's Delegate Meetings in the U. S. S. R.

By S. Bojarskaja.

The October revolution which has liberated the female workers and peasant women from centuries of bondage and despotism has also opened for them the way to social work, and has given them full rights as co-operators and supporters of the Soviet Republic. In order to gain the bulk of working women for active, soviet reconstructive work, the women's sections, called into being by the Communist Party, have adopted the system of Women Worker's Delegate Meetings. The chief idea of these meetings is, to win the working women for Communism by means of active propaganda, by practical realization of communist aims, and by securing their co-operation in all the branches of the Soviet Union's political and economic life.

The first Women Worker Delegates Meetings were very different in character from the present ones; they were nothing but meetings of the most advanced and most active female workers. The Party was anxious to win those workers for the Delegate meetings who, within their own sphere of work, were especially noticeable for their great activity and for their taking a prominent part in meetings and conferences. In other words, the Communist Party, with the help of their Women's Sections, selected the most active, most combative and most ingenious elements for the Delegate meetings out of the bulk of women workers. The deep faith in the healthy, revolutionary class instinct of working women runs like a thread through the whole work of the Delegate meetings. These meetings gradually extended their influence over an ever increasing number of backward female workers, and became communist schools for the masses, schools, where working women were practically trained for public political work. All the reports made in the Delegate meetings on our political situation, on our inner and outer political condition led to resolutions about measures which should support and strengthen the proletarian revolution. At the same time hundreds and thousands of Women Worker Delegates were employed as probationers in all the Government institutions, in order to co-operate, and to study and control the work done there. Under the guidance of instructors the workers were initiated in all the fields of the soviet, the trade-unionist and co-operative reconstruction to which they will have to devote themselves. In 1921 about 25,000 workers were engaged on such work. Already in 1920 150 women from Moscow and over 700 women from Leningrad were selected from these probationers and entrusted with leading positions. They organised the

"Saturday and Sunday Work" which was supervised by women workers from Government institutions. The following figures may give an idea of the number of workers attending this "Saturday and Sunday Work": in 1918—1921 over 30,000 women took part in Ivanov Vosnesensk, and over 90,000 in Samara. In 1919—1921 these probationers were paid a fixed salary from the institutions for which they worked. With the extension of the new system of political economy, however, the number of probationers had to be largely reduced, as their maintenance was too heavy a burden on the recovering economic life. Although the Delegates are as hitherto partaking in the work of the Soviets and their sections, they are not taken away from their own activities. They continue their productive work and, at the same time, are members of the Factory Council Commissions as well as members of the Soviet sections and those Trade Union and co-operative sections which are linked up with the Delegate meetings.

The greater number of Delegates assist in the work of the town Soviets. In the public educational sections they carry out the inspection of schools and educational institutes, provide funds, and supervise the classes, in order that the brains of the children may not be stuffed with middle class ideals, with prejudices and superstitions, but that the teaching may answer the exigencies of the modern spirit. A specially important point is the linking up of Women Delegates with school councils or school subsidizing committees. Through close contact with school life and school activity they help the schools in many ways, they often suggest improvements and increase their own knowledge. Moreover, they supervise the work of the pioneer sections and take part in the campaign for the care of homeless children.

The Women Delegates who are working in the health section visit hospitals and ambulances, notify abuses and defects, suggest necessary improvements and support the administration in the carrying out of the same. In the children's and mothers' welfare sections the women workers help in the foundation and the running of children's inspection health centres, crèches, mothers' and infants homes, they assist the Social Welfare Commissions and take part in the inspection of worker's homes. The Delegates who join the work in ambulances frequently organise cells for tuberculous persons in the working plants. The Delegates of the sanitary section, together with the members of sanitary commissions, visit factories and workshops, draw their attention to facts which might imperil the health of the workers and make proposals with regard to rectifying mistakes.

In the communal section the Delegates inspect worker's homes. They state whether those are noxious to health, whether improvements could be obtained by public measures, whether it would be possible to lay on water, to introduce electric light, to improve the heating etc.

Together with the section for public education the Delegates take part in sanitary-hygienic inspections of schools, children's homes, crèches etc. with regard to appropriate rooms, sufficient light and air.

The election of the Delegates is preceded by an extensive election campaign in which Party and Trade Union Organisations, as well as a large number of men and women take part.

Responsible Party comrades are in most cases put in charge of the carrying out of this campaign, as this work is not only a matter of the women's section but of the whole party.

The elections demand an intense preparatory work, — as well in the women workers meetings of the individual sections and workshops, as in the meetings of the hitherto appointed Delegates, in meetings of workmen's wives, and in co-operative tenement houses. In certain houses the candidatureship of the newly to be elected Delegates is put up and discussed.

The list of candidates is placarded in workshops, clubs etc. in order to bring them to the knowledge of the bulk of workers. In the general meetings of women workers, where the elections of Delegates take place, every candidate is an object of lively discussion on the part of the workers. The elected Delegates regularly report to their electors on their activity, provide them with information and answer their questions.

According to the law in force in the towns one Delegate is elected for every 10 workers. In working places where 300 or more women workers are employed, the Delegate meetings are held right there.

These Delegate meetings are attended by the women workers, the female staff and the wives of the workmen who work in this plant. The Delegate meetings for workers in smaller industrial enterprises, for female employees, workmen's wives.

women servants and other dispersed elements of the female working class are assigned to the sub-district or administrative district centres.

The Delegates of the women workers and women personnel are engaged in the social work of their plants or institutions, for instance in factory council commissions, in conferences on production, in co-operative Societies, creches, communal kitchens etc., while the Delegates of housewives, home workers etc. are employed for the work in the sub district administration and the corresponding co-operative Societies, children's homes, creches etc.

Part of the Delegates are doing practical work in the Workers' International Relief, the "Society of Children's Friends" and in the Chief Associations (protectors of the village).

The Agenda of the Delegate meetings consists mostly of a question of a more general nature taken from the programme which the C.C. has drawn up for the C.P., and of practical questions of local life.

Also among the peasant women the Delegate meetings represent the acknowledged form of public work. The peasant women Delegate meetings are organised in all such places where a satisfactory party administration is ensured. The representation rules for the rural Delegate meetings are fixed by the district and working area administrators. In most of the provinces it is stipulated that each Delegate represents 10—15 peasant women of the village where the elections take place, while the Delegates of remoter villages represent 20—25 peasant women.

The elections of the Delegates usually take place at special peasant women's meetings, and only seldom at general peasant meetings. This is only the case in such places where there exist strong party groups and where the Delegate meeting enjoys great esteem.

The elections of Delegates in rural districts start as a rule after the termination of agricultural work, and they come to an end in October-November, when the Delegate meetings begin to function systematically. In the course of Spring and Summer conferences are held about vital questions, and excursions are arranged for visits to co-operative farms, communities, model farms, neighbouring towns, industrial plants, etc.

The peasant Delegates are doing a great deal of practical work in the sections and commissions of the village soviets, especially with regard to the organising of creches, children's play grounds, women's corners in the village libraries, and thus improve the cultural standard in the village. They are invited to peasant meetings, to congresses and conferences, and share party work, Soviet work and public work.

The number of peasant Delegates has considerably increased. In 1923-24 it amounted to 12,511, in 1924-25 to 246,702. In Autumn 1923 4,612,438 peasant women took part in the elections, in Autumn 1924 their number had increased to 7,830,508. During the past year 74,617 peasant women partook in the practical public work.

The composition of the Delegate meetings has changed. Up to a recent period they consisted of the poorest peasant women, soldiers' widows etc. but at present a larger percentage of better situated peasant women, married women who have more credit in the eyes of the population are assigned for these meetings.

In the East the Women's Delegate Meetings are, besides other types of work, the acknowledged form of work among working women. In the Delegate meetings of larger industrial cities such as Baku, Tiflis, Taschkent, Simferopol, a well planned out, systematic work which follows the programme drawn up by the C.C., is carried out. These meetings are divided into language groups but once a month general meetings are held. During the last few years native women are more and more called to the Delegate meetings, so that their number represents half of the 50,074 Delegates elected in 1924-25.

The Delegate meetings of the East have the following sections: Legal and co-operative section, children's and mothers' welfare, social education, political training. In villages, in Abuls and Kischlaks similar work is being done. In the most backward areas the Delegates are not only chosen by women, but a more primitive system is being applied, viz: the selection by the authorities of the most advanced and most active women workers. In regions where the number of workers and of co-operatively organised home workers is small, the election of the Delegates takes place in clubs and schools. In the Eastern Republics and districts where centenary traditions and customs form a great

obstacle for the introduction of the older women workers into the Delegate meetings, especially great attention is given to the training of young women, who gradually free themselves from the bonds of the old form of living.

In cities as well as in the country the activity of the Delegate meeting (which as a rule lasts 6—7 months) is terminated by a festivity and by the admittance of old Delegates to the Party. In 1925 this was done with 30% of the Delegates in Moscow and with 40% in Leningrad. A record is kept of the work done and of the achievements obtained — such as admission of Delegates in the Party and the Young Communist League, their progress in Soviets, Trade Unions and co-operative Societies etc. In 1924-25 378,163 Delegates, elected by 9,414,513 individuals have shared the activity of the Delegate meetings of the U. S. S. R.

At the 12th Party conference Comrade Stalin has characterised the role and the importance of the Women's Delegate meetings with the following words: "They are perhaps not a striking but a very important driving mechanism which links up our Party with the women of the working class".

MAY DAY

The First of May in Palestine.

By Abusjam (Jerusalem).

In Palestine the 1st of May has now been celebrated for about two decades. But our socialists have succeeded in depriving this day of its proletarian revolutionary content by converting it into an ordinary petty bourgeois day. The 1st of May has become a tradition, that is to say, a petty bourgeois and a nationalist tradition.

The Arab workers, the Arab population consider this day as a Jewish national festival, the Jewish population, however, regard it as their national monopoly.

The Communist Party, ever, since the moment of its inception, has conducted a fight against the nationalist-romantic character of the labour movement of Palestine, and this struggle found its expression in the celebration of the 1st of May.

The Communist Party was confronted by three tasks in connection with the 1st of May:

1. to internationalise the proletarian holiday;
2. to revolutionise it and to convert it into a day of revolutionary propaganda and agitation by means of workers' demonstrations;
3. to concretise the revolutionary slogans.

The fight for these three elementary tasks was by no means easy.

The 1st of May demonstration in the year 1921 ended in a bloody pogrom which was organised by the British police and the Arabian Effendis.

In addition to this the Party was shattered as a result of arrests and banishments, and it only succeeded last year in organising a great demonstration in Haifa in which Arab and Jewish workers participated.

The 1st of May 1926 appears as a real turning point in the history of the country. For the first time the 1st of May was solemnly observed by Arab workers. In Haifa 250 Arab workers struck work, whilst on this day the Jewish workers did not work at all as it was a sabbath. In Jaffa, Jerusalem etc. there took place along with the meetings of the Jewish workers, meetings of Arab workers at which revolutionary speeches were delivered regarding the 1st of May, British imperialism, Communism etc.

But the police also mobilised all its forces on this day. In Haifa armoured cars with British soldiers toured the streets. Jerusalem was filled with mounted police and soldiers. In Jaffa and Tel-Aviv the entire police reserves were mobilised, and in addition to this the English-Irish officers-division was called from the British camp of Serchfield.

In Haifa and Jerusalem arrests and house-searches were carried out during the whole of the week preceding the 1st of May.

On the 1st of May the workers' quarters of Tel-Aviv, right from the early morning, were besieged, in the literal sense of the word, by police. In spite of this the police did not succeed in preventing the Communist Party from organising a demonstration which was participated in by great masses of workers. The reformist trade union bureaucrats went among the ranks of the demonstrators and threatened the workers with expulsions, but without result. The workers marched under red flags with

Communist slogans. It came to fierce collisions with the police, who had to be reinforced by the English-Irish officers' division, with the result that seven workers, among them being three women, were mishandled in such a way that they are now lying sick with high fever; but some of the police were also injured.

The Zionist socialists, however, celebrated May Day by issuing a supplement to their newspaper in which they emphasise the necessity of converting the first of May into a day of struggle for — the revival of the ancient Hebrew language.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Fight of the Young Socialist International against the Danger of War and Militarism.

By Josef Dycka.

Towards the end of May, the Young Socialist International will hold its International Youth Day in Amsterdam. In addition to dancing and games, demonstrations are planned against the dangers of war and in favour of "world peace". Following on the Youth Day, the 2nd Congress of the Y. S. I. will be held and will discuss the theme "The international cooperation of youth as a means for promoting a Socialist peace policy." Rickard Lindström from Stockholm will read a paper on this point. Lindström is the man who, at the leaders' conference of the Y. S. I. in Pasheuvál, expressed the opinion that "the young workers must learn to see the interests of society as a whole beyond their class interests."

Once more the Y. S. I. will intone psalms of peace, will speak of the horrors of war and will pass resolutions about their struggle against war and militarism. No young worker who thinks for himself, however, will take the idle show of interest in peace of the Y. S. I. seriously. The daily policy of the Y. S. I., its attitude to the bourgeois State, its own resolutions and essays on the question of war prove to everyone on which side of the barricades the Y. S. I. will be found in the coming war.

At its Foundation Congress in Hamburg, the Y. S. I. pledged itself in a resolution "to carry on with all the means at its disposal" the fight against war and militarism. Should war however break out in spite of the enlightenment and education of the Y. S. I., it pledged itself "to work for the prevention of war or for bringing it speedily to an end... by self-sacrificing participation in every action of the proletariat as a whole." What the nature of such action will be, is not stated.

The problem of war is dealt with in all other resolutions and essays of the Y. S. I. in just the same superficial and non-descript way as in the above resolution. In a war number of the "Y. S. I." from the year 1924, Otto Felix Kanitz (Vienna) presumes, in the form of a joke, to make "the beast which dwells in the breast of each of us" responsible for war. Kanitz writes:

"The responsibility for war rests on the spirit of war, the spirit of force, the spirit of brutality in most human beings.... The terrible world war — nay, every war, has only been possible because all consideration for the suffering of others had vanished, because the beast in man was not tamed but only fettered.... Do you now recognise the war guilt in our own ranks? It is due to bestiality and incapability of seeing ourselves in every other human being."

Persons who can be taken more seriously than Kanitz how- ever approach the question of war in a similar way; in the same number Ernst Paul (Czecho-Slovakia) writes on the same subject: Paul conceives war as a question of education, of "morals and human dignity".

"Our first and paramount task", writes Paul, "is in the sphere of education.... Our work of education must make it its aim to stamp out mankind's faith in force as a panacea. It is beneath the dignity of civilised mankind of the 20th century to settle every dispute between nations or States by fire or sword."

Paul goes further and gives advice as to the attitude to be taken on the outbreak of war.

"If a war is obviously a capitalist, imperialist war, the answer is quickly given. It can only be, under no circumstances to support the war, but to oppose it in every way."

Paul however, thinks that it is not always so easy to recognise the character of a war.

"It is however very much more difficult for the Socialists to decide in the case of a war of defence. It must first of all be stated that up to the present the diplomats of each country concerned have, in every war, understood how to represent their country as the one attacked (the Social patriots have understood this very well too J. D.). This will hardly be different in the future."

He goes on to say:

"As, in case of a war, the Labour parties and the trade union organisations of the countries in question may easily be prejudiced and as further, they will often not be in a position to see through the plans of their Governments, it will be necessary for an authority, which represents the interests of the workers of the whole world, to pronounce a verdict."

This authority is to be the Labour and Socialist International. On what points is it to pronounce a verdict? Paul does not say, but it is evident to anyone from the above that he means as to whether a war is a defensive or an offensive war and whether in consequence the Social Democracy "in question" has the right to take part in it.

We have given the quotations because they reveal what an absolute fraud is the fight of the Y. S. I. against war. The deception of the war of defence or offence is repeated, and Social Democracy is, from the beginning, given a license for treachery on the outbreak of war.

The Y. S. I. rejected the last open letter of the Y. C. I. to the Marseilles Conference of the Y. S. I. on the question of the fight against the danger of war and the White Terror and referred to the Marseilles resolutions of the Labour and Socialist International. It is worthwhile to look more closely at these resolutions. A long resolution was passed on the "Socialist peace policy." All the hopes of the L. S. I. are placed on the — League of Nations. When once Germany and the Soviet Union sit in the League of Nations, (and here the L. S. I. pours out its whole ill-will against the Soviet Union for its negative attitude towards the League of Nations) all danger of future wars will be banished.

"The workers demand," thus runs the resolution, "that every Government which for any excuse whatever rejects arbitration or the decision of a court of arbitration (of the League of Nations — J. D.) and proceeds to make war, should be regarded as the aggressor and as the enemy of its own people and of mankind.... They demand that no hostile action shall be permitted except in the case of resistance to an attack or in agreement with a resolution of the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations."

It could not be put in clearer language. The Soviet Union is to submit to the League of Nations, to that alliance of the most powerful imperialist robbers who demand that colonial peoples be slaughtered, the Labour and Socialist International is prepared to subordinate itself to the resolutions of the League of Nations with regard to war and peace! This is the aspect of the Marseilles resolutions, which the Y. S. I. regards as a sufficient guarantee against future wars.

Social Democracy not only does nothing against the danger of war and militarism, but, by its policy, it makes itself an accomplice in future wars. The preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union, which are being made under the auspices of the League of Nations, are clearly visible. And Social Democracy sings hymns of praise to the League of Nations and joins in a furious hue and cry of war against the Soviet Union. In the opinion of the Social patriots, the danger of new wars threatens — from the Soviet Union. In the Marseilles resolution it is stated that the L. S. I. is conscious that:

"the danger of war would be considerably lessened, were the decision as to peace and war in the Soviet Union not in the hands of a dictatorial power but in the hands of the peoples of the Soviet Union themselves..."

The Y. S. I. also will express its views as to the League of Nations, in Amsterdam. The question was discussed in Pasheuvaal, but it was resolved to wait for the time being, until the L. S. I. had given expression to its opinion. The L. S. I. has already twice spoken clearly and unequivocally in favour of the League of Nations — at Marseilles and now, a few weeks ago, in Switzerland. The Y. S. I. will have no alternative than to echo the resolutions of the L. S. I. and in the same way to

praise the League of Nations as the most suitable instrument of peace.

It is up to us to expose the peace swindle of the Y. S. I. and to make it clear to everyone that, as long as the Y. S. I. and with it the whole Social Democracy support the stabilisation of capital which, of necessity, lowers the standard of living of the working masses, that, as long as the Social Democrats openly or in secret carry on a policy of coalition with the bourgeois parties, their whole antimilitaristic campaign is a fraud. The fight against the danger of war can only be carried on as a revolutionary campaign against capitalism, against the bourgeois policy of coalition, against the League of Nations and in closest community with the Soviet Union.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The Increasing Left Orientation of the German Peasant Masses.

By A. Graf (Berlin).

The steadily increasing pressure of taxation which weighs on the small and middle peasants of Germany, the lack of cheap long-period credits, the expiration of long-period credits, the usurious interest and the excessive mortgaging in peasant circles, are driving the German peasant to the verge of despair. Together with the economic crisis, these facts are causing an ever-increasing pauperisation of the broad masses of peasants. This circumstance is accelerating the pace at which not only the individual peasants but their organisations are trending towards the Left.

It is evident that the Silesian Peasant League, with its democratic tendencies, is making great endeavours to form a united front of all working peasants. Several local groups of this League have already joined the National Federation of unions of small peasants, which is affiliated to the Peasant International. The latter forced the leaders of the whole League to get into touch with the National Federation in order to form a united front. The Silesian Peasant League holds large meetings of peasants at which it fiercely attacks the duties which are injurious to agriculture and pronounces against the policy of the National Federation in resolutions which are passed unanimously.

In Bavaria also the Left movement is making great strides. A left wing has seceded from the Bavarian Peasant League, and a number of local organisations have left the League, demonstrating against the Right wing and at the same time against the Bavarian Government, the Agricultural Minister of which is Fehr, who is a member of the Bavarian Peasant League. Even some national deputies to the "Landtag" were compelled, under strong pressure from the ever-increasing Leftward tendency, and by the attitude of the masses of peasants, to come over from the national camp to the Bavarian Peasants' League. At the same time a steadily increasing sympathy for the Communists is evident among the peasants. This fact as well as the breaking away of the peasants from the organisations to which they have hitherto belonged, is creating great uneasiness in the reactionary camp.

From the Moselle to the Aar, from the Rhine to the Palatinate the fermentation is permeating all strata. It is not only the vinegrowers who are taking up an attitude of opposition and tending to the Left, the same can be observed among the other masses of peasants. Although a short time ago, at the time of the revolt of the vinegrowers in Berncastel, the peasants drove the distributors of Communist pamphlets from the villages, to-day thousands of peasants are attending the Communist public meetings. The Rhenish League of Small Peasants and Tenants has left the Clerical camp and has also joined the National Federation.

In Vogtland in East Saxony, as well as in Thuringia, the members of the League of Small Peasants oppose the Provincial League in the meetings of the latter, Committees for the defense of peasant interests, of which peasants of all political shades are members, are being formed spontaneously. The league of working agriculturalists met with such success there that it was obliged to issue a Saxon League newspaper of its own. In Upper Lausitz a league of small peasants is developing from this movement and has already got into touch with the National Federation.

Analogous tendencies may be observed in the most varying forms and in the greatest variety of districts in Germany. Thus the swing to the Left of the peasant masses has even forced the League of large peasants, though in a masked form, to oppose the Land League.

Even the Rhine Land League, that Conservative body, is having to make concessions to this trend to the Left. At a number of meetings organised by the Land League, the peasants were not satisfied with meetings but demonstrated in front of the office of the Provincial Council and of the Finance office. The leaders make the same demands as are made by the League of Working Agriculturalists and the above mentioned Saxon Committee, and believe in this way that they will be able to continue to make use of the masses of peasants in their own interests. In Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the Land League was forced to oppose the taxation policy of its own Provincial Government. These contradictions within the National Federation show the world the strange spectacle of the Government of the National League having to be overthrown by its own organisation.

The fight for the peasantry has reached a higher stage. The debates of the peasants with those who have led them hitherto are becoming more and more violent. This cannot of course but lead to the development of a broad, strong Left movement, but at the same time to the disintegration of the reactionary peasant organisations.

It is a very remarkable and symptomatic fact that the peasant masses of the most reactionary organisations are themselves issuing slogans for the formation of a united peasant front and are even demanding a number of conferences throughout the country to unite all working peasants with the object of electing at meetings, delegates to a National Congress which should unite all peasants without distinction of party.

Such a conference means nothing more nor less than the wholesale desertion of the reactionary camp and an advance towards the revolutionary working class. This also accounts for the general panic in the camp of reaction which has been perceptible for some time, and for the rough behaviour towards the peasant leaders. It also explains the ruthless distrains, as for instance the seizure of the live stock of a farmer and deputy in Bavaria named Gandorfer. It is done with the intention of intimidating the peasant leaders. The simultaneous wide-spread campaign in the peasant newspapers against the 1st. Peasant International and the campaign of lies from the same quarter against Russia, stating that the peasants are flogged by the Bolsheviks, is intended to arrest the movement towards the Left.

In view of this situation it is the duty of all the revolutionary elements in town and country to give powerful support to the spontaneous peasant movement for the formation of a united front of all working peasants, and further to support their demands. They should promote the campaign for a united front of the working peasants among themselves with all means in their power; further they should make it clear to the masses of peasants that a united peasant front is not only necessary, but that over and beyond this a united front must be formed with the broad strata of the working class, for the every day common demands and for the setting up of a workers and peasants government.

Correction.

In the Theses of the Co-operative Conference published in our No. 39 of 6th of May, page 611/12, there occurred the following regrettable errors:

Page 611: point 4 last line instead of "leaving" should read "leading".

Page 612: point 9 is incomplete. The following should be added: "It is important to establish connections between the co-operatives and the various left non-party organisations such as the I. R. A., the W. I. R., workers educational societies etc., and also to secure them material and moral support through the collective membership. The participation of co-operatives in the societies of the friends of Soviet Russia, the anti-war and anti-fascist organisations is of particular interest, since here it is a question of demands which were already put by the co-operative movement itself".

We request our readers to take note immediately of these corrections.