

# - INTERNATIONAL -

# PRESS

# CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 6

1<sup>st</sup> February 1929

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

## CONTENTS

Gabriel Péri: On the Eve of the Reparations Conference.  
Politics.

Wilhelm Koenen: The Political Situation in Germany.  
Willi Schlamm: The Bourgeois Bloc and the Social Democrats in Austria.

Jack Carney: Crisis within Irish Labour.  
Resolution of the Irish Workers' League on the Afghanistan Situation.

China.

Tang Shin She: The Execution of Yang Yü Ting at Moukden and its Significance.

The Balkans.

W. Sch.: The Situation in Roumania.

In the Colonies.

M. N. Roy: The Conference of the Workers and Peasants Party of India.

The White Terror.

The Protest Movement against the Brutal Treatment of Comrade Rakosi.

Declaration of the C. E. C. of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America on the Murder of Julio Antonio Mella.

R. A. Martinez: Assassination of J. A. Mella by Agents of Yankee Imperialism.

In the International.

W. M. Holmes: The Tenth Party Congress of the C. P. of Great Britain.

Against Trotzkyism.

The "Pravda" on the Illegal Trotzkyist Organisation.

Fascism.

The Fascist Danger in Czechoslovakia.

Proletarian Commemoration Days.

Franz Mehring.

Workers' Correspondence.

Organisational Tasks of International Worker Correspondent Service.

## On the Eve of the Reparations Conference.

By Gabriel Péri (Paris).

The "Expert Committee" entrusted with the task of inquiring into the question of German indebtedness and proposing a definite settlement of the German Reparations obligations, will probably meet in Paris in the middle of February. The formation of this committee was resolved three months ago by the Ministers of the Entente Powers and Germany at Geneva.

In the three months that have elapsed since the decision in question, there have been lively diplomatic controversies and press campaigns in regard to the Reparations problem and with reference to the rôle and appointment of the experts. The most important events of late have been the publication of Parker Gilbert's report and Morgan's entrance into the Expert Committee.

The question as to the powers of the experts has been vehemently argued out. The French imperialists assumed the standpoint that the experts were absolutely bound to observe the stipulations of the existing treaties, with special reference to the Treaty of Versailles. The German demand, again, insisted upon the members of the committee being financial experts and economists, who should examine the solvency of Germany from the expert standpoint without reference to the figures and stipulations contained in the Peace Treaty and the other agreements.

A further question. The representatives of the French heavy-metal industries demanded that the Allies should in advance establish the payments to be required of Germany. A repetition, therefore, of the comedy of Versailles. To this both the German Government and the United States objected.

Finally, the French Government desired the experts to be appointed by the Reparations Commission. This is symptomatic of the present tendency of French imperialism. As is well known, the American imperialists had with the aid of the British succeeded in depriving the Reparations Commission, which until 1924 was a very important tool of French imperialism, of its decisive importance. Owing to the fact that a representative of the United States is attached to it, it is difficult to attain unanimity in its resolutions. And without unanimity it is powerless.

To such a state of affairs the French big bourgeoisie cannot become reconciled. Therefore it desires to be rid of its trammels now that the franc has been stabilised and that its interests are so well represented by the Poincaré regime. All the more so seeing that the Franco-British alliance affords it a liberty of action it did not know before. Finally, and this is the crucial point, the heavy-metal industry desires to place in the forefront of the negotiations on German obligations that sum of 132,000 million marks at which the Reparations Commission originally established the German indebtedness. The French imperialists are of opinion that the Dawes Conference did nothing to invalidate this figure.

What result, then, have the French met with in their desires as to the composition of the Expert Committee? In two points the French claim appears to have been defeated. In the first place, the German experts are to be placed on the same juridical level as their colleagues from the other countries, and secondly the members of the committee have been appointed by the

respective Governments. This is formally undoubtedly the case. But in reality the German experts are faced by the compact Anglo-French bloc while the Entente Powers have reserved to themselves the right of arranging for a revival of the Reparations Commission.

By the intervention of the United States, however, the situation has been materially changed. The American imperialists are by no means satisfied at the common action of the French and British imperialists, all the less so seeing that their attitude is also directed against the United States. Therefore the American imperialists, who are the creditors of France and Great Britain, are intervening energetically in the matter of the Reparations settlement. They desire to show that the final decision in the matter lies with them.

The report of the Reparations agent Parker Gilbert has begun to point the entire question in another direction. In France, it is true, the capitalists of the Foundry Committee and their press lackeys tried to prove that Parker Gilbert's report seconded their own demands. Thus various newspapers representing the heavy industries, such as the "Avenir" and the "Echo de Paris" jubilantly pointed out that it was now obvious that Germany was in a position to pay 2500 millions of Reparations per annum. But this was a wrong interpretation of the Gilbert report, which, while affording an excellent pretext for increasing the offensive of German capital against the standard-of-living of the German workers, is internationally by no means directed towards supporting the Franco-British creditors. Indeed, it aims at opening their eyes to the fact that their hope of being able to replace the Dawes Plan by some other system of Reparations payments excluding the control of American imperialism, is altogether vain.

By the appearance on the scene of Morgan and his partner Lamont, the domination of the Expert Committee by Yankee imperialism has become patent. The house of Morgan, which placed the war-loans of the United States to the Entente Powers on the world market, is now about to dictate its wishes, which naturally coincide with its business interests, to all debtor nations.

The problem of Reparations and debts dominates all French politics at present and has been the subject of the latest Parliamentary debates. The French debt-arrangements (i. e. that between Cail্লাux and Churchill in settlement of the French indebtedness to Great Britain, and that between Béranger and Mellon in settlement of the French indebtedness to America) have not yet been ratified. But their ratification is only a question of weeks. As a matter of fact, some 10,000 million francs will already be due next spring. Therefore it is an absolute necessity for the bourgeois parties, including the Socialists, to come to some general debt-agreement providing for 62 yearly payments. In this connection, too, there is a difficulty. Poincaré continues to uphold the thesis of an intimate connection between the settlement of the debts and the solution of the Reparations question. Coolidge and Hoover have declared their absolute opposition to this standpoint. The discussion regarding this difficulty has not yet been concluded.

In view of these differences among the imperialists, the workers of France and Germany have only one interest, viz. that of forming a revolutionary front against financial capital and the heavy industries in both countries. For the enormous sums at stake will naturally be squeezed out of the working masses.

## POLITICS

### The Political Situation in Germany.

Fight over Taxes and Coalition Difficulties.

By Wilhelm Koenen (Berlin).

Dr. Hilferding, the Social Democratic Minister of Finance, has at length completed the new German budget. This first coalition budget of the German imperialists balances at roughly 10,000 million marks. This is a record figure. One of the reasons for the increase in expenditure by 650 millions over last year is the larger Reparations payments. The year 1929 is the first year of full Reparations payments. On the basis

of the Dawes Plan, the normal payment to be made for 1929 figures at 2500 millions, as against 1750 millions for 1928. Added to this, internal expenses of various kinds have also experienced an increase by roughly 100 millions.

It was all the more difficult for the Social Democratic Finance Minister to balance such a tremendous increase in expenditure, seeing that no firm coalition yet existed, so that the individual parties by no means felt bound to observe the Government measures. Herr Hilferding therefore obeyed in advance the rule of thrift issued by the big-capitalist parties to the coalition, by "saving" 130 millions merely for purpose of social policy on the budget of the Ministry of Labour. Similar tricks were played in connection with the other budgets. Besides this, Hilferding simply shortened the tax-allocations to the municipalities by 100 millions. The welfare and relief activity of the municipalities are to experience a further corresponding curtailment.

These anti-social, reactionary "savings" are in accordance with the commands of the Reparations agent Parker Gilbert, whose last Reparations report severely criticised the expenditure of the municipalities making regularly provocative remarks on the "improved standard of living of the German population".

What Mr. Parker Gilbert did not complain of, however, was the unduly costly apparatus of authority, the encumbrance of the police, and the expenditure for the army; consequently the Social Democratic Finance Minister submitted the old Reichswehr budget in a practically unchanged condition to the "bourgeois-bloc" Government. It savours of irony that he should have curtailed the Reichswehr budget by exactly one million. The military expenses for 1929 figure at 704 millions against 705 millions for the year 1928. For every Social Democratic worker, this curtailment was intended to figure as a truly model instance of the effective coalition policy of his party leaders. The leaders of the so called "Left" Social Democratic Party of Germany were, however, not to be ruffled by any such irony. Thus the Saxon Provincial Conference of the S. P. G. after listening to a report by the deputy Ströbel, resolved almost simultaneously with the publication of Hilferding's budget, that a reduction of expenditure should be effected in the first place by means of a retrenchment in military and naval expenditure. This Saxon resolution of the "Left" wing says verbatim:

"The second instalment for the armoured cruiser A must be refused by the Socialist fraction in Parliament and by the Social Democratic Ministers. In setting forth the national-defence budget it should be borne in mind that the limitation of this budget to a maximum of 500 million marks, as demanded by the Social Democratic Parliamentary fraction in the old Reichstag, still figures as the main object in view."

Thus the "Left" wing still attempts to uphold the electioneering humbug with which it allegedly fought against the bourgeois-bloc. As a matter of fact, the Ministers of the S. P. G. have already acted contrary to their former resolutions, thereby pointing the way to the entire S. P. G. in the sense of the coalition-policy of the party executive. This also applies to the deficit of 350 millions, which will still have to be covered by fresh taxes. Before the elections, the S. P. G. made the most violent agitation against the high price of beer, as established by the bourgeois bloc. Now Hilferding himself suggests an increase in the beer-tax by roughly 165 million marks, which sum is to be raised in full by an increase in the price of beer. Similarly the spirits monopoly is to bring in about 100 millions more by reason of higher prices.

Alongside of this shameless encumbrance of the masses, however, Hilferding is said also to be planning a fresh taxation of property though to so small an extent that even the Social Democratic press complains that only a slight increase of death duties is contemplated. At the same time, Hilferding proposes a regularly fraudulent manoeuvre. He intends to increase the rates of taxation for large fortunes, but only in the eventuality of urgent need. This manoeuvre has all the characteristics of the most awkward of political impostures. For it is obvious that as a trusty henchman of the big capitalists Hilferding will take good care not to discover any such urgent need in the course of the budgetary year 1929. And it is only for 1929 that this increase provision is to be made, a fact which shows quite plainly that the entire measure for an increase of property

taxation is merely intended to make the beer and spirits taxes more acceptable to the Social Democratic workers.

Despite all these services of love, the S. P. G. Coalition is in the most serious difficulties. For weeks and months there has been constant talk of the necessity of speedily forming a reliable coalition. Without a firm attachment of the parties to the Cabinet, no budget, it is said, can be set up, no Reparations negotiations conducted, no foreign policy pursued, and no authoritative power established for the purpose of overcoming labour difficulties. This is what we have read for months and months in all the papers of the Government parties and in all the declarations of Ministers and party leaders. Apart from the S. P. G., it is particularly the Centre which has for the last few weeks advocated a resolute and speedy coalition formation. At the moment the main resistance is offered by the **big industrial wire-pullers of the German People's Party**. The experience of the last few months has certainly taught these gentlemen that the S. P. G. leaders are absolutely tame once they are in the Government. They have agreed to the construction of the armoured cruiser contrary to their own originally vehement opposition. By a reduction of emergency relief and the refusal of a winter benefit, they have treated the unemployed worse than even the bourgeois bloc itself managed to do. They have enthusiastically championed a new German imperialism in regard to foreign affairs and national defence. They are now the active champions of a new tax raid on the working population. Where, then, is the necessity of any firmer alliance? The throttling of the Ruhr struggle has finally proved to the big industrialists beyond any doubt what despicable services Social Democratic Ministers are willing to perform, even without any alliance, for the purpose of suppressing struggling workers.

For what reason should Stresemann and his supporters require a firm coalition? The Government is working altogether according to their desires. Nay, it is just in this unbound condition that the means of coercion at the disposal of the big industrialists can be put most effectively into operation.

Now, immediately after the publication of Dr. Hilferding's budget, the newly increased pressure of the entire capitalist forces sets in against his budget and taxation policy. The big landowners appealed first to hindersburg and then to Chancellor Hermann Müller, by whom they were received in the presence of Stresemann and Curtius, the two People's Party Ministers, and of the Democratic Minister of Food. The German National leaders of the Reichslandbund naturally put forward financial demands for new benefits in favour of the landowners. On the very same day it was announced that the Bavarian People's Party had refused the increase of beer taxation and would energetically combat any curtailment of the tax allocations to the provinces and municipalities, which was tantamount to a threat of blowing up the coalition.

Yet more impressive, however, is the demonstration on the part of the so-called leading industrial federations. In an eloquent resolution on January 25th, the so-called leading industrial federations the National Federation of Industry, the Central Association of Bankers, the wholesale and retail trade federations and the artisans' organisations protested against Hilferding's budget policy, asserting that the extent and the frequency of the various taxes impaired the formation of capital which was so urgently requisite. The necessity of an extreme curtailment of expenses had not been sufficiently taken into consideration. Every fresh increase in taxation must lead to a further aggravation of the difficulties of competition on the world markets. The budget should therefore be balanced by further restrictions in expenditure without anything in the direction of increased taxation. — Thus the highly indignant resolution of the so-called leading federations of German economy.

It is obvious that a firmly established coalition, which would have been joined by the German People's Party, could never have brooked such open attacks. But the "unattached" Social Democratic Ministers make excellent scapegoats for the real masters of economy. Under the weight of such blows from without, Hilferding's entire edifice of figures must naturally totter. In the face of such manifestations, no one can say what form either the tax negotiations or the negotiations in regard to the coalition itself will assume in the near future.

Meantime the army of unemployed grows more and more immense. Demonstrations in the streets and before the city halls and great district and provincial conferences of unemployed committees are the order of the day. Short-time work in certain

industries is alarmingly on the increase, while in other instances there are strikes and lockouts. In close connection with the struggling and radicalised masses of workers, the C. P. G. wages its proletarian fight against Hilferding's policy of tax-spoilation. Besides the elimination of the tremendous encumbrance for the coercive apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the army, police, law, and church, the C. P. G. demands the removal of the taxes oppressing the masses, especially the taxes on traffic and consumption, thus including the beer-tax. It demands a real taxation of property and at the same time the greater allocation of such property tax proceeds to the municipalities entrusted with welfare and relief expenditure.

In connection with the Reparations negotiations, taxation struggles will for the next few months greatly occupy the attention of German politicians.

## The Bourgeois Bloc and the Social Democrats in Austria.

By Willi Schlam m (Vienna).

The Austrian Social Democrats are quite wild with delight. In the Austrian Parliament, dominated by Seipel and his bourgeois bloc they have succeeded in finding a majority for some of their motions. These "successes", however, afford an excellent insight into the nature of the Social Democratic "real policy".

Had the "victorious" motions of the Austrian Social Democrats anything to do with the economic needs of the working masses? Naturally not. They were "victories on the cultural front". One of the motions in question called upon the Government as soon as possible to adapt the marriage law to that prevailing in Germany. Another demanded the extension of the general educational law to the Burgenland, which has only belonged to Austria since 1920. Yet another motion opposed the foundation of a purely clerical university in the episcopal town of Salzburg. No very fundamental problems, in truth. But nevertheless this latest chapter of Austro-Marxist policy is worthy of closer scrutiny. It is just by its latest "victories" that the Austrian Social Democratic Party betrays its real level.

The Austrian marriage laws are — not relatively, but absolutely — the most shameful and reactionary in Europe. In this country Roman Catholic wedlock is indissoluble; he who has by juridical by-paths acquired a formal "dispensation" from the respective legal enactment and upon the strength thereof enters upon a second marriage ("dispensation-wedlock") must be prepared to be had up for bigamy at any moment. At the time of the revolution the Austrian Social Democrats got control of the legislative apparatus for a time and retained it till the close of 1920. But they did not think of reforming marriage law. And why not? Because they formed a coalition government with Seipel's clerical party and therefore avoided all differences with the church militant. Now, however, the problem of marriage reform is a good enough reason for the S. P. A. to initiate Parliamentary intrigues.

For that is the explanation of the case. The S. P. A. has pinned its cause to "cracks in the bourgeois bloc", which, under Seipel's lead, unites the Christian-Social Party with the Pan-Germans and the agrarian Landbund. Renner's and Bauer's main idea is that of breaking up the bourgeois bloc, so as to achieve another coalition government. The Pan-German Party, whose adherents are mainly recruited from among the civil servants, is firmly welded into Seipel's united front, but in cultural questions of the nature of marriage reform this miserable little petty-bourgeois party feels obliged every once and again to sound the trumpet of emancipation from the dictates of Rome. Such an occasion of cutting an advantageous figure in the eyes of the more "liberally-minded" of its petty-bourgeois retainers, was afforded this little party by the Social Democrats, who on their part are in need of apparent Parliamentary successes for the sake of pacifying the starving masses of workers.

Since the two parties together have a small majority in the National Assembly, this reciprocal deal was easy to "pull". Its practical effect is nil. Monsignore Seipel will naturally not care a hang about any voting, inside or outside Parliament,

he is for a **conscious policy of power**, rightly relying on the chief common interests of the bourgeoisie. Such economic interests the Pan-German Party will naturally help to defend on behalf of the bourgeois bloc, while the hopes of the S. P. A. of forming a government with the aid of this petty-bourgeois fraction can be frustrated at will by an interdict on the part of the industrialists' federation. The loudly-proclaimed "success" of the S. P. A. is nothing but a petty Parliamentary intrigue.

This is yet more apparent in connection with the other two Social Democratic motions. In the **Burgenland**, which formerly belonged to Hungary, the Hungarian school regulations still prevail, a circumstance which is characteristic of this Austrian province, which supplied the jurymen responsible for the historic acquittal of the **Schattendorf** murderers on July 14th, 1927, and recently again for the acquittal of Fascist journalist **Oskar Pöfl**. For the last eight years the Government has refused to "disturb" the reactionary paradise of the Burgenland by the introduction of slightly more up-to-date educational legislation. And the Social Democrats, who united 43 per cent. of all votes in their own lists, have now for the third time in the course of the last few years resolved, together with the Pan-German Government fraction to "call upon the Government etc." For a **third time** the Government will probably show the Social Democrats how much Parliamentary resolutions are valued in a Parliamentary Democracy when they are not backed up with the necessary force.

The same fate will be accorded the last of the three motions. The erection of a **clerical university at Salzburg** will continue to be advocated in full publicity by Monsignore Seipel. Behind the scenes the industrialists' federation will laughingly reprimand the Pan-German fraction for its infidelity, which it will condone in the sense of a pardonable inclination for independent action, and all will remain unchanged.

But the **Social Democrat leaders** will be sure to enumerate their "successes" to the workers. This stupid policy of "making an impression", moreover, is the last thing the Social Democrats should have recourse to at the present moment. Fascism is getting more and more impudent in Austria, unemployment is on the increase, tenants' protection is being repealed, the need of the broad masses is being aggravated by a criminal customs policy and by capitalist rationalisation. In regard to these important points, the Social Democrats cannot claim to have gained any successes; every day, indeed, brings fresh defeats of the proletarian cause. That is why the leaders have recourse to "eye-wash" as just described. Such incidents are merely additional proof of the fraudulent policy of the Social Democratic Party of Austria.

## Crisis within Irish Labour.

By Jack Carney.

Since the rout of the Irish Labour Party at the last general election, the party has gone from bad to worse. Within the inner councils there were hot discussions. The division within came out in the open at the recent election of officers for the Irish Senate. The Labour Party put forward a candidate for vice-chairmanship, an office carrying with it a salary of £ 1000 per year. Senators **Foran** and **Duffy**, both members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, voted openly against the nominee of the Party. **Johnson**, on his election as a senator had announced his resignation as secretary; following the vote of Senators Foran and Duffy, **R. J. P. Mortished**, considered the "intellectual" head of the Party, tendered his resignation.

Previous to this there had been on foot in Dublin an alleged "Unity" movement, which claimed to bring about the unification of the workers of Ireland into one organisation. Unions that were Irish and were the result of opposition to British unions joined with the latter in this alleged unity move. The new council in Dublin met, and at the second meeting the **Irish Transport & General Workers Union** withdrew, leaving the situation as it was before the move was made for unity. The new council sits but carries no weight with the workers. On important issues it remains silent and at times

brings itself before the public by a deputation to poor law authorities appealing for a few more shillings extra relief, while other unions are battling for the development of employment schemes to absorb the growing army of unemployed.

The fight in Ireland, along trade union lines, is one for the organisation of Irish workers into Irish unions. Recently **Ernest Bevin** visited Dublin. He received such a hostile reception that he retired before the running fire of Irish trade unionists. In Belfast there were more speakers on the platform than there were workers in the audience. The reason for this is not far to seek. The wages of transport workers in England are from £ 1 to 28/- less than what they are in Ireland. If the Irish transport workers were organised into the British union, a national agreement would find wages reduced from 13 to 9 shillings per day. Where **Bevin's** union has gained a foothold, as for instance, in the Dublin tramways, the workers have had to submit to a reduction of five shillings per week. Every worker on the tramways is compelled by his employer to belong to **Bevin's** union.

The strongest British union in Ireland is the **National Union of Railwaymen**. It finds itself faced with the growing strength of the **Workers Union of Ireland**. Rationalisation has reflected itself to a large extent in the railway construction shops of England. Here the railway workers work for 20 to 25 shillings per week less than the Irish workers similarly employed. The result being that members of British unions in Ireland are being dismissed because members of the same union in England are doing the same worker cheaper. The result that follows is the dismissal of Irish workers from the railways of Ireland. The **Workers' Union of Ireland** has had to bear the brunt of the battle because the dismissals were directed at the beginning against the semi-skilled and unskilled, the majority of whom are organised in the **Workers Union of Ireland**. Now come the railway directors and dismiss the running staff and also demand reduced wages. The **National Union of Railwaymen**, due to the policies of the leaders, **Thomas, Cramp & Co.**, stand helpless before the attacks of the railway companies. The men grow restive and so the mass meetings of the **Workers Union of Ireland** are the largest in the country and its membership increases daily. There have been up to date over 2500 Irish railway workers dismissed. The **Workers Union of Ireland** has brought the fight from the industrial field and now demands that the railways of the country be taken over and controlled by a national council composed of representatives of the workers. This move has been enthusiastically received by the railway workers. The officials of the British unions are afraid to face this issue before their own membership, and so out of these day to day struggles the demand for Irish workers in Irish unions grows.

The demand of the Opposition in the Free State parliament for lower taxation, occasioned by the serious depression of Irish agriculture and the competition of British trusts, finds the employers demanding from the Government either reduced taxation or reduced wages. In this struggle the Government tries to retrieve its position by making itself the leader in the fight for lower wages. The rank and file of the trade unions demand action. The class collaboration policies of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress are opposed to any strikes. The representatives of trade unions against whom the fight is directed find themselves differing with leaders of the party, who turn more to middle class support for a coalition to form a government. As the fight grows more intense the demands upon the trade union leaders grow more insistent. Hence this split within Irish Labour Party.

The "industrial" leaders of the Labour Party cannot regain the confidence of the rank and file. The condoning of executions, the open incitement to direct war upon the rebel forces and the pacts between them and the employers, have made it forever impossible for them to regain their control over the working class. Small unions under the domination of former large unions like the **Irish Transport and General Workers Union** now fight to throw off this control. Each day finds them involved in a struggle and each day finds them turning to the **Workers Union of Ireland** which has the largest number of unskilled workers organised in Ireland. During the "stable" years, when the country was torn in twain with an armed struggle, the price paid for the treacherous neutrality of the **Right Wing** was a class collaboration agreement. To-

day the employers feel comparatively secure. Rank and file workers throughout Ireland are now awakening. The crisis within the Irish Labour Party is proof positive. The Irish Labour Party can never return to anything like its former position. It lies discredited and broken, a warning to all those who believe that they can fool all the workers all the time.

## Resolution of the Irish Worker League on the Afghanistan Situation.

The abdication of King Amanullah, head of Afghanistan, serves to emphasise that the age long enemy of the Irish nation is again using its old weapon of divide and conquer. Through the agency of its spy, Colonel Lawrence, a revolt was staged in Afghanistan against King Amanullah. The charge is made that the revolt arose out of the reforms instituted by Amanullah; that the people resented the quick change from their old customs. When did the British Empire ever become interested in subject peoples that it would interfere within the country to help them? King Amanullah visited Moscow and felt that the independence of his country might be made more secure by a friendly understanding with the Soviet Government of Russia. Afghanistan stands between India and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It can be utilised as a basis of attack upon Soviet Russia. It can also serve as a link between the peoples of India and the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. For this reason and no other, the British imperialists engineer a revolt in Afghanistan. An attack on Soviet Russia can only be carried out through Afghanistan. Afghanistan must bend to the will of the British Empire or the British Empire will step in and by force, soldiers, guns, airplanes, etc. ravage the country and compel submission.

The Irish Worker League warns the workers and peasants of Ireland not to be misled by the lying stories of the capitalist press. A common hatred of British imperialism should breed a common understanding and solidarity of all races fighting against the tyranny and oppression of the British Empire. Unity of all subject races against the Empire; the unity of all workers of the world against all forms of imperialism will bring freedom to all peoples suffering from the oppression of the imperialists. King Amanullah is no revolutionist. He does believe in the independence of his country. The Irish Worker League is for the independence of all countries and for the control of all countries by the workers and peasants of these countries.

**Down with British Imperialism!**

**Hands off Independent Afghanistan!**

**Long live the solidarity of the oppressed peoples of the world!**

**Long live international solidarity!**

**Long live the Communist International!**

January 23rd, 1929.

The Irish Worker League  
Jack Carney,  
Executive Secretary.

## CHINA

### The Execution of Yang Yü Ting at Moukden and its Significance.

By Tang Shin She.

Quite recently, at Moukden, the son of Chang Tso Lin ordered the execution of Yang Yü Ting, who for many years had been an influential chief-of-the-general-staff to Chang Tso Lin, together with that of some of his adherents, prominent financiers and generals. According to telegraphic reports from Manchuria, Yang Yü Ting is said to have organised a conspiracy for the purpose of attaining the independence of Northern Manchuria. In a circular telegram signed by various Mukden generals, such as Chang Tso Chang, governor of Kirin, and Tang Yü Lin, governor of Jehol, in connection with the execution of Yang Yü

Ting, it is stated that all the recent disturbances in Manchuria and also the desertion of Kuo Sung Lin may be attributed to the instigation of Yang Yü Ting. On the other hand, reports from Tokio state that since the execution of Yang Yü Ting the Tanaka Government has instructed its consul general at Moukden to inquire of Chang Hsü Liang, the son of Chang Tso Lin, whether he desires to use the medium of the Manchurian Government or that of the Nanking Government for the negotiations regarding the Japanese railway construction in Manchuria. In the latter eventuality Japan contemplates adopting an energetic attitude. Furthermore, it is reported that the Japanese Government intends to send troops into the Yangtse area. The execution of Yang Yü Ting is thus of great significance to both the Japanese and the Nanking Government, whether it works to their benefit or not.

The executed general, Yang Yü Ting, was a prominent leader of the "Young Party" within the Moukden clique. After he had become governor general of Nanking a rivalry ensued between him and his partisan Chang Hsü Liang, which assumed such proportions after the death of Chang Tso Lin that the question arose as to which of them would become the ruler of Manchuria. After the execution of Kuo Sung Lin, Chang Hsü Liang's authority rested solely on that of his father. Though dissatisfied with his conduct as leader of the "Young Party", the brothers of Chang Tso Lin had a certain respect for him and managed gradually to draw him over to their side. Thus the enmity between Yang Yü Ting and Chang Hsü Liang developed into a fight, not within the "Young Party" but between the "Young" and the "Old" parties.

Yang Yü Ting, it is true, had formerly been a good friend of the Japanese, but since he desired to introduce Kuo Min Tang methods into Manchuria, the Japanese declared in 1928, when Chang Tso Lin was still commander-in-chief at Peking, that they were highly dissatisfied with him. After the attempt on the life of Chang Tso Lin at the instigation of the Japanese last year, Yang Yü Ting refrained from using any train in Manchuria, preferring to travel exclusively in his private car. Yang Yü Ting introduced a strong anti-Japanese movement into Manchuria. For months past numerous meetings of protest and demonstrations have been held throughout Manchuria, and in particular in Kirin, Changhai, and Harbin, which have been directed against the construction of railways by Japanese contractors. The population demands the elaboration of the harbour of Chinwangtao in Southern Manchuria with a view to boycotting the Japanese province of Dairen.

Yang Yü Ting, moreover, advocated the establishment of Kuo Min Tang offices in Manchuria. Such "Bolshevik" measures (in reality naturally only a nationalist movement on the part of the Manchurian bourgeoisie) represented not merely a danger to Japanese authority but also a menace to the "Old Party" of the Moukden clique. In the interest of "peace" it was necessary that Yang Yü Ting should be removed.

Yang Yü Ting had been a comrade of Chiang Kai Shek's at the Japanese military academy. When the national-revolutionary troops had advanced from Canton up to Yangtseliang, good relations were easily established on the basis of this comradeship between Yang Yü Ting and Chiang Kai Shek, and these relations subsequently developed into an alliance against Feng Yü Hsiang. At the time of the negotiations in regard to the adherence of Manchuria to the Nanking Government, Yang Yü Ting was one of the main wire-pullers. In general, Yang Yü Ting may thus be said to have advocated a uniform bourgeois Chinese State. This policy was more in keeping with that of the United States and was directly opposed to that of Japan, which was working for the dismemberment and annexation of China. The Yang Yü Ting danger was therefore no longer localised in Manchuria, but affected the whole of China, thus becoming an immediate factor in the imperialist struggle.

The annihilation of Yang Yü Ting was of interest not only to the "Old Party" of Mukden and to the Tanaka Government, but also to the Kwangsi group, the opponents of Chiang Kai Shek and Feng Yu Hsiang. In proof of the participation of the latter group it may be remarked that in the region occupied by them an adherent of Yang Yü Ting was arrested in the person of the manager of the Tientsin-Mukden railway. It has long been known that Peh Tsung Chi, one of the leaders of the Kwangsi group, is in alliance with Chang Hsü Liang against the Yang Yü Ting — Chang Kai Shek constellation.

After the execution of Yang Yü Ting, Japanese agencies spread the report that Mukden was co-operating with Hankow.



This naturally does not mean that the enemies of Japan at Moukden and Hankow have been co-operating against Japan since the execution of Yang Yü Ting; nor yet does it mean that the English influence has been transferred to Moukden by the Kwangsi group; it simply means that on the one hand the Kwangsi group has entered openly into a united front with Moukden against Chiang Kai Shek and Feng Yu Hsiang and on the other hand that the Anglo-Japanese alliance has come into operation.

The front directed against Chiang Kai Shek and Feng Yu Hsiang does not only comprise the Kwangsi and Moukden groups, but also all the old generals such as Woo Pei Foo, Tuan She Sui, and others. In December last a representative of Woo Pei Foo conferred in Dairen with Sun Chuan Fang and other generals. At the same time, Woo Sin Tien, an adherent of Woo Pei Foo's had been ousted by Feng Yu Hsiang. Arrived at Hankow, this general was again equipped with arms and ammunition. In Szechuan a war broke out in December between Woo Pei Foo and the Kuo Min Tang generals. Under such circumstances, the execution of Yang Yü Ting, the confederate of Chiang Kai Shek and Feng Yu Hsiang, is nothing but the systematic preparation for another great civil war.

Thanks to the imperialist endeavours civil war has once more broken out in China. A further extension thereof is hardly to be avoided in view of the execution of Yang Yü Ting. "Transformation of the Civil War into a War against Reaction and Imperialism" is the only salvation for the working masses of China.

## THE BALKANS

### The Situation in Roumania.

By W. Sch. (Vienna).

The Maniu Government has lost the virgin shame of the first weeks of its rule and is no longer at all shy of openly continuing the tradition of the "Liberals".

In the sphere of foreign politics the Maniu Government is a government of armaments. Its manoeuvres on the occasion of the recent peace offensive of Litvinov are generally known, as are also its secret negotiations with the bellicose imperialists of France and England. Those groups of French financiers who are conducting negotiations in Paris with Maniu's Finance Minister Popovitchi on the granting of a loan to Roumania have laid down as one of the chief conditions the transference of the control of the Roumanian railways. As a matter of fact this condition has already been fulfilled. The representative of the French imperialists, M. Lefevre, has drawn up in Bucharest a detailed plan for the reorganisation, of the Roumanian railways. This plan has not yet been made public in all its details, but in its main features it obviously conforms to the aggressive intentions against the Soviet Union. The greatest importance is attached to the construction of military strategic lines, as for example to the Kishinev-Sakaida, Jewa Mika-Dornowatra, Babadak-Tultcha lines. The most urgent task is considered to be the alteration of the railways from a single to a double track, which is of particular importance for rapid military transports. For this purpose a considerable portion of the first 60 million dollar instalment of the Roumanian loan is to be employed under the condition that the railway negotiations are to be concluded according to the desires of those who are financing the scheme.

But Maniu is not only bellicose towards the Soviet Union; he is also adopting a high tone towards other neighbouring States. When the Hungarian Prime Minister Bethlen declared not long ago in one of his irrendist speeches "that the Hungarian question still remains unsolved and cannot be buried", Maniu caused the press, which supports him, to raise an outcry. Thus "Universal" wrote that Hungary is striving for a revision of the peace treaties, but that is only possible by means of a war and the "Little Entente" is strong enough in order to compel Hungary to respect the peace treaties. One sees therefore that the "pacifist" National Zaranists in the government have very quickly learned the jargon of the war mongers.

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But the process of unmasking is not confined to the National Zaranists; the Roumanian social democracy who in ex-

change for a few seats in Parliament have allied themselves unconditionally with Maniu, are just as little able to escape this fate. When the Liberals and the followers of Averescu in the Chamber of Deputies reproached the social democrats on account of their "unpatriotic behaviour and destructive activity" the Minister of the Interior Vajda rose and declared: "the Social Democracy is an element which is patriotic and loyal to the State, which stands on a national basis. It is for this reason that the government concluded an election pact with it".

But the social democracy was not satisfied with this ministerial praise. The social democratic deputy, Jon Fleuras stood up and made some really sensational revelations. Fleuras asseverated that his Party is "more faithful to the dynastic form of State than the Party of Averescu". And thereupon Fleuras immediately furnished striking proof. He stated that in the Spring of 1919 several social democratic leaders (including Fleuras himself) held a secret conference in a Bucharest restaurant with several bourgeois politicians, (among them being General Averescu, the former Liberal Minister for Agriculture Argetoianu and Take Jonescu). Averescu and Argetoianu at that time energetically urged that the dynasty should be overthrown and driven out. Apart from Take Jonescu only Fleuras emphasised in the name of his Party that Roumania is not yet ripe for a Republican form of State and proposed that the dynasty be retained. In view of the revolutionary ferment at that time therefore it was only the social democratic resistance which prevented the followers of Averescu from carrying out their plan.

The truth of these sensational revelations cannot be doubted. The cynical openness with which they were made by a leader of the Roumanian social democracy will not fail to have its effect. The working masses of Roumania have been made aware by the social democracy itself that this party is the most reliable bulwark of the dynastic Siguranza system.

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In spite of all the former promises of Maniu the Siguranza terror still continues to rage. Even bourgeois papers such as "Adversul" are obliged to admit that in the provinces the illegal mass arrests are continuing. The above named paper published the concrete case in which the agricultural worker Michael Kosa is being dragged from one prison to another by the Siguranza, solely because he made election propaganda for the candidates of the workers' and peasants' bloc. "Adversul" demands a strict investigation of this case.

But such cases are quite the usual occurrence. In a meeting of the Committee, the well-known publicist Costa-Foru announced, that the number of political prisoners in Roumania amounts at present to 30,000. The treatment which is accorded to the prisoners is the worst that can be imagined. Particular cruelty was exercised towards the labour leader Bujor, whose death, according to all appearances, the authorities wish to bring about. The fate of Bujor aroused great indignation not only in Roumania but also abroad. For example Maniu has received a telegram from prominent intellectuals in Vienna signed, among others, by the world-famous Professor Freud, calling for the immediate release of Bujor and other political prisoners. In Roumania itself the amnesty movement is continually growing.

This is connected with the growth of the activity of the proletariat. In the mining areas big wages movements, the first for a long time, have taken place. These movements were of course not only opposed by the government apparatus but also by the whole social democratic bureaucracy. Nevertheless the workers are maintaining their fighting spirit. Thus in the Schi'tal mining area negotiations were broken off as a result of the pressure of the workers, because the employers rejected the demands of the workers for a modest improvement of the collective agreement. The social democracy is feverishly endeavouring to bring about arbitration proceeding in place of a fight. In fact, an arbitration court has been set up consisting of two representatives of the employers and two of the trade union and a representative of the Ministry for Labour. It is intended by means of this arbitration court to break the growing resistance of the workers.

Thus the political development shows to the Roumanian workers and poor peasants that they are confronted by a firm bloc of the bourgeoisie and the social democracy and that they must unite together in the workers' and peasants' bloc for the fight against Maniu and his confederates.

## IN THE COLONIES

### The Conference of the Workers and Peasants Party of India.

By M. N. Roy.

The revolutionary elements in the Indian Nationalist movement are organising themselves. They have not yet found a unified leadership. But consciously or unconsciously, they all look for it in the right direction — to the Proletariat. The speeches made and resolutions adopted at a number of subsidiary conferences, that took place simultaneously with the annual meeting of the National Congress, show to what an extent the conditions are ripe for the proletariat to exercise hegemony in the struggle for national freedom.

Only a few years ago Socialism was practically unknown in India. Indeed, the attitude even of the radical petty bourgeoisie towards Socialism was one of suspicion and hostility. The nationalist petty bourgeoisie were decidedly reactionary in social outlook. Rude realities of the present, and hope for a brighter future are liberating the petty bourgeoisie from the illusions about the dead past. Breaking away from feudal traditions, they find little solace in capitalism, which under the conditions of colonial exploitation does not offer their class any prospect of substantial economic betterment. They must gather courage to look further into the future. And there the beacon of Socialism attracts their vision showing them the only way out of political suppression, economic ruin and cultural stagnation. As a result of this, the most characteristic feature of the political situation in India today is the rapidly growing popularity of Socialism. All the petty bourgeois subsidiary organisations of the National Congress profess Socialism.

It is significant that the profession of Socialism by the petty bourgeois radicals coincides with their revolt against the policy of compromise with imperialism. This shows once again the inability of the petty bourgeoisie to play an independent political role. As soon as they attempt to break away from the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, they, in spite of themselves, tend to come under the influence of the proletariat. They do so in spite of themselves, for the petty bourgeoisie by themselves are not a socialist class. And, as they do so in spite of themselves, they are not likely to advance in the revolutionary direction unless the proletariat meet them half way and make a fighting alliance with them for the realisation of the programme of national revolution, for betraying which they are revolting against the leadership of the big bourgeoisie. Their profession of Socialism should be taken as indication of the opportunity to bring them under the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. In the revolutionary struggle for national democratic freedom under the hegemony of the proletariat, some of them are likely to be entirely de-classed and become consciously Socialist. On the other hand, there is the danger of their relapsing under the control of the big bourgeoisie or developing into a Social Democratic party, if their objective (unconscious) advance towards the proletariat is not met promptly and tactfully.

The other danger of petty bourgeois radicalism crystallising into a reformist Social Democratic party, has been revealed by the views expressed by some leaders of the movement on such vital question as the function of the state, means of capturing political power, relation of classes, confiscation of land etc.

A picture of the situation gives a very clear perspective of future development, and shows our tasks. It is a tug-of-war for the leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle. Which way should it develop — towards constitutional agitation under the bourgeois leadership, or revolutionary fight under the hegemony of the proletariat? The petty bourgeoisie, which constitute the great bulk of the conscious and active nationalist ranks, stand in the middle, willing to move towards revolution, but lacking a determined, clear-sighted, unified leadership. And as this can alone come from the proletariat, the task before us is clearly defined.

During the meeting of the National Congress the following subsidiary bodies held their separate conferences: 1. All-India Youths League; 2. Swadhin Bharat Sangha (organisation of those who suffered persecution for revolutionary activity); 3. Socialist Youth League; and 4. All-India Volunteers Corps. The members of these bodies represent the most active element and majority of the Congress rank and file. Socially, they are all petty bourgeois intellectuals who are, as a rule, in very precarious economic condition. The Independence League, recently formed by the left wing leaders of the Congress, is at present the political leader of this revolutionary nationalist mass. The League also held its meetings during the sessions of the Congress. But being an integral part of the Congress, it did not assert separate existence. Consequently, radical and revolutionary forces, that constituted the majority in all the Congresses and Conferences (except the All-parties' Convention) were without a unified political leadership. The Congress, and incidentally its clearly revolutionary subsidiary organisations, were dominated by the bourgeoisie standing outside it. The following quotations from the speeches made and resolutions passed in the subsidiary conferences show that the outcome of the Congress does not represent the realities of the situation, which is decidedly revolutionary.

In a statement made in the All-parties Convention in opposition to the Dominion Constitution the spokesman of the Swadhin Bharat Sangha said:

"Dominion status means that the entire politics of India will in the last resort be controlled by Britain in the interest of British imperialism.... We are also of the opinion that the salvation of India and her masses lies in the establishment of Socialist regime. We are afraid that the constitution sketched in the Nehru Report is based on capitalist construction of society. We are not prepared to accept this constitution."

In contrast to the compromise in the National Congress on the controversy over Independence versus Dominion Status, the Youths' Conference resolved that

"Complete independence and not dominion status should be the immediate objective of India."

The Conference called upon the youths to attain this goal by "all possible means". This is an improvement upon the Independence resolution passed by the Congress in 1927, in which such restrictions were placed upon the means for the attainment of independence as reduced the whole resolution to empty verbage.

By the second resolution the Conference enjoined the youths to "combat capitalism by all available means". Capitalism was condemned as "detrimental to the best interest of the nation".

A third resolution indicated revolt against the cult of reactionist Pacifism. This meant repudiation of Gandhi — the idol of petty bourgeois nationalism. This resolution calls upon "Young India to take up the new challenge of imperialism and to create in the country an atmosphere in which responsive violence should not be deprecated".

This resolution has a direct bearing on the situation. A few days before the meeting of the National Congress a British police officer was killed at Lahore. The assassination was generally interpreted as an act of the nationalists avenging the death of Lajpat Rai of injuries inflicted by the police during a demonstration. All the nationalist leaders, including those of the Congress, rushed to denounce vehemently the perpetrators of the deed, as they had done on previous occasions. This treacherous and cowardly behaviour of the bourgeois leaders was always resented by the rank and file. Now it is openly condemned. The nationalist rank and file declare their determination to answer imperialist violence by revolutionary violence.

The Socialist Youths' Conference met with the slogan "We want Revolution, and not Reformation". We find the following statements in the speech opening the Conference:

"Nationalism is the slogan of the middle class, while Socialism is the cry of the toiling masses. The present social evils can be cured not by reform, but by revolution.

Dominion status was the cry of vested interest, and it remains to be seen how far the extremist section of the capitalist class will become revolutionary in politics."

Thousands of young men went about in military uniform as nationalist volunteers, signifying what such demonstration can only signify, that is, an enthusiastic will on their part for a real fight for freedom. When this is compared with the

previous uniform of loin-cloth and Gandhi-cap of homespun stuff, the implication of the development of the movement becomes evident.

The climax of the situation was a huge mass demonstration in which over twenty-thousand workers participated. Previously, thousands of workers, particularly peasants, used to be herded into the meetings of the Congress to be lectured by the bourgeois leaders. They had nothing to say or do; but only to provide an imposing back-ground for the reformist policy of bourgeois nationalism. They are no longer satisfied with the passive role. This year the demonstration was a part of the general revolt against bourgeois leadership, and it was the most important — the dominating factor in the revolt. The demonstration indicates the readiness of the proletariat to appear on the political scene as an independent force, which is the essential condition for its ability to be the new leader in the new stage of the revolution.

Meeting in this atmosphere of revolutionary development from all sides, the **Workers' and Peasants' Party**, whose driving force are the **Communists**, was objectively the most important event of the moment. The **Workers' and Peasants' Party** is not the **Communist Party**, although the **Communists** play in it the leading and dominating role. Several years ago it appeared on the scene as the first sign of radicalisation of the nationalist masses. As such the **Communists** supported it, and aided its growth. Practically all the great strikes of the last two years were led under the banner of the **Workers' and Peasants' Party**. The object of the **Communists** was to make this new party the rallying ground for all the nationalist revolutionary elements, to develop it into a revolutionary nationalist mass party which is a crying need of the moment.

The quickening of the process of radicalisation inside the nationalist rank during the last year placed the **Workers' and Peasants' Party** in a very favourable position. Until now the party functioned in loose, decentralised manner, as practically independent **provincial organisations**. It was decided to reorganise the party on a **national scale** in a conference which should meet simultaneously with the **National Congress** at the same place.

The conference of the **Workers' and Peasants' Party** was very well attended. It magnificently reflected the revolutionary atmosphere prevailing in the country. But in doing so, it forgot, or rather neglected, its objective task — to mobilise all the forces of national revolution under its banner. Instead of coming out as the leader of the entire revolt, it placed itself in the position of one factor, — indeed, the most advanced and most courageous factor — of the revolt.

In the main **political resolution** of the Conference not only the **Nehru Report** is rightly condemned as "a bourgeois democratic scheme of a not very advanced type", but an attitude of hostile criticism is also taken towards the **Independence League** representing the opposition to the bourgeois right wing of the Congress. Indeed, no distinction is made between the two factions inside the Congress. When the petty bourgeois left radicals are trying to oust the bourgeois leaders from the leadership of the nationalist movement, they are not supported; on the contrary, they also were condemned as the enemies of the workers and peasants, in the same breath with the representatives of big capital and landlordism. The criticism levelled against the programme of the **Independence League** was essentially correct; but the well-merited criticism should have been accompanied by a positive attitude — an offer of united front on the common platform of anti-imperialist struggle. The relation with the rest of the nationalist movement is defined as follows:

"While the **Workers' and Peasants' Party** remains relatively weak and unorganised in the country, it will be necessary to follow the traditional policy of forming fractions within Congress organisations for the purpose of agitation, of exposing the reactionary leadership and of drawing revolutionary sections towards the **W. and P. P.** This policy, however, is only temporary. The **W. and P. P.** can have no intention of dominating or capturing the Congress. The function of its members within the Congress is purely critical. Our party members, therefore, cannot be allowed to take office in the Congress organisations."

A motion that the members of the party should join the **Independence League** with the purpose of capturing it was also rejected.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Protest Movement against the Brutal Treatment of Comrade Rakosi.

Berlin, 25th January, 1929.

The lives of Rakosi and his fellow-prisoners are still in danger. In violation of the promise of the Hungarian Ministry of Justice that if Rakosi and his comrades would break off their hunger-strike then the heavy disciplinary punishments which had been imposed upon them would be withdrawn, Rakosi and his comrades are still being held in dark and ice-cold punishment cells. The prison authorities still refuse to give them warm underwear. All the comrades who took part in the hunger-strike are completely exhausted. Rakosi himself lost several pounds in weight and is very run down. Rakosi and his comrades can only be saved by a powerful and well-organised protest movement on an international scale conducted by the masses of the workers and by all honest intellectuals. Only such a campaign will be able to force the Hungarian authorities to afford more humane treatment to Rakosi and his comrades.

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Moscow, 21st January, 1929.

The news of the inhuman treatment of Comrade Rakosi and his Comrades by the prison authorities has called forth the indignation of the whole of the proletariat of the Soviet Union.

The first to raise their voice in protest were the workers and employees of the **People's Commissariat for Ways and Communication**, the railway workers, the vehicle workers and telegraphists of the Soviet Union, who on the 21st of January, at a great meeting, stigmatised the abominable actions of the fascist hangmen and decided to send the following message by wireless:

"This meeting greets most warmly Comrade Rakosi and his fighting comrades; it expresses its most emphatic protest to Prime Minister and Provisional Minister of Justice Bethlen against the barbaric repressions which are employed against Hungarian revolutionaries. The meeting addresses itself to the **Amsterdam Transport workers' International** and personally to E. Fimmen with the request, in the name of proletarian solidarity to defend the champions of the workers' cause.

"The vehicle workers of the Soviet Union are attentively following the fate of the Hungarian revolutionaries and call upon the Soviet Russian and the international proletariat not to tolerate the slow and secret murder of the heroic proletarian fighters Rakosi and his Comrades."

Sidorov, Narkovitch  
Chairmen of the meeting.

\* \* \*

Berlin, 26th January, 1929.

The news that in spite of the promises of the Hungarian authorities the increased punishment against Comrade Rakosi, by which his life is endangered, had not been withdrawn and that the lives of Rakosi and his comrades are still in danger, has given a fresh impetus to the international protest action. The example of the Moscow railway workers, telegraph workers, who at a meeting, attended by thousands of workers, stigmatised the hangmen's work of Rakosi's jailers and sent a sharp protest by wireless telegram, has been followed by the staffs of numerous other factories. The "**Pravda**" publishes an appeal by Bokany, a veteran of the Hungarian labour movement, to the international proletariat which describes the fate of Rakosi and calls for an international proletarian action.

In Germany, among many other organisations, the dock-workers of Hamburg, at an imposing mass meeting, and also the workers' Sport and Cultural League of Great Berlin, in the name of 30,000 working class sportsmen, the workers'



Athletic League of the No. 4 district of the Province of Brandenburg, in the name of 2000 members, have sent protest telegrams to Count Bethlen, demanding not only the withdrawal of the increased punishment but the immediate release of Comrade Rakosi.

The Hungarian Ambassador in Berlin has given strict instructions that no delegations are to be admitted. Thus a delegation consisting of representatives of the district committee of the German Red Aid as well as of the staff of the "Reichspost" Berlin SW, "Cosmos Publishing House", "Welt am Abend" and "Friedrichstadt Printing Works" were refused to be seen, and the Embassy authorities also refused to receive a resolution brought by the delegation. In spite of this, a member of the delegation succeeded in speaking with a high official of the Embassy and expressing to him the protest of the working masses of Germany against the cruel treatment of the political prisoners.

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Berlin, 26th January, 1929.

The Hungarian Communists living in emigration have published in Hamburg "Volkszeitung" an appeal which calls for the international solidarity of the proletariat. The appeal declares:

"Rakosi is to be done to death. Done to death in a dark cell because the bourgeoisie can never forget that he summoned the workers of Hungary to fight against it. The Hungarian Communists, living in emigration, raise the sharpest protest against this inhumanity. As they will not and cannot reckon upon the "tenderheartedness" of the Horthy government they address to you, class comrades, the appeal: Help to rescue Rakosi! Help to rescue the Hungarian revolutionaries! Help to save the Hungarian proletariat! Mobilise the masses, regardless of what organisation to which they may belong! Resort to every measure against the Horthy government in order that our brothers shall be free! . . .

Long live proletarian solidarity!

Down with the murderous Hungarian bourgeoisie!

Long live the fight for the release of the imprisoned revolutionaries in all countries!"

The campaign to rescue Rakosi is developing also in France, in Switzerland, in England and other countries, into a powerful mass protest. That, which has been done at the present, must only be but a beginning. The international proletariat and all those who have any feeling of solidarity with the victims of the Horthy regime, must continue and increase the action for the release of Rakosi and his fellow prisoners until it is crowned with success.

## **Declaration of the C. E. C. of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America on the Murder of Julio Antonio Mella.**

**Down With the Yankee Imperialist Murderers!**

Our valiant comrade and revolutionary fighter, Julio Mella, has just been murdered by agents of United States Imperialism in Mexico City. Mella was assassinated by hired gunmen of the Cuban Machado government, which is only a puppet of Wall Street.

Mella, one of the best known Communists of Latin America, was formerly secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba. He was a sworn enemy of Yankee imperialism and its tools and agents in Latin America. Because of his anti-imperialist activities against Wall Street's domination in Cuba, the Machado government of Cuba sentenced him to prison and death. Upon his escape to Mexico, he became a member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party and Secretary of the League for the Protection of Persecuted Workers.

The blood of our brave comrade is on the heads of the imperialist Coolidge-Hoover government. This is the fruit of the Hoover good-will tour. Yankee imperialist "good will" means super profits for the American millionaires and degradation, poverty, tyranny, oppression and death for the toiling masses in the countries of Latin America and everywhere else. Let the death of Mella be a warning to the workers of the United States and Latin America. The death of our comrade rips off the mask from the fake Pan-American peace conferences and Washington arbitration schemes. All these devices are only deadly poison-weapons in the hands of the oppressors and exploiters of the Latin American and United States working masses.

The Murder of Mella follows close upon the cold-blooded assassination of numerous striking workers in Colombia by uniformed mercenaries of the United Fruit Company in the armed forces of the servile Colombian government. This foul attack on one of the most courageous fighters in our ranks symbolises the brutal, the aggressive drive launched by the Yankee imperialists to subjugate completely the Latin-American masses, to drive beneath the yoke of Wall Street the toiling masses of Central and South America.

The assassination of Mella is only part of the United States imperialist drive to crush the growing forces of resistance to its aggression. But the working masses of Latin America and the United States will not be over-awed by this campaign of terror organised by the United States imperialist plunder gang. The murdering of Mella will only forewarn and fore-arm us, will only inspire and steel us to a determined, united struggle of the working masses of both continents against our common enemies, the United States imperialists and their bloody puppet governments and their tools in Latin America, their labour lieutenants in the ranks of the American working class — the American Federation of Labour bureaucracy and their socialist parties.

Working in the closest co-operation, the United States toiling masses and the Latin American working masses, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, will avenge the murder of Mella and the many other victims of American imperialist domination by overthrowing the exploiting and oppressing classes of these countries and setting up in their stead workers' and farmers' republics.

The murderers of Mella draw their inspiration from the same source that the lynchers of the Negroes in the United States do!

The assassins of Mella and the Colombian strikers, the oppressors and exploiters of the Latin-American masses, draw their inspiration and comfort from the same forces that exploit and oppress the workers and poor farmers in the United States, that give us injunction democracy, that break our strikes, smash our unions, cut our wages, force upon us intolerable living conditions, jail our best fighters, and are feverishly preparing the next imperialist war.

We pledge ourselves to the Communist Parties of Mexico and Cuba and the Communist Parties of the other Latin American countries, to work with all our might and main hand in hand with them, for the overthrow and destruction of our common enemy, U. S. imperialism.

Down with the fake, the poisonous Pan-Americanism! Down with United States imperialism!

Down with the bloody Machado puppet government of Cuba!

Out with Wall Street's imperialist agents now terrorising Latin America as native governments!

Away with the social reformist labour bureaucrats and reactionaries, paralysing the labour movements of the United States and Latin America!

Smash the United States imperialist plot against the safety against the lives of our best Communist fighters!

Hands off Latin-America!

Under the leadership of the Communist International, let us rally our forces for a common victorious struggle against United States imperialism and its allies and puppets!

**Central Executive Committee  
Workers (Communist) Party of America.**

## Assassination of J. A. Mella by Agents of Yankee Imperialism.

By R. A. Martinez.

Gerardo Machado, the actual President of Cuba, earned his present position by openly promising the United States, that he was going to put an end to the labour unrest, prevailing during 1924, of the enslaved workers in the sugar cane plantations and other American owned enterprises, which culminated in a strike involving almost 300,000 workers, and bringing about practically a stoppage to the country's economic life.

No sooner had he reached the presidency that he began to play the role of butcher of the Cuban working class; declaring illegal the strongest revolutionary unions, while supporting the Pan-American Federation of Labour, endeavouring to get control of the others, suppressing all militant workers' newspapers. The Party and Anti-Imperialist League have been driven underground: deportation of thousands of foreign workers and systematic killing of the most militant of the native workers, throwing into the ocean and filling the jail with any worker who would dare raise his voice in protest. American imperialism has had no vilest, bloodiest tyrant with which to destroy the ever-growing resistance of the Latin American workers.

No other leader earned more his hatred, the hatred of the imperialist-controlled ruling class than **Julio Antonio Mella**, because no other leader has fought more consistently, more devotedly for the interest of the Cuban and Latin American mass than **Mella**.

Deported from Cuba, deported from Honduras, deported from Guatemala, after two years of revolutionary activities in Mexico, the criminal hand of Machado, extending across the frontier through some of his police spies, cut short his revolutionary life.

Born in the city of Camaguey, 28 years ago, Comrade Mella began his revolutionary activities in the Students Federation of Havana, of which he was President, leading the movement of "University Reforms" that was spreading throughout Latin America in the years 1919/21. His activities earned him continental recognition.

In January 1923 he organised the Popular University "Jose Marti" an organisation which was widely supported by Cuban workers, and which became very active on anti-imperialist agitation. The persecutions which started due to these activities continued in the most bitter form, culminating in his assassination.

Through the Popular University he connected himself with the widest Cuban masses, becoming one of its most active militants. He was immediately attracted by the Communist Party of Cuba, joining its ranks and taking a leading part in the organisation of strikes, public demonstrations, etc., landing frequently in jail.

In 1924/25 he participated in the organisation of the Cuban Section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, of which he was Secretary during his presence in Cuba, writing his first pamphlet "Cuba Never Has Been Free". The activities of the Anti-Imperialist League caused innumerable persecutions and assassinations, amongst them being Jose Varona, one of the outstanding Communist leaders of Cuba. Mella was arrested and held incommunicado; as a sign of protest he declared a hunger-strike which lasted 18 days and served to mobilise large numbers of workers throughout Latin America and the United States. The demonstrations were of such a magnitude that bloody Machado was forced to set him free, but he was constantly spied upon. He left Cuba for Honduras where another of the hirelings of Wall Street, the Government of Pas Barahona arrested him as suspicious character and forced him to leave the country. He left for Guatemala where he was enthusiastically received by the Popular University and the Students' Federation. He took active part in the strikes that were being led by the Communist Party of Guatemala; here he was kidnapped by another U. S. agent, dictator Orellana and deported to Mexico.

He was detained by the Mexican immigration authorities but allowed in, as a result of the activities of the Mexican Party (Feb. 1926).

In Mexico he has been one of the outstanding leaders of the Party: member of the Central Committee, head of the Agit-Prop Dept., very prominent in the organisation of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, editor of its organ for some time "El Libertador": he was a delegate to the World

Anti-Imperialist Congress in Brussels from the Mexican Peasant League. From Brussels he went to Moscow as a delegate to the international Labour Defence (M. O. P. R.). Upon his return he devoted all his time to carry through the decisions of the Congress he has attended, with the organisation of the "Liga Pro Luchadores Perseguidos" (Mexican Section of M. O. P. R.), by strengthening the anti-imperialist activities throughout Latin America.

He took very active part in Sandino's uprising in Nicaragua and in the formation of the Hands off Nicaragua Committee, for the collection of funds to help Sandino in his struggle against American marines.

He wrote a pamphlet called "What is A. R. P. A.", exposing all the fakers which under the guise of anti-imperialist phraseology are hampering the creation of a real continental organisation; another one exposing all the crimes committed by butcher Machado in his four years of tyranny and persecutions.

His assassination on Mexican territory by agents of the Cuban dictator will serve once more, to show to the Latin American masses that American Imperialism will not stop at frontiers once it has made up its mind to annihilate those who struggle against it, also to demonstrate that the only road to victory is the road on which he has fallen, regardless of frontiers: the road of the class struggle, the road of unity of the Latin American workers and peasants.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Tenth Party Congress of the C. P. of Great Britain.

By W. M. Holmes.

London, 20th January, 1929.

The Resolution on the Political Levy was carried by 100 votes against 22 after a long discussion to-day in which about 17 speakers took part. Comrade Pollitt introduced the resolution:

We must avoid the danger of scrapping all our footholds in the working class movement. The essence of this resolution is that it helps us to carry out the New Line. To say that most of the money will go to finance the reformist leaders is not an argument. The contradictions contained in the resolution are no greater than those contained in the old united front policy operated from 1920.

We are not advocating payment of the Levy as a mere effort to secure ourselves equal rights in the unions, but we are using it as a weapon to weaken and isolate the present leadership, and bring the unions under our leadership. This resolution no more than that of the Ninth Plenum on the affiliation question is meant to be binding for all time. It will be changed as circumstances change.

We must advocate payment of the Levy if we are going to ask the workers to join us in a united front on big political questions, as for example, the defence of the U. S. S. R.

Baldwin's Trade Union Act was not aimed at the Labour Party finance. Its object was to cut the unions off from political life altogether.

The question arises, are we at this stage to ask unions to disaffiliate from the Labour Party, and to start a campaign for immediate disaffiliation? The view expressed in the resolution is that at the present a big preparatory ideological campaign among the workers in factories and trade union branches is necessary first to enlighten them on the necessity for disaffiliation. We must let the struggle develop naturally. We must take the chance that is coming to utilise the exposure of a Labour Government or Liberal-Labour Government and use it as propaganda for the disaffiliation of the unions from Labour Party. It is then that the time will come to transfer the fight for disaffiliation from the factory and branch to the floor of the trade union national conference. The payment of the Levy is a necessary weapon. It will give us tremendous influence among the workers, although we may find that the fight will produce reasons for a change of policy.

Is the Congress prepared to throw away a tremendous offensive weapon against the bureaucracy, for such it is in present conditions, merely through the fear of anomalies and contradictions?

Comrade Murphy, answering Pollitt, said: This question has served to bring out fundamental views on the role of the Party and its relations to the masses. The present resolution is an advance on the resolution on tactics. I understand Pollitt to mean this resolution advocates seizure of branch funds, on the grounds that a trade union is not part of the Labour Party apparatus, this is not a correct view.

The 1927 Act plus the Birmingham Resolutions have meant that contracting in means contracting into the Labour Party and subscribing to the Birmingham Programme and leadership of the Labour Party. We are asked to become members of the Labour Party in order afterwards to disaffiliate ourselves from the Labour Party by boring from within.

The question now is, which Party do we support? Our united front programme is only supplementary to the independent claims of the Party. The fight in the unions has now to be a direct fight between Communist Party and Labour Party. Our Programme versus theirs. Membership of the C. P. versus membership of the Labour Party. If we link up the Party Line with the trade unions instead of with the question of membership we are laying the foundation for new organisations. The issue must be the choice of Party against Party. Communists refusing to pay the Levy make the question far sharper than if they demand retention of the Fund. There is nothing in the resolution to smash the Labour Party. It is not necessary to pay the Levy in order to have United Front campaigns on big political issues.

Fifteen comrades took part in the discussion which followed of whom about 6 were against the resolution. The speakers against the resolution were not those having the strong trade union and industrial connections. They were not united in their conception in the relations between the trade unions and the Labour Party. They strongly opposed the idea put forward by several comrades that failure to pay the Levy would mean Communists would be ranked with supporters of non-political unionism. They declared that it was possible to get strong mass support at once for non-payment of the Levy. They were in favour also of an immediate campaign for disaffiliation of the unions from the Labour Party. Comrade Collins favoured payment of the Levy but was against that part of the resolution which asked for a preliminary campaign before a direct fight for disaffiliation.

The speakers for the resolution all emphasised the point that not to pay the levy would completely isolate the Party, and that the proposal to drop the Levy was a proposal to get away from the masses. It was pointed out that the question of the Levy was not a question of depriving the Labour Party of cash, as they had plenty of other methods of raising money. It was an essential question of fighting the Labour Party for control of the unions. Speakers for the Resolution all deprecated efforts to make the issue a fundamental one, the real fundamental point being the relation of the Party to the trade unions as a whole.

Comrades Pollitt and Murphy shortly replied to the discussion.

London, 21st January, 1929.

The sessions of the Congress yesterday evening and this morning were devoted to discussion of the Party's policy towards the National Left-Wing Movement, which is one of the points that received particular attention in the Party discussion preceding the Congress.

Comrade E. H. Brown presented a resolution on behalf of the Central Committee in which the continuance of the National Left-Wing Movement was prescribed; the main operation of the Left Wing (the resolution declared)

"must be to encourage, develop and organise local Left elements and co-ordinate them in a mass opposition movement fighting the bureaucracy in the Labour Party".

At the same time the resolution particularly emphasised that the Left Wing movement

"can under no circumstances be regarded as an alternative to the Communist Party",

and the Party must on no occasion nor on any issue allow the Left Wing movement

"to act as a screen in hiding the identity and independent rôle of the Communist Party".

Comrade Brown declared that the present perspective was one of intensifying struggle, arising out of rationalisation, with

consequently more and more differentiation inside the working class — which differentiation was bound to be reflected in the ranks of the Labour Party.

It is true that the business of the Communist Party now is by all possible means to strengthen its independence; but, in addition, the Party must take advantage of the differentiation that is proceeding inside the Labour Party, must assist to organise and develop it in order to smash the Labour Party, to render the Labour Party machine an ineffective weapon in the hands of the Labour agents of capitalism.

Once this political conclusion has been reached the Party must take the organisational steps to operate it; hence the need for continuing the Left Wing movement.

Opposition to the C. C. resolution was led by Comrade Idris Cox (South Wales District Party Committee), who was joined by the leading comrades in the Party fraction in the Left Wing movement — Comrade R. E. Bond (national secretary of the Left Wing), Comrade Phil Curran (London) and Comrade George Short (Tyneside).

It was stated that the Party fraction in the Left Wing was unanimously in favour of liquidation of the Left Wing movement.

Comrade Cox took the line that the direct Party appeal — the united front from below — reached wider masses than did the Left Wing movement, and that the Party could get more support from non-Party elements without the Left Wing than with it.

The Left Wing was in no better a position than the Party for increasing the differentiation within the Labour Party. To split workers away from the Labour Party it was not necessary to be in the Labour Party; when workers begin to move to the Left they would rather support the substance — the Communist Party — than the shadow — the Left Wing.

Comrade Bond's contribution to the discussion was in effect an organisational report on the Left Wing movement. He stated that the overwhelming majority of the members of the Left Wing were not in the Labour Party at all, but in disaffiliated Labour Parties; these disaffiliated Parties were extremely weak, and for the most part on the point of demise.

The C. C. was further accused by Comrade Bond of having shown an almost complete lack of interest in the Left Wing, and of having given practically no assistance to the Party fraction in that organisation.

Some fifteen speakers took part in the discussion and opinion was evenly divided between them — a reflection of the close division of opinion among the delegates as a whole.

Of those who spoke, the provincial delegates for the most part supported the C. C. resolution. In addition to Comrade Cox, only two delegates from the provinces advocated the liquidation of the Left Wing, while five supported the C. C.

A line tending towards the Right was taken by Comrade Drummond (Fife sub-district Party Committee) who declared that it was not so easy for the Party directly to approach bodies such as leftward moving I. L. P. branches — of which there are instances in Fife — as it is for the Left Wing movement to approach them.

Comrade Tapsell, on behalf of the majority of the Y. C. L. Executive opposed the C. C. resolution, declaring that the Left Wing constituted a potential alternative Party to the Communist Party, and that the Congress discussion had revealed a Right danger in the Party, had exposed liquidatory tendencies.

However, Comrade Rust (Y. C. L.), speaking in his personal capacity, declared that it was not the liquidation of the Left Wing that was needed, but the correction of the Party's mistakes vis-à-vis the Left Wing. The same point of view was expressed by Comrade Kingster (Coventry).

A significant point made by Comrade MacDermott (Scottish District Party Committee) was that the comrades in opposition to the C. C. resolution had not suggested any satisfactory alternative to the Left Wing.

Concluding speeches on behalf of the opposition and the C. C. respectively were made by Comrades Cox and Brown. Cox declared that his opposition to the Left Wing was not because it was a barrier between the Party and the workers, but because it was redundant.

Comrade Brown emphasised that the liquidation of the Left Wing could not be justified by a recital of bad practices in the past. The C. C. resolution embodied the line just communicated to the C. C. by the E. C. C. I. He again stressed that the "bad old game" of the Left Wing hiding the identity of the Party would not be tolerated.

In the vote 52 delegates voted for the C. C. resolution, while 55 voted against, some score of delegates not participating, either through abstention or through absence from the session, in the vote.

The Congress agreed, on the proposition of Comrade Brown, that as the rejection of the C. C. resolution meant that the Party now had no policy in regard to the Left Wing, the Political Commission be asked to prepare a new resolution.

Sunday evening Comrade Shapurji Saklatvala M. P. presented his Parliamentary report whereby he declared that work among the masses outside Parliament is even more important than work inside Parliament.

One simple formula differentiated Communist parliamentary policy from that of all other Parties. We believe that Parliament is an institution centralising power in the hands of the plutocratic minority, and that the task of a Communist parliamentary representative is to rally the masses outside Parliament to smash the bourgeois parliamentary machine and build up an administration really representing the proletarian mass.

The greatest danger facing the working class is not Baldwinism, Saklatvala concluded: it would be a most serious error to think so. MacDonaldism and Mondism constitute the greatest danger, and it is against them that we have to direct our attack and rally the working class.

Comrade Bell Reporting on the Sixth World Congress said:

London, 21st January 1929.

The new Executive will commence a campaign for popularising the decisions of the Sixth World Congress. The Congress registered a large increase in the strength of affiliated parties and in representation of Colonial and semi-Colonial peoples. No less than 1,000 written amendments to the Programme were presented, making a collective and truly international work.

The period of four years since the Fifth Congress shows important changes. The first being in the character of capitalism itself. Then there have been great revolutionary struggles in the Colonial countries as well as the British General Strike.

The period has been that of capitalist reconstruction, evidenced by a growth in production and technical advance. The process of rationalisation is consolidating capitalism on a new basis.

Against this are the reconstruction of economy on a socialist basis in the U. S. S. R., and the development of the Chinese revolution, despite setbacks. In addition, the position in India and growing imperialist rivalry making war imminent are important features of the situation. Recognition of these factors are the basis of the Comintern line.

The theory of capitalist recovery is at the bottom of reformism. To-day although stabilisation is marked, the foundation is decaying.

The positions in America and Germany are symptoms of this. Great Britain, while still having big reserves is faced with the position of becoming a second rate power, as compared with America. The world crisis of capitalism is not liquidated. This crisis is being deepened and widened accordingly to our analysis.

The War Danger is at the centre of capitalist instability. The growth of armaments and of chemical industries are indications of the domination of the war preparations. With these preparations goes the peace talk of the Kellogg Pact, and other pacifist nonsense. The growth of the state power, allied with the social democracy and the growth of fascism are also remarkable.

The new political line of the Communist International has been adopted because the Labour Party are open defenders of imperialism, and their position in the event of war leaves no doubt, MacDonald, under the flag of the League of Nations, may well make war on the Soviet Union.

The proletarian civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, is the programme of the Communist International as against, class-peace and collaboration.

The preparation for civil war is no light task, and the continuance of legal political work is becoming increasingly difficult. Social democracy helps the Government in this task of driving us into illegality. The preparations for illegality are now of first class importance.

The Congress noted that the most serious danger before the International was the existence of right tendencies. Parlia-

mentarism and intimidation before the strength of social democracy are two symptoms of this constitutionalism in our daily work which must be fought. Weak Internationalism is another of our failings.

In periods of depression fractionalism is liable to be found. This Party must try to avoid the fault and the decisions of the Party Congress must be unquestionably accepted. Such fractional activities must never be allowed, as have taken place in certain parties.

The thesis on the War Danger restated the Leninist methods of fighting war, and is a practical guide. Particular emphasis is laid on the Pacifist screen of the warmakers. A correct approach to the Soviet Peace Proposals must be made, and while these are defended the anti-militarist fight in the home countries must be carried on.

A war against the Soviet Union is the personification of the class war. The fight against war means activity in industry, but above all in the army. We must do all we can to win over the soldiers to the revolutionary struggle for power. The expulsion of Glading from Woolwich Arsenal is clear evidence that the imperialists understand the danger to them of our fight against war.

The programme is the inheritor of all that is best in the old First International. It gives the perspectives of the development of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and of the fight for transition to socialism in this country. It analyses social democracy and fascism in essential portions.

So far as the situation in the U. S. S. R. is concerned, the Russian Party is, of course, not immune from differences, but the Congress confirmed progress of the proletarian dictatorship. The Right danger in the German Party is practically liquidated. The decisions of this Congress must be adequately discussed in the local organisations.

The Report was unanimously accepted.

London, 22st January 1929.

A resolution on the Mining Situation was discussed at the opening session of the Congress this morning. The resolution was presented by Comrade Arthur Horner, who emphasised the great importance of the formation of "Save the Union" Committees. These Committees must be wider than mere minority groups; they must embrace all militant miners on the widest possible basis of struggle against the mineowners and their lackeys, the reformist bureaucrats.

There must be no misconception of the "Save the Union" slogan. We were not concerned to build up the miners' Unions 100% to maintain the reformist regime. We must build up the miners' Unions around the slogan "Remove the Bureaucrats".

The "Save the Union" Committees must become the leaders of the masses of miners in all their local struggles, must set up unofficial strike committees to lead the pit and district struggles of the miners in the teeth of the sabotage of the reformists.

We have not the slightest intention of retreating before the splitting tactics of the Bureaucrats, least of all in Scotland. We know that splits are inevitable in certain circumstances; we know also that in certain circumstances we can capture the Union apparatus, as in Fife.

But it is essential that splits, when they come, should be clearly revealed as the results of the tactics of the bureaucracy — again as in Fife, where the defeated reformist secretary of the Union, Adamson, split off to form a "pure" reformist Union "free from Communist domination".

The "Save the Union" Committees give us the necessary basis for alternative Unions when such Unions are forced upon us.

We must issue a strong warning against indiscriminate advocacy of the formation of new Unions. Failure to establish such a new Union in Scotland is alleged to be one of the Party's mistakes. Yet in Scotland, and especially in Lanarkshire, we have been handicapped by not having the necessary personnel and resources for such a task. To have set up a new Union in Lanarkshire would have meant the liquidation of the Party. Our first objective in Lanarkshire must be the building of a solid Party cadre, which does not at present exist in that region.

None the less, we retain as our objective the establishment of an independent Scottish Miners' Union; and the time for its establishment will come with the exclusion of the revolution-

ary Fife Union from the Miners' Federation. The new Scottish Union can then be built with Fife as its basis and backbone.

It will then be necessary for comrades in other coalfields to demonstrate — and if the split is consummated by the tactics of the bureaucrats they will be able to do so — that remaining within the ranks of the M. F. G. B. in South Wales, etc., while supporting an independent Union in Scotland is not contradictory, but complementary.

In the discussion there were nine speakers, all miners with the exception of Comrade Rust (Y. C. L.) who also was the only speaker offering any fundamental criticism of the resolution. Comrade Rust took the line that the "Save the Union" slogan was wrong and must be changed on the grounds that it is a passive slogan, not leading the masses into the struggle against the bureaucracy, and creating the illusion that it is possible to capture the Union apparatus. Comrade Rust recalled that the R. I. L. U. had condemned the "Save the Union" slogan on the basis of the American experience, and declared that the Party had failed in not preparing the miners in Scotland during the last period for the formation of a new Union.

Comrades Ancrum and Hall (both from the Durham coalfield) respectively urged the need for according the fullest support to the "Save the Union" campaign and for the Party assisting the Minority Movement in the mining areas, and also stressed the mistaken hesitancy of the Party in the past in not openly coming out with its independent leadership of the miners in unofficial local strikes.

Two Welsh miners, Comrades Maslin (Rhondda) and Jones (Anthracite), referred to the new Unions question, the former admitting that he had been mistaken in previously supporting the idea of new Unions, and the latter urging the need for the strongest fight inside the Party against what he described as the greatest danger facing the Party.

Four comrades from the Scottish coalfields dealt with the position in Scotland and its lessons. There was agreement between them that mistakes in Lanarkshire had been an excessive preoccupation with the fight against the reformists at the top, in the Union apparatus, and a neglect of the miners themselves, in the Pits.

As Comrade Allan said, in Lanarkshire the Party comrades had been concerned with the fomenting of "Palace Revolutions" in the Union head office; and they had also been content to let the struggle against the reformists begin and end with resolutions of protest — it was a "resolutionary" and not a revolutionary fight.

It was the pursuit of a contrary policy in Fife, said Comrade Moffat (Kelty) that had given the Party its greater successes in that district of the Scottish coalfield. Comrade Moffat considered that it would be dangerous to try and establish a new Scottish Miners' Union with Fife as the basis until the "Save the Union" Committees had gained much more strength, by going out to the unorganised miners in the pits (not confining their activities to the Union branches) and organising them against the bureaucrats by leading them in the daily struggle against the mineowners' attacks. That the campaign must be conducted at the Pits and that the Party must pay special attention to the building of Pit groups, was also emphasised by Comrades Laughlin and Lennox (both from Lanarkshire).

In his concluding speech Comrade Horner pointed to the fact that only Comrade Rust, who had not the intimate acquaintance with the problems of the mining situation of all the other speakers, opposed the resolution. The Party was not opposed in principle to the formation of new Unions, which was indeed not a question of principle at all, but of tactics. There was a dangerous tendency to run to new Unions as an alternative to fighting the bureaucracy — in fact a defeatist tendency. The "Save the Union" slogan enables us to rebut the reformist charge that we are the Union disruptors, and to place the responsibility for disruption clearly upon their shoulders.

To advocate the immediate formation of a new Scottish Miners' Union, without mass support, would simply mean isolation.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

London, 22nd January 1929.

At the close of this morning's session the Colonial Question was discussed. Comrade Page Arnot introduced the Thesis on the Colonial Question of the VI. World Congress. He stressed

the importance of this question for the British Party. Out of more than 400 million people in the Empire nearly 380 million are under the most direct oppression. This means that great clarity is needed on the theoretical basis of the struggle for national liberation.

Support is given to the colonial peoples because their fight is an essential part of the whole fight against world capitalism. Yet despite their strong sympathy the struggle remains a remote one for the British workers. However, the war danger shows us that the focal points of imperialist rivalry are found in the colonies.

The decisions of the II. Congress are our starting point. But only since 1920 has the great revolutionary movement of the colonial masses begun. On these experiences the Thesis of the VI. Congress was drawn up. Our analysis shows us that the development of the native forces of production is hindered and that the profits are all taken out of the country by the imperialists. Those industries are most developed which are of most direct importance to Imperialism, for example the war industries. On the one hand, therefore, industrial development is hindered, while on the other hand it is helped, bringing with it the growth of a native bourgeoisie and proletariat. The British delegation had under-estimated the first tendency, over-estimated the second.

The axis of the bourgeois democratic revolution is in the agrarian revolution. This bourgeois democratic revolution could only be carried through by the workers and peasants who are its driving force. Yet the rôle of the bourgeoisie is not completely counter-revolutionary. They can still play a certain limited revolutionary rôle, as shown in the agitation against the Simon Commission in India. Our task was to help in the establishment of the proletariat as leader of the revolution.

Comrade Holmes, introducing the resolution on Colonial Tasks of the Party, said that closer co-operation with the colonial Parties was now assured and that wider propaganda on general questions of Imperialism was being undertaken. United front activity through the League Against Imperialism was being carried on but the Trade Union support of the League must be strengthened.

Active support to the young colonial Communist Parties must be developed. There had been too little agitation during the great Indian strike movement. Not only funds to assist the strikers were needed but sympathetic strikes in this country.

The Party must continue its exposure of Labour Party Imperialism, at the same time putting forward our own revolutionary policy through mass demonstrations against the representatives of Imperialism. A special and more adequate Colonial section of the Party Election programme must be put forward.

Four speakers took part in the discussion. Comrade Shields (Scotland) asked for more detailed proposals and increased Trade Union work on colonial questions. Comrade Cant (Nottingham) asked for more attention to be given to South Africa, while Comrade Dutt claimed that the present India situation, which was objectively revolutionary, should receive the closest attention and the Indian Communists the strongest help. Comrade Ferguson (Wigan) attacked the World Congress delegation's present attitude to the Colonial Thesis. Comrade Campbell, replying, stated that the widest discussion on the Thesis would be opened at once in the Party theoretical organ.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

London, 22nd January 1929.

Introducing the Resolution on Trade Union Work last night Comrade Wilson emphasised that the Party is facing a period of intensifying struggles, especially local struggles becoming revolutionary in character, and the Party must broaden the basis of these struggles.

A short but exceedingly interesting discussion followed, those contributing nearly all being active workers from the Pit and Factory Groups. The importance of factory work in view of the War Danger and the grip of the bureaucracy on the union machinery were the two most strongly expressed points of view.

Comrade Goldmann, a woman worker from a Manchester engineering works, pointed out that the struggle against social democracy must begin against the social democrats in the factories and on the works' committees. The reformist character of these



committees must be changed. Comrade Loeber, a London railwayworker, said that the increasing intensification of labour through rationalisation combined with unemployment meant that a decrease in the working day became a fundamental demand. It was absolutely necessary now for the Communists to work in the unions to protect the workers against the bureaucracy. This would be the basis of our fight for leadership.

The need for programmes of basic demands for all industries was emphasised by most speakers. These programmes must rally the workers against the reformists. That women must be brought into big industrial unions in view of their big influx into industry as part of rationalisation was stated by Comrades McCarthy, Accrington, and Rose Smith, Watford, a leather worker.

Comrade Mahon of the Minority Movement thought there was a tendency to overestimate the victories of the bureaucracy. The Party and the Minority Movement had scored big successes in their union elections. Comrade Cohen for the Y. C. L. Delegation claimed that there was a certain hesitancy in the Resolution. Some questions were put formally. The perspective of new unions must not be lost sight of.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

## AGAINST TROTZKYISM

### The "Pravda" on the Illegal Trotskyist Organisation

(Leading Article of the "Pravda" of 24th January 1929.)

The necessity of clearly discussing the question of the Trotskyist illegal organisations is dictated by the recent activity of the Trotskyists, which compels the Party and the Soviet Power to adopt an attitude to the Trotskyists differing in principle from that maintained before the XV. Party Congress.

The open appearance of the Trotskyists on the streets on 7th November 1927 was that decisive step which demonstrated that the Trotskyist organisation had broken not only with the Party but also with the Soviet regime. This action of the Trotskyists was preceded by a whole number of acts hostile to the Party and the Soviets: the seizure by force of a hall in the Moscow Technical High School for the purpose of a Trotskyist meeting, organisation of an illegal printing works etc. Nevertheless up to the XV. Party Congress the Party still adopted towards the Trotskyist organisations measures which showed its desire to appeal to the better sense of the Trotskyists, to get them to perceive their errors, and to induce them to return to the way of the Party. For several years after the discussion in 1923 the Party patiently pursued this line, — the line of a mainly ideological struggle. Even at the XV. Party Congress the measures adopted against the Trotskyist organisation were still of this same character, regardless of the fact that the Trotskyists "had passed from differences of opinion of a tactical character to differences of opinion of a programmatic character, in that they sought to revise the Leninist standpoint and went over to the position of Menshevism" (Resolution of the XV. Party Congress).

The year which has elapsed since the XV. Party Congress proved the correctness of the decision of the XV. Party Congress expelling the active functionaries of the Trotskyists from the Party. In the course of the year 1928 the Trotskyists completed their transformation from an illegal anti-Party group into an illegal anti-Soviet organisation. This is what constitutes the new factor, which in the year 1928 caused the organs of the Soviet Power to adopt repressive measures against the functionaries of this illegal organisation. The organs of the proletarian dictatorship cannot permit the existence of an anti-Soviet, illegal organisation in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, which organisation, even if it is numerically small, nevertheless possesses its own printing works, has its own committee and endeavours to organise strikes against the Soviet Power and to prepare its supporters for a civil war against the organs of the proletarian dictatorship. For that is how far the Trotskyists have come, who at one time were a fraction

in the Party and are now an illegal, anti-Soviet organisation. Of course all anti-Soviet elements and Mensheviks in the country now sympathise with and rally round the Trotskyists.

The fight of the Trotskyists against the C. C. of the Soviet Union had its logic, and this logic led the Trotskyists into the anti-Soviet camp. Trotsky started by recommending his followers, in the year 1928, to attack the leadership of the C. P. of the Soviet Union without adopting a hostile attitude to the Soviet Union. But owing to the logic of the struggle Trotsky, in attacking the leadership of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, the leading forces of the proletarian dictatorship, inevitably also directed his attacks against the Soviet Union, against the Soviet Power in general. The Trotskyists wished by all means to discredit the leading Party of the country and the organs of the Soviet Power in the eyes of the workers. In his letter of instructions of 21st October 1928 Trotsky wrote calumnious anti-Soviet declarations to the Trotskyist groups abroad, alleging that the system prevailing in the Soviet Union is an "inverted Kerensky regime"; he called for the organisation of strikes, for the thwarting of the campaign of collective agreements and for the preparation of his cadres for an eventual fresh civil war. This letter from Trotsky was published not only in the organ of the renegade Maslov but in whiteguardist organs such as the "Rul" and others. Other Trotskyists openly state that in preparing this civil war they must not hesitate to execute any instructions, whether in writing or not. The calumnies against the Red Army and its leaders, which are spread by the Trotskyists in the illegal and renegade press and by means of this press also in the whiteguardist newspapers abroad, prove that the Trotskyists do not shrink at inciting the leaders of the social democracy and the international bourgeoisie against the Soviet State. In these documents the Red Army and its leaders are represented as being an army of a future Bonapartist coup. At the same time the anti-Soviet Trotskyist organisation is endeavouring, on the one hand, to disintegrate the sections of the Comintern in the other countries, to split the ranks of the Comintern by forming its fractions everywhere and, on the other hand, to incite the already hostile elements against the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary phrase of the Trotskyists is no longer capable of concealing the counter-revolutionary nature of the Trotskyist appeal and of the Trotskyist calumnies. Lenin, on the occasion of the Kronstadt insurrection, warned the X. Party Congress that even "White-guardists endeavour and know how to pose as Communists and to appear "more Left" than the Communists, solely in order to weaken and overthrow the proletarian revolution in Russia". Lenin gave as an example "how the Mensheviks made use of the differences of opinion within the C. P. of the Soviet Union in order to support and to drive forward the Kronstadt insurgents, these social revolutionaries and white guardists, and, in the event of the insurrection proving a failure, to act as if they were adherents of the Soviet Power, with certain improvements". The illegal organisation of the Trotskyists has completely proved that it is a masked organisation which is gathering around it all the elements hostile to the proletarian dictatorship. The Trotskyist organisation is now in fact playing the same role which the Party of the Mensheviks played in the Soviet Union in their fight against the Soviet regime.

The undermining work of the Trotskyist organisation calls for a ruthless fight on the part of the organs of the Soviet Power against these anti-Soviet organisations. This is the reason for the measures (arrests and banishments) recently adopted by the G. P. U. for the purpose of liquidating this anti-Soviet organisation.

It seems that far from all members of the Party clearly realise that there already exists an unbridgeable chasm between the former Trotskyist Opposition within the C. P. of the Soviet Union and the present anti-Soviet, Trotskyist illegal organisation outside of the C. P. of the Soviet Union. It is time however to point out this obvious truth. Therefore that "liberal" attitude towards the active illegal Trotskyist organisation revealed by individual Party members is absolutely impermissible. All Party members must take this to heart. It is necessary to make it clear to the whole country, to the broad strata of the workers and peasants that the Trotskyist, illegal organisation is an anti-Soviet organisation, an organisation hostile to the proletarian dictatorship.

Those Trotskyists who are maintaining a half-way position should likewise consider this new situation which has arisen as a result of the latest actions of the Trotskyist leaders, and the activity of the illegal Trotskyist organisations. They must choose, either to go with the Trotskyist illegal organisations against the C. P. S. U. and against the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, or to break completely with the anti-Soviet, illegal, Trotskyist organisation and to refrain from giving it any support whatever.

## FASCISM

### The Fascist Danger in Czechoslovakia.

Prague, January 27, 1929.

The process of consolidation in the ranks of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie of all nations is making rapid headway. The so-called "Tuka case", i. e. of the deputy of the Slovakian Peoples Party, who has already been in prison on remand for four weeks on the charge of conducting irredentist agitation in favour of Hungary, clearly reveals the efforts being made, by means of pressure upon the bourgeoisie of the national minorities, to concentrate all the forces of the bourgeoisie in order to get rid of all the contradictions in the bourgeois camp and to be able to carry through the final preparations for a fascist coup similar to that in Yugoslavia. That is the plan which the bourgeoisie wishes to carry out as quickly as possible with the aid of the reformist leaders in Czechoslovakia, so that it can place the country at the service of West European imperialism in the event of a war against Soviet Russia. That is the reason why the capitalist press hailed with delight the Fascist coup in Yugoslavia, why the Foreign Ministry has issued directions to the whole of the bourgeois and socialist press regarding what they shall write, and why the social democratic press also welcomed the coup.

The preparations for this plan have advanced considerably of late. The systematic fascisation, together with bloody rationalisation, is being carried out with particular brutality on the railways, where many class-conscious employees have been discharged and where the workers, according to the latest decision of the coalition committee, are to be rendered completely "non-political". A government of officials is to be appointed to act as the executive organ of fascism. The press of the financial and agrarian capitalists openly calls for the "necessary corrections of democracy and Parliamentarism, should Parliament prove to be incapable".

The reformists of all shades are quite openly on the side of this fascist clique, and their press devotes itself almost entirely to a furious incitement against the revolutionary labour movement and in particular against the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, in order that the fascist plan can be realised, if possible, without any difficulties. There are not lacking voices in the press which declare that "such a step" as that taken in Yugoslavia is also possible in Czechoslovakia: it must only be "somewhat more Left". This is the reason why the persecution of the Communist Party, and in particular the confiscation of its press, have again greatly increased in recent times. In such a situation the V. Party Congress of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, which must put an end to all opportunist deviations, is of the very greatest importance.

## PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

### Franz Mehring.

Died January 29th, 1919.

By J.

In the stormy days of January 1919, when the revolutionary proletariat of Central Europe began to rally after the defeat of the Spartakus rising and the assassination of its leaders there came the news of Franz Mehring's death. In him the proletariat did not lose an active leader in its revolutionary struggles, for the ardent spirit of this ready fighter was nearly

spent. His death, however, represented the loss of the noblest nature and wisest mind of that generation of Marxists of the Second International who had helped from the beginning to edit the "Neue Zeit", who had administered the heritage of Friedrich Engels — the only one of them, indeed, who had subsequently developed into a champion of Spartakus and an adherent of the proletarian revolution in Russia, placing his able pen at the service of the fight against imperialist war and social patriotism and of the defence of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. When the news was spread of the death of Franz Mehring, all had before them the image of this noble fighter, whose development had arrived at a harmonious close and the memory of whom inspired the younger generation to prove worthy of such an old champion.

Franz Mehring did not arrive at Socialism along altogether straight lines. A highly gifted but irascible writer, he had at an early age defended Socialism against the philistines and studied its history; he did not, however, develop an understanding for the movement; nay, in 1877 and 1878 he actively opposed it and continued to do so until the early years of the Socialist Law. Soon after the commencement of the eighties, however, the persecuted Social Democrats found in him a faithful advocate who rendered them good service. He now succeeded in gaining a full understanding of Marxism, which he was destined to defend in the "Neue Zeit" as it had never been defended by any of the original editors. He was not an expounder, but a fighter. While Kautsky turned to the investigation of early Christianity or of Thomas More, Mehring's first great work was devoted to revealing the roots of the first organisation of power of the German bourgeoisie, the Prussian State and German militarism, which he did in his so-called "Lessing-Legende". This book won the approbation of Friedrich Engels, who suggested that Mehring be entrusted with compiling the history of German Social Democracy, a task which he brilliantly achieved. He had hardly completed this tremendous task, when he started editing the posthumous works of Marx and Engels. In this direction he surpassed himself. His introductions, which form the historic framework for the individual writings, are unequalled to the present day. Ryazanov, though frequently differing from him in his conception of the publication in general, describes Mehring's edition of Marx as "epoch-making".

Mehring by no means confined his activity to complete works. He was an indefatigable fighter in the daily struggle. His arrow-marked articles in the "Neue Zeit", which were printed at the head of each successive issue, his articles in the "Leipziger Volkszeitung", of which he was editor-in-chief from 1902 to 1908, literally scourged his enemies, whether they were in the hostile camp or in his own. His philosophical and literary contributions to the scientific organ of the German Social Democratic Party opened up new issues. Franz Mehring was the only collaborator of the "Neue Zeit" (if we do not include the occasional contributions of Plechanov), who treated dialectic materialism not as a mere method but as a fundamental attitude, severely criticising the Neo-Kantists, the Machists, and the Russian Dietzgenists, whom Kautsky did not attempt to oppose. Mehring was also the most hated of all in the eyes of the bourgeoisie and of the revisionists, the agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement.

When the separation came about between the Marxist centre and the "Left", Mehring accompanied Rosa Luxemburg and Karski. Curiously enough, the first public cause of dispute was an article of Rosa Luxemburg's, directed against Mehring. This article furnished Kautsky with a pretext to attack Rosa Luxemburg severely reproaching her with ignorance of German fighting methods, and he was very much surprised when Mehring, whom he had defended, declared himself for Rosa Luxemburg and not for him. Thus the breach between Kautsky and Mehring ensued long before the war; in 1912 Mehring quitted the "Neue Zeit", and this once leading Marxist organ subsequently rapidly declined. Mehring, Karski, and Luxemburg now edited a publication of their own, in which they carried on the fight against imperialism and in favour of general suffrage in Prussia, at the same time propagating the principle of mass strikes.

At the outbreak of the war, Mehring, who was then nearly seventy, not only took his place among the faithful but soon came to occupy a leading position. His protest at the orgies of the Social Patriots and his call for international solidarity appeared in the Berlin "Vorwärts" on September 20th, 1914. This protest was the first ray of light in the utter darkness

reigning in Germany. Mehring, too, was one of the first among the founders of the "Internationale" which appeared in April 1915. But even prior to the founding of this periodical he had been protesting repeatedly against the attitude of the Social Democrats in his own newspaper, which appeared under the name of "Sozialdemokratische Blätter". He was also one of the founders of the Spartakus pamphlets. Thus he was always among those who were most persecuted by the authorities. He went from prison to prison, and here it was that he worked at his book, "Karl Marx, the History of his Life". This work appeared on the hundredth anniversary of Marx' birth and astounded all by the wealth of insight it gave into the life of the master and by its magnificent execution. It was among the best things Mehring had ever written, and betrayed no traces of his advancing age.

But his strength was rapidly failing. This biography remained his last work. Once more, however, he appeared before the public. When the social patriots of all countries started attacking the proletarian dictatorship in Russia, when Kautsky published a pamphlet in which he attempted to prove that this dictatorship was in contradiction to Socialism, the aged Mehring raised his voice in defence of the Bolsheviki and showed that they were the only true Socialists, the only Marxists.

The Social Democrats, whose celebrated writer Mehring once was, can find no use for his writings now. A good sign for him. It is characteristic that on the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lessing, the Dietz concern refrained from republishing the Lessing-Legende, now long out of print. Franz Mehring is one of us. Our knowledge has considerably augmented during the last fifteen years; we now see many things far more clearly. Nevertheless, his work will remain a lasting mental treasure of the struggling and victorious proletariat.

## WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

### Organisational Tasks of International Worker Correspondent Service.

(Supplementary to the Resolution of the Conference of Delegates of the VI. Congress concerning the tasks of the international worker correspondents' movement and of the international worker correspondent service published in *Improcorr.* No. 79, Vol 8, 9th November 1928.)

In the capitalist countries, for the purpose of general guidance of the international correspondent service and of the worker correspondent movement as a whole, special Commissions are created at the Agitprop sections of the Central Committees with the participation of workers of the central Party press and of active organisers of the worker correspondent movement.

The tasks of these Commissions, along with the general guidance of the worker correspondent movement, are:

a) To popularise the international worker correspondent service as the mighty weapon for strengthening the international solidarity of the proletariat.

b) To establish, through the Agitprops of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. C.'s of the fraternal parties, direct and constant connection among their newspapers and certain newspapers in the U. S. S. R. and in other countries which directly organise the worker correspondents and practically carry out the international worker correspondent service.

c) Periodically, not less often than once monthly, to outline the most actual subjects for a given period which should be dealt with in the letters of worker correspondents from the

U. S. S. R. and other countries, and to communicate these subjects to the Agitprops of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. C.'s concerned.

d) To instruct the editorial boards of newspapers and systematically to control their activity in the domain of the international worker correspondent service.

The immediate task of maintaining the international worker correspondent service rests upon the editorial boards of the newspapers, who appoint one of their regular staff members to take charge of this work.

This worker is charged with the following duties:

a) To popularise the international service in the columns of his paper and in the enterprises served by such paper.

b) To organise and instruct the worker correspondents who write to the U. S. S. R. and other countries.

c) To see to the utmost utilisation of letters received from worker correspondents of other countries, and to the timely sending of replies.

The editorial office keeps up regular correspondence with the editorial offices of newspapers in the U. S. S. R. and other countries with which it is connected, systematically acquainting them with the requirements of its readers, and timely informing them about impending political campaigns or other important events in a given district. Only under these conditions will the letters of the worker correspondents turn out to be of actual interest to a given newspaper at a given moment.

In accordance with the volume of foreign correspondence received, the editorial board introduces in its newspaper a permanent section under the title of "What Workers write from the U. S. S. R.", "How Workers Live in other Countries?" (specimen files), publishing this section periodically, not less often than once a week.

The originals of the letters published in the newspaper, and also of letters unpublished for one reason or another, are to be forwarded in time to the factory newspapers or to the nuclei (where there are no newspapers) of kindred industrial establishments: e. g., the letter of a Soviet metal worker to a metallurgical factory, that of a textile worker to a textile mill, and so forth.

The editorial office must make arrangements for the timely sending of the replying letters of its readers. Not a single letter by a foreign worker correspondent shall be left without a reply. It has been shown by experience that a worker correspondent failing to receive once or twice a reply to his letter, promptly quits corresponding. Similarly the editorial office, if it fails to receive replies from the newspaper to which it is attached, usually gives up the work of organisation in connection with the international service.

The newspapers which are connected with each other should establish the regular mutual exchange of their publications and of clippings of communications by worker correspondents published either in the newspapers, or in the factory newspapers of their districts.

The Commissions in charge of the movement, and the editorial offices, should on their own initiative, whenever necessary, raise the question of utilising the international worker correspondent service for the organisation of international solidarity campaigns ("round calls"), e. g., in connection with big strikes, anti Soviet actions, etc.

It is recommended, as a good method of strengthening the international worker correspondent service, to organise periodic meets of worker correspondents of neighbouring countries (France and Germany, Germany and Czechoslovakia, etc.).

The Commissions and the editorial offices shall take all steps for securing the publication of letters by worker correspondents from the U. S. S. R. also in the non-Communist (near-Party, sympathising) press.