

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 8 No. 40

26th July 1928

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — **Postal Address:** Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

Georg: The Kellogg Pact.
Han F. Yun: The Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party of China.
Rafael Carrillo: The Struggle in Mexico.
Gregor Kersche: The Arming of the Fascists in Austria.
Iwin: The Kuomintang and the Unity of China.
China Weeks.
Henri Barbusse: The Largest Detachment of the World Proletariat in Danger of Being Exterminated!
Balkans.
Christo Kabakchiev: The Situation in the Balkans and the Communist Parties of the Balkan Countries.

In the International.

Eduard Pruchnikak: The C. P. of Poland on Outpost Duty.

After the Shakhty Trial.

E. Wollenberg: The Lessons of the Shakhty Trial.

The White Terror.

J. Crossley: British Reign of Terror in Palestine.

For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement.

A Step Towards International Trade Union Unity.

Book Reviews.

J. G.: Radó: Guide Book to the Soviet Union.

Questions of the Sixth Congress.

K. Baumann: The Tasks of the Departments for Work in the Village (conclusion).

The Kellogg Pact.

By Georg (Berlin).

The answers of the governments to the United States have all been despatched, so that all may arm themselves for the ceremonial singing of the "Treaty to Outlaw War" in Paris.

This treaty to outlaw war has a rather involved and long history. On the alleged suggestion of American pacifists, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Briand, in June of last year made the proposal to the Washington Government to conclude a reciprocal Franco-American pact of permanent peace. Briand thought by such a gesture to gain the good will of American creditors and perhaps also a rearguard against England, and to make a cheap pacifist show in order to weaken in Geneva the impression of French sabotage of disarmament.

To this Kellogg replied in the name of the United States government with a counter-proposal that a "Treaty for Perpetual Peace" should be arranged not merely between France and the United States, but between the United States and the five other capitalist Powers. The American proposal was not merely a pacifist gesture as election propaganda for the Republican Party in office. Dollar imperialism went much farther and under took an attack on the organisation and alliance systems of the other Powers. The thrust was directed, on the one hand, against the League of Nations, which Great Britain is manipulating for the policy of power, and, on the other hand, against the network

of French alliances. The United States proposed the formation of a new system, the centre of gravity of which should lie in the United States. The dollar government was to become the supreme judge in every conflict.

France, caught in its own net of pacifist hypocrisy and outmanoeuvred by Washington, responded with a list of conditions and reservations, due regard for which was stated to be an essential preliminary to its signing a treaty. The sense of the French reservations was as follows: France can renounce neither its military alliances nor the support of the League of Nations. France will sign no treaty by means of which the United States can forbid it to enter into a war. For this reason, Briand withdrew behind the formula! "Right of Defence"; furthermore, the war obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Treaty of Locarno and the various French military alliances were not to be influenced by the proposed treaty.

This exposure on the part of France of its own "pacifism" was very opportune for the Washington Government. Over the head of the Paris Government it now appealed to all the big capitalist Powers for their support of the pact. In doing so, the United States counted upon the possibility of playing the Powers off against one another.

In view of the paramount conflict between England and America, the English Government endeavour from that moment to bring about a united front of all the Powers against the United States. In the negotiations now beginning with France the Anglo-French front has actually come into being. In order to gain the support of France against Washington, the London Government adopted Briand's reservations and supplemented them with the particular English demand that America should recognise as "special English spheres of influence" certain parts of the world, such as Egypt, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, i. e. should grant England a guarantee equal in value to the American Monroe Doctrine.

In its answer Washington either passed over the French and English reservations in silence or refused to include them in the text of the treaty. The original American draft was retained, although "explanations" were offered, not, however, to be incorporated in the treaty and, consequently, not legally binding.

This trump card played by dollar imperialism caused England and France to retreat. In their latest notes, despatched last week, they still insist formally on their "reservations", but they declare themselves prepared to sign the American text unaltered. They make out as if they are under the impression that America acknowledges their standpoint.

Accordingly there arises the grotesque situation, so stigmatising for imperialistic hypocrisy, that they will sign a treaty, the text of which will be "interpreted" differently by each signatory. Their differences remain unchanged. It might be asked why this scrap of paper should be signed at all. In the first place, to fool the workers with pacifist phrases. On this point all the signatories are in agreement. In the second place, each of the signatories is thinking of his own special position. Under serious circumstances, the United States are strong enough to snap their fingers at the European "reservations" and to interpret the pact

in the American sense, i. e. to compel France and England to accept a dollar judgement, if no other means avail, then by means of ship's guns. But while still referring to the "pact", England and France have in the course of the pact-negotiations cemented their alliance more firmly, a fact which is of great importance for England on account of its war plans against the Soviet Union and its fight for power against the United States, while for France it is of importance for consolidating and retaining its supremacy in Europe over Germany. Germany has made use of the opportunity to ingratiate itself with America in order to acquire a support in the rear against France. None of them can refuse to sign; such an open demonstration against Washington would be too risky. Therefore, they are signing, but "with reservations".

These reservations, in part tacitly acknowledged by Washington, are such, however, that even bourgeois-liberal news papers are asking whether war is now really "outlawed and prohibited", as the reservations and exceptions can easily be interpreted to admit of any war.

The pact has still another very serious aspect: The Soviet Union has been completely excluded from the negotiations. This diplomatic boycott alone bears witness to a capitalist world solidarity against the Workers' State, which is regarded as being outside of the "moral world". Nay, more, there exists between America and England a tacit understanding that war against the Soviet Union is "not outlawed". Thus the pact outlaws not war, but the Soviet Union! Or, as the Liberal "Manchester Guardian" expresses it, "Chamberlain suggests that all members of the League of Nations be invited to sign the pact. Critics in Paris remark that through this suggestion the universality of the pact is dropped. For this suggestion means that not only Egypt and the Monroe territories but also Russia would be drawn into the zone in which military operations are sanctioned."

The Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party of China.

By Chan Fu Yun.

(Member of the Chinese Delegation to the 6th World Congress.)

The great Chinese revolution of 1925 to 1927, which seriously shook the positions of the imperialists in China, wiped out the semi-feudal order in a number of provinces and developed the class war of the workers, has suffered a serious defeat. In addition to the objective difficulties, to the strong pressure exercised by the imperialists, to the interventions and blockades of the latter, to the betrayal of the national bourgeoisie, to the predominance of the landed proprietors and the gentry over the "national revolutionary armies" etc., the opportunist leadership of the Communist party of China played a decisive rôle in the defeat of the Chinese revolution. From the objective point of view, it betrayed the interests of the masses of the workers and peasants in their fight by leaving the hegemony of the revolution in the hands of the national bourgeoisie.

The political line of action was only corrected under the direction of the E. C. C. I. which, through the medium of the president of the Communist Party at that time, addressed an appeal to the masses of the Party in China and directed its course towards armed insurrection, towards the fight against the Kuomintang reaction of the landowners and the capitalists, replaced the party leaders and entered on a relentless struggle against opportunism within the Party and for the proletarianising of the leading organs. The insurrection of Yen Tin's and Ho Lun's troops in Nanchang had already begun under the banner of the agrarian revolution and of the fight against the counter-revolutionary centres of Wuhan and Nanchang. In consequence of the overwhelming number of the hostile forces and of the wrong tactics of the leaders of the insurrection, the revolt was, however, defeated and with it ended the Left Kuomintang period of the Chinese revolution. The December insurrection in Canton introduced a new epoch, the epoch of the Soviets. The Canton insurrection was, however, already a "rear-guard action"

of the revolution in its retreat. It was only a signal of the "Soviet insurrection" in the colonial East, a signal of the insurrection of the united forces of the broad masses of the workers, peasants, etc.

The defeat of the Canton insurrection was a still heavier blow to the Chinese proletariat. The first stage of the revolution thus ended in a number of defeats. A depression of the labour movement is evident in the industrial centres. In spite of the dissensions existing both in the camp of the imperialists and in the camp of the Chinese counter-revolution, which sometimes find vent in open, armed conflicts, all these reactionary forces — even the so-called "Third Party" which represents a "constitutional opposition" to the Kuomintang — have combined in a common fight against the workers and peasants, with the object of finally destroying the Chinese revolution. The masses are offering resistance. The peasants' struggle is developing in a number of provinces, and peasant Soviets and nuclei of the nised in various places. The masses of soldiers are discontented with their situation; there is a movement of fermentation amongst them. A revival of the labour movement and of the anti-Japanese boycott movement can be noticed in some of the towns. All these symptoms are the first signs of a new development which still fails to be present on a broad national scale. In the meantime the pressure of the imperialists in China is growing. Japan has taken possession of Manchuria and of Shantung, Great Britain of South China.

The Chinese proletariat and the Communist Party are carrying on a fierce fight against the united forces of the counter-revolution and of the imperialists. It is a life and death struggle. The victory can only be gained by attracting the broad masses into the fight. The chief aim of the Party at the present stage

and therefore directed to winning over the masses, to organising and gathering them round the Party, to working at the collection of the forces with firmness and perseverance.

The Chinese revolution has, in the past, not been sufficiently supported by the proletariat of the imperialist countries; it will need this support even more in the future. The Chinese and the international proletariat must combine their forces and overthrow the rule of the imperialists in the Far East, as that rule will play an important, if not a decisive rôle in the imminent world war and in the development of the world revolution. The victory of the Chinese revolution will mean a severe blow to Japanese and British imperialism and will shake the capitalism of America.

The 6th Congress of the Comintern must devote special attention to the question of the support of the Chinese revolution by other sections, of how to organise assistance in its further Bolshevisation, in the consolidation of its ranks and of how to purge it of the remnants of opportunism. Even though the Conference of August the 7th was of extraordinary importance with regard to the Bolshevisation of the Party, it was unable at one stroke to cure the Party of its various petty bourgeois diseases. The Party had failed to check a certain over-estimation of the revolutionary situation. The presence of obvious putchist exaggerations resulted in the leading organs of the Party repeatedly calling upon the masses to engage in strikes, in revolts etc. Such a state of affairs at the time of the savage White Terror only weakened the Party even more and isolated it from the masses. A relentless struggle must be carried on against putschism. The inequality of the development of the revolution in the town and in the country occasioned the development of a tendency to shift the basis of the revolution from the proletariat to the peasantry. Others again, whilst taking up a position against the over-estimation of the results of the peasant movement, fell into the other extreme; they professed not to believe in the revolutionary significance of the struggle carried on by the peasants and partisans.

In view of this difficult situation, it is absolutely necessary that the Communist Party of China should fight against its strongest enemies and against all sorts of petty bourgeois influences within the Party.

The Communist Party of China must form its organisations and train them so as to be able to stand up in firm ranks; this demands that any obnoxious, non-proletarian deviation, any putschism, terrorism etc. be overcome. The Party must become a real mass party, a proletarian and Bolshevik party with fighting capacity. It must create organisations which are really able to lead the masses, both in minor combats and in the approaching big fights.

The party must strengthen its connections with the masses, work in the trade unions, carry on a purposeful fight against the reactionary and the yellow trade unions, lead the peasant movement, do work among the soldiers, attract the broad masses to the anti-imperialist fight which is at the same time directed against the Kuomintang and extend the existing beginning of the Soviets by putting the slogan of the agrarian revolution into effect.

Not a single task of the Chinese revolution has yet been solved. The betrayal of the national bourgeoisie has only strengthened the positions of the imperialists, intensified the fight between the landowners and the peasants and consolidated the semi-feudal elements of China. It is impossible to oppose the imperialists and to change the semi-feudal conditions of agriculture in China without opposing the national bourgeoisie. The present stage of the Chinese revolution is characterised by the fact that the proletariat is trying to organise itself for the purpose of combating the Chinese capitalists, feudal lords and militarists, and to lead the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist movement of the petty bourgeois masses. The proletariat is making every effort to place itself at the head of the elementary peasant revolts, to organise them as far as possible and to ensure the hegemony for itself. It wishes to complete the Chinese, anti-imperialist, bourgeois democratic revolution by an armed insurrection which will overthrow the power of the landed proprietors and of the bourgeoisie (Kuomintang) and realise the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry, i. e. the Soviet power.

POLITICS

The Struggle in Mexico.

By Rafael Carrillo.

United States diplomacy recently "settled" the Mexican question. The ambassador of the United States in Mexico, Dwight L. Morrow, known as "Morgans's sleuth-hound", on the conclusion of the agreement with Mexico received as a reward for his services the title of honorary Doctor of Science. United States imperialism, which forced the petty bourgeois Mexican government to make concessions in the question of the nationalisation of the oil districts in which capitalists of the U. S. A. are interested, is now applying on an increased scale the method of "peaceful penetration" of Mexico. It regards Mexico as an important link in the chain of Latin-American States bordering on the Caribbean Sea, on the shores of which the movement against the lust for occupation on the part of the United States has increased of late. Now that the bankers of the United States, who had already got into their hands the national economy of Mexico, have increased their control over the Mexican government, they hope by this means to deal a deadly blow at the heart of the national emancipation movement in Latin-America.

In this connection there occurred the murder of the newly elected Mexican president, General Obregon. It is not yet known what political groups were behind this murder; various assumptions are put forward: on the one hand it is asserted that the persons responsible are to be found in the camp of the militant landowners and catholics, while on the other hand it is said they are to be found among the leaders of the Mexican Trade Union Federation.

The reactionaries who suffered losses through the revolution conducted a bitter partisan war against the government. But it seemed just recently that the way was being prepared to an understanding between them and Obregon, as the latter began to yield up the achievements of the revolution. As a result, relations became strained between Obregon and the leaders of the Mexican Trade Union Federation, who, under the presidency of Calles, exercised a considerable influence over the work of the government, but were later pushed into the background. In any event there is no doubt that the dis-harmony within the petty bourgeois block, at the head of which there stood first Calles and then Obregon, will increase. The landowners, who are not satisfied with the concessions made to them by Obregon, are taking advantage of the situation, and, as is always the case when the situation in Mexico become complicated, the United States will undoubtedly appear on the scene.

The Communist Party of Mexico is conducting an unrelenting fight for the union of all forces of the Mexican working class. It is combating the policy of the followers of Obregon, as well as the disruptive policy of the reformists, who expel whole trade union organisations if they protest against the treacherous activity of the reformist leaders.

The C. P. of Mexico is faced with exceedingly difficult tasks. It has to wrest the workers and peasants away from the influence of the petty bourgeoisie, set up the alliance between the workers and poor peasants and lead them in the bitter fight against United States imperialism and its Mexican lackeys.

The growth of our Party recently and the increase in the influence of our press are proof that the Mexican workers are becoming matured for the approaching fights, no matter what sacrifices these fights may demand.

* * *

Mexico, July 20, 1928.

The Communist Party of Mexico has published an appeal in which it points out that the recent events still further demonstrate the necessity for the independent union of the workers and peasants. The appeal calls upon the proletariat to close its ranks and not to work together with any bourgeois party or group.

The Arming of the Fascists in Austria.

By Gregor Kersche (Klagenfurt).

Since July 15th, 1927, the arming of Fascism in Austria has been proceeding at a feverish pace. The majority of the bourgeois block, under the leadership of Federal Chancellor Seipel is preparing to wrest violently from Labour the few achievements which it still retains.

After July 15th the military organisations of the bourgeoisie amalgamated under a common leadership in the Vienna Defence Corps. The industrialists' association of Austria agreed to put at the disposition of the Fascist defence organisations under a single leadership 300,000 schillings (£ 9000) for the munition fund.

The building of the headquarters of the police in Vienna has been converted into a regular fortress, and the police force has been specially trained in hand-grenade throwing and in musketry.

To make the situation doubly secure the government has placed at the disposal of the police three armoured cars.

The Fascist organisations go in broad daylight on regular manoeuvres, taking with them field-kitchens, machine-guns and rifles.

The "Vaterländische Schutzbund" (National Defence League) has introduced military service regulations, and in Section 2 of these regulations appears under the heading Structure of Troops.

"The combatant troop is arranged, according to its strength, in groups, platoons, companies and battalions in the infantry divisions, in gun squads, platoons, etc., in the machine-gun division, and in guns, platoons and batteries in the artillery section, and constitutes a fighting unit."

The Fascist organisations are given the whole-hearted support of the government and of the permanent officials of the State. In official circulars provision is made that, in case of railway strikes and the like, the gendarmerie is instructed to enlist a suitable and reliable guard — i. e. a sort of white guard — from the population to serve as supports.

The defence force is being still more feverishly prepared by means of the introduction of new alarm regulations and exercises for the fight against the workers. In one such exercise-alarm disposition of April of this year from the Vienna command the following appears, *inter alia*:

"It is important to overpower the leaders of the movement... For this purpose especially energetic officers and strong, determined soldiers are to be selected as patrols. Force of arms is to be directed on these occasions particularly against the leaders of the Movement."

Whereas up to July 15th, 1927, the methods of Fascist propaganda were openly anti-Labour in nature, after July 15th the aspect changed. A factory Fascism was developed. Fascist agents were taken on in all the big factories to present Fascism to the men as the salvation of the workers. Many workers, of Social-Democratic leaders, give ear to this propaganda. In addition, there is the Terror that finds particular expression in the fact that only those workers are engaged at the factories who present themselves as members of the home defence organisations. In a circular from the Self-Defence League of Lower Austria, dated end of September of last year, employers in town and country are requested, when engaging fresh workers, to take on only such workers as are not connected with Marxist organisations.

As the wages of the workers in Austria, especially in the metal and smelting works, are lowest of all (women: 12 to 13 schillings, men: 25 to 30 schillings, per week), the Fascist organisations can even allow themselves the luxury of demanding higher wages, without thereby falling into disfavour with the managers and employers of Fascist persuasion. The

factory premises are readily put at the disposal of the Fascists for meeting purposes and for target practice, while representatives of the free trade unions are persecuted.

In consequence of the continual intensification of the radicalisation and fighting spirit of Labour is observable in spontaneous strikes. The indignation of the smelters and other metal workers after the capitulation of the social democratic leaders in the last Alpine Montan strike was such that even the functionaries of the S. P. at the Graz Congress sharply opposed the executive under the pressure of the masses. Other symptoms: The democratic mayor of the industrial town of Pottendorf, Lower Austria, permitted the Fascists to hold a celebration, which was broken up by the workers; the same thing occurred in another place, where the home-defence festival was also broken up, and the Social-Democratic mayor was hissed by the workers.

The social-democratic leaders have successfully disarmed the workers and helped to arm the bourgeoisie. They are now proceeding with their final task of pacifying the proletariat and diverting it from the fight. For this reason the S. P. leaders refrained on July 15th of this year, the anniversary of the murder of 90 proletarians, from calling upon the workers for a demonstration of protest, even in "Red Vienna"; they gave up the old right to the streets merely because the Fascists contemplated holding a counter-demonstration. In this way capitulation is gradually carried out.

It will, therefore, be incumbent upon the Communist Party of Austria in future, by means of the sharpest fight against the Socialist Party leaders, to isolate the masses from them and thereby to preserve their fighting spirit. To this end the party tried to create a Red Front Fighters League. As the government has forbidden this, another defence organisation is being formed in its stead under the name of the "Austrian Labour Defence". The Red Front is advancing in Austria!

CHINA

The Kuomintang and the Unity of China.

By A. Iwin.

Chang Kai-shek never tires of giving public "expression to his delight" over the "unity" of the country and the "successful completion of the revolution". Nobody believes in this, not even Chang Kai-shek himself.

"The revolution is not yet concluded, the unjust treaties still exist. We should weep, instead of rejoice." This reply from Feng Yu Hsiang, in which, however, he tries to mask with a revolutionary pose his coquetting with the international powers and his military character, is considerably nearer the truth of things.

The approaching defeat of Chang Tso Lin and the withdrawal of the Mukden troops to the territory behind the great wall of China are no better proof of the unity of China than the nomination of the militaristic satraps as chairmen of the political district committees. The fall of Wu Pei Fu and the removal of the government of Tsao Kun had the effect in administrative affairs that the two most detested titles, namely, of Dutsjun (military governor of a province) and Sjun Jue Shi (general inspector of several provinces) people began to use the title of "Tupan".

Thus Chang Tso Lin was converted from a Sjun Jue Shi to the "Tupan for the Defence of the North-Eastern Frontier" and Feng Yu Hsiang became "Tupan for the Defence of the North-Western Frontier". But neither Chang Tso-Lin nor Feng Yu Hsiang nor yet the system they represented underwent any change. Even though Feng Yu Hsiang is no longer called Sjun Jue Shi nor yet Dutsjun of Shantung and Honan, but chairman of the political committee of these provinces, Li Ti Sin chairman of the political committee of Kwantung

Kwangsi, Li Tsun Djen of Hupe and Hunan, etc., though son of Chang Tso-Lin has assumed the title of chairman of the political committee of Manchuria and Yan Yu Tin, Chang Sjan and Nan Fu Lin the titles of chairmen of the political committees of the provinces of Mukden, Kirin and Hopeh, respectively, all these "reforms" reform the military system just as little as the above-mentioned appearance the Tupan instead of the Dutsjun and Sjun Jue Shi.

If, therefore, the entry of the Communists into the Kuomintang, which at that time led to the reorganisation and to attracting of masses of workers and peasants, made of Kuomintang one of the decisive factors of the Chinese revolution, which it remained until in the course of the past year it broke with the Communist Party, the breach with the Communist Party of China, and thereby with the worker and peasant masses, led in the course of a single year to the complete abjection of the Kuomintang to the neo-militarism, to complete degeneration, whereby the party, split up into political district committees, now only constitutes a mask for the autocratic rule of Feng Yu Hsiang, Li Tsung Djen, Li Ti Kin and Yan Si Shan.

"The Kuomintang", writes in the "North China Daily News" one of the cleverest bourgeois observers of the above-mentioned process, "is just breathing out its last gasp. Its activity has been switched off by Nanking and its spirit so broken by military repression that its authority, as far as the Chinese mandarins are concerned, is a thing of the distant past, and only one stubborn group clings to the hope of re-establishing its former power and its former reputation among the Chinese masses. The extreme Left alone is still animated and displays activity, whereby it is actuated by the conviction that the Communist Party of China sooner or later will assume in Chinese politics the place of the Kuomintang. As far as the right wing and the centre are concerned, (i.e. the official Kuomintang. A. I.) they have become vassels of the Dutsjuns."

This is, it is true, a rather sharp judgement, but it does not blur the picture.

The same thing has happened to the Kuomintang as formerly happened to the republic. After a time the Dutsjuns succeeded in driving the republic into a corner, in assimilating it and in creating a special, peculiar system, which in no way corresponded to the republican facade. We are now witnessing the rapidly progressing assimilation of the Kuomintang by the "Neo-Dutsjuns".

The Kuomintang, which, as long as it was supported by the masses of workers and peasants, was practically the symbol of the unity of the country, was, in the hands of the militarists, converted into a weapon to frustrate this unity.

In the name of the Republic, rule was yesterday held by Chang Tso-Lin, Wu Pei Fu, Feng Yu Hsiang, etc.; they waged war, collected taxes, concluded armistices and convoked diplomatic conferences. In the name of Kuomintang, rule is now held by the chairmen of the political committees, namely, the same Feng Yu Hsiang, Yen Si Shan and their younger colleagues, Li Ti Sin, Li Tsung Djen, who are just as much "subordinate" to the Kuomintang as they formerly were to the republic.

At the present time all these generals are trying to represent matters as though they had united China. If, however, any progress has been made in the uniting of China, these generals can by no means claim credit for such progress. The fate of China will be decided by the fight of the tremendous masses of the Chinese toilers, who have awoken in the fight against imperialism and against all forms of the old social order of China.

The process of drawing the masses into the fight has not by any means come to an end. The revolution has merely lent it greater impetus; has displayed more clearly the nature of the fight for the new order of society, for the new revolutionary China, which will be born of the terrible pangs, of the bitter fight, of the heroic Chinese proletariat and of the innumerable millions of Chinese peasants, who are rising for the fight against the whole of the old order of things.

CHINA WEEKS

The Largest Detachment of the World Proletariat in Danger of Being Exterminated!

By Henri Barbusse.

Comrades, we are referring to the largest country after the U. S. S. R. We are referring to the most densely-populated country of the world, to the 300,000,000 peasant mass and to the tens of millions of workers, living under conditions of persecution, torture, and being physically exterminated.

Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'état of the 20th of March, 1927, opens the first phase of the offensive of the Chinese bourgeoisie against the proletariat in order to take over the leadership of the nationalist movement. The "differentiation" of the nationalist front, the sharpened class struggle, take on an especially dramatic character in view of the fact that the power of the Canton government embraced the whole of South and Central China, including also such large industrial centres as Hankow and Shanghai. Finally, the bourgeoisie, as represented by the right wing of the Kuomintang, leaning upon the State apparatus and the army, succeeded in getting the government to pass a whole series of measures, the aim of which was to hinder the labour movement. The workers replied to this by a mass influx into the trade unions, intensive organisation of the Communist vanguard and the peasant unions, which conducted the struggle in the villages for land and for power.

Alarmed by the colossal scope of the labour movement and the spectre of the inevitable approach of the agrarian revolution, the Chinese bourgeoisie abruptly separated from the nationalist movement and went over to the other side of the barricades — to the camp of the counter-revolution. It formed a bloc with the feudal and military reaction, concluded agreements with imperialism, which, by this time, had concentrated considerable military forces in China: the coups of the summer of 1927 in Shanghai, Canton, Wuhan, etc. And this victorious reaction, after the occupation of Peking, strives to exterminate physically, under conditions of revolting white terror, the revolutionary vanguard, to strangle the labour movement, to outlaw it and to substitute the trade unions by counter-revolutionary organisations. Incapable of reorganising China, or to consolidate its power and to lessen the appetites of the militarists, having come under the power of European and American imperialism, with which it is connected out of fear of the proletariat — the Chinese reaction has placed China in a position of still greater slavery and disorder than that in which it was in the nineteenth century.

* * *

We hear the cries of the deluded, oppressed, Chinese working masses, cries of anger and of pain. The position of the Chinese workers is revolting. They live and work in the most horrible conditions. From the moment of his starting work, the worker is exploited by the middleman, who without a qualm of conscience deprives him of part of his wages, the rest of which goes as "pledge" (which is never refunded), to the pension funds, and mostly in deductions for numerous heavy fines. He works from 12 to 16 hours a day, and sometimes, as in the silk mills of Shanghai, even 20 hours. The shift in the mines lasts 12 hours, but the miners often have to work underground full 24 hours without rest. The 30 minute dinner interval is only observed at a few enterprises, in most cases the workers eating while they work. As a general rule, the worker is not allowed to interrupt his work more than once a day (not even to go to the lavatory). This slave-like work so exhausts the workers that after the end of the day they are unable to walk and fall asleep in the streets close-by to the factories.

There is no labour protection, no safety measures. If a worker dies as a result of an accident at work, the employer sometimes pays his family 20 to 30 dollars, but he is not in the least obliged to do this. If a worker is wounded, maimed, or taken sick, he is simply thrown out of doors. 70% of the Chinese workers do not have a single day of rest during the whole year, except for the few days at New

Year, for which they do not receive pay. The women workers sometimes receive (without maintenance) two week's leave for confinement. It often happens that she gives birth at the machine during work, and immediately after commences work again.

Children earn from 3 to 5 dollars a month, working 16 hours a day. In the small shops children and minors receive no wages at all. All they get is their food. The workers' wages fluctuate from \$ 2.40 (canning factories) to 26 dollars (skilled textile workers). Thus the average wages are 11 dollars a month.

The revolutionary trade unions, united in the ranks of the All-China Federation of Labour Unions, which is affiliated to the R. I. L. U., had a membership of 3,000,000 in April 1927. At that time the trade unions were at the zenith of their power and development. The Shanghai Council of Trade Unions alone united as many as 800,000 workers. At the head of the armed proletariat, it seized the town on March 21st, 1927, and drove out the Northerners. There was a time when the Chinese Federation of Labour Unions was in the position to seize the English concessions in Hankow and force the British government to recognise this seizure... And now, when the vast Chinese family is bowed down in sorrow, the Second International, in response to the appeal to come out against the mowing-down of the revolutionary workers and the disintegration of their organisations, refuses aid, giving as its excuse that the Chinese working class is resisting its legal rulers!

The peasants, who, after the temporary destruction of the vital power of the labour movement, were the only active fighters for the emancipation of China, are still conducting the struggle in more than half of the Chinese provinces. But they are subjected to the most ruthless persecutions. After the coup d'état, when Chiang Kai-shek became the recognised leader of the reactionary forces, against the peasant unions, against the revolutionary elements of the villages, fighting against exorbitant taxes, usury, rapacious rents, plunderings and extortions from the militarists, repressions set in, which took on the character of absolute extermination. During the month of May, in the five districts of the Hupch province, the landlords, with the help of specially hired bandits, beat up not less than 1,000 peasants, amongst whom were the most active elements of the peasant unions (these latter were cut up into bits). The counter-revolutionary generals executed in 11 districts more than 1,200 peasants and burned down about 300 houses. Besides this nearly a thousand peasants were dangerously wounded. If we add to this that in September 1927, in one district of the Honan province alone, the punitive troops of Feng Yu Hsiang exterminated from 30 to 80 thousand peasants, irrespective of sex or age, and razed to the ground several villages, it is easy to imagine what an ocean of blood is flowing over Chinese territory.

The English execute the Chinese workers. "Decapitation is the best remedy for the strike fever in China" writes the "Daily Mail". Official representatives of the great powers participate at the executions. The English, American, and French police spy upon the communists and hand them over to the Chinese. As soon as the workers or peasants take over power somewhere, the warships of Japan, England, America and France appear on the scene immediately and help the Chinese reaction to suppress the movement that has started from below.

The labour movement is in danger. It has made such colossal sacrifices that it now even lags behind the peasant movement, infinite in scope and depth. It is essential for the future of the world proletariat that both these movements run parallel.

At this tragic stage of the great revolution, which is being sabotaged and undermined by the ruthlessness of the ruling class, in the face of the methodically executed physical extermination of the leaders of the labour and peasant movements, the immediate duty of the world proletariat is to organise a set-back, with all means in its power, with all its energy and immediately, to the unbridled forces of white terror. Let the workers of the whole world express their will, let them come out with an immediate and effective protest, which will frighten off Asiatic reaction, now become a bulwark of imperialist expansionism.

The workers must respond to the desperate appeal of the Chinese proletariat in the name of the common cause of the toilers of all countries.

THE BALKANS

The Situation in the Balkans and the Communist Parties of the Balkan Countries.

By Christo Kabaktschiev.

The situation in the Balkans has become acute. The wars, which lasted almost without interruption for ten years (the Balkan war broke out in the year 1912, and the war between Greece and Turkey ended in the year 1921), devastated the Balkan countries and plunged them into a profound economic and political crisis. In the post-war period a powerful wave of the revolutionary movement swept the whole of the Balkans.

Under the pressure of this movement the Boyars of Roumania were compelled to introduce agrarian reforms.

As a result of the peasant revolts and the forceful appropriation of the land by the peasants in Yugoslavia, the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie was also compelled to carry out certain agrarian reforms.

The disastrous situation of the Greek army in Asia Minor in 1921 produced the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Greece, in which the ministers responsible for the war were shot and the monarchy overthrown.

The class struggles produced in the Balkans by the war assumed greater proportions and a profounder character in Bulgaria, where, in the year 1923, two insurrections occurred: in June the peasants rose to defend the peasant government of Stambuliski which was overthrown by the bourgeois-fascist upheaval; in September there took place the great revolt of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

After the end of the war, Communist parties, which grew rapidly, had arisen in all the Balkan countries. Some of these, as the Yugoslavian Party and in particular the Bulgarian Party, succeeded in rallying round them hundreds of thousands of peasants in the election campaigns and returning dozens of Communist deputies to parliament.

But the bourgeoisie of the Balkans succeeded with the aid of European imperialism in quelling the first revolutionary wave in the Balkans. The revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants was suppressed; the agrarian reforms were in part abolished and in part not carried out at all; the bourgeoisie went over to the offensive. The stabilisation of capitalism was carried out in the Balkans with the aid of the fascist-terrorist regime which had arisen in nearly all the Balkan countries.

Nowhere else, however, is the stabilisation of capitalism so very relative and temporary as it is in the Balkan countries. The first obstacle to the development of industry is the shrinkage of the inner market, due to the impoverishment of the masses; another hindrance is the tendency of European imperialism to maintain the agrarian character of the Balkan countries, which supply agricultural products and raw material and receive the industrial products of the big imperialist countries.

The crisis created by the war in the agricultural production of the Balkan countries has not yet been overcome. The agrarian reforms have to a certain extent facilitated the development of capitalist agriculture. The small peasant farms, however, are being ruined. As the Balkan countries are predominantly agrarian countries, the economic ruin of the main mass of the peasants, consisting of small-holders, was bound to lead to a general economic crisis and to a growing poverty of the broad masses of the people.

We are entering on a period of intensified class struggle in the Balkans. The unbridled exploitation of the workers is evoking a fresh wave of strikes. The abolition of the agrarian reforms, which have been only partially carried out, and the destruction of the small peasant economy give a fresh impetus to the peasant movement. The regime of national oppression extends and deepens the national revolutionary movement.

The latest events in the Balkans likewise bear witness to a growth of the workers' and peasants' movement and of the national movements. The bloody events in the Belgrade parliament, where a Serbian national fascist shot two Croat deputies

seriously wounded the leader of the Croat Peasant Party, Raditch, are not only an indication of the fight between Serbian and the Croat bourgeoisie, but also signalise a opening of the national struggle in Yugoslavia which has provoked by the centralist regime of the Serbian bourgeoisie, which assumed a political character and in various cities came to open barricade fighting, shows that the peasant movement in the Balkans is again on the upgrade. The recent events in Roumania bear witness to the revival of peasant movement.

The situation has become particularly acute in Bulgaria. fascist regime has been raging in this country for five years. In spite of the wholesale blood baths (June and September 1923, April 1925) and the unceasing acts of terror, in spite of the severest exceptional laws, in spite of all attempts to suppress the slightest sign of the fight of the workers and peasants, the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria is not dead. Year ago a legal labour party was created in Bulgaria, which in the last elections, in spite of the raging Terror, polled tens of thousands of votes and returned four representatives to parliament. The legal labour press, in spite of constant confiscations, arrests of editors and the greatest hindrances, has a circulation of 30,000. The trade unions, which are exposed to monstrous persecutions, have been able to consolidate themselves and embrace about 8,000 members. The influence of the illegal Communist Party, which is continuing its energetic activity under the most difficult conditions and with the greatest sacrifices, is very great among the workers and poor peasants.

In the last few months the fascist government embarked on a fresh campaign of Terror and suppression not only against the illegal, but also against the legal labour movement. But the position of the coalition government is very insecure. It has long been torn by inner struggles, and the failure of the British loan has shaken it profoundly. The murder of general Progerov, who was at the head of the Macedonian fascist organisation which supported the coalition government in Bulgaria, shows that the fight within this coalition has become sharper and can lead to a political crisis.

The crisis in the Balkans is still further intensified as a result of the collisions of the antagonistic interests and influences of the big imperialist Powers. In the first years following the world war the influence of France predominated in the Balkans; it was later pushed aside by the influence of Italy and Great Britain. The coup d'état of June 9, 1923 in Bulgaria was carried out with the support of Italy and Great Britain, by which means they harnessed Bulgaria to their chariot.

British imperialism and Italian fascism were likewise able to draw Greece, and to a certain extent also Roumania, into their sphere of influence. Only Yugoslavia remains isolated in the Balkans as a true "ally", i.e. hireling, of French imperialism.

In the last few months there has taken place a regrouping of forces in the Balkans. The Little Entente (Roumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia), which is the outpost of French imperialism in south-east Europe and which had almost ceased to show any sign of life, at its last conference in Bucharest demonstrated not only against Hungary, but above all against Italy.

The government of Greece, which in recent years was supported by Great Britain, gave place to the new government of Venizelos, who is a representative of French influence. The fact that Great Britain granted the present government of Bulgaria a loan beforehand, shows that Great Britain is now supporting the policy of France in Bulgaria, as well as in Greece, Roumania and Czechoslovakia.

The ruling military cliques in the Balkans are blind tools in the hands of British, Italian and French imperialism. Great Britain is now preparing along with France to draw the Balkan countries into the approaching war against the Soviet Union.

This situation confronts the Communist Parties of the Balkans with serious and difficult tasks. One of these is their organisational consolidation. The Communist Parties of the Balkan countries are endeavouring to penetrate into the masses and to place themselves at the head of their daily struggles.

The Communist Parties of the Balkans are now conducting a fight for the overthrow of the bloody fascist regime which

is strangling the working and peasant masses of all the Balkan countries; they are conducting the fight against war, for peaceful relations with the Soviet Union, for the realisation of the pressing demands of the workers and poor peasants, for the creation of workers' and peasants' governments and for uniting the workers' and peasants' republics of the Balkans in a Balkan Federation.

The VI. World Congress of the Comintern will help the Communist Parties of the Balkans to prepare to carry out the great and difficult tasks with which the present situation in the Balkans confronts them.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The C. P. of Poland on Outpost Duty.

By Eduard Pruchnikak.

An important rôle, the rôle of the capitalist vanguard, has been allotted to Marshal Pilsudski's fascist Poland in the war for which world capital is preparing against the Soviet Union. In this way the development of the international situation in the past two years has imparted an international significance to Poland's internal affairs. The question as to whether the fascist dictatorship is holding power more or less firmly, the questions of the fighting capacity of the Polish army, of the development and the extent of the class struggle in Poland are regarded by Chamberlain and Poincaré as first-rank factors of international politics. The sector of the front of the class war on which the Communist Party of Poland is fighting, is therefore especially important and deserves the particular attention of the international working class as a whole.

The success or failure of the war plans of the imperialists depends in a considerable measure on the Communist Party of Poland, on its force, its Bolshevik discipline and firmness, its connection with the masses and its correct tactics.

The C. P. of Poland can record extremely successful results achieved in the time which has elapsed since the 5th Congress of the Comintern and especially in the last two years. It has become the only real leader of the working masses of Poland in their fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. The C. P. of Poland, in spite of its illegality, has known how to win over to its side the majority of the working class in the biggest industrial centres. It has penetrated into the village from which the Party had been completely isolated even in 1923, and has succeeded in gathering hundreds of thousands of revolutionary peasants round itself. It is at the head of the powerful liberation movement of the oppressed nations, the White Russians and Ukrainians, by materialising the fraternal alliance between the proletarians of all nations and holds the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary fight of the peasantry and of the oppressed nations.

These successful results of the C. P. of Poland cannot be disputed. It is, however, just this success of the revolutionary movement, just this growth of the revolutionary struggle which induces Fascism, which is preparing for war, to employ ever fresh and more cunning fighting means against our Party in order to alienate the C. P. of Poland completely from the masses and to achieve its physical destruction.

We are now standing on the threshold of a new phase in the development of the fascist dictatorship, which confronts the Party with new tasks. This phase is characterised by the coalescence of the Socialist Party of Poland with the fascist apparatus of the State in its fight against Communism. We cannot say that the P. P. S. has gone over into the camp of fascism, as the P. P. S. has, from the very outset, been an essential component part of that camp. It is a question of an organic symbiosis. The 1st of May in Warsaw is a proof of that process. The police was relieved by fighting detachments of the P. P. S. by whom several hundreds of workers were killed or wounded. The first of May was merely a beginning. At the present time, these fighting detachments are systematically flogging and killing Communist workers in the factories, especially members of the factory councils, members of the trade union committees etc. The employers dismiss from the factories hundreds of workers suspected of being Communists.

At the same time when Fascism is making every effort to shut out the Communists completely from the class organs of the proletariat, it is extending its fascist leagues and trying to attract the workers into them by means of terror and demagogic. Among other things, the object of this combined attack on Communism is to impart an absolutely fascist character to the trade union movement.

An attack on the communist parliamentary fraction is being made at the same time. Sochaczki and Baginski, two communist deputies, have already been arrested by order of the Sejm on the proposal of the government.

The working class of Poland is offering resistance to the fresh attack of Fascism and of the P.P.S. The task incumbent on the C.P. of Poland is to organise this resistance. For this purpose the Party must strengthen its connection with the masses, extend the network of its factory nuclei, make use of all the legal forms of propaganda in order to penetrate into the broadest masses of the working class even more than has been done hitherto, and carry on a special activity for organising the factory councils and gaining new adherents among the masses of the trade union members.

A fresh, important factor in the fight of the C.P. of Poland against fascist terror is the organisation of the self-defence of the masses in the factories and workshops against the fighting detachments of the P.P.S. and against the police troops. The Party must make the slogan of the political general strike popular; it should not for a moment permit a weakening of the labour movement, which is already making its appearance in powerful street demonstrations under the flag of the C.P.P.

The fight against any manifestation of the fascist terror is an absolutely necessary component part of the general fight for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, for a workers' and peasants' government.

The Party is organising the mass struggle against fascism in three directions: the fight against the danger of war, against a deterioration of the material position of the workers (against "rationalisation") and against the fascist terror. In its fight against war, the Party has understood how to mobilise the broad masses, how to draw their attention to the systematic preparations for war which are being made by Polish fascism (the development of war industry, the militarisation of sport organisations, the construction of military roads, the conflict with Lithuania, the promotion of the White-Guardists, the national policy in the Western Ukraine and in Western White Russia).

At the present time, the fight against the danger of war, especially in Western White Russia and in the Western Ukraine, is particularly important, as increasing numbers of the White Russian and Ukrainian bourgeoisie are going over to the side of Polish fascism. This process is evident from the betrayal committed by the group of Wassilkiv within the C.P. of the Western Ukraine, the split in the "Selrob" (the party of working peasants in the Western Ukraine) and the vacillations of the White Russian intellectuals.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism has been transformed into a direct weapon of British imperialism and of Polish fascism against the Soviet Union. The Communist Party must mobilise the broad masses of the Western Ukraine and of Western White Russia against all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties which have betrayed the interests both of the workers and peasants and of national emancipation. The Party, by constantly promulgating the slogan of the right of self-determination even so far as separation of the oppressed people, must consolidate the close fraternal alliance of the proletariat of all the different nationalities of Poland.

In connection with the danger of war, the activity of the Party should be specially reinforced in the village, where the fascist organisations with their tendency to a compromise are still playing an important rôle.

The Party should, in the same way, reinforce its organisational activity in the army.

The elections to the Sejm have shown that — even though the activity of the Communist Party finds a lively echo in the ranks of the peasantry, and even though its revolutionary slogans "expropriation of landed property without compensation", "the alliance between the workers and peasants" are readily adopted by the broad masses — the consolidation of its influence on the basis of organisation is not yet sufficiently strong. This disparity must be removed.

In the domain of the organisation of economic struggles, the task with which the C.P. of Poland is faced as an initiator, organiser and leader of strikes is steadily growing. It is a difficult task which cannot, however, be postponed. The economic position of the Polish workers is a terrible one. The eight-hour day has, as a matter of fact, been abolished. Wages are now lower than pre-war wages whilst the intensity of work is being increased to the utmost extent. The permanent army of unemployed and the poor peasants who add to its numbers contribute to worsen the conditions of work of those who are still employed. The trade unions have become a mere fiction, and the workers are leaving them in large numbers. The government is systematically resorting to compulsory arbitration, which decides every question in favour of the bourgeoisie. The workers want to strike, they are forced to do so, but they have no trade union organisations which could take the lead. They are seeking such an organisation.

The Party is compelled to reckon with the possibility of a decisive intensification of the class war in the near future. It is faced with great tasks demanding a maximum of unity and harmony between the party leaders. It would be a serious mistake to conceal that these conditions have not yet been fulfilled.

All our comrades in Poland are working heroically at their different posts, but the Party as a whole is being corroded by fraction struggles, which have an effect on the fighting capacity of the organisations and the productivity of work of the party leadership. The 4th Congress of the C.P. of Poland recorded that, within the C.P.P., there are no differences of opinion which could justify a fractional fight. In the past year, the differences of opinion have become still less, whereas the fractional struggle has been intensified. The VI. Congress of the Comintern must assist the C.P.P. to liquidate the harmful fractional struggle which destroys the fundamental Bolshevik discipline and reduces the fighting capacity of the Party. The liquidation of the struggle within the Party is possible and necessary. The C.P. of Poland must become a united, firm Bolshevik Party.

THE SHAKHTY TRIAL

The Lessons of the Shakhty Trial.

By E. Wollenberg (Moscow).

An important episode in the underground and insidious fight of the imperialist powers and their Russian white-guardist agents against the Soviet Union, as well as a serious act of revolutionary self-defence on the part of the Workers and Peasants' State, has come to a certain conclusion.

Needless to say, the whole of the bourgeois press of Europe raised a howl of rage over the discovery of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy in the Donetz area, and the bourgeois and social-democratic press attempted to stir up the working masses of their countries against the sentence passed by the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, against "blood justice", "Bolshevik barbarity" etc.

The reasons for this campaign of incitement are perfectly obvious. For a number of the imperialist states, and especially for the French and the Polish general staff, the discovery and the annihilation of the sabotage organisation in the Donetz Basin meant the loss of an important means of war against the Soviet Union.

It would be a fatal error if the masses were to imagine that the coming war will begin, like the war of 1914, with an open declaration of war, with mobilisation of troops etc. The counter-revolutionary conspiratorial organisation brought to light in the Donetz area has furnished proof that to-day, "in the midst of peace", certain forms of war are already being employed by the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union. War is the continuation of present policy with other means, namely, with military means. The destruction of such an important centre of production as the Donetz district, the preparation of wide-scale sabotage manoeuvres behind the front in case of open military intervention are serious acts of war. The one lesson that the proletarians of all countries must draw from the Shakhty conspiracy is, that their imperialist govern-

No. 40
Vol. 40
ants can, in one form or another, be engaged in acts of war
against the Soviet Union without the working masses at all
noticing that their country has slid into war.

The trial of the Shakhty conspirators has shown that the
vigilance of the workers of the capitalist countries with regard
to the doings of firms having business connections with the
Soviet Union was not sufficient by a long way.

One of the most important lessons of the Shakhty trial is
that it has shown how necessary it still is to broaden and
open our campaign of enlightenment regarding the Soviet
Union in all capitalist countries. It is obvious that bourgeois
and social-democratic newspapers would not have been able to
read all their contemptible and stupid lies about the Soviet
Union even for one day if these calumnies were not somehow
adapted to the views of broad sections of the population
and if they did not meet with a response among them.

Now as regards the "Moscow blood justice". It is clear
that even according to bourgeois law the five criminals who
were sentenced to death and executed had forfeited their lives.
They had abused the confidence which the Russian proletariat
had placed in them, they deliberately did enormous damage to
the socialist economy, they accepted bribes, acted as spies and
helped in the preparation of armed intervention. Their acts bore
a semi-military character; they were military spies, against
whom are employed military counter-measures such as shooting.

That is how the matter would stand in all bourgeois-
capitalist countries. In the Soviet Union, however, the question
is different. Why does the Workers and Peasants' State employ
the death penalty? In the Soviet Union law is fundamentally
different from the law of the capitalist countries. In the latter
the law of commodity and value applies also in criminal
jurisprudence: "For every commodity a definite sum of money;
for every crime a definite punishment." This conception has
nothing in common with socialist principles. The word and the
idea of "punishment" is removed from Soviet law. Each crime
is judged not formally, i. e. separated from the social relationships,
but from the standpoint of the protection of society, of
defending the revolutionary Workers and Peasants' State. The
courts of the Soviet Union, in passing judgment on accused
persons, are guided solely by the question as to what measures
of social defence are necessary in the interests of the socialist
order of society.

If the Shakhty conspiracy had been an isolated phenomenon,
the proletarian court could have contented itself with
depriving the accused of their freedom or perhaps only morally
stigmatizing them. But Soviet Russia is surrounded by imperialist
foes. The former Russian capitalists who are now
living abroad make use of every means, in connection with
the foreign capitalists and their government, to organise the
fight to destroy the Soviet economy and to re-establish the
capitalist order of society. Broad sections of the highest stratum
of the former favoured specialists are still to-day hostile to
the socialist order and act as agents for the counter-revolution
abroad. That which has now been discovered in Shakhty and
enacted before the forum of the public during the trial which
lasted about forty days, is only a part of the widespread organ-
isation of saboteurs and spies who have wormed their way
into the confidence of the Proletariat of Soviet Russia.

The trial, and especially its result, must not only arouse
the vigilance of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union,
not only show the imperialist Powers, their general staffs and
economic leaders that all their plans are wrecked on the iron
will of the workers and Peasants' State, but above all cry to
the saboteurs and economic spies still in the Soviet Union:
"Thus far and no farther!"

Thus for the international proletariat the most important
lesson of the Shakhty trial consists of the fact that the counter-
revolutionary conspiracy in the Donetz Basin has clearly shown
how relative is the present state of peace between the imperialist
powers and the Soviet Union, and how necessary it is sys-
tematically to extend and deepen the work of enlightening the
broadest masses of the working people regarding all happenings
in the Soviet Union.

THE WHITE TERROR

British Reign of Terror in Palestine.

By J. Crossley (London).

During 1927-28 there has been an ever increasing regime
of persecution of the militant sections of the worker's movement
in Palestine. This persecution has taken the form of (a) Refusal
of citizen rights to workers who, in most cases, have been
resident in Palestine for many years, thus rendering them out-
laws. (b) Mass arrests of workers suspected of belonging to
the Communist Party, Communist Youth, R. I. L. U. and the
Red Aid organisations, many of whom are kept in prison for
long periods without even being tried, then sentenced to long
terms of imprisonment, often accompanied by floggings, and
afterwards deported from the country. In many cases these
workers are deported to Poland and Roumania, where they are
handed over to the police in these countries and again sentenced
to imprisonment. (c) Attacks upon worker's demonstrations and
meetings by the British Gendarmerie (recruited from the in-
famous Black and Tans who were sent from Ireland to Pale-
stine).

This White Terror which is carried on by the British forces
of occupation with the help of the reactionary Zionist bour-
geois government officials, is part of the Anglo-Zionist im-
perialist policy to preserve Palestine, under the guise of a
National Home for the Jews, as a strategic base for the purpose
of providing a jumping off ground for future attacks on Soviet
Russia, for the development of Britains designs on Iraq, Arabia,
Transjordania, Persia and the other Near Eastern countries,
and also, by the development of British subsidised roads, rail-
ways and harbours, to afford an alternative and more rapid
route to the Persian Gulf and India, to that of the Suez Canal.

Following are a few of the examples of this White Terror
and Mass persecution during the period of 1927-1928.

Following the British Tory Government's raid on the Arcos
institutions in London and the subsequent breaking off of diplo-
matic and trading relations with Soviet Russia, many De-
monstrations of protest were held throughout Palestine, in
Jerusalem, Afulah, Tel-Aviv and Petach Tikvah as well as in
many communes and factories, etc. These were followed on
June 10th by a great Demonstration in Haifa. This Demonstra-
tion was attended by practically the whole of the Arab and
Jewish working population of the town and the surrounding
country.

These Demonstrations were in most cases smashed up by
the police and were the signal for wholesale arrests. In Haifa
alone 30 workers were arrested and sent to Acre Gaol, without
trial, no bail being allowed.

A Strike against the inhuman conditions operating in the
"N. U. R." match Factory commenced in February 1927. On
June 24th, the proprietors endeavoured to break the strike
by the introduction of 'Scabs'. When pickets of the striking
workers endeavoured to dissuade the scabs from entering
the factory the proprietor summoned the British Mounted
Gendarmerie, which arrived at the factory under the command
of the Police Commandant of Haifa. Major Sinclair. He im-
mediately gave the order to the police to charge the pickets
and other assembled strikers and onlookers. The workers were
beaten and many of them, including several girls, were cruelly
injured, the gendarmes treading them under the horses feet
as they lay on the ground. 22 of the strikers were arrested
including 13 women and were transported to Acre prison
although bleeding from their injuries. On the following night
the police made a raid on the houses of strikers suspected of
participating in the organisation of picketing and 39 further
arrests were made, including many women, the prisoners in
many cases being taken from their beds to gaol without being
allowed to cover their nakedness. They were all taken to
gaol at Acre in chains. The whole incident aroused tremendous
indignation throughout the country, but this was of no avail
in deterring the arrogant British authorities in carrying on
their repressive measures.

The Palestine section of the International Red Aid has
received the special attention of the authorities. Its bulletin
has been suppressed and the editor, Aria Karp was arrested.
In spite of the workers protests that the Red Aid is a per-

fectly legal organisation and also despite questions on the matter raised in the British House of Commons by Saklatvala and other labour members, Arie Karp was convicted on the charge of carrying on subversive propaganda and belonging to an illegal organisation, was sentenced to 2 months imprisonment and afterwards deported from Palestine after being resident in that country since childhood. A mass of sympathetic workers accompanied him to the railway station, where he was taken in chairs, and held a protest meeting against his deportation which was broken up by the police and several arrests made.

On February 10th, 1928 a worker, Zakariah Koish was arrested and charged with belonging to the Communist Party. He was sentenced to imprisonment and deportation and also to receive 10 strokes of the rod. The latter part of his sentence was waived owing to the mass protests which were organised by the Red Aid and the Communist Party as well as by his own declaration of a Hunger-strike in the State Prison of Jerusalem. 2 other political prisoners named Ben Simon and Kotik were sentenced to solitary confinement in dark damp cells which are called "Karcer" for refusing to kneel and bow to the prison administrators. Koish was deported on June 26th of the present year without trial.

Following are some of the latest examples of British "Kultur" which have recently come to hand in a report.

Nahman Listvinsky (resident in Palestine for 14 years). Arrested and sentenced to deportation.

Eliezer Aisenberg (resident in Palestine for 8 years). Sentenced to 25 days imprisonment and deportation for belonging to the Communist Party.

Jehuda Langman (Resident 7 years). Sentenced to 3 months imprisonment and deportation for having in his possession an article intended to be sent to the foreign press.

Pinhas Zaitman (4 years resident). Sentenced to 1 month imprisonment for belonging to the Y. C. L. and participating in a meeting.

Joseph Boyarsky. Sentenced to 1 month for spreading manifestos on May 1st.

Jacob Lukk (9 years resident). Sentenced to one month and deportation for participation in May 1st demonstrations.

Abraham Kanevsky (6 years resident). Sentenced to 1 month and deportation for participation in May 1st Demonstration.

Israel Volkocicky (4 years resident) sentenced to 1 month and deportation for participating in May 1st demonstration.

Arje Levin (5 years resident) sentenced to 66 days imprisonment and deportation for belonging to the Y. C. L.

On May 29th, when the prisoners were taking their customary exercise in the State Prison in Jerusalem, the warden ordered them back to their respective cells before they had had their 15 minutes exercise. On the prisoners protesting and demanding that they should have their full allotted time for exercise, they were seized, put into chains and thrown into their cells where they were all cruelly beaten. The prisoners replied to this barbarous treatment by declaring a hunger strike which commenced on May 30th. This was accompanied by demands for treatment as political prisoners with the right to have beds, books, newspapers and visits from their relatives and friends and also a demand for the punishment of the officials responsible for their ill-treatment. This hunger strike was joined by other prisoners in the gaol in sympathy with their demands, including several Arabs. On the third day of the strike 3 of the prisoners were sentenced to be flogged, Kanevsky to 12 strokes of the rod and Langman and Zaitman to 10 strokes each. So serious was the condition of 2 of the comrades after this flogging that they had to be removed on stretchers to the prison hospital.

The declaration of the hunger-strike and the corporal punishment aroused a tremendous wave of sympathy with the prisoners and anger at the authorities on the part of the masses of workers in Palestine. Demonstrations were organised which the police broke up in some cases. In one case they made several further arrests, but such was the infuriation of the crowd that they attacked the police and released their comrades. Several strikes of 1 hour's duration also have been organised and protests have been made to the government and the British Labour Party etc. by the Hystadruth (Jewish Confederation of Labour) who are seriously concerned at the magnitude of the protests.

The Terror is still raging in Palestine but the workers are powerless to put up an effective resistance to the brutal bullying British forces and their allies of the Jewish bourgeoisie without the active co-operation of the British working class and the workers of the other European countries. Workers everywhere should rally to the assistance of our brave Palestinian comrades and organise the greatest possible resistance to the Imperialist terror led by Britain which is raging throughout Palestine and the whole of the Near East.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

A Step Towards International Trade Union Unity.

We publish below the letters exchanged between the two independent Scandinavian Trade Union Federations and the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions on the question of international trade union unity.

Letter from Norwegian and Finnish Trade Unions to Red International of Labour Unions.

To the Executive Bureau, Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow.

The Secretariat of the Trade Union Federation of Norway and the Secretariat of the Finnish Trade Union Federation take the liberty of addressing the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions with the request to give joint help to the calling of a Conference, on a free and comradely basis, of representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Red International of Labour Unions, the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, the Finnish T. U. Federation and all other national centres not affiliated to either International, desiring to respond to the invitation.

We propose, as the theme for discussion at this Conference, the question of the establishment of complete international trade union unity, and also the question of the unification of the trade union movement on a national scale in those countries where the trade union movement is at present divided.

Taking into consideration the serious circumstances under which the working class of a whole series of countries is living, bearing in mind the attack of reaction upon the working class and the trade unions, and also in view of the war danger, threatening the nations from the imperialist overlords, we consider that there is no need to base our proposal in greater detail.

We are convinced that the Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U. and the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. understand better than we the difficulties to be met with in achieving complete international trade union unity, but together with this, fully recognise the need for it and its advisability.

Entertaining the hope that our proposal will meet with a favourable response and will be discussed, as far as possible, immediately, we remain, with comradely greetings.

Trade Union Federation of Norway
Finnish Trade Union Federation.

Letter from Red International of Labour Unions to Norwegian and Finnish Trade Unions.

To the Secretariat of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation.
To the Secretariat of the Finnish Trade Union Federation.
Dear Comrades:

Your letter of March 20, 1928, which was received here only on June 20, was considered by the R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau in its meeting of July 4th. You ask the R. I. L. U. to "render assistance in convening, upon free and fraternal principles, a conference of representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the R. I. L. U., the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, the Finnish Trade Union Federation, as well as other national centres unaffiliated to any International which might respond to the invitation."

The R. I. L. U. Executive Bureau welcomes your initiative, it believes that the least step towards unity of the trade unions should meet with the support of every worker irrespective of political views and convictions. The R. I. L. U. supports your proposal because it coincides with the decisions of the Soviet-Norwegian-Finnish Conference, which are in accord with the decisions of the Third and Fourth Congresses of the R. I. L. U. in regard to unity of the trade union movement, and because the danger of the imminent imperialist war imperatively dictates to all the oppressed and exploited the need of united action against capitalism. We attach particular importance to the invitation to the International. Among such centres which are unaffiliated to Australasian Trade Union Council, the Indian Trades Union as we can gather from the press, the Australasian Trade Union Council has quite independently expressed itself in the spirit of your letter. We cite here the verbatim text of a resolution carried by the Australasian Trade Union Congress May, 1927:

"This Congress urgently requests the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions to agree to the repeated proposals of the Red International of Labour Unions for the calling of a 'World Conference' in order to achieve unity of the workers throughout the world. Pending the convening of such a conference we postpone our decision as to affiliation to one or another International."

In the same spirit was the expression of opinion by the ^{Ind 121} Trade Union Congress which was held in November, 1927. Here is the verbatim text of the resolution:

"Congress expresses regret at the rupture of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee and insists that further steps shall be taken for the establishment of unity between the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) and the Red International of Labour Unions."

We have no information whether an expression of opinion made by the Trade Union Confederation of Mexico (C. R. O. M.), and in what sense such an expression was made; all events, it would be desirable that it should be invited to take part in this conference, which has for its purpose to revise the ways and means for the restoration of unity of the trade unions, and the formation of an all-embracing International uniting the trade unions of all countries, all races, and all continents.

The composition of the Conference as suggested by you seems to us expedient and we are, therefore, prepared to send delegates as soon as you inform us as to the time and place of opening of this Unity Conference.

Trusting that our affirmative reply to your proposal will facilitate your work on the organisation of the Unity Conference, the R. I. L. U. Executive promises its further assistance every effort to restore the unity of the trade union movement on a national and an international scale.

With fraternal greetings,

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.

BOOK REVIEWS

Rado: Guide Book to the Soviet Union*).

By J. G.

The traveller's guide issued by the Society for Cultural Relations of the Soviet Union with Foreign Countries in the autumn of 1925, which took in only the five most important towns of the Soviet Union, has just been converted into a complete traveller's handbook for the whole of the Soviet Union and constitutes a valuable addition to the literature concerning the Soviet Union.

Outwardly, it is a guide book like any other, with an introduction about the country and the people, with descriptions

"Guide Book to the Soviet Union". Complete edition. Compiled by A. Rado, Berlin 1928. Neuer Deutscher Verlag. Price marks.

of the most important routes of travel, with surveys of individual districts, with exact descriptions of the largest cities and most important towns, brief descriptions of the middle-size and small towns, and a number of maps. But this outer form is the only thing it has in common with other travellers' guides. Though the maps with the many changed names of individual districts and towns, and, still more, the town plans with the yet more extensive fresh nomenclature — of streets, squares, bridges, railways, buildings, etc. — mark the tremendous revolution in the greater part of the huge extent of the former Tsarist Empire (in general the old names are also given in the guide), the new aspect comes still more into prominence in the very comprehensively articulated and conscientiously compiled text.

The general section gives, naturally in very brief form, a survey of the whole of the Soviet Union, touching upon the country and population, development and history of the State, labour conditions (in what other guide book will you find this?) cultural life and national economy; a practical guide acquaints the traveller with the most important features which are of significance to him.

Then follow complete but concise and always carefully selected descriptions, divided according to the individual Soviet Republics, and subdivided in accordance with the practical routes of travel within the individual Soviet Republics, descriptions which embrace the colossal Workers' and Peasants' State from extreme West to farthest East, from the farthest North to the European and Asiatic South. The historical remarks carry one right up to the present day, and, as does the historical sketch, rightly gives preference to the last decade and years, so that one has a history of the latest revolutionary events, also divided according to districts and important places. Alongside the purely geographic and purely historical information, the political, social and cultural aspects also come in for adequate attention.

All this makes the Guide Book to the Soviet Union not only a help of unusual utility to the traveller in the Soviet Union (also those who have already been there and contemplate fresh journeys there, will find much useful information in the book), but also to people abroad who wish to become acquainted with the Soviet Union and its individual districts and towns and need a reliable reference book for constant and handy use.

QUESTIONS OF THE SIXTH CONGRESS

The Tasks of the Departments for Work in the Village.

By K. Baumann.

(Conclusion.)

Collectivisation is an Indispensable Constituent of Lenin's Cooperative Plan.

That agricultural production is so backward and scattered is the main cause of our present difficulties in our grain supply, and it is at the same time the main cause of the poverty of our village. It is impossible to attain a great increase in the productive forces of agriculture, and it is impossible to raise the material welfare of the main mass of the peasantry, unless the village is reorganised on a socialist basis. Here alone lies the salvation of the peasantry from poverty and misery, and the Party organisations must work energetically for the realisation of the slogan issued by the XV. Party Congress: "Village, forward to the great collective farms!"

There are comrades among us, basing their conclusions partially on theoretical research, who endeavour to interpret the issue of this slogan by the XV. Party Congress as if the possibility of the development of the individual undertaking as such had been forgotten. It would of course be extremely foolish and even stupid to advocate collectivisation without taking simultaneous measures for the maximum development of the productive forces of agriculture by means of the furtherance of the individual farms of the poor and middle peasants. The promotion of the productivity of these private undertakings by means of the introduction of methods of scientific cultivation is one of the most urgent and important tasks of the whole Soviet and

Party apparatus. It is obvious that a much greater degree of success can be obtained in this manner, since these undertakings will be much more efficient when induced to participate in the process of collectivisation of agriculture.

The organisation of the individual peasant farms in collective undertakings makes it much easier to introduce correct methods of cultivation; the soil can be renewed more easily and rapidly — one of the most important prerequisites for the improvement of labour productivity in agriculture. The use of complicated machinery (tractors, threshing machines, etc.) is only possible when the peasant farms combine in machine co-operatives. This applies especially to the peasant farms. These, when working by themselves, cannot even make full use of one horse. (According to statements issued by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, a horse is unprofitable for 8 million small farms.)

Collectivisation alone ensures the radical increase of the productive forces and goods productivity of the peasant farm.

The combining of the peasant farms in simple forms of production co-operatives (for instance machinery co-operatives) cannot be termed collective farming, but it is a step towards collectivisation. Where these simple forms of association have been organised, they are followed in actual practice by the collectivisation of the separate processes of production (ploughing, threshing, erection of common barns, cattle stables, etc.), developing further into the higher forms of the collectivisation of the means of production, into co-operatives for the common tillage of the soil, into artels and communes.

The slogan issued by the XV. Party Congress: Forward to the great collective farm! signifies that these are the lines upon which we can achieve most speedily and effectively an improvement in the material situation of the individual peasant farms, especially of the poor and small farms, and can attain a greater labour productivity. Our Party, as the vanguard of its class, is perfectly aware that a radical raising of the productive forces and products of agriculture can only be reached along the path of collectivisation and firmer establishment of agricultural production. Our Party must therefore make the fullest possible use of all measures calculated to promote agriculture (credits, mechanisation, etc.).

The cause of collectivisation is indissolubly bound up with the whole question of the adoption of the co-operative system of economics; it is the basis, during the present period, upon which we must take the steps necessary for the advancement of agriculture. Those who relegate this question to the background, and fail to recognise the necessity of combining the aid lent the individual peasant with the furtherance of collectivisation, are simply letting themselves drift in the wake of events, and are not capable of playing a part as creators and organisers of the new socialist village.

The departments for work in the village must put the whole of their work at the service of the realisation of Lenin's co-operative plan. The realisation of this plan is fundamental and decisive for the class struggle being carried on by the proletariat and the poor peasantry, allied with the middle peasantry, against the Kulaks in the present stage of the development of the Soviet village.

The importance of the alliance with the middle peasants. Those who regard the process of collectivisation as a movement peculiar to the masses of the poor peasants alone, are greatly in error. We must realise a close alliance with the middle peasantry both on the general front of socialist development, and in this its most important sector. The poor peasantry is and remains our support; it can be and must be the vanguard of the collectivisation movement, for it has nothing to lose but its misery, it has nothing to regret in the past, and can only look forward. It is rather the middle peasant who stands "at the parting of the ways". But for him too the future holds only one real hope, that of being a free member of a free production co-operative.

The XV. Party Congress emphasised that whilst we must promote collectivisation with conviction and energy, we must not exercise the slightest force in winning over the main mass

of the peasantry, nor draw any fantastic pictures of the future. Although there are so many of little faith among us, dozens of cases can already be recorded in which whole villages, comprising hundreds of peasant farms, have already gone over to the collective cultivation of the soil (for instance in Moscow Gubernia and in the Ukraine). The departments for work in the village must not carry on their work on petty lines. They must resolve on well thought out, comprehensive action, adapted in every individual case to the actual conditions obtaining in the district in question; there need be no fantastic imaginings, but none the less the ultimate goal must not be lost sight of behind the trifling affairs of daily life.

An axis must and can be found everywhere, around which all these "little things" may be assembled. Is it not possible, for instance, for a district or village to profit by our experiences, and to set itself the task of obtaining a tractor or a threshing machine, or at building a large oil-pressing works, and to reorganise thereby the village on co-operative lines, to go forward to the common cultivation of the soil, etc.?

This task requires organisatory and material effort for not only one day or one month, but extending perhaps over several years. Have we not villages which have already set themselves these tasks? Have they not already been accomplished in some villages? Undoubtedly they have. And we must set ourselves great tasks in the cause of collectivisation, until the peasant villages have passed on to the organised transition to the collective cultivation of the soil.

From this creative standpoint, which is based on a profound realism, and realises the standpoint of the decisions of the XV. Party Congress, the departments for work in the village must estimate the work of the land committees, of the agricultural credit institutions, and the co-operatives. No doubt there is still much to do. Many old habits must be shaken off before the whole machinery of our apparatus, including the co-operative apparatus, takes up the work of realising the decisions of the XV. Party Congress on work in the village as it should be taken up.

The C. C. of the Party has set us the great task of creating a centralised network of new collective farms within the next few years, these undertakings to produce 100 million poods of grain for the market yearly. The accomplishment of this task demands energetic work on the part of the departments for work in the village, and of all Party committees. But even in those places which are not included in this centralised plan, measures must and can be taken for improving and reorganising the work of the existing Soviet farms.

This means that it is necessary for the departments for work in the village to be informed on the budget of the different rural districts, and to take into consideration the possibility of applying a part of the means drawn from the village for the advancement of agriculture.

The autumn is approaching and with it the seed campaign. We must utilise the brief period still at our disposal for the winter seed campaign, and must do this more efficiently than we did in spring. This work is indivisibly bound up with the organisation of the broad masses of poor and middle peasants, and with the struggle against the exploitative and anti-Soviet strivings of the Kulak.

The questions involved by Party work in the village are again the focus upon which the attention of the Party is concentrated. We are firmly convinced that the departments for work in the village, organised in accordance with the decisions of the Party Conference, aided by the Party committees, will greatly promote the organisation of the masses around the Soviets, the co-operatives, and the Party, will strengthen the struggle against the Kulaks by means of a general raising of agriculture, and will accelerate the realisation of Lenin's co-operative plan.

The departments for work in the village must take the lead in the fight being carried on by the proletariat and the poor peasantry for the firmer establishment of the alliance with the middle peasants against the Kulaks.