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C O N T E N T S

Sen Katayama: The General Election in Japan.

Willi Münzenberg: The Zinoviev Letter Exposed as the Product of a Berlin Forgery Workshop.

Politics.

E. S.: The Dissolution of the Japanese Parliament.

G. A. K. Luhan: The New Phase of the National Revolutionary Struggle in India.

Karskiy: The Position in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

Against Trotzkyism.

Declaration of Zinoviev and Kamenev against the Trotzkyists.

Against Imperialist War.

Dal A.: Preparations for War on the Part of the British Imperialists in India.

The Labour Movement.

Aug. Enderle: The Metalworkers' Strike in Central Germany.

J. R. Campbell: The Situation in the Scottish Mineworkers' Union.

E. F. L.: The Labour Movement in Brazil.

Against Colonial Oppression.

M. N. Roy: Persecution of the Labour Movement in India.

China.

Tang Shin She: The Situation in China.

The White Terror.

What is Happening to Comrade Matthias Rákosi?

R. Jarcovi: The Persecution of the Communist Movement in Spain.

Ten Years Ago.

The Bessarabian Tragedy.

In the International.

T. Feder: Decisions of the Plenum of the C. C. of the Communist Party of Poland.

In the Camp of Social Democracy.

Kautsky v. Rosa Luxemburg.

The General Election in Japan.

(Advice to my Friends.)

By Sen Katayama.

The "general" elections now taking place for the first time in Japan on the basis of universal suffrage are proceeding amidst increasingly acute class struggle and growing reaction on the one hand, and the rising tide of revolutionary activity of the broad masses of the workers and peasants on the other. The landowning and bourgeois parties are resorting to every device possible to impose their influence upon the electorate. The bourgeoisie has allocated to the servile Social Democrats and reformists the principal task of discouraging the revolutionary strivings of the masses and of strengthening constitutional illusions. In such circumstances the fundamental task of the Communist Party of Japan is to take advantage of the elections in order to come before the masses with unfurled banner and to reach out to the masses, no matter what obstacles stand in the way. Owing to the severe administrative restrictions the Communist Party cannot put forward its own candidates to the extent that its real influence upon the masses of the proletariat warrants. Therefore, the Party must advocate voting for the candidates of the consistent Worker and Peasant Party, which enters the struggle for the purpose of really defending the interests of the toilers. Simultaneously, the Communist Party must participate in the election campaign as an independent

factor, issue its own manifesto, set up its independent platform on the lines which have already received publicity in the press, put up its own speakers, etc. But, while as a rule, supporting the candidates of the kindred Worker and Peasant Party, the Communist Party must strive to surmount the difficulties which stand in the way and, at least in a few proletarian constituencies, put forward its own candidates if it is at all possible.

In the course of its election propaganda the Communist Party must sharply criticise the Sakai Minsuto and show to the masses that its leaders are in fact social imperialists and allies of the executioner, Chang Kai-shek. No less determinedly must the Party expose the Centrist leaders who, by their wavering, are actually sabotaging the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants.

Being remote from the scene of the struggle of the Japanese workers and peasants and being in possession only of delayed and incomplete information, I must exercise caution in criticising the line of policy of the representatives of the workers and peasants who are honestly striving to carry on a consistent class struggle, but who, owing to lack of sufficient revolutionary experience, are committing mistakes in the present

serious situation. Nevertheless, I will take the liberty to point out that even the Rodo Nominto, in my opinion, is committing a number of serious mistakes which must be rectified before it is too late. As for example, for reasons independent of the Rodo Nominto, its platform does not contain slogans which should be obligatory for every worker and peasant in Japan, such as: Support of the Chinese Revolution; demand for the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China; the complete independence of the colonies; defence of the Soviet Union, which is the most loyal friend of all the exploited and the oppressed.

It was wrong for a consistent workers' and peasants' party, as a result of an election agreement, to abandon the right of criticising the opportunist worker and peasant parties. Our comrades must convince themselves and others that this is a mistake, and help them to rectify it. It goes without saying that an election agreement with bourgeois parties and support for candidates who, in their desire to obtain seats in Parliament give utterance to revolutionary phrases for the purpose of supporting the bourgeoisie, is utterly inadmissible. If it is found to be necessary, you may support candidates who do not fully apply consistent methods and forms of class struggle. But such support should be given only to those who do not occupy the position of leaders in the reformist parties, who do not participate in the bargaining with the bourgeoisie and who honestly, if inadequately, champion the cause of the workers and peasants. Such candidates, of course, can only be workers and

peasants, rank and file members of the reformist parties who bear no personal responsibility for the policy of the leaders.

An essential condition for a successful struggle is the unity of the labour and peasant movement. This applies particularly to Japan where the reformists have managed to split the industrial and political labour movement and sow dissension among the peasant organisations. Our Party must utilise the elections to the utmost in order to explain to the masses of the workers the necessity for trade union unity and to point out to them the forms in which this can be achieved. At the same time the Party must, as hitherto, continue the struggle for the amalgamation of the Rodo Nominto with the Nippon Ronoto, and to put an end to the split for which the leaders alone are responsible. It goes without saying that the struggle for amalgamation can be conducted only on the basis of a consistent class platform and of a fight against reformism, relying upon the support which the rank and file members and local organisations of the Nippon Ronoto render.

In writing these few lines to you I am fully aware of the exceptional difficulties that confront you in your endeavour to carry out the line of policy I suggest. But difficulties never have and never will dishearten fighters for Socialism. No matter how severe the reaction may be it will fail to crush the Labour and Peasant movement. The final victory of our cause is certain.

The Zinoviev Letter Exposed as the Product of a Berlin Forgery Workshop.

International Band of Forgers at Work to Kindle War against the Soviet Union.

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

There has been taking place for weeks past before the German Reichs court at Leipzig a spy trial against a certain Schreck. On the 28th of January there occurred during the proceedings an important political sensation.

On this day there was heard the evidence of the German pacifist and writer Karl Mertens, who was prosecuted on account of high treason and was conveyed under escort to Leipzig for the purpose of giving evidence.

Mertens declared, and proved upon the basis of exact knowledge, that the forger of the notorious Zinoviev letter is no one else than the Polish spy Paciorkovsky, who is closely collaborating with the forger Schreck. According to all appearances, the fabrication of the Zinoviev letter took place in Berlin in Anhaltstrasse 1, where Schreck lived up to the 1st October, 1925.

The identity of Dr. Paciorkovsky with Paciorkovsky, the press attache at the Polish Embassy in Berlin, was already established in the course of the trial of Schreck. The establishment of this fact and the further confirmation of the evidence already adduced of the forging of the well-known Zinoviev letter serve to recall this political highly important forgery affair with all its injurious consequences for the international working class and the shifting of the whole world-political constellation.

We know as Marxists that history and its development is determined above all by the development of economic conditions and of the political and class struggles conditioned thereby. But we also know that history and certain phases and sections of history develop more slowly or quickly owing to the effect of individual persons and certain isolated events.

In connection with the forgery of the Zinoviev letter it is interesting to note how often historical forgeries have been the immediate cause of most important political events.

In the Autumn of 1924, after a short term of office, the so-called Labour Government of Ramsay MacDonald was defeated, and England was confronted with fresh elections. The Conservative Party made every effort in order to achieve a decisive victory and to secure the absolute majority in Parliament. A few days before the election there appeared in the Conservative "Daily Mail" a letter alleged to have been sent by the Communist International and signed by Zinoviev, MacManus and Kuusinen, to the Central Committee of the British Commu-

nist Party. The letter contained the most stupid directions regarding propaganda among the troops and preparation for an armed revolt and such like nonsense, given more as a commend of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Every serious politician saw at the first glance that this letter was an obvious forgery. The forgery was published three or four days before the polling day, that is, too late for Russia to answer before the election was over. In spite of the fact that Rakovsky, the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in London at the time, immediately declared in a note that this letter was a forgery, this letter, thanks particularly to the attitude of MacDonald and the Foreign Office officials, was defended as genuine by the whole bourgeois press. MacDonald, who owing to his ambiguous behaviour was in a great measure responsible for the development of the incident of the Zinoviev letter, later in the House of Commons made an enquiry of the Conservative government, which had been returned with the aid of the forged Zinoviev letter, and finally expressed his conviction that the letter was a forgery.

The Ministers of the newly elected Conservative government, among them being Chamberlain, weeks after the letter had been proved to be a forgery, attempted to maintain that it is genuine. The fact is that the forged Zinoviev letter greatly helped the Conservatives to obtain the majority in Parliament and establish the rule of the Conservative government.

Today there no longer exists any doubt that this forgery was carried out with the knowledge and with the support of the Conservative leaders, and was one of the most infamous election manoeuvres in the election struggles of the British bourgeoisie against the British working class.

The results of this victory of the British Conservatives have had an enormous effect upon the whole world-political situation and the development of the international labour movement.

Under the influence of the Conservative victory in Great Britain an ever sharper course to the Right was pursued in France and Germany.

But also the fascist regime of Mussolini in Italy, the reign of violence of Primo de Rivera in Spain, the governments of white terror in the Balkans, in fact the entire reaction in Europe was tremendously strengthened by the victory of the British

Conservatives. There commenced the years of the victory of the big bourgeoisie on the European Continent, which still continues to the present day.

The British Conservatives made use of the situation developing in connection with the forged Zinoviev letter in order to proceed more sharply every year against the Soviet Union. A few years later there took place the raids on the Arcos and the Russian Trade Mission in London. There followed the breaking off of diplomatic relations. Great Britain placed herself at the head of the imperialist bloc against the Soviet Union, and since then has been systematically endeavouring to organise war against Soviet Russia. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries dominated by Great Britain, especially in China and India, there was to be seen an increased pressure on the part of British imperialism, which in India led to the setting up of a Royal Commission and in China to an open and military support of the white generals and to the great open war propaganda in December 1927, when Chiang Kai Shek, with the support of the British, closed the Russian Consulates in Canton and Shanghai and caused Russian officials to be arrested and murdered.

In connection with the discovery of the forgery workshop in which the Zinoviev letter was fabricated there was ascertained the existence of a whole number of other diplomatic forgery workshop which are occupied in making forgeries against the Soviet Union. The most well-known of these are the forgery factory of Drushelovsky in Berlin, the Vienna forgery factory of Jakobovitch, the London forgery factory of Singleton. The discovery of these forgery factories and the ascertainment of the fact that, with the knowledge and support of imperialist government circles and imperialist groups, dozens of hirelings are engaged in making such forgeries, and also the recollection what enormous consequences the forged Zinoviev letter had for the international working class and their revolutionary movement enable us to appreciate the great danger which exists in the activity of such forgery institutions.

The British ruling Conservative circles, when it has been a question of beating the working class and seizing power, have not hesitated a moment to resort to the most scoundrelly means of a forged letter.

It is plain that the same people, if they believe that they can thereby promote their aims, tomorrow will not shrink from making fresh forgeries for the purpose of having a pretext for war against the Soviet Union. This danger is an immediate one. It is all the more necessary, therefore, for the revolutionary working class to be mistrustful regarding all reports and documents emanating from the bourgeois class and its press and to build up its own international telegraph and press service, to extend its newspapers in order by means of its own new apparatus and by its own press to protect the workers from bourgeois forgeries and to preserve them from the criminal danger of such forgeries.

POLITICS

The Dissolution of the Japanese Parliament.

By E. S.

As was to be expected, the Seiyukai Government has dissolved parliament. It was not because there was any danger of being overthrown by the Opposition that it decided to take this step. From such a development of events it was thoroughly protected, for according to the Japanese constitution the Government is in no way responsible to "the chosen of the people". The only thing that parliament could refuse the Government was the budget. But even in this case the constitution affords the Government the right to use the budget of the previous year.

The reason for the dissolution lies in the endeavour of the Government to get the elections over before the parliamentary debates (for which the Opposition parties had made special preparations) so far undermine the authority of the Government that prolongation of its life would be made impossible in spite of formal rights. Furthermore, the dissolution of parliament is intended to secure for the Seiyukai, who last year hastened to take possession of their opponents' offices in order to get control

of the governmental and administrative apparatus, the ministerial posts, the possession of which has an important influence on the outcome of the elections.

The Government did not even consider it requisite to conceal this. Several members of the Cabinet, for instance, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sudsuki, and Minister of Commerce, Nakachasi, declared that, as the Government was supported by a parliamentary minority only, refusal to dissolve parliament would "mean infringement of the constitution". At the same time, however, they declared that "the dissolution of parliament would considerably strengthen the position of the Seiyukai". The Seiyukai Government began in good time with its preparations for the elections. Among the first measures taken by the Government after assuming office was the dismissal en masse of governors and local police officers, who it will be easily understood, exercise great influence upon the course of the elections.

The Government realised that the parliamentary session could not be of much more benefit to it. The financial crisis which brought them into office is not yet liquidated. The measures taken by the Government to alleviate the situation which has arisen in the spring of last year in consequence of the strained condition of finances only served to drive the crisis away from the surface. But the Seiyukai Cabinet had adopted as one of the main points of its programme the "purifying of the disturbed atmosphere, in the economic life of the country", as Prime Minister Tanaka put it in formulating the Government's declaration. Another promise, with the help of which the Tanaka Government hoped to create political capital for itself, was the decentralisation of the administration, as also the allocation of the revenue of the land tax to the municipal and district administrations. As long as the Seiyukai Party was in opposition, it was particularly fond of bringing up this question. When, however, it took office, it was obliged to relinquish the carrying out of these measures, at least, for the current year, because they would have meant a diminution of 70 million yen in the budget revenue. There was absolutely no other source from which this gap could have been filled; the budget, which could be balanced only with the utmost effort and which, despite the unfavourable state of Japanese economy, constitutes a record in the history of Japan, called forth most severe criticism from the Japanese press.

The reserves of gold accumulated during the war (while Japan was amassing wealth by supplying munitions to the Allies) are dwindling from year to year. Industry, which succeeded in recovering from the results of the earthquake of 1923, suffered from a number of difficulties without the slightest hope of improvement in the immediate future. In spite of the depreciation of the Yen, exports for the past year show a further considerable regression. The trouble with Japan is that the weak aspects of its industry are not peculiarities which merely reflect the temporary economic situation, but are due to far deeper causes, and are probably of a chronic character. For instance, the silk industry, which is one of Japan's most important branches of industry, is gradually being crippled by artificial silk, which has recently been produced in extraordinarily large quantities. The Japanese textile trade has no cotton of its own to work up, and in this direction, too, competition is making itself felt. Despite its advanced development, the metallurgical industry is only a giant with feet of clay, for iron and coal, the chief raw materials for this industry, must be obtained from abroad.

The chief feature of the foreign policy of the Seiyukai Cabinet was the course towards a "positive" policy in regard to China. But the plans respecting China came to nothing. The enforced abandonment of the Shantung expedition, the prolongation of the negotiations with Chang Tso Lin, who is more and more disposed to make himself independent of Japan — all this is vastly different from what the Tanaka Government in April of last year so grandly declared in its programme.

In relation to this question, mention must also be made of the steps, which the Seiyukai Cabinet undertook after the collapse of the disarmament conference of the three powers in Geneva, for the purpose of a rapprochement with Great Britain. The Japanese press, as well as that of Europe and America, published extensive reports concerning the Anglo-Japanese business then concluded. In reality this commotion was merely a trial balloon, and there was nothing behind it. The subsequent attempt to get American capital for the extension of the railways in

Manchuria and in Mongolia, whereby the intention was to neutralise the negative attitude of the government of the U. S. A. towards the aggressive policy followed by Japan in these Chinese provinces, was also a failure. Naturally, it would be a mistake to draw therefrom the conclusion that Japan will now leave China in peace. Japan will merely feel obliged to resort to other methods, which, however, will not alter the character of this policy.

Could the Seiyukai Government continue to hold office with such results? Naturally not. And for this particular reason it preferred to dissolve parliament. The Government hastened to arrange the new election for the earliest possible date — for February 20th — on the one hand, to deprive the Opposition of the opportunity of preparing itself adequately for the election campaign and, on the other hand, to steal a march on the proletarian parties, which were just negotiating for the creation of a united front for the forthcoming election and were consolidating their forces.

This question is of the greatest significance for the working masses of Japan, who at this election appear for the first time in the history of Japanese parliamentarism as an independent political force. The new franchise law, which creates 10 million fresh voters, was several months ago subjected to a test in the elections for the deliberative bodies of the Government. Unfortunately, it must be said that the Japanese proletariat and the Japanese peasantry did not stand this test, a fact which is partly attributable to the propaganda for abstention from voting and partly to the divided efforts of the proletarian parties. The consequence was that in the elections to the deliberative bodies of the Government only a very low percentage of their candidates managed to get returned. However, the majority of the votes cast in favour of the candidates of the proletarian parties fell to the Left Wing worker and peasant party (Rodo-Nominto), which shows how strong is the influence exercised by the Left Wing upon the Japanese proletariat and upon the Japanese peasantry.

Another new factor in the political life of Japan deserving mention is the increased efforts of the Buddhist priests, who have determined to take an active part in the coming elections. They intend to put up a great number of candidates and hope to win about 30 seats, which number would permit them the possibility of forming their own parliamentary fraction.

The main fight is, of course, between the Seiyukai Government party and the Minseitō Opposition, who are doing their utmost, with the help of demagogic slogans to win over the fresh millions of Japanese voters, including the workers and peasants. The Communist Party, which recently tried to bring about the dissolution of parliament, has to tackle the big and responsible task of welding together under the revolutionary banner the masses who are now appearing for the first time in the political arena.

The New Phase of the National Revolutionary Struggle in India.

By G. A. K. Luhanī.

It was during the immediately post-war period of 1920—21 that the social forces of the national revolution in India came to an initial trial of strength with British Imperialism. Objective factors combined with the conscious "defeatism" of bourgeois leadership brought the movement of 1920—21, rich with great promises, to a formidable collapse. After some years of recuperation, the national revolutionary struggle has now entered on a new and distinct phase, rich in greater promises than in 1920—21, because coming at the moment of a new conjuncture of objective factors and a different leadership.

This is abundantly clear from the rapid development of the situation in India, more particularly since the commencement, more than two months ago, of the boycott campaign against the British Commission on Constitutional reform. It is not precisely the anti-imperialist attitude of the bourgeois nationalist parties which gives its physiognomy to the new phase of the movement. The attitude of these parties is anti-imperialist, but

it is not necessarily revolutionary. The history of the last few years exposes the character of the national bourgeoisie of India as a social class which is combative against British imperialism but only up to a given point.

The boycott campaign is remarkable for its initial momentum and intensity. The Commission which is to be boycotted has not yet arrived in India and begun its labours; the full force of the boycott campaign has yet to be deployed. But already the situation in India is causing great anxiety in imperialist circles. According to a report in the London Times, the agitation in India has created "a profound impression in some quarters in London". The "Times" itself, in its editorial article regrets that Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India did not take the Indian bourgeois leaders into greater confidence at the time of nominating the commission.

Meanwhile, in India there is talk of the resignation of the Viceroy. The officially inspired Anglo-Indian press has been forced to note with unconcealed uneasiness that the Commission "does not command the degree of confidence necessary to make its work fruitful and its recommendations acceptable". It is even suggested that the actual work of the Commission should be postponed, to allow its President, Sir John Simon, to make a report to the British Parliament on the menacing situation that has developed in India.

If we simply confine ourselves to the attitude of the bourgeois Nationalist parties, it is difficult to see why there should be all this "profound impression" in England.

There is the tendency represented by the Nationalist Right wing which refuses to co-operate with the present Commission but does not contest the "principle" of a Commission appointed by the British parliament to "determine the constitution of India". As a matter of fact, it is suggested by some of the parties of the Right that, given another Commission, "with equal status" for Indian representatives, they would be willing to reconsider the question of boycott. There is certainly nothing in this "challenge" which may cause Baldwin the loss of a night's sleep.

There is the other tendency represented by the Nationalist Centre (principally the Swarajist Party) which, in addition to boycotting the present Commission denies the right of any Commission (with or without Indian representatives) appointed by the British Parliament to determine the constitution of India. But, while denying this "right" to an emanation of the British Parliament, it does not deny it to the British Parliament itself. Whatever Constitution the Swarajists or the National Congress may make by their unaided labours, it is intended to "submit", "forward" or "present" it — through a "round table conference of plenipotentiaries" or some other equally "legal" medium — to the British Parliament for "acceptance" or "ratification".

Far from being a "challenge" it is really an offer of direct co-operation with the ultimate authority, namely, the Executive Committee of the Imperialist bourgeoisie as represented in the British Parliament. It is another matter whether the British Parliament is willing at the present moment to waive its "rules of etiquette" and accept the parvenu Indian bourgeoisie to an equality of political intercourse. In any case the Imperialists can lay the flattering unction to their soul that the most militant parties of the National bourgeoisie of India do not challenge imperialism as such but only its methods of "constitutional" procedure.

But perhaps the real challenge is concealed in the kind of constitution which the Indian National Congress is preparing for presentation to the British Parliament. There is the fact — quite historical in another sense — that the National Congress at its December session at Madras has accepted complete national independence as the basis of the coming constitution. It should have had all the significance of a challenging political act, if it were accompanied by an appropriate programme of action. It was not so accompanied.

On the other hand there are the utterances of the leaders of the Congress and there is the concrete proposal for convoking a national convention composed of the representatives of only two percent of the population, to be set up by the Congress for the discussion and the adoption of the constitution. If these are any guide, it is easy to foresee that the fundamental basis of the new constitution will not be the complete separation

from the British Empire but some sort of compromise between the interests of the native and the imperialist bourgeoisie, to be expressed in the political formula of "dominion status". There will be nothing new in it. The demand for dominion status — though, however, not in such a concrete form as a ready made constitution to be presented to Parliament, — has been put forward all these years by the National Congress; it has not caused any acute political discomfort to anybody concerned.

No, the real challenge of the situation lies elsewhere. The boycott campaign has opened up possibilities for the participation by broad masses in the fight against imperialism. The appeal to mass action in whatever form is thus the real challenge to the authority of the British Parliament trying to dictate to India what constitution it shall or shall not have.

Among the Nationalists, it is the unorganised left wing which has arrived at some comprehension of the importance of this fact. In the Swarajist organ "Forward" which, though committed to the official Swarajist policy, nevertheless expresses leftist psychology from time to time, we read:—

"If Indians had failed in the past to compel submission to their will, it was mainly because the problem of Swaraj had been approached more or less from the viewpoint of the upper classes, and the masses had practically remained outside the fold... The need of the hour is to bring into being an impressive movement such as the country saw during the closing months of 1921... A dynamic and comprehensive programme must be devised so as to rally throughout the whole country the teeming voiceless millions of India behind the boycott movement... No movement for National liberation has any chance of success unless it can bring the masses within its fold."

But what gives its distinction to the new phase of the national revolutionary struggle is not that there is an appeal to mass action from the side of the National bourgeoisie. What is really distinct and original in the present situation is that the broad masses are entering the arena of the fight for national independence as a conscious political factor. At their head and as their vanguard, stand the organised workers and peasants. Such a fact signifies the transition from one period of the national revolutionary struggle to another. It carries with it a stupendous promise. It brings the National revolutionary struggle to a higher stage of development than it has reached up till now. It objectively poses the question: What social class or what coalition of social classes shall win for itself the role of the hegemon in the national revolutionary struggle which is now opening. It also indicates the answer.

The Federation of the Trade Unions of Bombay and the All-India Congress of Trade Unions have adopted resolutions demanding the complete boycott of the Commission. The action of the rank and file in the trade unions is still more significant. We have the example of the Union of the Municipal Workers of Bombay which has decided to come out on strike on the day when the British Commission lands in Bombay. The importance of such a decision can be gathered from the fact that already the British authorities have threatened the Municipal Workers of Bombay with dismissal and persecution, if they come out on strike. In response to this threat, the workers have repeated their determination to strike and have asserted their right to strike. Movements for similar strike action are extending to the dock workers of Bombay and the general body of railway workers throughout the country.

The leadership in this mass movement falls on the Workers and Peasants Party which has already for more than a year been functioning in the principal provinces of India as the legal political organisation of the proletariat and the peasantry. The Workers and Peasants Party has published a manifesto in which it says:

"The Workers and Peasants Party has no illusion about the Royal Commission and reiterates its conviction that, not through such Commissions but only by developing and bringing into action the basic force of the Nation, the dynamic action of organised workers and peasants, there can be any really valuable and vital political results.

"It therefore proposes to call on the organised and unorganised toiling masses of this land to demonstrate in

unambiguous and unmistakable terms (mass action including strikes and demonstrations) their active indifference for such Commissions intended to side-track the attention of the Indian people.

"Further the Party challenges the very right of British Imperialism to sit in judgment over the political destiny of this land and emphatically condemns the short-sighted policy in compromising tendencies of the other political groups who quibble over the personnel of the Commission and thereby fundamentally forsake the principle of Self-Determination, the inherent right of every Nation."

The action by the peasantry proper is confined at the moment to the important Northern province of the Panjab. The peasantry of this province took a very important part in the revolutionary movement of 1920—21. In the Journal "Kirti" (Toiler) which comes out with the emblem of the sickle and the hammer and which is the organ of the labour and peasant movement in the Panjab, we have a correct revolutionary appreciation of the present situation. The journal demands that the crisis which is developing should be utilised for the organisation of proletarian and peasant masses for striking a blow against imperialism.

Finally, the Communist Party of India as the Party of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat has put forward the slogan of the convocation of a Constituent Assembly for determining the constitution of India. The slogan has been chosen as the most appropriate for the given stage of the development of the situation. It is the most direct challenge to the authority of the British Parliament. It will bring the masses into the fight against imperialism on a nation-wide basis, and prepare the ground for militant mass action leading to eventual insurrection.

In putting forward the slogan, the Communist Party of India declares:

"The reply to the imperialist challenge should be: 'We spit on your Royal Commission whose authority we totally disregard. We do not recognise your right to determine the constitutional progress of India. That right belongs only to the Indian people who are determined to conquer that right at all cost and by all means. The demand should be the convocation by the National Congress of a Constituent Assembly which will be the supreme organ of the peoples' power and as such settle the questions as regards the form of government, relation with Britain, etc. The entire people must participate in the election of the Constituent Assembly. Committees for the election of the Constituent Assembly should be set up all over the country. Representatives of all the political parties, workers and peasants organisations and all other democratic bodies will sit on these committees. The election campaign must be carried on throughout the country over a period of at least a year. The largest possible section of the population should be drawn into the campaign through mass meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc.'"

There is a great difference now from the similar situation in 1920—21. In the further development of the present crisis, the young and militant proletariat of India will not be without the guidance of its class Party, the Communist Party of India.

The Position in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia.

New Acts of Terrorism on the Part of the Polish Fascists.

By Karskiy (Lemberg).

Pilsudski's Fascist dictatorship, which aims at stabilising the rule of the landowners and capitalists at the expense of the workers and peasants, is at the present moment paying most attention to the western portions of Ukraine and White Russia. These regions form the reservoir of the revolutionary energies of the Ukrainian and White Russian peasantry, which is socially and nationally suppressed.

The Ukrainian and White Russian peasants suffer from a terrible lack of land. From 50 to 60 per cent. of the peasantry own no more than from two to five acres of land, while the remainder are devoid of any property and completely at the

mercy of the big landowners. But even from two to five acres of land do not suffice for the maintenance of a family of five persons or more. Therefore the Ukrainian villages present a picture of utter misery. On the other hand a great part of this western part of Ukraine and White Russia is taken up by tremendous estates, belonging to the big landowners and Polish counts. When in 1918 the pressure exercised by the peasants and workers had to be resisted at all costs, the bourgeoisie, assisted by its henchmen of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party) proclaimed what was known as agrarian reform. But it was very soon apparent what purposes were to be served by this platform, which is at present merely used by the rich kulaks and Polish colonists (who are imported from as far afield as Posen) as a means to counteract the revolutionary movement of the peasant masses.

Pilsudski's dictatorship laid the foundation for this state of affairs. On the one hand, the rule of Pilsudsky consolidated the bloc of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie rallying round "Undo" and the Radicals (Ukrainian bourgeoisie and rich peasantry); on the other hand, it consolidated the camp of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party of West Ukraine for the purpose of combating Fascism.

Attempts are now being made to win over the Ukrainian bourgeoisie to the cause of Polish Fascism on the basis of a partial stabilisation with the aid of credits for the allotment of land to the Ukrainian kulaks and by means of partial concessions in educational matters, State subventions, etc. It is with this aim in view that "Undo" is forming a bloc with the Polish Fascists in the district elections in Galicia.

The daily increasing pressure of the imperialists on the Soviet Union facilitates this consolidation on the part of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie. By means of the deceitful slogan of "Pan-Ukraine" ("Wszuchukraina"), the Ukrainian bourgeoisie is preparing to attack Soviet Ukraine, with a view to forming a "free" capitalist State in connection with Western Ukraine. However, the yearly increasing Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the national and cultural development of the nationalities of that country on the one hand, in the face of starvation, misery, and national oppression in Poland on the other hand, constitute a summons to the workers and peasants to bring about a concentration of the revolutionary camp for the purpose of carrying on the struggle against Fascism. Therefore the Government of the Fascist dictatorship, together with its allies among the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and the kulaks, is anxious to destroy the revolutionary movement of the peasants and workers, so that the one enemy in the country may be eliminated and the Government may be sure of a united home front in the event of war with the Soviet Union.

In December 1927, a trial was carried out at Luck against 57 Ukrainian and Jewish workers and peasants from the Polish border districts of Volhynia on account of their membership of the Communist Party. This was the sequel to a monster-trial which took place in January at Wlodzimierz-Wolynski.

Both at Luck and at Wlodzimierz-Wolynski the provocation and the cruel treatment to which the accused were subjected, were only too apparent. All the accused declared that they had been the victims of an agent provocateur named Litwiniec, who was at first arrested and then set at liberty again so as to be able the better to carry on his dirty business. The accused Miler stated that Litwiniec had ordered him to become a member of the Party and had even handed him money intended for the murder of an agent provocateur. Litwiniec himself wrote the protocols of meetings he had convoked so exactly as to indicate all pseudonyms alongside the actual names of the members. These protocols later passed into the hands of the political police and served as written evidence against the prisoners. The accused Liebermann confessed under the stress of torture by the police, that he had written the minutes of certain Party meetings. This subsequently proved to be untrue, since the graphologists established that the handwriting in question was not that of Liebermann. Nevertheless, the Fascist Government condemned Liebermann to two years' penal servitude.

Other "evidence of guilt" was as follows: In the dwelling of one of the prisoners, Pitrowski, 160 sheets of paper, three steel pens, and a bottle of copying ink were found. Another

prisoner, Wantuch, who had already served two years in connection with the Swietojury trial in 1922, was found to be in possession of a letter addressed to the deputy Paszczuk, begging the latter to do something on behalf of Wantuch's wife, condemned at Wlodzimierz to six years' penal servitude. This sufficed for the class court in Fascist Poland to impose a fresh sentence. The sentences in these two cases were for six and eight years, respectively.

The torturing of political prisoners is quite a daily occurrence in Volhynia. Striking with the butts-ends of guns, squeezing the hands by means of metal presses, flogging the heels, parading the prisoners stripped naked during the very severest frost (as in the case of the prisoners Jasinski, Tamaszczuk, Dmisiuk, and Bernacki), and turning wild dogs on female prisoners (as in the case of Stein) are all part and parcel of the police methods practised in the Polish border districts of the western parts of Ukraine and White Russia. In many cases the political prisoners were tortured in the presence of Struminski, the public prosecutor.

Throughout the trial the Volhynian court faithfully obeyed the instructions received from Warsaw. Therefore no exculpatory evidence was countenanced. Podhirski, counsel for the defense, was prevented from speaking on the grounds that he was, in the words of the prosecution, "a well-known sedition-monger". The prisoners were removed from the court as soon as ever they began to speak of the cruel methods adopted by the police.

Nevertheless, the revolutionary attitude of the prisoners and their courageous and determined disclosure of the provocative methods of the Fascists, quite changed the character of the trial. In reality it was not the workers and peasants that were in the dock, but the Fascist Government with its executive organs of the police, the courts and the prosecution.

The bourgeois courts passed the most cruel sentences imaginable. All the 57 prisoners were condemned, nine of them to eight years, seven to six years, three to five years, thirteen to four years, fifteen to three years, six to two years, two to one year, and one to six months of penal servitude. All the prisoners have undergone two years of arrest on remand, which are not included in the sentences. If we add that all of them have already practised hunger-strikes of ten days' to a fortnight's duration, and that they have been imprisoned in circumstances which even Vice-Minister Car declared to be deplorable, with numerous consumptive persons inhabiting dirty and overcrowded cells, it will be understood that their present sentences will entail a speedy death in many cases.

The sentence of Luck was passed almost simultaneously with the confirmation of the verdict of the Court of Appeal at Wlodzimierz, where 151 workers and peasants were condemned to an aggregate of 1050 years of penal servitude. Nine of these have life sentences. This appalling total clearly shows that the bourgeoisie in Poland is determined to destroy the revolutionary movement of the peasants and workers.

The courageous working class and peasantry of Western Ukraine, however, are not to be intimidated by wholesale sentences and long years of imprisonment. The alliance between the workers and the peasants is becoming ever closer, and the sentiment is more and more confirmed that it is only by means of unity with the Polish workers and peasants that the workers and peasants of Western Ukraine can hope to attain their complete social and national emancipation.

FOR LENINISM — AGAINST TROTZKYISM

Declaration of Zinoviev and Kamenev against the Trotskyists.

Moscow, 27th January 1928.

The "Pravda" publishes a letter from Zinoviev and Kamenev to the redaction which is the reply to the Instructions of the Trotskyist Centre published on the 15th of January.

Zinoviev and Kamenev declare in this letter:

"We separated from the Trotskyist group on the question of the complete and actual submission to the decisions of

the XV. Party Congress. Either submission to all demands of the Party Congress and a firm determination to collaborate with the Party majority, or entry on the path of a second Party — that is how the question stands. He who does not perceive this today, after the Party Congress, is doomed to ever greater mistakes.

Our decisive refusal to pursue the path of a second Party was not unexpected by our former bloc comrades. Already on the 15th August, 1927, after the conclusion of the August Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., that is at a time which nobody can designate as a time of the highest pressure against the Opposition, when the Plenum decided that Trotzky and Zinoviev should remain in the C. C., we sent a letter to Trotzky in which we pronounced ourselves against the path of a second party, as we considered it to be harmful.

Today we have to add that the whole of the two years fractional struggle irrefutably proves that not only the path of a second party is harmful, but also the longer existence of a regular fraction which opposes the Party in decisive questions, is contrary to the laws of the realisation of the proletarian dictatorship, and that therefore the vital interests of the proletarian dictatorship undoubtedly demand the abandonment of such a struggle.

The published documents of the Trotzkyist Centre are based entirely on the idea of continuing the fractional struggle. One must be blind not to see that after two years of embittered fraction struggle, after this struggle had been carried into the street and has led to the decision of the XV. Party Congress excluding the whole Opposition from the Party, the continuation of the fraction work would mean politically the formation of a second party. We capitulated to the Party and considered this to be the only correct way out of the long and hard struggle."

On the instructions of the Trotzkyists to their followers abroad Zinoviev and Kamenev declare the following:

"The strength and importance of the Soviet Union for the Labour movement of the whole world consists in the fact that it realises the dictatorship of the proletariat, builds up Socialism and is the driving force of world revolution. To be silent on this fact and to limit oneself to saying that the Soviet State is giving to the workers and peasants more than bourgeois States would have done, means in the best case a sliding down from the standpoint of Bolshevism to the standpoint of Left trade unionism, as only the Purcells are able to apply this simple measure to the Soviet Union. If the European Communists were ready to accept this advice, then they would sink down to the level of well-meaning guests of social democratic or co-operative delegations visiting the Soviet Union. What is there Left in this standpoint?"

The authors of the instructions give an equally wrong and harmful characterisation of the Power in the Soviet Union when they assert that the Party and the State of the Soviet Union are led by petty-bourgeois elements which necessarily have to base themselves on the working class. Here the authors of the instructions obviously glide down to the idea that there is no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. This is, at bottom, the formula of a complete Thermidor, that is a historical and political lie with which the authors of the document allegedly want to have nothing to do; but they are driven to it by the inevitable logic of their standpoint.

The work of the Opposition in the Communist Parties is considered by the Trotzkyists as analogous to the work of the Communists in the reformist trade unions. For this purpose a rather ambiguous comparison was drawn between the German and the French Communist Party on the one hand and the former German Independent Social Democratic Party and the French petty bourgeois Socialist Party on the other. The Trotzkyists openly recognise as their 'sole supporters in the Comintern the French group 'Against the Stream' which is a truly Right group of mere intellectuals. They are fanatically endeavouring to whitewash Souvarine, whose line is not a Bolshevik line and whose criticism of the Soviet Union has long passed all permissible limits.

From our connections with the Maslov-Ruth Fischer group we have become convinced that Maslov and Ruth Fischer are personally with all certainty pursuing the course towards a second German party, and for this purpose do not shrink at anything. Maslov and Ruth Fischer deserve a decisive condemnation. The better portion of the Maslov group which is in closer touch with the workers decidedly opposes the idea of a second party and seeks the way back into the Comintern.

In their survey of all the oppositional groups of the Comintern the Trotzkyists succeeded in designating as their closest followers just the most Right group which is farthest away from Bolshevism. They are capitulating to Paz and Souvarine and wish, by their aid, to 'rectify' the line of the C. P. S. U. A political group which arrives at such conclusions must inevitably become a tool of the petty-bourgeois forces against the C. P. S. U. and against the Comintern."

Zinoviev and Kamenev declare that they can no longer represent the platform of the opposition bloc, "this document of greatest intensification of the fraction struggle", and that in their further work they will adhere to the decisions of the XV. Party Congress:

"Such important facts of Party policy as the revision of the agrarian legislation in an obviously collectivist direction, the reduction of the period for the leasing of land, further measures such as those withdrawing from the kulaks the right to be members of the rural municipalities and other measures of the fight against kulakism, further the acceptance of a further hundred thousand workers into the Party — all this must not be underestimated. These facts show sufficiently plainly how individual moments of party political manoeuvres are sometimes wrongly interpreted by the Opposition as a direct going over to another class path.

The logic of fraction struggles leads to such an obviously wrong assertion as that contained in the platform, that in the circles of the leading majority, as a result of the breaking off of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union and other foreign and home political difficulties today, the following plan is maturing: recognition of the debts, more or less complete liquidation of the Foreign Trade Monopoly, temporary renunciation of support to the Chinese revolution as well as all national revolutionary movements, and inside the country — execution of a Right manoeuvres, i. e. a certain extension of the N. E. P. Such conclusions did not and do not correspond to reality and are a result of the fact that the platform has been elaborated as a document opposed to the policy of the C. C. in every direction.

We repeat to every oppositional: political courage and political consistency do not consist in stubbornly continuing along the path which brings one ever farther from the C. P. S. U. and the Comintern. One must decide to turn about. We are convinced that the for greater portion of the former Opposition, that its Leningrad portion and its whole proletarian kernel will proceed on the path of reconciliation with the Party.

The foreign and home political difficulties of the Soviet Union are known. The mobilisation of the public opinion of the capitalist States is proceeding at top speed. The role of the social democratic and democratic press is specially great in this connection. The chief hindrance to the realisation of the imperialist plans against the Soviet Union is the resistance of the working masses. In such a moment we consider it to be our duty to warn the Communist workers with all energy against this (Trotzkyist) campaign, the fruits of which will only be gathered by the bourgeoisie."

The "Pravda" records with satisfaction that Kamenev and Zinoviev have with this letter made a decided step which will facilitate the return of all those to the Party who adhere to this standpoint.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Preparations for War on the Part of the British Imperialists in India.

By A. D. al.

Attention is now centring on the north-east frontier of India. A short while ago Field-Marshal Birdwood, Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in India, travelled the whole length of the Indo-Chinese and Burmah-Chinese frontier. This tour of inspection lasted long; the field-marshal spent much time in the deserts and jungles of the frontier regions, and where neither a horse nor a motor-car could pass, the illustrious inspector went on foot. He inspected the various points of vantage, the heights and the passes. In short, nothing escaped the scrutiny of the field-marshal.

Soon after this illustrious visit, the axe began to ring in the impassable jungles. For the first time the hand of "civilisation" touched the virgin forests. The jungle was "cleared" and new ways were opened up to the frontier. This was followed by the construction of a new railway-line from the little town of Sadiya near the frontier to the north-eastern extremity of the Indo-Chinese border. The constructional work along the frontier assumes ever increasing dimensions. Special attention is now being paid to the border region. Following on the visit of the Commander-in-Chief, there was a most significant visit on the part of the Chief of the Secret Police to the same region of wellnigh impassable forests and jungles. The motive of this second visit is naturally kept strictly secret. It was certainly no *iteré* pleasure trip.

The progress of work on the frontier is being accelerated. Troops have been commandeered to the north-east, the garrisons have been reinforced, new military bases have been created. In regions until recently untrudged by the feet of men, there are to-day military outposts, fortifications, and camps.

The new military plans of the imperialists have envisaged the creation of a great "Eastern Army" for India, an army which will be destined to conquer and subjugate the rising peoples of the East. Part of this army is to be transferred to the north-western border between India and Afghanistan and India and Persia respectively, while another part is concentrated on the north-eastern, Indo-Chinese, frontier. The troops are being speedily collected on these altogether unmenaced frontiers.

If the British Diehards in India express their fear of an inroad into India on the part of Afghanistan, they can surely not go so far as to speak of a danger as regards an invasion by the Chinese militarists. Nevertheless, the Indo-Chinese frontier is being fortified and troops are being collected there.

In addition the whole of Assam is being turned into a military border district after the pattern of the north-west districts. There is no civil administration at all in these regions. Everything is subjected to the arbitrary rule of the military authorities. The population is deprived of the right and the possibility of entering the "military zone"; it is threatened with complete destruction. All occupations of the population are exploited for the army, in many cases by compulsion and without payment. The population is dying out, being annihilated and replaced by imported workers and soldiers.

Assam was one of the most flourishing and fertile provinces of India, a region in which the tea-plantations amount to 50 per cent. of the tilled area. Therefore Assam, too, had to make the acquaintance of the British border policy. Since it was annexed to the British possessions in the year 1826, the inhabitants, a warlike and fairly cultivated people with a love of liberty, a people with a history reaching back a thousand years, have died out to the extent of 75 per cent. Their main nucleus, the once numerous tribe of the Agoms, now consists of no more than a small number of coolies on the plantations, besides vagrants and an altogether destitute proletariat.

Assam has, however, been colonised with people from other parts of India, workmen, artisans, and small dealers. The resource for the population of India are considerable. Now

the British military authorities are exterminating the last remnants of the original population; at the same time they are doing their best to get rid of other not yet subjugated tribes, replacing them by colonists from other parts. Such are the prospects of the Assam population.

But the object of the special attention now centring on Assam lies beyond the Indo-Chinese frontier.

At the time of the revolution of 1911, the British profited by the weakness of China for the purpose of seizing the region adjoining the Assam frontier, inhabited by the warlike tribe of Abor, and added this territory to the land under their own rule, exterminating three quarters of the population as a means of precaution. During the great war, the British attempted to lay hands on the "neglected" country of Tibet, but in the conquest of this territory they have even to the present day not succeeded. China is still a very large and very rich country, and its south-western region is still as "neglected" as ever. The armies of the Chinese generals, who, encouraged, supported and maintained by the British Government, willingly exterminated Chinese peasants and workers by order of their lords and masters, naturally offer no resistance to imperialist inroads.

The British War Office and the military command in India have long been at loggerheads as regards the mechanisation of the army and the centralisation of its administration. This difference ended with a complete defeat of Simla (the seat of the Vice-Roy of India and of the general staff of the Anglo-Indian army). London is victorious. The Indian army has been mechanised and subjected immediately to the War Office. It is no longer at the disposal of the Vice-Roy. The mechanisation of the army and its subordination to London mean that the army in India is to be used not merely for local purposes, such as the defence of the Indian Empire and the suppression of local risings, but also for the "higher" aims of conquest abroad.

This fact makes it impossible to doubt that we are on the eve of important events on the frontier of India and China.

In a rather smaller degree similar measures are on foot along the border between Burma and China. At first all attention was concentrated on this section, but since the tour of the field-marshal, and especially since certain sensational and fruitless expeditions were undertaken for the purpose of "freeing slaves", this attention was transferred to Assam. Obviously this is a more favourable point for a possible inroad of British troops into southern China, while the prospective operations in Burma will presumably be of minor importance.

Could it, indeed, be possible for the Diehard Government not to attempt to profit by the events in China? Not to exploit such a "propitious" opportunity of conquest as is afforded by the civil war and the subsequent present anarchy in China, is certainly not in keeping with the nature of British imperialism.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Metalworkers' Strike in Central Germany.

By A. Enderle (Berlin).

Fifty thousand metal workers in Central Germany, i. e. in the districts of Magdeburg, Halle and Dessau-Anhalt have entered on a fight. Twenty thousand workers downed tools on January 17th, the remaining 30,000 workers were locked out by their employers on January 24th.

The workers demand a wage increase of 15 pfennigs per hour. Their demand is all the more justified as their wages have hitherto been kept exceedingly low by means of long-term collective agreements which have come into being through compulsory arbitration awards for the past few years and have each time prevented a sufficient increase of wages. Before the beginning of the struggle, negotiations with the object of coming to an arrangement had been carried on for weeks, with the result that an arbitration award was pronounced granting the

ridiculously low increase of wages of 3 pfennigs per hour. As the metal workers of Central Germany had always been cheated out of the necessary increase of wages, i. e. had been prevented by arbitration awards and by the binding force adjudged to the latter by the courts of arbitration, from fighting for their demands, this three-pfennigs award roused tremendous indignation.

Under the pressure of that indignation, the Reformist trade union leaders were compelled, even before the expiration of the term provided for their accepting or rejecting the arbitration award, to proclaim the fight, to enter on strike and thus to prevent the award being declared as binding. Even after the fight had broken out, the employers submitted a motion declaring the 3 pfennig award to be binding. In view however of the open fight of 20,000 metal workers, the Labour Minister did not dare to pronounce that declaration. Thereupon the employers locked out the other 30,000 metal workers.

As the metal industry of Central Germany is not of such vital importance in Germany's total industry as is, for instance, that of mining and steel industry, of anthracite or lignite production, the struggle would not, in itself, have been of any special significance, although a strike of 50,000 workers represents in any case an important political factor.

With regard to the employers, that struggle is nevertheless fairly important in so far as it is the precursor of the widespread movements and wage struggles which are due in March and April and in which three million workers, in round figures, will be involved. The capitalists are therefore straining every nerve to prevent a victory of the workers. For the capitalists, a success on the part of the workers would have unpleasant consequences in respect of the imminent tariff struggle.

Particular importance however is imparted to the metal workers' fight in Central Germany by the absolutely new tactics and policy applied by the German Social Democratic Party and by the trade union leaders.

It was already a striking fact that, in contrast to their habit, the Reformist trade union leaders did not make the usual efforts to avoid an open fight even at the onset of that movement, but that they themselves, to a certain extent, steered the course towards the strike and called out 20,000 metal workers without first taking a ballot vote of the workers concerned. It was possible, at first, to assume this "Radicalism" of the Reformist leaders to be an election manoeuvre. But it soon became evident that it was more than a mere election manoeuvre, that it was, on the contrary, a well-prepared and systematic attack of the S. P. G. on the C. P. G., on the strong Communist positions in the trade unions and among the workers throughout Central Germany, and above all in the district of Halle.

As it was obvious, even at the commencement of the strike, that it was going to be a great, obstinate fight and probably one of long duration, the Communists tried, from the very beginning, to mobilise all the available forces of the workers and to open every possible source of relief for the support of the strikers. They regarded these measures as all the more urgent, because a considerable percentage of those who were locked out or on strike were not yet organised in trade unions, and therefore received no strike benefit from the union. For these reasons, the Communists in Halle and in other places situated in the area of the strike brought forward a motion in the town and district councils demanding that the metal workers engaged in the struggle should receive material support from public means. At the same time the Workers International Relief organised a relief action on a large scale for the metal workers on strike. Furthermore the Communists demanded — and, where their influence was strong enough, achieved — that the co-operative stores of Central Germany should help the workers on strike by supplying them with foodstuffs, by granting credits etc. The Communist Press also did everything in its power to that effect.

The attitude and the activity of the Communists formed a pretext for the S. P. G. and for the Reformist trade union leaders to conduct an unprecedented incitement against the Communists from the very first day of the fight.

Day by day, every single meeting of the central strike committee, the majority of which consists of Reformist employees

of the union, every strike meeting and factory meeting is being made use of by the Reformist leaders in order to agitate against the Communists and to move resolutions in which the "criminal behaviour of the C. P. G. and of the Communist Press" is severely condemned. The Reformist trade union bureaucracy is trying, by means of threatening the Communist trade union employees and functionaries with their exclusion from the union, to compel them to vote for motions and resolutions directed against the C. P. G. Reformist trade union leaders even try, by that threat of exclusion, to compel Communist functionaries of the union, who are at the same time Communist representatives on a municipal council, to vote against the Communist motions concerning the support of the workers on strike.

That incitement against the Communists which is being carried on in strike meetings and in the meetings of functionaries is being propagated throughout the German Socialist Party Press in an enlarged form, unbounded insults and calumniations being resorted to. Social Democracy, in its contemptible fight against the Communists, has completely forgotten that the struggle of the striking metal workers numbering 50,000 is directed against capital. In the strike meetings, they do not discuss the measures which are likely to lead to a successful issue of the fight against the employers, but are practically taking up the whole time of the meetings for their campaign against the Communists and are thus on the best way towards splitting the fighting front of the workers who have hitherto fought in an unbroken front, into two groups, towards stirring up worker against worker, and, to the employers' great satisfaction, they are thus leading the strike to a defeat.

It was not quite clear at first, what special cause prompted the S. P. G. to undertake that great campaign of agitation against the C. P. G.

The whole scheme of the S. P. G. and of the trade union leaders has however been revealed by an appeal which the district management in Halle published on January 26th. In that appeal, the Reformist leaders openly admit that, apart from the trade unions, they are separately supporting those metal workers on strike, who are members of the S. P. G. or are promoting the aims of the social democratic trade union fraction, while they bumptiously declared against the Communists that the fight was being carried on by the metal workers' union alone, that the workers on strike were exclusively supported by that union and that they, the social democrats, regarded any other support as an unauthorised and criminal interference. The appeal runs as follows:

"The fight of the metal workers will presumably last for some time. Party members have therefore put means at disposal in order to provide special relief for the striking metal workers of Halle belonging to the S. P. G. in the fight which is particularly severe for them. All the metal workers on strike from Halle and its suburbs who are members of the S. P. G. are therefore requested to inform the party secretariat, Harz 42/44, court II. of their address, and submit their party book and their strike card. Metal workers on strike who — without being actually members of the party — have nevertheless promoted the activity of the fraction at meetings and in the trade unions, are also invited to give their address, submitting the receipt for subscription of the "Volksblatt" (the S. P. G. newspaper).

The President:
p. p. Schaumburg.

In order fully to understand the whole vileness of this procedure of the S. P. G., we must bear in mind that the overwhelming majority of the metal workers' union, both in Halle and in the neighbouring towns, is Communist and possesses a Communist local administration. We must further recall the fact that the Communists, the Co-operative under Communist management in Halle and the W. R. I. have been forbidden by the Reformist leaders of the union to support the workers on strike in any way, and that it was attributed to them as a crime if they did so. The same Reformist trade union leaders are now starting an official relief work of a social democratic party character for the benefit of any metal worker who is a member of the S. P. G. or who is supporting the social democratic policy. In Magdeburg and Dessau, where the S. P. G. is in the majority, and where the local administrations are Reformist, no social democratic relief work of that kind is being carried out.

What else does that activity mean unless that the S. P. G. wants to prevent the metal workers on strike in Halle, particularly those who are not organised, from receiving support from anyone else, that it wants to curb their spirit by starvation and thus to compel them to socialist alms from the S. P. G., to sell their revolutionary conviction and to join in the agitation against the C. P. G. The intention is to bribe the proletarians of Central Germany with Judas' thirty pieces of silver and to induce them to turn their back upon the Communists and to join the army of the social democratic party of traitors. Even though the fighting front of the proletariat goes to wreck and ruin over it, even though its defeat is thus brought about, the S. P. G. does not care a straw if only, in that way, it attains its object of destroying the strong positions of the C. P. G. in Central Germany which are so hated by it, if only it gets the local administrations which have been Communist up to the present, into its hands.

The scheme and the procedure of the S. P. G. in Central Germany are so monstrous and represent such an abominable betrayal of the working class, that there are few examples in the history of the Labour movement which approach the level of that business.

The plan is however too cunning to succeed. The proletariat of Central Germany, the revolutionary centre in all the great struggles of the proletariat in post-war times, will refuse to be bought for Judas' pieces of silver. We are convinced that the shot fired by the S. P. G. will hit the S. P. G. itself and will open the eyes of thousands of proletarians to the true character of that party. Neither will the S. P. G. succeed, by measures of that kind, in destroying the unbroken front of the workers on strike. On the contrary, the workers will now realise better than ever, how necessary are the measures of fighting and of support proposed by the C. P. G., how necessary it is, just at the present moment, to mobilise all the forces of the proletariat in order that the workers may gain the victory over capital and over its agents.

The Situation in the Scottish Mineworkers' Union.

Right Wing Officials Stick to Jobs in Defiance of Rank and File Vote.

By J. R. Campbell.

The splitting policy of the right-wing bureaucrats with regard to the Trade Union Movement has reached its highest point by the refusal of the present Executive of the Scottish Mineworkers' Union to accept the results of the recent elections. The Scottish Mineworkers' Union is really a Federation of District Unions. It centralises negotiations and controls the permanent officials (agents) who conduct the negotiations. This body usually has a conference once a year which is generally preceded by the District Unions choosing the Executive members from the districts on to the Scottish Executive, and also voting for whom the District Unions are going to support for the posts of national officials, that is to say, President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer of the Scottish Mineworkers' Union.

The Scottish Mineworkers' Union did not have a Conference in 1926, owing to the lockout, but everyone assumed that the Conference would take place as usual in 1927. About the summer of last year, when it became evident that an acute financial situation had been reached in the Union, it was agreed to postpone the Conference for a few months in order that the exact financial strength of the various districts could be ascertained so that the districts should vote in the Scottish Conference according to their actual membership and not in accordance with their pre-lockout membership. The few left-wingers on the Scottish Executive agreed to this proposition.

In the meantime, the countries of Fife and Lanarkshire went on with their voting for the positions of Executive members and officials of the Scottish Mineworkers' Union. The voting in Fife showed that four Communists and one Left-winger had been returned as the five representatives from the Fife Miners' Union on to the Scottish Executive. The voting in Lanarkshire

showed an increase of Communists and left-wingers on the Scottish Executive which would itself have almost given the left-wing control of this important Union. In Lanark three of the four right-wing officials were defeated, and in Fife the whole four were defeated in favour of Communist nominees. The capitalist press raised a great scare about this and talked about Communist wangling in the Trade Union Movement, in spite of the fact that the Fife Executive members had been elected by a ballot vote and the elections in Lanark had been conducted in the same way as they have always been conducted, namely by a Branch vote.

It became evident therefore at the beginning of December that the Fife and Lanark votes combined would be sufficient at the Conference of the Scottish Mineworkers to replace the old officials by Communists, and that there would be a strong Communist and Minority Movement group on the Executive Committee of that body.

On December 19th, the special committee of the Scottish Mineworkers' Union, which had been considering the question of finance, met along with the Finance Committee and agreed to make certain recommendations to the Executive of the Scottish Miners. It must be noted that the majority of those two Committees consists of officials who were either defeated as Executive members or as officials of the Scottish Mineworkers' Union or as full time officials in their own districts. This Committee recommended that the Scottish Conference be postponed for another three months until the districts paid the arrears owing by them to the Scottish Miners, and that in the meantime the old officials retain office.

The principal district which is in arrears is the Fife District. The bulk of Fife's arrears to the Scottish Mineworkers' Union were accumulated between 1921 and the commencement of the lockout in 1926, but so long as Fife had a right-wing majority they were never pressed for the payment of their arrears. Immediately, however, Fife began to elect Communists and Left-wingers their arrears are used as an excuse for the postponement of the conference for three months in order that in that period they shall pay up their dues. If Fife's arrears are not paid within the three months, the Scottish Executive have the power under their decision to postpone the conference again for a further period.

It must be obvious that it is impossible in view of the bad financial situation of the Unions for the Fife Union to pay up inside of three months arrears accumulated over a period of five years, and that the Scottish Executive will continue to use the fact that Fife has not paid those arrears as justification for postponing the Conference and continuing to remain in office, out of which they have been voted by the rank and file of the Union.

All Scottish Miners agree as to the necessity for clearing off those arrears, but regard this trick of the Scottish Executive as bare-faced fraud. They can see no connection between the fact that certain districts of the Union are in arrears and the need for the old reactionary Executive, under whom those arrears were accumulated, remaining in office, despite their dismissal by the rank and file vote. This is seen more clearly in the Fife situation, where the Fife workers replaced two right-wing permanent officials by two Communists. Fife has five permanent officials (agents) paid by the Scottish Mineworkers' Union, but elected in the Fife district. Under the new decision of the Scottish Executive the two Communists who have been elected as permanent officials are not to be allowed to take up their positions meantime, while the two right-wingers who were beaten by those Communists still retain their positions and receive payment from the Scottish Executive. This fact alone, exposes the Scottish Executive and shows that what they are concerned with is not improving the financial position of the Union but seeking an excuse for retaining their jobs.

The Communist Party and the Minority Movement is carrying on a campaign against this bare-faced attempt to sabotage Trade Union democracy, and are hopeful that by meetings in the Districts, by getting the rank and file in the Miners' Branches to express themselves they will break down this bureaucratic resistance and force the Scottish Executive to accept as its nominees those whom the rank and file have elected.

So far the Miners Federation of Great Britain has not interfered, but there is no doubt that the Scottish right-wing bureau-

cracy is receiving the support of the right-wing bureaucracy elsewhere, and is looking upon the struggle as one which will have decisive results. For that reason the Communist Party and the Left-wing in the Scottish Miners are bending all their efforts to secure a reversal of this iniquitous Executive decision and the calling of an immediate conference at which the newly elected representatives will take the control to which the rank and file have elected them.

The Labour Movement in Brazil.

By E. F. L. (Rio de Janeiro).

Up till 1920 the Brazilian trade unions were in the hands of the Anarcho-Syndicalists. From 1918 to 1920 the Brazilian Labour movement went through a period of unprecedented enthusiasm, evoked by mass sympathy for the Russian revolution. In 1921, however, after the real foundations of the Soviet structure became known in Brazil and the illusions of the anarcho-syndicalists, who tried to make out that the October Revolution had brought about the anarcho-syndicalist Utopia, were dispersed, an abrupt rupture occurred in the Labour movement between the Anarcho-Syndicalists and the Communists. The former, finding themselves in a minority, seceded from the then trade union centre in the capital — "Federazio Obrero Rio de Janeiro" — and formed their own centre.

Thereupon a period of profound depression set in for the Brazilian Labour movement. The country was placed under martial law, following on the military outbreak in the State of San Paulo against the despotism of the Government in the coffee plantations, all unions being closed down and unable to function for a whole year.

In 1925 the Communists embarked upon the work of reviving the trade union movement. Circumstances were extremely favourable, the Anarcho-Syndicalists having lost all influence among the masses, their "Labour Federation" existing only on paper, and the workers themselves feeling the necessity of reuniting the hitherto dispersed trade union movement. Hence, despite perpetual persecution, the Communists met with a lively response among the masses in their efforts to restore trade union unity. As a result of these labours a Central Committee for the creation of a General Confederation of Labour was set up, and the reorganisation of the trade union movement on the principle of industrial unions was embarked upon.

The Congress of Trade unions of Rio de Janeiro and neighbouring towns held in the end of April last was a great success for the revolutionary trade union movement. It was attended by representatives from 36 trade unions, 23 factory committees not belonging to unions and 3 revolutionary minorities from those unions whose executives were opposed to the unification movement. In all about 80,000 workers were represented. At this Congress there was founded the *Federazio Sindical Regional de Rio*, an organisation headed by revolutionary trade unionists.

The principal unions with a revolutionary leadership are: the National Federation of Restaurant Employees, the National Federation of Printers, the National Federation of Seamen (Merchant Service), the Textile Workers' Union, the Clothing Trade Workers' Union, the Carpenters' Union and the Distillery Workers' Union.

The recently revived repressive measures, the driving of the Communist Party underground again, and the closing down of its organ "A Nasau", weakened the activities of the revolutionary trade unionists in some instances, notably in the textile workers' Union, but on the whole their trade union work goes apace.

Revolutionary trade unionists also enjoy considerable influence in the unions in Resifa, San Paulo, Santos and Porto Alegre.

In addition to revolutionary trade unions there are both Yellow and police unions, but the advantage is indisputably

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Persecution of the Labour Movement in India.

Promises and Practice of British Trade Union Leaders.

By M. N. Roy.

Lately the reformist leaders of the British Labour movement have been visiting India ostensibly with the laudable object of helping the workers in that country to organise themselves in order to resist capitalist exploitation. On more than one occasion the Trade Union Congress has passed a resolution to the same effect. Even now two trade union leaders, Purcell and Halsworth, are touring India promising help to the Indian workers in their struggle for a better life.

The government has not put any obstacle in the way of these activities of the reformist leaders. From this it may appear that through the normal development of trade unionism in India the injuries done to the standard of living of the home proletariat by the exploitation of cheap and unorganised colonial labour, can be counteracted. It may be triumphantly pointed out by the reformist leaders of the British Labour movement that the conditions of the Indian working class can be improved by peaceful means; that there is nothing preventing joint action of the British proletariat and Indian working class to defend their mutual economic interests in a peaceful way; that Indian workers can improve their economic conditions while remaining subjects of the British Empire. But in practice the plan does not work out so smoothly. There is a big distance between promise and practice.

While Purcell and other reformist leaders are actually in India promising to help the workers of that country in their struggle against capitalism, another member of the British Labour movement, Philip Spratt is arrested. Why? Because he put into practice the promises made by the leaders of his movement. Spratt is arrested for actively assisting the textile workers of Bombay to resist a wage-cut — the third in two years. He is arrested while distributing leaflets among the strikers, which are alleged to contain "communist propaganda". This charge of communist propaganda is sheer nonsense. Spratt and the members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India, who are arrested with him on the same charge, were not preaching social revolution to the strikers. They were agitating in favour of continuing and spreading the strike to resist the proposed wage-cut. It is not communist propaganda. It is actually helping the Indian workers in the struggle for a better life, and this the imperialist rulers of India would not permit. They would not object to, they even encourage the reformist leaders visiting India and making speeches expressing platonic sympathy; but actual help to the Indian workers in the struggle is forbidden. This is the reality of the situation which should be taken into consideration by those who earnestly want a fighting alliance between the British proletariat and Indian workers in the struggle against imperialist exploitation.

A better life for the Indian worker will mean a better life for the British worker. The present strike in Bombay is a case in point. It is closely connected with the attack on wages in Lancashire. The defeat of the workers in Bombay will contribute to further wage-reductions in the British cotton industry. Had the British Labour movement helped the Bombay workers to resist the successive wage-cuts in the last two years, the pretexts for the present attack upon the wages in Lancashire could be eliminated. While British imperialism actively assisted the Indian mill-owners to crush the resistance of the workers, these received no practical and effective aid from the British labour movement.

Tom Shaw went out to India to investigate the situation, as if the situation were not clear enough. Out there he made the usual speeches, and came back to induce the Lancashire operatives to accept lower wages. What else could he do? World conditions have changed. Colonial plunder can no longer indirectly contribute to raise the standard of living of the home proletariat. In the present period of capitalist decline, exploitation of cheap colonial labour is a means to reduce the standard

of living of the home proletariat. No reformist policy as regards the colonial question can arrest the constant worsening of the conditions of the working class of the metropolis.

Disruption of the empire is the only way out of the blind alley. For imperialism would not part with the right of exploiting cheap colonial labour, at the request of the Social Democratic leaders. Any act of actual assistance to the Indian workers in their struggle over even the most elementary demand is a threat to imperialist power, and therefore is not tolerated.

The promise to help the Indian workers in their struggle for a better life has no meaning unless it is the promise to help India to overthrow imperialist domination. As the reformist leaders of the British labour movement are decidedly against that the Indian people should be free from imperialist overlordship, they are not in a position to put their promise into practice. They not only fail to keep their promise to the Indian working class; they connive with, if not consciously support, the capitalist offensive against the home proletariat as well. This is demonstrated by their eagerness for industrial peace.

As the imperialist bourgeoisie know that with their political outlook the reformist leaders can never put into practice their promise to the Indian workers, they do not mind their visiting India and making speeches which not infrequently are quite radical. For example, Purcell went to the extent of declaring that the conditions of the Indian workers demanded a revolution. But soon after making such a radical speech he visited Kharagpur, where 15,000 railway workers had been locked-out for three months and half. There he advised the workers to obey the bourgeois leaders who were at that very moment feverishly negotiating with the government to sabotage the decision of the workers to declare a general strike over the entire railway. Purcell knew that the workers wanted a general strike, which would have brought the bosses to terms, and that the bourgeois leaders were endeavouring to sabotage the struggle of the workers; still he supported the leaders as against the workers. When one renders such valuable practical service to imperialism, emotional speeches about the necessity of a revolution can be ignored; since obviously they are not serious.

On the other hand, Spratt did not talk flamboyantly of revolution; but aided and encouraged the workers in the struggle for their minimum economic needs. Nevertheless, he is arrested! The British working class must draw lessons from these events. The miserable conditions of the Indian workers is a standing menace to the welfare of the British proletariat. Any attempt to improve these conditions of the Indian working class will encounter resistance on the part of imperialism. The obvious conclusion from this situation is that the struggle for the betterment of the conditions of the Indian workers, which is necessary for defending the interests of the British proletariat, is essentially a political struggle having for its object the overthrow of imperialist domination. Those who sincerely want to help the Indian worker in his struggle for a better life, must help him in the first place to overthrow imperialism. The British workers must demand that the leaders put their promise to the Indian worker into practice. Should they do it, they would no longer find a visit to India a pleasant diversion, but a visit to the battlefield where the task is not to talk but to fight.

CHINA

The Situation in China.

By Tang Shin She.

Chiang Kai-shek's return to Nanking had for him the unfavourable result that the Kwangsi group broke away from him and the districts of Canton and Hankow declared themselves to be independent of him. There was given as a reason for this split, that Chiang Kai-shek had supported general Chang Fa Kui in the attack on Canton and had caused the Communists to stir up unrest in that town. It therefore looks as if the Kwangsi group will soon designate not only Wang Ching Wei, as hitherto, but also Chiang Kai-shek as a Communist. For some time past this group has demanded of the Kuomintang that it abandon all tactics and methods taken over from the

Communists. That was a campaign against Chiang Kai-shek who had recently propagated that all power must belong to the party.

The Kwangsi group is a purely militarist group. Its chief generals are Peh Tsung Chi, Li Tsung Lin and Li Dji Chin. In August, 1927, this group drove Chiang Kai-shek out of Nanking and took over the regime in Nanking. There is still working with this purley militarist group a political group, the Chisan group, whose leaders are Hu Han Min, Sun Fo and Wu Chao Chü (the former Nanking foreign Minister). They are the most extreme Right Wing group within the Kuomintang. They joined with the so-called centrist Chiang Kai-shek in order to annihilate the Left Wang Chin Wei. Having achieved this, they now want to beat Chiang Kai-shek also. When Chiang Kai-shek recently returned to Nanking, the three leaders of the Chisan group, Hu Han Min, Sun Fo and Wu Chao Chü, refused the posts offered them by Chiang Kai-shek and withdrew from Nanking and Shanghai to Canton.

It is a weakness of the Chisan Group that they do not possess any soldiers, and are therefore constantly dependent upon other military groups. In order to abolish this weakness and to find a strong point of support, the chief leaders of the group now intend to undertake a world journey. In the first place they intend to visit India and Turkey and afterwards Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States of America. This means that they intend first to carry on anti-Bolshevist and anti-Soviet propaganda in the colonies, and afterwards to get into touch with the imperialists themselves. Their final aim is to raise a foreign loan, in order to be able to say to their militarist colleagues: you have the troops, but we have the cash!

Chiang Kai-shek has now finally abandoned the campaign against Peking. His new theory is that China can be united only by peaceful means. Everybody is to administer his district himself, but all shall collaborate on a national scale. It was recently reported that Chiang Kai-shek has again got into touch with the Northern Generals. As regards the form of government, Chiang Kai-shek is striving after federalism, but of course in actual practice separatism is still being pursued. Feng Yu Hsiang and the governor of the province of Shansi, Yen Shi Sao, are likewise not in a position to undertake an attack on Peking. A fight of the generals on a large scale is therefore not to be expected in the near future. But a fight between the lower generals of each ruler will still continue on a broader basis than hitherto. Within the territories of the Kuomintang generals every leader of troops has already occupied an area or district for himself. The collection of taxes is leased out by them. The higher official posts are granted to those who have sufficient money to pay for them. It has happened several times that armed conflicts have broken out between two leaders of troops over the appointment of a higher official.

In the territory of the Kuomintang generals extortion and bribery are official affairs. In spite of the fact that by this means the leaders of the troops receive magnificent incomes, their troops are without winter clothing and have not sufficient to eat. As a result the mutinies, particularly in the province of Anhwei and Kiangsu, are becoming more frequent. The process of the decay of the armies is advancing without interruption.

Many peasant revolts have been reported recently from the provinces of Kwangtung and Hunan. These revolts are in connection with the Chinese New Year (23rd of January). In China, New Year's day is the day for the payment of the last year's debts, and a day which most of the Chinese usually spend in their own home, even if they are engaged elsewhere. In the last year hundreds and thousands have been driven from their native home. Those who want to return home and cannot and those who have received no pay and cannot pay their debts organised the numerous revolts on the New Year's day in all localities. It can be safely assumed that recently numerous village soviets, as already exist in the East of the province of Kwangtung, have again been organised.

THE WHITE TERROR

What is Happening to Comrade Matthias Rakosi?

The trial of Comrade Zoltan Szanto and his fellow-prisoners clearly revealed the methods adopted by the Hungarian police. Day after day the world was informed how the "consolidated" Hungary of Bethlen employed torture, false witnesses, and hired spies for the purpose of manufacturing "confessions". It appeared, moreover, that the "imperial" Hungarian judges were in every respect hand in glove with the police dictators Schweinitzer and Hetényi. The deprivation of the right of defense, solitary confinement, and all sorts of unfairness towards the accused — such were the means adopted by the judges for the purpose of shielding Schweinitzer and his colleagues and of preventing the atrocities of the police examination from becoming public.

All this was no surprise at all to us Communists, nor do we intend to bewail these atrocities, since we know quite well that not much can be changed in such a system without the overthrow of the entire regime. For the "consolidated" Hungary of Bethlen is the same Hungary as that which instituted the dictatorship of 1919. Its class basis is far narrower and more unstable than that of the "advanced" western democracies. When the millions of land workers and poor peasants demolish the prison walls that isolate them and when the hundreds of thousands of workers in the cities liberate themselves from the yoke of the Social Democracy, then the Bethlen system will collapse like a house made of cards.

Therefore the ruling classes feel with an unerring class instinct that their methods of defense employed hitherto against Communism have not been efficient enough. They are proceeding to employ severer and crueler means against the only Party at present engaged in rousing all workers and organising them in a revolutionary sense.

We expect no mercy from the revengeful Hungarian capitalists and landowners, who are anxious as to the maintenance of their rule. Nor do we expect them to prove chivalrous enemies to those Communists who are under arrest and are excluded from immediate participation in the class struggle. The laws of the ruling class in Hungary do not even regard Communist organisation and agitation as a "political" crime. They send our comrades to goal. We feel bound, however, to point out that, contrary even to the Hungarian custom, they do not even observe their own prison regulations in respect of the imprisoned Communists, so that the latter have not the same rights as the ordinary criminals.

Comrade Matthias Rakosi was condemned by the Hungarian court to eight and a half years penal servitude, a term of punishment which he is to serve in the Waitzen prison. According to the prison rules he has the right to receive a packet of food and clothing at certain intervals. Now it happened that without his knowledge Rakosi's sisters enclosed in one such packet a letter reporting on certain family matters. There was no political message whatever in this letter. Nevertheless, the prison authorities inflicted the following punishments on Rakosi:

1. He was placed in solitary confinement.
2. For one year he will not be allowed to receive any packet or foodstuffs from outside, which, in the face of a bread ration of one quarter kilogramme and of the atrocious prison food, means certain starvation.
3. He is forbidden to receive extra apparel and is thus exposed to the greatest suffering and the impairment of his health in the unheated or quite insufficiently heated prison premises.
4. For the period of a year he is forbidden to work and is thus deprived of the healthy exercise otherwise obligatory for the prisoners.
5. For the period of one year he is deprived of the right to receive visitors.
6. For a year he will be allowed neither to write nor to receive letters, which is tantamount to a complete deprivation of all rights and, in face of the constant persecution, to practical murder.
7. For the period of a year he has been deprived of the right to receive books from outside.

How greatly this entire act of under-hand vengeance is in contradiction to the laws even of the Hungarian "white terror", is shown by the fact that the Czechoslovak deputy, Comrade Gatti, who was staying at Budapest at the time of the Szanto trial, was not allowed to visit Comrade Rakosi at Waitzen. It was

desired that this arbitrary treatment of a prisoner, reminiscent of the darkest days of Tsarism in Russia, should be kept secret.

We repeat that we do not entertain the least illusions as to the possibility of a change — short of an overthrow of the entire regime — in the police, tribunal, and prison methods prevalent in Hungary. But such a recognition by no means implies that we may suffer such atrocities with folded arms. It is the duty of every Hungarian Communist and of the Communist Party of Hungary to draw the attention of the proletariat of the whole world to the events at Waitzen. The sympathies of the world proletariat have already on one occasion saved Comrade Rakosi from death at the hands of Bethlen and Horthy. The sympathies of the workers must again save him, this time from a lingering death.

The Persecution of the Communist Movement in Spain.

By R. Jarcovi (Seville).

Since September 1923 the Communist Party of Spain has been the victim of fierce repressive measures on the part of the government of General Primo de Rivera. In the last quarter of 1927 a new wave of persecution set in. The activity of the Communist Party of Spain, as the only political party which has for several months been carrying on a serious opposition against the "Consultative Assembly" and which played a leading role in the recent miners' strike in Asturia, was sufficient reason for the fascist government to intensify still further the measures of violence against the C. P.

On the 30th September last year more than a hundred of our most active comrades were arrested in Madrid, Bilbao, Barcelona and other towns. The pretext for these arrests was an alleged conspiracy. As a matter of fact it was the police who, with the help of two spies organised this conspiracy. Although it was then proved beyond all doubt that here it was a case of a frame up on the part of the police the arrested comrades are still being kept in prison in Madrid. Many of our comrades are being persecuted, among them Arroyo, the editor of "Antorcha".

In the month of November last again over a hundred comrades were arrested in connection with the miners' strike in Asturia. Twenty of them were conveyed to the prison in Madrid and handed over to the General Director of the "Siguridad" (police). Here they are being treated much worse than common criminals.

On the 6th of January Comrade Pascal, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, was arrested in Valladolid and conveyed to Madrid, since when there has been no news as to what fate has befallen him. All the inquiries which his family and comrades have made have proved in vain. It is rumoured that he has been deported, but no one knows where. It is also stated that he has been shot while "trying to escape". As a matter of fact everything can be expected from the vile murderer Anidos.

The same thing has happened to Comrade Baron, the administrator of the "Antorcha", as happened to Pascal. Comrade Baron was arrested on the 30th September last in connection with the famous "conspiracy". He was released on the 3rd of November on the order of the examining judge, as nothing could be found against him. On the evening of the 10th of January, however, he was arrested again in the offices of the "Antorcha". He was brought to the police station and was transported from there on the 11th of January. Nobody knows whither.

But that did not satisfy the police. When they found that in spite of the arrests of Comrades Arroyo and Baron, the editor and the administrator respectively of the "Antorcha", the paper still continued to appear, they became furious and decided to put an end to the paper at all costs, and wrecked the offices of the paper. On the 11th of January, at 8 o'clock in the morning, when only the wife of Arroyo was in the offices of the "Antorcha", five police agents broke into the premises, confiscated everything they found there, including card-indexes, tables, chairs, boxes, pictures, account books, typewriters, as well as the cash box with all the cash, cheque books of the Spanish American Bank etc. All this was carried away on a waggon. It was a regular robbery.

The Spanish police want by these methods to destroy the newspaper of the proletariat. As they did not succeed in preventing the paper from appearing by constantly arresting the comrades editing and working on it, they have resorted to this last means of destroying the entire apparatus and confiscating the cash. But these people will not be able to achieve anything even by such means. The Communist Party of Spain has already passed through more severe ordeals and will emerge unweakened and triumphant.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Bessarabian Tragedy.

Leading article of the "Pravda" of January 26th, 1928.

The so-called "Bessarabian Question" represents one of the most tragic sides of the post-war history of European imperialism, this system of abominable exploitation and violation which is cloaked by the hypocritical pacifism of the Second International, which has sold itself to the bourgeoisie.

The vilest methods of violation known to imperialism and its servants have been applied by Roumania and the Entente supporting it in order to subjugate Bessarabia, with the object of converting this country into a military base against the first victorious proletarian revolution. International provocations (the Roumanian spies, Inkultz and Katarren as statesmen in Bessarabia in 1917!); making us of the treachery of the Fascist general Shterbachev, who betrayed Bessarabia to the Roumanian troops; making use of the treacherous aid of the Petlura people and the Social Revolutionaries; crushing of the Soviets; brutal and bloody violation not only of proletariat but also of bourgeois and peasant organisations in Bessarabia (two presidents of the Peasant Congress were shot down one after the other, soldiers with bayonets at the sessions of the Bessarabian "Preliminary Parliament" Sfatul Cerli); drownings in the Dniester and countless executions of Bessarabian revolutionaries, workers and peasants — all these things happened at the beginning of 1918 when Bessarabia was occupied.

The ten years occupation of Bessarabia by Roumania is a bloody epoch. In the first four years alone there were 153 revolts of the Bessarabians against Roumania (according to the official Roumanian figures). Dozens of villages were burnt down in suppressing some of these revolts; thousands were murdered, hundreds of thousands suffered and fled abroad. During the ten years occupation, 30,000 Bessarabians have been shot by the Roumanians; 300,000 Bessarabians emigrated abroad.

How terrible must that system of economic exploitation be which is maintained at the price of such incredible sacrifices. The working masses of Bessarabia groaned and are still groaning under the weight of the threefold pressure: that of the Entente powers, that of the Roumanian hangmen and that of their "own" landowners and capitalists. During the occupation the industrial production and the production of grain has sunk approximately by one half. The incredibly high taxes, prices and customs duties, the lack of land, chronic unemployment and starvation wages keep the workers and the peasantry on the verge of misery.

And all this with the approval of the League of Nations, the "Guardian" of the suppressed peoples of Europe! And all this in the immediate neighbourhood of Soviet Ukraine and the Autonomous Moldavian Soviet Republic, where the population has overcome the poverty and misery of the pre-war years and is freely developing, economically, politically and culturally. The occupation of Bessarabia by Roumania bears a thoroughly robber-like character, so that even the Second International was compelled at one time, under the pressure of the masses, to protest against the action of Roumania. But already in the year 1920, this same International approved the action of the imperialist governments by signing the "Treaty" on the separation of Bessarabia from the Soviet Union without the two parties mainly interested in this treaty — the Bessarabian population and the Soviet Union — being consulted.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared that it abandons once and for all any claim to Bessarabia based on the former Tsarist rule over Bessarabia. But the Soviet Union just as emphatically refuses to recognise in any form the Roumanian

rule over Bessarabia which is based upon bayonets, gallows and the annihilation of all the rights of the Bessarabian people. The Soviet Union proposed and proposes that a free plebiscite be carried out, by which the population of Bessarabia shall have the opportunity, free from the threats of bayonets, of expressing its sovereign will regarding the constitution of its State.

This unchanged attitude of the Soviet Union is well known to all the peacemongers of the League of Nations; but they do not take any steps to hold a plebiscite in Bessarabia, because they know perfectly well what sympathy the working masses of Bessarabia cherish towards the Soviet Union. They are particularly afraid of an expression of this sympathy at the present time, when Great Britain, which plays first fiddle in the League of Nations, is engaged in consolidating the "frontier barriers" around the Soviet Union in preparation for war adventures.

This is the reason why we observe of late a certain change of attitude in the Roumanian press. If hitherto the Roumanian newspapers unceasingly maintained that all the Moldavians live only in occupied Bessarabia, and that the Autonomous Moldavian Republic is an artificial thing "without Moldavians", the press is now beginning to cry out about the many hundred thousands of Moldavians living on the left bank of the Dniestr and longing to be united with their brothers on the right bank, of course under the high hand of the degenerate princes of the Roumanian royal family. In this "new policy" we must see a new tendency against the Soviet Union with which Roumanian "public opinion" has been inoculated by British imperialism.

The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are not afraid of such threats. On the day of mourning on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Roumanian robber-like occupation of Bessarabia, they demonstrate their solidarity with the workers and peasants of Bessarabia and call upon them to follow in their country the example of the Soviet Union, which has found the only correct way to their emancipation, to promoting and developing economy and culture and to annihilating every national and other yoke.

We bow our heads before the tens of thousands who have fallen at the hands of the Roumanian boyars in the towns and villages of Bessarabia, and express our firm belief that the hour is not distant when the European proletarian revolution will once and for all sweep aside the whole abominable and rotten system of European imperialism and destroy every possibility of maintaining or restoring such profoundly tragic "questions" as the Bessarabian question.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Decisions of the Plenum of the C. C. of the Communist Party of Poland.

By T. Feder.

The last Plenum of the C. C. of the Communist Party of Poland dealt, among other questions, with the report of the provisional C. C., the Opposition in the C. P. S. U., the situation in Poland and the tasks of the Party, the report on the Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Western Ukraine and the report of the C. C. of Western White Russia.

The Policy of the Party Leadership.

The report of the C. C. and the discussion following it have shown that the general line of the Party leadership, in spite of a number of mistakes, was correct. The activity of the Party has increased, the Party has further extended its influence with the working masses. The most important symptom of this are the Municipal elections which, in spite of the enormously difficult conditions obtaining at the time of the campaign, have brought great successes to the Party. In many towns, even there where the Left workers' lists had been cancelled, we received a great number of votes. Thus the Left workers' list obtained 17% of all votes cast in Warsaw and 22% of the votes cast in Lodz. In some industrial centres the Left workers'

list obtained an absolute majority. The municipal elections were a survey of our forces showing the growth and the consolidation of Communist influence.

The Party leadership quite correctly connected the election campaign with the campaign against war against the Soviet Union.

Although during the elections the line taken was in general correct, a number of local branches have committed the following mistakes:

1. A number of the weakest organisations made opportunist mistakes by concluding election blocs with the P. P. S. without setting up an independent political platform and without conducting a broad mass campaign, solely in order to obtain a seat.

2. In a number of weak provincial organisations nationalist tendencies made themselves apparent, which in the organisations composed for the major part of Poles found expression in anti-semitism, and there where the composition was mainly Jewish, in Jewish nationalism.

Apart from these mistakes committed in connection with the election campaign, the Party leadership made a number of other mistakes in its general activity:

1. The Party leadership did not sufficiently make use of the political situation and the mood of the masses after the murder of **Vojkov**, although it would have been able to lead the workers into the streets in the days following the murder.

2. The Party leadership did not quickly enough grasp the political significance of the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign and did not to a sufficient extent connect this campaign with the protest campaign against the Dawesation of Poland, i. e. of the working masses of Poland, by American capital and with the campaign against the reactionary policy of the fascist government.

In some local organisations there prevailed a certain passivity during the anti-militarist campaign; it has occurred that social patriotic tendencies became apparent in the ranks of the Party.

The resolution which has been adopted, as a whole approves of the activity of the leadership of the C. C.; a resolution proposing to declare the activity of the leadership to be insufficient, was rejected.

On the question the **Opposition in the C. P. S. U.** the Central Committee adopted a resolution in which it is declared, that

"it supports with all energy all the steps of the C. P. S. U. directed towards maintaining the unity of the C. P. S. U. and of the Comintern, and that it will fight with all force against the disruptive activity of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U."

In pointing out symptoms proving the danger of the penetration of the Polish Party by the Opposition, the Plenum of the C. C. decided

"to instruct the Polbureau to prepare and to carry out a broad campaign in the Party for the purpose of explaining the anti-Communist nature of the Opposition, as well as a campaign outside of the Party as an answer to the campaign of the P. P. S. and of the other social reformists in Poland against the Soviet Union, in which the social traitors make use of the anti-Party and anti-Comintern speeches of the Opposition."

The Political and Economic Situation in Poland.

In characterising the political and economic situation of Poland the C. C. is of the opinion that since the IV. Party Congress the following questions have acquired first rank importance: The role of Poland as an advance guard in the war against the Soviet Union; the Polish-Lithuanian conflict; the American loan; the intensified offensive of the government against the toiling masses and the polarisation of two camps in Poland.

In judging the economic situation in Poland, the C. C. proceeded from the fundamental theses of the IV. Party Congress.

The C. C. points to the inner contradictions of the partial stabilisation and declares that

"the bourgeoisie is seeking a way out by further intensifying the exploitation of the working class, by a competitive

struggle on the foreign markets, which is carried on at the cost of the toiling masses in town and country, and by the hunt for new markets".

From this results an increased offensive of capital. The offensive of capital against the toiling masses is closely connected with the preparation for war against the Soviet Union. In the resolution adopted by the C. C. it is said that

"the fascist government and its reformist lackeys are endeavouring to conceal its increased war preparations behind a pacifist phraseology... In connection with the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, the government, with its fascist agents intensified the campaign of lies and calumnies against the Soviet Union. In Western Ukraina and in Western White Russia this campaign is being conducted under the slogan of the fight for the emancipation of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and of the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic from the yoke of Moscow. The Pilsudski government unites in this campaign all the reformist, Ukrainian and White Russian parties".

The C. C. points to the fact that the government is systematically organising for war (new munition factories, the construction of strategical connecting routes, the campaign of a broad-scaled war preparation, the preparation of the railwaymen for poison gas war fare etc.).

The C. C. sees in the American loan a fact which increases the offensive of capital, because it means in the first place "a clearance sale of Poland and its complete delivery to international capital", and secondly, "that capitalist rationalisation and the cutting down of social insurance means increased exploitation of the working class", and thirdly, "it affords the fascist government the possibility of intensified preparation of the war against the Soviet Union".

With regard to the relation of class forces, the C. C. points on the one hand to the consolidation process of the propertied classes, which are grouping round the government and to the sham opposition of the reformist workers' and peasants' parties to the government and on the other hand to the turn to the Left on the part of the working masses:

"Among the working class, not only of Poland but also of Western Ukraina and Western White Russia, where the proletariat of big industry consists mainly of Poles, there is carried on between the C. P. of Poland and the S. P. of Poland a fight for the masses. It is a struggle between the socialist revolution and fascism; it is the decisive moment for the further development of the proletarian revolution and also for the war against the Soviet Union."

This is followed by a characterisation of the policy of the fascist government, which is applying intensified terror against the workers' and peasants' organisations, as well as a characterisation of the policy of the reformists, who form a part of the fascist bloc and who are using a revolutionary phraseology in order to maintain their influence upon the masses.

The Tasks of the Communist Party of Poland.

"A characteristic feature of the present period", it is said in the theses, "consists in the disproportion between the increase of Party activity and the forms applied by the Party to organise and immediately lead the struggle of the broad masses, which latter do not correspond to the growth of the activity of the masses."

The C. C. places the following important tasks of the Party in the foreground: 1. Increase of the revolutionary activity of the masses; 2. fight against the reformists for the majority of the working class; 3. organisation of the masses which are becoming more radical; 4. consolidation of the bloc of workers, peasants and oppressed peoples; 5. ideological and organisatory strengthening of the Party.

The C. C. considers the following campaigns which are to be carried through in the immediate future as the most important ones: 1. The campaign against the danger of war and against the increased preparation for war against the Soviet Union, in connection with the campaign on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution; 2. against

the arbitration agreements which have been concluded, as well as against the increased taxation in connection with the American loan; 3. against the increased fascist terror.

The theses adopted by the Plenum point out that without the destruction of the illusions of the working masses with regard to the reformists and without exposure of the reformist leaders as agents of the fascist dictatorship, a further deepening of the revolutionising process of the masses, the winning of the majority of the working class and the victory of the proletarian revolution are impossible. The Party opposes to the socialist bloc (P. P. S. — Bund — German social democracy) a broad campaign among the masses under the slogan of the united front of the workers and of the workers' and peasants' bloc.

The Plenum emphasises the enormous importance of the factory councils for conducting the struggle and for maintaining the influence of the Party, and points to the necessity of a recruiting campaign for the trade unions, as well as to the importance of creating a strong trade union mass opposition.

Ideologically the Party must base itself upon the line laid down by the IV. Party Congress and by the Comintern, and must increase its watchfulness with regard to the danger of Right opportunist deviations; it must also oppose the ultra-Left and anarchist tendencies.

The Plenum devoted much time to the Ukrainian question in connection with the report on the VIII. Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Western Ukraine. In spite of a number of successes achieved the C. C. of the C. P. of Western Ukraine has committed a number of big political errors, resulting from the wrong line of the C. C. of the C. P. of Western Ukraine in the national question. It was decided: a) to rescind a number of resolutions of the Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Western Ukraine and b) to call upon the Polbureau of the C. C. of the C. P. of Western Ukraine to bring the decisions of the Plenum into harmony with the resolutions of the C. C. of the C. P. of Poland.

The Plenum adopted a resolution on the immediate liquidation of the fractions in the C. P. P. and dealt with a number of organisatory questions.

The work of the Plenum has proved that the ideological differences of opinion which existed in the Party up to the IV. Party Congress and at the IV. Party Congress have diminished somewhat. The resolution on the new facts in the situation of Poland and on the tasks of the Party were unanimously adopted. The attitude of the former fractions with regard to the mistakes of the C. C. of the C. P. of Western Ukraine was uniform in many cases. This is a proof that the resolution adopted by the IV. Party Congress on the necessity of consolidating the Party in the daily work of the Party has received serious attention.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Kautsky v. Rosa Luxemburg.

The Re-appearance of Volume III. of her Collected Works.

Last year saw the sudden disappearance from the book trade of Rosa Luxemburg's "Against Reformism", forming the third volume of her collected works; now it has as unexpectedly re-appeared. The volume in question contains Rosa Luxemburg's masterly handling of the theory and practice of reformism, as advocated originally by Bernstein and later by Kautsky and spread more and more in the Social Democracy of pre-war times. In the preface to this volume there is a demonstration of the historical background of the reformist theory and of its practical consequences, mainly as envisaged by Kautsky.

What, then, was the reason of the enigmatical disappearance of the first edition of Volume III? The new edition gives us the reason as follows:

"Volume III. of the Collected Works of Rosa Luxemburg experienced a curious fate. For part of the first edition the introduction had to be changed. The cause of this alteration was Herr Karl Kautsky, who felt injured by the fact that this volume contained copies of certain passages from his letters to Mehring and who brought an action against the publisher in the Prussian courts with a view

to obtaining an order of the court for the destruction of the book. Experts in copyright matters declared that it was very doubtful whether the copying of certain short passages from letters was an infringement of copyright, especially in view of the fact that the ideas expressed in these passages were such as their author had on more than one occasion published and not such as could claim any particular degree of originality worthy of protection. In this connection Herr Kautsky even outdid William II, who once sued the publishing firm of Cotta and the heirs of Bismarck for having copied several entire letters and long political exposés, which were undoubtedly creations of the imperial mind. And yet William II. has refrained from prosecuting Herr Karl Kautsky for the genuinely 'Wilhelmian' marginal notes contained in Kautsky's book 'How the World War Came About'.

The passages here at issue did not appear important enough for us to have tested the probity of the German courts at the time of the many literary 'trials for high treason'. The years of struggle which it cost to procure the publication rights for the most valuable parts of Volume VII of the Collected Works, 'The Introduction to National Economy', usurped for all times by Paul Levi and the publishing firm of Laub, had sufficed to show to what lengths bourgeois class justice would go. The publishers therefore declared their readiness to delete the passages in question from the introduction. The opinions of Kautsky, which gave rise to such a strange dispute, we here reproduce from works which have already been published and which we cannot possibly be forbidden to cite."

The reason was therefore Herr Karl Kautsky! It might appear at the first glance that this attack on Rosa Luxemburg's works was in continuation of the bitter opposition which Karl Kautsky as an official representative of the Social Democratic Party leaders initiated against Rosa Luxemburg in 1910 and carried on during the war and the revolution. Without knowing the motives of this procedure, however, we are inclined to think that it is here rather a question of petty spite against the publishers, who, in keeping with the wishes of Rosa Luxemburg's heirs and undoubtedly also in the sense of Rosa Luxemburg herself, are unwilling to allow Frau Kautsky to exploit at will letters sent by Rosa Luxemburg to third parties. It was obviously for this reason that Herr Kautsky brought the charge, so as to be able in a compromise to secure the relative rights to Frau Kautsky. These rights, however, have not been accorded.

The procedure of the former revolutionary theorist of Marxism and present advocate of a revolt against the first Workers' State in the world may be of interest to fairly large circles of workers; in any event it excellently illustrates the path he is pursuing.

We heartily welcome the re-appearance of Volume III. Now that the obstacles created by Herr Kautsky have been overcome, this volume, which furnishes us with a never-failing arsenal of weapons in our fight against reformist tactics, is bound to find an ever-increasing number of readers among the working class.

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