

International Red Day on the First of August.

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Appeal of the Communist International.

Organise the Most Determined Defensive Campaign against the Wirepullers of the Counter Revolutionary Campaign against the Soviet Union!

The Toiling Masses of China will reply to the Adventurous Madness of the Generals by consolidating the Brotherly Alliance with the Proletariat of the Soviet Union.

Forward to the Fight against World Imperialism, to the Defence of the Soviet Union.

Working men and women, toilers of the whole world! The danger threatening the cause of peace is growing. Chang Kai-shek, the executioner of Chinese workers and peasants, acting on the orders of world imperialism, is openly provoking a fresh war against the Soviet Union. The advance of socialist development in the first proletarian State of the world is being watched by imperialism with spiteful rage, inspiring it to redoubled attacks upon the Soviet Union. World imperialism, which is organising war against the Soviet Union in East and West, in Poland, Roumania, Afghanistan, presses the Nanking government into service for direct raids on the Soviet Union. The Kuomintang, headed by the betrayers of the national revolution and the executioners of the revolutionary champions of China, is doing its utmost, under the dictates of imperialism, to convert China into a marching ground against the Union. All the provocative machinations of the Kuomintang and its government in Nanking, the raids on the Soviet representatives (Peking), the murders of members of the Soviet consulates

(Canton), were frustrated by the firm and steadfast peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. Its wish for peace has, however, been interpreted by the militarists of the Kuomintang and their imperialist advisers as a sign of weakness.

On 10th July the Kuomintang generals seized the Chinese Eastern Railway, confiscated the telegraph service, locked and sealed the Soviet Russian organisations and official centres, and arrested or expelled from the country hundreds of Soviet Russian citizens. The breaking up of the Soviet Russian institutions in Harbin, and the seizure of the railway line, was accompanied by the simultaneous mobilisation of military forces, and the concentration of White Guardist troops on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, for the purpose of an adventurers' warlike advance. Inspired by a sincere desire for peace, the Soviet Government replied to the unheard of provocations by proposing to the Kuomintang government that a conference should be called at once for the peaceful settlement of all points of contention, imposing the sole elementary condition that the

acts of despotism and violence, and the repressive measures against Soviet Russian citizens, should cease immediately. But even to this proposal the Kuomintang government replied with an insolent refusal, cloaking this beneath lying phrases about alleged Soviet Russian propaganda, thereby unmasking its provocative line of action. The Soviet government was obliged to break off diplomatic and commercial relations with the Kuomintang government, which cynically tore up the agreements concluded with the Soviet Union, the sole country recognising in actual fact the sovereignty of the Chinese people, the country which is the most faithful friend and ally of the peoples oppressed by imperialism. The banditlike conduct of the Kuomintang militarists was replied to by the working masses of the Soviet Union by a mighty mass demonstration of their readiness to fight, and of their determination to defend the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of the workers and the oppressed of the whole world.

These demonstrations among the broad masses of the Soviet Union, and the support given by the workers in other countries to the Union, prove the unshakable will of the working class to stand on the side of the country of socialist construction, and to ward off all raids made upon it, all attacks on its work of building up Socialism.

Working men and women, toilers of the world! The Communist International calls upon you to mobilise and organise a determined frustration of the leaders and wire-pullers of the counter-revolutionary campaign against the Soviet Union. Always remember the fact that behind the pacifist manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie and social democracy, feverish preparations for war are concealed, that the danger of a fresh war becomes more threatening day by day. The provocation organised in the Far East by the Chang Kai-shek government, on the commands of the imperialists, bears witness to this.

The insolence of the Chinese counter-revolutionaries has assumed a particularly provocative character since the coming into office of the MacDonal Government, which the II. International represents as being a "guarantee of peace". The German social democracy, which is at the head of the coalition government, joins the German bourgeoisie in supporting the Nanking adventures and eggs on the Chinese Generals. The French socialists combine with the Poincaré government in an effort to exploit the conflict in the Far East for the reinforcement of the anti-Soviet front. Everywhere we see the Parties of the Second International, now developed into social-Fascists parties, standing side by side with counter-revolution, against the Soviet Union, and taking an active part in the drawing up and carrying out of the imperialist war plans.

Working men and women, toiling masses of China! The appeal of the Communist International is directed most of all to you. The proletariat of the whole world is proud of the courage and steadfastness shown by the Shanghai, Woonan, and Manchurian fighters for the Chinese revolution. The unparalleled

heroism of the Canton communists, who turned a new page in the book of the great struggle of the oppressed peoples by the fearlessness and boldness of their deeds, lives in the memories of the international working class. The Chinese workers and peasants, exposed once more to the blows dealt by counter-revolution, rise once more to struggle afresh. The working masses of China will reply to this adventure, organised by generals who have taken leave of their senses, by binding more closely than ever the tie of brotherly alliance with the proletariat of the Soviet Union, and by the revolutionary struggle against the Chinese and Russian White Guardists.

Workers of India and of the whole East! The object of the fresh provocation from the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang is solely the firmer establishment of the positions of the imperialist bandits, and therewith the imposition of the imperialist yoke on the peoples of the East, the crushing of your heroic struggle. Forward to the fight against world imperialism, against the fresh war, and for the defence of the Soviet Union, the stronghold of the world proletariat, leading at the cost of much sacrifice a bold struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the East.

Working men and women of the capitalist countries! Behind Chang Kai-shek there stand the imperialists and their lackeys, the social democrats, who are anxious to sweep from the face of the earth the first proletarian republic, which has inscribed on its banner the liberation of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the whole world from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism.

Working men and women, toilers of the whole world! The Communist International calls upon you to reply to the banditlike conduct of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang, to the organisation of a campaign directed against the Soviet Union, by closing your ranks around the first proletarian republic, and by raising the standard of revolutionary struggle against the growing danger of a new imperialist war.

Make the International Red Day a day of struggle against imperialist war all over the world, the 1st August a demonstration of struggle against the organisers of a fresh bloody massacre.

Reply to the provocation of a fresh war by a revolutionary demonstration of the forces of the proletariat against the imperialist war makers!

Down with the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang!

Long live the Chinese revolution!

Down with the imperialist warmongers!

Down with the organisers of a war against the Soviet Union!

Long live the brotherly alliance of the Chinese and Soviet Russian workers!

Forward to the defence of the Soviet Union!

Long live the socialist world revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Imperialist War Menaces the Soviet Union.

By Robert Minor (New York).

As these lines are written imperialist troops, under the command of Chinese militarists who are only the tools of foreign imperialist government, are being massed on the Chinese border of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Imperialist war against the Socialist fatherland of the working class of the entire world is imminent.

The Government, which is now nothing but a servile tool of the Wall Street Government of America, is responsible for the act of warfare against the Soviet Union, sharing the responsibility with the Mukden Government, which is itself a hired tool of foreign imperialism. Neither of these so-called Chinese governments represents in the slightest degree the masses of the Chinese people, the workers and peasants, but each is the government of the servile and treacherous Chinese capitalist class and landowners whose only interest is to exploit the Chinese masses and to profit by the betrayal of China to the big imperialist world bourgeoisie.

Not China is making war upon the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics! The United States of America, Japan and Great Britain are making war on the Chinese masses through the mercenary militarist generals, and through these same mercenaries are threatening to launch the long-planned counter-revolutionary war of extermination against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The repated acts of extreme provocation against the Soviet Union by the Chinese agents of American and European imperialism reached their climax within the past week when the troops of the so-called "Nationalist" Government of the Chinese bourgeoisie and militarists made a raid upon the Chinese Eastern Railway, making hundreds of arrests of railway employees, trade union leaders and also citizens of the Soviet Republic, dissolved the trade unions and placed the railway line under military rule while cutting off all telephone and telegraph communication with the Soviet Union. Following the protest of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet

Republics, the Chinese militarists, agents of United States and other imperialist capitalists have massed large armed forces on the border and are at this moment seeking to precipitate armed conflict with the Red Army of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The international working class can only regard this as an attempt of the brutally aggressive Hoover Government, through the Nanking Government largely controlled by the American imperialist government through "American advisors", to make war upon the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in the interest of Wall Street imperialism.

The policy of the Union of Socialist Republics has been consistently through every one of many provocations, including the murder of its diplomatic representatives and the violation of its embassies and consulates, to pursue an unswerving policy attempting to avoid the precipitation of the inevitably oncoming imperialist world war. The policy of the Soviet Government is distinguished from the policies of all imperialist governments precisely in this, that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has not and cannot have imperialist aims and will not under any circumstances encroach upon the independence of another people. The Soviet Government is the first and the only State which relinquished all unequal treaties and special privileges, extra-territoriality, etc. in regard to the Chinese nation. The revolutionary working class policy of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is absolutely incompatible with aggression against the interest of the masses of any nation.

The Chinese militarists and their American, Japanese and British pay-masters are presuming upon the consistent peace policy of the Workers' Republic by assuming that their actions of aggression will not be resisted. The strength as well as the readiness and revolutionary fighting genius of the Red Army, workers and peasants may very likely soon be called upon to disillusion the imperialist governments.

But the Red Army is the advance guard of the working class of the entire world.

The imperialist governments of the entire world must immediately be given warning by the working class of each of these countries that war against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics will be regarded by the workers in every country as war against the entire working class.

Throughout the world today is a rapidly rising wave of militancy on the part of the working class. Growing class consciousness, growing radicalisation, as a result of intensified exploitation and rationalisation of capitalist industry, is placing the working class in a mood not to tolerate complacently the most brutal crime of history, the present deliberate effort of the exploiters of the world to provoke a war of extermination against the Soviet State which alone among all governments truly represents the interests of the working class and the farming masses. As the First of August approaches and the advanced guard of the working class prepares to demonstrate against imperialist war on the anniversary of the past world war, the grim reality of the imperialist war menace is brought forward with a vengeance by the events on the Chinese Soviet border.

Let the workers of all imperialist countries demonstrate on a mass scale their militant determination to defend the workers' fatherland at the cost of the last drop of their blood if need be against the imperialist bourgeoisie of their "own" countries. Let the American Wall Street capitalists and their personal servants, Hoover and his Government, understand that the price of their imperialist plans in China and against the Soviet Union, will mean a sharpening of the class struggle of the American workers upon them to the extreme capacity of the American workers.

The imperialist war menaces at the point of the sharpest contradiction in capitalist society — the contradiction between the system of capitalist exploitation on the one hand, and the free socialist society on the other. The interest of the workers in the United States and in each capitalist country is to defend the Socialist Republic and to make war upon their "own" capitalist governments. The duty of every class conscious worker is to place himself under the leadership of the Communist Party and our Communist International for the struggle to transform the imperialist war into revolutionary civil war for the destruction of the capitalist world system and the liberation of the working class and the exploited colonial peoples.

War against the Soviet Union must be answered by universal class war against all enemies of the Soviet Union.

The Chinese Proletariat and the Provocation on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

By Yang Piau.

On 10th July the government of the Kuomintang militarists of China seized by force of arms the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway. At the same time about 200 citizens of the Soviet Union were arrested, and the manager of the railway, Yemschanov, his assistant Eissmont, and other employees and officials — about 60 in all — were expelled from Chinese territory and replaced by Russian White-Guardists. The Chinese authorities closed all the trading institutions of the Soviet Union in Harbin, and broke up, along the whole line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the trade union and co-operative organisations of the railwaymen and employees of the Soviet Union.

These facts demonstrate plainly that the Kuomintang Government and the Mukden general Chang Hsue Liang, in combination with Russian White-Guardists under the leadership of world imperialism, have made an impudent attack, by means of open violence, upon the Soviet Union, the sole Fatherland of the world proletariat, and at the same time upon the whole of the workers of all nations in the Far East, thereby threatening the proletariat of the whole world with the mailed fist.

Taking their own immediate experiences as basis, the workers of the whole of China can adopt a correct attitude towards the occupation of the East China Railway by the imperialists and Kuomintang generals only if they remember the following points:

1. As early as 1919 the government of the Soviet Union had already proposed to China an agreement on the basis of equal rights. The treaty agreements thereby brought about were

not signed by the Peking government until 1924. It was not until then that the Chinese people learnt for the first time that the Soviet Union voluntarily annulled all the unequal treaties with China, renounced all right to territorial concessions, to indemnities for the Boxer rising and other private privileges, and withdrew voluntarily its claims to consular jurisdiction and to the right to maintain troops on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Since this time the Chinese militarists, under the leadership of the imperialists, have made repeated unlawful attacks upon the Chinese Eastern Railway. The government of the Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed that all conflicts should be settled by joint friendly conferences. The Chinese generals not only ignored all these proposals, but actually resorted to that insolent form of attack represented by the occupation by force of the Chinese Eastern Railway on 10th July of this year. The Kuomintang generals sacrifice the whole of the interests of the Chinese people to that world imperialism which is brutally plundering this people, merely for the sake of being able to remain a willing tool of imperialism. But when they turn to Soviet Russia, the sole country which has granted equal rights to the Chinese people, then they have recourse to a policy of violence. It need not be said that such action as this on the part of the generals is not based on the interests of the people, but is due to very different causes.

2. After the October revolution, the Chinese Eastern Railway became one of the most important points of support of world

imperialism in its organisation of the counter-revolutionary **White-Guardist troops**. These counter-revolutionary troops, making use of the Chinese Eastern Railway, were able to destroy almost 500,000 citizens of the Soviet Union, and to stretch out their talons towards Mongolia, whose working population they maltreated in the vilest manner. It is universally known that the Russian White-Guardists are the hirelings of imperialism in the struggle against the world proletariat. In the Far East imperialism employs them for the mass extermination of the revolutionists and of the leaders of the trade union movement in China and Korea. The Chinese generals utilise these White Guardists for carrying on the civil war, and they have already slaughtered countless numbers of the best representatives of the working masses of China. They form a guard of hangmen unexampled anywhere.

After 1924, when the agreements which had been concluded forbade imperialism to exploit the Chinese Eastern Railways as a basis for the White-Guard Counter Revolution, the proletariat of the Soviet Union, and the working masses of China and Mongolia, suffered less from threatening reaction. Imperialism has now combined with the Chinese generals, aided by the White-Guardists, and has seized possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway by force. This signifies that they intend renewing the White-Guardist regime, in an acuter form than before, against the workers of the Soviet Union, Mongolia, and China, who already know from bitter experience what this regime means.

3. The Soviet Union is the Fatherland of the proletariat of the whole world, the first country in which power is in the hands of the working class. This country unites the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples in the struggle against imperialism and the reactionary forces of the large landowners and the bourgeoisie of the colonies.

The Great Chinese revolution of 1925/27 demonstrated on the one hand the enormous sympathy and support given by the proletariat of the Soviet Union to the Chinese workers and peasants, and on the other the profound sympathy felt by the workers and peasants of China for the proletariat of the Soviet Union and its government. Whilst the Chinese revolution suffered defeat, whilst the Chinese workers and peasants have sunk under an increasingly heavy yoke, whilst the sympathy of the Chinese workers and peasants to the Soviet Union has grown day by day, the imperialists and the Koumintang Generals have made it their object not only to attack and exterminate the Chinese workers and peasants but have taken up an open offensive against the lawful interests of the Soviet Union on Chinese territory, thus transforming this territory into a base for anti-Soviet operations. These anti-Soviet acts of violence are not only violence done to the Chinese workers and peasants, but to the world proletariat in its entirety.

4. Viewed from the standpoint of reaction, the Chinese Eastern Railway, so long as it is controlled by a management

legally participated in by the Soviet government, possesses the disadvantage that it cannot be employed as a base for the struggle against the Soviet Union nor as a weapon in the hands of the imperialists for the exploitation of the Chinese people, nor above all as a cockpit for the war of the militarists among themselves. All along the line of the Chinese Eastern Railway the wages of the workers and employees, of whatever nationality, are rising steadily. The railway management, supported by the Soviet Union, aids the trade unionist and co-operative organisations, the clubs, schools, etc. All these measures contribute greatly to the advancement of the interests of the Chinese workers, and especially of the Manchurian workers. The occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the imperialists and generals is precisely that action most calculated to worsen the material position of the workers and employees along the whole line of the railway.

These are the conclusions which the Chinese workers and peasants will draw when judging the events of 10th July.

The proletariat and the workers of China are of the opinion that the events taking place in Manchuria are not only a danger to the Soviet Union, but a serious threat to the world proletariat, especially to the workers and peasants of China. The last named are very well aware that the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway, under the Soviet power, has by no means been guided by the economic interests of the Russian nation, but by the desire to prevent the Chinese Eastern Railway from becoming a base for the struggle against the Soviet Union and the workers of the peoples of the Far East. The foreign policy of the Soviet government has been, and continues to be, a policy of peace, especially in its relations to semi-colonial China; and up to the present it has preserved its patience in the existing situation. But all patience has its limits. At the present moment, now that the interests of the Soviet Union are endangered, the international proletariat must join hands with the oppressed peoples of the colonies and advance with the proletariat of the Soviet Union in defence of the interests of the Soviet Union.

The workers and peasants of China have been roused to the utmost pitch of indignation by the events of 10th July, and they will make it their task to transform the anti-Soviet actions of the imperialists and their agents among the Chinese generals, into a war for the defence of the Soviet Union against the rule of imperialism and of the reactionary Koumintang regime in China. In view of the ever acuter class war, and the ever spreading movement of the working masses under the slogans of the International Red Day against the danger of a new war, the world proletariat, along with the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, will gather the more closely around the banner of the Comintern, not only to repulse the insolent provocations of the class enemy, but to go forward to the decisive victory over imperialism.

A Few Facts about the Chinese Eastern Railway.

By P. (Moscow).

In view of recent events, a few facts showing the economic-political importance of the Chinese Eastern Railway may be of interest.

The agreement for the building of this railway as terminal line of the "Great Siberian Railway" was concluded on 27th August 1896, between the Chinese government and the Russo-Chinese (later Russo-Asiatic) Bank. The agreement granted the Chinese government only the right to appoint a nominal chairman as intermediary between the railway management and the Chinese authorities. Further, the terms of the agreement entitled China to take over the railway by purchase in 36 years, counting from the opening day, or to take it over into its entire control, without compensation, 80 years from the opening day.

In 1898 the Chinese Eastern Railway Co. and the Chinese government concluded a supplementary agreement relating to the building of a southern junction railway, the South Manchurian Railway, from Harbin to Port Arthur. This passed mainly into the hands of the Japanese in accordance with the peace treaty of Portsmouth.

The Russo-Asiatic Bank and the Chinese Eastern Railway Co. were merely the puppets of the Russian tsarist government. Building funds (459 million gold roubles) and working capital, including share capital, placed at the disposal of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the State Bank in the form of an interest free loan, were supplied from Russian state resources. Besides this the state treasury covered the deficit of the railway during the first decade to the amount of 178 million roubles.

The Chinese Eastern Railway (main lines) has a total length of 1727 kilometres, of which 1485 kilometres fall to the Manchuria-Pogranitschnaya line. The rolling stock consisted on 1st January 1928 of 513 engines, 11,259 goods waggons, and 714 passenger carriages. The railway employs a staff of 30,185 employees and workers.

The goods traffic in particular has greatly developed: from 1156 million tons in 1913 to 1527 millions in 1920, and to 2996 millions tons in 1924 and 4882 in 1927.

Up to the time of the Great War the Chinese Eastern Railway was run at a loss. The situation changed when the mass transports of war material via Vladivostok to the West began. When the general economic decline set in and currencies were thrown into confusion, the railway again showed a loss, and it was not until 1921 that a slight profit was made. After the railway passed into Soviet Russo-Chinese control considerable net profits were gained: 7.2 million gold roubles in 1924, 15.5 in 1925, 15.1 in 1926, and 9 million in 1927, in spite of the considerable subsidies paid to the local Chinese governmental authorities, amounting on an average to 3.5 million gold roubles a year.

The Chinese Eastern Railway was built as a concession-undertaking of tsarist Russia. China had no say in the management of the railway. This state of affairs was not changed till after the October revolution. The railway passed first into the hands of the Russo-Asiatic Bank, or, more strictly speaking, into the hands of an illegal French White-Guardist Organisation, which was formed in Paris and appropriated the assets of the above mentioned Bank abroad, contrary to its statutes. The real owner, the Soviet State, was cut off from the railway by the civil war in Siberia. After the victory over counter-revolution in Siberia and in the Far East the lawful owner, the Soviet government, as representative of the working and peasant masses, asserted its claims.

In 1924 an agreement was concluded in Peking between the Soviet Union and China, settling inter alia the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Inasmuch as Manchuria was not under the control of the Peking government at that time, the Peking agreement was also signed by the Manchurian authorities in the autumn of the same year.

The agreement of 1924 contained the following provisions: The Chinese Eastern Railway was recognised to be an ex-

clusively commercial undertaking. All functions relating to public rights formerly possessed by the railway management passed into the hands of the Chinese authorities, especially in the railway zone. The railway management consists of ten members nominated equally by the Soviet and Chinese governments, under the chairmanship of one Chinese and one Soviet Russian deputy, who arrange conjointly the whole of the affairs of the management and sign the necessary documents. A citizen of the Soviet Union, assisted by two deputies (one of whom is a Soviet citizen) is entrusted, under the supervision of the management, with the technical superintendence and current business. It is on this same basis of equality that all other leading posts on the staff of the Chinese Eastern Railway are filled. Questions which the management is not competent to decide must be submitted to the joint decision of the Soviet and Chinese governments. The period within which China takes over the railway without compensation is reduced from 80 to 60 years (that is, from 1983 to 1963), and provision is made for a further shortening of the term on mutual agreement. For the rest, the enactments of the agreement of 1896, and of the statutes, remain in force, in so far as they do not run counter to the new agreements or violate the sovereignty of China.

Although the railway was built exclusively from the money of the Russian people, the net profits have been divided equally between both parties.

It will be seen that the new regime guaranteed for the Chinese Eastern Railway, on the one hand, normal functions as an important commercial and transport undertaking, while respecting the sovereignty of China, and on the other hand it ensured for China on the basis of equal rights, a 50 per cent. participation in the administration and profits of the undertaking.

Appeal of the E. C. of the Young Communist International.

Comrades!

The predatory raid made on the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Nanking government is a fresh step in the preparation of imperialist war against the Soviet Union. For behind the hangman Chiang Kai-shek there stand the great imperialist powers.

Confronted by the unshakable peace policy of the Soviet Union, these have resorted to the means of uttermost provocation, in order to find a pretext for a bloody intervention against the first country of the workers and peasants.

Once more the imperialists stretch out their greedy hands towards the Soviet Union. Pursued by ever acuter antagonisms, trembling before the growing and powerful advance of the labour movement, filled with rage at the progress of socialism and the successful development of the five-year plan, they hasten feverishly with their preparations for war. The American and English imperialists lead the way. MacDonal's government continues the policy of Chamberlain and Baldwin. The reformist leaders carry out the war plans of their imperialist rulers.

Young proletarians! Will you permit yourselves to be cut to pieces, killed, poisoned with gas, all on behalf of capitalist profit? The capitalists who are now making your lives a hell in the works and factories, cutting down your wages, lengthening your working hours, and abandoning you to the miseries

of unemployment, — these same capitalists are making ready to sacrifice you in the coming frightful imperialist war. But you will not permit this.

The Young Communist International calls upon you to prove your solidarity with the Soviet Union, and to protest effectually against the fresh provocations of the imperialists.

Let your voices be heard loudly and clearly!

Demonstrate now, prepare for the great Day of struggle against imperialist war, the 1st August. On this Day the working masses of the whole world will demonstrate their unshakable readiness to fight in defence of the Soviet Union, to fight for the overthrow of imperialism under the leadership of the Communist International.

Forward as one man to the defence of the Soviet Union!

Down with the Nanking hangmen and their imperialist wirepullers!

Long live the Chinese revolution!

Long live the militant solidarity of the international proletariat.

The Executive Committee
of the Young Communist International.

POLITICS

The Government Conspiracy against the Communist Party of France.

By Simon (Paris).

On the evening of the 17th of July a strong force of police surrounded a whole block of buildings, held up the traffic and carried out a thorough search of the offices and premises of the "Humanité" and of the Communist Party. The purpose was, it was explained, to find material regarding the demonstration planned for August 1st; before all, however, they wished to obtain possession of the instructions for the anti-militarist activity of our organisations. The agents of the Minister of the Interior M. Tardieu, therefore directed their special attention to the premises of the Communist Youth League and to the Central office of our worker and peasant correspondents.

There exists no doubt that the few documents which were found, and which will be supplemented according to requirements (there are Orlovs also in Paris), will give the government an opportunity to frame up not, perchance, a conspiracy against the security of the State, but an espionage affair, because in the former case the trial would have to be held before a jury, which, it is certain, would have to reject the fairy tales of the prosecution, while in the latter case the trial would be heard by professional judges. One must reckon with numerous arrests of our most active comrades and with a great campaign on account of the alleged theft of secret documents regarding the defence of the country. We shall see a new and enlarged edition of the espionage affair organised two years ago against our Comrades Cremet, Ménétrier, Provost etc.

This present affair is connected with a whole series of repressions, which have increased particularly in the last three months; preventative arrest and condemnation of editors of our papers and leading members, as Marty, Péri, Bouthonnier, Thorez etc., as well as the managers of our publications, to severe terms of imprisonment (the business manager of the "Humanité" has been sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and a fine of 150,000 francs). Within the space of a few months no less than five business managers of the daily paper "Dépêche de l'Aube" were imprisoned one after the other. Further, attacks were directed against the street sellers of the "Avantgarde", the organ of the Communist Youth. Sixteen young workers, who were selling a number which had not even been prohibited, were each sentenced to three months imprisonment. The distribution of bills and leaflets in the streets was also forbidden. In accordance with an order of the Minister of the Interior, all papers dealing with the 1st of August are confiscated. Not even the workers' sports association, which is led by the Communists, is exempted from this persecution. All activity of the Association is forbidden, because it refused to participate in the plan of military training which is to be realised with the aid of the sport organisations. A meeting of the Workers' International Relief which was held for the purpose of making arrangements to send children away into the country, was likewise prohibited.

The bourgeoisie urgently needs an action against our Party. It is exceedingly disturbed by the development of the strike movement and the sympathy with which the preparations for the 1st of August are being met. There is one fact in particular that causes it to be alarmed: the energetic resistance, for some months past, of the working class against the acts of repression, and the serious collisions between workers and police. On the 2nd of June 20,000 building workers remained masters of the street. Numerous police officers had to be taken to the hospital. And only a few days ago the workers of the Citroen motor works ejected the police who had taken possession of a part of the factory. In the course of the demonstrations which the workers arranged on the 13th and 14th of July against the chauvinist campaign on the so-called National Day, in the thickly populated parts of the town it came to fierce hand to hand fighting, which showed the growing hostility of the population to the police. The government fully realises that the passivity apparent on the 1st of May has disappeared; that the workers have learned to defend themselves.

and that on the 1st of August the police will no longer dominate the streets as on former occasions.

This explains the tremendous campaign of incitement of the fascist press, which is calling for the prohibition of the Communist Party and the C. G. T. U. and is endeavouring to frighten the bourgeoisie with an alleged bloody putch which is to take place on the 1st of August, "the day of insurrection".

The bourgeoisie is, however, also greatly disturbed by the progress of our propaganda in the army. In six months the soldiers of the standing army arranged 30 manifestations, and the reservists organised in three months more than 35 mass demonstrations. In the middle of Paris the Reuilly barracks was the scene of a demonstration of young soldiers who compelled the officers to retreat.

And finally, the imperialists are extremely disquieted by the revelations made by our worker correspondents in the "Humanité" regarding the enormous production of war material,

For all these reasons the government, after having assured itself of a compliant majority in the debt question, concocted the alleged "conspiracy of military and commercial spying". The police officers endeavoured in the first place to get hold of the list of worker and soldier correspondents in order to destroy our connection with the masses who are opposing the war preparations and to fill the prisons with members, who are represented as being victims of leaders who are only thinking of their own safety.

On the other hand, the social democracy is hastening to the aid of the government at the moment when armaments are being increased. The social democracy is conducting in its press an exceedingly active campaign of pacifist demagogy in connection with the Young Plan and the "final liquidation of war". On the day on which the search of the premises of the "Humanité" and the Party took place Leon Blum, in the Chamber of Deputies, congratulated Briand on his meritorious efforts in the interest of world peace. The bourgeoisie, in its bitter fight against us, is sure of the devotion, and support of the reformists. This fight will, of course, not hold up our action for one moment.

BEFORE THE FIRST OF AUGUST

The International Red Day.

By D. Petrovsky.

No sooner were the May Day events over than the social democratic police spies and the police newspaper "Vorwärts" spread abroad a version of the 1st August, according to which the Communist International has fixed for that date the international social revolution. The German social-fascists need this version both as justification for Zörgiebel's bloody deeds and as a justification of that social Fascist dictatorship which Wels proclaimed at the Magdeburg party congress of the so called social democratic party (which will now be more correctly designated as the social-fascist party).

This miserable and stupid artifice of the bloody August revolution has spread with the rapidity of lightning to every capitalist country of the world. It has been taken up by every bourgeois press organ, and especially by the social democratic press all over the world. But the very employment of this artifice exposes the incendiaries of war; their open fight against the Anti-Imperialist Day shows that all the high sounding pacifist phrases of the bourgeois and social democratic press serve the sole purpose of deceiving the masses of the people and secretly preparing a fresh blood bath. This is the reason why social democracy all the world over has seized so joyfully upon this version of a bloody August revolution.

But every design, whether wise or foolish, is equally powerless in the face of tangible and stubborn facts. The decision to hold the Anti-Imperialist Day was adopted long before May Day at the VI. World Congress of the Comintern.

The Congress imposed on all Sections of C. I. the duty of immediately mobilising the working class and the toilers of the

whole world for an obstinate and systematic struggle against the war in course of preparation, and of making all enemies of imperialist war ready for its conversion into civil war.

The fixing of a uniform international Anti-Imperialist Day means that all war questions are to be brought plainly before the minds of the working masses, and that steps are to be taken towards immediate active mass struggle against imperialism and imperialist war.

Developments since the VI. World Congress.

The first and most important achievement of the international Labour movement since the VI. World Congress is the fact that the Communist Parties have become stronger, and their fighting capacity has increased. The whole of last year witnessed the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. This aggravation of the crisis of capitalism has not only brought to light the rottenness which has found its way into the ranks of certain sections of the Comintern, but has aroused to active life all those creative forces of the working class which the Comintern has absorbed into itself during its existence. The Communist Parties, in their struggle against the Right deviations and the reconcilers, have rid themselves to a great extent of opportunist rubbish, and have thereby enhanced their fighting capacities.

Opportunism in regard to the war danger question is evinced most of all by a failure to grasp the immediate nearness of the danger. The under-estimation of the war danger is, at bottom, the result of lack of comprehension of the secret character of the preparations being made for war, and lack of comprehension of the Leninist methods of combating the war danger. The forced struggle against opportunism, against the Right deviation and the conciliatory attitude towards these, has brought with it an understanding of the nature and import of the war danger and of the right ways and means of combating it.

The growing acuteness of all capitalist antagonisms has led to fresh big struggles, in which we can recognise, firstly, a distinct swing to the Left among the working masses, and secondly, the commencement of a fresh wave of revolutionary struggle. We see the great struggles of the working class of India, the breaking out of economic struggles in a number of capitalist countries and the resultant counter-attack evoked, and finally, the May Day conflicts in Berlin, placing concretely before the whole working class the question of the highest forms of class struggle.

The Parties have improved their fighting capacity; the class-struggle nature of the situation becomes more and more apparent. These are the two most important changes of the last few years. A third must be added to these: the fact of the increasing danger of immediate counter-revolutionary war against the U. S. S. R. We draw express attention to the fresh attempts being made to strengthen and enlarge the anti-Soviet bloc; to the feverish piling up of armaments in the states bordering on the U. S. S. R.; to the anti-Soviet provocations in Poland, and finally, to the infamous and insolent policy of the Chinese Kuomintang, which has taken over the work of preparing the way for the imperialist powers in their efforts to provoke war.

The II. International, which is taking an active part in preparing the counter-revolutionary campaign against the U. S. S. R., seeks to throw dust in the eyes of the masses and assures the workers that the existence of the coalition government under the social democrats in Germany, and the formation of a second MacDonald government in England, are an excellent guarantee of peace. But the course pursued in actual practice by all social democratic governments, and by the present social democratic governments in Germany and England in particular, give the lie to the II. International. We must not forget that never before has the agitation against the U. S. S. R. reached such a pitch in Germany as today, under the leadership of the Müller Government. We may also add that the attack, unparalleled in insolence, made by the Kuomintang on the U. S. S. R., took place after the election of the MacDonald Government.

International Preparations for the Red Day.

The international preparations for the Red Day are being carried on in a situation in which, on the one hand, the war danger becomes daily more imminent, whilst on the other the outlines of a new revolutionary upsurge loom more and more clearly before us. The first important step taken since the VI. Congress, towards preparing for the Red Day was the International Communist Conference held on 11th March of this year, and participated in by 14 Communist Parties. At this time it was already known that the II. International intended cloaking its active participation in the preparations for war by organising an anti-war demonstration on the 4th August. The Conference of the Communist Parties resolved that this swindle on the part of the II. International should not receive the least encouragement, and therefore decided that the joint International Fighting Day against war should not be fixed for the 4th August, but for the 1st. A further reason for the choice of this day by the Conference was the consideration that the actual forces of the working class can be judged not on a Sunday (the 4th August falls on a Sunday), but on a weekday. The second important stage of the preparations for the international demonstration of 1st August was formed by the Brussels Conference, held on the 16th May by 13 European Communist Parties. The importance of this conference lay in the fact that those taking part in it were already in a position to draw the balance of the May Day events, and to grasp the lesson thereby taught in regard to the organisation of the struggle against war.

The period before the 1st May was characterised among other things by the attempt of the German reconcilers, who today play the rôle of the Right in the C. P. G., to advance an extremely original theory to the effect that the impending conflict between English and American imperialisms relegates the war danger against the U. S. S. R. into the background. The Brussels Conference emphatically rejected this attempt to justify capitulation to the growing danger of a war campaign against the first proletarian state. "The organisation of the imperialist war against the Soviet Union" — we read in the resolution passed at the Brussels Conference — "has reached the stage of realisation. This is illustrated most strikingly by — the increasing agitation against the U. S. S. R. on the part of the international bourgeoisie, and the unconditional going over of Germany into the anti-Soviet camp, under the ideological and organisational leadership of social democracy. In view of these circumstances the main object of the campaign must be the mobilisation of the broadest masses of the proletariat, and of all workers, for the defence of the Soviet Union".

At the same time the Brussels conference fully recognised that one single fighting day cannot ward off the danger of war or prepare the masses of workers for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war: "the fighting day of the 1st August must be the culminating point of the rousing campaign, embracing the broadest masses, against the war danger, and at the same time the starting point for the further mass struggles of the proletariat against imperialist war and the whole imperialist system".

The Preparations in the Separate Countries.

Indubitably the first place must be granted to the C. P. of Germany in the preparations for the Red Day. As the section of the Communist International second in strength only to the C. P. S. U. it has purged its ranks most thoroughly and radically from all opportunist rottenness. It headed the May Day struggles. Today it is mobilising the broadest masses of the proletariat, in a united front from below, in preparation for an effectual organisation of the anti-Imperialist Day.

The second place in the preparation of the Red Day must be accorded to France. The French government was successful in suppressing the May Day demonstration in Paris by means of innumerable preventative arrests. But the French C. P. contrived to convert the anniversary of the fall of the Commune — 26th May — into a magnificent proletarian demonstration and into an important link in the chain of preparations for the action of the 1st August. The 26th May was to a certain extent a revenge for the failure of the May Day demonstration. At the present moment the Communist Party is displaying feverish

energy in mobilising the proletarian masses for the active defence of the U. S. S. R. against imperialist war.

The illegal C. P. of Poland is entitled to the third place in the preparations for the Red Day. The May Day celebrations in Poland proved that its Communist Party, though working in profoundest illegality beneath the heavy fist of the Pilsudski regime, is not only maintaining its contact with the broad proletarian masses in opposition to the openly social-Fascist department of the II. International represented by the S. P. of Poland, but is showing at the same time its capability of leading these masses in the fight. The C. P. of Poland, in view of the openly anti-Soviet provocations, is preparing the masses for the defence of the U. S. S. R. against the counter-revolutionary campaign.

At the time of the Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany, a conference was held in Berlin by the representatives of the international communist press in preparation of the Red Day.

Space does not allow us to deal in detail with all the preparations being made in the various countries. There is not the least doubt, however, that this campaign has already become international in the fullest sense of the word. In this campaign the Communist Parties are growing and becoming stronger, and are at the same time establishing closer contact with the broad proletarian masses, which are gradually emancipating themselves from the thrall of social democracy. The more the social democracy and trade union bureaucracy become part of the state apparatus, the more definite becomes the contact between the proletarian masses and the sole revolutionary party — the Communist Party. At the same time the solidarity of the working class and the working masses of the whole world with the first country of proletarian dictatorship grows in the course of the campaign in preparation of the first of August.

The Fight against the Red Day.

The fight against the Red Day set in immediately after the May Day demonstration. This fight is conducted in various ways, the bourgeoisie and the social democrats resorting to three principal methods.

The German method consists of intimidating the population by rumours of a bloody putch, and supplies in advance a justification for all those acts of repression which will be undertaken on the 1st August itself.

The second method, which may be called the French, consists of combining pseudo-pacifist phrases with Fascist repressive measures. The party conference of the French Socialist Party resolved to organise a whole anti-war week from the 29th July to the 4th August, thus taking under its wing also the 1st August. But meanwhile the French police is breaking up and dispersing the communist meetings called in preparation of the Red Day.

The English method is adapted to those countries in which the Communist Parties are really weak, and where the bourgeoisie can hope, without taking special measures, to stultify the effect of the Red Day by a conspiracy of silence.

At the same time, however, the whole of the bourgeoisie and of social democracy are already being forced to face the fact that the Red Anti-Imperialist Day will sweep aside that camouflage of pacifist phrases with which the organisers of new wars conceal their war preparations.

August 1st in Hungary.

By J. Kemény.

Hungarian Fascism is preparing feverishly for war. The nationalist imperialist agitation is already taken on forms which recall the time immediately before the outbreak of war in the year 1914. The situation is vividly illuminated by the incident in Hidasnémeti. The arrest of an alleged Czech spy at the frontier station Hidasnémeti took place in a manner which was distinctly provocative. The economic and political situation at home is extremely tense. The agricultural crisis is impoverishing the broad masses of the peasantry and driving them to despair. The Fascist-national united front of the Bethlen system is losing its social footing. The revision of the Trianon Treaty of Peace is being held up to the impoverished peasants and the

ruined petty bourgeoisie as a way out of the crisis. The agitation for revision serves as a manoeuvre to distract attention and pacify the people. The more shaken the Hungarian Fascist "consolidation" becomes, the more aggressive and adventurous becomes the Hungarian foreign policy.

The revision agitation is agitation for war. It is true, the Hungarian Government constantly declares that it is trying to bring about the revision merely by "peaceable means", but this Fascist "pacifism" is nothing but a hypocritical adaptation to the "official" ideology of Western imperialism, of which Hungarian counter-revolution is a leash dog.

On the surface it sometimes appears as though the war preparations in Hungary were chiefly directed against the States of the Little Entente, which are glutted with Hungarian minorities. But the warcry against the imperialism of the Little Entente is only a gesture, by the help of which a pretence is made of "independence" in Hungarian foreign policy, which pretence is used to cover up the real war preparations against the Soviet Union. In reality Hungarian imperialism is aiming at obtaining the revision of the Peace of Trianon as a reward for its service as mercenary in a war against the Soviet Union. Hungarian foreign policy is directed towards proving to the leading powers of this counter-revolutionary united front that Hungary is indispensable in a war against the Soviet Union. The military alliance with Poland is one of the first fruits of these endeavours. The visit to France made by Count Bethlen was to serve the purpose of declaring Hungary's readiness to join a united front against the Soviet Union — no matter under what leadership. After the breaking off of the Hungarian-Roumanian option negotiations, the president of the foreign commission of the Upper House, Berzeviczy, declared that Hungary and Roumania must agree at any price, as they are dependent upon one another in the fight against "the Northern Slavs" (i. e. the Soviet Union). To create a military alliance of Poland, Roumania and Hungary in place of the Little Entente is the aim of Hungarian foreign policy. To be armed in a war against the Soviet Union and as reward to recover the old markets, sources of raw material and the cheap human material of Slovakia and Transylvania is the dream of Hungarian financial, industrial and agrarian capital.

Hungarian Social Democracy is of assistance to Hungarian Fascist imperialism, because it gives a "pacifist" garb to the revision agitation.

Only last week the new pact was arranged between Bethlen and Social Democracy under the pretext of a common fight for the revision of the peace treaty. The pact came about under the patronage of the English Fascist Liberal Lord Rothermere and of the MacDonald Government. The Hungarian Government will grant an amnesty to several leaders of the Social-Democratic emigrants and will buttress its Fascist system with several "democratic" sham concessions. (Several towns will perhaps get the right of secret ballot.) Social Democracy is, therefore, openly entering the service of Hungarian war diplomacy. The debut is to take place at the next session of the executive of the II. International, where the Hungarian Social Democrats will demand the revision and will sharply attack the Czech social imperialists. The fraternisation between Hungarian Fascism and Social Democracy has entered a new phase. Count Hadik, the most prominent representative of the Hungarian landed proprietor-bourgeoisie, held in the Upper House, with general consent, a fiery speech for the II. International, which he describes as the best and most reliable bulwark against Bolshevism. And another speaker in the budget debate in the Upper House supplemented his statement with the demand for a greater severity in the emergency law against the Communists.

In view of the whole situation in Hungary the fight of the C. P. of Hungary against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union must be linked up with the fight against the revision agitation, against Fascism and social-Fascism. The C. P. of Hungary began its preparation for Anti-War Day with an illegal pamphlet, which it issued at the end of May to expose the revision lie. The pamphlet was well distributed and the workers were enthusiastic over the slogan: "The enemy is not abroad but at home". The police got into such a rage that after the distribution of the pamphlet they drove in armoured cars into the largest factory districts of Budapest (Váci-Ut), made

vain investigations in the factories and then stuffed the factories full of spies.

Within the last few months the C. P. of Hungary has made progress in the fight for the leadership of the left-wing working masses. At the election in the social-insurance institute, where it issued the slogan to vote with blank papers, it got more than 12,000 votes, in spite of serious tactical mistakes during the election campaign. It has not yet succeeded in getting hold of the leadership of the sporadic strike fights, but the Communist factory nuclei are constantly becoming the driving elements in the factories, where, in consequence of the inflation of prices and the stabilisation of wages, the dissatisfaction of the masses is approaching spontaneous explosion. Under such circumstances, the action of the Party on August 1st must be directed towards exploiting the elementary rage and the leftward tendency among the working masses in order to convert it into a political mass mobilisation against the danger of imperialist war.

The chief aim of the August demonstration of the Party is the organisation of a street demonstration. Labour demonstrations in the streets are absolutely forbidden in Hungary, not to speak of Communist street demonstrations. For the first time since the victory of the counter-revolution, the C. P. of Hungary is calling upon the masses to join in a street demonstration on August 1st. It is, therefore, natural that the chief aspect of the August action, on which the Party is concentrating its forces, is the organisation of the street demonstration.

In the course of July the Party is issuing three illegal pamphlets of the largest possible edition (two have already appeared) calling for the broadest mass mobilisation, and a special number of the illegal paper, "The Communist" is also coming out. The paper is just celebrating its first anniversary; it has been appearing fortnightly without a break for a whole year. Of the pamphlets 5500 will be printed, and of the paper 600, which is considerable in view of the fact that each pamphlet is read by an average of about ten persons and the newspapers by four or five.

But the Party is not content with agitating among the masses for participation in the demonstration, it is also illegally organising the demonstration. The Party has issued instructions for the slogans of August 1st to be proclaimed loudly in the streets of the working districts and under all circumstances to unfurl red flags in the midst of the demonstrating masses. It is certain that for this first Communist demonstration the Party will not succeed in getting more than ten thousand workers onto the streets. Nevertheless, the demonstrating workers who answer the call of the illegal C. P. of Hungary will enjoy the sympathy of the broadest masses of the workers.

The Party issued the slogan to form August committees in the factories. At present there is no possibility of holding elections for these committees, but they can be started in the form of initiative committees.

As regards the strike slogan, the Party is issuing the slogan for a demonstration strike in general as an agitation slogan. But it is not content with this but is settling about actually organising the strike in certain localities. The slogan in this regard is: A demonstration strike of one hour.

In the preparation of the action on August 1st, significant deficiencies were observable throughout the work of the Party. Within the Party there was a certain amount of hesitancy in regard to the open demonstration on the streets. For this reason, the action on Red Day will be good schooling for the Party itself. The Party must learn the transition to new, open, offensive fighting methods; it must learn how to surmount the obstacle of illegality underground and to fight with open valor at the head of the masses. Therein lies one of the most fundamental points of the significance of Red Day for the C. P. of Hungary itself.

The Red Day of August 1st coincides with the tenth anniversary of the mourning day of the Hungarian working class, of the day on which the first proletarian dictatorship of Hungary collapsed. The coinciding of the two dates is yet another reason for fighting in Hungary on August 1st for the resurrection of the proletarian revolution, for the second Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Before August 1st in Roumania.

By St. F. (Bucharest).

After six months of feverish "stabilisation activity" on the part of the Maniu Government, the economic crisis has become catastrophically acute. The newspapers "Argus", the organ of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, publishes data concerning the State revenue from January 1st to July 1st, 1929, and concerning the foreign trade from January 1st to June 1st of this year. From January 1st to July 1st, 1929, a total of 13,819,989,247 lei was collected by the State as against 13,915,032,345 lei in the corresponding period of last year. State revenue this year is, therefore, 95,043,098 lei behind that of the year 1928. In addition to a deficit the figures for foreign trade show a catastrophic falling off in exports and imports. The value of imports in the first five months amounts to 11,840,154,027 lei against 13,792,833,137 lei during the corresponding period of last year, that of exports to 8,118,713,966 lei against

10,456,476,419 lei last year. The deficit on foreign trade for the first five months of the current year is 3,721,440,061 lei against 3,336,356,718 lei for the first five months of last year. According to the 1929 budget State expenditure amounts to 37,700,000,000 lei, the deficit therefore being more than five thousand millions for the first half of 1929. In spite of all the efforts of the international finance bourgeoisie and their "advisers" the attempts at stabilisation are an utter failure. On orders from Mr. Rist, "adviser" to the National Bank, the Maniu Government has again raised all direct and consumption taxes by 10 to 15 per cent.

Simultaneously with the bloody destruction of the revolutionary organisations of the working masses, the Roumanian bourgeoisie is preparing Fascist dictatorship. In Roumania there are three purely Fascist organisations: "Liga Apararei Nationale Crestine" (League of National Christian Defence) under the leadership of Cuza, University professor at Jassy and of Zelea-Codreanu. The old Fascist organisation, the "Fascia Romana" has disappeared and in its place there is a new Fascist party, under the leadership of colonel Stoica, which is now organising the Fascist revolution in Roumania and whose leader was arrested on July 8th. Two weeks ago several elements of the old conservative party founded the league of the "Vlad Tepes" under the leadership of Grigore Filipescu. At the foundation meeting Grigore Filipescu declared that the new group had no programme of radical reforms. In demagogic phrases he demanded the dissolution of all political parties, on account of corruption. "The difficult times call for special measures. It does not matter to us if these special measures are not in perfect consonance with the terms of the constitution. With this programme the fatherland can be saved." ("Dimineata", July 3rd.) In addition to these Fascist groups, all the bourgeois parties are organising military Fascist groups within their own parties. The parliamentary session of July 5th is characteristic of the preparation of the Fascist dictatorship by the Roumanian bourgeoisie against the working classes in Roumania. Duca and Goga, the former Ministers of the Interior of the Bratianu and Averescu Governments put a question to the House in regard to "the strong", the Fascist guards organised by the National Zaranist Government Party. It transpired that the Liberal Party of the Roumanian finance oligarchy are organising similar military Fascist guards under the name of "the Heralds" ("Vastitori") and the People's Party of General Averescu are organising formations under the name of "The Ironsides" (Oteliti). Maniu made a solemn declaration, according to which the Government would "suppress" with all the means at its disposal all attacks upon the constitution and upon the peace of the country. Through this declaration he wished to divert attention from the Fascist guard, "the Strong". In the same manner the "democratic" Government hides its arming in preparation for the Fascist dictatorship through its attitude to the conspiracy of the Fascist Party. In its public declaration the Government stated that "complete order prevailed" in the country and only "frivolous and insignificant" personalities were attempting to organise a plot against the public order. The Social Fascists, which together with the Government organised armed bands against the workers on strike and the revolutionary organisations, now deny the preparations of the Government for Fascist dictatorship and proclaim that the Government will "de-

pend the constitution", that the "Voinici" (Strong) have not a military character and that they only "serve to defend the constitutional arrangements of the State". (Labour Journal of Timisoara, July 9th.)

On orders from the international finance bourgeoisie the Government of the Roumanian bourgeoisie was obliged to reduce all State expenditure and to shove a fresh immense load of taxation onto the toiling masses. At the same time it raised the expenditure for war preparations by hundreds of millions. Fresh munitions of war are constantly arriving from Italy, France and England. The supreme economic council under the chairmanship of **Madgearus**, the Minister of Industry and Commerce, resolved at its session of July 24th to carry through immediately the necessary work for the immediate re-equipment of the army and also to undertake a number of fortification works on the Soviet-Russian frontier ("Adverul", June 27th). On June 29th the Maniu Government organised a big air pageant indicative of preparation for the threatening war against the Soviet Union.

The Social Democrats support with all their strength the war preparations of the Roumanian bourgeoisie. They do not hide their delight when they see how the bourgeoisie is arming and the attack upon the Soviet Union is being prepared. The Social-Democratic deputy **Pistiner** asked the Minister of War in Parliament whether it was true that a secret military treaty existed between Roumania and Poland against the Soviet Union. The Roumanian social imperialists declared themselves satisfied with the negative answer given by the Minister of War **Cihochi**. In order to deceive the working masses, the Social-Democratic press stated that even the reactionary Government of Roumania could only observe a "policy of peace" and that the Red imperialism only desires to conquer Bessarabia this "purely Roumanian" territory. But it did not mention a word of the deliveries of warships by Italy, the numerous "visits" of the military missions and of persons from the imperialist powers, and, at the same time, it hid the feverish war preparations of the Roumanian bourgeoisie through a furious incitement against the Soviet Union.

The toiling masses of Roumania and their revolutionary class organisations under the leadership of the Communist Party fight against the war preparations of the Roumanian bourgeoisie and of the Social Fascists. The "dissolved" united trade unions are organising in conjunction with the workers' and peasants' block the campaign against war and mobilising the toiling masses for the fight against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the world proletariat.

The bourgeois and Social-Democratic press is carrying on a furious campaign of incitement against the revolutionary organisations for the creation of a pogrom mood in connection with August 1st. The "Viitorul" of June 30th (organ of the Liberal Party of the Roumanian finance oligarchy) calls upon the Government to take bloody measures. The "Universul" of July 10th published a telegram from the "Ceps" telegraph agency in connection with August 1st under the title "The Soviet Union is Preparing Civil War in Europe. The Great Night, August 1st, 1929". In accordance with the sensational lies of the above-mentioned telegraph agency, the "Universul" calls upon the Government to resort to energetic measures against the Roumanian Communists.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Roumania, the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat, as well as the poor peasantry and the working masses of the national minorities, are mobilising for International Anti-War Day. The Workers' and Peasants' Block, the United trade Unions, the Young Communists and the relief committees are gathering by means of broad action committees the masses of organised and unorganised workers against the threatening bloody Fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and of the Social Democrats, for a general political amnesty, for the defence of the revolutionary class organisations of the workers, for the Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics, against the imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Scandinavian-Finnish Anti-War Conference.

On the initiative of the Communist Parties and Young Communist Leagues of Scandinavia, a Scandinavian-Finnish workers' conference against war was convened, and was held in Gothenburg in Sweden on 21st July. Over 700 delegates took part in this conference, elected by labour organisations, workers' meetings, women's organisations, etc., in the Scandinavian countries and Finland. A total of about 150,000 workers were represented at the conference. An enthusiastic fighting spirit prevailed, a unanimous will to prepare energetically the Red Day.

The meeting was opened by fighting greetings from a Finnish comrade, and an address from Comrade **Kaasch** on behalf of the German revolutionary workers. In addition the conference was greeted by Norwegian and Swedish soldiers in uniform.

The chief subjects dealt with were the latest events in China, the immediate war situation, and the necessity of strengthening the revolutionary Scandinavian Baltic labour bloc against the imperialist Baltic bloc of the capitalists. The conference resolved to send a protest telegram to the Chinese ambassador in Stockholm, emphasising that the revolutionary workers of Scandinavia and Finland will resort to the utmost means in the defence of the Soviet Union. In the telegram the Conference solidarises itself with all the measures of defence taken by the Soviet Union. A telegram of greeting was sent to the anti-imperialist Congress at Frankfurt-on-Maine.

Reports were delivered by Comrades **Langseth**, **Olsson**, and **Arvid Hansen**, followed by a discussion. The conference then resolved unanimously on a manifesto to the workers and working peasants of Scandinavia and the Baltic countries for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the formation of committees of action in the works and factories, and for the combination of the mass demonstrations on 1st August with the stoppage of work, with political mass strikes. Besides this the conference drew up a resolution on the war danger and the disruptive policy of the reformists, and another against the white terror and Fascism in the Baltic countries.

In order to promote co-operation between the revolutionary workers of Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, and to further the carrying out of the resolutions, the conference elected a Scandinavian-Finnish Anti-War Committee, composed of representatives from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland.

To the Toiling Youth of all Countries!

We issue our appeal to the young workers, young peasants, the soldiers and sailors of the whole world to march with us on the international demonstration and fighting day of the proletariat, on 1st of August 1929.

Fifteen years after the commencement of the world war new war dangers are threatening more than ever. In Morocco and China, in India, Syria and Central America the imperialist tools of annihilation are working, the imperialist fighting squads are lining up for a bloody war against the colonial slaves. The ring of the imperialist States round the Soviet Union is being instilled in it; it is being trained for imperialist war being tremendously increased. In the whole capitalist world the youth is playing a particular role in these war preparations. It is being organised under the auspices and the influence of the bourgeoisie: the spirit of civil peace and class reconciliation is being drown tighter, the sea, land and air armaments are in the barracks and camps, in the cadet corps and defence organisations. It is intended that the youth shall guarantee the civil peace and the smooth carrying out of the economic war programme; it will be actively used in the service of fascism and of war preparations against the revolutionary proletariat; before all it is to become the cannon fodder, the material for the imperialist armies, as it was the case in 1914 to 1918.

The preparation for the imperialist war is being conducted today by other, sharper, and at the same time more refined

methods than in 1914. Sharper means against the revolutionary advance-guard of the proletariat, against the Communist Parties; more refined means in arousing pacifist illusions, in veiling the war preparations.

The leaders of social democracy and of the social democratic youth have a thousand times repeated their shameful betrayal of 1914. They have become the hangmen of the bourgeoisie and are being used by it whenever the ruling capitalist class wishes to carry out a very reactionary action, a special manoeuvre. The social democratic leaders are actively carrying out the policy of the bourgeoisie and are making use of the "Left" social democrats as a flank protection against the revolutionary proletariat. MacDonal is talking of peace whilst the English war armaments are being feverishly increased. Zörgiebel suppresses the Red Front Fighters League and makes use of the 1st of May, the traditional international fighting-day, in order to carry out a blood bath among the revolutionary working class of Berlin.

Just like the social democratic police presidents and Ministers, so also the reformist youth organisations have the double task of misleading the proletarian youth with pacifist phrases and actively aligning them in the system of war preparations of the bourgeoisie, while at the same time combating the revolutionary youth in the most brutal manner. The close connection of the social democratic youth organisations, of the reformist leaders of workers' sport and of the trade unions with the system of the State youth propaganda, their active assistance in holding the youth back from economic struggles, their active participation in the militarisation and the ideological preparation of the youth for war, is the most important aid for the bourgeoisie in its youth policy. Therefore, the struggle against imperialist war and against the bourgeoisie which is preparing for war must before all be directed against the agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers and the youth.

Recent events, the events in connection with the 1st of May in Berlin and the great economic struggles in the most important countries bear witness to the fighting determination of the working class, to the increased influence of the Communist Parties. The world is more clearly and more sharply than ever divided into two class fronts; on the one side is the Soviet Union, the international proletariat, the poor peasantry and the suppressed peoples of the colonies — on the other side the capitalist States.

The oppression and the economic exploitation of the young workers is much greater than that of the adult proletariat. Rationalisation is deteriorating their conditions of life; repressive laws are raining upon them. Therefore, in all the great economic struggles, in all revolutionary actions of recent times the youth has stood in the front ranks. In Lodz and in the Ruhr, in Northern France and in Czechoslovakia they fought shoulder to shoulder with the adult workers. Young proletarians fought in the Berlin workers' quarters on the 1st of May. In the revolutionary struggles of the colonial countries the youth displayed the greatest self-sacrifice. The toiling youth will demonstrate its fighting enthusiasm also on August 1st in all countries. It will prove that Karl Liebknecht's words are just as valid today as they were formerly: "The revolutionary youth is the hottest flame of the revolution."

We call upon the toiling youth of all countries:

Out onto the streets on August 1st!

Demonstrate for the demands of the revolutionary working youth of your country!

Demonstrate against the threatening imperialist war!

Against Fascism and social-fascism!

For the defence of the Soviet Union!

For the defence of the revolutionary movement in the colonies!

Against the militarisation of the working youth!

For the revolutionary defence organisations of the proletariat!

For the conversion of imperialist war into civil war!

Against the capitalist state of society!

For the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Appeal of the Balkan Communist Federation.

Forward to mass strikes and mass demonstrations on the 1st August against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of the workers.

Workers of the Balkans!

Fifteen years have passed since the first imperialist world war, and already we hear the first rumbling thunder of the approaching fresh imperialist war. Fresh inflammable material for new and even more frightful wars than that of 1914 to 1918 has already accumulated, on the frontier of Bulgaria and Serbia, in the strained relations between Greece and Turkey, in the struggle between Italy and Yugoslavia for Albania and the Adriatic, in the conflicts between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, in the Pacific Ocean and in the Mediterranean, in Afghanistan — on the road between British India and Soviet Turkestan — in Syria and Morocco, in China, in India, in Manchuria, and on innumerable frontiers and other parts of the world. The Balkans, as ever, are the powder barrels from which the war flame can break out.

When the bourgeoisie called you from your homes fifteen years ago to take part in the great massacre, they promised you a new and better life, "Peace, freedom, and social justice". But in the eleven years since the end of the war your masters have not only not alleviated your lot, but have thrown ever fresh burdens on your shoulders, and increased exploitation and pillage beyond measure. In these eleven years they have organised an ingenious system of terror and torture, and have carried on ceaseless civil war against you. They have murdered the best sons of the working class, thrown them into prison, maltreated them, shot them "whilst attempting to escape", slaughtered them. They have choked in blood your strikes for a larger fragment of bread and more freedom; they have cut down your wages, lengthened your working hours, and dissolved your class organisations, so as to make you completely defenceless, and lead you to the slaughterhouse once more with chains on your hands and feet.

The first imperialist world war of 1914/18 did not solve one single problem, but added to the old causes of conflict innumerable others of even greater explosive power. The struggle for markets, for the re-division of the world, for the colonies, mandates, and spheres of influence, is fiercer than ever before under the conditions of post-war capitalist contradictions, and can only be "decided" by a fresh war. But all these antagonisms among the larger and smaller capitalist states themselves, are set aside by the one great antagonism between the imperialist powers and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The international imperialist bandits and the bourgeoisie of the Balkans are quite aware that their decline is accelerated by the existence of the State of the proletariat and the working peasantry. Therefore they are more anxious than ever to launch the class war against the fatherland of the workers, against the Soviet Union of socialist construction. The strivings of the imperialists, and of the bourgeoisie of the Balkans, to accomplish capitalist stabilisation and rationalisation at the expense of the proletariat and the working peasantry, encounters an obstacle in the growing revolutionisation of the working masses, who — under the leadership of the Communist International and the Communist Parties — are hastening the approach of the new proletarian, peasant, and national revolution. In order to avoid this danger, predatory capitalism is preparing the fresh massacre against the Soviet Union and against the revolutionary movement in its own countries.

Hence the feverish armaments of the world capitalists, hence the terrorist regime against the revolutionary movement, hence the setting up of the Fascist regime, of the open dictatorship. Hence the anxiety to form the anti-Soviet bloc. Hence the systematic chauvinist incitement of the Balkan peoples against one another. Hence, too, the pacifist talk, the demagoguery with the League of Nations and the disarmament conferences, aiming solely at lulling you to sleep so that the war against the Soviet Union may be organised undisturbed.

This aim and object — the crushing of the first workers' State and the extermination of the emancipation movement of the masses, is being pursued with equal energy by every category of exploiter. The II. International and its social Fascist sections are working in the front ranks of war preparation. When the proletarian State, through the mouth of Litvinov,

proposed real disarmament to the League of Nations, and the imperialists were exposed in their true character as instigators of war, it was the "socialist" Paul Boncour who saved their faces and covered their nakedness with the fig leaf of a nebulous "pacifism"; that same Boncour who gave to imperialist France that defence law which it needs for the new world war. Is not German social democracy building armoured cruisers against the Soviet Union? Did not Zörgiebel's hirelings drown in blood the May Day demonstrations of the German proletariat fighting for the defence of the Soviet Union? Did not the Bulgarian social democrats, headed by Sakazov and Pastuchov, only a few weeks ago, join in one united front with the whole Fascist bourgeoisie in voting for the military budget of the hangmen's government? Have not the Yugoslavian social democrats, Topalovic and Lapevic and the rest, supported the blood-stained Fascist military dictatorship? Do they not make zealous propaganda for the Yugoslavian Federation (which is to include Bulgaria) under King Alexander, as the leading force in the anti-Soviet Balkan bloc? Is it not Roumanian social democracy which actively defends the anti-Soviet policy of the Maniu government? Do not the Greek social Fascists go through thick and thin with Venezilos against the revolutionary movement in Greece and against the Soviet Union? International and Balkan social democracy, commissioned by the imperialists and financial capitalists, make their propaganda among the working masses for imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

War against the Soviet Union, the destruction of the citadel of the world revolution, in order to be the better able to settle with the "inner enemy" — the workers, peasants, and exploited masses — in order to be able to squeeze even greater profits out of your bones, to reduce your wages to a pittance hitherto undreamed of, to deprive you of the few rights you have, to crush your revolutionary emancipation movement and to establish a regime of gallows and prison, driving you, robbed of will and resisting power, into fresh wars among the capitalists themselves for the redivision of the world — this is the general plan of the imperialist robbers, the Fascists and social Fascists, the "democrats" and "pacifists". This is the purpose to be served by the League of Nations, by the "financial league of nations" which is to be called into existence, by the reparations bank, the Little Entente, "Pan-Europe", and the anti-Soviet Balkan bloc. This is the purpose to be served by the secret treaties between Roumania and Poland, by the placing of the Yugoslavian army under the immediate commands of the French army staff, the Greek fleet under the orders of the British admiral. To this end Albania has been practically delivered over to Fascist Italy, the Balkans forced into the position of a semi-colony, and their dependence on the imperialist powers increased. To this end the bourgeoisie is building its poison gas factories, is equipping its air forces and warships, defiling the air with the lies of its press, entering into concordats with the church, militarising and Fascistifying every public institution.

It is your task to shatter these plans of the bourgeoisie and its shock troops — the Fascists and social Fascists — and you will shatter them. In the long years of the wars since 1912, and up to today, you have been able to learn that all this is directed against you.

On the 1st August you will join the international proletariat in their demonstration against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. You will unfurl the red banner of the Communist International and proclaim in mighty mass strikes and mass demonstrations your unshakable determination to reply with rebellion, with insurrection, with civil war, to the war of the exploiters on the Soviet Union and on the international proletarian movement, to the war against the revolution in China and India, and against the national liberation movement in the other colonies and in the Balkans.

Working peasants of the Balkans!

When the financial magnates and the large landowners drove you and your sons into the great imperialist murder of the peoples, they told you that this was to be the last war, the war which was to bring you land and rights. Today, eleven years after the end of the war, you are poorer than ever. They gave you no land, or only very little and that on the hardest conditions. You have no live stock, no implements, no means to set about farming; you are weighed down under a burden of debt, crushed by the weight of usurious interest.

Your Right and vacillating leaders continue as before to conclude alliances — behind your backs or by misleading you,

secretly or openly — with bankers, usurers, and tax collectors. These alliances have brought you poverty, want, misery, debt, loss of rights, gaol. Was not the first act of the national Zaranist government in Roumania, which boasted of acting on your behalf and at your orders, to increase your taxation and impose fresh taxes? Does it not continue to hold your champions in prison? Was it not your leaders, peasants of Croatia, who thrust themselves protectively before this blood stained regime? Did they not with their slogan of: "King and People" become the strongest pillars of the murderous military Fascist dictatorship? Are the leaders of the Bulgarian Peasants' League not at one with the warmongering bourgeoisie? Are they not endeavouring to prevent the alliance between the working peasantry and the proletariat? Are the Greek agrarians not actively supporting Venezilos' armament policy?

There is only one country in which the peasantry, thanks to the alliance with and leadership of the proletariat, has been able to break the class power of the bank magnates, large landowners, and usurers and to establish the power of the workers and peasants — the Soviet Union. The alliance between workers and peasants has given dozens of millions of peasants land, exemption from or remission of taxes, participation in the administration and in the government. The alliance between workers and peasants has brought tractors, electrified the village, built peasants' homes, converted the one-time tsarist palaces of the Crimea into peasants' sanatorium and convalescent homes, driven the usurer, the priest, drunkenness, and illiteracy, from the homes of the peasantry.

But this country, the symbol and living embodiment of the alliance between working class and peasantry, is a thorn in the flesh of the capitalists, boyars, kulaks, and usurers. They wish to enslave the Soviet Russian peasantry so that they may be better able to grind their profits out of you. The taxes which they extort from you by force and brutality they employ for armaments to be used against the country of the workers and peasants. The war which is waged by the financial magnates, the great agrarians, the usurers, the tax gatherers, is the war of your hangmen and bloodsuckers against you yourselves!

Demonstrate on August 1st, side by side with the revolutionary proletariat, against the threatening imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of the workers. Drive out the allies of the bourgeoisie from your midst, manifest your will to protect the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and to join the proletariat in arming for the fight for the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and great landowners, the fight for land, for your economic and political emancipation!

Working masses of the oppressed nations and minorities!

Eleven years after the close of the first imperialist world war, the war which was allegedly to give you the right of self-determination, national liberty, and national unity, your enslavement is immeasurably intensified. The ruling bourgeoisies hold sway among you as if they were in an enemy country. They treat your territories — Macedonia, Croatia, Montenegro, Dobruja, Bessarabia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Vojvodina, Kossovo, Bukovina, Transylvania, Thrace, etc., as if they were occupied territory. They close your schools, punish you if you use your own languages, impose the severest taxation upon you, expropriate your small fields in favour of their own mercenaries, drive you from your land, and pursue an actual policy of denationalisation and colonisation. Your "own" bourgeoisie combines with the ruling class of the colonising nation. Your bourgeois leaders place your struggle for liberation in the service of some imperialist power or group, and strive to prevent the establishment of a united front between you and the proletariat. And yet this united front alone ensures the attainment of national liberation; this is shown by the example of the Soviet Union, where more than 50 nations of the former tsarist empire are now free members of the Union.

The imperialists of all countries are now arming against this stronghold of the national-revolutionary liberation struggle.

Demonstrate on the International Anti-War Day, side by side with the proletariat and the peasantry, that you are ready to protect the country of national liberty, to make a new imperialist war the starting point of your national revolution, and to fight with the proletariat and peasantry of the Balkans for the independence of your territory and the unification of all Balkan peoples in one Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

Soldiers, Sailors, Ex-servicemen and War Victims!

Your oppressors and torturers are once more anxious to manure the soil of the "field of honour" with your blood. This new war is to make the rich still richer, and to plunge you even further into the depths of want and misery. You are to be the first to be driven into the line of fire, into the choking atmosphere of the poison gases; you are to work for your own downfall by helping to overthrow the power of the workers — the Soviet Union.

Proclaim on 1st August, side by side with all workers and toilers, that you are resolved in war to turn your weapons against your own exploiters and masters! **Hoist the red flag of rebellion over the barracks on the International Anti-War Day!** Make manifest your determination to fight against the world of wage slavery, and for the conversion of the imperialist war of the world bandits into the civil war of the oppressed and exploited!

Soldiers, sailors! Do not obey the ruling class, do not shoot your brothers, the workers and peasants, who are demonstrating on 1st August against their tormentors!

Working and peasant youth, youth of the oppressed nations of the Balkans!

The capitalists are doing their utmost to work upon you ideologically in preparation for the coming war. You will be the first to be used as cannon-fodder for imperialism. But in this coming war you are called upon to play a great rôle. Your enthusiasm must not be given in the service of the imperialists! Your place is in the front rank of the fighting proletariat and peasantry! Against imperialist war! For the world revolution!

Working women!

Do not allow the capitalists to rob you of your husbands, brothers, and sons for their profit! Forward to a brave struggle in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry against the imperialist massacre, for the protection of the Soviet Union.

Workers, peasants, working masses of the oppressed nations and minorities! Soldiers, sailors, ex-servicemen, war disabled! Working and peasant youth! Working women!

In every town and village, in every works and factory, everywhere where the exploited live and work, you must form **Anti-War Committees for organising the mass strikes and mass demonstrations for 1st August, and must make these real mass organs for the continued systematic, tenacious, and unceasing struggle against imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union!**

Proclaim, on 1st August, by your **mighty strikes and street demonstrations**, that you will not permit your class enemies to tear down the ramparts of the revolution, the stronghold of the working class, of the working peasantry, of national emancipation, of the free Red army, of the free working women, of the proudly advancing young people!

Oppose to the front of exploitation, of robbery and war, the front of Labour, of rebellion, of preparation for revolution! Oppose to the rulers by the grace of the gallows — the banner of rebellion!

Lay down your work, in defiance of all prohibitions, all threats and provocations of the bourgeoisie and their hangmen's governments; flood the streets and demonstrate your determination to arouse and carry forward the struggle against the threatening imperialist war!

Gather around the red banner of the Communist Parties, of the Young Communist Leagues, on 1st August.

Demonstrate: Against imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union!

For the conversion of imperialist war into civil war for the overthrow of imperialism and of the rule of the bourgeoisie, for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship!

Forward against the counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet Balkan bloc — for the revolutionary united front of the proletariat, the working peasantry, the soldiers and sailors, and the nationally oppressed masses of the peoples of the Balkans!

Forward against the offensive of capitalism, against capitalist rationalisation, against Fascism — for the defence of the vital interests of the working masses, for bread, land, and liberty!

Demonstrate against national oppression — for national liberation.

For free and independent Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vojvodina, Montenegro, Albania, Dobruja, Thrace, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania; for the unification of all Balkan peoples in one Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics!

Demonstrate against the emergency regime and the white terror — for complete and unconditional political amnesty, for political and trade unionist freedom of organisation! For the cessation of the persecution of the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues:

Long live the Soviet Union and the Red Army!

Long live the revolutionary alliance of the workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors and nationally oppressed masses of the Balkan peoples!

Long live the Balkan Federation of Workers and Peasants' Republics!

Long live the Communist International and the Balkan Communist Federation!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

July, 1929.

The Balkan Communist Federation.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Collective Farms and the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Development.

From the Speech of the President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the of the R. S. F. S. R., Comrade S. I. Syrzow at the National Conference of the Big Collective Farms on July 3rd, 1929.

(Conclusion.)

In such large agrarian enterprises, such as the collective farms are, an organised division of labour is necessary. We have, however, not learnt to organise the work properly. Division of labour without the aid of scientific forces is unthinkable. Just as the big factory cannot dispense with the engineer, the collective farm must have an agricultural expert. It is now no longer necessary to prove the necessity of agricultural experts, but there are many people who must still be convinced that the agricultural expert, the representative of a scientific organisation of labour, must be guaranteed appropriate working conditions. Just as an engineer, who in factory or workshop is hampered in his decisions by thousands of obstructions, cannot fully exploit his knowledge, an agricultural expert, who lacks a certain amount of independence within the bounds of the constitution of the collective farm, cannot possibly do the work required of him.

In addition to the questions of internal organisation, the problem of the administration and management of the collective farms is of great significance. The collective farm enjoys a good deal of public attention. On the collective farm, there are, as we might say, "too many cooks". And, in order that the "broth" may not be spoiled, the kitchen staff must be reduced. At the suggestion of the Central Committee of the Party and of the central administration of the collective farms, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union have made an experiment in this direction, have taken a fundamental decision, which may bring about an essential change. In my opinion, the transfer of operative functions to the managers of the collective farms is a tremendous step forward.

I believe that our planned economy would be impregnated with an important positive element, if we resolutely took in hand the furnishing of the central administration of the collective farms with operative functions. (Applause.)

The problem of administration is thereby surely not solved; it is merely outlined. There arises the question of the central authority and the districts attached thereto, and in practice this crops up continually afresh, as we are constantly confronted with new facts. One must also bear in mind that the dividing of the Soviet Union into districts, and at the same time the R. S. F. S. R., numerous changes of far-reaching effect have been brought about.

And here, again, we meet with inability to divide functions properly, to limit planned economy activity, to regulate the immediate operative activity, which is in the main attributable to the bureaucratisation of our apparatus and our inexperience

as organisers. A young, inexperienced organiser always suffers from excess of self-confidence; he believes he must and can do everything alone. An inexperienced organiser always begins by deciding everything himself and taking the entire control of the organisation into his own hands. And then he wonders why things get held up. On the other hand, an experienced and capable organiser tries to gather into his hands the important strings only, to decentralise the management and execution, in order to train all parts and elements of the management to the greatest activity.

I am of the opinion that we must find ways and means of doing something to meet the requirements of our economy by decentralising the administration. It is no crime to learn from the capitalists. The head of a German or American trust gives only the outline of the plan and then controls its realisation. It appears to me that in the reciprocal relations between the central office and the associated collective farms we should keep this principle in mind.

The superabundance of authorities and the lack of limitation of their rights and duties menace the economic measures which presuppose rapid action and elasticity. I do not say that my opinion is the only right one, and I do not want to force it upon anybody, but from my experience I believe that the central board of the collective farms would render important service by learning from the many bureaucratic mistakes and deficiencies of our departments and authorities. Many of the collaborators at head-quarters who are yearning for operative activity might be advised to go out into the districts and slake their thirst for deeds out there, instead of concentrating the whole of the operative work in Moscow. They render difficult and hold up the normal proceedings and thereby paralyse the initiative of the local organisations. In the fight among the authorities the chief difficulty is generally the question of greater right and precedence in regard to handling the matter. Our misfortune is not any lack of rights but our incompetence to make use of rights and our deficiency in feelings of responsibility. One might almost say that we are overburdened with rights and do not know what to do with them. This applies particularly to the central organisations. Through the concentration of functions we interfere in things which are not improved through interference from above. In a number of matters we must deliberately limit our role to standing by, correcting mistakes, and checking and inspecting.

Naturally, this should in no way lead to a revision of the principle of centralisation in economy. We can build up only a centralised economy. We are not anarchistic utopians who allow themselves to drift. We know the role and significance of the centres as release levers, which raise the lower members and give them a footing on the ladder, which they could not reach through their own efforts alone.

In the sphere of the planned economy the centres are important and positive factors in spite of the existing bureaucratic excrescences. In regard to our practice we must, however, be critical in order to prevent exaggerations in centralisation, so that the initiative of the masses may not be paralysed but promoted.

The central organisation of the collective farms will do a useful piece of work by following up the positive experience of the individual collective farm, collecting them and keeping them accessible to other farms. Stereotyping must, of course, be avoided; what is useful in one place may need big changes before being applied in other places.

The central must help the collective farms to work out standards of production and standards in the erection of dwellings. The standards must not be fixed haphazard but must as far as possible be based on practical experience and must rationalise methods of operation on a scientific basis.

The central of the collective farms must link together all the decisive elements of our economy. In spite of, or perhaps on account of, the overlapping of our economic authorities, there now obtains the paradoxical position that, for instance, in Moscow various economic organisations are speculating how to obtain increased production of beans, in order to obtain the requisite quantity of soja beans, while, at the same time, in some outlying district the agricultural expert of a collective farm is limiting the area under beans, because he sees no possibility of selling them. The removal of such contradictions must become a very important function of the central of the collective farms. For this purpose it is not necessary to have special rights or operative privileges or authoritative guardianship over the local centres and collective farms; it is only necessary, to

give greater attention and to keep in closer touch with the districts, which, in my opinion, would easily be possible with a little effort on the part of the central.

We must bring our production and organisation plans into consonance. At present there is dissonance: we have a production plan and an organisation plan, but collective farming works independent of both.

We are at present confronted with a problem which is not of mere organisatory significance. The big collective farms in several cases embrace a whole village or several villages, i. e. the administrative organ, the local Soviet, coincides with the local council; the sphere of jurisdiction of a local Soviet coincides with that of the local council. **Through this the nature and the forms of activity of the Soviet organs are changed. In the above case the village Soviet will be different from that in the ordinary village. There is a certain analogy with the workers' settlement, where the workers' council is closely connected with production, with the enterprise.** In this circumstance of a combination between a local authority and an economic authority (Soviet-collective farm) we find a still weak indication of a position which may arise during the final phase of socialist development, i. e. in the phase in which administrative and economic functions will be interwoven. State officials will become more and more dispensable, because all "officials" will belong to the dying State, and the State functions will be more and more overshadowed by those of an economic organisatory character. The lending depots for tractors will in the near future probably become of an economic importance surpassing that of the trading or urban settlements of the past. They may develop into important economic and cultural centres.

Comrades, you the constructors of the collective farms, you are at present confronted with a number of cultural, social and production questions, which point towards a better organisation. I believe that it was Lenin, who on one occasion said that organisation was never a strong point with Russians. In the development of the collective farms this circumstance makes itself very noticeable in conjunction with our low general level of culture, especially in the misuse of the principle of common decisions. Many questions, which call for individual responsibility and a division of labour are decided in the presence of all, in the manner in which questions are decided at the big communal meetings of peasants. Here the peasant tradition clearly shows itself. Mass meetings are necessary because through them we get the big masses to co-operate in the questions of development. The conference should, however, not be a substitute for the administration. The meeting of the local council members of a collective farm should not take the place of the managerial and executive organs (local Soviets) and individual managerial collaborators (chairman of the council, agricultural expert, departmental manager) and thereby relieve the above-mentioned officers of their responsibility.

Division of labour is urgently necessary. A decentralisation of the administration of various departments and precise limitation of the responsibility is also necessary.

The Specialisation of the Collective Farms.

Not long ago the creation of State grain farms was propagated. The thought is quite right and results from the general economic situation, which is adapted to a rapid success in the development of the grain farms. These farms incorporate the principle of extensive farming with a comprehensive mechanisation. It is already clear what significance the Soviet estates will have even in the next two years. At the same time, however, there prevails the endeavour to distort a right idea through uncritical imitation in other spheres, for instance, by directing the course of transition from collective farms to "grain factories" by means of competitions. In the interest of the grain economy, its maximum efficiency and of the growth of production it is necessary that in collective farming about 50 per cent of the available area should be sown with grain and the rest with profitable crops, which consolidate the economic situation of the collective farm and, at the same time, serve to supply to the ground the components requisite for the planting of grain or to substitute them. The proportion of the one or other industrially useful crops will be decided by the degree of specialisation and its direction. This proportion may not, of course, amount to 100 per cent. To me it appears that no matter what special and main course may be set for the collective farm, it must always be combined in some way. Along with the planting of grain a place must also be left for cattle breeding.

Cattle breeding is to-day one of the weakest lines in our farming. It must be openly stated that the numerous positive signs in the growth of the area under cultivation are faced by some unsatisfactory ones in the development of cattle breeding, especially in dairy farming. On the collective farms cattle raising is particularly bad. Under such circumstances we are justified in asking the question: is it advisable to organise highly specialised collective farms and Soviet estates? At least a certain amount of precaution is desirable in this matter so that the decision arrived at may not be a hasty one but one having due regard to the scientific and technical points of soil conditions, rotation of crops, of seeds and, in general, of all those things which constitute indispensable scientific-technical primary conditions.

The Fight for the Profitableness of the Collective Farms.

Several responsible managers of collective farms and Soviet estates think it beneath their dignity to discuss such questions as ensuring a favourable balance sheet, lowering prime costs, etc. They are apparently of the opinion that it is their duty to put their production in the "common pot of socialist production", without bothering their heads to calculate whether the one or other collective farm or the one or other Soviet estate is managed economically and shows a profit. We previously experienced such indifference in regard to this question in industry. The principle of showing a profit, the necessity of a fight for the reduction of overhead costs, especially in practice, was only very gradually born in upon managers.

Such young enterprises as the big collective farms must have prescribed for them a precise course in this regard. In socialist competition, too, which already shows positive results, the fight for a favourable balance sheet, etc., must be introduced as a main task. It is only under this condition that we shall be able to get away from the impossible circumstance that on several collective farms and Soviet estates the overhead costs for wheat are twice to three times as high as they are on the peasant farms. The responsibility can, of course, not simply be shouldered onto the lower organisation. The causes are our inexperience in agricultural matters, irrational financing without adequate control and without sufficiently energetic management of the loans granted.

The percentage of reserves of the collective farms must be gradually increased. In the big collective farms they are considerable, the course in the direction of their increase must, however, also be extended to the other collective farms. It is just in the question of reserves and in the result of capital formation that the actual vitality of the collective farms will show itself.

Our industry absorbs tremendous resources, but it reproduces them. The worker, whose production reaches a value of several thousand roubles, receives a certain proportion as wages, the rest is used as surplus to strengthen the factory and for socialist development. The collective farms must work along the same lines. With satisfaction I am able to state that at the conference at present in session the so-called co-operative feelings are completely absent and that the discussion is characterised by sound efforts for production and by a desire for a proper rational organisation of production.

Can we direct our course towards the immediate organisation of big collective farms or are intermediate phases necessary? This question must be solved after taking into consideration the manifold complicated local conditions. The prime condition for the organisation of a big collective farm is a strong, class-conscious nucleus of agricultural workers and small peasants, who must protect the collective farm from damage by secret or open profiteering elements and from elements, which partly exercise such an activity on the existing medium-size and small collective farms, and not always without success. The limits in the organisation of big collective farms are set by the organisatory forces and agricultural possibilities (means of production) disposed of. The consideration, that the peasant finds a gradual transition from lower to higher forms of farming psychologically easier, is to-day no longer so important as it was several years ago.

One of our weakest points is the shortage of experts to develop the collective farms. The collective farms must, therefore, regard it as their chief task to train a corps of agricultural experts with practical experience, who must be intimately connected with the collective-farm movement and with socialist development. Within a few years we shall then have an adequate number of agricultural experts emerging organically from the collective farms.

The high and highest claims made upon us by the econo-

mic plans are absolutely justified and inevitable. But to this end it is necessary that on such an important section of the economic front as the collective farms no disturbance should occur, for it would be a serious blow to the whole of our economic system. More than that, our adversaries would exploit such a fact to prove in calumnious fashion the "Utopia" of the collective farms, which, as you know, constitute an inseparable part of the Leninist plan of co-operation. There must, therefore, be no disturbance and no defeat. We, as representatives of the collective farms, the Party and the Soviet organs must literally bend all our efforts to achieve a consolidation of the collective farms, in order to ensure the growth of their influence and a proper place for them in economy.

I would take this opportunity of expressing my conviction that the present conference, which is an important event in the life of the Soviet Union, will not remain without benefit to our country. It will enrich socialist development and give a big impulse to the cause of collective farming.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Against War Propaganda among the Women and Youth in Yugoslavia.

By Vera Novak (Agram).

Parallel with the intensified white terror of the military-fascist regime of General Zivkovic, which is characterised by wholesale arrests and cruel torture of revolutionary workers of both sexes and national revolutionary elements, there has set in in the bourgeois camp an increased activity on the part of various humanitarian cultural and women's associations. The tendency of this activity is: accelerated war propaganda in general, and especially in the ranks of the broad masses of women and the youth, as well as increasing the influence of the bourgeoisie upon these strata of the population.

Before the celebrations held by the Red Cross the Belgrade newspapers published whole columns pointing out the importance of this organisation and the role of those women and the growing youth who are educated in the spirit of the "humane" ideas of the Red Cross.

In the children's week, which was held from the 10th to 15th of June, among the various children's displays great attention was devoted to the war games and military exercises. All the children's excursions to Belgrade commenced with the laying of wreaths on the grave of the Unknown Warrior. The union of reserve officers and veterans made a gift of "schai-katche" (Serbian military caps) to the children of the elementary schools of non-Serbian provinces. At the presentation of these caps lectures were delivered in the schools by members of the above-mentioned union on the

"meaning of the caps worn by the army which brought freedom" ("Pravda", Belgrade, June 11th 1929).

During this week a lecture was held on the homeless children of the Soviet Union. The lecture was a sort of debut of the recently appointed women police secretary for "protection of children" in Belgrade. The great Serbian bourgeoisie is very much concerned about the welfare of the "poor Russian children" and great propaganda was made for this anti-Soviet lecture. When, however, during the children's week a conference on the children's question was convened, it had to be abandoned as only 17 persons turned up. And this in a country which heads the list in regard to child mortality. The percentage of mortality of babies varies between 15 and 16 per cent.; that of the male youth in the last seven years, according to the statistics of the War Ministry, between 31.50 and 37.45 per cent.

Very active work has been carried on in the last two months for the purpose of increasing and consolidating the influence of the bourgeoisie among the women. Many women associations held meetings at which resolutions on various questions were adopted. Particularly active in this respect were the "Zenski pokret" (Women's movement) and "Kolo srpskih sestara" (Union of Serbian Sisters), which include in their programme as one of the most important tasks the holding of courses on domestic economy in the villages. The fact that all the authorities are eagerly supporting the setting up of such courses plainly shows that the regime is perfectly aware of the importance of influencing broad strata of the poor peasant women.

Special attention is being devoted to **Macedonia**, this province which Belgrade is striving with all means to serbianise. Of the credit of 400,000 dinars recently granted by the Ministry of Agriculture for the holding of the above-mentioned courses, the greater part is allotted to Macedonia. It need not be said that those attending these courses are constantly reminded of the necessity of fulfilling all "sacred duties towards the nation".

As is everywhere the case, also in Yugoslavia the bourgeoisie is receiving a helping hand from the **social democracy**. The social democratic newspapers publish in their women's columns reports on the exhibition of hand work and go into ecstasies over the beauty of the national emblems and designs with which the dresses, caskets etc. displayed at the exhibition are decorated; one cannot see the slightest reference to the approaching war. This, however, is not surprising, as the social patriots quite openly glorify the prevailing regime of the military-fascist dictatorship which has given them the monopoly over the workers. By remaining silent regarding the true meaning of the capitalist "care" for the welfare of the broad masses of women in town and in the country and regarding the war danger, they are helping the bourgeoisie in its efforts to bring these women under their influence and to train them for war purposes.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia must concentrate its attention on work among the women in the factories (systematic work has already commenced in this sphere) and on winning the broad masses of poor peasant women and proletarian housewives.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Geneva or Vladivostok?

The Workers of Asia Remain in the Red Front.

By Tang Shin She.

A few weeks ago there took place a social reception at the house of **M. Albert Thomas** — the Geneva International Labour Office. In order to create a sensation there appeared, as a sign of the collaboration between the Chinese workers and employers, a Chinese labour representative sent by the **Kuomintang**. Albert Thomas pointed out with pride to his masters, the representatives of the capitalists, and to his principals, the representatives of the imperialist governments, that as a result of his journey to Asia he had succeeded in bridling the "half savage" Chinese workers who had created so much disturbance in the Far East in the last year. Albert Thomas' plan to set up a branch of the Geneva Labour Office in Nanking and to convene an Asiatic workers' congress in India in April 1930 met with joyful approval. Thus the Chinese "labour representative" was "recognised" by the international capitalists, and the Japanese reformist Suzuki has cause to be satisfied. Suzuki's plan to hold a Pan-Asiatic workers' congress, which has been constantly upset by the revolutionary Japanese and Chinese workers, has now some prospect of being realised.

Nobody believes that the fascist trade unions of Mussolini really represent the Italian workers; still less can one believe that the trade unions of the bloody Kuomintang generals have anything in common with the Chinese proletariat. The Kuomintang generals have, with the aid of the "trade unions" created by them — which consist of unemployed officers, criminal elements of the towns and job-hunting politicians — murdered or thrown into prison hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers. With these people the revolutionary Chinese workers are of course in a state of irreconcilable war. **Ma Tchau Tsuin**, the "labour representative" who has now been appointed by the Kuomintang government to attend the congress of the Labour Office and whom Albert Thomas welcomed to his house as an honoured guest, was already stigmatised at the Chinese Labour Congress held in Canton in 1905 as a prominent brutal exploiter and oppressor of the workers; he distinguished himself in his capacity of director of the Canton arsenal.

It is interesting to note that the appointment by the Kuomintang Government of this notorious sweater has called forth great indignation even in the so-called Kuomintang trade unions. In the leaflets protesting against his appointment emphasis is not laid on the fact that he is not even a trade unionist, but on the circumstance that he is a minister of the Canton Government

whom Chiang Kai-shek wishes to send abroad in order to get rid of, and that he is at the same time a sweater and exploiter. As a result of this protest the Chinese journalists at Geneva, in their reports to China, have at his own request changed **Ma Tchau Tsuin's** name to **Ma Djin Tschuin**. Thus **Ma Tchau Tsuin**, this protégé of Albert Thomas, has not only nothing in common with the Chinese workers, but does not even represent the Kuomintang trade unions.

The hostility of the workers towards the Kuomintang and the Kuomintang trade unions has increased enormously as a result of the activity of the last named. A recent example of this is furnished by the May Day celebrations in Shanghai. The so-called Left Kuomintang and the Shanghai Kuomintang trade unions which is collaborating with it, both before and on the 1st May itself, distributed a manifesto in which it was stated: "The workers must not confine themselves to representing their own interests, but must keep in mind the interests of the whole nation. The workers must co-operate peacefully with the employers and not let themselves be deceived by the class struggle slogans of the Communists." The manifesto, however, contains no reference to the demands of the workers or to their ceasing work and holding demonstrations on May Day.

The Shanghai red trade unions, on the other hand, issued the following slogans: No work on 1st May, Demonstrations and Meetings, Shortening of work-time and lengthening of the hours of rest, mid-day pause for the workers and intervals for mothers who are suckling their children, a day's rest on Sunday, abolition of searching of workers, fight against the Kuomintang Government which oppresses and deceives the workers! Fight for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Republic!" A May Day Celebration Committee consisting of representatives from all the factories was formed. In spite of the fact that shortly before the 1st May all demonstrations and any cessation from work was strictly forbidden by the Kuomintang Bureau, the commander of the garrison and the president of the police, 10,000 Shanghai workers downed tools and demonstrated on the 1st May. Of course, hundreds of workers were arrested by the Chinese and the foreign police. That the Shanghai workers, after years of the most savage white terror, succeeded in holding such a May Day demonstration, is a heroic and revolutionary act.

The hatred cherished by Albert Thomas, his colleagues in Amsterdam and his comrades in the Second International against the Chinese revolution is well known. When in the years 1925 to 1927 the Chinese revolution had reached its highest point, Albert Thomas supported in Geneva the war interventions of the imperialists, and conducted a campaign of calumny and incitement against the solidarity of the Soviet Union with the revolutionary Kuomintang and against the practical support afforded the Chinese proletariat by the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions. After the imperialists had helped to crush the revolution, after they had corrupted the Chinese bourgeoisie and its generals and the present-day Kuomintang leaders, and after the betrayal of the Chinese revolution by the Kuomintang leaders, their campaign of murder against the Chinese workers and peasants and the destruction of all the achievements of the Chinese toilers, Albert Thomas suddenly discovered his sympathy for the Kuomintang and undertook a journey to China.

He acted in the same way towards the fighting revolutionary masses of India. He approved of the arrest of twenty-three revolutionary Indian trade union leaders by the agents of his Comrade MacDonald. The Indian workers, too, have recognised the true countenance of Albert Thomas.

Although in Asia there have been found reformists who are alien to the workers and whom the capitalists are trying to use as their tools, the workers of Asia will not allow themselves to be diverted from their path either by threats or enticements. They know Albert Thomas from his war time record; they also know the function of the Geneva Labour Office. They will remain true to the Red International of Labour Unions and join the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which is a child of the Chinese revolution. On August 1st the second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress will be opened at Vladivostok. Strong delegations from China, India, Java, Australia, Japan etc. will be present, not only from the trade unions but direct from the workshops and factories. They will decide on a broad campaign against the reformists, for the Red Front, with the slogans: Down with Geneva and its "Asiatic Labour Conference"! Up with Vladivostok and the Pacific Trade Union Congress!