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Assist the Working Masses of Lithuania against the Fascist Dictatorship!

Appeal of the E. C. C. I. to the Workers and Peasants of the whole World.

Moscow, December 23th, 1926.

On the 17th of December a fascist coup d'état took place in Lithuania. Just as unashamed as in Italy, Bulgaria and Poland, the fascists of Lithuania have dealt with democracy, the constitution and parliament, in order to set up an open dictatorship of bankers, kulaks and large landowners, for the purpose of settling accounts with the working class and the poor peasantry.

The Lithuanian bourgeoisie which camouflaged itself in the first years of Lithuanian independence with democratic phrases, has hoped for a long time to maintain itself with the assistance of fascism. Its fascist tendencies were considerably strengthened after the last Sejm elections in May 1926. The elections took place in the spirit of a struggle against the clerical-bourgeois reaction. The Christian-democratic party, which has previously been in power and which represents the interests of the Lithuanian bankers, kulaks and large landowners, suffered a smashing defeat. The People's Party, the representative of the well-to-do peasantry and the Social Democrats came to power.

Although the petty bourgeois government of the People's Party and the Social Democrats vacillated considerably and attacked more strongly to the Left — against the working class and the poor peasantry — than against the Right — against the

bourgeoisie and the fascists — nevertheless the working class and the poorer peasantry won a certain freedom under this government: An almost complete amnesty for political prisoners was attained, a struggle was carried on if somewhat inconsistently, against the clerical reaction, the class war trade unions began to develop rapidly and the workers attempted to better their situation by strikes. All this rallied the Lithuanian bourgeoisie, the bankers, kulaks and large landowners against the government of the People's Party and the Social Democrats.

Under the pressure of the broad working masses, the government of the People's Party and the Social Democrats decided to better its relations with the Soviet Union and concluded a Guarantee Pact with the latter. Negotiations followed concerning a commercial treaty. The Pact with the Soviet Union concerning mutual neutrality was really in accordance with the interests of the broad working masses of Lithuania and consolidated Lithuanian independence. It produced, however, a storm of indignation on the part of the imperialist powers of the West, in particular Great Britain and its vassal Poland who seek to encircle the Soviet Union. Great Britain and Poland began openly to work against the government of the People's Party and the Social Democrats. They were prepared to use any forces

to overthrow this government. They spurred on the Christian Democrats and the Nationalists to overthrow the government and promised their support. On the 17th of December they attained the desired result. The leaders of the People's Party and the social democrats who were at the head of the petty bourgeois Lithuanian government, proved themselves absolutely incapable of warding off the fascist attack. Instead of commencing a decisive war against fascism and the clerical reaction from the beginning, and fulfilling the vital demands of the working class and the poorer peasantry, legalising the Communist Party, etc., the government fought more strongly against the communists than it did against the fascists and did not even attempt to prevent the latter organising and openly preparing their coup d'état. The communists were the only forces in Lithuania which carried on an energetic campaign against fascism. The government of the People's Party and the social democrats shamelessly betrayed the interests of the working masses. It capitulated before the fascists without a struggle and "legalised" to a certain extent the fascist coup d'état. The Communist Party was caught by the coup d'état in such a situation that it was not able to organise mass opposition.

The Lithuanian fascists who carried out the coup d'état on the 17th of December declare that only internal political reasons, the struggle against the strengthening trade unions, against Bolshevism, against the Bolshevik insurrection which was allegedly being prepared and financed from Warsaw, etc., compelled them to take arms, overthrow the government and proclaim the fascist dictatorship.

This is an obvious lie. Neither the C. P. of Lithuania nor the trade unions made any preparations for insurrection. Their chief task was the consolidation of their organisation and the struggle against the fascist reaction. The C. P. of Lithuania remained illegal but attempted to utilise all its legal possibilities in order to consolidate its influence and to win over the majority of the working class and the poor peasantry. The swindle concerning the prepared insurrection of the Lithuanian communists was needed by the Lithuanian Christians and fascists as an excuse to attack the advanced section of the working class and the poorer peasantry of Lithuania in order to destroy them. Secondly, they needed this swindle to cover up the tracks of the foreign instigators of the insurrection who supported the Lithuanian fascists and induced them to cast the die. The bourgeois press of the West approved of the coup d'état and interprets it above all as a blow at the Soviet Union. This is completely correct. However, the broad masses of Lithuania are decisively in favour of a rapprochement between Lithuania and the Soviet Union and are opposed to any rapprochement with Poland. Therefore the fascist government of Lithuania was compelled to declare itself in favour of the guarantee pact with the Soviet Union and to use energetic language against Poland. This, however, was only done to distract the attention and the watchfulness of the working masses. In actuality the aim of the fascist coup d'état is to complete

the British plan to encircle the Soviet Union and to build a united front against the Soviet Union from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The coup d'état tends without a doubt towards a rapprochement between Lithuania and fascist Poland. This may be prevented by the working masses of Lithuania as it has been in the past. The coup d'état subordinates Lithuania completely to the influence of the imperialist Western Powers and turns the independence of Lithuania into a mockery.

Workers and peasants, the greatest attention is necessary in order to counter the plans of the British and Polish imperialists to encircle the Soviet Union and to provoke a war with it.

Internally, the fascist dictatorship in Lithuania means the dictatorship of a group of bankers, kulaks, large landowners and garrisons against the working masses.

In the small town of Kovno the fascist government arrested in the first day of its coup d'état hundreds of workers, above all communists, trade union leaders and active workers. All trade unions have been dissolved, all working class newspapers prohibited. Martial law has been declared and a censorship established. Strikes are prohibited. The first bloody sentences under martial law have already been passed. The first victims have already fallen. Comrades Karl Poshello, Greifenberger, Tcherny and Gebris have been executed. The fascist dictators, many of whom are ex-officers of the Czar's army and ex-Polish landowners, are preparing themselves to annihilate physically the advance guard of the working class, above all the communists and the active trade unionists.

Comrades, a tremendous protest of the broad working masses of the whole world is necessary in order to prevent the Lithuanian fascists from following the example of Zankoff in Bulgaria and murdering the best sons of the Lithuanian working class.

Protest against the White terror in Lithuania, against the provocation of the Lithuanian fascist government which is zealously spreading the lie that the trade unions were preparing an insurrection! Defend the working masses of Lithuania! Your defence is at the same time a defence of the working masses of other countries in which a fascist coup d'état is being prepared.

Be on your guard, for the successful fascist coup d'état in Lithuania will encourage the fascists in other countries. The victory of fascism in Lithuania is above all a sign for a fascist attack in other Baltic countries.

Down with the predatory imperialist powers of Western Europe who are assisting fascism in other countries!

Down with the bloody fascist terror against the working masses and the poorer peasantry!

Down with the hangmen of the working masses and the poorer peasantry in Italy, Bulgaria, Poland and Lithuania!

Be on the watch to resist a fascist advance in other countries!

Down with the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Fascist Upheaval in Lithuania.

By W. Mickiewicz-Kapsukas.

During the last few months, and more especially during the last few weeks, the Lithuanian Fascists, led by the so-called Christian Democrats have been preparing quite openly for an upheaval. This is avowed by the entire Lithuanian Press. The Communist Party of Lithuania and the Left-Wing workers had untiringly pointed to the threatening danger and demanded that it be energetically combated; however, the Government, which was composed of Popular Socialists and Social Democrats, could not make up its mind to any decided action.

If we inquire into the nature of the present upheaval, we cannot but recognise that it is a Fascist-capitalist movement, directed in the first line against the working class and the poor peasantry. Under the petty-bourgeois regime of the Narodniki (Popular Socialists) and Social Democrats, who came into power after the Lithuanian Sejm elections in May 1926, the working class and the working peasantry had succeeded in making considerable progress in regard to the freedom of coalition,

assembly, and the press, besides attaining a practically complete amnesty for political prisoners and the removal of the Ochraná butchers and of certain officials of particular notoriety as embezzlers of public property, and at the same time concluding a guarantee agreement with the Soviet Union. The working class of Lithuania could breathe more freely and commenced the formation of trade unions, while there was a series of strikes throughout the country. The poor peasantry demanded that at least the most outrageous acts of the land reform effected in the interest of the formerly prevailing clique be subjected to revision, and that the embezzlers of public property be called to account.

The Government of the Narodniki and the Social Democrats failed to comply with these demands. Under the pressure of the reactionary clerical bourgeoisie, which was louder and louder in its allegations that the Government was likely to plunge the country into Bolshevism, the latter began to incline more towards the Right. Steps were taken to dissolve the trade

unions which were under the influence of the Left, certain Communists were arrested, and so forth. The Communist Party failed to attain any legal status, while the Fascists were allowed to carry on their work and found their organisation quite openly. During the last few weeks, it is true, the Government responded to the growing danger and to the pressure of the peasantry and working class and effected a certain movement towards the Left, placing the Fascist leader Glovatzkis under arrest and prohibiting the publication of his paper. These measures, however, proved insufficient.

At the head of the Fascist movement in Lithuania are the Christian Democratic Party (Ghadeki) and the party of the Lithuanian Nationalists. The former comprises three organisations, the actual Christian Democratic Party, the Union of Big Peasants and the Yellow Federation of Labour. It is the party of the reactionary Lithuanian bourgeoisie, the bankers, the big peasants and landed proprietors, under the lead of the catholic clergy, the banker Vailokaitis, Krapavitchius, and others. Up to the last Sejm elections, this party was in power; by unscrupulous, corrupt, and brutal practices, by a misuse of public property, by the pressure it exercised on the peasants and workers, by openly favouring with Government commissions and contracts a small number of profiteers (such as the parson-banker Vailokaitis), by allotting the "centres" of the dismembered estates to its own protégés, by serious infringements of the law, by giving free play to the Jesuits, by the "electrification" of political prisoners, and by similar misdeeds, the Christian Democrats aroused so much discontent in the country, as to entail their severe defeat at the last elections.

Immediately after these elections, which turned out so badly for them, the Christian Democrats set to work to institute a Fascist dictatorship, by means of a general upheaval, Plechavitchius being designated for the post of dictator. The elections, however, had so far weakened the party, and the general dissatisfaction with their rule had grown so great, that they found themselves under the necessity of deferring the coup d'état and of waiting until the new Liberal Government should in its turn have sufficiently compromised itself in the meantime preparing for the coming struggle. The clerical reactionaries of Lithuania devoted their attention in the first place to the formation of Fascist fighting organisations out of the reserve of officers, former volunteers of the Lithuanian army, students, sharpshooters (wealthy farmers' sons), and the like, in which direction they had pronounced success. Their main slogans were "Down with the Socialist-Freemason Government!", "Down with the dictatorship of the trade unions!", "Down with the Communists!", and "Down with the agents of Moscow!" The class-character of such slogans is quite obvious.

During the last Sejm elections, the Nationalists, headed by ex-President Smetona and Voldemaras, were in the Opposition against the then ruling Christian Democratic Party; from the point of view of class-physiognomy, however, this small party of monarchist landed proprietors and peasants is closely allied to the Christian Democrats. It is, therefore, no wonder that, after some vacillation, they came to form one party with the latter in the Sejm, and of late began to turn most pronouncedly against the rule of the Narodniki and Social Democrats.

These two reactionary parties, which, to the delight of Great Britain, aimed at bringing about a rapprochement between Lithuania and Poland and an estrangement from the Soviet Union, initiated the Kovno upheaval, in which connection the Christian Democrats required the aid of the Nationalists so as at least slightly to mask their tactics from the working masses who hate the very sight of them.

The leader of the entire movement, Major Plechavitchius, a former Czarist officer belonging to the class of Polish landed proprietors in Lithuania, had already distinguished himself in 1919 by his bestial execution of the Bolsheviks of the Shudj region (in Lithuania), thereby gaining credit in the eyes of the Christian Democrats; Colonel Glovatzkis, likewise a former Czarist officer and one of the landed-proprietor class, made a name in the summer of 1919, by causing a number of Communists to be shot in the Kupishski and Rakishski districts. Both are in favour of an alliance with Poland.

The leaders of the Narodniki and Social Democrats proved incapable of forming a bloc with the working class and the village poor against the big farmers, landed-proprietors, and

capitalists, and of putting up a resolute fight against the Fascists. They merely kept declaiming on the threatening danger and had a lot to say about democracy and the will of the people; meanwhile the Fascists organised their ranks and then proceeded at an opportune moment, and without meeting with any resistance, to arrest the entire Government, occupy the Government buildings and place the commanders of such regiments under arrest as had remained loyal to the old regime. Here, as in Bulgaria, the failure of the petty-bourgeois parties became patent.

Even before the upheaval, the Communist Party of Lithuania constantly and emphatically advocated a struggle against Fascism, if necessary with the use of arms. Without actually supporting the Government of the Narodniki and Social Democrats, which was after all a bourgeois body, the Communist Party urged it to fight against Fascism, clearly recognising all the advantages of this Government as compared with the Fascist and Christian Democratic policy of the big peasants and big bourgeoisie class (according to Lithuanian standards). After their coup d'état, the Fascist proceeded to arrest numerous Communists, Left Wing and even social democratic workers. There can naturally be no doubt whatever that the overwhelming majority of the workers and working peasantry of Lithuania are radically opposed to the whole movement and to the dictatorship of the Christian Fascist bankers and land owners and, if for the time being they do not take any active steps, there is no question that in a very short time they will take up the fight against this form of dictatorship along the whole front. The lead in such a struggle cannot but fall to the share of the Communist Party.

The late President Grinius, whose interment has meanwhile been repealed, has dissolved the Shashevitchus Cabinet and entrusted the Nationalist Voldemaras with the formation of a new Government. The Fascist upheaval and the new Fascist Government of Lithuania have, therefore, already been placed on a "legal" footing. Besides the pronounced reactionary and Fascist elements, the Christian Democrats and Nationalists, the Government comprises a representative of the Farmers' Party and an Independent, all its members being extreme-Right champions of the Lithuanian bankers, capitalists, big farmers, and big landed proprietors.

The attitude observed towards the Soviet Union and the guarantee agreement concluded with the Soviet Union by the late Government, is openly hostile in the case of the Christian Democrats and in that of the Nationalists superficially, i. e., allegedly, friendly, while the attitude assumed with regard to Poland is friendly to the extent of servility in the former, and professedly hostile in the latter case. The Christian Democrats were not averse even to using the aid of Pilsudski in the subversion of the Narodniki and Social Democratic Government. The fact meanwhile that, in spite of the fight they had until recently waged against the Christian Democrats, the Nationalists agreed at the crucial moment to form a bloc with the latter, shows how superficial the differences between the two parties really were.

The developments ensuing in the little Republic of Lithuania have, indeed, come to acquire great international importance.

CHINA

The English Memorandum — a New Danger of Intervention in China.

By Tang Shin She.

After Lloyd George and the social democrat MacDonald, who in the year 1924 was responsible for an armed intervention against Canton, for the purpose of forming a common government mainly made use of the Chinese question as a weapon against the Conservative government of Baldwin and Chamberlain, and after Chamberlain and Baldwin have come to realise that the continual armed actions in China have not resulted in any success, the English government is adopting towards China a so-called liberal policy which first found expression in the much talked of Memorandum.

What does the Memorandum actually say? It speaks of the unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes (there is to be

demanding neither the abolition of the Likien, nor are the new revenues to come under foreign control nor are they to serve for the funding of the Chinese debts; the revenues are to be at the disposal of the most competent Chinese authorities, that is, they will not be paid into a European bank. Secondly, in regard to the question of ex-territoriality, England is of the opinion that certain proposals of the Commission for the investigation of the question of ex-territoriality could, without any great delay, even under present circumstances already be carried out. Thirdly, England proposes that the Powers recognise the national aspirations of China in a common programme declaration. The policy of protest in small matters is to be given up; protest shall be preserved for important cases, but must, however, then be made effective by common action?"

The question of ex-territoriality plays only a minor role in the Memorandum. England's attention is mainly directed to bringing together the international imperialists for the purpose of an attack against the Kuomin government and against the liberation movement. Further, England, by recognising the additional taxes for the whole of China and the delivery of the revenues to the "competent" Chinese authorities, wishes to help the military rulers to obtain funds. The civil war in China is to be prolonged and the whole country is to be divided up into so many little feudal principalities, as India.

The clique of imperialist lackeys, the Chinese Generals, such as Chang Tso-Lin, Wu Pei-Fu, Sun Chuan-Fang etc. are obviously collapsing; the soldiers are mutinying, the lower Generals are falling away and going over to other armies. This fact is mainly attributable to the great shortage of money. Neither the soldiers nor the officers are receiving their pay. The imperialists have themselves recognised that it is precisely the extortion practiced against the population by the reactionary military rulers which is more and more increasing the sympathy for the revolutionary troops. They have for long been seeking a way out for their lackeys from this impasse. The Tariff Conference, which they had hindered and postponed for years, was for them, after the blood bath of the 30th May 1925, after the revolutionary movement had extended more and more, a welcome excuse for supporting the reactionaries. In the Autumn of 1925 the Conference was convened under the Tuan She-Sui government. Last year when finally there was no longer any Peking government in existence, the English constantly endeavoured to carry out the Tariff Conference to an end, because they wished, on the basis of the surtaxes, to grant the counter-revolutionary rulers a loan. After the seizure of power by the revolutionary Canton army in the Central Yangtse area, in Hankow and Kiukiang, the English propose in the Memorandum the unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes. It is stated in this Memorandum that the revenue is no longer to be delivered to the Central government but to the local officials.

In China there are 45 marine customs' offices. 18 of these at present belong to the Canton government, the remainder to the outspoken imperialist lackeys. The big customs offices of the Kuomin government, i. e. such as collect over one per cent. of the total customs revenue, are: Hankow, Canton, Swatow, Kiukiang, Chungkiang and Amoy. But their income only amounts to a small percentage of the total revenue. Hankow receives only 8% of the total revenue, Canton 5.4%, Swatow 2.48%. The reactionaries, on the other hand, have a much greater share of the total revenue, for example, Shanghai 39.58%, Tientsin 9.9%, Dalmij 7.78%, Kiautchow 4.61%. Of the total revenue the Canton government receives about a fourth. The 2.5% surtaxes can increase the total income of China by 30 to 40 million Haikwan Taels (a tael is about 3 Shillings). Of this amount, according to the intentions of the imperialists, the Northern military rulers are to receive 20 to 30 million annually. This sum is to represent the guarantee for a long-planned English loan of 100 million Pounds Sterling for the Anti-Red Fund. The success of such a plan would have as a result an immediate attack against the Kuomintang government.

If now Chang Tso-Lin has taken over the Supreme command of the Ngan-Kuo-Chün (Army for securing the country), that is over the anti-red front, and has removed from Tientsin to Peking, is the carrying out of the entire English plan thereby assured? By no means! The English are absolutely opposed by Japan. The Japanese will not allow the surtaxes to be introduced unconditionally in "their" area, that is, in North China as the English in South China have been compelled to do. They also do not wish to come forward on behalf of Sun Chuan-Fang

and Chang Tsung-Chang, both of whom are more inclined to the side of England. All the imperialist powers together are, moreover, jealous of England, which has gobbled the largest share of the Chinese revenues, and wish to prevent England gaining still more privileges through its contemplated hundred million loan. Japan and France have already expressly opposed the English memorandum. England only has a weak support in the social democratic Belgian Minister Vandervelde and the Portuguese Military Dictator. The Americans who do not possess any great special privileges in China and who are endeavouring to carry out their dollar policy, in no way approve of the dangerous intervention policy of England.

The Chinese people have immediately recognised England's lust for intervention. The Canton government, as the representative of the Chinese people, submitted a protest to the Washington government (the originator of the Chinese tariff increases at the Washington Conference). The additional taxes fixed by the Canton government, are not based upon the Washington agreement, but are special production taxes which are levied, not for military purposes, but for the benefit of the unemployed and striking Chinese workers. Should the English and their friends attempt to carry out their intriguing plans by means of force, there would set in a great boycott against their goods. In addition a serious conflict between Chang Tso-Lin and his "follower" Chang Tsung-Chang would break out, as the latter is in possession of the great majority of the big ports, as Shanghai, Tientsin, Kiouchow etc., with the best revenues, which Chang Tso-Lin can in no wise tolerate.

The White Terror of the Militarists and Imperialists in China.

By Shao Li Tse,

Representative of the Kuomintang.

The arrest of the members of the Kuomintang by the English police in Tientsin and their being handed over to the military authorities in Mukden is extremely characteristic of the imperialists in China. These facts demand the attention of the revolutionary masses of the whole world. These acts of the English authorities show the true face of the imperialists without its mask. The following two factors are now becoming perfectly clear to the revolutionary masses: Firstly the end of imperialism in China is approaching, and this is why it is increasing its cruelty; secondly it does not hesitate to use any means to save its position. These two factors however are only likely to accelerate the pace of the revolutionary movement in China.

According to a telegraphic communication of December 13th, Lampson, the British representative, had the House of Commons informed in connection with this affair, that the English police had no idea that those arrested were members of the Kuomintang. It is hardly possible however for anyone to believe that the English police did not know this. The organisation of the Kuomintang carries out its functions in Tientsin quite publicly, and has already existed for some time. This being the case, is it possible that the police knew nothing of the arrested persons being members of the party referred to? As a rule, the first thing that happens to arrested persons is that they are subjected to an examination by the English police, and only then handed over to the Chinese authorities. Furthermore, at the time of the arrest, the English police seized a number of documents and a great deal of propaganda material. No one then will be able to believe Lampson when he says that the police knew nothing.

Lampson further states that none of those arrested pointed out that he was a member of the Kuomintang. As a matter of fact the organisation of the Kuomintang in Tientsin sent its legal adviser to the police immediately after the arrest, who demanded that the arrested persons be set free on the grounds that they were political emigrants.

Finally, Lampson pointed out that the arrested persons were handed over to the Chinese police and not to the military authorities; but who does not know that the Chinese police are entirely in the hands of the generals?

To us, this cruelty of the English imperialists is nothing unexpected or new. In August of this year, the English police

arrested a Canton officer in Shanghai and handed him over to General Sun-Chuan-Fang. In September the English police again arrested a number of students, workers and shopkeepers for taking part in a political demonstration; it then handed them over to the military authorities. Such behaviour on the part of the English imperialists should not cause any surprise; they have surely realised that the Chinese revolution is directed against them. In recent times, the English imperialists have shown their true face without reserve; it is therefore ridiculous for Lampson to appear now with his "naive" explanations.

The English imperialists will grant loan after loan to Chang Tso-Lin so that he may defeat the revolutionary masses and continue the policy of the White Terror. Nevertheless we are fully confident that the revolutionary masses throughout the world will grasp the situation aright and will oppose the imperialists and the reactionary generals in China in a united front.

Wrest the Twenty Seven from the Hands of their Executioners!

(On the occasion of 27 Kuomintang members being handed over to the military authorities.)

Workers of All Countries!

During the last few days, fresh and more definite news has been constantly reaching us as to the imminent murder of 27 of the best representatives of the Chinese people who have been arrested by the British authorities and handed over to the executioners of Mukden. Any minute the news may be expected that the same fate has overtaken these 27 pioneers of national revolutionary China as has befallen the many thousands of the best sons of the Chinese people who have been ill-treated, tortured to death or executed by the militarists and bandits.

The arrest and handing over of the 27 is the signal of open comradeship in arms between imperialism and the blackest reaction in China. For months past it has been growing more and more evident that the imperialists are beginning to give undisguised support to the Chinese bands. The shooting of numerous persons in Shanghai and Peking which was done under the cover of "measures of protection against attack" on the European quarters, was followed in September of this year by the massacres in Wanh sien. The troops of English imperialism suddenly bombarded this peaceful town, killing 200 persons, crippling 500 and making ruins of hundreds of houses. As though in answer to the protest raised by the Chinese representative in the Council of the League of Nations against this inhuman barbarity, a few days later ten students were condemned to death in Peking under the accusation of having agitated in favour of the Kuomintang party. Innumerable demonstrations, carried on the crest of a wave of national indignation which swept the whole country in November, were followed by fresh wholesale murders and new death sentences.

Imperialism and its Chinese mercenaries have turned with equal fury against the "Chinese Society for Aiding the Victims of the Movement for Freedom", against this mass organisation of the Chinese people, which has proved capable, in one year, of uniting about 100,000 individual members and 600,000 collective members in its ranks, which has gained the greatest sympathy among the workers, peasants and students, and is always endeavouring to help the relatives of those who are murdered and arrested.

The main reason for this unbridled terror is the magnificent national-revolutionary movement among the Chinese people, which is increasing from day to day. This terror is intensified with every new success of the People's Army in its victorious advance, with every step gained along the path of the liberation of China from her enslavement.

Workers and Peasants of All Countries!

At this moment of anxious waiting for the news of the execution of the 27 Chinese national-revolutionaries, the eyes of the whole Chinese people are not merely fixed on the torture-chambers of Mukden; they are also turned towards the West, looking to the masses of workers, their brothers, hoping for help and support from them. The masses of the people in Europe and America must not disappoint the hopes set on them. Not one of us can look idly on at the new deeds of revenge which are being prepared before our eyes.

Intellectuals of England, France, Germany and America!

The handing over to the military authorities of the 27 reveals the true face of world reaction, the face of a common robber who despises the most elementary civic rights and crushes them under his foot.

To fight for the rescue of the 27 is to acknowledge the right of existence of the working masses of China and of their movement for freedom and to set the seal of our condemnation on the deeds of force and cruelty of world capital in a country which has been forced down to the level of a colony.

By your unanimous protest avert the hand of the executioner which is raised to deal the death blow to the 27!

Лидеры всех стран помогите нам спасти жизнь 27 революционеров империалистов в Китае!

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid.

POLITICS

The Rule of the Military in the Occupied Rhenish Provinces.

By Marcel Fournier.

The judgement of the court-martial of Landau concerning the incidents which took place in September 1926 in the little town of Germersheim is, despite the act of grace reluctantly conceded by the French Government, faithfully illustrative of the attitude of mind common among the bourgeoisie of France in respect of the occupation of the Rhine Provinces. The French bourgeoisie is extremely gratified by the fact that a French court-martial concedes to a French officer the right to behave himself in a town of the occupied territory as though that territory were conquered territory.

The French bourgeoisie is annoyed, because its almighty military system is a thing of the past. It feels that the time has come to take into account the opponent whom it yesterday menaced with bayonets, and it also feels that it will shortly be obliged to take up a modest position in Europe, that it will no longer be able to command as "conqueror", but that the era of secret negotiations and of secret treaties must take the place of the military policy which has up to now been followed with clanking of sabres in face of a defeated and disarmed adversary.

Furthermore, the laws of capitalist economy itself have begun to operate and the "victorious" France of 1918, the France of the victors, Foch, Clémenceau and Poincaré, has become the France whose currency has sunk to about a fifth of its former value.

The respect commanded by French militarism has suffered severely under the changed economic circumstances, and especially in the occupied Rhenish Provinces with their stabilised Rentenmark. The time, when, thanks to the depreciated German currency, the French officer could live luxuriously in the occupied territory and take home goods bought there at next to nothing, belongs to the remote past. To-day, with his meagre pay he can hardly make ends meet. And the soldiers cannot even get a tram-ride or a glass of beer for their eighteen centimes a day.

The soldier feels that he is living in the midst of a population which despises him and that he is both ridiculous and superfluous. At the same time he has to suffer the harshness of an exacting discipline exercised by officers free from all supervision.

It is, therefore, evident that Lieutenant Rouzier was in large measure animated by a feeling of hatred. Three non-commissioned officers of the 25th Artillery Regiment, in an almost completely intoxicated condition, had forced their way into a dancing hall in the village of Sondersheim near Germersheim, and endeavoured by means of violence to deprive the village youths of their dancing partners.

On the same evening (Sept. 27) two soldiers of the 121st Infantry regiment entered the "Engel" inn in Germersheim in a drunken condition. One of them, named Gorin, drew his bayonet and tried to stab some of the guests. He was disarmed and turned off the premises. When the local inhabitants gathered round and were discussing the incident, there came a patrol

and three officers, among them Lieutenant Rouzier who, quite at random, had some of the guests arrested.

A short time after the above incident the "charming" Rouzier was at Ludwigstorf, in mufti, where he had a tryst with a young lady. The gallant officer had to wait some time for his lady fair. Meanwhile a group of young people came by. One of them, a certain Holzmann, thought he recognised in Rouzier a friend, and went up to him. Rouzier became frightened, struck Holzmann with his whip, then drew his revolver and fired at him. Holzmann was hit in the face.

Rouzier thereupon took to his heels, but was overtaken by three young men. Rouzier called out "one, two, three" and fired, killing one and wounding another. He then fled to the police station.

Rouzier thus had one killed and two wounded on his conscience!

The French nationalist press sounded the alarm and placed the blame for these occurrences on to the German nationalists. Lieutenant Rouzier was not only excused for his act, but was commended for it.

At last there came the trial in Landau. From the statements of all the witnesses it became evident that there had been no provocation on the part of the inhabitants of Gernersheim, but on the contrary it was the scandalous behaviour of French military persons that had caused the incidents in Sondersheim and in the "Engel" inn. In regard to Rouzier, it was established that he had neither been provoked nor had he acted in justifiable self-defence.

After this official admission one would have expected that either all parties would have been acquitted or that only Rouzier would have been condemned. But the judgement of the military court constitutes a flagrant challenge to the conception of justice. The acquittal of Rouzier and the conviction of the Germans are a triumph for the thesis of the Generalstaff, according to which a French officer in occupied territory is at all times justified in using his weapons against the inhabitants.

Whoever is familiar with courts-martial is fully aware that the judgement of the court-martial of Landau corresponds to the judgement formed by Poincaré, the Prime Minister, in consultation with Painlevé, the Minister of War, and General Guillaumat, commander of the army on the Rhine. It is well known that Poincaré is a fierce opponent of the evacuation of the Rhenish Provinces, an evacuation which his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Briand, the man of Thoiry, would now be disposed, without great "reluctance", to carry out as the logical consequence of his Geneva policy and of the understanding with Stresemann.

That is the solution of the problem.

Poincaré needs Briand, for without him his cabinet would fall. But he also needs Marin and the National bloc, which, it is hardly necessary to mention, he secretly prefers.

The conviction of Rouzier by the court-martial of Landau or the acquittal of the Germans would have been a blow to the occupation policy, which is Poincaré's policy. It is certain that in connection with this Landau affair, Briand was compelled to bind himself in various respects. But in the last moment Poincaré issued instructions to acquit Rouzier, and the military judges hastened to obey, especially as they find it an agreeable task to flout the population of the Rhineland. It is true that, under pressure of public opinion abroad, Poincaré was obliged to yield at the last moment to the extent of "pardoning" the convicted Germans. But this tardy gesture all the more betrayed the embarrassment of the French Government leader who is wedged between two policies of widely different nature.

The French Press was naturally jubilant that its chauvinism had been given satisfaction. The German Press protested, and rightly, too, at least from the standpoint of the simple citizen. Briand had nicely lulled Stresemann into the happy illusion that the evacuation of the Rhine-Provinces was imminent. After the Landau affair there can be no further talk of the matter! Hence the chagrin of the German bourgeoisie which had made up for itself an excellent propaganda platform out of this evacuation.

We Communists naturally take a very different view of the question of evacuation.

The occupation, which the German capitalists really use as a means of protection against the German working class, is a heavy burden to the people of the Rhineland and especially to the workers, for the bourgeoisie know how to keep on the right side of the victors.

In the Rhineland there are still 170,000 soldiers: 3 army corps, the 30th in Coblenz, the 32nd in Mainz, the 33rd in Trier; 4 independent divisions: the 39th in Gosenheim, the 38th in Coblenz, the 47th in Dueren, the 77th in Landau, without mentioning the occupation troops in the Saar. Are these troops to remain there in accordance with the treaty of Versailles for a further eight years? Will the French Government give up Thoiry or the right bank of the Rhine?

Resuscitated German Imperialism should surely not be strengthened but we also have a bone to pick with our own Imperialism. The presence of French troops in the Rhineland undoubtedly feeds German Nationalism, for a population which has been exposed daily for seven years to the tyrannies of an insufferable military caste can naturally be easily beguiled into putting up a resistance on national grounds.

Therefore, we, the French Communists, urgently demand the evacuation of the occupied Rhenish Provinces.

The Echo of the Odessa Movement in the Arabian Countries.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The communications with regard to the meeting between Chicherin and Rushdi Bey in Odessa were received with great interest by the whole Arabian Press — numbering altogether more than a hundred newspapers in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Iraq — and was reported in great detail, though of course coloured by Reuter and Havas, the only available sources of information here. This was made the occasion for bringing up anew the question of the relations between the Arabian national movement on the one hand and Turkey and the Soviet Union on the other hand, and in connection with it of a possible alliance of the Asiatic peoples against European imperialism.

It cannot be said that the Arabs cherished any special sympathy for the Turks. The nationalist elements particularly — in both Egypt and Syria with the exception of small groups — regarded Turkey which has for centuries oppressed the Arabs in the most brutal way, as more or less the hereditary enemy, and considered the revival of Turkey's power a serious danger for the national ideals of the Arabs. Things altered, it is true, when Mustapha Kemal seized the power and finally put an end to the predatory policy of the Sultans. Nevertheless, even up to the present day, the Arabs had preserved a certain mistrust which the English have cleverly managed to throw into the balance against Young Turkey, for instance on the occasion of the Mosul conflict.

It was also uncertain what was the attitude between the Arabian Press and those whose influence counted for most in the nationalist circles, towards the Soviet Union. The English and French have not neglected any opportunity of spreading the vilest lies and calumnies about the Soviet Union; especially the policy of the Soviet Government with regard to the Mohammedan peoples has been distorted and misrepresented. These lies have met with very little credence, or none at all, on the part of the masses of the people; the workers and peasants, insofar as they take an interest in political and social problems at all, easily understand that a government of workers and peasants is a thing to be aimed at and not to be combated; and just the revolutionary acts and measures condemned by the anti-Soviet propaganda rouse enthusiasm among the broad strata of the people who are so terribly oppressed.

It was quite a different thing, it is true, with the bourgeois elements which are at the head of the national movement, and with a section of the intelligentsia. To them, Bolshevism, the Soviet power, actually seemed to be the greatest danger, and any union with it seemed impossible. Even during the short period of Zaghul Pasha's rule in 1924, that leader of the national movement in Egypt contemplated gaining certain concessions from England at the price of exterminating Bolshevism. The Zaghul Press on the whole accepted the bulletins of the various anti-Bolshevist leagues and the telegrams of agents of the Whites from Riga and Berlin word for word, without even considering the problem of the Soviet Union and its relations to the national movements for freedom.

The comments published in the whole Arab Press on the meeting between Rushdi Bey and Chicherin in Odessa indicate a significant change of attitude. The friendship between Turkey

and the Soviet Union is being greeted with the greatest enthusiasm by the whole Press, beginning with the radical-nationalist papers down to the liberal and even to the more or less Anglophile and Francophile publications. The important Egyptian papers "Mukattam" (non-party) and "Ahram" (inclined towards the Zaghul party), the Beirut Press and the various newspapers in Palestine are discussing the rumour of an "Asiatic League of Nations" which has just been started by the French and English, with the warmest sympathy. The tenor of almost all the articles is that this is the only way by which effectual resistance can be offered to the unbounded rapacity of European imperialism.

Thus unanimously friendly attitude towards the Soviet Union and its policy in the Near East, which is further confirmed by the anti-imperialist trend of the Soviet policy in China, proves that the value of the Soviet Union in the struggle for the liberation of the countries suffering under imperialist oppression is recognised in the intellectual and even in the bourgeois circles of the Arab countries.

It is only the English papers in Egypt, the French Press in Syria and the Zionist Press in Palestine which discuss the result of the Odessa meeting with suppressed rage. The English and French try to represent the speeches of Clucherin and Rushdi Bey as being "insincere" and "warn" the peoples of the East against being caught in the snares of the wicked Bolsheviks. The Zionists have their own accounts to settle with the Soviet Union which they cannot forgive, chiefly because it is solving the Jewish question in Russia and the Ukraine in a truly proletarian way by agriculturalising the broad masses of the Jewish people (thus entering into "competition" with the Zionist work of colonisation), and further because counter-revolutionary agitators who stir up the people against the "wild dictatorship of the C. P. S. U." are rendered harmless by the officials of the Soviet Power even if they cloak themselves in the mantle of Zionist idealism.

Even the Anglo-French and the Zionist Press, however, must acknowledge that the Odessa meeting was a great triumph for the Soviet Government and a defeat of England's plans for encircling the Soviet Union.

THE BALKANS

Italian Fascism and the Regime of Lyapcheff

By P. J. (Sofia).

The most significant events of the last few weeks in Bulgaria reveal the growing influence of Italian Fascism in general and Mussolini in particular. A number of recent circumstances point to the fact that by means of the Government of the "Democratic Union" ("Demokraticheski Sgovor"), the Bulgarian bankers and capitalists are pursuing a systematic policy which is characterised by a rapprochement not only to Imperialist Great Britain but also to Fascist Italy. Very naturally, this policy on the part of a small country like Bulgaria, in fact little more than a semi-colony, can mean nothing else than that the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in Bulgaria has engaged to act a tool in the hands of the Italian Fascists and British Imperialists.

The active participation of the Italian Fascists in the home and foreign politics of Bulgaria, and especially in the internal policy of the Lyapcheff Government, is an obvious fact.

Thanks to the servile policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and its executive organ, the Italian Fascists are approaching their final aim, i. e., that of using Bulgaria as their military base in the imperialist campaign they have planned and practically prepared against national-revolutionary Turkey.

The disclosures made in this regard are highly significant. Fascist Italy is said to have promised Bulgaria Eastern Thrace and an access to the Egean, two old ideals of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, figuring since the time of the Peace Treaty as the main points on the nationalist expansion-programme of their Balkan policy, along with the annexation of Macedonia and the Dobroudja.

The participation of Bulgaria in an Imperialist adventure of the Italian Fascists (in which connection there can be no doubt that Great Britain, with its aggressive designs on the Soviet

Union, is seconding Italy) naturally presupposes the existence of adequately large Bulgarian forces.

The substitution of the old standing army for the mercenary troops enforced on Bulgaria by the Peace Treaty, is one of the main demands submitted to the Imperialist Governments of the Great Powers and to the League of Nations by the entire bourgeoisie of Bulgaria, no matter of what party, including the Social Democrats, the Radicals, and the Right wing of the large land owners of Stambuliski's party. By the Peace Treaty, Bulgaria was permitted to maintain an army of 30,000 professional soldiers. In reality, however, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie has, under various pretexts, far larger armed forces at its disposal.

That this is a fact was proved quite recently by the Note addressed to the Bulgarian Government by the Military Control Commission of the League of Nations, following on an inspection by this Commission of the existing forces and stores of arms and ammunition in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Government forbade the Bulgarian Press to publish the Note in question, which, in its political sense, was in the first place intended by the League of Nations to force Lyapcheff to accelerate the Parliamentary settlement of the economic and financial "reforms" exacted of Bulgaria by the West-European bankers in close connection with the "refugees loan", and was at the same time a manoeuvre on the part of France, for the double purpose of protecting its threatened protégé, Yugoslavia, and of warning Italy which, as subsequently transpired, was just at that time supplying Bulgaria with machine-guns and ammunition.

There can be no doubt that, as a result of this counter-revolutionary, nationalist-expansive, and militarist policy, Bulgaria is at present completely dominated by Fascist Italy. Nor can there be the least doubt but that the sojourn of King Boris in Italy in August last, the journey of Foreign Minister Buroff from Geneva and Paris to Rome in September and October (intended as a demonstration against Yugoslavia), and the simultaneous one month's stay of War Minister General Volkoff in Italy, can point to nothing but a close political and military contact between Fascist Italy and Fascist Bulgaria, a contact, indeed, which exceeds the limits of a mere rapprochement, embodying, as it does, a footing for Italian Fascism in Bulgaria and thus in the Balkan Peninsula, which, in view of the recent new orientation of the Imperialist Powers, also implies a certain shifting in the tactics of Great Britain in its policy against the Soviet Union and the struggling colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

It is obvious that the relations between Mussolini's Italy and Lyapcheff's Bulgaria are developing in a way which safely permits of the following conclusions:

a) That the Lyapcheff Government has engaged to become the tool of Mussolini in the realisation of his Imperialist aims in the Balkans, on the strength of a promise that, after a possible war between Turkey and Italy, Bulgaria should receive Eastern Thrace and an access to the Egean Sea.

As a matter of course, this project for dividing the spoils after a successful Imperialist coup on the part of Mussolini, would inevitably have resulted in a war between Bulgaria and Greece, since the vital interests of the two bourgeoisies concerned would collide in Eastern Thrace. We have thus all the premises for a repetition of the events which brought about the war among the Balkan allies in 1912/13.

b) That the two Ministers, Buroff and Volkoff, negotiated the purchase of arms and ammunition with Mussolini.

Here we may reproduce the very interesting intelligence quite recently published by the "Rote Fahne", the central organ of the Communist Party of Austria:

As the Central European Press Correspondence learns from a well-informed source, there have, since October, been constant transports of arms, mainly machine-guns, to East-European countries, the arms in question being no other than the tremendous stock of these implements which fell into the hands of the Italians during the late war and especially after the breakdown of the Piave front. Of a total stock of about 20,000 machine-guns, Italy a few months ago sold and delivered 5,000 to Rumania. The balance is the subject of negotiations on the part of both a Hungarian and a Bulgarian commission, which have both been purchasing larger instalments from time to time, according to their momentary financial resources. Of each lot, 40 per cent. has been allocated to Hungary, 40 per cent. to Bulgaria, and 20 per cent.

to the Macedonian committees. The necessary funds have been raised partly by the Governments in question and partly by patriotic bequests.

These consignments of arms have been forwarded via Tarvis and Innichen, with a circumvention of Yugoslav territory and without touching Vienna, across Austrian territory to Hungary, and thence either to Bulgaria or to Roumania. 500 machine-guns were unloaded at Kelenföld near Budapest. Since, by virtue of the Peace Treaty, the transport of arms across Austrian territory is prohibited, these consignments are sent in disguise, being generally registered as oranges and lemons. In order to hoodwink the Austrian customs authorities, the arms are camouflaged in the goods-waggons with a number of genuine cases of these fruits. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that all the transports should up to the present have passed the frontiers unmolested.

Particular importance attaches to the participation in these plans of the Macedonian Committee, i. e., the I. M. R. Organisation, headed by the well-known agent of the Bulgarian bourgeois party, General Protogeroff. In relation with this organisation, the Lyaptcheff Government is pursuing the policy it inherited from the Zankoff administration, making use of the unity of Macedonian emigrants for the realisation of its own annexationist aims in Macedonia, just as the Zankoff Government did. In the present constellation in the Balkans, such a policy can but mean pouring oil on the flames of the constant conflict between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It is particularly obvious that, in compensation for the machine-guns supplied, the Italian Government aims at aggravating the existing differences between these two Balkan States.

c) For certain reasons we are forced to surmise that in close connection with the facts already detailed, the Bulgarian Government has demanded the support of Mussolini towards the reorganisation of the old Bulgarian army. In this connection, the Lyaptcheff Government bears a serious political and historic responsibility towards the Bulgarian people, since such a demand on the part of the Government must necessarily be connected with new secret negotiations and agreements, which will on the one hand help the Bulgarian Government to supplement its stock of arms and ammunition so as to be better in a position to attack the emancipatory movement of the working masses in Bulgaria, and on the other hand enable it to prepare for new imperialist and military adventures.

The political dependence of the Lyaptcheff Government on Italian Fascism may, moreover, also be demonstrated by the following facts:

a) All the Government papers made favourable comments on the recently concluded agreement between Italy and Albania, in which connection the Press both of the Government faction and of the Zankoff party, took occasion, not only openly, but even vehemently, to voice the interests of Italy as opposed to those of Yugoslavia.

b) The wing led by Zankoff and General Russeff, which consists of unscrupulous adherents of the methods of Mussolini, with whose help it was able to carry through the coup d'état of June 9th, 1923, has now commenced openly to attack the "not sufficiently vigorous" and "unstable" course pursued by Lyaptcheff with regard to the Communists and Agrarians. In the Democratic Union and the Fascist military organisations, preparations are being made for a new coup, by which the adherents of Zankoff think they will succeed in frustrating any tendency towards an approach on the part of the "political" elements in the "Democratic Union", headed by Lyaptcheff, to the bourgeois parties of the Opposition with a view to the formation of a "constitutional party Government".

c) The massacres in the Lovetch and Trojan districts, the wholesale arrests of young workers, of Communists, agrarians trade union leaders, and the widows of workers formerly assassinated, as also the flight of many to foreign countries during September and October last — are all measures which found special approval in the eyes of the Fascist agents of Mussolini in Bulgaria. The Sofia correspondents of the Italian Fascist papers wrote very eloquently in praise of Lyaptcheff on the occasion of his recent attacks on the Bulgarian Communists. The "Preporez", the press organ of Prime Minister Lyaptcheff naturally hastened to reprint these impressions and eulogies.

d) Since the moment when the freedom of the press and of assembly was rescinded for the working class in Bulgaria, the "ideas" of Italian Fascism have naturally been greatly on the

increase. The agent of the Bulgarian Fascists in Rome, the writer Nentcho Ilieff, has published a book on that "great man", Benito Mussolini. The "Kubrat" and the "Rodna Sastita", the press organs of the organisations bearing these names, preach the doctrine of Mussolini in regard to the rule of the "most competent among the select" in contradiction to the rule of the "despised masses".

e) Alongside their specifically Bulgarian methods for the physical annihilation of revolutionary elements, the Bulgarian Fascists have now come to employ the methods peculiar to their Italian confrères. On December 5th, 1926, they burned down, in the town of Plevna, where the proletarian revolt took place in June 1923, the third storey of the house inhabited by Dr. Beshev and his family of six. The doctor, a former member of the Communist Party, was very popular among the workers and peasants, whom he had often rendered gratuitous medical aid. The Fascists took care only to destroy the storey in which the physician resided. Dr. Beshev and his family were all burned alive.

On the occasion of the meeting at Odessa between Chicherin, the Russian People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and the Turkish Foreign Minister, the report was spread in the international press that Bulgaria had entered the Balkan alliance founded by Italy (or Great Britain) and directed against national-revolutionary Turkey and the Soviet Union.

The press of the bourgeois Opposition has inquired of the Government, albeit very timidly and in an indirect way, whether all that was reported in this regard in foreign papers were really true. The Government organ did not venture to answer the question openly, but failed to deny the truth of the statements.

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The international action against Italian Fascism is at the same time an indirect action for the benefit of the Bulgarian proletariat and its struggle against Fascism in Bulgaria.

The international action against Italian Fascism must also be directed against the adventures of Mussolini in the Balkans.

The Lyaptcheff Government and the Zankoff-Russeff-Kalioff group, which are nothing but tools in the hands of the murderers of Italian peasants and workers, must, by means of this action, be mercilessly branded as such.

The consignment of machine-guns from Italy to Bulgaria must be held up as a crime against the international proletariat.

The Bulgarian workers and peasants are calling for relief for the victims of the White Terror and for the 100,000 unemployed in Bulgaria.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

On the Road to a National Miners' Trade Union.

By J. V. Leckie.

After seven months' heroic struggle against treachery, hunger and police-terror the miners of Great Britain were compelled to accept District-Agreements; lower wages, increased hours and worse working conditions.

What influence will the British Miners' defeat have upon the tempo of the British Empire's decline; on international relationships; on the economic basis of reformism, Labour-aristocracy, the further ripening of class consciousness and on the political orientation of the masses, etc? Two answers are forthcoming: 1. that the decline of British Capitalism is only temporarily retarded unless other categories of British workers collaborate with their employers and voluntarily agree to wage cuts and 2. that in the mining industry, which is the barometer of the social revolution in England, the employers have yet to secure their victory and that providing the miners can rapidly reorganise their forces, unhindered by the national agreements, they are in a position to conduct an immediate guerilla warfare which will have devastating effects upon the mining employers who are now endeavouring to fix contracts and win back lost markets, and also upon the struggling heavy industries.

What is the mood and attitude of the working miners? It can be truly said even in the case of those compelled earlier

than others to return to work, that the supreme desire is to have another offensive. They do not feel vanquished or demoralised. Their minds are much clearer and their hearts are filled with bitter eagerness for revenge. This is easy to understand. Why? 1. Because they feel that they were betrayed into defeat and that the conditions they are returning to are abominable and tantamount to slavery, and 2. because every miner's family is loaded down with debts (rents, grocery bills etc.) and that the immediate future is not only mortgaged but that, as already the mineowners are in some districts breaking their agreements recently concluded, there is nothing for them and their families to look forward to but a life of meanness and drudgery. Here the promptings, arising from the miners' actual immediate needs, fit in together with their traditional fighting instincts.

What is the mood and attitude of the mineowners?

With few exceptions the British mineowners regard their industry as being in a state of permanent decay. To some extent this arises from the growing popularity of alternative means of motive power (oil, hydro-power, electricity) and the more economical use of coal itself (gas, oil, hydroproducts, etc.) On the other hand, however, the British coal owners are themselves somewhat responsible for the decay of their industry inasmuch as, fearing nationalisation of the mines, with or without compensation, they have starved the industry of new capital. This fear of nationalisation and the growing wave of strike fights continually haunt them. Therefore, not now being in a position to make wage concessions, they desparately and without regard for the future extract ruthlessly the most they can out of the present situation.

Thus the mood and attitude of both the miners and mineowners is a guarantee of immediate future fights inside that industry. The agreements already signed are, for the mineowners, not drastic enough. For the miners they are already too drastic. Their full force however will only be experienced about spring this year when the various special inducements contained (bonusses, remission of rent, etc.) will be abandoned. By this time it is even possible that the partial English coal boom now springing up will then be exhausted and that half the miners will be permanently unemployed. Incidentally, this will react upon the struggling heavy industries and intensify the fight there also.

As the need for future immediate struggles seems guaranteed, what is the attitude of the various political groups? The capitalists desire a Locarno Peace Pact on the basis of lower wages and more hours. On the other hand they are seeking 1. to legislate anti-trade union laws and 2. to remove power from the House of Commons to a reformed House of Lords in which would probably sit as "life members" some prominent right wing leaders of the Labour Party.

The attitude of the right wing leaders to the coming struggles is to collaborate with the capitalists (as witness: meeting in December first in the Savoy-Hotel, attended by Cramp, Turner, Hodges, Lord Grey, Col Willey and Sir Hugh Bell on the question of industrial peace and opposition to communism). They seek to discredit industrial action in favour of parliamentarism, gradualism and the "bloodless" revolution.

On the other hand the attitude of the left wing and the C. P. is to encourage all these fights, to reorganize working class machinery on the basis of recent experiences, to prevent the drifting apart of the industrial and political wings, to strike roots deeper into the mass-organisations and to secure new leadership. In short, to turn every fight into a political fight for a Workers Government and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the question of reorganisation, while amalgamations leading to a greater concentration of workers forces are imminent in several of the most important industries, the need of the miners is naturally the most pressing. The most important lesson of the period now closing is, that the 22 county Unions with their separate Executives and officials, embraced within the framework of the M. F. G. B. must be liquidated. Throughout the struggle there has more or less existed 22 centres of right wing reaction actively sabotaging the activities of the left wing workers. This inner weakness was one of the principal contributions to the miners' defeat. Therefore the present apparatus must be displaced by a centralised national union on industrial union lines.

The attempt, however, to create a national industrial union of the miners, will be opposed by the capitalists and also by the right wing leaders inside and outside the M. F. G. B. It will be opposed by MacDonald and the professional politicians because such an organisation under left wing leadership would control such a heavy block vote at Labour Party-Conference as would succeed in eventually unmasking the right wing reformist leadership. Thus the Labour Party would be compelled either to fight for the political needs of the growing class-conscious Trade Unions or stand exposed and condemned. Naturally MacDonald will do everything possible to prevent the creation of such a national union under revolutionary leadership.

In the meantime MacDonald will probably intensify the recruitments of the individual members section of the Labour Party (already 350,000 strong and mostly liberal), so that if the challenge for leadership does arrive, his exchequer will be independent of Trade Union support and therefore also Trade Union dictation. In other words the British Labour Party, unless prevented by the development of strong unions under revolutionary leadership and a growing left wing movement, may eventually find itself on the basis similar to that occupied by continental social democratic parties.

What are the concrete possibilities of organising a national miners Trade Union in Great Britain? Every intelligent miner recognises that such an organisation is immediately necessary, and every mass-miners meeting which has so far been consulted has voted unanimously in its favour. There is no other method whereby the slave district agreements can be successfully smashed. Unfortunately, however, although the rank and file miners seem anxious for the change, there appear to exist a number of difficulties. They are briefly as follows:

1. **Bureaucratic opposition** within the separate districts and also within the Federation itself.

2. **Victimisation of Left Wing and C. P. workers**, who are equally regarded by the bureaucrat as his own personal enemies. He not only refused to fight for their reinstatement but does his best to have them starved entirely out of his district.

3. **The Poverty of the miners' central exchequer**. The scarcity of funds makes itself felt in two ways: a) the inability to offer full support to those victimised local and district workers upon whom depend the successful floating of reorganisation schemes and b) the inability to employ the new leaders who have sprung up during the struggle owing to finance difficulties.

If Cook and his colleagues can overcome these difficulties the proposed national miners union will materialise. In this connection he may probably receive help from the British T. U. C. — at a price! As the right wingers may think it advisable to stipulate conditions.

The importance of creating a British national miners' Trade Union may be finally and briefly summarised as follows: 1. It puts the miners in a strong defensive and offensive position. 2. in the T. U. C. it would enable the revolutionary elements to cope effectively with General Council vacillations and would lead to the entire reorganisation of T. U. C. and the single unions inside the chief industries. 3. In the Labour Party it would constitute an open challenge to the right wing for political leadership. 4. It would open the door of parliament for Left wing and C. P. candidates. 5. Throughout the entire country it would be a driving encouragement to all active workers in the Trade Unions, the Minority Movement, the Labour Party, the Left Wing and the C. P.

The formation of the national miners' union in England is necessary not only for the awakening English proletariat, but for the international mining proletariat within the folds of Amsterdam and the Miners' International and also for the Anglo-Russian Committee.

For all these reasons — human and organisational — immediate assistance must be found for the victimised miners' families. It must be given in such a way as to compel the Amsterdam International also to provide support or stand exposed. The entire lessons of the past six months will be sacrificed if for the lack of cash the victimised are penalised, reorganisation crushed and all forward movements hindered. The revolutionary proletariat, under the magnificent leadership of the Russian proletariat, has played a heroic and helpful role in the past, and their assistance is yet required to that the results will be secured that will have a far-reaching effect upon the British and world proletariat.

The First Congress for the Unity of Labour in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The movement for the unity of labour in Palestine, which has only been in existence for a short while, has the following main objects in view: support, on an international scale, of the principles set up by the **Anglo-Russian Unity Committee**, and the institution of a single trade-union international. The "**Ehud**" (**Unity**) **Clubs** are striving to persuade the executive committee of the "**Histadruth**" (**Jewish Workers Organisation in Palestine**), which adheres to the **Amsterdam Trade-Union International**, to support the **Anglo-Russian committee**. The programme of the unity movement in the country itself comprises two main points, firstly that of making the "**Histadruth**", which has hitherto only accepted into its ranks quite a small number of **Arab workers**, truly **international** by organising within it the broad masses of **Arab labour**, and secondly that of abolishing the system of expulsion, which has been used by the hitherto reformist majority of the **Histadruth** organs against the class-conscious workers, and accepting into the organisation all workers without distinction or regard for political conviction.

In spite of the general cry that was raised against it soon after its inception by the official trade-union leaders and despite the persecution directed against it by the Government by means of lawsuits, the closing of premises, etc., the unity movement has not been slow to acquire the sympathies of the working class. Thousands of members of the **Histadruth**, and numerous non-organised and excluded workers have joined its ranks. Among the **Arab workers**, too, the principles of unity have been finding more and more adherents.

On the eve of the imminent elections for the general congress of the **Histadruth**, the unity movement has now convened a general congress of its own. A whole series of foreign workers' organisations (among them the **General Council of the British Trades Union Congress**, the **Anglo-Russian Committee**, and the executive bureau of the **R. I. L. U.**) sent messages of congratulation in connection with the session, only the **Amsterdam international** expressing disapproval in a reply which was signed by **Sassenbach**, remarking that the unity movement was presumably not to be rated higher than other similar movements "in quite a number of different countries".

The unity congress itself, which took place on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of December 1926, was extremely imposing if reckoned by **Palestine standards**. In the first place, the very fact that among the **80 delegates** there were no fewer than **25 representatives of Arab workers**, who followed the proceedings with intense interest and themselves held certain speeches, was an irrefutable demonstration in contradiction of the statements of the **Histadruth** leaders in regard to the "immaturity" and "backwardness" of the **Arab working masses**.

At the same time, unmistakable proof was given before the very eyes of the working public, who followed the congress with the heartiest sympathies, that the solidarity and fraternisation of the class-conscious workers is no empty boast, despite the systematic agitation of the **British imperialists**, the **Zionist bourgeoisie**, the **Jewish social chauvinists**, and certain **reactionary Arabs**. Here **Arab railwaymen** were to be seen in perfect harmony with **Jewish workers** from the working settlements in the **Jesreel valley**, founded only yesterday by the **Zionist** organisations with the intention that they should serve as **Jewish strongholds** directed against the **native Arabs**.

Special importance attaches to the protest voiced against the expulsion and boycotting tactics employed by the **Histadruth** against class-conscious workers. The re-admission of the "**Workers Fraction**" (a section of the **R. I. L. U.**) in the **Histadruth** was demanded, while the attempts of the **Zionist** leaders of the **Histadruth**, to coerce revolutionary workers by starvation (expulsion from the working premises), the refusal of medical aid for the seriously sick, and social ostracism, into abandoning their **anti-Zionist** and **anti-reformist** campaign, were indignantly repudiated.

The despatch of a series of messages to the **R. I. L. U.**, the **British miners**, and the **Anglo-Russian Committee**, and a protest against the persecution of class-conscious workers by the **British Government**, closed the first labour-unity congress held in **Palestine**, an event which, hand in hand with the renewed advance of the labour movement in **Egypt** and the serious beginnings of trade-union organisation in **Syria**, constitutes a milestone in the development of the labour movement in the **Near East**.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The 7th Trade Union Congress of the Soviet Union

By L. F. Winow.

The period between the 4th and 7th Trade-Union Congress, which latter has just been held, was a period of rapid growth of all the economic forces of the **Soviet Union**. This economic growth and the successes on the front of **Socialistic development** was accompanied by similar growth of the bearer of **socialistic development**, namely, the class of the **proletariat** and its class organisations, the **Trade-Unions**.

Since the last Trade-Union Congress the number of trade-union members had grown by 2,250,000 and now amounts to nearly 9,500,000. It was, therefore, not without reason that **Cook** called the Congress the biggest trade-union congress that he had ever seen in the world.

The enlisting of this huge army of proletarians in the fighting lines of the organised workers of the **Soviet Union** is one of the most important factors as well as one of the most characteristic symptoms of that industrialisation which the **proletarian power** is executing on its path towards **socialism**.

Not only is the numerical strength of the organised proletariat of the **Soviet Union** on the increase, great improvement is also manifest in the level of **working capacity and culture of the trade-union members**. The almost two-million active trade-union functionaries, all of them occupied in leading positions, even though some of them may have very limited spheres of influence, are the guarantee of the true proletarian, of the **genuine trade-union Democracy**, whose organisatory development has been one of the chief tasks of the **Trade-Union Congress**. It is only by attracting ever widening strata of the working class to **genuine leadership** and organising work that it is possible to fulfil the two inseparable major tasks of the trade unions tasks which under the dictatorship of the proletariat do not constitute a contrast but are **supplementary** to one another: the combining of the interests of economic construction, of the development of **Socialism**, in other words of the common interests of the working class as a whole, with the material and other daily interests of the individual worker. True promotion of socialist construction through the working class, the finding of the proper relation in the distribution of the national income, is not possible "by order of any high command"; it is possible only provided that the working class itself takes an active part in the solution of these tasks in full consciousness of the leading role which it is playing.

A considerable portion of the work of the Congress was devoted to the development of the organisatory forms of popular participation: development of conferences of production, promotion and control of measures of thrift by the masses of the trade-union members (which is, at the same time, the best guarantee that these measures shall not be detrimental to, but beneficial to, the interests of the workers), creation of new organs for bringing the masses into closer contact with economic construction, for example, the **workers' control commissions**.

Equally important are the decisions arrived at by the Congress in connection with the question of wage policy. The increase of wages in recent years has been just as rapid as that of economic life in general.

Further growth, naturally — in consonance with the changed rate of growth in production during the fresh period of construction — cannot possibly occur at the tremendous pace as has been maintained in recent years; but a steady gradual increase in real wages in conjunction with the raising of labour productivity is an inseparable portion of socialist construction. The economic plans of the **Soviet institutions** reckon, under conservative estimate, for the next few years on an average real-wage increase of 5% to 8% per year, and express the conviction that the **Soviet worker** in the year 1931 will be in receipt of one and a half times his real pre-war wage.

It was the task of the **Trade Union Congress** to divert into proper channels this growth of wages corresponding to economic development. Centralisation and systematic working up of the tariff policy is the important slogan of the **Trade-Union Congress** in this regard. In the stage of industrialisation which has now begun the wage policy of the trade unions must, on the one hand, be made more compatible with the general plan

of economic development, although this by no means signifies a central or even State determination of wage rates, but merely central guiding lines for the wage policy, and within these lines the individual trade union will be left sufficient play for the exercise of initiative. On the other hand, the present level of real wages in the Soviet Union, which is already somewhat higher than that of pre-war days, permits approach to the important task: the reduction of the disparity between the wages of qualified workers and those unskilled labourers, on the one hand, and, on the other, between the various categories of occupations. Therefore the directive of the Congress in the matter of wage policy to cover the next period is: stabilisation of wage-rates at their present level in the best paid categories, together with advancement of the real wages obtaining for low-paid categories.

Regarding the cultural and educational work of the trade unions, the Congress recorded a positively gigantic step forward. The cultural requirements of the organised workers have increased at an extremely rapid pace, corresponding to the improvement in their material position. Since the last Trade Union Congress the number of workers' clubs has doubled, while that of the subscribers to workers' libraries has increased fivefold. (It has gone up from 420,000 to 2,250,000!) The Congress assumed the task of devising the necessary organisational measures to satisfy these growing requirements (augmentation of the number and better exploitation of the existing clubs, creation of really popular Press organs for the culturally backward strata, greater inducement for workers occupied outside the big concerns, domestic servants etc. to interest themselves in cultural and educative work.

The fight of the Soviet trade unions for International Trade Union Unity and, in particular, for the fraternisation of the English and Russian proletariat occupied a prominent place at the Trade Union Congress. The General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, it is true, endeavoured to sabotage the fraternisation of the proletarians of the two countries by refusing to send a delegation to the Congress. But the fact that the Miners' Federation and the British Minority Movement were represented, and especially the fact that Cook considered it necessary to submit to the Congress, in the name of the miners, an extensive report of the fight put up by the British miners, show that the sabotage perpetrated by the Reformist leaders is no longer likely to sever the alliance, based upon concrete militant support, which exists between the proletarians of the two countries.

THE WHITE TERROR

Against the Bulgarian White Terror!

To all Workers and Peasants.

The former Bulgarian Government with Zankoff at its head, murdered more than 20,000 proletarians and agricultural labourers with the direct support of Italian Fascism, of English Imperialism, and of the sections of the Second International; it threw as many as 6000 workers, who refused to submit without resistance to the regime of force, blood and robbery, into the stone coffins of its ghastly prisons and forced 2000 political emigrants to flee across the frontiers of Bulgaria, thus, by its ruthless and cruel measures smoothing the way for Lyapcheff's Government, which is no less bloodthirsty and criminal. This government is using all its power to continue the work begun by the Zankoff Government.

Since August of this year, Bulgaria has again been passing through such days of fearful anxiety as it did during the days of terror in April 1925. The Government is terrorising the people under the pretext of "discovering" a new "conspiracy".

In the districts of Trojans and Lovetch alone about 200 peasants and workers were murdered. Their mutilated corpses were raved up by stray dogs from the general graves which are distributed all over the district of Trojans.

About 500 workers, peasants, young people and women have been arrested since September of the current year, and arrests are still taking place up to the present day.

Many of these defenceless victims, who are most cruelly tortured in the prisons where they are kept under arrest, resort to suicide as the only way to escape these inhuman tortures. Others succumb on the rack under the ill-treatments and torments to which they are subjected.

Thus for instance a 19 year old worker was tortured to death in the prison at Varna, further an 18 year old schoolboy called D. J. Totev in the Shuma prison by agents of the secret police in Plevna, a teacher called Michailov and a peasant called K. Jordanov by the secret police in Burgas, a worker called Chadchitov in Plodiv-Samokovliev and others were murdered in the same way in Nova-Zagora and Radomir. To escape from the tortures of the secret police in Sofia, K. Dudov, a young worker, threw himself out of a fourth floor window and died as the result, a young teacher, B. Pirdopski hanged himself in the premises of the secret police in Vrachan, and in the premises of the secret police at Sofia a pedagogue and writer, formerly head-master of a grammar-school and editor of the newspaper "Novini" twice attempted to commit suicide.

By way to revenge for its failure at the last election, the Liapchev Government murdered K. Jodorov, the President of the Agricultural Organisation in a most cruel manner on the premises of the secret police of Sofia and threw his corpse into the street during the night.

Many hundreds of such events have occurred since August of last year.

The following persons have been cruelly ill-treated for having received support from the Red Aid: Nadja Traikova, widow of J. Dimitrov, Secretary of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, who had been murdered by the Fascists, K. Dimova and many other women in Sofia, Sliven and other towns.

Collaborators of the independent trade unions are being arrested and ill-treated. In Jambol and Stara Zagora several persons were murdered by "unknown persons", the so-called "irresponsible elements", for having taken part in the distribution of the legal trade union paper "Jedinstvo". Many others who took part in the labour movement were sentenced to death by the same persons.

Between January of last year to the present day, death sentences were pronounced on more than 60 persons by the apparatus of class justice and wholesale trials are nowadays being artificially arranged concerning hundreds and thousands of workers, peasants, juveniles and women, against whom accusations have been made.

With chains and tortures, with fire and shedding of blood, the ruling clique of Bulgaria has deprived the country of all rights and reduced it to a condition of enslavement.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid issues a proclamation to the workers of the whole world calling upon them to emphasise by their deeds their protest against these murders, these mediaeval tortures, of which the Liapchev Government has made a system for the subjugation of the country.

Down with tortures and executions!

Long live the freedom to organise help for the victims of the White Terror!

Long live the unconditional general amnesty!

Down with the law for "ensuring the safety of the State"!

Long live the solidarity of the workers of the whole world!

The Executive Committee of the
International Red Aid.

Frustrate the Repetition of a Tatar-Bunar Act of Revenge in Poland!

Workers of All Countries!

In the centre of West Ukraine, in Wladimir-Wolynsk, a wholesale trial of Ukrainian workers and peasants is going on.

Under the accusation of their having organised divisions of insurgents in order to prepare for the separation of Wolhynia from Poland, 151 persons, including a whole number of members of the Communist Party of West Ukraine, have been dragged on to the accused bench.

There is only one provocation trial in the history of the last few years which can be compared with that which is now going on in Wolhynia — that is the trial of the peasants of Tatar-Buna in 1925 in Kishinev, that ill-famed centre for pogroms. At that time, the Roumanian oligarchy staged in exactly the same way a legal farce against the peasants of Tatar-Bunar as an epilogue to the deeds of violence against the population of the occupied district of Northern Bessarabia.

The Pilsudsky Government, stained with the blood of the unemployed who had been shot down in Gestynin, Saverze and other places, then threw itself with special cruelty on the

population of West Ukraine and White Russia. Under this government, a wave of intensified reprisals has swept far and wide over the whole country against the national movement for freedom. It is this government, under which the arbitrary rule of the authorities in West Ukraine and White Russia has reached unheard-of dimensions and under which the prison regime has assumed such a form that fresh cries for help reach us daily from the mouths of hundreds of political prisoners in **Wilna, Luck, Lemberg and Bialostock.**

The atmosphere of the wild terror of the Fascist dictatorship has created such tension that there is constant fermentation in the deepest depths of the Ukrainian and White Russian population and that there is growing discontent which borders on despair.

At this moment, the dictatorship is resorting to the well-tried methods of the Czarist satraps. This method is that of provocation and of dealing with the "instigators" by severe sentences of imprisonment. The elementary protest of a population numbering millions against the unbearable system of government is denounced as an organisation of terrorist bands by "Bolshevist agents". Hundreds of peasants are arrested at random in the villages and settlements as the "guilty parties". The apparatus for the defence is mobilising agents and paid provocative agents as witnesses. Those arrested are compelled, through ill-treatment and torture, to sign falsified statements.

Workers and peasants! Workers and intellectuals of the whole world!

The English delegation of workers and two of the best-known French authors of France, **Duhamel and Chenvier**, have had the opportunity of convincing themselves by personal observation that black reaction prevails in the country of **Pilsudski.**

You have repeatedly raised your voice in protest against the White Terror in Poland. In answer to the demand for a political amnesty on the part of the broadest masses of workers in Poland and in the whole world, the Fascist Pilsudski Government is only intensifying its terror and heaping new deeds of violence on its old ones.

A few days ago, in the Seim, Deputies **Ballin and Skripa** threw the blood-stained shirts of the representatives of the national minorities who had been half beaten to death, into the faces of the Government representatives. This blood, which is still fresh, cries out to the whole of civilised mankind!

Prevent the Polish landowners and capitalists repeating a Tatar-Bunar act of revenge against the 151 Ukrainian workers and peasants!

For the release of all political prisoners in Poland!

Unite, all of you, in a fight against the regime of the Fascist dictatorship of the Pilsudski Government!

The Executive Committee of the
International Red Aid.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The American Communist Party's Penetration into the Unions.

A. G. Bosse (Moscow).

The May Plenum of the Central Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party unanimously passed a resolution on Trade Union work, and the November Plenum passed a somewhat similar resolution, but more detailed and based upon the experiences of the previous months in Trade Union work.

The Party's penetration into the unions may be grouped under four headings: Penetration of A. F. of L. unions; organisation of the unorganised; participation in the leadership of mass strikes; and the winning over of important new elements among the leadership and rank and file of syndicalist, socialist, and progressive trade unionists.

Its penetration into A. F. of L. unions is shown by the work in the **Miners' Union**, its leadership of the **Furriers' and Ladies Garment Workers' strikes**, its work in the **Passaic Textile strike**, and its work among the **New York Transportation workers**. The work in the **Miners' Union** will be taken as an example; this is the most important single union of the A. F. of L. and has the most reactionary leadership in the country. Here the Party broke the back of the expulsion policy, and is now working in a broad left wing from the Communists to the progressive and opposition elements in the union. The policy, the Party had put

forth, expressed so well the needs of the situation that the progressive bloc has followed it. This policy is expressed in the election campaign against the bureaucracy by the slogan: "Save the Union". A new progressive miners' paper is being issued with the support of the Party, and as a result of the fine work of the shop nuclei and shop papers, several important union leaders have come very close to the Party and a majority of the rank and file have been won over to the progressive policy.

In the work of organising the unorganised the Party has done and is doing good work in **Passaic**, among the **Auto, Rubber, Steel, Electrical and Urban transportation workers**. The **Passaic strike** will illustrate best the work done in this field: The **Passaic textile situation** was very complicated, since there are sixteen unions in the field, and the situation among these workers was so bad that no union would dare touch it. The Party began with a small shop nucleus which had been sent into the mills, and organised a few mill committees. A premature strike was held up until conditions were ripe. Despite the united front of the Coolidge administration, the **New Jersey Senators**, the **State and City governments**, the **Mill owners**, the **A. F. of L. and State Federation of Labour**, the strike of 16,000 of the most miserably exploited workers in the country was called. The Party openly directed it and has thus far organised 12,000 workers into the A. F. of L. textile union. Its strike strategy was unique, going from the use of gas masks, armoured cars, and aeroplanes against the police attacks with tear gas, high-powered water hose and clubbings, to the use of **Senators** of both parties on the tariff issue, and to divisions in the local government, petty-bourgeoisie and church. A revolt of 16,000 workers in the **Amoskeag Woollen mills** against their company union, with the object of organising a real union and combatting wage cuts, has Party comrades actively participating in it.

In the **auto industry** we have twelve to fifteen of our forty shop papers, with nuclei in most of the big plants. The resolution of the **October A. F. of L. Convention** to organise the auto industry was greatly influenced by the Party's work. This industry is practically unorganised and together with the steel industry is the heart of the open shop movement. In the rubber industry the Party is in the midst of the work of organising the 52,000 rubber workers in **Akron, Ohio**, where 75 to 80% of the rubber industry centres. An illegal union is already in existence, with about 6,000 organised, a paper is being published, and a strike in the near future is likely. Here we have a number of nuclei and three shop papers. In the steel industry a company union in the **Bethlehem plant** is being converted by our nucleus into the beginnings of a real union. Here, as in a few other steel plants, our shop nuclei and factory papers are the heart of the Party's work.

The Party's participation in strike leadership has been very successful in the strike of 12,000 furriers, 40,000 garment workers, **Passaic**, cleaners and dyers, transportation workers, miners, etc. The Party has openly led the garment workers strike and has won the 40-hour week, wage increases and better working conditions, again despite a united front of employers, reactionary socialists and labour bureaucrats, and the violence of the police and courts. The union leadership in **New York and in Chicago**, the major sections of the union, are openly controlled by Communists. The furriers had won the same demands, also openly led by the Party, and as a result the 40-hour week became an issue in the A. F. of L. Convention and throughout the country.

Many well-known syndicalists, socialists and trade union officials have joined the Party as a result of its fine mass work during the year. This is a straw in the wind showing what the masses whom they represent are thinking. Many well-known leaders of the workers have been drawn very close to the Party, several of whom wish to join but are not permitted because they are not yet ripe and can be more useful outside.

In conclusion we can say that the will-nigh complete isolation in which the Party had been has now been broken. The Party has become a real factor in the working class movement of the country as a result of its successes in trade union work. It is true that organisationally it has not kept pace with its new influence upon the masses of the workers, but this is a weakness which is characteristic of the general Party work, and to which the Party must now give a major portion of its efforts. An indication of some by-products of this mass union work can be seen in the great success of the **Party School in New York** which has 800 students, and in the **Sacco-Vanzetti relief work**, in which a half-million dollars was raised, and a million workers reached in the United States.