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Before the British General Election.

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

On May 30th takes place the first General Election in Britain since that of 1924, which led to the fall of the MacDonald Labour Government and its replacement by the Baldwin Conservative Government. In the five years interval between those dates there have taken place the General Strike and the Anglo-Viet break, the war on the Chinese Revolution, the growth of Anglo-American antagonism, Locarno and the return to the Gold Standard, the continued economic depression, the Trade Union Act and the Mond Conferences, the completed social democratic transformation of the Labour Party, and the New Programme of the Communist Party. It is a whole period of history that is closing, and a new period that is opening, at the time of this Election.

In general, the dominant issue of the election is the problem of the British economic crisis, the mass unemployment and the recession of the basic industries, and consequent weakening of the international position of British Capitalism, which has remained unbroken now for nearly nine years. This issue,

raising in turn ever more sharply the class issue of capitalism and the working class, has governed in successive forms the past three General Elections, of 1922, of 1923 and 1924. In 1922, it led to the collapse of the Lloyd George Liberal Party and the return of the Conservatives under Bonar Law on a programme of "tranquillity". In 1923, it led to the attempt of Baldwin, the successor of Bonar Law as the leader of the Conservative Party, to carry through a programme of Protection as the solution of the crisis; and the defeat of this, and the growth of the Labour vote, led to the temporary formation of the "Labour" Government with capitalist support. In 1924, the failure and fall of the Labour Government led to the return of the Baldwin Conservative Government.

To-day, this issue enters onto a new phase. The special character of the new phase is the question of capitalist rationalisation, which is now at last beginning to advance seriously in Britain. The demand for active industrial reconstruction has now become urgent. All three of the governing parties, Con-

servative, Liberal and Labour, are ardent advocates of capitalist rationalisation, and basically at one; but they differ as to the methods of its application, and particularly, with regard to the role of the State, and on financial and credit policy. Thus the immediate issue of the election turns on the forms and methods of capitalist rationalisation. The working class opposition to capitalist rationalisation is voiced solely by the Communist Party, which for the first time enters the election as a fully independent factor. In this way, the General Election of 1929 brings forward more sharply than ever before the whole issue of capitalist reconstruction on the one side, with its consequences of intensified exploitation of the workers and rapid advance to war, and on the other side, the working class fight against capitalism, expressed for the first time on a clear and independent programme of revolutionary class struggle against all the capitalist parties.

The New Stage of the British Economic Crisis.

On a surface view, the British economic situation shows little change from five years ago. The industrial depression continues unbroken, and, indeed, slightly increased. Production and trade in 1928 were below the levels of 1924. Exports were £78 millions below the level of 1924. The production of coal was 27 million tons below the level of 1924, of pig iron 700,000 tons below, of steel some 300,000 tons above, of ship-building about the same. The registered figure of unemployment showed a similar total of about one and a third millions in both years. The general character of a volume of production falling some 10 to 20% below pre-war, despite increased productive power, remains constant. 1929 shows no sign yet of advance, but even some worsening, although in the last few weeks the figure of unemployment has slightly decreased.

Nevertheless, there are signs of new forces at work which, though not capable of solving the crisis, are likely to effect important changes in the situation. The drive to rationalisation in Britain, though late, has at last definitely begun. These new issues are receiving their reflection in the election.

What are the compelling causes which are driving the British bourgeoisie to a more active industrial policy, so that this issue is becoming the central issue of the election, and may become the basis of a change of government.

First, the relative position of British Capitalism in contrast to the other countries, not only of the New World, but also of Europe, has become desperate and urgent. British Capitalism alone has not yet shared in the general advance of the "third period". In the beginning of this year the "Financial Times" (22. 1. 29) published a table of the comparative index figures of production for the leading countries on the base of 1913 as 100. This table showed that by 1927 every leading country except Britain had surpassed the pre-war level of production. For the first eight months of 1928, the United States stood at 166% of pre-war; France at 125%; Germany at 113%; Western Europe in general at 111%; Britain at 90%. The urgency of the situation represented by these figures is obvious.

Second, the advance to war and the intensification of international competition and antagonism, characterising the whole new period of capitalism, makes more imperative than ever for the British bourgeoisie to modernise their equipment and organisation at home. Hitherto, they have concentrated essentially, through the path of the restoration of the gold standard, on their international financial interests, and succeeded, on the basis of their increasing direct and indirect overseas income, in maintaining a rising total of profits in the midst of industrial depression at home. But the gold standard is itself now in danger, as recent events have shown; and the maintenance, both financially and strategically, of the whole imperialist fabric requires, not only the elementary method of the direct attack on the workers' standards already carried to an extreme point, but a more serious effort at reorganisation.

Third, the internal social situation has undergone an important development in the past five years. The victory over the General Strike, the temporary crushing of the workers' resistance and triumphs of Mondism, and regimenting of the trade unions and Labour Party, have created the possibility and conditions for further capitalist rationalisation as the next step.

A rapidly increasing proportion of capital is at present being invested in home industry.

Thus a situation is developing in which an increasing weight of bourgeois policy is turning towards home industrial reconstruction. For this purpose, the policy of the Baldwin Government is no longer suitable; and there are signs of the preparation of a new government of a left-bloc type, either Liberal-Labour or even a "Labour" Government, to carry through the new phase and conceal its true character from the workers.

The Passing of the Role of the Baldwin Government.

The Baldwin Conservative Government came into power in 1924 with a definite role to play. The experiment of the "Labour" Government had failed to hold in the rising anger of the workers. A government of the "strong hand" was needed. The Baldwin Conservative Government, representing the dominant big finance-capital interests behind the policy of the gold standard, came into power as a government of the aggressive and ruthless capitalist and imperialist offensive at home and abroad.

During its five years of office it has abundantly carried through this role. At home, the preparation, provoking and crushing of the General Strike of 1926 by war-methods of organisation, and the following up of the victory by the Trade Union Act and similar measures to paralyse the working class; abroad, the war on the Chinese Revolution, reaction and repression in India and Egypt, the break with the Soviet Union and ceaseless preparation of the economic and military plan against the Soviet Union — these have been the dominant lines of its policy.

But the very measure of success achieved has laid bare the final ineffectiveness of its policy, and prepared the conditions for a new stage. For, despite all its strategic victories, the Baldwin Government has not been able to solve in any degree the economic crisis. Unemployment, which stood at 1,250,000 for the registered total in January, 1925, actually reached 1,435,000 in January, 1929, or an increase of nearly 12%. Under these conditions, dissatisfaction has markedly grown in bourgeois ranks with the relative inactivity of the Baldwin Government in economic policy and reconstruction.

Nor has the Conservative Government any important positive economic policy to offer. Its remedies in relation to the problem of home industry are so far mainly confined to two directions: 1. "De-rating", or the releasing of industry from some £30,000,000 of local taxation — a fleabite compared to the problem; 2. Tariffs, under the thin disguise of "safeguarding". These, however, can only be gradually extended owing to the pledge against protection, and are in any case of only limited value owing to the relatively minor importance of the home market for the British basic industries.

In addition, the financial policy of the Conservative Government comes into conflict with important industrialist interests. The Conservative Government, centring its policy on the gold standard and its maintenance (which reflects especially the interests of the City and the rentiers), is strongly suspicious of any large-scale schemes of expenditure or extended credit which might endanger its already precarious basis. The recent raising of the Bank Rate to 5.5%, necessitated by the drain of gold to New York, has dealt a further blow to industry; the crisis is not yet solved. This hinders any rapid rationalisation or reconstruction.

The international policy of the Conservative Government also raises opposition from a section of bourgeois interests, particularly with reference to the cutting off of the growth of the Soviet Union market to the benefit of the United States and Germany.

Thus the Baldwin Conservative Government is rapidly losing ground. Unless it is able to come out at the last moment with a strong and effective programme (its election programme is still to be announced), it is likely to fall heavily at the election. Its main hope lies in the chances of the electoral system and the mutual cancellation of Liberal and Labour votes, which may once more secure its return to power on a minority vote.

The Preparation of a New Left Bloc.

The General Election is taking place in the face of a gathering new wave of working class discontent and revival. It is in relation to this situation that the preparation of a new Left Bloc Government takes on special importance.

The strong dissatisfaction with the Baldwin Government is growing, not only in the working class (where feeling is bitter in the extreme, and will for the moment enormously swell the Labour Party vote despite the treacheries and diminishing popularity of the Labour leaders), and in the petty bourgeoisie (who will swell both the Labour Party vote and the Liberal revival), but also in considerable sections of the bourgeoisie, especially the big industrialists, who are wanting a more active policy of state-aided rationalisation, reconstruction and freer credits to re-equip industry and assist its recovery.

In this way, the signs of preparation of a new Left Bloc Government represent, not only a strategical manoeuvre in relation to the growing discontent of the working class and petty bourgeoisie, but also the move to a fresh phase of capitalist policy.

The new trend has been brought to the front by a series of important recent manifestations and documents — notably, the Ballour Committee Report, the Melchett-Turner Report ("Mond" Report), and the much boomed Lloyd George "pledge" and campaign.

The Melchett-Turner Report of the big industrialists and trade union leaders in coalition, with the express approval of the official leaders of the Labour Party, calls for a policy of full-scale capitalist rationalisation, and in particular demands a National Development Fund and liberal state credits to re-organise and re-equip industry.

In the same way, Lloyd George, with his ear to the ground, has skillfully won the centre of the political limelight, and outbid the Labour Party, by his dramatically announced "pledge" to "cure" unemployment — i. e. bring it down to "normal" — in one year by a vast £ 200,000,000 Development Loan and large-scale reconstruction.

On this basis are visibly growing the preparations for some form of new Left Bloc ("Labour" Government or Labour-Liberal Government) to replace the Baldwin Government and carry through a programme of state-aided rationalisation. The Labour and Liberal Parties are in the position of being simultaneously rivals and allies in the endeavour to voice this demand and in the similarity of their programmes. Each accuses the other of "stealing" its programme. Up to the election the rivalry predominates. The future line depends on the results of the elections: if, as is probable, no party obtains an absolute majority, there are abundant signs of the likelihood of some form of Liberal-Labour Coalition, either openly, or, to begin with, as a "Labour" Government with Liberal support. To the special questions of the Labour and Liberal Parties and their programmes it will be necessary to return.

The working class in Britain, as many signs show, is awakening from the reaction after the defeat of the General Strike and advancing to a new wave of struggles. It is the object of the bourgeoisie in this election to head off the gathering working class advance and canalise it into safe channels of capitalist rationalisation and industrial peace through — if necessary — a Labour Government or Labour-Liberal Government.

The task of the Communist Party, which for the first time enters this election as an independent party on an independent revolutionary programme against all three capitalist parties, is to fight to expose this manoeuvre, to express and lead the gathering wave of working class struggle, and to raise the banner of "Class Against Class" against all three capitalist and imperialist parties, the Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties.

POLITICS

The Mexican Revolution "Ends".

By Bertram D. Wolfe.

News despatches from Mexico report that the reactionary uprising has been unsuccessful and is drawing to a close. Of course, guerrilla warfare will continue for a long time, and the rebels still have organised armies of considerable size in the field, but it seems clear that the backbone of the latest counter-revolution is broken. Although information, particularly as to the degree and manner of participation of the organisations of the masses is still lacking, it is already possible to draw a tentative "balance sheet" of the uprising and the perspectives of future development in Mexico.

For the second time in the history of the Calles-Obregon-Portes Gil regime, American imperialism intervened on behalf of the Central Government. This time the intervention was open, swift and of great importance in determining the outcome of the revolt. The first action of the new Hoover Government was a decision to sell and deliver to the Mexican army 10,000 Enfield rifles, 10,000,000 rounds of ammunition and 25 airplanes. At the same time, an embargo was placed on shipment of arms, ammunition or planes to the rebels, and the War Department announced that it was prepared to deliver to the Mexican government an additional supply of rifles and bullets up to any desired quantity. Ambassador Morrow and the American consuls in Mexico acted as publicity agents for the victories of the Government. Washington announced that it would give help in crushing the rebellion because "the existing government is disposed to observe its international obligations and therefore deserves assistance."

British imperialism looked longingly on, while the rebellion on which it had the right to set hopes, was swiftly crushed. British newspapers openly deplored the defeat of the rebellion and the intervention of the United States, but Britain did not venture to intervene openly. It is likely that certain British funds found their way into the hands of the rebels. Certainly, British hopes tended to rest upon them.

The Mexican Government, after a "leftward" zigzag, on the eve of the revolt (distribution of lands and arms and ammunition to peasants to insure mass support in the face of the uprising) hastily "righted" its course a moment later to assure wholehearted support of American imperialism. When the revolt broke out, Portes Gil issued a long declaration ringing with radical phrases, calling upon the masses to defend "not the government but the gains of the revolution." At the same time the government issued a brief declaration concerning the unusually large number of oil concessions granted in recent months, and its intentions and achievements in payment of the funded debt instalments to the international bankers. The petty bourgeois government, fearing to lose the mass support which once swept it into power and which to a considerable extent it still retains, flirted with the idea of creating an armed base among the masses, without for a moment trying to break up or even weaken the professional military machine. At the same time it threw itself more unreservedly than ever into the hands of Yankee imperialism. So soon as it began to be clear that the masses were in the main against the counter-revolution and that the counter-revolution would not triumph, the government hastily declared that it needed no more volunteers and would furnish no more arms to peasant contingents.

In spite of the reluctance of the petty bourgeois government to unchain forces which it cannot control, it was forced by the nature of things to seek mass support and to promote the activity and political development of the workers and peasants. To what extent the masses intervened in the struggle between the two sections of the army (rebel and "loyal") is not yet clear, but from the meagre information available here it seems certain that they did so to a greater extent than ever before. The uprising in the state of Veracruz was defeated, judging from reports, not so much by professional troops as by armed bands of peasants and workers. For the first time,

there was street fighting in the streets of the Port of Veracruz. The rebels were harassed everywhere by rearguard actions of the hostile peasant population.

The Communist Party issued a statement branding the uprising as reactionary, sharply criticising at the same time the treacherous conduct of the government and issuing an independent programme, and calling upon the workers and peasants to fight the reaction independently of the government, organise their own "fighting squads against the reaction", arm themselves, seize the land, organise workers and peasants committees to carry out a programme of elementary demands and lay the basis for a workers and peasants government which alone is capable of destroying the forces of reaction, fighting imperialism and realising the aims and interests of the masses. This declaration, in spite of shortcomings of a fairly serious character, represent a big advance over previous declarations of the Party in similar complicated situations.

The Workers and Peasants Bloc although largely under Communist influence, appears to have differentiated itself much less, and the Peasants League, also largely influenced by Communists, seems to have preserved very little independence from the government in fighting the reaction. (However, this judgement is based on very meager information and may very well require modification when all the facts are available.)

The importance of independent action of the masses under Communist leadership for their own programme, is thus summed up in an editorial in the *Daily Worker* of March 19:

The toiling masses of Mexico are placed in such a position that, barring their own revolutionary activity in the civil war, any outcome will mean their deeper enslavement. If the fascist uprising were to win, it would certainly mean no freedom for the workers and peasants. If the present uprising is suppressed by the Portes Gil government with the help and practical superintendence of the United States Government — and without any intervening mass activity of the workers and peasants — then Mexico will come out of the civil war bound hand and foot tighter than ever before by the Wall Street government. The Mexican workers and peasants must fight as a force independent of the cowardly petty bourgeois government of Portes Gil and the "Governor-General Morrow."

That the Mexican Communist Party has understood this, in a situation similar to that in which more experienced Parties have failed (cf. Stambulinsky government) indicates the growing ripeness of the Mexican Party. What is not yet clear is how far it has succeeded in making this clear to organisations actually or nominally under its influence.

The events of the March 1929 uprising seem likely to prove a turning point in Mexican development. On the one pole American imperialism comes out with its hold on the Mexican government and resources strengthened. On the other, the Communist Party and the mass organisations of the workers and peasants come stronger out of the struggle. Simultaneous strengthening on both ends is a sign of the growing polarisation, the growing class differentiation and sharpening of the revolutionary situation in Mexico. A decisive section of the new bourgeoisie and capitalist landowning class created by the revolutionary events of the last two decades in Mexico (the Sonora group — "men of the revolution") has gone over to an alliance with the semi-feudal, clerical landowning reaction. The Petty Bourgeois government remains typically petty bourgeois in its zigzag politics. It is a zigzag occasioned by steady surrender to American imperialism and the necessity of retaining as much mass support as possible. More and more will the Party's struggle be a "fight on two fronts", against government and anti-government forces at once, as it already has been in the present struggle.

Today it is clear that there are two paths open to counter-revolution — the path of the armed uprising such as was attempted by the recent rebellion, and the path of further evolution of the present government along the line of its present development, as a more fitting tool of American imperialism and internal capitalist and agrarian reaction. At the same time, the consciousness of the masses grows, the Communist Party ripens rapidly towards a mass party equal to its complicated and enormous tasks, the revolutionary forces of the

partially armed and partially awakened workers and peasants crystallize ever more independent of a government that began by failing to carry out the tasks of the revolution that swept it into power and has ended by openly betraying these tasks. The masses stand before the dilemma of the victory of the counter-revolution or the establishment of their own independent revolutionary power, the government of the workers and peasants. There can be no doubt how the stirring masses will choose.

French Imperialism and the Church.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The debates which have for some weeks past been in progress in the French Parliament in regard to the return of certain Catholic communities, constitute an important turning-point in the political development of the French petty-bourgeois parties and cast light on one of the aspects of the tendency towards imperialist expansion and the desire for an improved position in the world in preparation for the next war.

The matter at issue consists of two drafts which were originally included in the financial law for 1929 and subsequently in the collective budget of December 1928, finally becoming the subject of a special Bill introduced by the Government. One of these drafts purports the authorisation for nine mission-congregations to establish in France institutions for administration, propaganda, and the instruction of their novices. The other draft allocates to the diocesan associations a sum of 22 millions, this being a balance still due from the old unreturned assets of the church.

It should be called to mind that in the year 1905 a law was passed bringing about the abolition of the concordat and the separation of Church and State. Such religious congregations as refused to submit to the law regarding associations, were dissolved. The fortune of the public institutions of the Church were to be allocated to religious associations to be formed by the faithful, but since in 1905 and 1906 the Pope issued an interdiction against the societies in question, these funds were to a great part allocated to relief institutions.

This happened at a time when the free-thinking petty-bourgeoisie was in power, and when the great Radical-Socialist Party was anxious to hide class differences and social questions behind an anti-clerical campaign. Times have changed since then. A truce has followed this opposition. As the economic rôle of the middle class decreased, its parties subjected themselves more and more to the leadership of the big capitalist class. The policy of National Unity combined the big-bourgeois and the petty-bourgeois interests.

All the congregations which existed in France prior to 1905, i. e. about 100 monastic communities and nearly 1000 communities for women have returned to France, some of them with a legal sanction, the greater part without permission. New communities have been added to these. All of them have been suffered most benevolently and are at present in possession of more property in France than before the introduction of the "Lay Law". Since 1921, negotiations have been in progress with the Vatican, which sanctioned the formation of diocesan associations, these being recognised as fully legal by the State.

The Government drafts therefore envisage no more than the confirmation of an existing state of affairs. Nor should the superficial opposition of the so-called Parties of the Left, the Socialists and Radicals, be taken seriously.

All parties that have been in power and all the successive Foreign Ministries have accorded budgetary support to the religious missions. Combes, the initiator of the "Lay Law", was the first to sanction the applications for authorisation submitted by six communities, including two missions. It was the "Left" Minister Malvy that issued the decree of August 2nd, 1914, abolishing the closing of congregations and maintaining the existing state of affairs. It was the "Left bloc" that maintained the legation with the Vatican. It was Chautemps, a Minister of this "Left bloc", who demanded a subvention for an unauthorised community. In 1924, Herriot, then a Mini-

ster, suggested that an authorisation be granted to the community of Christian Scholastic Friars. During the government of the Left Bloc in 1924 and 1925, 30 new houses were admitted by decrees. In 1926, a supplication, signed by a number of University professors with the Socialist Lévy-Bruhl at their head, demanded the admission of all missionaries. Finally, the present drafts were compiled by men of the "Left", i. e. the Socialist-Republican Briand and the Radical-Socialist Albert Sarraut.

In a dozen successive votings, an average of 250 votes (Radicals, Socialists, and Communists) was faced by an average of 320 in favour of the Government drafts. But apart from the Communists, for whom Comrade Doriot made a fundamental declaration, the Opposition evaded all questions of principle and restricted itself to minor questions and to amendments which aimed at individual concessions. The Radicals made some vague declarations. The Socialists, who presided in the commissions for foreign affairs and for administration, where the drafts were discussed, gave the latter the unreserved support of their authority.

This apparent opposition at the same time represents and frustrates the anxiety of the anti-clerical middle classes and peasantry, so as to detract the attention of the workers from class problems and to prepare the bloc of the Radicals and Socialists at the forthcoming communal elections on an allegedly anti-clerical basis. In reality the big-bourgeoisie confirms its alliance with the Church more and more, while the petty-bourgeoisie yields before it and capitulates. In view of the marked advance of the radicalised masses, all the bourgeois parties, clerical and anti-clerical, including the Socialist Party, comprehend in their own class interest that the Church is one of the main pillars of the capitalist regime and must therefore be supported. They are therefore agreed in consolidating the means of expanding French imperialism.

Finally it is obvious that diplomatic negotiations have taken place between Paris and Rome in regard to the autonomously inclined clergy of Alsace-Lorraine. In promoting the maintenance of the concordat in Alsace-Lorraine and the acceptance of the law in regard to the congregations, the high clergy of Strassbourg is desirous of breaking the resistance of part of the clericals and of welding more firmly the imperialist national front against the endeavours of the national minority.

As Comrade Doriot had occasion to point out in the Chamber, the present debates purport a gigantic offensive of the Church for the consolidation and extension of its positions, an offensive which is supported by the bourgeoisie in its entirety, which knows quite well that religion is one of the best instruments of capitalist rule.

Since the world war, the tide of Catholicism has more and more undermined all the lay organisations of France, while the free-thinkers' movement is in a state of lethargy. The church repudiates the radical nationalism of the "Action Française" and has passed over to pacifism and social democracy. It develops its social activity in all directions, it tempts the young generation into its sport associations, recreation homes, and the like, and extends its propaganda by means of the cinema, the wireless, the press, and books. It devotes itself in particular to the education of the young; in 40 French departments the lay elementary schools comprise 54 per cent. of the boys and 45 per cent. of the girls and the "free" clerical elementary schools 34 per cent. of the boys and 50 per cent. of the girls. This advance is countered by none but the Communists, who in their atheistic and materialistic conception of the world consider religion merely as one of the forms of class warfare.

The authorisation of the missions, moreover, is in immediate connection with the accentuated difference among the imperialists. It is a question of the policy of expansion abroad, which cannot be separated from the rivalry of armaments and from the preparations for the imminent war. It is only the Communist Party which has placed this question on the basis of actual facts.

The Resignation of the Seipel Government in Austria.

Vienna, 3rd April 1929.

The Seipel government has resigned. The resignation took place by means of the surprising declaration of Seipel in the Cabinet to which all the members of the Cabinet subscribed. The Federal President has accepted the resignation of the Cabinet and charged the government with the carrying on of further business.

In the declaration of resignation Seipel declares inter alia the following:

"The internal tension has reached its highest point. An explosion has taken place. However, democracy is not threatened if we are successful in solving the disputed questions in a calm and objective fashion."

The disputed questions to which Seipel refers are: the question of tenants protection, the reform of the judiciary, the alteration of the constitution, economic peace, and finally,

"the abolition of terrorist methods in industry and guarantees which must be based upon the law".

Seipel declares that persistent agitation has sought to make him responsible for the fact that these questions have not yet been solved. These attacks had also been extended to the church.

"But no way shall be closed to those wishing to return for the public good and no excuse left for those who do not wish to do so."

The news of the resignation of the government has caused great excitement in the town and extra editions of the newspapers spread the news. The "Rote Fahne" the official organ of the Communist Party of Austria, declares that the resignation of the government is nothing but a manoeuvre. The tremendous intensification of the class struggle during the last few months the powerful counter-attack of the workers against fascism and against the economic offensive of the employers had produced the crisis. The bourgeoisie is determined to continue its fascist policy both economically and politically.

The government of the bourgeois bloc is making a manoeuvre and made the social democracy a offer of a coalition. Seipel declared that a coalition was possible if the social democracy was prepared to accept his programme. From the side of the social democratic leaders the call for a coalition was already being heard. But there will not be a coalition. In consequence of the radicalisation of the working class the social democracy is not in a position to form a coalition on the basis of the Seipel programme. Seipel would then declare, we made a proposal, but you were not willing! And now we are determined on a fascist course. In short, the bourgeois bloc is after new authority for the continuation and intensification of the fascist policy. Even if Seipel himself should go, that would only be an empty gesture. For another Seipel would come in his place. The government of the bourgeois bloc with its fascist policy will remain. At the same time the Heimwehr (fascists) are increasing their efforts to exploit the situation for their putsch plans.

The "Rote Fahne" closes its article with the following slogans: On Guard! Continuation of the strike of the automobile workers! Strike of the Metal Workers! Fight against fascism on the streets and in the factories! Strike committees in the factories! Form Anti-Fascist Defence Committees! No government can solve the intensified class contradictions! The class-struggle is developing and will continue to develop! The question is, dictatorship of the fascist bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat? Down with the government of the bourgeois bloc! Death to fascism! Down with the treacherous coalition policy of the social democracy! There is only one government for the workers and that is the government of the workers and peasants!

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Indian Proletariat Awakens!

By Tom Bell.

India has always been regarded by the British bourgeoisie as the brightest jewel in the crown of the British Empire. With a territory of 1,900,000 square miles, embracing a population of 322,500,000, India is indeed a rich "prize" for bourgeois exploitation and imperialist robbery. That is why political events in this great centre of British imperialism occupies so much the mind and politics of British capitalism. An independent proletarian and peasant republic of India means the death-knell of British imperialism. This rich "prize" obtained, buttressed and maintained by force must be preserved at all costs. Be it bribery, espionage, police, bayonet or bomb — nothing must stand in the way of preserving India for the British bourgeoisie.

From the days of the great Indian Mutiny of 1857—58, there have been many revolts and struggles against British domination. Time after time the hunger-ridden millions of peasantry have revolted in desperation and despair. But the machine gun, bribery and corruption of native chiefs, and leaders have always succeeded in defeating the aims of the masses. Supplementary to the open forceful methods, fraudulent parliamentary gestures of democratic institutions have been made in the hope of quelling revolutionary tendencies.

But the events of recent months have a deeper significance compared with anything in Indian History. The British bourgeoisie is being faced with a real proletarian movement under the leadership of the town workers, a movement which marches under the slogan of "An Indian Soviet Republic". The British bourgeoisie tries to persuade itself it is all a Communist conspiracy, and pretends to the workers in the metropolis that this is so. Its press campaign has been conducted along these lines. But the following facts will make clear what is behind the present situation.

Early last year the great steel works of Tata Ltd. were undergoing a process of rationalisation. Large scale dismissals of staff took place and bonus schemes introduced for the workers which were tantamount to reduced wages and speeding up. The workers went on strike and remained out for five months. Almost simultaneously the textile workers of Bombay went on strike and remained out for over five months. At Lilooah the railway workers employed by the East Railway Co. were locked out for over four months and an attempt of the management made to bring workers from the Punjab to "scab" on the workers lockedout. But promises of extra food, extra pay and police protection were not successful. As soon as the imported workers learned there was a dispute on they demanded their fares to go home.

In the monthly circular of the London Labour Research Department (July 1928) we get the following description of the actual conditions of the railway and textile workers.

"On the railways, employing about three-quarters of a million Indian workers and 20,000 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the difference of wages between natives and non-natives is most clearly marked. For example the monthly rates for drivers are £12 to £24 for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and £3 7s. 6d. to £6 7s. 6d. for Indians; for shunters £10 10s. to £11 5s. for Anglo-Indians and £1 13s. to £3 for Indians; for firemen £7 10s. to £9 for Anglo-Indians and 25s. 6d. to 31s. 6d. for Indians."

"In the textile factories hours are limited under the Indian Factory Acts of 1911 and 1922 to eleven a day and sixty a week. Children between 12 and 15 years of age are employed as half-timers and their hours are limited to six a day. The usual practice is to work the full sixty hours in six days of ten hours"...

"The average daily earnings, as returned by the Bombay Government, show 1 6d. to 2 2d. for men, for women 7d. to 1s. 2d. and for children 4 1/2d. to 7d." (But the Textile Labour Union protests that these figures are too high.)

The Indian workers, particularly in these disputes, have shown remarkable solidarity. Their pickets have been smashed by the police, arrests made, and shootings, but the workers remained firm. The Government quickly brought forward a Public Safety (Removal from India) Bill. Under this Bill, so-called agitators not British-Indian subjects, or the subjects of Indian States can be expelled by administrative order without trial. If permission is granted to enquire into any case before the order becomes operative, the evidence supplied to examining judge by the Government has to be kept secret. This measure is specially directed against British workers in any way assisting the Indian workers to build up their trade unions and labour organisation. When this measure, last summer, was brought before the Legislative Assembly the voting for and against was level, and the President casting his vote against it, the Bill was held up. But it was reintroduced last month and so far has had the needed majority.

But if the Indian workers had any satisfaction in this, they were soon to be disillusioned. On March 20th, the Government took decisive action and carried out a series of wholesale arrests and raids on labour union and press offices in five important towns, **Bombay, Calcutta, Poona, Allahabad and Lucknow**. The action was taken under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code which reads: "Whoever within or without British India conspires... to deprive the King of the Sovereignty of British India or any part thereof, or conspires to overawe, by means of criminal force; or the show of criminal force, the Government of India... shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, or imprisonment... to ten years."

The Government carried out its plans with extreme secrecy. The magistrates were warned two days before the 20th to hold themselves in readiness. The British and Indian Infantry and armed police were mobilised before daybreak as a precautionary measure. In **Bombay**, the police and troops were stationed in strategic places. The mills were placed under armed guard. (This, however, did not prevent 30,000 workers in twelve mills from walking out in protest); 120 search warrants issued, the offices of the Labour Unions and the League of Youth (seven miles out of town) were raided, and all literature confiscated. Three Labour leaders were arrested.

In **Calcutta**, 35 houses were visited, among the arrested being the English trade union worker **Phillip Spratt**; the offices of the Peasants' and Workers' Party, the Young Comrades League, the Bengal Trade Union Federation, the Calcutta Scavengers Union and the Jute Workers' Union being gutted out, and secretaries arrested. In **Poon**, **Thangdi**, a former President of the Trade Union Congress was arrested; the President of the Poona League of Youth' house was searched and all papers confiscated. In **Allahabad**, **Joshi**, the secretary of the Peasants' and Workers' Party and of the League of Youth was arrested. Wholesale searches and confiscation of literature being carried out by a large force of police.

Thus from **Bombay** and **Poon** in the West to **Calcutta** and **Dacca** over one thousands miles in the East, taking in **Allahabad** and **Lucknow** hundreds of miles to the North, hundreds of houses were searched and arrests made.

It is apparent from the decisiveness and radius covered by the government, and the centre of its attack that we are dealing here with no mere electioneering stunt, though the bourgeois Parties will not be slow to utilise it in the forthcoming elections in England. The fact that the blow is directed against the workers' organisations and particularly the revolutionary elements of the labour movement, stamps the whole proceedings as being a definite political counter-attack upon a growing revolutionary political movement led by the growing class conscious proletariat of the towns.

The British imperialists have taken well to heart the lessons of the Chinese revolution. At the same time the defiant and heroic mood of the workers is evidence that the imperialists are up against an entirely new situation — a situation in which the time worn methods of bribery, corruption, and religious provocation, will not suffice. The Indian workers are marching under the banner of an Indian Soviet Republic. **Long live the free and Independent Soviet Republic of India!**

Against the English Terror in India!

Complete Solidarity with the Workers and Peasants of India!
Appeal of the "League Against Imperialism".

The last few weeks have brought with them a powerful forward development and a mighty upsurge of the social and national revolutionary forces of India. The compromise-resolution of Gandhi adopted at the All-Indian National Congress has proved unable to bring a solution of the Indian question. At this National Congress 900 delegates voted against the dastardly compromise. The Trade Union Federation of India and the Workers and Peasants' Party emphatically rejected it.

The Executive of the "League Against Imperialism", at its January meeting at Cologne, rightly pointed out that the next few months would be bound to bring a fresh intensification of the class struggle and of the fight against British imperialism in India. The imperialist agents at first attempted to break the solidarity of the Indian Workers by introducing religious quarrels into the movement in Bombay. This attempt, however, proved a miserable failure. The imperialists are therefore now proceeding, by brutal police actions, to deprive the movement of its leaders. The English Government, according to its well known methods, believes that by the "discovery" of a "plot" it has found a pretext for police provocation and wholesale arrests. By this means it is intended to repel and destroy the broad revolutionary movement, which, under the slogan of "complete independence for India", threatens to become dangerous to British imperialism.

The English Government has made a mistake. The wholesale arrests of workers' and trade union leaders, including nearly all the well known champions of the "League Against Imperialism" in India have led to a protest movement which already embraces broad strata of the Indian population. Powerful demonstrations and protest strikes are the answer of the working and peasant class of India.

In Bombay, 25,000 workers from 14 cotton mills are on strike. The workers in the railway workshops in Bengal have also gone on strike. The agricultural workers in the Shabad district of Bihar have risen in revolt. In many localities the students have joined the protest movement.

The English Government is endeavouring to suppress this powerful movement by proclaiming a stage of siege and occupying the factories with the military. The English Government does not shrink from the most brutal means. Six workers have been shot and many others have been wounded.

The British imperialists are endeavouring by police terror and fascist methods to render the Indian Labour movement incapable of fighting. They will not succeed in this. The Indian workers, together with the Indian peasants, will parry the blow.

The international proletariat, and all anti-imperialist groups and organisations of the world must now concentrate upon supporting the workers' peasants' and national revolutionary movement, which is seriously threatened by English terror.

The International Secretariat of the "League Against Imperialism", therefore, calls upon all anti-imperialist organisations, groups and trade union organisations of the whole world to enter on a great international solidarity demonstration in favour of the workers' and peasants' movement which is fighting for the independence of India.

Demonstrations and meetings must be held in all the big towns.

Funds must be collected for the victims of imperialist terror.

The imperialist terrorist methods must be stigmatised in a broad press and publicity campaign.

Long live complete and practical solidarity with the Indian workers and peasants!

Long live independent India!

Rally to the Support of the Indian Trade Union Movement!

Appeal of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Fellow workers: For over a century and a half Indians have fought against the exploiting and oppressive British rule. To continue their rule foreign British tyrants for generations kept Indians divided, by engendering strife between castes and communities. Whenever they failed, British armed forces have always mercilessly massacred the protesting Indians:

The wholesale slaughter of 1,500 innocent workers and peasants at Amritsar is fresh in our memory, the shooting of the textile workers by Ramsay MacDonald's Labour Government in 1924, the killing of Lala Laipat Rai, the Indian Nationalist leader, and other workers who dared to protest against the insolence of the British Simon Commission, and many other recent murders committed by the cruel assassins of British imperialism, only indicate the bloody path of the struggling Indian workers and peasants.

In recent years the centre of the struggle against British rule has correctly shifted towards the working class. The intolerable lives of the workers in the factories, mines, mills, etc., owned by such savage British exploiters of the Far East as the Sassoons, have forced them to resist. They formed their trade unions, which have recently developed at an unprecedented pace. New leaders have sprung up and the workers have, under their guidance, fought against inflicted brutalities, which they have endured far too long.

The British imperialists know that once the workers of India are organised into mighty trade unions, further develop their own conscious leadership and fight against starvation wages, intolerably long hours, insanitary workshop conditions, brutalities of British foremen and administrators, child labour and underground work for women, for better housing accommodation, illiteracy, etc., nothing can stop them from fighting for absolute independence.

Whatever reforms have been reluctantly given have all been rendered ineffective and counteracted by other iniquitous measures. No franchise exists for the workers and peasants. Indian representation in the Legislative Council is limited, and legislation opposed to British interests, which should happen to obtain a majority vote, can be vetoed by appointees of the Indian Office in London: therefore Indian representation is a mockery and a farce. The masses of workers and peasants have no other alternative than to organise into powerful trade and peasant unions, as a preliminary step in the fight against economic, political and social impositions that are resulting in pauperism, disease and death to many millions.

Because the workers and peasants have begun to fight against these conditions, British imperialists have launched a new attack. Once more the struggling Indian workers and peasants are confronted with a reign of terror. The new offensive of the British Government is nation-wide. In Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Poona, Allahabad, etc., etc., homes of officials of the labour movement have been raided, labour papers suppressed, offices of the trade unions and working class political parties have been ransacked and records stolen, by British detectives and their hirelings. Over 120 warrants are issued for arrests in Bombay alone, and already 31 of the best leaders of the Indian trade unions have been flung into filthy British jails in India.

Besides alleged members of the Communist Party, among those already arrested are S. N. Jhabwalla, General Secretary of the Bombay Trades Council and the Railwaymen's Union (Jhabwalla also holds posts in many other smaller trade unions); S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the Bombay Textile Workers' Union and an official of the Indian Trade Union Congress, Dharamvir Singh, vice-President of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and a member of the Legislative Council as a representative of the independence movement, J. C. Joshi, Secretary of the Youth movement for the United Provinces, and Philipp Spratt, a young Englishman who has acted in an advisory capacity to the Indian labour movement for the last

three years. The latter is also editor of the official paper of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

In answer to questions in the British House of Commons, Earl Winterton, the Secretary of State for India, replied that this new offensive was taken "with the full assent (instructions of the Secretary of State for India", and that these workers are charged with a "conspiracy" to deprive the King of Sovereignty over India".

The offensive has been carefully planned, for all raids took place simultaneously. The warrants were issued by the District Magistrate of Meerut, which means the victims will be tried where hardly any trade union movement exists. This is an attempt, in the first place, to deprive the masses of any first-hand knowledge of the Star Chamber proceedings which are obviously being prepared for the forthcoming trial. If the trials took place in Bombay or Calcutta, these British despots fear that direct action would be used by the masses in protest against this capitalist conspiracy to rush their leaders to prison for long terms. But the workers will answer them, for already 20,000 textile workers have struck in protest at Bombay, and it is reported that many other workers have called protest strikes throughout India.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat hails this courageous action of the Indian workers as the correct reply to this terrible offensive. This is a sure sign of ultimate victory for the Indian workers and peasants. All trade unionists in every country must assist organised labour in India to beat back the enemy. This is a struggle for the right to organise. It is a fight for freedom of speech and assembly, not only in India but in every colonial and semi-colonial country. We must have no democratic illusions, for victory will be won by the strong determination of the Indian workers and peasants in a fight to a finish, assisted by the international working class.

We warn the Indian workers against the vacillating compromisers such as N. M. Joshi of the Executive Indian T. U. C., for it was he who attempted to barter away victory and to split the striking textile workers in the last big dispute. With Comrade Dange in prison, N. M. Joshi will try to regain his lost prestige, and destroy the fighting forces of the Girni Kamgar Union (Textile Workers' Union) which has now the largest membership of any union in India.

Remember also that those arrested were actively opposing the formation of Albert Thomas' I. L. O. — Amsterdam Asiatic "Labour" Conference. The P. P. T. U. S. has already warned the organised Indian and other workers against this organised attempt to isolate internationally the Asiatic workers. This manoeuvre is also a fight against the P. P. T. U. S. This proposed conference has the endorsement of the British imperialists and all their lackeys, the Labour imperialists of the British General Council and the Labour Party. The Secretary of State for India who ordered these arrests will not prevent delegates arriving in India for such a hybrid conference. With most of the best trade union and labour leaders in prison their I. L. O.-Amsterdam Conference is but another way to get a stranglehold upon Indian workers and peasants. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.

Rally to the oppressed trade unionists of India! Help them to win this fight! Every affiliated organisation and every member of the P. P. T. U. S. must regard this fight as our fight. The Indian workers can win with our united assistance. Hold protest meetings. Collect money for the defence of our imprisoned fellow-workers. Dock-workers and seamen, prepare to use united action against the British imperialists. Prepare to boycott British shipping. Rally to the P. P. T. U. S. call for international action. Down with British despotism! Free the imprisoned trade union and labour leaders! Long live the Indian trade union movement!

23rd March, 1929.

For the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat,
Acting Chairman Hong Chung-Tse,
Joint Secretary M. Apletin.

The British Dictatorship in Egypt.

By A b u s y a m (Cairo).

On the 15th March, the anniversary of the declaration of the independence of Egypt in the year 1922, there occurred in Cairo a serious collision between demonstrators, at the head of which were the members of the Wafd fraction in the Parliament and the Senate, and the police, who were led by an English officer. The demonstration was held under the slogan of the restoration of the parliamentary regime in Egypt. The police were compelled to erect barricades in some streets, and this in the neighbourhood of the royal palace, the "House of the Nation" and the "Saad" Club. Forty demonstrators, including members of Parliament and of the Senate, were wounded. Thirty men were arrested and handed over to the Court.

The Wafd newspaper "Rochod el Mark", which published a report of the events, was suppressed by the Government. The second Wafd newspaper "Al Blag", the only one now remaining, was cautious enough not to publish any news of the events, but nevertheless published the proposal for the convocation of an Arab conference for the purpose of creating a united front for the fight against imperialism. That is the last stage of the fight against the dictatorship of Mahomed Mahmud Pasha on the part of the Wafd. The occasion thereto was the moral victory which the Wafd gained over the dictatorial regime by the acquittal of Nahas Pasha and his colleagues by the disciplinary court of advocates.

The weapon with which the English agents violated the Egyptian Parliament and the Constitution — the accusation of corruption against the Wafd and its leaders — has thus been struck from the hands of the English imperialists. The Wafd has proved itself to be "unblemished" and "innocent".

We will not concern ourselves here with the question of the moral rectitude of the Wafdist lawyers. In our opinion the whole judicial apparatus of Egypt, the advocates as well as the judges, is demoralised. In comparison therewith such trifling sins as the affair of Nahas Pasha and Prince Seifeddin are quite everyday occurrences.

But the Wafd has undoubtedly achieved a political victory, and, needless to say, it decided to take advantage of its victory and go over to the attack against the dictatorship.

Organised delegations from all parts of Egypt are seeking audiences of King Fuad, of whom they demand "Truth and Justice" against the dictatorial regime. The recent demonstration was likewise on the way to the King. This whole campaign is characteristic of the situation in Egypt.

In the short period of its defeat the Wafd made use of every "democratic" method of struggle against the dictatorship; the extensive Wafdist press conducted a big campaign; the Parliament and the Senate which had been dispersed staged tragi-comic scenes, held secret and illegal sessions. But all this led to nothing.

With an iron hand the Dictator reduced the press to silence. Hundreds of Wafd newspapers were suppressed; thousands of books and pamphlets were confiscated; a strict censorship was introduced, which applied not only to the Arab press at home but also to that abroad. All elements which were not true to the Government were cleared out of the State apparatus, and all "heart-rending" scenes staged by the talented Wafd parliamentarians were ignored with a disdainful haughtiness worthy of a lord. Innumerable spies and secret police were employed against the Wafd; and now the Wafd on their part resorted to their last means: they attempted to shatter the Mahomed-Lord Lloyd-King Fuad bloc. They sought to draw the King over to their side.

Needless to say, there were hidden causes which induced the Wafdist to stake their cards on the King. The king is not altogether satisfied with the bloc. "His Most Excellent Majesty" has been made a mere figure-head. Compared with the imposing historical monuments, the living King of Egypt cuts a very poor figure indeed. King Fuad, the successor of the great Mahomed Ali, is not content with the role of a lay figure. He wishes to govern. But this is what the English Commissioner Lord Lloyd wishes to prevent at all cost. The king is discontented; he is prepared to conclude peace with the Wafd. The Wafd on its part wishes to avail itself of the help of the king in order to overthrow the dictatorship.

The Wafd mobilised the automobiles of the rich Effendi and proceeded to the king's palace, where all the participants in this "demonstration procession" broke out into the cry: "Long live the king! Down with the Ministers!" But the ministers were not frightened, and caused the Wafdists who are so devoted to the king to be received by armed police.

That is, of course, the logic of street fighting. Once it has been begun it is difficult to keep it within the desired limits. The fellahin and workers, the revolutionary intelligentsia, understood the theatrical gestures of the Wafd in quite another sense. They regarded them as a signal for a serious fight, and the Wafd was no longer capable of stopping the movement it had itself called forth. It is difficult to say what the immediate future will bring. The discontent among the masses is enormous. Unemployment has greatly increased. The misery of the fellahin is indescribable. Of all the promises which were made, such as cheap credit, establishment of irrigation works for the peasants, construction of dwellings and hospitals for the workers etc., not one has been fulfilled. The famous "social legislation" has been so cut down that nothing remains of it. The intelligentsia have no possibilities of employment, as all the posts which they could fill are occupied by foreigners.

The advanced masses are seeking a way out. The Wafdists are aware of the mood of the masses, but the danger of a revolution, the fear of the fellahin and workers keeps them back. They are vacillating and confining themselves to political gestures. The masses, however, are demanding deeds.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Struggle in the Austrian Metal Industry.

By Karl Tomann (Vienna).

The workers in the Austrian metal industry are faced by serious struggles. The employers are aiming at the conclusion of a long term agreement for the whole industry and a binding clause, according to which, during the period of the agreement, no wage movement of the workers of a factory or a branch may be carried out. In return the employers would be willing to grant a wage increase of a few groschen.

The trade union leaders exerted all their efforts to get the proposals of the employers accepted in the interest of capitalist economic peace, but the workers rejected this policy.

Under the pressure of the workers the trade union leaders had to bring forward a number of demands taken from the programme of action of the Opposition, such as payment for holidays, increase of wages of the lowest paid workers, increase of piece-work rates, 15 per cent. all-round wage increase, employment of the labour exchanges at which workers and employers are equally represented.

The last named demand was rejected by the employers' organisations because the Austrian capitalists wish to compel the proletarians to enter the fascist home-defence organisations. Only such workers are to be employed who can show the ticket of the fascist trade union labour exchange.

The negotiations between the metal workers' union and the employers' organisation have proved abortive. At a conference of the factory council leaders of the automobile industry the opposition submitted a motion for the immediate proclamation of a strike in the five Vienna automobile factories, which employ 7000 workers. The metal workers' union made the counter-proposal to continue the negotiations. The motion of the opposition obtained 13 votes, whilst that of the metal workers' union received 16 votes.

The secretaries who were conducting the negotiations, then dropped all the other demands and concentrated upon the demand for the payment of seven holidays a year. This would mean a wage increase of 2.5 per cent.

The employers declared that they would not, on principle, pay for any free time. This declaration led to the immediate cessation of work in three automobile factories employing 4500 workers, before even the metal workers' union had adopted a decision. This spontaneous action is attributable to the influence and agitation of the opposition. The official government organ, the Vienna "Reichspost" expresses this fact when it writes:

"It seems that the social democratic leadership of the metal workers' union is again under the influence of the communist inciters, who also this time, as on every former occasion, have issued the strike slogan right from the beginning... It is they who are responsible for the partial strikes which have broken out before the decision..."

Whilst the working class is prepared to conduct the struggle with determination, the social democratic trade union leaders are attempting, behind the backs of the workers, to come to terms with the employers. The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" proposes to the employers that they grant a 2.5 per cent. wage increase, but to hold back the money and to pay it in those weeks when the holidays occur. The "Reichspost" ridicules the social democrats and writes:

"Why does the social democracy grant to the employers the right to retain a portion of the workers' wages as a wage deposit? So far as we know the employers have not demanded such a thing and do not intend to retain a portion of the workers' wages. Does the social democracy consider the working class to be incapable of rationally expending their wages themselves when they suggest that the employers should be made the administrators of a portion of their wages?"

The Committee of Action of the Metal workers' opposition has issued a leaflet in which it points to the necessity of extending the struggle to all automobile factories, and states that the employers will go over to the offensive if the workers do not take up the fight for the improvement of their standard of living.

On March 30th the workers of the two remaining Vienna automobile factories were locked out in accordance with a decision of the Industrialists' Federation. A further 2500 metal workers have been locked out in Graz, because the workers of a big metal works beat up 12 fascists who are employed in this works and refused to allow them to enter the works any more, because these fascists had, along with their colleagues, destroyed the workers' club premises in Andritz, near Graz. The employers federation demanded the unconditional readmission of the fascists, which demand was rejected by the workers*).

The Industrialists' Federation has officially declared that, in the event of the workers in the automobile industry insisting upon their demands and a strike breaking out, the workers in the Vienna big metal industry will be locked out ten days after the commencement of the struggle in the automobile industry. 40,000 workers would be affected by this measure. As a second stage the workers of the big metal works of the whole of Austria will be locked out. This would involve in all more than 100,000 workers.

The Seipel government has already intervened in the interest of the capitalists. The following official government declaration was published:

"With regard to the wage conflict in the metal industry the assertion was made that in the event of a lock-out in this industry, in which a collective agreement is still in force, the locked out workers are entitled to receive unemployment benefit. In order to prevent any misapprehensions arising it must be called to mind that according to paragraph 4 of the unemployment benefit law there exists no claim to benefit if unemployment is the result of cessation of work caused by a strike or lockout, and that during the whole term of cessation of work."

This shows clearly how completely united is the front against the struggling Austrian metal workers. In the great disputes which are now taking place between the metal workers and the employers of Austria, the Communist Party is the only Party which clearly shows to the struggling workers the correct way to victory.

* * *

*) In the meantime this struggle also has been throttled by the capitulation of the metal workers' secretaries in Styria, and the workers have resumed work despite the fact that the fascists are being kept on in the works.

Since the above was written the Seipel government has resigned and the social democrats are now frantically striving to prove to the bourgeois parties that they are really fit to participate in a new government coalition. To achieve this end it was necessary before all to throttle the strike of the automobile workers which had already broken out. At this juncture the social democratic Lord Mayor of Vienna, Herr Seitz, offered his services as mediator, negotiated with representatives of the employers and of the metal workers' union and succeeded in persuading the trade union secretaries to call off the strike without any concrete concession on the part of the employers. The negotiations regarding payment of holidays is to be conducted between the individual employers and factory councils of every factory after resumption of work. In spite of great opposition to this compromise, the automobile workers allowed themselves to be beguiled and resumed work on Monday 8th April, although the Communist Party had warned them against this swindling manoeuvre.

The unconditional capitulation of the social democratic leaders has caused the employers to refuse to grant any wage increases whatever. The factory councils who interviewed the individual managements of the automobile factories, met with a brusque refusal. On Monday 8th April, after the factory councils had reported to the workers regarding the abortive result of their negotiations, the staffs of the automobile works Frost-Büssing, Perl, and Saurer immediately downed tools. In the other two remaining factories the directors attempted, by means of futile negotiations, to postpone the struggle. But the workers of Gräf and Stift, at a full works meeting, decided by 565 against 15 votes to join the strike, whereupon the workers in this concern downed tool on Tuesday. The Committee of Action of the metal workers' Opposition has issued a leaflet appealing to the strikers and to the other metal workers, and exposing the false tactic of the trade union bureaucrats. The Committee of Action calls for a united struggle for the demands submitted by the metal workers.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Factory Council Elections in Germany.

By Paul Merker (Berlin).

The factory council elections have taken place in the most important branches of industry. At this election the revolutionary trade union opposition employed for the first time the tactics of using the election campaign for the purpose of promoting the formation of a united fighting front between the workers of various trade union tendencies and the unorganised. It, therefore, at the meetings of free trade union members and functionaries, proposed lists of candidates which were drawn up from this point of view. The candidates of these opposition lists had to pledge themselves to a programme of proletarian demands and had to prove by their former activity that they are earnestly endeavouring to serve the interests of the proletarian masses. The employment of these tactics resulted in the setting up of such revolutionary unitary lists in numerous workshops against the proposal of the free trade union factory councils. This rendered possible a real discussion between the reformist, christian and bourgeois members of the staffs and the supporters of the revolutionary class struggle.

In the last few years the revolutionary opposition, acting in accordance with the decisions of the Leipzig Congress of the German General Federation of Trade unions, which forbade the candidature of members of the free trade unions on other than free trade union lists, had refrained from putting up independent lists. It confined itself to a fight for the free trade union lists even when the reformist bureaucracy arbitrarily ruled out the oppositional candidates.

It is therefore not possible to make an estimate of the growth of the influence of the revolutionary opposition on the

basis of a comparison with former elections. Only the number of the oppositional factory council members shows the advance of the revolutionary opposition, both in cases where an independent oppositional list had been set up and where the opposition had its candidates on the free trade union list.

In the Ruhr mining district the oppositional lists polled 30,052 votes. The votes for the free trade union list show a decrease from 174,491 last year to 144,174 this year. Even these votes, however, can in no way all be credited to the reformists, because in a great number of pits the revolutionary opposition ran its candidates on the lists of the free trade unions, so that about 35 per cent. of the votes cast for these lists are to be reckoned as votes for the opposition. The revolutionary opposition scored a great success in the city traffic depots. It obtained the absolute majority in the traffic depots of Berlin, Dresden etc. It won great influence in the traffic depots of Essen, Munich etc.

The effects of the revolutionary activity during the Ruhr struggle are to be seen in the results of the factory council elections in the smelting industry. The opposition succeeded in gaining either the majority or a strong minority in numerous important works, although in many cases, as for instance in the Bochum Union, there had up to now not been a single factory council. In the remaining branches of the metal industry great successes have been likewise achieved. Of special importance is the success achieved at Zeiss (Jena), where the oppositional list obtained 1411 and the reformist list 1739 votes. The reformists had to yield three factory council seats to the revolutionary opposition. Zeiss is a so-called benevolent firm like Krupp's of Essen, which attempted, by means of so-called workers' welfare institutions, to divert the workers from the necessity of the class struggle.

At the Vulkan Docks, Hamburg, the revolutionary opposition polled 936 votes and the reformists 1903. The revolutionary opposition won 5 seats on the factory council. Last year it had no representation on the council at all.

At Siemens-Werker Works, Berlin the revolutionary opposition won 8 further seats in the factory council, and now possesses 13 seats. In numerous metal works the elections have not yet taken place.

This is only a small selection of the numerous successes achieved. A complete survey shows that the revolutionary opposition, in spite of the furious counter-offensive of the reformists and the anti-Party Brandler Thalheimer group, in spite of the furious expulsion measures of the trade union bureaucrats, has succeeded in carrying out its tactic in the most important factories and works. The successes achieved by the communists in the factory council elections signify new important power-centres for the organisation of the coming struggles. That the bourgeoisie rightly estimates the situation is shown by the "Kölnische Zeitung" of March 20th, which writes as follows regarding the election success of the Party at the Berlin traffic depots:

"It must be borne in mind that the organisation of the Berlin transport workers is also relatively well carried out, so that the Communist success does not mean a temporary success, but is rather the result of a sharp organisational competition."

The same estimate must be made of the election results in the Ruhr district, in Saxony, Berlin, Hamburg etc. In these districts great struggles recently took place in which the revolutionary opposition came very much to the fore. The effects are shown in the growth of the influence of the revolutionary opposition, which found clear expression in the factory council elections in these districts. In connection with the activity of the revolutionary opposition directed towards the formation of a revolutionary leadership of the workers' struggles by the election of fighting committee, revolutionary functionaries etc., the successes of the Party will, in the further course of development, be perceptibly felt by the employers and the social imperialists. This is also realised by the bourgeoisie when it writes in the "Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung":

"The Communists are triumphantly announcing their successes in the factory council elections in the Ruhr district. They have reason to be jubilant over their advance

and the increase of their electors. Imagination already conjures up before their eyes the red triumphant march against the trembling bourgeoisie."

The new revolutionary factory councils are already faced by great and immediate fiery tests. In Prussia the social democratic Minister for the Interior, Grzesinski, has forbidden the demonstrations on 1st of May. In Berlin the social democratic Police President Zörgiebel is attempting along with the reformist trade union bureaucracy to prevent the cessation of work on the 1st of May. The tariff agreements of the Berlin metal-workers, of the Ruhr mine workers and other important groups have been terminated under the pressure of the masses.

All these events compel the revolutionary factory councils to devote all their forces to mobilising the workers for the preparation and conduct of mass actions in order to break the social-fascist dictatorship of the government, to lead the masses into the streets on 1st of May and to conduct the struggles of the workers for higher wages.

The Foundation Congress of the Unitary General Trade Union Federation of Greece.

In May last year the Greek social fascists split the General Trade Union Federation. In spite of the fact that the revolutionary opposition had behind it the actual majority of the trade union organisations, more than 200 delegates of the class-conscious opposition were barred by means of police sabres and bayonets from entrance to the Congress. The oppositional delegates thereupon held a conference of their own, at which they decided on their future policy and elected a bureau of five members which was instructed to prepare for the convocation of a united trade union congress which would give expression to the real wishes of the organised workers and give a revolutionary lead to the militant workers.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Conference, the big general strike of tobacco workers broke out (beginning of June 1928). The Committee of Five organised and led the tobacco workers' strike and the heroic general strike in spite of the resistance and sabotage of the social-fascist General Trade Union Federation. The strike was bloodily suppressed by the bourgeoisie and the social fascists; the class trade union organisations which gathered round the Bureau experienced a period of violent persecutions, so that the holding of the foundation Congress had to be continually postponed. After long preparations the Congress was held on the 3rd of February last in Athens. 150 organisations, trade unions, labour chambers and trade union minorities sent representatives to the Congress. There were present 289 delegates, among them being representatives of the tobacco workers, provision workers, metal workers and printers unions.

Comrade Stylos delivered the report on behalf of the Bureau. After giving a survey of the political and economic situation, he proceeded to deal with the question of re-establishing the class-conscious General Trade Union Federation. The Greek bourgeoisie, he said, is not content with exercising a terror against the Labour movement, but is attempting to create a State trade-unionism on the basis of class harmony in order to be able to prepare for war against the Soviet Union. The role of the social fascists is to carry out the policy of the capitalists. They oppose every fight of the workers for better wages and the eight-hour day. This attitude of the social fascists is calling forth the indignation of the working masses, against whom they mobilise the police. The social fascists have abolished every vestige of workers' democracy in the trade unions under their leadership; they are expelling the oppositional elements wholesale, and at the IV. Congress of the General Federation of Trade unions they split the trade unions.

It is the task of the Congress to found the "Unitary General Trade Union Federation of the Workers of Greece" in order to conduct the fight for the workers' demands, against

the social fascists and for winning the workers who are still under the influence of the social fascists. In the sphere of organisation the new federation must conduct its main work in the factories and workshops, organise industrial unions, attract the youth into its ranks, give equal rights to the women in the trade unions, organise the unorganised, set up factory committees and establish firm connections with the working masses.

The report opposed compulsory arbitration and called attention to the importance of conducting against it a mass campaign of enlightenment. It also dealt with the question of trade union unity on a national scale.

The report was followed by a lively debate. The attack of the liquidators was unanimously repelled. The liquidators again brought forth their theory that Greece has entered the period of the "organic growth of capitalism"; that the working masses have lapsed into passivity and that the social fascist General Trade Union Federation must not be split.

The report was adopted against only 10 votes.

Comrade Theos delivered a report on the next item on the agenda: **Founding of the Unity Trade Union Federation.** The report was accepted with great enthusiasm.

When the Congress was proceeding to discuss this question at its evening session, a social fascist named Chryssikos, began to insult the Congress; a second gave a signal, whereupon a group of social fascists began to attack the delegates with bludgeons, knives and revolvers. After being reinforced by social fascists from street, they destroyed the lights in the hall, injured 33 delegates and made off in the darkness. The police openly supported the attackers.

The Presidium of the Congress thereupon addressed an appeal to the working class, stigmatising the action of the social fascists and spies and pointing to the necessity of organised struggle.

On the following day the Congress was opened in another hall. The proposal to found the Unitary Federation was adopted against 7 votes of the liquidators.

On the discussion of the question "unity on a national and international scale", the liquidators tried to make a fresh attack, but were repelled by the Congress. Comrade Theos declared in his speech in reply to discussion: "We want unity with the working masses but not with the social fascist leaders. The Greek working class has received international support from the R. I. L. U. but never from the Amsterdam International. It is now necessary to make the R. I. L. U. still more popular among the Greek workers. Then we shall affiliate to the R. I. L. U. The ground must be prepared among the working masses for entering the R. I. L. U."

Papadopoulos, a building worker, proposed that the Unitary Federation seize the initiative for convening a Balkan Congress for the purpose of founding a **Pan-Balkan Workers' Union.** This proposal was referred to the Executive of the Unitary Federation.

After the acceptance of the programme of action, the Congress proceeded to elect a Central Committee of 25 members. 254 delegates voted for the Left group and ten delegates voted for the minority (liquidators). One liquidator, Hadjistavru, representing the tobacco workers, was elected to the Central Committee.

The newly founded Unitary Trade Union Federation embraces more than 60,000 workers, while only about 15,000 workers belong to the old social fascist General trade union federation. The fight against the social fascists is being continued and a portion of the workers who are still under the influence of the social fascists will find their way to the class trade union.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Against the Split in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in Czechoslovakia and Those who Cause it.

By A. Losovsky.

The danger of a split in the revolutionary trade unions in Czechoslovakia has again become a question of the day by reason of the refusal of Hais, Sykora and Nadvornik to accept the proposals made them by the committee of the R. I. L. U. There did not appear to be any reasons for refusing our suggestions, since they really represent a way out of the existing difficulties. Meanwhile Hais and his adherents have compiled a very lengthy memorandum, the purport of which may be briefly summed up as follows: "We don't care a pin for the opinion of the members. The devil take proletarian democracy." There is no other way of interpreting the memorandum, which treats of a great variety of things but postpones the Congress of the International Workers' Federation indefinitely. The attempt of the R. I. L. U. to conduct the fight within the limits of proletarian democracy and to appeal to the members of the I. W. F. as arbiters in the contest has suffered a reverse. The agreement suggested by us was declined. Hais, Sykora, Nadvornik, and their adherents desire to measure their strength with that of the Comintern and the Profintern. Let them do so.

For us it is now of importance to ascertain the reasons of the crisis and to remove them as soon as possible. The reasons of the crisis lie in the fact that the C. P. and the revolutionary trade unions of Czechoslovakia have many democratic traditions and remnants in their ranks. These are all the more noticeable the greater the fierceness of the class struggle. The social storm-clouds are coming on and the Communist philistine — a type to be found pretty frequently in Czechoslovakia — is already preparing a comfortable retreat. The philistine is afraid of the fight and is ready to take refuge in any shelter (independence of the trade unions, "peaceful" fight, renunciation of strikes, etc.). What is at present in progress in the I. W. F. is nothing less than a purely trade-union dispute. The points at issue are the directives of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade unions. Are we to steer towards an aggravation of the class struggle or towards its mitigation; are the masses to be prepared for a fight or for a retreat; are the resolutions of the Comintern and of the R. I. L. U. to be carried out in fact or only on paper? That is the matter at issue. This nature of the struggle cannot be eliminated by a mere reference to the mistakes of the C. C. of the C. P. Cz. It is not a question of the mistakes of the C. C.; mistakes there undoubtedly are and will continue to be. The object of contention in Czechoslovakia is not how the mistakes can be corrected but whether directives different from those of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. are to be adopted.

If it were only a question of correcting mistakes, they could all be overcome very speedily within the confines of a uniform Party and trade-union organisation. It would not be necessary at all to arrange coups, to adopt a provocative attitude in relation to the entire membership, and — in the place of an honest, direct, proletarian answer — to reply to the suggestions of the R. I. L. U. with a lengthy memorandum and to demand the convocation of a new Party Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. What would be the use of a new Party Congress? Perhaps for the purpose of making the C. P. subservient to your wishes? What, in your opinion, could be effected by another Party Congress? Could it change the composition of the C. C.? Obviously that is what you desire, since you brought it up at the discussions. What you are after can hardly be a mere personal change. You desire the Party to change its policy. There is the rub. But it is strange that you should apply with such a demand to the R. I. L. U., knowing quite well that the Comintern alone is competent to decide such a matter. Altogether Hais, Sykora, Nadvornik, and

their friends have a very curious conception of the relations between the Party and the trade unions. They demand non-interference of the Party in the affairs of the trade unions, but they themselves desire to change the policy and the personal composition of the controlling organs of the Communist Party. All this is naturally highly original, but it reveals opportunism in such a transparent form that no worker is likely to be hoodwinked thereby.

Do you want to quarrel about the policy of the Party? Do so, if you like. Apply to the Comintern. Send a delegation there and have the courage to defend your opinion before the International. If you have special directives, then be so good as to set them forth in writing, clearly and precisely, so that every worker may understand what you desire. But you are acting in a double-faced way, declaring on the one hand that you are for the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. while, on the other hand, not bothering about its resolutions and suggestions and building up your own Party and your own trade unions. If you are really in favour of the R. I. L. U., why did you not accept the suggestions of the Commission? What was there about our eleven points that could not be accepted? The Commission met you so far as not to express any opinion on the nature of the points at issue. It worked out a suggestion which purported an appeal to the membership of the I. W. F. to arbitrate in regard to the controversial points. The R. I. L. U. can surely not assume the standpoint that Hais, Sykora, and Nadvornik have a sole right to permanent leadership and that the members of the I. W. F. have no right to change their leaders. We are opposed to life-long functions in the trade unions, we are opposed to a hereditary bureaucracy, we are opposed to a dynastic principle in the trade unions. Therefore we suggested that the matter be settled on the basis of proletarian democracy.

The decision of Hais, Sykora, and Nadvornik renders it hard to maintain unity in the I. W. F. But, nevertheless, we are doing our utmost to prevent a split. The R. I. L. U. calls on all its members most emphatically to repel any attempt at a split in the I. W. F. and its sections. If in any of the sections the adherents of the R. I. L. U. are in the minority, they must remain in their ranks, they must form no parallel organisations, they must continue to pay their membership subscriptions, and wage an ideologic fight for the realisation of their directives. The adherents of the R. I. L. U. must make no exclusions which can but prove detrimental. The sections must carry on a feverish activity for the recruiting of new members; they must win over the members of the local organisations of the respective reformist trade unions and work with tenfold energy at the extension and consolidation of their ranks. The more speedily the sections draw additional thousands and tens of thousands into their ranks, the sooner will the crisis be overcome. The more members there are in the sections, the more difficult it will be for the disruptors to influence them.

Simultaneously with this feverish activity, an energetic fight must be carried on against such as sabotage the resolutions of the R. I. L. U. under whose banner they are enrolled, as seek to build up a "centrist" Party on the strength of arguments in favour of the independence of the trade unions and split the revolutionary trade-union movement for the sake of personal or group interest. We are interested in making all workers who still support Hais, Sykora, and Nadvornik and thus commit mistakes in all good faith, fully understand whether they are being led. The fight against the Comintern and against the R. I. L. U. is welcomed by all our class-enemies. The bourgeois and reformist papers rejoice at the attitude of the oppositional deputies, senators, and publicists and publish triumphant reports of the "heroic" deeds of Hais, Sykora, and Nadvornik. This support will soon turn into a united front, then into a political bloc, and finally into real unity; that is the logic of the fight. Whoever opposes the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. finds his way, willy-nilly, to the camp of the enemies of the international revolutionary labour movement. We did our utmost to prevent Hais, Sykora, Nadvornik, and their friends from treading this slippery path. We told them that path would lead them into the slough of Amsterdam. They refused to accept our advice and our suggestions. So much the worse for them. The international revolutionary trade-union movement and that of Czechoslovakia will succeed in maintaining the unity and compactness of their ranks and in breaking the resistance of the disruptors.

INTERNATIONAL PERSECUTION OF COMMUNISTS

Pilsudski's Campaign against the Communist Sejm Deputies.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

In March 1928 the anti-fascist camp of the workers and peasants of Poland, in a heroic fight against Pilsudski's terrorist dictatorship, gained a magnificent victory at the Sejm elections.

Seven representatives of the proletariat were returned to the Sejm, where they formed a Communist Sejm fraction. The seven deputies were: Comrades Varski and Sypula, elected by the Warsaw proletariat; Comrades Bitner and Rosiak, both of them Lodz workers, and three representatives of the revolutionary miners of the red Dombrova area: Comrades Sochacki, Baczynski and Gazron.

These revolutionary deputies are naturally a thorn in the flesh of the dictator Pilsudski, and he is striving with every means to have them put out of the way.

On the day of the opening of the Sejm they were bloodily beaten by order of Pilsudski. At all meetings and at every workers' demonstration his police and their agents, the shock troops of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party), were lying in wait in order, at the given moment, to set upon the workers' representatives with sabres, bayonets and bludgeons.

But this was not all. After three months the Sejm handed over the deputies Varski, Baczynski, Sochacki and Bitner to the fascist court.

The trial of Baczynski bears a definitely international stamp, for it is based on the relations of fascist Poland to the Soviet Union.

The indictment, which has been drawn up by the Polish Political Police (Defensive), states:

Baczynski was actively engaged in the Dombrova mining area and in the city of Warsaw in a conspiracy aiming at the overthrow of the existing regime. He participated further in this conspiracy in that he, in November 1927, as Communist delegate of the Dombrova mining area, attended the celebrations in Moscow held on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the October revolution. At the congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union the said accused received from the member of the Revolutionary War Council, Voroshilov, the Order of the "Red Flag" for the purposing of handing it over to the former deputy Lancucki. Further, at the same Congress he delivered a speech in which he laid special stress on the recognition of the struggle of the Polish proletariat by the Russian proletariat; and finally, after his return to Poland, and in accordance with the charge intrusted to him, he handed the Order of the "Red Flag" to the above-mentioned Lancucki.

Pilsudski pranks himself out with the Orders of all the crowned and uncrowned criminals and blackguards, such as Horthy and Primo de Rivera. He sent a delegation to the funeral of Marshal Foch, the "victor" in the world war and the organiser of a crusade against the Soviet Union. But when a Polish worker takes part in the celebrations of the victorious proletarian revolution, when he receives from the hands of a representative of the first proletarian government in the world an Order for a prisoner of the Polish bourgeoisie, then dire punishment awaits him.

Kaleski, the Foreign Minister, is always mouthing pacifist phrases. The Pilsudski Government has signed the Litvinov protocol. But the indictment against deputy Baczynski proves that the dictator Pilsudski and his bourgeoisie do not want peace with the Soviet Union.

The proceedings against Baczynski are therefore of international importance. The working masses of Poland will have to redouble their vigilance and cause their cry of protest to sound more loudly than ever before the proletariat of the whole world. The Polish proletariat sees in the Soviet Union its real homeland, which it will defend with its heart's blood against its imperialist enemies.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Sixth Party Congress of the C. P. of France.

Opening Session.

The VI. National Party Congress of the C. P. of France was opened on the 31st March in the town hall of Saint Denis, a big industrial town near Paris governed by the Communists. The town hall is surrounded by heavily armed police forces. More than 150 delegates of the lower organisations are present.

Comrade Monmousseau opened the Party Congress in the name of the Political Bureau. He made special reference to the tenth anniversary of the Communist International, and showed how at the present time the whole fire of the bourgeoisie and its ally, the social democracy, is directed against our Party.

The Congress elected the imprisoned comrades as honorary members of the Presidium. Comrade Gourdeaux, who occupies the chair, reads a telegram from the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. in which the E. C. C. I. expresses its conviction that the Communist Party of France will be in a position to combat the danger of opportunism and to adopt those organisational measures which will enable it to lead the French proletariat to victory.

Comrade Frachon delivers the report on the international situation and the Right Danger in the Communist International. He calls for a comprehensive discussion of the world problems, which we have often treated too lightly owing to lack of internationalism. Backed by numerous examples he demonstrates the correctness of the estimation of the V. World Congress regarding the immediate danger of war in view of the daily growing antagonisms among the imperialists. But he emphasises that above all there stands the common wish of capitalism to incorporate the Soviet Union into the capitalist system, and that war against the Soviet Union is the main danger.

Comrade Frachon then deals with the participation of France in this war preparation against the Soviet Union: military missions in the Baltic States, the journey of Gourand to India, the supply of arms and munitions to Poland and Roumania by French industry, ideological preparations against "red imperialism as the only war danger". French social democracy is taking active part in this war preparation.

In the big colonial countries such as China and India we are faced by tremendous revolutionary movements under the leadership of our Party. In all the capitalist countries the proletariat is going over from the defence to the attack. To fight against war means to place ourselves at the head of these movements and to render them political. This presupposes a relentless struggle against social democracy, which struggle must be supported by the united front in the factories and the improvement of our anti-militarist work.

Comrade Frachon then examines the inner situation of the C. I. and the Right danger. The Rights perceive only the positive sides of stabilisation and fail to discern the role of social democracy. He likewise criticises the conciliators in the German C. P. and in the whole Comintern.

Comrade Frachon then deals with the questions of the C. P. S. U. He opposes the pessimistic elements, who are shrinking from the difficulties, and bureaucratism, against which the masses in the factories are rising, thus offering us the guarantee of a new victory of the C. P. S. U. over opportunism.

Finally, Comrade Frachon characterises the Rights in the C. P. F.: deviations in the practical action, policy of silence, reservations and conciliation towards the Rights (this has taken place especially in the North district). He calls upon Comrade Doriot, who has acknowledged his errors, not to play the role of a conciliator as he has done in the North district.

Session of 1st of April, Morning.

The discussion on the report of Comrade Frachon is opened by Comrade Crozet (Orleans district), who adopts a right standpoint towards stabilisation, of which he sees only the positive sides. Stabilisation, he declares, is "rotten" neither in France nor in the rest of the world; and the agreement of the Soviet Union with foreign industrialists is the denial of

the immediate approach of war. He overestimates the role of the opposition of the petty bourgeoisie in France, and maintains that we must conclude occasional agreements with it. He is in favour of maintaining the tactics of the united front from above with the Socialist organisations and of introducing a bill into Parliament by which factory councils are to be recognised by law. All this is in order to fight against the "ultra-Left" orientation of the C. P. F.

A comrade from the Garonne district opens the reply by pointing to the imminence of the war danger, caused by the growing sharpness of international antagonisms, the development of fascist tendencies in the world and the prospects of a profound crisis of world capitalism.

Other comrades point to the impossibility of bringing increased production into harmony with restricted markets.

Comrade Pillot (Minority of the Paris district) employs only general phrases against Comrade Crozet and raises the question of the defence of the reconcilers by Comrade Bukharin. He regrets that the International did not act more firmly in Czechoslovakia, and frequently waits too long before intervening in all countries. It must be strengthened by the sending of new forces from the Parties. In France it must seek to convince the hesitating workers. It is doubtful whether the leadership of the Party and of the Paris district have been sufficiently consolidated.

Session of 1st April, afternoon.

Comrade Bourneton, in the name of the Languedoc district, rejects the one-sided evidence of Comrade Crozet and shows the shakiness of capitalist stabilisation. He opposes the view of Comrade Crozet that the revolution cannot be carried out without a united front or occasional agreements with the petty bourgeoisie.

The Lyons district has instructed a delegate to declare that Comrade Crozet is placing himself on the basis of social democracy. The attitude of the socialists in this district reveals their complete merging with the bourgeoisie. The Comrade calls upon the North district to abandon its conciliatory tendency, which only facilitates the work of the Rights.

Comrade Cat (Central Committee) shows the special conditions of reconstruction in a world, the economic unity of which has been destroyed and in which the inequality of development is increasing. The Rights do not see the qualitative change.

Comrade Jacob (North District) declares that his district is in complete agreement with all the resolutions of the VI. World Congress and has nothing to do with the views of Comrade Crozet. The Party does not make sufficient use of the concrete facts which prove that preparations for war are being made. "The district will energetically fight against the Rights in the C. P. S. U. and in the C. P. of Germany and against the reconcilers in the C. P. G. The district is quite aware of the Right dangers and knows how to combat them in order to promote the consolidation of the Party.

Comrade Galopin (Y. C. L.) likewise energetically opposes the views of Comrade Crozet, who is rapidly approaching Brandlerism. The Right dangers in the C. P. S. U. and the conciliatory tendencies of Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra must

Comrade Le Moullec (Troyes district) energetically attacks the standpoint of Comrade Crozet and rightly complains that too few comrades from the lower organisations are taking part in the discussion.

Comrade Berlioz complements the report of Comrade Frachon by pointing to the new feature of the chronic unemployment resulting from rationalisation, and deals with the development of the reconcilers in the C. P. of Germany to open Right wingers. He demands information regarding the attitude of Comrade Bukharin.

The demand of the excluded Treint group for admission to the Party Congress is unanimously rejected by the Congress.

Session of 2nd April, Morning.

In the discussion on the Report of Comrade Frachon, Comrade Cachin gives a brilliant exposition of the Programme of the Communist International, which he designates as a "document of world-historical importance" serving as revolutionary instruction for all races of the world in their struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat in contradistinction to the world dictatorship of imperialism.

Comrade Cachin thoroughly analyses the programme and emphasises the necessity for its thorough study in all the nuclei. He shows that at the present time every action of the proletariat is a political action. He stigmatises the socialist theory of ultra-imperialism as a source of every opportunism. There is a chasm between this deceitful idyll and reality: overburdening of the workers, permanent unemployment, growing contradictions, imminent war danger. Comrade Cachin energetically combats the opportunist optimism of Comrade Crozet and reveals the background of the business prosperity in France. He then analyses the profound world crisis, which cannot be solved within the existing order.

Comrade Cachin then proceeds to a ruthless criticism of social democracy, which has sold itself to the bourgeoisie. Comrade Cachin deals thoroughly with the strategic and tactical tasks of the C. C. and points to the necessity for it to place itself at the head of all workers' struggles. The conclusion of this development is world Communism, brought about by the forceful struggle for the seizure of power, for which it is the task of the C. I. to prepare. The lengthy exposition meets with lively applause.

Comrade Martel (Marseilles) complains that the Right dangers have been used too much for attacking Comrade Crozet personally, although these Right dangers especially in regard to the war question, are to be found in all districts. There are many comrades who declare their agreement with the theses but who reveal their opportunism in their practical inactivity.

Comrade Roland expresses the entire approval of the Paris district with the line of the VI. World Congress. He shows that the essential differences of opinion are the outcome of a wrong estimation of the character of stabilisation, the negative sides and the international forms of which are overlooked. He emphasises the Trotzkyist danger in the Paris district, where social democracy is basing itself upon the Trotzkyist elements. He calls upon Comrade Doriot to take more active part in the struggle against the Rights.

(To be continued.)

On the General Party Purging in the C. P. S. U.

Theses on the Report of Comrade Yaroslavsky Concerning the Control of Members and Candidates of the C. P. S. U. Confirmed by the Presidium of the Central Control Commission on March 3rd, 1929.

1. During the whole period of the existence of the C. P. of the Soviet Union only once has there taken place a general examination of the Party, i. e. in 1921, at the beginning of the period of the construction of national economy, after the conclusion of civil war. The Party set itself the task "to rid the Party of the non-Communist elements by means of a thorough examination of every individual member of the C. P. S. U., both in regard to his professional activity and in regard to his work as a member of the C. P. S. U." In this way the Party got rid of the alien disintegrating elements, consolidated its ranks and adopted a number of measures which restricted the admittance of non-proletarian elements into the Party and secured a proper selection of those persons joining the Party who came from the ranks of the working class and of the peasantry.

2. Since the time of this Party purging eight years have passed. During these eight years the membership of the Party has increased threefold. In this period there was conducted, between the XIII. and XIV. Party Congresses, a control of the members and candidates outside the factory nuclei, the object of which was "to purge the Party from the social alien and disintegrating elements and to remove from the Party those non-proletarian elements who during the time of their membership of the Party have not proved to be Communists in the work for the improvement of this or that economic or other organisation, and who had no direct connection with the working and peasant masses". (Resolution of the XIII. Party Congress.) In all 25 per cent. of the whole membership have been examined and about 6 per cent. of those examined have been excluded. In the year 1926 there was carried out a partial examination of the village nuclei, and in the year 1927 a new re-

gistration of the members and candidates of the Party in the whole of the Soviet Union. Thus the C. P. S. U. has complied with one of the conditions (Point 13) of membership of the Comintern, which reads:

"The Communist Parties of all countries, in which the Communists are working legally, have to carry out periodically a purging (new registration) of the membership of the Party organisations in order systematically to purge the Party of the petty-bourgeois elements which are inevitably creeping into the Party".

Apart from this the Party, during the reconstruction period, has systematically kept a check over its ranks from day to day by means of the Control Commissions, by calling to account those Party members who have violated the Party programme or Party discipline, whereby from the year 1922 to July 1, 1928, 260,144 members and candidates of the C. P. S. U. were excluded by the Control Commissions, left the Party voluntarily or have not appeared for re-registration.

3. In the period of reconstruction of the socialist economy of the country, which is closely linked up with the socialist attack upon the capitalist elements in town and country and with an intensification of the class struggle, the Party must in particular thoroughly examine its ranks in order to strengthen the resistance to the influence of the petty-bourgeois anarchy, to make the Party more homogeneous and more capable of fighting to overcome the difficulties of socialist reconstruction of national economy.

The decision of the November Plenum 1928 concerning a thorough purging of the Party from the socially alien, bureaucratic and disintegrating elements — elements which make use of their membership of the ruling Party for their egoistic, self-seeking aims, the petty-bourgeois degenerated elements who are merging with the kulak economy etc." — also includes the demand, adopted by the Comintern, of a periodical general control (new registration) of all members and candidates of the C. P. S. U. in order to improve the social composition of the Party, to raise the political and moral level of the Party organisations in the provinces and of the Party as a whole in the most difficult stage of the struggle for Socialism, at the beginning of the period of the fundamental socialist transformation of the whole national economy of the Soviet Union.

4. In spite of the indubitable improvement of the social composition of the C. P. S. U. and the strengthening of its proletarian kernel (at the time of Lenin's death there were 44 per cent. workers in the Party, on the 1st of July 1928 62 per cent.), and the fact that the number of the workers in the Party has increased threefold during this time and the number and the specific weight of the workers' nuclei have likewise increased, the social composition of the Party still does not come up to the standard necessitated by the tasks of the socialist transformation of national economy of the Soviet Union. The influx of the best proletarian elements in town and country into the Party and the socialist construction are hampered by the existence of bureaucratic elements in all links in the State, economic, trade union and Party apparatus and of petty-bourgeois degenerated elements in the lower apparatus of the village, who are merged with the kulaks and are distorting the Party line. These elements are sowing distrust among the broad masses of workers and peasants towards the measures of the Party and Soviet Power. In addition to tens of thousands of proletarians who form the firm Leninist basis of the Party, petty bourgeois elements have penetrated into the Party, who are conveying rottenness into the Party, and who, by the example of their private and public lives, are carrying disintegration into the Party ranks by their disregard of the public opinion of the workers and toiling peasants; selfish, careerist elements from whom the Party is not sufficiently purged by the systematic daily work of the Control Commissions.

The forthcoming purging of the Party is to rid the ranks of the C. P. S. U. of these elements and thereby increase its preparedness for socialist construction, increase confidence in and the authority of the Party, and attract new strata of the proletariat and of the poor peasants in town and country.

5. In putting the question of the general control of the Party, we must take into consideration that the composition of the working class has greatly changed in the last years. Lenin considered it necessary to point to this circumstance soon after the general control of the year 1921. He wrote:

"There is no doubt that with us persons are considered as workers who have not gone through a serious school of industry, of big industry. In the category of workers there are included ordinary petty-bourgeois who by chance, and only for a short time, have been workers. All cunning white-guardists are certainly reckoning on the circumstance that the apparent proletarian character of our Party in reality is no guarantee that the petty economic elements could not even in a short time obtain preponderance in it."

Lenin considered it necessary also to point to the fact that for many intellectual and semi-intellectual elements it is not altogether difficult, under our conditions, to convert themselves into workers.

He insisted upon the necessity of defining the conception "worker" in such a manner that only those come under this definition who in reality, as a result of their position in life, had to acquire a proletarian psychology, which, however, is impossible for one who has not worked for many years in a factory, without any ulterior aims, merely on the basis of the general economic and social conditions of the person in question". (Lenin 1923.)

The Party considers the factory nuclei as its soundest portion, but it must control not only those who are outside of the factory nuclei or in the village nuclei, but it must also bear in mind that even in the factory nuclei, although to a lesser degree, there can appear such elements as are not capable of filling the role of the Communist advance-guard, elements which are connected with the kulak economy in the village and are exerting a petty-bourgeois influence upon the proletariat, elements which consider the work in the factory merely as a means to enrich their individual economy, selfish elements which do not actively take part in the exercise of Party discipline, elements which without distinction are in contact with such counter-revolutionary phenomena as anti-semitism, elements which have not finally broken with religious customs etc.

Unless the Party, and with it the factory nuclei, is thoroughly purged, it cannot attract the best elements of the non-Party active proletariat into its ranks in order to consolidate the proletarian kernel of the Party. Without such a purging of the ranks, with a simultaneous systematic recruitment of the best proletarian elements, the factory nuclei will not be in a position to solve, in the new stage, the great and complicated tasks, which require a maximum homogeneity, uniformity, class-consciousness and proletarian Leninist perseverance.

6. The Party must examine with particular care the composition of the village nuclei, purge them from alien class elements, from those who are merged with the kulaks, traders, property-owners and clergy. The village nuclei must be rid of Party members who conduct a policy by which the day labourers and poor peasants are repelled from the Party. Such members must be removed who do not participate in the carrying out of measures for the socialist transformation of agriculture, the bureaucratic elements, those who do not execute the directives of the Party, in that they do not support themselves upon the poor peasants and upon the alliance with the middle peasants. Those members must be removed whose economic position renders them indifferent to the tasks of Communist propaganda and the organisation of the village, the malicious violators of the revolutionary laws and those who make use of their power for personal ends.

Only a purging of the village nuclei which is carried out, on the one hand, in connection with the participation of the active agricultural workers, the poor and middle peasants in the control and purging, and, on the other hand, with a broad enlightenment campaign of the peasant masses regarding the policy of the Party, with a careful handling of those elements in the village who are really devoted to Communism, the active former participants in civil war and those who have gone through the school of the Red Army, those who are really helping to carry out the socialist measures in the village — only such a purging will result in converting the village nuclei into points of support of the Communist Party in the village, in consolidating confidence in the Communist Party, in attracting the best elements into the ranks of the Party and promoting the collectivisation of agriculture.

7. The Control of the residential nuclei after the XIII. Party Congress, showed in general that the social composition of these nuclei has considerably improved. The composition of

the non-factory nuclei is as follows: of working class origin 39.4 per cent., peasant origin 36.7 per cent., clerks, employees and others 23.9 per cent.

Although the non-factory nuclei are being constantly augmented by new proletarian strata which the Party draws from the ranks of the workers, it is the non-factory nuclei which are most exposed to the influence of the non-proletarian elements and are filled with such elements.

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that "the ruling Party is inevitably threatened by the entry of careerists and hangers-on".

"We have been joined by various careerists who call themselves Communists and deceive us, who have come to us solely because the Communists are now in power..."

Lenin advised the Party to rid itself of these "adventurers" of these "sham members of the Party",

"who only wish to enjoy the advantages of membership of the ruling Party and are not prepared to bear the burdens of self-sacrificing work for Communism"... "so that only class-conscious members, who are really devoted to Communism shall remain in the Party",

that only such people enter the Party

"as are sincerely devoted to the workers' State, only honest workers, only real representatives of the masses suppressed by capitalism".

Precisely in the non-factory nuclei is it most easily possible to use membership of the Party for selfish ends — negligence, nepotism, careerism, bureaucratic attitude to the masses. It is precisely here that cases occur where the masses are repelled by a "corrupt mode of life". It is precisely in these nuclei that the socially alien, bureaucratized, disruptive elements which have crept into the Party are causing the greatest harm to the Party. It is precisely in the non-factory nuclei that there are the greatest number of people who have come to us from other parties, who have not completely adapted themselves to the Bolshevik Party, people who have still retained their old ideological standpoint.

Meanwhile, it is upon the composition of these nuclei, upon the quality of their work, upon the measure of their perseverance in Party work, upon their connection with the masses, that the confidence of the broad masses of workers and peasants in and outside of the Party to the apparatus of the Soviet State, the economic organs, the trade unions and the success of their communist work depends.

Therefore, the purging of these nuclei of all non-Communist, disintegrating, alien, bureaucratized, self-seeking elements which adopt a bureaucratic attitude towards their duties, must be carried out with special thoroughness.

At the same time, we must exercise special care with regard to those members who have been promoted from the ranks of the workers; for we must take into consideration the difficulties which the new and unaccustomed work means at first for these members; and we must connect the purging of the non-factory nuclei with an energetic, thorough and well-considered promotion of working men and women to economic, administrative and Party functions.

8. The approaching control and purging of the ranks of the Party shall therefore make the Party more homogeneous and rid it of non-Communists. Of course, such a control involves great difficulties and must be carried out very exactly, after the task of purging has been illuminated from all sides, both for all members and candidates of the Party and for the non-Party workers and peasants. By explaining to every member and every candidate of the Party the need of a moral level, the connection with the masses, active participation in Party work and in the building up of Socialism, the Party guards against a distortion of control, against petty interference in the private life of Party members, against evasion of control itself, against the carrying out of control from another standpoint than that of the class tasks of the Communist Party.

The Party purge shall ruthlessly remove from the Party all elements alien to it, all who endanger the successes of the Party, who are indifferent towards its struggle, the incorrigible bureaucrats, the elements which have crept in, who are connected with the class enemy and help him, all who, owing to their economic and property relations, are alien to the Party, the anti-semites, the secret supporters and followers of religious cults; the secret Trotskyists, the Miassnikovists, the Deizists and the supporters of other anti-Party groups must be exposed,

the Party must be rid of them. But the purging must at the same time consolidate the organisation work, control the nuclei work, create comradesly relations between the Party members, increase the sense of responsibility of every individual towards the policy and the fate of the whole Party, give an impetus to the raising of the level of political knowledge, intensify the fight against bureaucratism, increase the activity of all members of the organisation, improve the connection of these members with the masses of workers and peasants, promote active participation in the socialist transformation of the village, in the rationalisation of production and administration, in increasing working discipline, in abolishing all abuses etc. The control must not bear the character of an examination nor that of a legal persecution. In those cases where the Party member, according to all indications, is worthy to be a member of the Party, but his political training is insufficient, this cannot serve as a reason for his expulsion, but care must be taken that he is placed under conditions where he can make good this deficiency.

The control must ascertain the worthiness of every member and every candidate of the Party to fulfil the Party duties; it must help them to correct their mistakes, to remedy their faults; it must retain all real communists in the ranks of the Party and must determine to what extent the leadership of the nucleus in question is working correctly and how far the faults of individual members are connected with the leadership.

(To be continued.)

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Outcome of the Elections in Red Moscow.

By K. Uchanov (Moscow).

The Political Significance of the Elections.

Every election-campaign in the Soviet Union is a powerful political event. This year's Soviet elections, however, have far surpassed all previous election-campaigns in their political significance. The explanation of this fact is to be found mainly in two circumstances. In the first place, the elections occurred at a time of fierce class struggle, and secondly they are a symptom of the manner in which the working population of the Soviet Union reacts to the economic difficulties of the last few years.

In certain works and meetings, stragglers of Trotskyism appeared with "demands"; in some other enterprises, chiefly such as are connected with the villages, certain sections of the working class gave utterance to a kulak ideology and an opportunist programme, demanding that the kulaks should not be too greatly attacked and that no undue haste be observed in the collectivisation of agriculture but that the rate of industrialisation be slowed down somewhat. In Moscow, such utterances were rare, nor had they any effect.

In spite of their great efforts, our enemies suffered an annihilating defeat at the elections. The elections showed that the workers fully comprehend that the characteristic for the estimation of our work of construction is by no means to be found in the difficulties of our development but in those successes which we are in a position to record in all branches of economy, particularly in industry, and in that consolidation of the economic basis of Socialism which we have achieved of late years by means of a hard struggle against the private-capitalist elements and against the hostile capitalist countries surrounding us.

The Members of the Last Soviet under the Fire of Proletarian Self-Criticism.

This year's electoral campaign has been carried out much better and with greater organisation than any hitherto. The experiences of former years have enabled us to avoid many mistakes formerly committed and to employ fresh organisational forms which promote the growth of mass-activity and the participation in the elections. Among these new forms, special mention may be made of the organisation of election-commissions in the works, the competition between Moscow and

other proletarian centres, as also between individual administrative districts and special enterprises in Moscow, the collection of suggestions for the electoral programme among the masses of electors, the nomination of candidates, and the recruiting of "light cavalry" in the form of groups of the youth organisations for the promotion of the elections. These forms of activity all proved their worth.

The reporting campaign progressed splendidly. Suffice it to mention that the percentage participation in the reporting assemblies has doubled since the last elections. In 1927, 37 per cent. of the electors appeared at the reporting assemblies and this year some 70 per cent. If we regard only the workers, their participation figured at 75 per cent. (85 per cent. in the case of the metal workers in particular). At the Moscow reporting assemblies, incomplete reports record more than 20,000 speakers, while more than 55,000 written and verbal inquiries were addressed to the reporters.

A characteristic peculiarity of the reporting and electioneering campaign of this year lies in the wide development of a material proletarian self-criticism. The masses very rightly demand much more of their deputies than they formerly did. Thus it is to be understood that the activity of more than 100 deputies was not approved of by the electors.

The political programme introduced by the Moscow Committee of the C. P. S. U. in the election assemblies was not only unanimously passed everywhere but also worked out collectively. This shows what a tremendous number of amendments were made. According to provisional estimates, their number was about 50,000 as against some 10,000 on the occasion of the last elections. The initiative of the masses was also promoted by the fact that those supplementary amendments which were submitted to us on the occasion of the 1927 election-campaign, have in their essential points already found practical realisation.

The Election Results.

How great, then, was the actual participation in the elections?

The average participation on the part of workers organised in trade unions at Moscow was 86.2 per cent., whereas in 1927 it was 69 per cent. Individual trade unions show an even greater participation, thus the metal workers 91.6 per cent., the chemical workers 90 per cent., the textile workers 91.8 per cent., the leather workers 92.7 per cent., the tailors 90.2 per cent., and the printers 88.4 per cent. These participation returns do not fully reflect the activity of the Moscow working class, since they do not comprise such workers as were prevented by cogent reasons from attending the elections. The percentage of workers obliged to stay away from the elections for reasons such as these (employment, sickness, etc.) figured at 7 per cent. in the case of the metal workers, 20 per cent. in that of the railwaymen, whose total percentage of participation was 75.5, and about 8 per cent. in that of the textile workers. If we take this factor into consideration, it will be seen that the actual participation of the members of a whole number of trade unions amounted to wellnigh 100 per cent.

The activity of the female workers of Moscow fell only a very little short of that of the male, figuring at 85.4 per cent. as against 76.5 per cent. in 1927. In several trade unions the women developed a greater activity than the men, thus in the case of foodstuffs-workers (90.6 per cent. as against 87 per cent. of the males) and in that of the educational workers (90.1 per cent., as against 82.2 per cent.)

The activity of the non-organised electors has risen significantly. Their participation increased on an average from 47 to 57.9 per cent. The participation of the proletarian housewives rose from 42.1 to 62.7 per cent., that of the domestic servants from 36.9 to 44.9 per cent.

As regards the social composition of the newly-elected Moscow Soviet, the majority both of the Moscow city soviet and of the district soviet consists of workers, 25.9 per cent. of the elected members of the Moscow soviet (against 18.4 per cent. in 1927) and 35.5 per cent. of the members of the district soviet (as against 28.6 per cent.) are women. The percentage of the women must be strengthened yet more at the next elections. It is a circumstance of particular significance that three-fourths of the new members of the Moscow and district soviets have been elected for the very first time.

Both in the organisational preparation and in the carrying out of the elections, there were many shortcomings and errors, which cannot, however, impair the decisive fundamental outcome of the election campaign. This outcome represents a tremendous growth of the activity and the political self-consciousness of the proletariat, which has rallied more and more closely around the general directives of our Party. The elections proved that hundreds of thousands, nay millions, of workers are helping to build up Socialism.

Socialist Competition — a New Stage of Socialist Development.

From an Appeal by the Moscow Committee of the C. P. S. U. and the Young Communist League to the Workers of the Moscow Gubernia.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union has set itself the task of catching up and outdistancing the advanced capitalist countries in a relatively short space of time. The historical competition between the capitalist and the Socialist economic systems is in full development. We are making use of the short breathing space accorded us by history for the purpose of as rapid as possible a development of the productive forces of the country and the consolidation of its defensive front.

In view of the entire international position and the tasks of a Socialist reorganisation of our country, we are obliged to develop our industry at a rapid rate. The five-years plan of development of our economy is based entirely on home resources and native accumulation. For the realisation of its plan, all the forces of the working class must be mobilised on the economic front with a view to raising the productivity of labour, of confirming the working discipline, and of reducing the cost of output and eliminating all unnecessary luxury in our apparatus. Whether the curve of our costs of production goes up or down, depends on the rate of industrialisation and the rate of reconstruction in our economy.

So as to be able to carry out our plan of industrialisation, we must this year reduce our costs of production by no less than 7 per cent. and raise the productivity of labour by 17 per cent. For the development of Moscow's industry alone, this would mean an increase of the funds of industrialisation by 100 million roubles; for the entire Soviet Union it would mean an increase of 700 millions. In the first three months of the new economic year, the industry of Moscow has not fulfilled the tasks with which it has been faced; indeed, there are factories in which the costs of production have risen, while the output has decreased and the discipline has slackened.

The advance-guards of the working class are now organising a mass-movement from below for the purpose of raising the productivity of labour, against the slackening of working-discipline, against faulty economy, against high costs of production, and against idling and parasites. At the initiative of the Young Communist League and the "Pravda", which is effecting a survey of the production conferences, the idea of Lenin as to the organisation of a Socialist competition among the individual factories of the proletarian country begins to assume a tangible shape. Participation in this competition on the part of the youth is now followed by that of entire staffs of factories and mines. The Socialist competition develops into a task for the entire working class. It awakens the creative initiative of the working masses and becomes a means of recruiting the broadest masses of workers for the task of Socialist development.

This competition must not only awaken the desire among the workers to do better work but must also create the atmosphere of a social boycott of shirkers and idlers, a severe opposition to the disorganisers of working discipline and of Socialist development. After turning self-criticism into a lever for the powerful growth of proletarian activity and awakening wholesale indignation at bureaucracy and waste, the Party must now, with the help of the best elements from among the young workers and of all such proletarians as feel themselves the masters of Russia, strive to organise a criticism of the shortcomings to be found within the proletariat, educate the back-

ward masses of workers, and unscrupulously expel all parasites and enemies from the ranks of the working class.

Proletarian self-criticism is no whining complaint on the part of blasé intellectuals, intimidated by difficulties, but a form of self-control, an examination of our capabilities, a recruiting of broad masses for the development of Socialist economy, a discussion of the questions of economics, systematic development, and State administration before the tribunal of proletarian publicity. In close connection with self-criticism, Socialist competition assumes the first place among the methods of mass-activity within the Party, the trade unions, and the Young Communist League.

Competition is a great thing. Promises and challenges must not be lightly bandied in this connection. He who enters into a competition and intends to limit himself to a mere show, without organising any daily competition among individual workers, workshops, and factories, is no revolutionary champion of construction but a demagogue. Therefore the organisation of competition and the mass-activity in the industrial concerns must be such that not a single valuable suggestion made by a worker may be neglected, while the questions of increased working-productivity and reduced working-expenditure become a common cause for the entire staff of the workshop or factory in question. The press, the cinema, and the wireless play a great part in organising the competition. The whole country must know how the respective curves of sloth, output, initial costs, and the like are developing; the whole country must know how we are catching up and outstripping the capitalist countries in each individual branch of industry (coal, oil, metals, textiles, etc.). Every worker, every Communist, and every member of the Young Communist League must know the technical and economic index figures of his concern.

In this connection our entire economic propaganda must be reorganised, as must also all our scientific and technical propaganda. The specialists, the proletarian students, the voluntary societies, and the technical and scientific institutions must all come to the aid of economic construction; all forces of proletarian publicity must assist in the organisation and effectuation of the Socialist competition of the factories and works of the Soviet Union. The conduct of this great work of construction must be taken in hand by the Party organisations, hand in hand with the trade unions, economic organs, and Young Communist League.

The Moscow Committee of the Party and of the Y. C. L. is leading the Moscow proletariat into the fight for the general directives of the Party, is organising a general proletarian competition among the factories and workshops of the Moscow Gubernia, and at the same time calls upon the Party organisations of Leningrad, Charkov, Ural, and Rostov to take part in a competition for the reduction of initial costs and the increase of the working output. We must and shall provide new millions for industrialisation, we must and shall turn our country out of a Russia of the N. E. P. into a Socialist Russia. In order to fulfil this task the working class gathers yet more closely around our Party and is bound — in spite of the greatest difficulties and without paying heed to the grumblers and fainthearts — to develop the victorious work of Socialist construction on a yet broader basis.

THE WHITE TERROR

Police Rule in Ireland.

By W. M. Holmes (London).

(The following information is supplied by H. Sheehy Skeffington a member of the staff of "An Poblacht", the suppressed Irish Republican Paper.)

For the past month in Ireland the C. I. D. (Criminal Investigation Department of the Police) have been given a free hand by the Free State Government to harass and persecute Republicans. Between 150 to 200 men (and about eight or ten women) have been arrested, usually without warrant. A curious part of the proceedings is the practice of repeatedly re-arresting the same people. Some have been arrested eight or ten times, some twice daily.

No interrogation is made in some cases. In others, men are asked where they work, and their employers are then ap-

proached with a view to having them dismissed. Men and women have been told by the C. I. D. that they will be arrested every time they appear in the street!

Over Easter there was a lull, as the C. I. D. were busy in the country, where commemoration meetings were being held by Republicans at the gravesides of their dead. At these ceremonies, the C. I. D.'s were busy noting down the names of those gathered at the grave. They were also there to note if any order of a military kind, such as "Form Fours", "March", "Right Turn", were given.

All such, for Republican organisations, are illegal, and render those giving or obeying such orders liable to arrest. Fascisti, Baden Powell Scouts, and such like "loyalist" military organisations are allowed freely to drill and march, only Republican organisations being prohibited.

The "Poblacht", the weekly Republican paper, has been suppressed for the past three weeks. A Republican bulletin is being issued in its stead weekly, and is widely distributed, while a mid-weekly "Dublin News" also circulates. Both these, like the old Sinn Fein Bulletin, are type-written sheets.

Among those recently arrested are Austin Stack, former Minister of Home Affairs under the Republican Dail, Liam Gilmore, Secretary of Sinn Fein, Hon. Albinio Broderick (sister of the tory Lord Midleton, herself a well-known rebel and revolutionary, like Lord French's sister Mrs. Despard), Miss Eitinne Coyle, President of Cumann nam Ban, Douli O'Donnabhada, Chairman of Anti-Imperialist League, Peadar O'Donnell (author of "Islanders") and Geoffrey Coulter, editor and assistant editor of "An Poblacht".

In Cork, Sean MacSwiney, brother of Terence MacSwiney, the heroic Lord Mayor of Cork, who died in Brixton Jail after over eighty days' hunger strike has also been arrested.

The C. I. D.'s have also been busy assaulting "suspects", whom they take out into fields outside Dublin and "beat up" in order to wring "statements" from them. These cases of P. Scully, so beaten, and of J. Hughes have been brought up in the Free States Courts. These were lost on a legal technicality, but the necessary publicity was achieved.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Independent Labour Party and War Credits.

By W. M. Holmes (London).

An emergency resolution passed at the closing session of the Independent Labour Party Conference at Carlisle is interesting as throwing up in strong relief the character of the I. L. P. leadership. This resolution was in the form of an instruction to Members of Parliament who are also members of the Party to vote against war credits.

As a matter of fact, the resolution was not strictly an emergency resolution. It had been sent forward for inclusion on the agenda in the ordinary way, but the agenda committee first refused to accept it. Only after persistent efforts by the sponsor, Joseph Southall, a well known militant intellectual of Birmingham, was the resolution permitted to go before the Conference. It was then adopted by 160 votes to 125.

Shinwell, ex-Minister of Mines in the MacDonald Cabinet whose mission in the I. L. P. is to reduce that organisation to complete submission to MacDonald, immediately announced that, whatever the decision of the Conference, he should take his instructions on the matter of war credits from his constituents.

Maxton, the sham Left Leader, was more subtle than the reactionary, who only succeeded in annoying the Conference. Maxton praised the "desire" expressed in the resolution, but complained that it presented the leaders and Members of Parliament with a difficult problem. He asked that the method of carrying the resolution into effect should be left to the discretion of the National Administrative Council of the I. L. P. This he succeeded in persuading the Conference to accept. The net effect is, of course, that the resolution is quietly buried while the sham Left leaders can continue to claim credit for an empty gesture. But it may be taken as certain that a number of the members of the I. L. P., who sincerely desire a militar-

policy, will be led by this incident to see the true character of their sham Left leaders, and to realise that the militant leadership they want can only be found in the Communist Party.

The final moments of the Conference provided a conclusion both ironic and fitting. The delegates rose and sang Robert Burns' hymn to friendship — "Auld Lang Syne" — because the War Office, which owns the hall in which the Conference met, had forbidden the singing of the British revolutionary workers' song — "The Red Flag".

FIRST OF MAY

Long Live the First of May, the Day of Struggle!

(Theses for Agitators.)

I. Origin of Red May-Day Festival.

1. The power of the May Day celebrations consists in the fact that the first decision regarding this festival already sounded to the working class as an enthusiastic fighting appeal, and to the bourgeoisie as the courageous challenge of a young class, still in fetters, which already realised the inevitability of its coming victory. The first of May was declared to be an international festival day at the first Congress of the Second International, which took place in July 1889 in Paris. Already the eve of 1st of May 1890 was marked by serious preparations for struggle both on the part of the bourgeoisie and on the part of the proletariat in the most important European countries. In Vienna, Paris, Berlin and in a whole number of other European capitals the bourgeoisie called up whole regiments in anticipation of an immediate revolt of the workers. On the 2nd of June 1890, Wilhelm Liebknecht summed up the result of a number of May demonstrations, which showed that the decision of the Paris Congress regarding the May Day festival was no empty gesture. The participants in the first May Day festival (1890) include the Warsaw workers, who are now courageously fighting against the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski, and who at that time were bleeding under the iron repression of Russian Tsarism.

2. The I. Congress of the II. International was opened on the 14th of July 1889, the hundredth anniversary of the capture of the Bastille by the revolutionary Paris masses. At the time of this Congress the events of the Paris Commune were still fresh in the public memory. The organisers and leaders of this Congress considered the new international organisation as the immediate continuation of the revolutionary work of the First International, at the head of which stood Karl Marx. At this Congress Wilhelm Liebknecht said: "Just as in olden times, at battles and sieges, the fighters in the front ranks threw their spears into the ranks of the enemy or over the walls of the enemy's stronghold in order to cause the masses of fighters to follow the weapons which had thus been thrown, so the International Workers' Association (The First International) threw the spear of the international fight for emancipation far into the midst of the army, into the midst of the fortress of capitalism, and the proletariat rushes forward in order to bring back the spear, in order to scatter the army of the enemy and gain possession of the enemy's fortress."

At the opening of the first session of the Congress Lafargue said that the task of the International consisted in tearing down the bastille erected by the capitalist slave-owners, and then declared: "The delegates assembled in this hall from Europe and America do not represent here their various fatherlands, they come together here neither under the tricolour (the French flag), nor under any other national banner. They unite here under the red banner, under the banner of the international proletariat".

In order to make real the idea of proletarian solidarity a decision regarding an international demonstration on the First of May was adopted. This decision reads:

"At a definite moment a wide-scale international demonstration is to be organised, and in such a way that in all countries and all towns simultaneously, on a definite day, the workers submit to the State power the demand

for the introduction of the eight-hour day and proclaim aloud the other decisions of the International Paris Congress."

"In view of the fact that the American Federation of Labour, at its Congress at St. Louis in December 1888, had already decided to hold such a demonstration on the 1st of May 1890, this day is chosen also for the international demonstration

The workers of various nations must organise this demonstration in such a way as the conditions obtaining in each individual country appear to warrant."

3. At the time of the Paris Congress the fight for the 1st of May already had its history, and the banner of the 1st of May was already dyed with the blood of the advanced workers of the United States of America. Already in the year 1884 the organised workers of the United States of America (at the IV. Congress of the trade unions and Labour organisations) decided to take up anew the fight for the eight-hour day. Somewhat later it was decided to select the 1st of May 1886 for this fight. In the May days of this year (1886) the American bourgeoisie showed the nature of bourgeois democracy in the fight with their class enemy. Peaceable workers' demonstrations were suppressed by armed force, and "agitators" who had disturbed the peace of the American bourgeoisie were executed on the ground of an "unprejudiced" verdict of a jury. Later on the American bourgeoisie were obliged to admit that the verdict on the leaders of the fight for the eight-hour day was a travesty of justice. The ruthless campaign of vengeance against the pioneers of the fight for the First of May made the May festival sacred for millions of proletarians.

4. The decision of the Paris Congress reflected the strong as well as the weak sides of the II. International at the beginning of its existence. The idea of an international demonstration reflected the revolutionary feelings of the proletarian advance-guard, which was endeavouring to give reality to the traditions of the first International. But already at this first Congress there was also to be heard the voice of the opportunists, who played a leading role in the oldest land of capitalism, in England. In the vacillations of the opportunist elements at this Congress lies the explanation why the Congress did not fix the exact form for a May demonstration, but left this question to be decided by the national sections. By this decision the Paris Congress made an abrupt turn from the traditions of the First International, in that the Second International came forward not as a central organisation of the International proletariat but as a loose federation of national organisations. It was this form of organisation that rendered possible the victory of reformism over Socialism in the ranks of the II. International.

The resolution of the Paris Congress also does not state what further demands, in addition to the eight-hour day, are to be brought forward on the First of May. The resolution confines itself to pointing out that it is necessary on the First of May to proclaim all the decisions of the Paris Congress of the International. It must be added, however, that the most important resolution of this Congress, which was directed against the standing army, ended with the following formula:

"The Congress further declares that war — this sad result of present economic relations — will only disappear when the capitalist method of production gives place to emancipated Labour and the international victory of socialism."

5. The Fight for the First of May assumed a more concrete form at the next Congress of the II. International at Brussels in the year 1891. After a debate the Brussels Congress adopted the following decision:

"The International May festival is at the same time devoted to the principle of the eight-hour day, the regulation of the conditions of labour, and the all-round strengthening of the proletariat and its endeavours to secure peace among the peoples. In order to preserve the true class character of the May celebration — as expressed in the demand for the eight-hour day — and the strengthening of the class struggle, the Congress fixes a uniform demonstration for the workers of all countries. This demonstration is to take place on First of May. It is recommended, where possible, to cease work."

This decision is a step forwards. The idea of a strike, however, is formulated only generally, and with the reservation "where possible". But in spite of this reservation the English delegates voted against this practical part of the resolution. Before the adoption of the resolution, the English, along with the Germans, put forward the view that the May festival should be postponed to the first Sunday after the First of May.

The idea of the May festival met with the widest response among the advanced workers. Its significance as a celebration of the revolutionary class struggle penetrated more and more the consciousness of the proletarian masses. The attitude of the workers to the May festival finds its expression in the resolution of the Zürich Congress of 1893. In the resolution of this Congress we read regarding the First of May:

"The demonstration on the First of May for the eight-hour day must at the same time induce the powerful will of the working class to act, and strengthen the hopes of the approach of a social revolution and international peace."

In the May Number of the "Neue Zeit" Karl Kautsky, who at that time was still a Marxist, wrote:

"The May festival is not only a military review, but also a declaration of war, and on this day our battle-cry must be: War against war!"

The Zürich Congress likewise declared that the most effective form of demonstration is the cessation of work, i. e. the strike.

6. The development of opportunism in the ranks of the International had its effect also on the May festival. Not only the English but also the German reformists, in spite of all the Congress decisions, preferred to postpone the May festival to the first Sunday in May, and endeavoured more and more to give to the revolutionary demonstration the character of a petty-bourgeois people's festival. The attitude to the May festival was an acid test for the opportunist elements in the II. International, who became ever stronger as imperialism succeeded in harnessing the social democratic organisations to its chariot. But against the will and efforts of the reformists, the May festival displayed wonderful vital force as a revolutionary festival of struggle. The revolutionary character of the May festival was determined by the strivings of the workers for international unity and active fight against capitalism. In addition, the First of May became, in the overwhelming majority of countries, not only a day of struggle for the general demands formulated by the Congress, but also for all the slogans which had been raised by the course of development of the struggle in the respective countries.

The red May festival played an exceedingly great role in the development of the revolutionary movement in the old Tsarist Russia. From 1890 onwards the May festival became more and more an instrument for mobilising the proletarian masses for the fight against Tsarism. The number of workers in the various parts of Tsarist Russia who actively participated in the May fights grew from year to year. The May celebrations became revolutionary fighting days, and often acquired the character of street battles. The May celebrations in the year 1905 reached a very high point. In this year the May celebration was the immediate continuation of the January days, which represented the beginning of the stormy upsurge of the First Russian revolution. In the year 1906 the May celebration became a celebration on the part of the whole of the working class of all nationalities inhabiting the old Tsarist Empire.

The revolutionary events of 1905, and in particular the May demonstrations in Russia in the years 1905 and 1906, had their effects on the May festivals in Europe. At the beginning of the first Russian revolution the social reformists in a whole number of countries had already succeeded in causing to be forgotten the solemn resolutions which had been adopted at the First Congress of the II. International. The 1st of May 1906 was

characterised by anxiety on the part of the bourgeoisie in various countries, and in the first place on the part of the French bourgeoisie. But both the anxiety of the bourgeoisie and the hopes of the revolutionary proletariat proved unjustified. Reformism was already sufficiently strong in the social democratic parties to prevent a complete display of the sympathies of the workers for the Russian revolution.

7. The May festivals became ever more colourless. The social democracy was nevertheless not in a position to abolish completely the red May festival, the symbol of international solidarity and of revolutionary fight against imperialism. The May festivals became, objectively, a form of struggle on the part of the working masses against the rotteness and degeneration of the social democratic party.

The red May festival in Tsarist Russia acquired a considerable impetus in the years immediately preceding the world war. In the years of gloomy reaction (1908—1912) the May festival was forced into illegality, from which it again appeared on the scene at the time of the fresh upsurge of the revolutionary wave. The strikes and demonstrations on 1st of May became ever more imposing; in the year 1914 all workers of St. Petersburg took part in the May celebrations, and demonstrations took place in Riga, Moscow, Warsaw, Charkow, Nikolayev and a whole number of proletarian centres of old Russia.

Lenin described the May festivals of 1912 in Russia in the following words:

"The grandiose May strike of the proletariat of the whole of Russia, and the street demonstrations connected with it, the revolutionary proclamations and the revolutionary speeches to the working masses show clearly that Russia has entered on a period of revolutionary upsurge."

The red May Day festival continues to live not only in Russia but also in the whole world. It still plays its role as the military review of the forces of the revolution. It is directed not only against the bourgeoisie and its apparatus of power, but also against the reformist social democracy, which is becoming more and more an agency of the bourgeoisie. The red May festivals register the relation of forces between proletariat and bourgeoisie and also the relation of forces between the revolutionary proletarian masses and organised reformism.

(To be continued.)

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