

- INTERNATIONAL -

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CONTENTS

Alini: The Political Situation in Palestine.

League of Nations.

F. Wieser: The Geneva Drama.

Against Colonial Oppression.

J. B.: The Blood Bath in the "Holy Land".

P.: The Calcutta Strike.

International Red Day.

The Results of the International Red Day II.

The Labour Movement.

Paul Merker: The Strike of the Berlin Pipe Layers.

K. Gottwald: The Lessons of the Factory Council Elections in Witkovitz.

The Trade Union Movement.

P.: The Results of the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference.

In the Camp of our Enemies.

The British Trade Union Congress.

In the International.

Decision of the International Control Commission of the C. I. in the Matter of John Pepper.

Fight against the Right Danger.

M. H.: The Purging of the Editorial Staff of "l'Humanité".

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.

D. Petrovsky: Industrialisation, the Socialist Competitive System and the Tasks of the International Working Class.

Book Reviews.

A. Komjati: V. I. Lenin: Collected Works Volume XX. The Revolution of 1917.

The Political Situation in Palestine.

By Alini (Jerusalem).

The policy of British imperialism in Palestine is determined by its policy in the Near East in general and by its policy in Arabia and Egypt in particular. It follows therefore that the national revolutionary movements of Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and also of Egypt are closely related. The political situation in Palestine is therefore under the direct influence of the political factors and of the political situation of the countries mentioned.

The suppression of the Syrian insurrection in 1927, which coincided with the defeat of the Chinese revolution and with the defeat of the insurrectionary movement in Morocco, was the result of an intensification of the aggressive policy of Anglo-French imperialism in the Near East and caused a reaction in the national movements of Arabia and Egypt.

British imperialism, which fought against French influence in the Near East before and at the commencement of the Syrian insurrection, was frightened by the extent, the serious anti-imperialist character and the persistence of this insurrection (almost two years) and united temporarily with French imperialism and concluded a Treaty of Friendship with it. Anglo-French policy in the near East was co-ordinated upon the basis of this agreement. A joint plan was worked out for the struggle against the national revolution and the communist movement.

Almost simultaneously (1928) the Parliaments in Egypt and Syria were dissolved by violence and British and French dictatorship respectively, were set up. British imperialism compelled the governments of Iraq and Transjordan to sign agreements which enslaved these countries and made King Feisal of Iraq and the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan with their Ministers marionettes to carry out the orders of their English "advisers" unreservedly. In order to subjugate the chief of the Wahabites Ibn Saud, British imperialism used intrigue and corruption in order to incite a number of Bedouin tribes to revolt against him. All this as well as intensified repression against the nationalists in general and against the communists in particular, were the characteristic phenomena of the co-ordinated Anglo-French aggressive activity in Egypt and Arabia.

After the defeat of the insurrection in Syria, the Arab national revolutionary movement capitulated. Only the chief of the Druses, Sultan Al Atrash refused to submit to the French and fled with the remnants of the insurgents into the desert. Even the Arabian Istahlal Party, which has supporters in all Arabian countries and which has a national revolutionary tradition, adopted a conciliatory attitude towards French imperialism. The capitulation affected also the Arabian national revolutionary movement in the other countries. The movement de-

veloped towards the Right and made its peace with the imperialists, that is to say, it became a national reformist movement. Only in Transjordan did the Arabian nationalists continue a desperate struggle (not with parliamentary methods) against the previously mentioned British agreement. The parliamentary elections were boycotted and street demonstrations against the British were carried out, etc.

The aggressive policy of British imperialism in Palestine following upon the suppression of the insurrection in Syria consisted in the promulgation of numerous laws and in the practical rule of British officials. In 1922 the British planned to hold parliamentary elections in Palestine within the framework of the British mandate. The Arabian nationalists, who were opposed to the British occupation of the country, boycotted unanimously the elections and thus spoiled the plans of the British. In 1928, following upon the 7th Arabian congress in Palestine, which openly confirmed the treachery of the rich landowners and the bourgeoisie towards the Arabian national revolutionary movement, the ruling classes, the same bourgeoisie, approached the British with the request that the latter should put their 1922 plan into action. This request was categorically rejected by the British authorities. Laws have been passed depriving the existing municipal administrations in the towns of their independence, robbing the toilers, and above all the workers, of the franchise and giving unlimited powers to the British High Commissioner in Palestine and to the government. To-day the head of the town is no longer elected by the municipality, but appointed by the High Commissioner. The latter has also the right to deprive elected municipal councillors of their mandates. All the decisions of the municipal councils can be annulled by the High Commissioner or by the Governors. The budget is only valid after it has received the approval of the governors.

Only two months ago the governor of Haifa compelled the council there to recognise the British officials who had been rejected by the council. The protests of the council were ignored and it was compelled to submit. Despite unanimous resistance on the part of the population, the government of Palestine has concluded a customs agreement with Syria, which is calculated to prevent the development of the productive forces of the country. Laws have also been passed "settling" the agrarian question and introducing a register of assessment, which means, under the conditions obtaining in Palestine, the expropriation and the plundering of the Fellaheen (poor peasants). In the last year the repressive measures against the revolutionary workers in general and against the communists in particular, have taken on a mass character. More deportations took place than ever before. A barbarous regime has been introduced for the political prisoners, worse than ever before.

Apart from the general political causes which have led to the strengthening of the imperialist reaction, economic causes of a purely local character have had their effect in Palestine. Investigation into the possibility of an economic exploitation of the country were concluded at the end of 1927. The expansion of British colonial capital commenced in Palestine. Valuable minerals were discovered in the Dead Sea; the orange plantations proved profitable and a number of industrial undertakings existed (cement works, soap boiling works, power stations, etc.) to a limited degree. Through anonymous firms large-scale British capitalists under the leadership of Lord Melchett, Lord Reading, etc. bought up great areas of land suitable for orange plantations. At the same time they purchased the majority of the shares in a great cement works and in the soap boiling works in Haifa. They are also the chief shareholders in the society for the utilisation of the mineral resources of the Dead Sea and in the scheme for the electrification of Palestine, which runs officially under the name of an engineer named Ruthenberg. British colonial capital demands from the government of Palestine a policy of the strong hand in order that British capital may be able to occupy the dominating economic positions unhindered by the local population.

The means used by British imperialism in order to rule Palestine without any control on the part of the population, consisted not only of the incitement of national and religious passion and the incitement of the Arabs against the Jews, but also in the corruption of Arab notables in order to disrupt and demoralise the Arab national movement.

Even before the 7th Arabian Congress, the corrupt notables like Issa al Issa (the editor of the newspaper "Faik") Nagiashibi (the mayor of Jerusalem) and others organised opposition against the Arab Executive elected by the Arabian congress and demanded the abandonment of the imperialist decisions, a reconciliation with the British authorities and a limitation to parliamentary means. Under the influence of this opposition and under the impression of the defeat of the insurrection in Syria, the Arab landowners and the bourgeoisie betrayed the national-revolutionary movement.

The fact that the ruling classes succeeded so easily in guiding the Arab national-revolutionary movement into a pro-imperialist policy, is to be explained by the lack of Arab national organisations. There is no national-revolutionary political party in Palestine. The Arabian congress is elected by the rich landowners, the bourgeoisie, and in part by the intellectuals who have performed certain services. The weak national revolutionary wing, which is led by Hamdi al Hussein, who is at present held in prison by the British, has only recently developed into a mass organisation of the youth and is now preparing the way for the formation of a left-wing national revolutionary political party.

The characteristic feature of the new national reformist policy of the Arabian Executive, is the abandonment of the struggle against British imperialism. The Zionists, who were regarded by the Arabian nationalists before their 7th congress as an instrument of British imperialism and whom they fought against as such, are now regarded only as dangerous competitors standing in the way of a conciliatory policy towards British imperialism. The demands of the Arabian Executive are confined to the setting up of parliament and to the increase of the number of Arab officials, etc. Parallel with this policy the Arabian Executive has intensified its struggle against the national group in general and against the Communist Party of Palestine in particular.

The national reformist change in the policy of the Arabian movement was answered by the Zionists, who feared an agreement between the Arabian Executive and the British would mean a bitter struggle against the demand of the Arabs for the setting up of parliament and openly in favour of the maintenance of the present arbitrary regime of the British officials. The Zionists succeeded in putting through a number of reforms in favour of Zionism: the exclusive right of unlimited immigration into Palestine for the Jews, the exclusive colonisation of Jewish immigrants upon the State lands and the exempting of Jewish immigrants from land taxes in the first years, national Jewish autonomy and democratic self-administration in the exclusive Jewish districts, increased admission of Jews into the police and gendarmerie, increase of the number of State officials and of Jewish workers in the State undertakings, etc.

This policy of the Zionists was unreservedly supported by the reformist Zionist parties. The left-wing Poale Zion concealed its actual agreement with these Zionist demands by revolutionary phrases which cost nothing.

The political role of the reformists in Palestine is characterised by the following facts: In 1928, after the publication of the report of the British representative in the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations, which declared that there were no insurrections in Palestine, the well-known reformist Beilinson wrote the following in the Palestine reformist newspaper "Davar": "The British authorities must thank us (the Zionists and the reformists, A.) for peace in Palestine".

Parallel with the intensifying reaction in Palestine, there is a diametrically opposed process going on amongst the working population. The growing exploitation of the workers as an accompaniment of the capitalist development of the country, the pauperisation of the peasants as the result of the expropriation of the land, and the capitalist development of agriculture (orange plantations), are the causes of the growing anger of the workers and particularly of the peasants against the exploiters. Since the end of 1927, one agrarian conflict has followed the other. In this connection, the number of trials continually increased. We will limit ourselves to enumerating the most important conflicts: In Ain-Keven near Jerusalem in the villages of Arra and Karrara between the poor peasants and the Arab rich peasants and rich landowners, in W. Havaras between the Fellaheen and the Zionist organisations.

in **Infiath** between the Fellaheen and the rich Jewish classes.

The number of strikes of the Arab workers is also growing. The movement of the Arab workers is at present greater ever before. The most important strikes were: the strike at the tobacco factory **Mabruk** in **Haifa**, the bakers, the building workers and the workers engaged in the building of the Rockefeller museum in **Jerusalem**, the strike in the quarries near **Jerusalem**, etc.

The agrarian conflicts, the growing strikes of the Arab workers and the commencing fraternisation of the Arab and Jewish workers (the frequently expressed wish of the Arab workers for a common organisation with their Jewish class comrades, the Jewish-Arab strikes and workers demonstrations on the 1st August) prove the radicalisation of the working position in Palestine. The extent of this radicalisation must, however, not be overestimated. It shows the growth of the revolutionary movement, but has not yet reached the stage of a serious, class-conscious revolutionary offensive of the toilers in Palestine against their enemies.

The Communist Party of Palestine is conducting a constant struggle against British imperialism and against its agents, the Zionist and Arab possessing classes. It rallies the Arab and Jewish workers and peasants under the slogans: the liberation of Palestine by the British troops, the independence of Palestine and the other Arabian countries, a workers and peasants government, the agrarian revolution, etc. The work of the Communist Party is made extremely difficult by the illegality which it is compelled to work, and the persecutions on the part of the British authorities and the Arab and Zionist reactionaries.

The British Labour Government is continuing the policy of its Conservative predecessors with a still greater imperialist tendency. During the whole time of its existence, it has fought about no political administrative and socio-economic changes in Palestine in order to mitigate the intolerable situation of the toilers. Under MacDonald's Government the old barbaric regime has been maintained and the political persecutions have even been increased. Under MacDonald's Government the arrest and deportation of revolutionary workers and in particular of communists have taken on a still greater mass character than under the Conservative government (mass arrests and deportations in connection with the demonstrations on the 1st August). In conclusion, it must be said: The political situation in Palestine before the insurrection was characterised by the aggressiveness of British imperialism, which supported itself upon Zionism and upon the reactionary attitude of the British national reformist Executive, and by the radicalisation of the working masses of Palestine, and in particular of the toilers, but this process had not advanced far enough to inaugurate a victorious revolution in Palestine. This political situation explains the insurrection in Palestine and its character.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Geneva Drama.

By F. Wieser.

Geneva, September 5th, 1920.

The new pacifist attempt at obfuscation, introduced at the conference at the Hague, was zealously continued in Geneva at the "Jubilee Session" of the League of Nations. At the Hague it was **Henderson** who at the conclusion of the conference, during which imperialist contradictions had collided with unusual sharpness, denied that there was any "hostile tone" in the struggle between Great Britain and France and appraised the "operation" between the imperialist powers at the conference as an important step in the direction of world peace. At the Geneva conference another leading light of the II. International, **MacDonald**, assumed the task of persuading the toiling masses that the international imperialist conflicts can be settled peacefully and that the League of Nations is seriously setting about the execution of general disarmament.

In the introduction of his speech **MacDonald** emphasised the difference as compared with the period of the first Labour Government. Since that time much has been done for peace and the authority of the League of Nations has been enhanced. "We are now confronted with the task of further developing the authority of the League of Nations and of strengthening the foundations of international peace" — such was his dictum. He tried by means of "psychological" considerations to veil the differences with France on the question of security.

In the further course of his speech, **MacDonald** attempted to justify the tactics of the British Labour Government at the conference at the Hague. He spoke pathetically about the attitude of the British Government, which was "dictated by self-respect".

MacDonald's speech sounded like a sermon from a Methodist preacher, especially the portion devoted to the disarmament question. By means of quotations from the bible, such as "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword!", he endeavoured to evade a definite attitude in the concrete question of disarmament. He did not say a single word about the question of relations with the Soviet Union and the Russian disarmament proposals.

In regard to the negotiations with America concerning naval disarmament, **MacDonald** refused, allegedly out of consideration for Hoover, to give any concrete data. He declared quite briefly that agreement had been arrived at upon 17 points out of 20. On this question he made the following remarks:

"The first and real contribution of England to the preparation of the disarmament conference is the settlement of naval disarmament. The best way is an agreement between America and England. Our discussions are in no way and not at all directed against anybody, but are animated in the broadest sense by the wish to solve the whole disarmament problem by means of this agreement."

Thereupon followed a hymn of praise upon the practice of settlements by arbitration, adorned with such phrases as: "The powers must not be regarded as angels." **MacDonald** then declared that England is prepared to sign the optional clause of the Hague convention and to render possible Egypt's entry to the League of Nations. In regard to the colonial mandate **MacDonald** declared that the Labour Government recognises the principle of such mandates, i. e. rejects the emancipation of colonial nations from the imperialist yoke.

In relation to the proceedings in Palestine **MacDonald** spoke in tones of great dismay. He described these bloody proceedings as "criminal disturbances of peace and order" and declared that it was the task of the League of Nations to prevent such happenings in the future. His speech terminated with the pathetic slogan "peace shall be consolidated".

Briand's speech was a match to **MacDonald's** speech. He also tried to evade a clear political attitude in the disarmament question. He, too, spoke of the "great peace successes" of the League of Nations, but he, too, was obliged promptly to declare that the League of Nations is "not yet" in a position to prevent war. The Kellogg Pact represents a moral barrier against war, but it is still necessary to create real sanctions for the "punishment" of war criminals. Disarmament is the "sacred duty of the League of Nations", but it is a very difficult problem, for France must bring up the parallel question of security. France is following with great attention the negotiations between England and America on the naval disarmament question and hopes that a solution will be found.

The "Pan-Europe" question was also touched upon by **Briand**, who said that during the session negotiations would take place between France and other European States especially in regard to the question of "economic disarmament", which the League of Nations "must earnestly advocate". This question must, however, be regarded as a political and not as a purely economic problem.

Briand closed his speech with the hypocritical challenge that youth should be educated to peace.

Those are the words. And the deeds? While **MacDonald** was holding his speech, British bombing machines, armoured cars and warships were razing Arab peasant villages to the ground and in China thousands of Soviet subjects were again being arrested and cruelly tortured by the henchmen of the imperialists. And the chairman of the American naval committee, **Senator Hale**, stated in regard to the disarmament discussions between Great Britain and America that 15 of the

approved cruisers would be built quite independently of this agreement. The great peace speech of MacDonald appears in the light of facts to be an exploitation of the League of Nations for increased arming on the part of Great Britain and America.

The diplomats of the League of Nations' conference disclosed its real nature when they repeatedly and ostentatiously interrupted with applause the speech of the Chinese representative, who had the cheek to represent the Chinese Eastern Railway conflict as a provocation on the part of the Soviet Union.

While in the public sessions "peace" is being talked about, behind the scenes preparations for war are being carried on the faster. The two "peace heroes" MacDonald and Briand are carrying on behind the scenes "private" discussions of the question of common procedure against the Soviet Union.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Blood Bath in the "Holy Land".

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The street fight, which began on the 23rd August at one o'clock in the morning between Jews and Arabs at the two main gates of Jerusalem, was the signal for a general Arab rising in Palestine, which also spread to the neighbouring country of Transjordan. The insurrection, an expression of the long suppressed and smothered fermentation among the Mohammedans and especially among the peasant and Bedouin masses was in the first stage not anti-British in character, but anti-Jewish: a crafty co-operation of the imperialist government, of the Zionist Fascists and of the Mohammedan clerical "Medshless Islami" saw to it that the question of the "Wailing Wall" was raised to a question of supreme political significance, to the symbol of a fight for supremacy in the "Holy Land".

The Arabian feudal chiefs and bourgeoisie, discredited through their compromising with British imperialism and through their national treason, grouped themselves about the "Medshless" and with the help of a portion of the British-imperialist official staff (which the socialist MacDonald had maintained unchanged in its conservative splendour) inflamed the fanatic hatred of the Moslems against the Jewish "un-believers", who desired to lay hands upon Mohammedan sacred relics. The Zionist Fascist clique incited by the illusions raised by the group of British Social-imperialists around Wedgewood & Co. concerning the erection of a seventh "Jewish" dominion in Palestine, replied with the fomentation of the Jewish-Zionist chauvinism and with provocative nationalist demonstrations. The government itself manoeuvred between the two camps, dropping a little oil wherever the fire threatened to go out and trying at any price to destroy the Jewish-Arab rapprochement observable in recent years, in spite of all the treacherous imperialist, Zionist and national efforts at treachery, especially among the workers.

The witch's cauldron was bound to explode — the national movement was unchained and a bloody flood swept the "holy land". Amidst this uncurbed mass movement the Zionists paid for permitting themselves, through the Ballour declaration, to be thrust into an outpost of British imperialism in the Arabian countries. To state the facts simply: the unscrupulous Zionist leaders left the poor Jewish populace to pay the cost of the pro-imperialist policy. For the fanatic masses of Mohammedan peasants and Bedouins, under the leadership of obscurantist clericals, feudal chiefs and bourgeois elements, fell with fire and sword chiefly upon the unarmed poor Jewish settlements, Jewish synagogues and schools, where terrible bloodshed took place. At the Talmud school of Hebron sixty Jewish scholars — also children — were killed and mutilated. In the colony of Moza a Jewish family was slaughtered with the women and children. Other colonies were burnt to the ground. Then came the English — in the good old Tsarist fashion — usually when the row was over, or just in time to massacre the Arab peasants with machine guns, bombs and armoured cars.

Right to the last moment Jewish-Zionist Fascism remained loyal to its imperialist mission: it occupied itself with murdering of the individual Arabs who had not been let get out of the Jewish "zone" in time (the murder of two workers on August 24th by Jewish Fascists in the thoroughfare of Jerusalem was particularly gruesome) and burning of Arab houses, etc.

Up to August 27th the number of victims, dead and wounded, had risen to several hundreds, and 90 per cent of them were innocent Jews and Arabs not concerned with the conflict. But the movement began to get out of the hands of the national-reformist leadership and of the British authorities and to be transformed from a pogrom into an anti-imperialist insurrection: in the purely Arab towns, such as Nablus, Tulkarem where there was not a Jewish-Zionist Barrier, the Government was attacked and the Arabian national flag was hoisted in places. In Transjordan the Bedouins rose to help their brethren in Palestine. The fact that among the victims there were American citizens led to energetic American pressure (and to a secret threat to land American troops!), so that the Government was obliged to acknowledge that the pogrom provoked had more serious effect than was desired. The British troops were reinforced and very shortly British military occupation was to be increased. Thereby, however, appear the outlines of one of the big political plans, which make the bloodbath of Palestine comprehensible in the light of the world political interests of the British Empire: the protection of the east bank of the Suez Canal must be secured for the coming war and, if possible, at the cost of the native population; at the same time the Arab national movement is to be discredited through pogrom excesses, completely demoralised and later on terrorised so that a purely revolutionary insurrection will be possible!

During the complete bankruptcy of the Zionist party which are mere pawns on the imperialist chess-board, the Zionist-reformists (II. International), who are partly responsible for the bloodbath in Palestine perpetrated in the name of MacDonald's "Labour Government", as also of the Arabian national reformists, who have proved objectively to be demoralised, of the Arab national movement (the still weak national-revolutionary group of Hamdi Hussein, whose leader was put in prison by the imperialists for issuing warning against pogroms, calling upon his people to march against the imperialists), Communists were the only group who worked indefatigably for the fraternisation of the Jewish and Arab workers in the fight against British imperialism. On the very morning of the Friday (August 29th) all the walls of Jerusalem were covered with proclamations: "Do not murder one another! Arab and Jewish workers, turn against the common enemy, British imperialism!", "Set up an independent workers' and peasants' government!", etc. — and every Communist was at his post in the streets, agitating in this sense. In view of their big Arab cadres and their big losses after August 1st, the Communists could not gain influence on the mass movement, which grew from hour to hour and was inflamed by blind religious fanaticism. Their slogans nevertheless became the common property of the Arab and Jewish workers of the town: they did not express itself merely in the general agreement of the workers as to the question of the responsibility of the British imperialists, of the necessity for fraternisation, etc., but also in the demand for international Labour solidarity (the defence of Jewish workers by Arabs and vice versa) which stood out in marked contrast to the bestial cruelty on both sides in the pogroms. The Communists were, however, not able to play an organisational role, but the experience of the mighty movement (which has by now means come to an end and, which, by the way, also proves how "firm and strong" the imperialist stabilisation is, in the degree MacDonald opened the era of "peace", and how dangerous is this and similar nonsense hawked by the portunists of the Right!) will serve the Communists as a lesson for further advance. To the intensified chauvinist agitation, Communists will oppose the slogan of international organisation and particularly the formation of international trade unions, spread and deepen the work among the Arab peasantry and at the same time — in spite of the heavy blows the C. P. can surely expect from the British military dictatorship, just as long as it feels that its position is secure in the country — carry still more intensively the fight for the creation of the independent workers' and peasants' republics of the Arab countries.

The Calcutta Strike.

By P. (Moscow).

MacDonald is carrying on in India a policy of bribery and bullying. Unimportant reforms are promised, attempts are made at corruption and the revolutionary movement is suppressed.

This and nothing else is the sense of the policy of the imperialists carried out by the Labour Government. The workers are to be blessed with the reforms, the peasants with a reduction of the ground tax and the industrial bourgeoisie with a reduction of customs duties. The purpose of the action is to restore for British finance capital the commanding economic position in India. The promised reforms are, however, unable to suppress the revolutionary movement or even to keep it as are the terrorist laws, the organisation of pogroms, strikes, terrorist trials and shootings. MacDonald's policy is bringing one defeat after another. The working class of India must not be misled or intimidated either by reformist promises or by the Terror of the English social imperialists.

In Bombay the fight of the textile workers continues. The workers' association of the textile trade publishes every day reports of the position in the factories, just as headquarters of the world war reported the situation on the fronts. If the workers may place any reliance on these reports on the front of the world war, the employers have already succeeded in setting one hundred thousand strikebreakers to work. But every fresh influx gives fresh impetus to the strike movement. The unskilled workers recruited in inland provinces become infected with the strike fever. A portion of the strikers have returned to the villages, so that the rural population is informed by actual participants concerning the strike of the workers in the town. Many thousands, however, still remain in the city. And they do all they can to protect their union "Girni Kamgar". It is only through the account of stubborn refusal of the workers to acknowledge their representatives that the arrested leaders of the above-mentioned union have been let out of prison for a few hours, ordered by prison officials, however, to take part in the session of the arbitration commission nominated by the government.

Also in Madras and Cawnpore strikes have broken out in the textile industry. They reflect a serious crisis in the Indian textile industry, the unbridgeable chasm between imperialism in Colonial India, the contradiction between the growth of the textile industry and the shrinkage of the domestic market. In 1928-29 India consumed 4210 million yards of different kinds of textile material, against only 3656 millions in 1923-29. The purchasing power of the impoverished Indian village is sinking ever lower. Output in India is also regressing. It amounted in the year 1928-29 to only 1893 million yards against 2356 million yards in the year 1927-28. Imports are falling at the same time. The American, English, Japanese and Italian industries are fighting furiously for the reduced sales market. England's share in the foreign trade of India has fallen off, for instance, from 59 per cent. in the year 1927-28 to 52 per cent. in the year 1928-29.

The movement is, however, not confined to the textile industry. In Jamshadpore 3000 metal workers have now begun a strike for three months. The leaders of the reformist federation, who desired to speak at their meeting, were howled down.

Finally, it should be remarked that the 35,000 railway workers of the so-called Great Indian Railway have driven out the reformist leaders and elected men of the Left, and that among the seamen and dockers, too, the fermentation is increasing.

But the seriousness of the revolutionary crisis in India is expressed most of all by the strike of the jute workers in Calcutta. Isolated collisions took place last year. They brought to light the interesting fact that the owners of the jute factories at the same time landed proprietors who lease their ground and employ some of their lessees as workers in their factories. In other words, the workers are in many cases doubly exploited as peasant lessees and as factory workers.

At the end of July of this year it came to a mass fight in the jute industry of Calcutta, when the employers lengthened the working day and at the same time reduced wages. While previously the workers put in a total of 54 hours in a working week of five days, from July 1st the working week was to

be 60 hours. The individual output quota was increased to such an extent that for the longer working week the workers would have received one rupee less in wages.

The jute industry of India, in contrast to other branches in the textile industry, work exclusively for export. It is entirely in the hands of English capitalists, although a considerable portion of the shares are distributed among the landowners of Bengal. The dividends of the jute industry are phantastic. They fluctuate between 30 per cent. and 140 per cent. of the nominal value of the shares. Colonial profiteering is here at its best. But the lust for profit knows no bounds. And it therefore happened that the employers undertook a fresh attack upon the starving workers. The workers replied to this challenge with a strike.

The national-reformist trade union, which has only a few hundred members, tried right from the start to throttle the strike. The leaders of the union implored the workers to return to the mills. As regards the left-wing trade union, which has a membership of 3000, all of the leaders were arrested immediately. Only a few members of the destroyed Workers' and Peasants' Party led the agitation for the strike. The movement comprises 200,000 workers. When the usual measures, such as arrests, maltreatment, etc. failed, the authorities resorted to provocation. The money lenders, on whom the Indian workers depend, because they receive the wages which are due to them only after the lapse of two or three weeks, gathered in front of the mills and demanded the repayment of the debts. The workers drove them away, and the authorities made use of this opportunity to fire into the masses. A state of siege was declared in Calcutta. Quotations of jute shares sank and the prices for jute goods went up.

While in Bombay the economic position was unfavourable for the workers and only a political success could be made of the strike, the situation in Calcutta is favourable for the workers from an economic point of view. The MacDonald Government still hopes that with the help of soldiers, shootings, imprisonment and with the support of the national-reformists it will succeed in throttling the strike. When it is a question of the dividends of the English capitalists and Indian landowners, it is not to be expected that the Labour Government will act with leniency. But the proletariat of Calcutta was able to stand the Terror and the state of siege. A sympathetic strike broke out on the city railway. Ten thousand workers of the Burma-Shell Oil Company went on strike. The railway workers, too, threatened to go on strike.

While during the five months of the heroic strike of the textile workers in Bombay it was impossible to extend the movement and to organise sympathetic strikes, in Calcutta practically the whole of the working class rose to protect the jute workers. The fact is all the more remarkable, as it happened without a strong revolutionary trade union and almost without a party. The movement developed with enormous rapidity. The wave rose higher and higher and the employers had to beat a retreat....

From reports received, it appears that the employers have been obliged to accord an increase of wages commensurate with the longer working hours, resumption of the old individual output quotas, maternity grants to the women workers and to take on again all the workers who had been discharged, etc. Particular mention should be made of the fact that the attempts of the employers and the authorities to victimise the leaders of the workers after the liquidation of the strike were countered by a fresh mass strike on the part of the jute workers.

Bombay and Calcutta have become the theatres of continual class struggles. At the same time, in the peasant province of Punjab, reprisals are taking place against the revolutionary peasant organisations, and mass trials and mass arrests are occurring. Even the National Congress was obliged to protest against the furious raging of the MacDonald creatures. Evidently peasants actions are brewing in the Punjab.

Through their heroic action, the working class of India is rousing the peasants to fight. When the call from Bombay and Calcutta reaches the countless peasant masses of India, a new chapter will begin in the history of the British Empire. MacDonald can check this process neither by reformist manoeuvres nor by White Terror against the revolutionary workers.

INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

The Results of the International Red Day.

From the "Pravda" 18th August.

(Continued.)

THE FRENCH PROLETARIAT AGAINST WAR AND FASCIST REACTION.

The demonstrations of the French workers on 1st August surpassed both in extent and variety of forms all the expectations of the C. P. of France. It is easily comprehensible that in Paris, where the government had concentrated approximately 50,000 police, gendarmerie, and troops, the demonstrations did not assume any general character. In the provinces, on the other hand, in all important industrial centres, in the coal mining districts, and indeed everywhere where large masses of the proletariat are to be found, demonstrations were held in spite of the measures taken by the police, and in spite of the strike-breaking propaganda made by the reformists.

The 1st August in the Works and Factories of Paris and its environs.

More than 8000 workers of the Citroën motor car factories, which are scattered all over Paris and its environs, took part in the movement. In sixteen of the districts of Paris numerous workers stopped work, among these the workers of the Descoufle metal works, Brégout (airplane works), Cocard, Ballot, and Sago. The workers employed in the Sago works left the factory in a body, singing the "International".

The workers employed in the boiler factory Alstome at Saint Quen, although not members of the trade union, downed tools. They were joined by the building workers and by the women workers of the steel goods factories, etc. In Levallois the whole of the workers employed by the firm of Moris left the workshops at 11 o'clock, a communist worker giving the signal with the siren. In Juvisy the railway workshops practically ceased work. The workers of the Benjamin factory at Levallois, and of the Delage factory in Courbevoie, joined in the strike to a man. At the smelting works "Gnome at Rhône" in Lavallois the moulders ceased work.

In St. Denis the workers in most of the undertakings followed the slogans of the C. P. Here 60 per cent. of the workers, in round numbers, followed the strike slogan.

In Argenteuil and Bezons 3000 striking workers formed a demonstration procession, and marched through the main streets for three hours, shouting: "Down with war", "Down with government Fascism", "Long live the Soviets". The police did not venture to proceed against the demonstrators. In Puteaux the workers of the firm of Mühlberger unanimously absented themselves from work. In Clichy a large proportion of the "Société Mécanique" workers joined the strike action. In the Pigallo factory 60 per cent. of the workers ceased work at the time fixed by the Communist Party. In the Citroën works hundreds of workers ceased work at 11 o'clock, and demonstrated with cries of: "Down with Tardieu!", "Long live the amnesty!". The railway workshops in the Paris districts joined the strike action.

The workers of the great gasworks in Paris stopped work for one hour, as resolved by the trade union. The workers employed in the covered markets did the same.

In Asnières about 2000 workers organised a demonstration at 10 o'clock in the evening, and marched through the town singing the "International".

In the night from 1st to 2nd of August, at 2-30 a. m., the printing workers refused to set the type for the Fascist newspaper: "L'ami du Peuple". This was a protest against the confiscation of the "Humanité".

In the provinces, in the Department du Nord, the weaving mills ceased work at 12 o'clock. The workers employed in the Northern Railway workshops left the shops. The police at-

tempted to disperse them, but could not prevent their going for a meeting at a spot appointed by the Party.

In the Douai district 30,000 or 60 per cent. of the workers joined the strike action. The mayor of the town of Douai, socialist Escoffier, having issued a demonstration prohibition, the workers assembled at Wazières, 300 workers took part in the demonstration and the meeting following.

In the mining district of Denain, where altogether 30,000 workers are employed, 75 per cent. joined the strike in the Lantier collieries, 45 per cent. in Duchy, and 20 per cent. in Bessèze and Blignère.

In St. Etienne 70 per cent. of the miners ceased work on 1st August. In the evening a meeting was held by the workers of the armament factory, and a protest resolution against and against the repressive measures of the government was passed unanimously.

The post office and telegraph workers too joined the strike action on 1st August.

The strike was carried out almost completely in the Cluses bon-Feugerolles smelting works. The Flotard mines were almost idle to the extent of 25 per cent., the hammer works to 10 per cent., the bolt works to 60 per cent.

In the Gard coal district an average of 80 per cent. of the workers downed tools on 1st August. Strike action was carried out in Alès, and a great meeting organised, attended by 6000 persons.

As resolved by the tradesmen's union, almost all shops were closed.

In Troyes, where about 20,000 textile workers are employed, the strike slogan was followed in many factories up to 100 per cent. The soldiers of the cavalry division held in readiness fraternised with the workers in the streets. In Châlons-sur-Marne the great centre of the smelting industry, the strike was almost complete in the aeroplane factory and in the iron foundry. In the glass industry 50 per cent. of the workers joined the strike.

Demonstrations were held outside the railway depots during working hours. All long distance trains on the Paris-Lyon and Mediterranean line were greatly delayed.

The port, dock, and shipyard workers of Port-de-Bouc at Marseille, an important industrial centre, joined almost unanimously in the strike action.

In the important commercial port and industrial centre of Bordeaux 90 per cent. of the dock workers joined the strike. In the building trade 80 per cent. of the workers took part. Further strikers were 35 per cent. of the Gironde shipyard workers, 60 per cent. of the South West shipyard workers. At Roppart Valmier dock work ceased altogether. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon thousands of workers began to gather at the square arranged for the demonstration. The police threw themselves upon the workers, who offered energetic resistance. Some of the police were injured.

At Saint Nazaire hundreds of the shipyard workers stopped work. At Nantes 55 per cent. of the naval dockyard workers joined the strike. The dock labourers ceased work for an hour. At Halluin, the textile centre, 3000 workers demonstrated in the commercial port of Boulogne-sur-Mer the dock workers ceased work and organised a street demonstration. They offered an energetic resistance to the police who attempted to disperse the demonstration.

At Audincourt (motor car factory Peugeot), where 5000 workers are employed, demonstrations were held, involving conflicts with the police and the gendarmerie. Although the leaders and comrades were arrested, the 2000 workers resisted the police and demonstrated until late at night.

A great strike took place in the ore basin of Briey. Workers ceased in the mines to the extent of 40 to 80 per cent.

In Chalignv (smelting industry and mines) a huge meeting was held. In Reims numerous workers of all trades joined in the strike action. In Périgueux a great demonstration took place. The printing workers went on strike unanimously in the

gainst the arrest of their union secretary. In Nimes a number of demonstrations were held. 500 workers employed in the railway depot took up the strike, and were joined by many other workers. In Rouen (an important commercial port on the Seine and a textile centre) the street demonstrations lasted two hours. They were taken part in by 2000 workers, members of various unions. In Boucau (smelting industry) several thousands of workers held a meeting, and afterwards formed a procession which marched through the town. In the vineyard district of éciers the agricultural labourers demonstrated. In Toulouse demonstrations were held after working hours.

Impressive demonstrations were organised by the workers in **Strasbourg**. The police arrested two workers. Many of the miners joined the strike action. In most of the pits 50 per cent. of the colliers downed tools. In **Rombas** and **Hagondange** (smelting industry), where the municipal administration is communist, demonstrations were held in the evening. Numerous meetings were also held in the coal mining district of **Rohrbach**.

THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PARTY AND THE 1st AUGUST.

The Czechoslovakian Party had to deal with a very difficult task in its preparations for the Anti-War Day. As this Party was under opportunist leadership only recently, it has had to reckon with opportunist ideology and working methods in its organisations.

The Fascist repressive measures of the bourgeoisie and the prohibition of about 30 communist newspapers, forced the Party to make its preparations for the Red Day by illegal methods. It issued appeals for the holding of demonstrations, in spite of the prohibition. Numerous illegal Party newspapers were published: the "Rude Pravo", "Rudy Vetschernik", "Rudy signal", "Vorwärts", and "Internationale".

On 1st August the workers demonstrated in about 60 places. Some of the meetings and demonstrations were very well attended. In various works and factories the workers stopped work for one and a half to two hours — in the glass factory **Fleischmann** in Klein-Ujesd, the machine works **Hudec** and **Schramm** in Prague, the mining undertaking **Moravia**, the firm of **Janek** in Radotin, the glass factory **Haida**, the firm of **Fischmann & sons**, **Teplitz** (1100 workers), shoe factory **Holic**, furniture manufactory **Ungaria**, etc. Work was also stopped in many brick works, saw mills, and smaller undertakings.

Although thousands of workers carried out partial strikes, and tens of thousands demonstrated in the streets, real mass action was not attained in Czechoslovakia. In particular, the Party was not successful in inducing the tens of thousands of workers engaged in the war industry to take part in the struggle against imperialist war. It was only in **Pilsen** that 2500 workers organised a demonstration at the railway station.

In some places armed conflicts took place. In **Boronava** (Carpato-Russia) for instance where the clergy provoked the workers. The workers, not forgetting the lesson learnt from the events in **Boronava** in the autumn of 1928, defended themselves actively against the police and the clergy. 50 workers erected a **barricade**, and held this until the police troops received reinforcements. The workers fled to the woods. The workers involved in these conflicts were chiefly agricultural labourers and small peasants. These, too, took part in the demonstrations at **Hust**. The police resorted to especially brutal methods in **Teschen**, where the Czech workers fraternised with the Polish workers.

After the Anti-War Day the Central Committee of the Czech C.P. issued a declaration which, while pointing out the weak points of the demonstration, stated:

"The 1st August struck the first note of a struggle which must be continued and intensified, for the war danger threatening the whole proletariat is growing day by day. The struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union must be taken up by the whole proletariat. The Communist Party will draw the lessons from the collective experiences. It will correct the errors and close its ranks. It will improve its fighting methods and pursue the determined struggle for winning over the decisive masses of the workers."

THE RED DAY OF THE POLISH PROLETARIAT.

The Communist Party of Poland devoted special attention to the preparation of revolutionary demonstrations on 1st August. The Fascist Terror which assumed such frightful dimensions with the approach of the 1st August, prevented the Party from taking in time the measures necessary to ensure the complete success of the August demonstrations.

In spite of all the efforts of the Fascist state apparatus, and especially of the Fascist police, the Polish proletariat celebrated the Red Day by numerous demonstrations and strikes all over the country.

The bourgeois press is doing its best to pass over in silence or to belittle the successes gained by the C.P. in the great centres. Many newspapers, for instance, deny the fact of the partial strike among the Warsaw workers on 1st August. Other papers, which probably did not communicate in time with the political secret police, betrayed the truth so disagreeable for Fascism. The "Robotnik", the organ of the Polish Socialist Party", wrote on 2nd August:

"The communists had resolved to celebrate the 1st August by strikes and street demonstrations. In many industrial undertakings, especially in the Jewish quarters, the workers did not go to work."

Other detailed reports show the building and metal workers of Warsaw to have taken part in the strike.

In **Warsaw** the demonstrations began simultaneously at different spots early in the morning. The workers tried to break through the police cordons, but were dispersed by strong divisions of police. A demonstration worthy of special mention was that held by the workers before the "Paviak" prison, and the demonstration of solidarity made by the political prisoners in the prison itself. In Warsaw an actual state of siege prevailed. Police armed with carbines patrolled the streets of the workers' quarters. All the public parks and the restaurants in the workers' quarters were closed. At seven o'clock in the evening some hundreds of workers demonstrated before the premises of the ministerial council. At nine o'clock factory gate meetings were held at the **Norblin** and other factories.

The working people of **Lodz** again showed their revolutionary determination. The incomplete reports available on the 1st August in **Lodz** mention numerous demonstrations, dispersed everywhere by the police, mounted and on foot.

In the **Dombrov** district demonstrations were held by the revolutionary miners and metal workers, led by communist deputies. The police adopted especially brutal methods against the participants in the great demonstration held on the ground of the **Bankova** mine.

The demonstration held by the **Lemberg** workers in the **Solsky Square** assumed a most impressive character. Deputies of the agricultural workers fraction in the **Sevm. Ham** and others, delivered speeches. In the face of repeated police attacks the workers attempted again and again to demonstrate in various parts of the town. In **Vilna** the workers of many of the factories and works joined in the strike action and demonstrations.

A complete report on the events of 1st August in Poland is impossible at present in view of the illegality of the Party.

The bourgeois and social-democratic press, acting on the orders of the Fascist government, has endeavoured to pass over in silence the August demonstrations, or to represent them as an "irresponsible manoeuvre of a handful of communists". This plan has not been successful. The ever louder voices of protest from among the masses of Poland against Fascist oppression and against the preparations being made by Polish Fascism to attack the Soviet Union, cannot be made non-existent by a conspiracy of silence. Even the distorted mirror of the bourgeois press cannot but throw back a reflection, however imperfect, of the action of the revolutionary workers on the Red Day.

The demonstrations on 1st August are a further step forward on the heroic path leading the C. P. of Poland to the winning over of the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution.

IN FASCIST ITALY.

In spite of brutal Fascist reaction, the workers of Italy, too, participated in the celebration of the International Red Anti-War Day. Mass demonstrations were of course impossible. The Fascist press followed the preparations with the closest attention. On the eve of the 1st August the Fascist government caused numerous workers to be arrested in the great industrial centres.

Although the workers know very well that the Fascist press spreads tendentious and lying reports, these newspapers were read eagerly of late in the hope of its being possible to read between the lines something regarding the preparations being made in other countries for the 1st August. The C. P. and the C. G. L. (Italian Trade Union Federation) distributed leaflets and illegal newspapers, such as the Party organ "Unità", the organ of the young workers "Avanguardia", the "Compagna", the "Battaglie Sindacali", and pamphlets on the Fascist war armaments. In numerous towns — in Trieste, Monfalcone, Milan — small meetings were held by the workers. The workers of the Fiat motor car factory at Turin, who went on strike immediately before the 1st August in protest against wage reductions, passed a resolution on the necessity of the struggle against war and for the protection of the Soviet Union.

Trade union meetings were held in Milan and Leghorn. Pamphlets and leaflets in the Slovenian language, exposing Yugoslav and Italian imperialism, were distributed in the province of Venetia Julia. Workers' meetings were held all over the province and resolutions passed against war.

At the San Marco naval shipyard a red flag was hoisted during the night, although the police and Fascist militia sentries had been reinforced. In Bologna, Leghorn, and many other centres, the walls were inscribed with slogans appealing for the defence of the Soviet Union and for the struggle against fascism. The local organisations of the Party and the C. G. L. published leaflets against war, against the raid of the Chinese bandits on the Soviet republic, and against the pillaging of the colonies by Italian Fascism.

At every meeting the workers undertook to contribute a certain sum to the Anti-War fund and to the fund in support of the revolutionary movement.

When it is remembered the reaction ruling in Italy, the measures taken by the Fascists, and the fact that here terror has raged for the last seven years, counting among its victims more than 8000 of the best communists and active revolutionary workers, then it must be recognised that on the 1st August the Italian proletariat gave a splendid example of proletarian solidarity. This is the more worthy of recognition, as the police apparatus of the Fascist government, in its anxiety to crush the movement of the workers, applied its repressive measures with unexampled energy.

The reports so far available show that numerous arrests were made even before the Anti-War Day. But in spite of this, and in spite of police espionage, the workers held the meetings determined upon.

No reports have been received as yet from the smaller centres, or from the rural districts in the valley of the Po, where the rural population has always been exceedingly active, or from Southern Italy. The news received from Northern Italy is also still incomplete.

Such news as we have suffices, however, to show that on the day of struggle against the war actively prepared for by Fascism, the workers of the great industrial centres of Italy took up once more, if only gradually, the offensive against capitalism and Fascism.

THE SWEDISH WORKERS FULFILLED THEIR DUTY.

The provocative rumours spread by the capitalist and social Fascist press before the 1st August on the "bloody tactics of the Comintern", threw the Swedish bourgeoisie into a state of great uneasiness. Many bourgeois left Stockholm on the eve of the 1st August. The police received reinforcements in the capital and other large cities, and were equipped with revolvers, machine guns, and armoured cars. The military were held in readiness. Telephone wires were tapped. At Gothenburg the editorial premises of the communist newspaper were searched, and the building watched day and night by police spies. At Karlskrona patrol ships were stationed in the harbour. A

sailors' meeting passed a protest resolution expressing solidarity of the Swedish working class with the Red Army.

The prelude to the International Red Day was the Swedish Norwegian-Finnish-Danish Anti-War Conference held at Gothenburg on 21st July. 200 delegates were present, elected for the most part by the works and factories, local workers' conferences, and trade union meetings. The fact is worth notice that the revolutionary workers of Finland, in spite of the repressive measures used against them, sent delegates to the Conference from the ranks of the workers in the works and factories.

A total of 150,000 workers were represented at the Gothenburg Conference. General attention was aroused by the presence of five Swedish soldiers and one Danish soldier in military uniform. The Conference discussed the preparations for the 1st August, and recognised the necessity of continuing its military work in the Scandinavian countries after the 1st August.

On the International Red Day, and on the following day, the C. P. organised about 200 public meetings and demonstrations. Gatherings of workers from the different countries were held on the Finnish, Norwegian, and Danish frontiers.

In Stockholm demonstrations, attended by 18,000 workers, were held in two of the public squares. Approximately 1000 striking workers, and separate groups of workers of other trades, left off work one hour earlier than usual and joined the demonstration. It should be observed that this is the first political strike which has taken place here for ten years. On this day no soldier had leave of absence. None the less, several soldiers could be observed among the demonstrators in Stockholm in spite of police provocation, the demonstration passed off quietly. One worker was arrested.

The following figures are to hand regarding the demonstrations in the other towns: Gothenburg 2000 participants in the demonstrations and 6000 in the meetings; Karlskrona (Swedish naval base) 2000 demonstrators; Karlstad (textile industry) 600; Nordköping (textile industry) 2000; Örebro (leather industry) 2000; Malmö (shipyards) 800; Kiruna (mining) 3000; Upsala 2000 demonstrators.

THE DEMONSTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

In New York the central Anti-War demonstration took place in Union Square, not far from the headquarters of the "Daily Worker" (the central organ of the C. P.). About 20,000 people took part in this demonstration. Posters and streamers appealed for the struggle against imperialist war, in defence of the Soviet Union, for the joint struggle of the black and white proletariats against the trade union bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour, against capitalist rationalisation, in defence of the textile workers in Gastonia, etc. In spite of the pouring rain the demonstration was a brilliant success. Many speeches were delivered. Among the speakers were representatives of the striking workers of Gastonia, and delegates sent by French, Chinese, Italian, and other workers. The police, who hastened to the scene armoured on motorcycles with machine guns, rained down blows upon the demonstrators, and attempted to tear the flags and placards out of their hands.

In the garment, shoe, and food industries, etc., many thousands of workers stopped work an hour before closing time.

A smaller demonstration was held in the Bronx district. Here the collisions with the police were severer. The bourgeois "New York Times" reports that three policemen and two civilians were injured and a number of arrests made. 18 workers were arrested before the premises of the Young Communist League where another large demonstration was held.

In Boston 2000 workers were present at the demonstration. The police arrested eight persons, including the representative of the American Anti-Imperialist League, William Simson. Numerous demonstrators were brutally maltreated. The chief of police states that on 1st August larger police forces were brought into action than on the day of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In Chicago a conflict, which lasted for several hours, arose between the thousands of demonstrators and the police. The demonstrators were dispersed several times, but gathered together again and again in other streets. Comrades Hattaway and Engdahl were arrested.

At **Pittsburg** two great meetings were held in the dinner in the rolling mills and in the Westinghouse works. In this a demonstration was organised which was attended by 1000 persons. Although the demonstration was permitted, the police made several attacks and arrested 60 workers.

In **Kensington** a meeting was held in the courtyard of the aluminium factory. The police arrested the speakers. In this a demonstration procession of 1000 workers was organised which marched to the police station and demanded the release of the arrested workers.

In **New Bedford**, one of the centres of the American textile industry, 3000 workers took part in the Anti-War demonstration. In **Cleveland** 4000 persons took part in the demonstration. In the mining districts of the State of **Connecticut** demonstrations were also held, especially by the workers in the granite mines. In many places the speakers were maltreated by the police and arrested.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

On the 28th July the Communist Party, together with the Aid and the Workers Legion, organised an Anti-War demonstration in Trafalgar Square, London. It was attended by delegations from every part of England, Scotland, and Wales. At the meeting a procession was formed; the intention of coming to the Chinese embassy and protesting against the operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway was, however, frustrated by the police, mounted and on foot.

On 1st August itself the C. P. organised factory gate meetings and demonstrations in such districts as Poplar and St. Ham.

In **Edinburgh** a meeting was held at the docks at half past six in the morning. Four factory meetings were held at dinner hour. Afternoon and evening demonstrations were held, the evening demonstration being the largest which has been seen in Edinburgh since the campaign to rescue Sacco and Vanzetti. Other meetings were held in the mining districts of Masselburgh and Prestonpans.

The demonstrations in **Glasgow** were taken part in by 40 persons, of whom the greater part had left work before closing hours. In the evening there was a further demonstration, which was attended by an enormous crowd.

The "Sunday Worker" reports that the majority of the coal miners had received no wages for three weeks. This fact frustrated against successful strike action on 1st August. The meetings, on the other hand, were extremely well attended.

Successful Anti-War demonstrations were held at the following places in **Wales**: Merthyr, Treycynon, Aberaman, Rhondda, and Llanelly. In all these places energetic agitation was carried on for many weeks beforehand, by means of bulletins, leaflets and meetings.

In **Bristol** 1500 unemployed took part in the Anti-War demonstration, in spite of the ban placed upon it by the local unemployed Association, controlled by Labour reactionaries and parsons. The whole of the police force of Bristol was mobilised to smash the demonstration. It was broken up three times, and three times reformed, and continued to a successful conclusion.

THE KINGDOM OF THE KUOMINTANG HANGMEN.

The demonstrations of the revolutionary workers in Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping, and Hongkong on the International Red Day, once more confirm the fact that the Communist movement, despite the raging Terror exercised by the Kuomintang hangmen, is not only not destroyed, but is gaining more and more influence among the proletarian masses of enslaved China. The Kuomintang despots, the militarist bandits who raided the Chinese Eastern Railway, have received a serious warning from the most threatening side, from the heroic Shanghai proletariat and from the workers of the other industrial centres. The Chinese proletariat has advanced once more to the combat, and has borne witness to its readiness to defend the Soviet Union, the sincere friend of the Chinese

people and the fatherland of the workers of the whole world, against the corrupt Kuomintang and the international imperialism backing it up.

On the 30th May of this year over 30,000 workers demonstrated in the streets of Shanghai. The publishing offices of two Kuomintang newspapers were stormed and destroyed by the crowds. In various places attempts were made to erect barricades.

In connection with the events on the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Shanghai proletariat once more proved in July its solidarity with the Soviet Union and its hatred of the criminal Kuomintang government.

It marched through the streets under the leadership of the communist organisation and demonstrated against the Kuomintang and its war agitation against the Soviet Union.

On the 1st August Red Shanghai responded to the call of the Communist International. It joined the international revolutionary proletariat in its demonstrations in the streets. On this day the Kuomintang authorities transformed Shanghai and various other cities into actual army camps. Chinese troops, fully armed, patrolled all the streets of Shanghai. Machine guns were posted at every corner. In many parts of the town the inhabitants were even forbidden to leave the houses. All pedestrians were searched. Even special troops of women police were formed.

But in spite of everything, many industrial undertakings were obliged to stop work; demonstrations were held in different parts of the town. These were dispersed by the military. Leaflets and proclamations agitating for the International Red Day were distributed everywhere. Similar events took place in **Peiping**, **Tientsin**, and **Hongkong**. There were armed conflicts in many places, in which the foreign police "distinguished" themselves particularly. It need not be said that numerous arrests were made.

An idea of the situation in **Canton** on 1st August may be gained from the notice in the "New York Times" that a state of siege was declared. This did not, however, prevent the courageous proletariat of Canton from organising demonstrations.

The events of the Anti-War Day show that the fighting spirit of the Chinese working class has not been by any means destroyed by the persecutions of the Kuomintang militarists, and that the Chinese working class is marching forward with the international proletariat beneath the flag of the Comintern.

THE HUNGARIAN WORKERS BEHIND THE BARBED WIRE OF THE COALITION.

The preparations of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Hungary for the Red Day were late in commencing. The Party succeeded, however, in bringing out leaflets and a special number of the illegal newspaper, dealing with the Anti-War Day. Although the police arrested many of the leading Party functionaries, the leaflets were distributed in good time.

On 1st August **Budapest** was placed in a state of siege by the measures of the authorities. Military and police patrols were to be seen all over the town. In spite of the reinforced patrols, groups of communists pasted up posters everywhere in the workers' quarters, with the slogans: "Down with the Fascists! Down with the Bethlen system! The enemy is at home! Defend the first proletarian State! Convert imperialist war into civil war! Ten years ago the bourgeoisie and social democracy overthrew the Hungarian Soviet republic; long live the second Hungarian Soviet republic!"

According to the police reports, there were no strikes in Budapest.

A strike is officially reported in the Salgotaryan coal basin. "Pester Lloyd" refers to this as follows:

"In the Baglysalya pits of the Salgotaryan coal basin 350 workers went on strike, allegedly in connection with the 1st August. ... The strike was, however, probably organised by communists. The strikers wished to conceal their original aim by giving this reason."

In the provincial towns the police were held in readiness for the bloody suppression of the workers' demonstrations.

(To be continued.)

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike of the Berlin Pipe Layers.

By Paul Merker (Berlin).

The strike of the Berlin pipe layers, in which about 3000 workers are now participating, is becoming a movement of significance for the approaching Labour fights.

The pipe-layer section was several months ago expelled from the German Metal Workers' Federation on account of its revolutionary attitude. The social-Fascist bureaucrats of the German Metal Workers' Federation tried, in spite of the separation of the pipe layers from the federation, to dictate the working conditions of this section in common with the employers, and agreed to various decided curtailments in the new wage contract. The pipe layers rejected the wage rate by a big majority and stuck to their demands, and they have now gone on strike under revolutionary leadership with the object of doing away with the scandalous wage rate, putting through their wage demands and abolishing the more stringent scale of wages, which was forced upon them.

The strike met with the determined resistance of the employers and of the bureaucracy of the G. M. W. F. The social-Fascist federation leaders openly called upon the workers to break the strike and financed the transportation to Berlin of troops of strike-breakers from other towns. Up to the present the strikers have succeeded in convincing these troops of the dastardliness of this attempt at strike breaking and caused them to return immediately to their own town. The leader of the G. M. W. F. in Berlin, Urich, declared at a general meeting that the executive of the federation would throttle the strike even if it cost hundreds of thousands of marks to do so.

In order to procure a "legal ground" for the police attacks on the strike committee and on the pickets, for the confiscation of the strike fund and of the collections, for the prohibition of strike meetings, etc., the Social-Democratic national Minister of Labour, Wissell, declared the wage rate forced upon the pipe layers to be binding. This means that the wage rate has become law. The strike of the pipe layers is therefore directed immediately against the bourgeois laws, so that extensive police actions and measures of class justice against the strikers may be anticipated.

The strikers on September 4th, laid down at a mass meeting their attitude in the fight and resolved to carry on the strike still more rigorously. On September 5th, the leaders of the revolutionary opposition of the building-trade workers convoked a meeting of building trade delegates, which resolved to take effective solidarity action.

According to this resolution, the following measures will be taken, in addition to the collections which have been made, in support of the pipe layers' strike: the building-trade workers will not tolerate any strike-breaking pipe layer about the buildings, they will actively protect the pickets, they will go out immediately on a strike of protest if any attempt is made at police provocation in regard to the pickets and at any attempt to protect the strikebreakers, and will organise entry into the fight for higher wages, in spite of the present tariff, at all important building operations where immediate entry into the strike will be painfully felt by the employers.

Workers throughout Germany are interesting themselves more and more in the pipe-layers' movement. If the strike is successfully carried out, it will be a dangerous blow for the social-Fascist trade union bureaucracy and for the dog-like fidelity to the wage rates, which is propagated by it. The movement is having a strong mobilisation effect upon the masses, for it shows that independent execution of wage and working-hour fights is possible under the leadership of the revolutionary trade-union opposition, in spite of sabotage on the part of social-Fascist bureaucracy. The success of the pipe layers and of the Berlin building-trade workers is breaking down in a large measure the barriers among the masses to independent organisation and execution of their fights, which is an absolute

necessity in view of the continual lowering of the standard of living of the working masses through price inflation, the downing of the unemployment benefit and other measures of suppression. That is the reason why this fight is, in spite of the fact that only a few thousand workers are concerned, of extraordinary significance for the whole of the German working class.

The Lessons of the Factory Council Elections in Witkovitz.

By Kl. Gottwald (Prague).

At the factory council elections in the Witkovitz iron works which took place on the 29th August, the candidates of the Red Trade Unions suffered a severe defeat. The votes polled by the Red Trade Unions in 1928 were 3159, and in 1929 1638, or in other words, there was a loss of almost 50 per cent. The Czech Social Democrats gained 1343 votes at the cost of the Red Trade Unions. The Czech national socialists also gained 280 votes, so that the Red Trade Unions were forced into the third place. The liquidators with their 179 votes were swept away.

This result is a warning signal to the Communist Party and to the Red Trade Unions. The municipal elections and the factory council elections recently have shown, with negligible exceptions, a certain growth of the communist vote, irrespective of the fact that we have very often failed to apply the new tactic in practice. This proves the growing activity of the workers who support us despite our errors, and shows the great possibilities lying in front of the Party and the Red Trade Unions, provided of course, the new fighting tactic is thoroughly carried out. In the Witkovitz elections the new fighting tactic was not followed at all, and this was the main reason for the electoral defeat of the Red Trade Unions. The complete fiasco of the liquidators, who were abandoned by the last workers who followed them in the Witkovitz iron works, proves that the disruptive activities of the renegades were the main cause of the defeat. The resolution of the Central Committee of the 10th and 11th August, 1929, points out that the new tactic was not applied in the preparations for the elections and considers this as one of the main weaknesses of the preparations. The last days were not sufficient to correct the errors which led to defeat. On the 1st August we were able to see that wherever we applied the new fighting and working methods of the Party, we succeeded in mobilising the workers. Wherever the action was carried on with the old stereotyped methods, however, it ended with a lack of success. This was also the case in the Witkovitz elections. In this direction, the Witkovitz elections are a warning signal for us to intensify the efforts of the Party and of the Red Trade Unions to alter radically the working and fighting methods of the revolutionary movement.

What are the main elements of the new tactic in relation to the concrete Witkovitz example? Above all, the problem of independent leadership of the economic struggles of the working class through the tactic of the united front from below and the assistance of committees of action elected upon the principle of workers' democracy.

In the metallurgical industry very much has been neglected, particularly in this direction. For years there were no considerable wage movements in this industry, although there were continually spontaneous outbreaks of dissatisfaction on the part of the workers, for instance in the Skoda Works in Pilsen, in the metal works in Prague and Jung-Bunzlauer Poldi Works in Kladnow, etc. Up to the present the Red Trade Unions and the Party have not been able to unify these outbreaks, to give them a general character and to organise a great wage movement of the metal workers. The workers are dissatisfied and grumble about the reformists, but they do not yet regard the Red Trade Unions as that revolutionary force which places itself at the head of the workers and shows them the correct way. This lagging behind the working class is the main reason for the defeat in Witkovitz.

The second problem is the structure of the Red Trade Union movement and its lack of a sufficient basis amongst the masses of the unskilled workers, the youth and the women, who are most exploited by the rationalisation. In addition, a section of the officials oppose any really energetic orientation of the R

Trade Unions towards these sections. This problem is particularly urgent in the metallurgical industry where, on the one hand, rationalisation steadily increases the army of unskilled workers, and on the other hand the basis of the Red Trade Union movement is a weak section of skilled workers. The result of this internal ossification of the movement is naturally an opportunist policy and a lagging behind the fighting spirit of the working class.

The third problem is finally the question of the alteration of our electoral tactics. What is this alteration? It is essentially the following: the elections to the factory councils and in particular the setting up of candidate lists were previously considered a matter for a few dozen trade union officials, or in the best case for a few hundred trade union members. The masses of the unorganised workers were excluded from any voice in this question. They were regarded as passive "voting material". It is, however, necessary to make the question of the setting up of candidate lists a question of the whole working class and to place the best revolutionary workers, even when they are unorganised, and in particular the unskilled workers, young workers and working women upon the candidate lists by democratic election at a factory meeting. Already in the setting up of candidate lists the workers must be told why they must vote for just these candidates. But all that is not enough. At the same time fighting demands and a fighting platform must be set up and must be treated in a similar way. They must be discussed and formulated by factory meetings and by the whole working class, just like the candidate list.

By this method the whole working class, and in particular the unorganised workers, take part in deciding whom they will place on the list of candidates, and why, and for what struggles his candidate list shall be elected. The German communists and the revolutionary trade union opposition, which applied this tactic in the spring of this year, achieved important successes which represented a splendid confirmation of the correctness of his tactic. The result of the elections in Witkovitz has proved the incorrectness of the old tactic which was applied there.

This was, therefore, the Witkovitz experience and it was said for dearly. We will not permit ourselves to be misled by the jeers of the social fascists and of their allies, the renegades. The answer of the Party and the Red Trade Unions will be: **Face to the factories, the trade unions and the revolutionary mass work! There lies the guarantee for victory in our struggle to win the majority of the workers.**

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Results of the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference.

By P. (Moscow).

The 2nd Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference was concluded on August 21st. Numerous delegates were prevented by the state of war in Manchuria, following on the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Mukden Government, from arriving in Vladivostok in time. For this reason it was decided to call the meeting a Conference and not a Congress as originally intended.

One of the most important items on the agenda was the struggle against imperialism and the danger of war, which item assumed particularly great importance in view of the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Chinese militarists at the instigation of the foreign imperialists. Numerous delegates, and before all the Chinese comrades, declared that this attack upon the Chinese Eastern Railway is directed both against the workers of the Soviet Union and against the Chinese working class, as well as the whole emancipation movement of the oppressed peoples and classes in the East. Here it is not a question of a national struggle between the Soviet Union and China, but of a common struggle of the toilers of the Soviet Union and of China against world imperialism and its agents: Chinese reaction. The conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway will only serve to close more firmly the ranks of the workers of the Soviet Union and of China for the common struggle against imperialism, against the oppression of the peoples and classes in any form whatever.

The discussions and resolutions of the Pan-Pacific Conference, as well as the campaign of the delegates after their return home, will help the million masses of the Pacific Coast to discern the real aim of the impudent attack of Chinese reaction in the pay of the imperialists.

The Conference pointed out that only the revolutionary mass organisations of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat can be the bearers of the struggle against imperialism and the danger of war. The creation of mass trade unions presupposes, however, that the advance-guard of the working class puts forward the economic demands of the proletariat and helps the peasants in developing the agrarian revolution. From this there follows the great role of the revolutionary trade unions as the driving and leading force of the whole anti-imperialist movement. Of course those tasks confronting all Pacific countries, and in particular the task of developing revolutionary mass trade unions, must be solved in accordance with the economic, political and cultural conditions prevailing in the respective country. The level of development is different in China, India, in the Philippines, in Korea and Indo-China. The Conference stated that the labour movement in these countries is faced by the danger of white terror and the danger of reformism penetrating the labour movement.

The Conference came to the conclusion, however, that reformism possesses only a narrow base in the colonial labour movement. In spite of persecution and terrorist suppression of the revolutionary trade unions, which is accompanied by an all-round support of the reformist trade unions by the State apparatus as well as by international imperialism and reformism, the reformists have not gained a leading role in the labour movement of the Pacific countries. The "achievements" of reformism in the trade union movement of China, Indonesia and even Japan are far and away outweighed by their enormous weakening in India and in the Philippines, where, under the immediate influence of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, the Left revolutionary trade union wing has been growing continually stronger during the last two years. The Chinese delegate reported, for instance, that in Shanghai, in the only industrial centre where reformism exerts a certain influence upon the labour movement, the Left wing, in spite of the terror, conducted most of the strikes (70 out of 137) in the second half year of 1928.

The weakness of reformism is further revealed in the fact that the Pan-Asiatic Conference has remained a mere project up to now, although international reformism (Geneva, Amsterdam) and its branch offices in the East have been busily engaged in the preparation of this Conference since 1926. The revolutionary trade union movement, on the other hand, which is co-ordinated in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, is regularly holding Conferences and Plenums in spite of the fierce resistance of the imperialist governments and their agents, and in the face of white terror, persecutions, and victimisation, it is closing its rank, training the revolutionary advance-guard which is more and more taking over the lead not only of the workers but of the whole anti-imperialist movement in the colonial countries.

The Conference attached special attention to the organisation, development and strengthening of the persecuted and illegal red trade unions, as well as to work in the yellow trade unions. The conduct of economic struggles of the working class was considered to be the most important means for winning the workers for the revolutionary trade unions movement. This is also possible under the most difficult conditions, as is proved by the above mentioned Shanghai example.

The delegates of various countries recorded the fact that conditions have improved as a whole, without however cherishing illusions as to the difficulties facing the revolutionary trade union movement in the East in its struggle for overcoming the terror and illegality. The trade unions in the Pacific countries are no longer isolated. They have found an ally in the Soviet Union and in the revolutionary trade union movement of the imperialist countries. The labour movement in the East is on the upgrade. It is very significant that this unurge synchronises with the unurge and the radicalisation of the labour movement in the capitalist countries of Europe and America.

The Conference, which recorded indubitable successes of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat in the two years of its existence

(successful struggle against reformism, regular connection with numerous countries with illegal revolutionary trade union movements), also pointed to the weak points of the work of the Secretariat as well as of the whole revolutionary trade union movement on the Pacific coast (inadequate leadership of the economic struggles, insufficient connection, especially with the big factories, insufficient attention to the questions of women's and child labour). The Secretariat and the affiliated organisations must devote much more attention to all these questions in the future.

The last item of the agenda was the report on the role of the trade unions in the socialist construction of the Soviet Union, which was followed with the greatest attention by all the delegates. The Conference gave instructions that this report should be published in all the most important languages of the East and distributed in all the countries of the Pacific. The spirit of the Conference was well expressed by a delegates who declared:

"The delegates to this Conference will carry the tidings of the great socialist construction in the Soviet Union to their countries. This message will strengthen the labour movement, enhance its fighting spirit and increase tenfold the forces of all those who are fighting for the defence of the Soviet Union and for the world revolution."

The attempt of the imperialists to frustrate the Conference has been wrecked, just as it was two years ago. The Conference has taken place. It has drawn the balance of the two years' activity of the Pan Pacific Secretariat and indicated the further way to develop and strengthen the revolutionary trade union movement in the Pacific countries. The Conference made a serious step towards the unification of the proletarian struggle in the colonies and the international revolutionary trade union movement.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The British Trade Union Congress.

Belfast, 4th September 1929.

The 61st annual congress of the British trade unions which opened here on the 2nd September is proceeding in the spirit of the alliance of the reformist trade union bureaucracy with the government. There are approximately 600 delegates present representing about 3,670,000 organised workers. Since the last congress the trade unions have lost about 200,000 members.

In his opening speech the chairman of the congress Ben Tillett took up an openly chauvinist attitude and declared himself in favour of the development of the British Empire and in favour of industrial peace. The trade unions and the employers should work together in order to increase the output of industry and to increase sales. The British Empire offered a wide enough market for British goods, all that was necessary was the correct organisational methods, as in the United States.

Rationalisation he declared was unavoidable, but it should be organised in order not to undermine "the rising standards of living of the workers".

As a weapon to fight against unemployment Tillett proposed the appointment of a commission consisting of representatives of the government, the employers and the trade unions. This commission should be given wide powers for the organisation of industry. In order to liquidate the permanent crisis in the coal mining industry, the steel industry should be reorganised and the efforts for the extraction of oil from coal be continued and extended.

Snowden sent a telegram of congratulations to Ben Tillett on account of this speech.

Characteristic of the congress was the withdrawal of resolutions supposedly calculated to embarrass the government, such as the resolution dealing with pensions for miners. Characteristic also was the overwhelming vote in favour of transferring the financial and commercial control of the "Daily Herald" to the notorious capitalist newspaper syndicate Odhams Press Ltd.

Despite all the devices of the bureaucrats, they did succeed in suppressing the voice of the militant workers. A handful of communist and minority movement delegates insisted in presenting the standpoint of the class-conscious workers.

Collick of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen protested against the signature of the Cotton Award by Walkden, a member of the General Council, thus reducing the wages of the cotton workers. He asked whether Walkden's attitude is compatible with the formal attitude of the General Council against wage reductions.

The chairman refused to let Collick continue. The latter however, persisted and was finally compelled to leave a tribune still protesting.

Lemaire of the Compositors criticised the report of the General Council relating to the organisation of the artificial silk workers and emphasised the failure to organise the workers of this new industry.

Rowlands of the Painters Union declared roundly: Only the revolutionary elements can and will establish the real trade union unity in the struggle against the capitalists. We will establish factory committees despite the General Council, and will use them as committees of action in times of struggle.

Rowlands' declaration contrasted strongly with the academic debate initiated by a resolution of the British Miners Federation requesting the General Council to investigate the question of industrial unionism. This resolution was then rejected by 1,923,000 votes against 1,608,000.

Rowlands also exposed the attitude of the General Council towards the National March on London organised by the unemployed workers movement in February, and declared that this attitude proved that the General Council was not prepared to lead a fight against capitalism, but is determined to sabotage any struggle of the rank and file.

The congress adopted a resolution proposed by the Tailors Union condemning the formation of break-away unions. The supporters of this resolution, which was adopted with an overwhelming majority, uttered the customary anti-communist incitements. The militant delegates exposed the disruptive work of the reformist bureaucracy.

The miners leader Cook intervened in support of the resolution and made a thoroughly Mondist speech.

Belfast, 5th September 1929.

An uproar occurred in the congress of the trade unions when Lemaire of the Compositors Union declared, "I am a communist and am proud of it". He denounced the preparations of the Labour government for war and exposed the failure of pacifist resolutions. He also justified the sabotage of the manufacture of munitions.

The congress adopted the report of the General Council regarding "disruption". This report was opposed by two avowed non-communist Derbyshire miners' delegates who declared that the General Council itself was responsible for the disruption, especially as a result of its betrayal of the General Strike and its subsequent collaboration with the employers.

The congress rejected a timid resolution introduced by the Engineers Union (A. E. U.) calling for the cessation of the Mondist conversations.

A resolution was unanimously adopted demanding immediate steps towards the resumption of Anglo-Soviet diplomatic relations, but solely from the viewpoint of the stimulation of trade. Significantly enough, the militant attacks upon the signing of the cotton award, which resulted in wage cuts for the cotton workers, by the railwaymen's leaders Cramp and Walkden compelled the former to defend himself at length in his to-day's speech.

Belfast, 6th September 1929.

The British Trade Union Congress came to an end today. It adopted a resolution in which the dangers of rationalisation are pointed out as long as the workers were not fully organised.

In the discussion Tomkins of the Furnishers' Trade Union stated that the Mond-Conferences have contributed to the loss of members in the trade unions.

After the adoption of a number of resolutions the new General Council was elected, which differs from the old one only in that in place of some Ministers other trade union bureaucrats have been elected.

The revolutionary delegates have issued a Manifesto in which they declare that the Congress signifies the climax of the diversion of the British Labour Movement into an auxiliary force of capitalism. The exchange of telegrams between Snowden and Ben Tillet proves the complete unanimity which exists between a corrupt trade union leadership and the capitalist Labour Government.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Decision of the International Control Commission of the C. I. in the Matter of John Pepper.

After perusing the declaration of John Pepper and after examining the material the I. C. C. states:

1. Pepper, actuated by fractional considerations, refused to submit to the decision of the E. C. C. I. that he should leave America and proceed to Europe, where he should place himself at the disposal of the E. C. C. I., and remained in New York (and the neighbourhood) for the purpose of inciting the majority fraction of the C. P. of America against the E. C. C. I.

2. In the desire to deceive the E. C. C. I. and the C. P. of America, Pepper, in collaboration with Lovestone, concocted the story of his journey from New-York to Mexico, and for several months assured the E. C. C. I. and the I. C. C. that he had carried out the directions of the E. C. C. I. regarding his coming to Moscow, but nevertheless, owing to circumstances over which he had no control, he had been compelled to return from Mexico to New York. As a matter of fact Pepper, as he has confessed in his declaration to the I. C. C. of 11th of July, never went to Mexico at all.

3. By carrying on fractional work, not only within the C. P. of America but also against the Comintern, Pepper, together with Lovestone, managed to bring the Party Congress of the C. P. of America, which consisted for the most part of supporters of Pepper and Lovestone, against the line laid down by the Presidium of the Comintern and incited the delegates of the Party Congress against the delegation of the E. C. C. I. to the Party Congress.

4. Pepper did not only not admit in the I. C. C. in the course of two months his impermissible attitude towards the Comintern, but persistently continued to maintain that during the Party Congress of the C. P. of America he was not in New York and did not lead majority fraction, although the falsity of Pepper's words has already been exposed by a whole number of comrades (Green, Hannes, Stachel, Minor and other). Pepper only first confessed when all his lies were completely exposed and Lovestone was expelled from the C. P. of America. While the affair of Pepper was being dealt with in the I. C. C. another case came to light in which Pepper deceived the E. C. C. I. In 1928, Pepper handed to the E. C. C. I. an account of his expenses for a journey to Korea, when in actual fact he had not made this journey at all.

5. The whole impermissible attitude of Pepper, his neglect to carry out the directives of the E. C. C. I. and his deception of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. P. of America, is in the first place explained by the fact that Pepper, as a Right opportunist who was not in agreement with the fundamental line of the Comintern, worked for the formation of an opportunist fraction within the Comintern. In order to conceal his fractional intentions, Pepper proceeded to play a double game: he submitted to the E. C. C. I. a declaration (with reservations) in which he announced his submission to the decisions of the E. C. C. I. in regard to the American question, but at the same time he re-

fused to confess to the I. C. C. that he, Pepper, had stayed in New York during the Party Congress of the C. P. of America for the purpose of carrying out his opportunist line at the Party Congress of the C. P. of America.

In view of all this the I. C. C. resolves to expel Pepper from the Comintern on account of his refusal to submit to the directives of the E. C. C. I. on account of his deception of the C. P. of America and of the Comintern, on account of his role in the C. P. of America which amounted to his leading the fraction of the majority, together with Lovestone, and egging on his followers to fraction struggle for the purpose of pursuing his opportunist line.

Moscow, 19th August 1929.

The International Control Commission of the Communist International.

FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT DANGER

The Purging of the Editorial Staff of "l'Humanité".

By M. H. (Paris).

The international social democratic press hirelings are again raising a great howl. What is the reason for this? Six editors of "Humanité" have been dismissed. The social democracy must have taken the matter very much to heart if it raises such an outcry. The facts are the following.

Before the 1st of August the government had hatched a new conspiracy against the revolutionary organisations. Dozens of leaders of the C. P. of France and of the C. G. T. U. were thrown into prison under the accusation of high treason. The editorial offices of "Humanité" and the premises of the Party and of the revolutionary trade unions were searched by the police in order to find material for the "conspiracy". The police also paid a visit to the Workers' and Peasants' Bank, for, as the reactionary press maintained, Moscow money was supposed to be there. But all in vain!

The chicaneries of the government and of the police against the Workers' and Peasants' Bank continued even after the 1st of August, until it was finally closed without the slightest legal justification.

The Workers' and Peasants' Bank has been founded by the revolutionary labour organisations with the aim, as laid down in the statutes, of financing the Communist Party, the trade unions, the workers' sport, the co-operatives, the revolutionary press etc.

It was therefore obvious that the government intended by destroying the Workers' and Peasants' Bank to strike a blow at the whole revolutionary movement, and before all at the "Humanité". There could be no doubt that the closing down of the bank constituted only a part of the conspiracy of the government against the Communist movement. The campaign for its defence had, therefore, to be conducted in connection with the resistance offered to the persecutions of the government, the aim of which is to break the resistance of the revolutionary organisations to rationalisation and the war preparations of French imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The line of defence was therefore, clear. It was moreover plainly laid down in an appeal issued by the Secretariat of the C. P. of France. This appeal appeared in "Humanité" on August 19th, three days after the closing down of the Workers' and Peasants' Bank.

What, however, did the dismissed editors of "Humanité" do? They retreated before the attack of the government and of the police. Instead of defending the Workers' and Peasants' Bank as a component part of the revolutionary movement, as the financial institution of the revolutionary organisations, they attempted to represent the Workers' and Peasants' Bank as a "great proletarian credit institution, the aim of which is to

enable the workers to escape the exploitation of the bourgeois banks". This, of course, was reformism of the purest kind.

As the "Humanité" was directly hit by the attack on the Workers' and Peasants' Bank, the editors in question further endeavoured to represent the "Humanité" as Jaurès' paper and to keep silent regarding the great ideological transformation which the "Humanité" has passed through under the leadership of the C. P. since the Party Congress of Tours when the Socialist Party was split. This cowardly flinching and this denial of our principles could, of course, not be tolerated.

In addition to this it must be mentioned that these editors have conducted this wrong policy in the defence of the Peasants' and Workers' Bank at the behest of some directors of this bank and against the will of the Party leadership, which repeatedly called the attention of these editors to their wrong line and reprimanded them for it. Thus to the reformist line and the cowardly flinching there was added a breach of discipline.

All this prompted the Polit-Bureau of the C. P. of France to recall the responsible six editors from their posts. The howl of rage of the social-democratic press proves that by this measure of the Polit-Bureau the hopes which they set upon the confusing effect of the reformist attitude of some editors of the Central organ of the C. P. of France upon the Communist ranks have been destroyed.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Industrialisation, the Socialist Competition and the Tasks of the International Working Class.

By D. Petrovski.

At the present moment, a balance is being drawn up in the Soviet Union of the results of the first year of the Five-Year Plan. The bourgeoisie prophesied a fiasco for the "utopian and phantastic" five-year plan of socialist construction. The opinion of the bourgeoisie was shared by the pessimists in our own ranks. The facts, which cannot be abolished by any amount of talk, show that the working class of the Soviet Union has more than carried out the task which it set itself. The results of the first year show that in many respects the most daring projects of socialist industrialisation have even been excelled. Production, capital investments and the collectivisation of agriculture have made even greater progress than that which was originally provided for.

The attention of the bourgeois world has been drawn in particular to the successes which have been obtained with regard to the collectivisation of agriculture upon a new technical basis. The Moscow Correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt", Scheffer, writes in the evening edition of the 23rd August:

"Whoever journeys through the provinces, discovers with astonishment on what a broad front, even in the remotest districts, this idea has taken up the struggle today with the reality of the 'grey' Russian village. The scepticism with which Europe often treats this experiment, which has already developed far beyond the laboratory stage, is quite out of place."

Writing in the "Chicago Daily News", Farson declares:

"The world is used to surprises from Soviet Russia, but nothing is so sensational as the extraordinary growth of the collective agricultural undertakings."

The "New York Times" writes:

"The agrarian policy of the Kremlin has had a splendid start. It would really seem that Socialism is winning the backward Russian village."

That is how the correspondents of the bourgeois press living in the Soviet Union, record the growing Red danger. The

successes of the socialist offensive in the village are astounding. Apart from the increase and development of Soviet farms and the rapid collectivisation of agriculture, there has been an extension of the areas under cultivation by the poor and middle peasants on such a scale that the decrease of the area held under seed by the kulaks is more than compensated for, and there has been a general increase in the area under cultivation (resolution of the State Commission for Planned Economy of the Soviet Union of the 25th August). The winning of the peasants for the idea of collective undertaking means a strengthening of the alliance with the main peasant masses upon a new productive basis in the struggle against the kulaks.

The creative spirit of socialism shows itself in all the processes of industrialisation. The most important achievements of this year were: workers' inventions, the promotion of workers and working women to leading posts and the socialist competitive scheme of the masses. The number of inventions and improvements put forward by workers to increase production is growing very rapidly. The formation of groups of "leaders of industry" amongst the proletariat is making considerable progress.

The socialist competitive scheme deserves particular attention. Narrow-minded representatives of bourgeois science declare that with the exclusion of competition and the abolition of the incentive of personal gain, humanity will degenerate into a general stagnation. Reality has shown, however, that under the proletarian dictatorship, the competitive hunt for profit built up upon the enrichment of the strong and the despotism of the weak, is replaced by the competition of tremendous masses, a competition which aims at subordinating the blind forces of nature to the proletariat which systematically organises the whole economic system.

The successes of the socialist competitive scheme and the general achievements of the first year of the Five-Year Plan make possible a considerable extension of the constructive plan for the economic year 1929/30. The control figures for the coming economic year do not merely exceed those provided for in the Five-Year Plan, but they also make it possible to fill up a number of gaps which showed themselves in the first year: The productivity of labour did not increase by 17% as provided for in the resolution of the State Commission for Planned Economy of the 25th August, but by 16%; the costs of production were not lowered by 7%, but by 5%, and the rise in real wages also failed to reach the level provided for in the Five-Year Plan. The control figures for the economic year 1929/30 provide for a speedy improvement both in quantity and quality in the process of socialist construction.

The wide-spread participation of the working masses in the socialist competitive scheme has awakened the greatest interest of the proletariat outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union. Railwaymen in Oppeln (Germany) write: "We are very much interested in your socialist competitive scheme. It strengthens the Soviet Union and therefore strikes a blow at our joint enemy, capitalism." Workers in other German towns and in France and Switzerland write in the same spirit. The interest of the workers in the capitalist countries has awakened an echo from the proletariat of the Soviet Union. The workers of the metallurgical undertaking "Krasni Profintern" suggest in answer to the fraternal greetings of workers abroad, that the whole international proletariat should take part in the socialist competitive scheme.

The question is what effective form can be given to the great sympathy in the ranks of the proletariat of the capitalist countries for the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union.

The question is difficult. The socialist competitive scheme is only possible under the proletarian dictatorship. Capitalist exploitation enslaves broad masses, forces them into misery, corrupts a thin upper stratum of the working class and transforms it into an agency of capitalism within the working class. Only the victory of the proletarian revolution can free the working class and release the creative forces which are at present being forcibly held in check by capitalism. In other words, the preliminary condition for an all-round international socialist competitive scheme is the victory of the international socialist revolution.

Does this mean that the workers in the capitalist countries do not participate in the building up of socialism and in the socialist competitive scheme? By no means. Thousands of workers connect the building up of socialism with the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat. The railwaymen in Germany rightly declare that the socialist competitive scheme is a blow at the common enemy of the working class, capitalism. It is also true that every revolutionary action of the workers in the capitalist countries and of the oppressed masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries strengthens the building up of socialism and brings us nearer to the victory of the international socialism.

The best means by which the workers in the capitalist countries can render active help in the building up of socialism is to strengthen and intensify the revolutionary struggle against capitalism in their own countries and over the whole world.

In its struggle for world communism and for the defeat of the capitalist elements in its own country, the proletariat of the Soviet Union proceeds from the necessity of expediting the building up of socialism upon the basis of an extensive socialist struggle. Its concrete tasks in the socialist competitive scheme are: increase of the productivity of labour, the increase of real wages, the reduction of the cost of production, the shortening of the working day, and the improvement in the technique and organisation of production.

Upon the basis of a thorough study of the international working class movement, its immediate tasks can also be clearly formulated. They consist in the preparation for a victorious struggle against the bourgeoisie and the fascist dictatorship, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the ideological and organisational strengthening of the proletarian advance-guard in the factories (factory groups, factory councils, revolutionary shop stewards, etc.), the abolition of the disparity between the ideological and organisational functions of the Communist Parties (increase of the membership, transformation from the system of residential groups to the principle of factory nuclei, increased circulation of the communist and revolutionary press, etc.), the strengthening of the revolutionary mass-organisations, above all of the Red Trade Unions and of the organised revolutionary minorities in the proletarian trade unions. At the same time we can and must formulate concrete political tasks: the defence of the Soviet Union, the support of the building up of socialism, the struggle against war, etc.

This, however, by no means exhausts the tasks of the workers outside the Soviet Union. The carrying out of these tasks takes place under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, where the working class meets with hindrances at every step. It would certainly be possible to set up terms for the carrying out of these tasks, and to organise a competitive scheme. Competition between the class-conscious workers in the capitalist country and the workers in the socialist Soviet factories for the strengthening of the revolutionary positions of the working class in the capitalist countries on the one hand, and for the support of the building up of socialism by the proletariat in the Soviet Union on the other hand, can be organised by individual actions of the working class in the capitalist countries entering into competition, and also by competitions between sections of the proletariat in the various capitalist countries.

The idea of the socialist competitive scheme was raised for the first time by comrade Lenin in 1918. The carrying out of this idea is left to the initiative and creative activity of the workers themselves. The interest of the workers in the capitalist countries for the socialist competitive scheme in the Soviet Union can be utilised for the international proletarian revolution, if the class-conscious workers of all countries make serious efforts, based upon the experience of the workers in the first proletarian State, to find the best forms of competition in the revolutionary struggle against capitalist slavery.

At the various stages of development of the November Revolution, new forms of the alliance between the workers of the Soviet Union and the workers of the capitalist countries arose: workers delegations, councils of action, associations of the Friends of the Soviet Union, etc. To-day socialist industrialisation and mass-participation in the competitive scheme must form the new basis of the alliance.

The present stage of the development of the international working class movement is determined by the rise of the revolutionary wave the chief characteristic of which is its international nature. The interests of international revolution urgently demand the strengthening of international connections in general and the connections of the international working class movement with the first land of the proletarian dictatorship in particular. It is a matter of course that the tremendous cause of the building up of socialism, which rests in very great measure upon the competitive scheme of the masses, must become the most important link for the strengthening of the international revolution.

The suggestions contained in this article are only intended to raise this whole question before the advance-guard of the international proletariat.

BOOK REVIEWS

V. I. Lenin: Collected Works, Volume XX. The Revolution of 1917.

From the March Revolution to the July Days.
Book I*).

By A. Komjant.

Without a knowledge of Leninism, which can only be acquired from the study of Lenin's works there can be no Bolshevik Party, and without a Bolshevik Party there can be no victorious proletarian revolution: hence the English speaking revolutionary working class must welcome every new Lenin volume as a decisive weapon in its emancipation struggle and include it in its ideological arsenal.

The first half-volume of volume XX, of Lenin's Collected works which was recently published under the title: "The Revolution of 1917", contains his letters, articles and speeches from the first two and a half months following the February Revolution. They describe the path of Marxism-Leninism converted into action; they reveal how the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, are step by step advancing to the great strategic aim of the working class, the conquest of power.

In these letters, articles and speeches Lenin shows himself to the highest degree as that revolutionary real politician which he always was; unswervingly true to the principles of revolutionary Marxism, but extremely elastic in their application, according to the demands of the situation; devoid of all romanticism, always proceeding from facts; coolly pondering, but whenever the interests of the proletariat required it and the relations of forces permitted it, always daring and pushing ahead.

The overthrow of Tsarism did not come as a surprise to Lenin, who knew the situation in Russia as did nobody else. In spite of the scanty news regarding the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the establishment of the Gutchov-Miljukov government he gave from the beginning a correct analysis of the situation; he correctly estimated the relations of forces and clearly formulated the tasks. Already a few days after the upheaval, in his "draft theses" of March 17th, 1917, he made the fundamental statement:

"The revolutionary proletariat therefore, cannot but view the revolution of March 14th as its first, though far from complete victory along its glorious course; it cannot but assume the task of continuing the struggle to achieve a democratic republic and Socialism." (Volume XX, Book I, page 25.)

In his first "Letter from Afar" (written on 20th March) he developed this idea still further:

"The first stage of this first revolution... is over... Surely this first stage of our revolution will not be the last one."

*) V. I. Lenin: Collected Works, Volume XX, The Revolution of 1917, From the March Revolution to the July Days, Book I, Martin Lawrence Limited, London.

In his "Draft Theses" he emphasised at once the central slogan: "Peace and bread, complete freedom!", and he defined the class character of the new government as follows:

"The new government can give to the peoples of Russia (or to those nations to which we are bound by war) neither peace, nor bread, nor complete freedom, and for that reason the working class must continue its struggle for Socialism and for peace..." (Volume XX, Book I, page 24.)

Lenin recognised as the next task the organising of the proletariat for the victory of the second stage of revolution, the enlightenment of the masses regarding the nature of the Provisional Government, the winning of allies for the proletariat:

"Under these circumstances the task of the proletariat is rather complicated. It is perfectly obvious that the proletariat must organise more thoroughly, must muster all its forces, arm itself and strengthen and develop its alliance with all the layers of the labouring masses in city and country..." (Volume XX, Book I, page 23.)

He raises the question of the workers' government:

"Only a workers' government, basing itself, first, on the vast majority of the peasant population, the rural workers and the poorest peasants; second, on an alliance with the revolutionary workers of the warring countries, can give peace, bread, and complete freedom to the people." (Volume XX, Book I, page 25.)

Over against the Provisional Government there stood the power of the Soviets. Lenin at once recognised this "double rule" as the fundamental feature of the transition period. At the same time he realised that the Council of workers' and soldiers deputies represented the germ of a workers' government, which alone was capable of giving peace, bread and freedom to the people. The Gutchkov-Miljukov government, which was a government of the capitalists and landowners, could never have satisfied these elementary demands of the broadest masses.

Lenin still more concretely formulated the programme and the tactics of the Bolsheviks after his return to Russia in the famous "April Theses" and in the "Letters on Tactics". The April Theses furnish a masterly Marxist analysis of the situation. They declare that the war, even under the new government of Lvov and Co., owing to the imperialist character of this government, still represents an imperialist robber war. The Party must convince the masses of the necessity of power passing into the hands of the Soviets. Lenin further declared in the April Theses that it is too early to speak of the immediate "introduction" of Socialism. A number of transitional measures are previously necessary:

"Not the 'introduction' of Socialism as an immediate task, but the immediate placing of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in control of social production and distribution of goods." (Volume XX, Book I, page 108.)

Lenin's Theses clearly indicated the path of the revolution. Socialist revolution can be achieved only by means of the proletarian dictatorship, whose organs of power are the workers' and peasants' Soviets. Hence the slogan must be: "All Power to the Soviets!" In order to realise this slogan the masses must be freed from the influence of the treacherous socialist parties.

At this time Lenin fought within the Party against the theses represented by Kamenev and others, that the bourgeois revolution is not yet completed and that we have to work first for the "completion" of this revolution.

"Comrade Kamenev has not grasped the fact, the significance of the existing Soviets, their identity, as to their socio-political character, with the Commune state..." (Volume XX, Book I, page 128.)

Such was Lenin's estimation of the Soviets although at that time they were completely under the influence of the Mensheviks

and S. R. But Lenin fought with all his energy for the quest of the Soviets by the Bolsheviks as a precondition for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Nothing was alien to Lenin than adventurist putchism:

"We shall come out in favour of the transfer of power into the hands of the proletarians and semi-proletarians only when the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies adopt our policy and are willing to take that power into their own hands. (Resolution of the C. C. of the S. D. L. P. R. of May 5th.) (Volume XX, Book I, page 52.)

One of the most important questions of the revolution was the land question. Plechanov and his followers were in favour of the peasants coming to an "understanding" with the landowners. Against this the Bolsheviks demanded the appropriation of the whole of the land belonging to the nobles and the transference of the whole land to the peasantry. The situation in the rural district was such that Lenin wrote:

"The peasants, workers, and soldiers constitute the overwhelming majority of the people. This majority was the land to be placed immediately in the hands of the Soviets of Peasants Deputies." (Volume XX, Book I, page 52.)

The Bolsheviks worked deliberately at the unchaining of the agrarian revolution:

"We, alone, are at present stimulating the development of the agrarian revolution, when we tell the peasants to take the land immediately." (Volume XX, Book I, page 52.)

The Provisional Government, however, persecuted the peasants who in many places had "on their own account" taken possession of the land; it retained the old police and the Tsarist democracy; it remained faithful to the allied British and French imperialists and wished "to conduct the war to a victorious end". The first trial of strength ensued. The great majority of the Petrograd workers demonstrated on the 3rd and 4th of May under the Bolshevik slogan: "All Power to the Soviets!" The petty bourgeoisie, in the first place the peasants' masses, for the first time turned against the Provisional Government. The Government was compelled to resign. The Petrograd Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, however, still adhered to the standpoint of the "revolutionary defence of the country" and advocated the participation of the Mensheviks and of the social revolutionaries in the government. In its appeal: "To the Army!" it opposed fraternisation and advocated restoration of discipline and the preparation of the new offensive. Lenin called this appeal "a sad document".

The broadest sections of the population were tired of war. The country was in a state of decay. The war had to be terminated if the achievements of the revolution were to be guaranteed.

Lenin expressed this necessity in numerous articles, in which he considered the chief means for the rapid termination of the war to be fraternisation of the troops, but a fraternisation which endeavours

"... to turn this instinctive coming together of workers and peasants of all the countries attired in soldiers' uniforms into a conscious movement, looking toward the passing of state power in all the belligerent countries into the hands of the revolutionary proletariat. (Volume XX, Book I, page 52.)

The events developed with enormous rapidity. Lenin's conception of the development of the revolution was confirmed step by step. Fraternisation at the front constantly increased in extent. More and more frequently did the peasants seize the land of the landowners; the influx into the Party of the Bolsheviks increased. Lenin, following closely the development of events, investigated the relations of forces, weighed and determined the tasks, issued the right slogans, revealed the shortcomings and combated the deviations. He led the Party and the masses consciously toward the second, the proletarian revolution.