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## Help the Yugoslavian Proletariat!

(From the "Pravda", 10th September 1929.)

Workers' blood is flowing in streams in Yugoslavia. From the first moment of the military fascist coup d'état, workers and peasants have been maltreated in masses in this country of the military dictatorship. But all this pales into insignificance in comparison with the furious fascist terror since the 1st August.

In Yugoslavia all possible forms of oppression are used against the workers and peasants. The toilers in Yugoslavia groan under the yoke of capitalism, under conditions which are reminiscent of the first period of capitalist development, but at the same time methods of exploitation are used peculiar to the imperialist epoch. The peasant masses are weighed down by semi-feudal tithes and taxes, and in addition they suffer from the pressure of usurious bank capital. All this is supplemented by national oppression in various forms. The Serbians, the dominating nationality, brutally oppress the Croats, the Slovenians, Macedonians, Albanians, Germans, and Hungarians. In Bosnia and in the Herzegovina, the Islamite population also suffers from religious oppression, etc. etc.

This whole system of oppression is carried on by the monarchist-militarist clique which represents the last word in venality and infamy. This militarist clique, which is controlled by bank capital, has made murder into a system and uses the most cruel methods of fascist oppression.

It is quite understandable that this apparatus of oppression and murder has been working for a number of months at full pressure against the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The aim of the military-fascist dictatorship is, "the physical annihilation of all communists".

The following items speak for themselves, concerning the persecution and murder of workers and peasants both before and after the 1st August:

In Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, where there is a proletarian population of about 25,000, there are no less than 3,000 workers in prison. After the 1st August 300 workers were arrested in Sarajevo, and in Mostar 200. Before the 1st of

August even greater numbers of workers were arrested. Even bourgeois newspapers report that in the last days of July all thieves and prostitutes and a whole series of criminal elements were released from prison in order to make room for the arrested revolutionary workers. Before the 1st August, 700 workers were dismissed in Zagreb and sent back to their birth places under escort. In Bosnia on a single day 300 persons were arrested, and in Serbia, Slovenia and Dalmatia over a thousand workers and peasants.

An appeal issued by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia gives some idea of the murderous regime which prevails in the prisons. This appeal declared inter alia the following:

"After frightful tortures, after red hot needles had been driven under their nails, after they had been beaten with sacks filled with sand upon the soles of their feet and upon their stomachs, they were beaten to death. Hundreds of workers and peasants are being arrested in all parts of Yugoslavia and tortured and maltreated until they are crippled for life."

Immediately after the military-fascist coup d'état, the leaders of the "Peasant Party of Croatia", were murdered. In all parts of the country, mutilated corpses are being found every day. Heads and limbs are missing. In April the corpse of the Secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and member of the E. C. C. I., Djackovitch, was found on the Austro-Yugoslavian frontier. Djackovitch had been in prison in Zagreb. Since April a number of responsible officials of the C. P. and of the Y. C. L. of Yugoslavia have been murdered. From the 1st August a furious hunt against the Communists commenced. In Samobor in the neighbourhood of Zagreb, the secretary of the Young Communist League, Oreshkin and his brother and the Secretary of the Dalmatian Committee of the Y. C. L., Mishitch, were murdered after a fight which lasted 20 minutes. Further, the Secretary of the Party in Sarajevo, Braun, and the communist editor Tchengitch, were arrested and murdered. They were accused of having drawn up the appeal of the party on the 1st August.

During the course of the month of August one murder followed the other. Not only the communists, but also the radical intellectuals who sympathised with the communists, were persecuted, those intellectuals who refused to follow the oppositional parties on the path of capitulation before the military dictatorship and who supported the Communist Party as the only party of the revolution. For instance, on the 25th August Dr. Neshitch, the general secretary of the Yugoslavian Red Cross, was arrested for allegedly having supported communists. He was flung out of a window of the fourth floor of the police presidium and killed.

Russian white guardists take an active part in all these brutal murders. These mercenaries of the international counter-revolution who use their services in the interests of the military-fascist dictatorship in Zagreb and in Mandchuria, applying the experience won in the Tsarist Ochrana and in the espionage services of Denikin and Wrangel and in the punitive expeditions of the Koltchak army, play the role of the advance guard in the destruction of the revolutionary workers and peasants movement in Yugoslavia.

As was to be expected, the Yugoslavian social democrats, have completely capitulated to the military dictatorship. They are too weak to be used by the military dictatorship, but nevertheless they condemn every attempt of the revolutionary workers and peasants to fight against the murderous military-fascist regime as adventurism, provocation and putchism. The propagandists of the fascist dictatorship in its struggle against the working masses led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and against the national revolutionary organisations in Yugoslavia are the social democrats.

The social democracy is not able to provide the military fascist dictatorship with any serious support, and this is also of those bourgeois-peasant parties which have capitulated to the dictatorship and who in order to obtain a "mitigation" of the regime, beg for all sorts of compromises. The base of the power of the officers clique of the "White Hand", Karageorgevitch supports himself upon this "White Hand".

The economic situation of Yugoslavia shows that the country is on the verge of bankruptcy. Despite all the promises of the French imperialists who persuaded the king to carry out the coup d'état, the dictatorship has not yet succeeded in improving the economic situation of the country with the assistance of foreign capital. On the contrary, the situation is worsening. In foreign politics, the dictatorship has not achieved nothing. In accordance with the Young Plan, Yugoslavia will receive 16 milliard Dinars less as reparations than formerly. Further, in accordance with the Hague decision, Yugoslavia must repay its pre-war debts in gold. The loans to float foreign loans, increasing number of bankruptcies, decreasing income of the State from taxation, the steadily growing weight of taxation, starvation in many parts of the country and the danger of bankruptcy, these are the fruits of the military-fascist dictatorship.

In this difficult situation, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia which is at the head of the worker and peasant masses shows a heroic example of revolutionary resistance. Despite all the arrests, tortures and murders, its influence is growing. Even the treacherous social-democratic press cannot conceal this fact. The Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung" which always attempts to conceal communist successes or to misrepresent them, was compelled to admit a few days ago, that "in districts where the communists received not more than 50 to 100 votes, one or two or three hundred persons are arrested on suspicion of having conducted propaganda". In other words, even this organ of the social fascists, is compelled to admit that broad sections of the workers are under the influence of the Communists.

The working class cannot stand by and see its fellow workers in Yugoslavia murdered by the white terror. The heroic struggle of the Yugoslavian workers and peasants must meet with active solidarity on the part of the whole working class. In its appeal to the working masses of Yugoslavia, the Central Committee of the C. P. of Yugoslavia declares: "No tears over the corpses of the murdered heroes, but a revolutionary mass struggle against the tyrants!" These words must be made known to the workers of all countries in order to develop a mass movement of the proletariat all over the world against the Yugoslavian military-fascist dictatorship.

Neither tears nor assurances of solidarity can assist the Yugoslavian proletariat in its heroic struggle. Practical demonstrations of solidarity, powerful proletarian actions in capitalist countries, must assist the Yugoslavian workers. The Yugoslavian consulates are the centre points in all capitalist countries for espionage against the revolutionary Yugoslavian workers. The workers in these countries must see to it that this espionage is ended. They must support the struggle of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Yugoslavia by powerful protest demonstrations. Every transport worker who has previously assisted in the transport of the weapons needed by the Yugoslavian governmental clique in order to maintain the fascist oppression and white terror, must ask himself whether such an action is reconcilable with his proletarian conscience. Energetic and effective revolutionary propaganda in the factories and docks must mobilise even the most backward workers against the Yugoslavian murder regime.

The Communist International is the International of revolutionary action and fighting international solidarity. Therefore the Communist Parties of all countries must support the struggle of our Yugoslavian comrades with all possible energy.

# Against the Abominable Deeds of Yugoslavian Fascism.

(Appeal of the I. R. A.)

Moscow, 15th September, 1920.

The International Red Aid publishes the following appeal to toilers of the whole world:

The Executive of the I. R. A. must again draw the attention the whole of progressive humanity to the increasingly cruel deeds of the fascist military dictatorship in Yugoslavia, and appeal to the class-conscious toilers in town and country for solidarity and help for the persecuted revolutionary Yugoslavian workers and peasants.

White terror is raging ever more furiously. The murders and persecutions now taking place in Yugoslavia, put in the shade all the crimes which have been committed in this country by the fascist terrorist regime. The daily murders aim at the physical annihilation of all the leading revolutionaries.

The military dictatorship in Yugoslavia does not consider it necessary to mask its bloody destruction of the anti-fascist movements by farcical trials. It has declared all revolutionary elements to be outlawed and set prices on the heads of the revolutionaries. Murders are taking place systematically in the prisons, in the police stations, in the street, in localities and even in the dwellings of the victims. The number of the murdered victims can only be estimated. In the different parts of the country mutilated corpses and those which have been rendered recognisable are found daily. In the two last months alone 100 murders have been committed which were made known to the public. More than 10,000 people (among them being 70 per cent. of all the members of the Unitary trade unions) are pining in the prisons which are filled to overflowing and are threatened to death.

Toilers of all countries!

Raise your mighty protest against the abominable deeds of Yugoslavian fascism, against the murder-system of the Belgrade military dictatorship. The desperate struggle of the Yugoslavian toilers is at the same time your struggle against international fascism.

Workers and peasants!

Do not tolerate the crimes of the royal Yugoslavian government against your class brothers; demand retribution for the murdered champions of the revolution. Let the Belgrade murderers feel that the working class will not forget these monstrous crimes.

The Executive of the I. R. A. calls upon the toiling masses of all countries to exert the whole force of their brotherly solidarity on behalf of the victims of the white terror in Yugoslavia. The storm of your indignation and your strong protests must beat the weapons from the raised hands of the murderers of the workers and peasants.

To the aid of the Yugoslavian proletariat!

Down with the bloody military dictatorship!

Brotherly solidarity and help for the victims of Yugoslavian fascism!

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid.

## POLITICS

### The Political Situation in Austria.

By J. Koplenig (Vienna).

Since the sanguinary Sunday of Sankt Lorenzen, events have been moving apace in Austria. The Heimwehr have been feverishly active and have during the last few weeks greatly increased their ranks by the accession thereto of 100,000 Lower Austrian peasants, of the Upper Austrian Peasants League and the Austrian Trade Association. There is, indeed, a regular rally of the bourgeois class forces on the basis of the Heimwehr offensive. Just now the Heimwehr movement is concentrated on Vienna, where there are daily assemblies of tradesmen and other petty-bourgeois circles. The speeches held in this connection are menacing; they make mention of a "general attack", of "hanging the Red leaders", and of dictatorship. On September 29th, there is to be a great rally of the Heimwehr in front of the Town Hall. This date is generally expected to be a decisive one in the Fascist offensive.

The dangerous position of the Austrian proletariat was most clearly illustrated by the last interview granted by Seipel to the "Daily Telegraph". Seipel confirms what the Communists have always said. He acknowledges that the arms of the Heimwehr are in the hands of the Federal police and of the individual provincial governments, and that the Heimwehr is neither more nor less than an instrument of the ruling bourgeoisie, to be employed in the Fascist transformation of the bourgeoisie "democracy" into a pronounced dictatorship. Openly and brutally, Seipel announces the possibility of a Fascist coup and introduces himself as the coming dictator.

And who is Dr. Seipel? It is only those who, like the Social Democrats, are engaged in systematically deceiving and disarming the workers, that can possibly represent Seipel to be an "outsider" whose actions are dictated by personal ambition. Seipel is the man who for years has been guiding and controlling the policy of the bourgeois bloc. The restoration of Austria's finances by means of credits from the League of Nations was his doing. It is under his lead that the reactionary transformation of the "democratic" Republic and of its organs, the police, the army, the judicial apparatus, etc., has taken place. Seipel is the virtual creator of the Heimwehr; he is at the same time the spokesman of "true democracy" and the Fascist dictator acclaimed by the Heimwehr.

Nor can there be any doubt at the present juncture that Austrian Fascism is most actively supported by foreign countries. Dr. Seipel is the recognised and repeatedly distinguished champion of international reaction and of international financial capitalism. It is no mere matter of chance that he points out in his last interview how important it is not to forget that Austria is situated near Italy, Hungary, and Poland. This is an obvious reference to the formation of a Fascist bloc of states against the Soviet Union, to which end a Fascist regime is to be established in Austria. This at the same time is to counteract the rising revolutionary tendencies in Germany and to promote the plans of a Fascist dictatorship there too.

A no less important event of the last few days is the agreement arrived at between the Social Democrats and Herr Schober, the Vienna Chief of Police, an arrangement which has in the first place entailed the surrender of the traffic control to Schober. This is, however, merely the first step. The press associated with the Social-Democratic Party is waging an obstinate and systematic campaign for a Schober Cabinet as a means of solving the present impasse. In alluding to September 29th, the prospective Heimwehr day, the Vienna "Morgen" raises the cry for a strong government, by which is meant a government led by Police-President Schober. Such a government has already been promised the support of the Social Democrats, whose one and only task now lies in gaining the confidence of the "Vienna people" for this wholesale murderer of July 15th, who is the confidant of the Heimwehr and the right hand of Seipel. Following upon Seipel's open declarations, this cry of the Social Democrats for a Schober government clearly characterises the rôle played by the Austrian Social-Fascists.

A Schober government would naturally not mean a solution of the crisis. It would be a decided step in the direction

of establishing Fascist rule. It would carry out the alteration of the constitution according to the wishes of the Landbund, or Farmers' Union, but in spite of the support of the Social-Democratic Party it would meet with the decided opposition of the more radical working class. The question whether the transition to Fascism in Austria will be effected in a "cold and peaceful" way or else by means of violence, has been quite wrongly put. This has been proved by the events at Sankt Lorenzen. The workers will not and cannot capitulate without a struggle. The Austrian crisis is a class crisis to which there can be no peaceful solution.

The Social Democrats' sole concern at the present moment is to pacify the workers, who have been radicalised by recent events and are calling for the employment of serious militant measures. The furious pace at which matters are developing makes it difficult for them to gain large sections of their worker-members in the factories for the support of their social-fascist policy. So as not to alarm these members, they are combining their social-fascist auxiliary activity in the service of Fascism with tactics of an apparent struggle against the Heimwehr.

This pretence and the general demagoguery of the Socialist Party of Austria are reflected most drastically in an appeal addressed to the workers on September 5th. Under the slogan of disarmament and of the disbandment of militant formations, the appeal aims at lulling and disarming the workers. The workers are called upon not to interfere with the demonstrations arranged by the Heimwehr and to take no steps against the penetration of the Fascists into the factories and works. At the same time, the appeal takes into account the eagerness and radicalisation of the masses by showing up the danger of a "putsch" against the Republic on the part of the Heimwehr, for which eventuality the workers must prepare and hold themselves in readiness. The Socialist Party of Austria refers in this connection mainly to the precedent of the Kapp putsch of 1920 in Germany. While making a pretence of its readiness to fight in an eventuality which will never occur, it is attempting to persuade the workers of a non-existent difference between the Heimwehr and the legal organs of state authority, thereby veiling the real fact of the rapidly progressing transformation of the "bourgeois democracy" (of the democratic state and its organs) into a Fascist dictatorship, the danger of a Fascist coup d'état and the fact of its own collusion therein. What the S. P. A. is above all anxious to prevent, is the imminent counter-offensive of the workers following upon the events at Sankt Lorenzen. It is now organising a so-called Red Militia, by means of which the entire working class can be subordinated to the Republican Defence Corps.

The appeal of the S. P. A. contains a series of economic demands in favour of the petty-bourgeois and peasant classes, including the demand for trade-tax facilities and for the introduction of a grain monopoly, but not a single demand in favour of the workers or the unemployed. The Vienna Municipality has now resolved on a programme of tax-reductions in favour of the bourgeoisie. In the factories and works, the workers are advancing wage-claims in view of the rapid rise in prices, while the number of strikes and wage-conflicts is on the increase. The employers reply with lockouts and the dismissal of revolutionary works-councillors and workers, while the reformists refer the workers to the conciliation-boards, which in every instance decided in favour of the employers.

On this basis the Fascist influence in the works grows rapidly with the help of the Social-Fascists. The most important big enterprises in Upper Styria are now almost all controlled by Fascists. In the works of the Alpine Montan Company, the membership subscriptions for the Fascist trade unions are, as from October 1st, to be deducted obligatorily from the workers' wages. Meanwhile, the Social-Fascist secretaries openly act as touts, persuading the workers to join the Fascist trade unions so as to protect themselves against dismissal from the works.

The ferment among the workers is constantly increasing; it is enhanced by the increasing dismissal of revolutionary workers and factory councillors. During the last few weeks, the workers of various Vienna enterprises replied to such measures on the part of the employers by an immediate strike, and there is an increasing number of instances in which the workers have employed the weapon of political strike for the purpose of removing Fascist elements from the works. Violent collisions between workers and Fascists are the order of the day.

The Communist Party is now commencing serious activity with a view to enlightening the broad masses as to the se-

riousness of the situation and the treachery of the Social-Fascists. The political endeavours of the Party are directed towards preparing and carrying out a wholesale political strike and toward the domination of the streets by the proletariat. It is profited by the increasing number of individual conflicts for the purpose of removing the Fascists from the works and from the streets and by the strikes and wage disputes for the purpose of mobilising the masses for the coming decisive struggles. So as to mobilise the workers in preparation for the Fascist demonstration of September 29th, and at the same time as a counter-action to the campaign of the Social Democrats, the Party calls upon the workers to express their determination to fight demonstrations in the streets, the Party itself undertaking the initiative of the demonstrations in question. It is up to the Party to unmask before the workers the reactionary character of the Social-Democratic slogan of "no separate actions" and to make the masses understand that it is only by their daily and by active resistance to the constant Fascist provocations that they can acquire the necessary experience for carrying out a successful wholesale mass-offensive.

In connection with the mobilisation of the works for a wholesale political strike and for the fight for the domination of the street by the proletariat, the Party now confronts the workers with the question of the arming of the proletariat in ward off the attacks of its class opponents by means of the establishment of self-defence organisations in the works. This question is not purely organisational, but calls for an extensive ideological enlightenment of the masses in regard to the war experience gained both internationally and in Austria. It calls in the first place for the unmasking of the Social-Fascist character of the Republican Defence Corps, in which connection the falling to the Workers' Defence will be particularly difficult.

The slogan, "mobilisation of the works" characterises the nature and direction of the Party's work. The events at Sankt Lorenzen have again shown most drastically that the Party cannot hope to exercise a decisive influence on the struggles of the working class or to develop these struggles in the direction of a revolutionary mass campaign, unless it concentrates its entire efforts on the works, where the activity of the worker masses is most apparent. This task presumes a decided opposition to Social Fascism, with the pronounced object of destroying the influence of the apparatus of Social-Democratic functionaries in the works, seeing that this apparatus promotes Fascism and hinders and hampers the development of mass activity. Without discrediting and destroying this apparatus and at the same time creating united-front organisations, such as committees, anti-Fascist committees, committees of action of the unemployed, and the like, it will be impossible to fight successfully against the Fascists and their Social-Fascist auxiliaries. To direct the entire initiative of the Party in this direction and thereby to awaken that of the masses, must constitute the main task of our Party.

## The "Socialist Victory" at the Hague.

What Emile Vandervelde Confesses.

By Hermann Remmele (Berlin).

It does not happen every day that the heroes of the II. International openly display their servitude to the imperialist policy of their bourgeoisie and the moral corruption of their International, as is the case in an article by the former Minister Emile Vandervelde under the title "The Hague and the International". ("Vorwärts" of September 10th.)

The Hague conference has according to the ex-minister and most prominent member of the II. International

"ended as well as could be expected in view of the present political situation in Europe."

The burden of the whole article is that the policy of the II. International is being carried through more and more as the policy of the capitalist countries and of the international conferences of the capitalist governments. On this basis there follows a comparison of the resolutions of the II. International at the various congresses and conferences with those points of these resolutions which have allegedly been "realised" at the Hague conference of world robbers. Vandervelde resorts to the old trick of praising as triumph of socialism the capitalist robberies which the individual capitalist governments practise one upon the other. In reality it is nothing but an open confession of the II. Inter-

tional that, under instructions of their capitalistic class, they proclaim such robber enterprise as their current party programme.

And now for the Snowden "incident". The whole of the above-mentioned article betrays excitement over this wily robber British finance capital, who goes further than all the other conspirators in the international of cabinet ministers. It appears that M. Vandervelde is somewhat pained at the fact that the British big bourgeoisie, from the chauvinistic conservatives to the circles of the Labour aristocracy, are hailing Snowden as a strong man of British imperialism, as the national hero, who has done far more in pounds sterling than Baldwin and his sorts ever did for the prestige and honour of the nation. The pain felt by M. Vandervelde is hardly a good illustration of the "triumphal march of socialism".

M. Vandervelde sees in Snowden's attitude at the Hague conference a breach of fidelity to "socialist principles". For this purpose he recalls very urgently the attitude of MacDonald at the Frankfurt conference of the II. International, where it was just so particular "socialist" who impressed upon the International the necessity of annulling the war debts. We regard such a ringing reminder on the part of M. Vandervelde to his British leagues as a great injustice. Has Vandervelde forgotten that "socialist" Vandervelde is a very different person from the loyal Minister Vandervelde. What right has he to throw stones at MacDonald when he himself has occasionally transgressed? Vandervelde should be the last to complain about his British party friends. From his own experience he knows that the "socialists" Vandervelde, Hermann Müller, MacDonald, etc. are quite different as soon as they have the right to sign for their national sharks or their kings, from what they are at the gala performances of their corrupt International.

But M. Vandervelde still has one consolation: "But everything has passed off well!" How easily it might have been otherwise! In phrases that gush from his heart M. Vandervelde acquaints us with the real position of the "mighty" International:

"The incident caused no inconvenience beyond giving a few rather nervous socialists a few sleepless nights and furnishing good "copy" to those of our opponents, who are always ready to proclaim the bankruptcy of the International. On the whole things turned out well, and we should have no cause for regret if the experiences of the last few weeks would lead the parties affiliated to the L.S.I., and especially the big parties of the L.S.I. to making efforts in the future to promote as far as possible the unity of their action when it is a question of solving problems in which, to use the words of Otto Bauer, national interests must be subordinated to the general interests of the international proletariat."

Vandervelde is suddenly asking for a lot: In the first place, the International should agree beforehand on affairs such as are brought up at the Hague. But Vandervelde knows full well that that is balderdash. Was not agreement arrived at prior to the conference at the Hague? Vandervelde himself reminds us at MacDonald's pledge at the Frankfurt conference was the very "agreement" which should have been binding for the "socialists" during the negotiations at the Hague. But, mark you, it was not a conservative, such as Baldwin or Churchill, not Poincaré or Briand, not a Mussolini or any other representative of the capitalist world, but a "socialist" who defended the "honour" of the national gold-bags.

And what about the phrase concerning the subordination of national interests to the general interests of the international proletariat, which flows so lightly from M. Vandervelde's lips? Where and on what occasion did "socialist" ministers in the service of their bourgeoisie remember to subordinate national interests to the general interests of the International proletariat? Empty phrases and nothing but phrases! After all the proceedings at the Hague conference, it is amusing to have Vandervelde claiming the "socialist victory". The following is rather surprising:

"What was the attitude of the conference to this programme, a conference at which, alongside the representatives of Fascist bombast or of governments supported by obstinate and antagonistic centre and right-wing majorities, there sat the delegates of the German Republic whose chancellor is Hermann Müller, and of Great Britain with its pure socialist government?"

This utterance, particularly in regard to the Hague conference, where the "obstinate" and "antagonistic" delegates were not to be found among the governments of the centre or right-wing majority, but particularly in the "socialist" government of MacDonald, does rather too much violence to truth and reality. The discovery of the Hermann Müller government as a "pure socialist government" is also something new. It is well known that at the Hague conference Stresemann, Curtius and Josef Wirth, these Ministers belonging to the party of heavy industry, to the German peoples' Party, to the Clerical Party and to the Centre have been working for German finance capital. We are pleased to note that a most distinguished member of the II. International regards this as a remarkable achievement of the International of the lackeys of finance capital.

Altogether, the poorly disguised annoyance, which is expressed in this article of Vandervelde's, confirms the accuracy of our analysis, again emphasised at the X. plenary session of the E. C. C. I., concerning the growing and ripening conflicts in the capitalist world and the consequent serious crisis in the II. International. Vandervelde's article clearly shows the sharp contradictions which not only found expression in the capitalist Governments through the recent events during the solving of the reparations problem, but which are at the same time beginning to dissolve the International of the imperialist lackeys and social Fascists, and to crush it. M. Vandervelde's confession comprises an important self-exposure of the process of decay of the II. International.

## HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

### The War Mongers Distribute the Roles.

By P.

Is it hardly possible to conceive anything meaner and more disgusting than the tissue of lies and calumnies woven by the Chinese diplomats in connection with the annexation of the Chinese Eastern Railway. However, the deep dye of this lying attack grows paler alongside the reports of the terrible cruelties practised on Soviet citizens in the prisons of the Chinese satraps, of the sentences passed upon people whose only fault is that they are subjects of the Soviet Union, and, finally, of the bandit attacks, undertaken by Chinese troops and Russian White Guards upon the peaceable population of the frontier districts of the Soviet Union. However, we must concern ourselves with the lies of the Nanking commercial travellers, as these represent an important portion of the general plan of "action" of the war mongers against the Soviet Union.

Telegrams from Tokio report a conversation of the Chinese Ambassador in Japan Wan Yun Bao with the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sidehara, concerning the Russo-Chinese conflict. Wan Yun Bao goes as far as to deny the facts mentioned in the note of Comrade Litvinov. These facts include the statement that the Chinese authorities not only "treat Soviet subjects badly", as this is mildly expressed in Wan's denial, but that that they commit excesses, to which the imperialist powers would long ago have replied with punitive expeditions. It need hardly be proved that Wan's "refutation" is merely designed to hide the acts of violence enumerated in the note.

The speech of the representative of the Nanking Government in the League of Nations, Mr. Wu, is worthy of still closer attention. A still more delicate and responsible mission was given to this youth. Like a well-trained lackey, Wu made wonderful bows to the Geneva assembly and started not only to whitewash the Chinese robbers but even to throw the blame onto the Soviet Union. He boasted of the "paramount love of peace (!) of China" and was impudent enough to accuse the Soviet Union of provocation, etc.

It is, of course, not an accident that the tongue of the Chinese diplomats have become so loose. When they resort to such methods in order to work up public opinion, they know on whom they are relying. A further proof of this is given by the sonorous declaration of the American adviser to the Nanking Government, Mantel, who in his cynicism does not differ from his Chinese colleagues. The official refutation of the Washington Government, who tried to represent Mantel as a "private person", merely exposes the refuter himself. This is best proved

by Mantel's fresh declaration. He wanted to get out of the uncomfortable position, and "explain" his statements by saying that the data given by him concerning the "Soviet-Russian robberies" on the Chinese Eastern Railway were taken from the reports made by the former manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the White Guardist **Ostroumov**. Thereby Mantel not only exposed himself but also his Washington abettors.

The calumnies of Wu and other Chinese diplomats, the declarations of Mantel and of the other representatives of Washington diplomacy — all this indicates the well thought out distribution of the roles in the play which is threatening to plunge the world into a fresh catastrophe of war.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### The Military Manoeuvres in Czechoslovakia.

Demonstration of the Imperialist Front against the Soviet Union.

By Richard (Frague).

The manoeuvres in Czechoslovakia which were held with rather large formations of troops in the district of **Prague**, **Tabor**, **Tepliz-Trenčín** and in **North Slovakia**, which culminated at the end of August in the big military manoeuvres in **Hanakia**, were of great significance not only because they represented a trial of military strength and a fomentation of the war agitation of Czechoslovak imperialism, but chiefly because they became a demonstration of the imperialist war front of the Little Entente under the leadership of French imperialism against Soviet Russia.

This found expression in the fact that at the big army manoeuvres in Hanakia the commander in chief of the French imperialist army, **Pétain**, chief of the Yugoslav general staff, **Milanovich**, and the head of the Rumanian general staff, **Samsenovici**, were present. Through this participation, the world was, according to the German organ of Benish, the semi-official "**Prager Presse**" to be shown that the military efforts of these allies are co-ordinated for the support of their diplomatic work and for the maintenance of the gains which accrued from the war and the treaties of peace.

The division of the troops engaged into Red and Blue or White troops represents nothing but a demonstration for the class war against the Soviet Union and the working class. During the month of August the manoeuvres were, therefore, the very centre of political events. The bourgeois and socialist Press vied with one another not only in influencing the troops engaged in the manoeuvres by means of praise of bourgeois militarism and reports of victories and heroic deeds, but also in popularising bourgeois militarism among the broad masses of the workers and in promoting the imperialist war agitation.

During the last few days of the manoeuvres there were in attendance with **Masaryk** at the big events at **Kremsier** not only the international representatives of the imperialist war front but also the different representatives of the social-imperialist camp in Czechoslovakia. **Masaryk** was accompanied by the prime minister and minister of war, **Udrzil**, the social-democratic vice president of the Moravian-Silesian government board, **Remes**, the leader of Czech social-democracy, **Bechyně**, the leader of the Czech national-socialists, **Klofác**, and by a number of leaders and deputies of the different bourgeois and socialist parties in Czechoslovakia. The unity of the imperialist front against the Soviet Union was celebrated with brilliant speeches at a still more brilliant banquet in the archbishop's palace at **Kremsier** (signifying the blessing of the Church) and the future war programme of the war-mongers was laid down. The chief feature of this demonstration was **Masaryk's** big programme speech at the culture and industry exhibition at **Brünn**, where **Masaryk** made the following statement:

"I have come from the manoeuvres to the industry and culture exhibition. I see nothing incongruous therein. The world war taught us that future wars — God forbid that there should be any — will not be like the wars of the past but wars of whole States and whole nations. The soldiers will not be the only ones taking part; the industrial workers and the peasants will also fight, and, as I have said, I therefore see no contradiction between **Kremsier**

and **Brünn**. It is a question of being on the defensive or of defending oneself with iron. The industrial worker and the peasant should be prepared like the rest of us!"

Amidst the jubilant approval of the whole of the imperialist camp, **Masaryk** announced in these words further militarisation programme in Czechoslovakia.

The representatives of the allied armies were very serious in speech making, and **M. Pétain** was not left behind. As a military expert, **Pétain** naturally devoted himself to the specific purpose of the manoeuvres, to the question of war technics, to modern warfare and to the strength of Czechoslovak militarism. He found words of praise for the special technical equipment and for the quality as leaders of the trained corps of higher officers, but criticised sharply the shortcomings of the organisation of co-operation and of the equipment of the smaller units of troops in the field.

While the testing of the technical equipment and the operation of the most modern technical weapons, such as aeroplanes, tanks, armoured cars, armoured trains, pioneers showed the progress in the development of Czechoslovak militarism, the big defects, consisting of contrast between progressive war technics in Czechoslovakia and the old field tactics, became apparent.

The dismay over this phenomenon even if it is not expressed, is all the greater, because during these manoeuvres the bourgeoisie became aware that in the carrying out of new war tactics a decisive factor becomes operative, namely the class-conscious thinking and the resistance of the soldiers to bourgeois militarism and imperialist war.

The great physical strain, the defective organisation of army service corps and of the quartering of the troops, the victimisation of the class-conscious elements and the incapacity of the offensive against them during the manoeuvres have led to great dissatisfaction and resistance among the soldiers. In many instances resulted in the failure of the operations of individual divisions of troops. In some cases, soldiers had been on the march from one o'clock in the morning till midday without food and without rest, squatted down in the shade and would not budge in spite of all the threats of the officers. These numerous acts of sabotage often developed into spontaneous and positive mass demonstrations of the soldiers. For instance, a company of soldiers marched through **Kremsier** to the accompaniment of the revolutionary song: "Away with the tyrants and traitors . . .", and when the officers forbade them to sing the song and threatened them they simply replied, "You go and scratch yourself!" On August 29th the whole of the 34th Infantry regiment sang the "International" and the song of the revolutionary athletes: "We are the boys with a firm will." Officers who wanted to stop the singing were howled down. All the efforts to suppress the dissatisfaction and mass feelings of the soldiers by means of draconic punishments were in vain. On the contrary, the mass feelings compelled the commanders of the individual divisions of troops to drop these punishments.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League pointed out to the working masses of Czechoslovakia before and during the manoeuvres the significance of these manoeuvres as further steps of the Czechoslovakian and international bourgeoisie towards war against Soviet Russia. There were frequent demonstrations of the workers, especially in **Moravia**, against the danger of imperialist war and for fraternisation with the soldiers. In **Kremsier** the soldiers were received by the workers with anti-war and anti-imperialist slogans. During the manoeuvres, anti-imperialist leaflets were distributed among the soldiers of the various divisions in the neighbourhood of **Kremsier**, **Kojetain** and **Holeschau** and among those who took part in the manoeuvres on the **Sazava**, in the **Slovakian** and **East Bohemian** manoeuvres. In spite of the severest persecutions, the large force of gendarmes were unable to prevent the anti-imperialist activity during the manoeuvres.

The incidents of the recent manoeuvres prove that the camp of the workers, peasants and soldiers is forming consciously against the war programme of the social-imperialist camp and of the imperialist united front against the Soviet Union. It is the task of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League to deepen the growing dissatisfaction and the active resistance of the working masses against bourgeois militarism and the danger of imperialist war and to defeat the imperialist united front against Soviet Russia by promoting the action of the working masses against imperialist war.



## THE WHITE TERROR

### From the Protocol of the Commission of Investigation of the Workers International Relief into the Gastonia Happenings.

At the beginning of April of this year a strike of the textile workers broke out in North and South Carolina and in Tennessee. The governor of North Carolina, Gardner, who is shareholder in the textile undertakings there, called in the National Guard at the very beginning of this strike, on the 10th April, and prohibited picketing. The efforts of the American administrative apparatus to prevent strike picketing, were particularly violent in the centre of North Carolina, in Gastonia. The organisation of the Workers International Relief actively supported the textile strikers in this district. Food, clothing and footwear were distributed amongst the strikers.

In consequence the textile employers concentrated their most bitter attacks upon the Workers International Relief. On the 18th April, at two o'clock in the morning, a masked troop of private police of the Manville Jencks company raided the offices of the W. I. R., devastated it and flung the foodstores to the street. The national guard and the police did nothing whatever to clear up the affair and to punish those responsible.

In the further course of the strike, the Manville Jencks company commenced to evict the workers from the company houses. The W. I. R. then carried on a special campaign in order to found a W. I. R. tent colony and in the middle of May this colony was founded.

On the 7th June a group of striking workers returning to this tent colony, were followed by a patrol of police who acted, without any legal justification, to force their way into the colony. In consequence of their previous experience, the workers felt themselves threatened and refused to admit the police. A hand to hand struggle occurred and a policeman died upon the strikers. This was the signal for general shooting in which the police Captain Aderholt lost his life. On his death bed, Aderholt admitted that he had made an error and that he had had no legal right to force his way into the colony.

Despite these facts, the press in North Carolina, led by the "Gastonia Gazette" which is the property of the textile employers, organised a systematic campaign of incitement against the workers of the tent colony, accusing them of murder. Under the slogan of "vengeance for Aderholt!" the press whipped up a lynch atmosphere against the strikers. A hundred arrests were made and 16 workers, including officials of the W. I. R., were handed over to the courts for trial by jury.

The jury was rigged up so that employees of the textile undertakings, who were obviously prejudiced against the strikers, were made members of it. On the other hand, the prosecution rejected all candidates who admitted reading the working class press or who had worked in a factory. No objection, however, was made to jurymen who openly declared themselves in favour of executing the accused workers. The indictment openly appeals for a law declaring all strikes illegal, and in particular, prohibiting strike picketing. The indictment accuses the arrested workers of murder, violence and conspiracy.

Characteristic for the general lynch spirit is that on the 4th July an armed troop of private police of the Manville Jencks company once again attempted to raid the tent colony. The trial of the striking workers in Gastonia is obviously a repetition of the campaign which was carried on against Sacco and Vanzetti and which ended in the execution of these two revolutionaries. There is a great danger that in this case not two, but 16 revolutionaries will be sent to the electric chair, whereby in this case the authorities will not wait for years, but will put the sentence into operation with all possible speed.

The world is therefore faced with an attempt to commit a more frightful legal murder than that of Sacco and Vanzetti. The only crime of the accused is that they are class conscious workers and have fought for improved conditions for the workers in capitalist America, or that as officials of the W. I. R., they supplied the striking workers with food, clothing and shelter.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### An Appeal of the All-China Federation of Labour regarding the Shooting of Comrade Loo-Yun sun.

Fellow Workers!

Since the Kuomintang, under the instructions of the imperialists, attacked the U. S. S. R., class conflicts have been intensified throughout the whole world. Imperialism on the one hand, suppresses the revolutionary struggles, arrests members of the trade unions and kills revolutionary leaders in the West; and on the other hand, it co-operates with the Kuomintang militarists to use white terrorist tactics on a larger scale, to suppress the revolutionary leaders in China, etc. On the 26th July, when the anti-imperialist mass demonstration passed over the Bund bridge, the armed police of the imperialists fired on the unarmed masses without any reason or warning, with the consequence that a railwayman, the leader of the demonstration, Loo Yun-Sun, was seriously wounded. The police then took him to the Japanese police station and attempted to bury him in secret and up to the present no one knows where he is.

The imperialists and the Kuomintang realise that although the Chinese Revolution suffered a defeat in 1927, it is again steadily growing. They know that the Chinese masses are still an important factor in the anti-imperialist fight, and that the down-trodden Chinese working class is the main force of the world revolution. Therefore, when the Chinese workers demonstrated to support the U. S. S. R., and against imperialist war, they (the imperialists and Kuomintang) were well prepared and adopted savage measures to suppress the demonstration. This incident is another prominent fact of the guilt of imperialism, but they cannot hinder the development of the Chinese Revolution. On the contrary, they will rouse the revolutionary courage of the Chinese workers and make them fight more decisively to overthrow the ruling power of imperialism and the reactionary Kuomintang.

The Chinese workers have actively participated in and are in the vanguard of the class struggle of the world. We must fight on without any retreat: our revolutionary fighting spirit must be so decisive that it cannot be defeated. We believe that the sacrifice of Comrade Loo Yun-Sun has the same value as the sacrifice made by the workers in Berlin, Warsaw and other countries during their brave fight against capitalism. The Chinese workers realise that during the long period of anti-capitalist struggle, the class united front of the world's workers should be continuously extended and strengthened; the broad working masses in the whole world should be mobilised and fight for working class aims. The recent large strikes (including several ten thousand workers) in the Japanese textile mills and the Electricity Department in the Shanghai Municipal Council in China, are the result of the cruel exploitation by the imperialists of the Chinese workers and the shameful part played by the Kuomintang on behalf of the imperialists to suppress the workers. These strikes are the expression of the brave fight of the Chinese workers.

The Chinese workers are now in the front ranks for support of the U. S. S. R. Workers of the World! Fight and prepare the class struggle in answer to the attack on the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese Revolution by the imperialists and the Kuomintang. The Chinese workers hope to make a class united front with the workers in other countries on the Pacific ocean and also in Europe and America, in order to fight against imperialist war. We will advance along the line from supporting the victory of the Russian October revolution to the victory of the World October Revolution. We shall see that historical struggles will be developed following the sacrifice of Comrade Loo Yun-Sun.

Shanghai, 27th July 1929.

All China Federation of Labour.

# THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

## Strikes of Reformist Workers in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

In the preparation for the next congress a sharp fight is going on within the C. G. T. U. against the opportunistic and degenerate elements of all shades, who are at last showing their true faces. The different opposition groups are setting up their united front on the lines of capitulation, the political content of which is drawn from the anarcho-reformist group of Monatte. About twenty Paris trade-union functionaries, mostly one-time Communists, who have, however, been expelled from the Party, have just published a common manifesto which is to serve as a rallying point for all pessimists and sceptics.

In this document the radicalisation of the masses is designated as a pure invention of the Red International of Labour Unions. The chief attack is, however, directed against the Communist Party, which is declared not to have the leading role in the Labour movement. Complete independence of the trade unions is demanded, which demand is expressed in the suggestion that the members of the trade-union council should resign from the leading offices of the Party. The securing of the legal existence of the revolutionary trade unions is regarded as a purpose in itself, which, if necessary, must even be bought at the cost of renunciation of revolutionary actions. In order to preserve legality, a break must be made away from the "adventurous" political slogans of the Party. It may suffice if the formula of the congress of Bourges in the year 1923 is reverted to, this formula being at that time presented to the "self-sufficient trade unions": Agreements under reservations with the Communist Party, if this should be necessary, but with complete equality between trade unions and Party.

This document renders it possible to introduce clarity into the fight which the Communist Party intends to carry into the broad masses of the members by at last compelling all to come out in their true colours. At the general meetings of the food-stuff workers, as also of the harbour and dock workers — the secretaries of these unions signed the manifesto — as also at similar meetings of various trade unions, decision has been made in favour of the line of the C. G. T. U. in spite of the presence of the secretaries.

The leaders of the trade-union federation are naturally pleased that this fight has broken out and are ogling the members of the opposition. As early as August 1st, in order to sabotage our demonstration, they distributed at numerous places declarations of the opportunist leaders of the United Trade Unions, in which these leaders advised the trade-union workers not to take part in strikes "on the instruction of a party".

The leaders of the C. G. T., who are, without exception, members of the National Economic Council and mostly belong to several parliamentary or government commissions, have steadily carried on a policy of strike-breaking. The big strike of textile workers in the Northern area and in Roanne was liquidated through their scoundrelly attitude and their co-operation with the power of State, as was also the miners' strike in the Loire and Gard Districts. In every way they promoted the compulsory arbitration Act which was recently passed by parliament, and which constitutes the first step to compulsory arbitration, by the help of which every strike movement is to be prevented. Only a few days ago their paper, "Le Peuple", accused the Soviet Union of threatening China with an imperialist war and thus becoming the first country to resort to war as an instrument of national policy since the signing of the Kellogg Pact.

But the activity report of the C. G. T. U. very rightly emphasises:

"It would be false to draw the conclusion that the supporters of the C. G. T. and all the reformist trade unions

are sabotaging the Labour movement. On the contrary, the developing strike movement shows that the united front of the unitary, of the non trade union and of the reformist workers is being realised more and more, in spite of the triple alliance: government — employers — reformists. Within the C. G. T. there is a minority of trade-union members who combat the policy of the C. G. T., develop the platform of the C. G. T. U. and participate in its fight.

As a matter of fact, the most important event of the French Labour movement during recent times was the taking up of a direct fight by numerous workers and organisations of the C. G. T. During the last two months nearly 10,000 reformist workers have put up an energetic fight in eleven strike movements, namely, in several reformist strongholds, in which influence had previously been developing very slowly. For instance, in St. Claude (Jura) over 3000 pipe turners have been out since July 1st; in Lille 1,100 employees and workers of the tramways struck for a whole week; in Nantes there was a succession of strikes: first of all 700 tramway men came out, they were followed by 600 coal porters at the harbour, and within the last few days by about 1000 shipyard workers. In the great majority of the workers belong to the reformist trade unions, but nearly everywhere they used the fighting method of the revolutionary trade union: direct action instead of negotiations at the green table, street demonstration, chasing out of strikebreakers and in individual cases active resistance to the police.

Moreover, the reformist leaders have been forced in this direction, much against their will, after exhausting all attempts at conciliation; they did everything they could to break these strikes, which they regard as "so injurious to general interests", whereby they took refuge in arbitration by the prefects and sub-prefects. In some places they were successful in breaking such movements, which might otherwise have led to a complete victory within a few days; for instance, in Lille and on the tramways at Nantes. When the movement gets out of the hands of the reformist leaders, they will go as far as appearing openly as saboteurs and leaving their members in the lurch. The shipyard workers of Nantes, who had come almost completely under the influence of the revolutionary fraction, were bullied and threatened by the local functionaries of the reformist trade unions.

It is a remarkable fact that in many of these strikes the movement began at the renewal of the collective agreements for long periods, and that the workers were distinctly against such agreements as bound them for a long time to the employers. Even in the State factories, where the co-operation of the reformist leaders with the apparatus of the State is a regular feature, the workers set up the united front on the basis of the methods employed by the revolutionary trade unions: All the workers in the arsenal demonstrated on the streets, and at Indret the workers organised in the C. G. T. gave the signal for an increase of wages by stopping work for an hour.

These phenomena are a striking proof of the growing radicalisation of the masses and of the revival of proletarian initiative. These events refute the opportunist statements of the opposition members of the C. G. T. U. and justify our political line. They present to our organisations the task of taking in hand the leadership of all these movements and raising their political level. If we occasionally intervene too late against the leadership of the strike by reformist trade-union functionaries through demanding district committees elected democratically by the masses (Lille, Saint Claude), on other occasions, in Nantes, for instance, we have succeeded in wresting the strike leadership out of the hands of the reformists and undermining their influence. And the leaders of the C. G. T. incline more and more towards the Right and thereby make it clearer to the workers that they are the direct agents of the employers. The discussion in our ranks must also take these experiences into consideration and the lessons to be learnt from them must be drawn with the requisite emphasis, so that we may be in a better position to win over the majority of the working class by leading them in the successful economic fights which are in process of increasing



## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### Foundation Congress of American Revolutionary Trade Union Federation.

By A. G. Richman (New York).

One of the most significant conventions in the history of the American labour movement concluded its work at Cleveland, Ohio, with the formation of the Trade Union Unity League (T.U.U.L.). With the A.F. of L. completely on the social-fascist path, an agent of Wall St. and its State Department, with the workers practically unorganised and defenceless before class collaboration, company unionism, capitalist rationalisation, and imperialist war plans — this convention and the League it has established have a historic role to play.

The convention opened August 31 and closed Sept. 2, after having finished the following agenda: 1a. Fight against wage-cuts, speed-up (rationalisation) and for trade union unity — Foster reporting; 1b. Situation among working youth — Sroka reporting; 2. Organisation of unorganised and strike strategy — Dunne reporting; 3. Struggle of colonial peoples against American imperialism — Simons reporting; 4. Trade unionism and Negro workers — Hall reporting; 5. Fight against war danger, defence of U.S.S.R. — Wicks reporting; 6. Social insurance — Hathaway reporting. Then followed the discussion of these reports, and meetings of industrial conferences: mining, metal, textile, building, auto, printing, railroad, shoe, marine, needle, electrical, chemical, food, rubber, lumber and agriculture. In the evening there was a public mass meeting in support of the Gastonia defendants, which sent a long telegram of solidarity with the Southern strikers and those on trial. When two hotels refused to admit Negro delegates, two hundred delegates left them and picketed.

The first session elected Fred Beal, leader of the Gastonia victims, as honorary chairman, Schmies, an auto machinist, as chairman, and Boyce, Negro vice-president of the National Miners Union, as assistant chairman. The Southern textile delegates were given a tremendous ovation, with enthusiastic cheering and singing of strike songs. A workers jury was selected to go to the trial and render its verdict to the working class.

Of the 690 delegates, 130 were elected by shop committees, representing factories and mills of most of the great trusts of the country. Among these were 24 steel mills (including U.S. Steel, Carnegie Steel, Republic, Jones & Laughlin, Winchester Arms, etc.), 6 rubber factories, including most of the great corporations, 14 auto plants (Ford, Chrysler, Hudson, Packard, etc.), 3 packing houses, (including Swift, Armour), canneries, oil refineries (Standard Oil of New Jersey and of Indiana), and others.

Of the other delegates, 362 were from industrial unions, 145 from Trade Union Educational League groups and local affiliations, 27 were general T.U.E.L. representatives, 40 from T.U.E.L. national committees, and 40 fraternal delegates. 120 of the delegates were young workers. Over 80 of the delegates participated in the discussion, displaying a militant spirit and a keen understanding of the problems facing them.

An executive board of 15 was elected, consisting of W. Z. Foster, general secretary of the T.U.U.L., J. Schmies, assistant secretary-treasurer, J. Johnstone, national organiser, J. Ford, Negro organiser, and representatives of the miners, marine, transport, textile, needle, shoe, food and other industries, and special representatives of the youth, women and Negro workers.

In his report on the war danger, H. M. Wicks stressed the necessity of meeting it in part by a campaign in the war industries — especially steel, chemicals, transport, fuel, motors, etc. — and crippling the war machine so far as possible. Incidentally, we might refer to a statement made by Mathew Woll and others of the A.F. of L. gang on Labour Day, under the auspices of the Loyal Labour Legion, organised during the war, to "frustrate strikes and lockouts and otherwise aid in holding men to their wartime tasks". This aim is as true today as then, and is the frankest statement we have seen of the jingoism of the A.F. of L. To combat and discredit this misleadership is

a vital part of the fight against the menace of war, and was recognised as such by the convention.

Simons in his report on the colonial question discussed the role the T.U.U.L. should play in the Anti-America Anti-imperialist League, of which he is secretary, and the need for militant support of the colonies in their fight against U.S. imperialism. Hall, reporting on Negro work, urged the immediate appointment of Negro organisers in the miners, textile and needle unions, and emphasised the need for unity between black and white workers, especially in the South. Sroka, in his report on youth work, said that the greater exploitation of the young workers, together with their non-organisation by the labour bureaucrats, caused an ever-increasing number of strikes in which the youth led, or preceded the adult workers in striking, as at Elizabethton.

The 16 industrial conferences held during the convention discussed the special problems of their industries, especially that of organising a new industrial union, or strengthening it, if it existed. The conferences later reported to the convention on their work. An enlightening commentary upon the conditions of American industry was the fact that almost every delegate insisted that rationalisation was worse in his industry than in any other.

A few typical remarks made at these conferences illustrate conditions and the spirit of the delegates. Delegate Pitkan, logger, said regarding the speedup and blacklisting of militants in the lumber camps: "Many of the loggers of the northwest have had to change their names so many times that they couldn't tell you their right name if you asked them." Delegate Murdock, Southern organiser of the National Textile Workers Union proposed, "To the textile organisers must be added organisers from all the other industries — from the mines, from steel, from transport — to fight alongside of the textile organisers. They will make it possible for us to mobilize the workers of the entire South and to break open the Gastonia prison doors." Toohey, of the miners, put forward as their big slogan "On into the South", where the major tonnage of coal is now mined, with rank and file squads organised to go into Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia and other Southern coalfields.

Beside the industrial conferences there were special youth, Negro and press conferences which were very significant. The Negro conference was the largest, and was acclaimed by speakers as the most important Negro gathering yet held. The youth meeting was most spirited, the press conference gave special attention to the building up of the T.U.U.L. organ, Labour Unity. Delegates at most conferences and in the convention called for the immediate organisation of shop committees in all industries as units of the local leagues, on a permanent dues-paying basis.

The convention voted to affiliate with the Profintern, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and the Latin American Federation of Labour and decided to send a delegation of workers to the U.S.S.R. to see the 5-year industrialisation plan in operation.

The constitution adopted stated that membership is open to "all wage workers, and their labour organisations in industry and agriculture, regardless of race, creed, colour, sex, age or craft, who accept the programme of the class struggle." Conventions are to be held biennially, with representation based upon: (a) local unions, shop committees and local industrial leagues; (b) national industrial unions; (c) national industrial leagues; (d) local, regional, State and district general leagues.

The organisational principles of the League are industrial unionism, the shop delegate system, democratic centralism, proletarians working at the bench in a majority on all leading committees (with adequate proportion of Negro, youth and women, and workers in key and basic industries), complete equality of Negroes in the life of the union, special sections for work among women and youth, low union fees and dues (which are still lower for young workers), universal free transfer from one union to another, building of strike funds and benefit systems, officers' salaries not exceeding the average wage for the industry, etc.

The lengthy programme of action adopted analyses the situation of capitalism in the U.S., the alleged prosperity in the country, etc. It exposes American imperialism and the role of the government, then discusses rationalisation, the war danger, the betrayals of the A.F. of L. and the S.P., the situation of the labour movement, and the programme of the Profintern and the T.U.U.L. It closes with the following slogans: Build the

**T. U. U. L.!** Fight against imperialist war! Defend the U. S. S. R.!

**Fight against capitalist rationalisation!** Organise the unorganised!

**For the 7-hour day and 5-day week!** For social insurance!

**For full racial, social and political equality for Negroes!**

**Organise the youth and women!** Defeat the misleaders of labour!

**For world trade union unity!**

With the organising convention over, the real field work begins, especially that of organising shop committees and building local and national unions. With the increasing rationalisation, and consequent wage cuts, lengthening hours, speedup, unemployment, etc., and the rising tide of radicalisation throughout the world, the objective conditions cry for revolutionary unions. The new programme of the T. U. U. L. points the way, and the Left wing will build a mighty movement that will smash the allied bosses, government, and labour bureaucrats.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Membership of the C. P. of Sweden.

Comrades,

The X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., having examined the state of affairs in the Swedish Communist Party, has instructed the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. to address to all Swedish Communists the following open letter.

The Swedish Communist Party is among those Sections of the Comintern, the influence of which on wide proletarian masses has been growing continuously, in spite of the conditions created by the partial and relative stabilisation of capitalism. In the course of the last five years, the Party has almost trebled its membership (from 7,000 to 18,000). At the last parliamentary elections, it polled over 150,000 votes; it strengthened its influence in trade unions by steady systematic work; the recent strikes in the mining and paper industries have shown that our Party in Sweden is on the road to securing a leading role in the Swedish labour movement. All these successes are indisputable, and every member of the Swedish Communist Party can be justly proud of them. These achievements of the Swedish comrades can even serve as a lesson to other Sections of the Comintern.

But side by side with these successes, serious opportunist leadership errors have cropped up in the Party which, if not rectified and liquidated without much delay by the Party as a whole, threaten to impede the further growth of the influence of the Communist Party and to impair its fighting capacity. The fact that the entire rank and file of the Party did not react immediately to the opportunist errors of their leadership, is due not only to the ignorance of the Party in regard to divergencies among the leaders. It is also due to the fact that the rank and file of the Party has not yet a clear notion of the political line of the Comintern, that the Party leaders have failed to explain to the whole Party without delay the meaning of the decisions of the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern. The still existing "provincialism", i. e. a certain dissociation of a section of the Party from the fundamental tasks of the world Communist movement, a lagging behind this movement, have retarded the rectification of the line of the Party by its rank and file. In order to overcome the relics of this provincialism, to assimilate completely the political line of the Comintern, Swedish Communist workers must be fully aware of the changes which have taken place in the last years in the correlation of class forces on the international arena, as well as in Sweden itself.

The characteristic feature of the present world situation is a monstrous accentuation of all capitalist contradictions. Owing to the accentuation of these contradictions, under the blows of the universal revolutionary labour movement, of insurrections in the colonies and, above all, of the glorious successes of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. which is building up socialism, capitalist stabilisation is becoming more and more unstable. The war of 1914—1918 which gave vent to the capitalist contradictions accumulated prior to 1914, will no doubt be considerably exceeded by the terrible events towards which the capitalist world is certainly marching.

The frantic struggle for markets leads inevitably to a new struggle for another distribution of the world. All the capitalist States, big and small, are becoming part and parcel of the system of world imperialism through the establishment of development of international trusts and cartels, and are drawn on the path of unprecedented aggressive imperialist policies. Concerns such as the **Swedish Krüger Concern**, which operates with American capital, which owns 75% of the world production of matches, which penetrates into the farthest nooks and corners of the terrestrial globe and which also strives to a monopolist amalgamation of the mineral production of the world, is a vivid example of the imperialist character of Swedish capitalism. The contemporary Sweden is not a semi-patriarchal State with characteristics of semi-colonial dependence, it is a young imperialist State fighting greedily for a place among the other imperialist States and following in the wake of the policy of world imperialism. The Swedish bourgeoisie acts as the most energetic agent of world imperialism in the Baltic States by endeavouring to form a **bloc of Baltic States against the Soviet Union**. Like all imperialist spoliators, it subsidises, through the Krüger Concern, political reaction in Roumania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Esthonia, Latvia. The assertion that in a future war Sweden will remain neutral is nothing but a pseudo-pacifist legend. The keynote of the development of Swedish capitalism is its closer and closer association with the imperialist system of the world. It leads Sweden inevitably into active participation in wars.

This accentuation of external contradictions is closely connected with the accentuation of the internal contradictions of capitalism. In order to be able to compete on the world market and to cheapen production, the bourgeoisie is lowering the standard of living of the working class. The capitalist rationalisation carried through in the capitalist countries, is the most ruthless form of the bourgeois offensive against the toiling masses. It brings with it innumerable hardships to the proletariat; a longer working day, lower wages, mass unemployment. This pressure in the economic sphere is accompanied by brutal political reaction in regard to the working class. These new processes have not left Sweden untouched. Hundreds of thousands of Swedish workers are feeling the effect of this new pressure of trustified capital, unprecedented in its intensity. Just as in the rest of the world, this pressure calls forth a **counter-offensive of the working class** which has to wish to allow itself to be thrown into the abyss of poverty and extinction, without resistance. This leads inevitably to class conflicts of considerable magnitude. The class front is becoming more distinct. On the one side, the triple alliance of the capitalist State, employers' organisations and reformist bureaucracy; on the other side, the fighting forces of the proletarian masses which are becoming rapidly radicalised. The strikes which swept Sweden in the last year, signalise the beginning of the big class struggles between these irreconcilable forces. These strikes open to the Swedish workers a phase of revolutionary eruptions. The maturing of another revival of the revolutionary labour movement is accelerating the fascisation of the Swedish bourgeoisie as well as the conversion of Swedish social-democracy into social-fascism. The policy of Mondism, compulsory arbitration, by which social-democracy is throttling strikes, its policy of expulsion of revolutionary elements from trade unions which is only complementary to the methods of repression of the State apparatus which is becoming fascisised, — all this combined is radically changing the old pre-war ideas of the role of social-democracy as a workers' Party. Those who fail to see all these changes will never be able to steer, at this new stage of the world labour movement, a correct revolutionary course and to lead the mass of the workers in the coming class struggles.

The changes must be realised first of all by the Swedish Communist workers; they must understand that the "third period" in the post-war development of capitalism and the universal labour movement is not the relatively quiet time experienced prior to 1914.

The old "Swedish idyll" of petty-bourgeois prosperity with the mirage of which social-democracy is endeavouring to allure the workers, must be relegated to the realm of fiction. Hardships, starvation and unemployment are knocking at the doors of the workers' dwellings. Stubborn, ruthless, self-sacrificing struggle is in store for the working class. Its struggle with social fascism for the toiling masses, the Communist war-

ard will fight out not on the basis of a "labour majority" in municipal councils and parliaments, but on the basis of civil war with the forces of trust capital.

These changes also determine the tasks which are confronting the Communists and which were laid down by the VI. World Congress and by the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. **Our class against class" policy** is a revolutionary programme of struggle in all spheres. This policy, in the struggle against war, based on "the enemy is in our own country" principle. This revolutionary policy is incompatible with any slurring over the imperialist character of the Swedish capitalist State, the imperialist aggressiveness of the Swedish bourgeoisie. It is contrary to all manifestations of provincialism, national narrowness which is frequently disguised in Sweden by theories about special "specific features" of the Swedish capitalism. The "class against class" policy also means life or death struggle against the agency of trust capital -- the **Swedish social-democracy**. To consider now social-democracy as a workers' party, to invite proletarian masses to create a "labour majority" in parliaments and municipal councils, is tantamount, under present conditions, to inviting the workers to collaborate with the bourgeoisie. The policy of the Comintern presupposes struggle for independent leadership of the labour movements apart from and against social-democracy, struggle against trade union legalism, separate demonstrations based on the tactics of a united front from below, as for instance, in the militant demonstrations on May 1st. It is opposed to all khvostism, to all peaceful "democratic" cohabitation with social-democracy in the territories. It presupposes methods other than those of social-democracy for the capture of the majority of the working class, not only by methods of peaceful propaganda and agitation, but by methods of "loyal" discussions with social-democracy, but by ruthless class struggles in the course of which the treachery of social-democracy will be more and more divulged. Only we, Communists, be able to capture the majority of the working class. Not by capitulation before the trade union reformist bureaucracy will Communists be able to keep and extend their positions in the trade unions, but by energetic resistance to repressive measures in trade unions applied by the social-democratic upper stratum. The "class against class" policy presupposes, furthermore, consistent and ruthless struggle against Right tendencies, the result of capitalist pressure and the pressure of the still strong social-democracy on some weak members of the Communist Party. It is incompatible with unprincipled philistinism, with shielding opportunist errors or with the toleration of such. Without energetic, consistent struggle against Right opportunist tendencies, your Party cannot become a strong Communist Party capable of asserting itself and leading the working class towards proletarian dictatorship.

A close examination, from the viewpoint of the Comintern policy, of the course pursued by the Central Committee of your Party, will compel you to admit that this course has deviated from the line of the Communist International in a series of very important questions. The present majority in the C. C. failed to understand the substance of this line, it adopted it formally, only by words, but carried on in reality a stubborn struggle against the opposition and the **Swedish Young Communist League** who endeavoured to show to the rank and file of the Party the mistakes made by the C. C. The Comintern demanded of the Swedish Communist Party energetic consistent struggle against Swedish imperialism, but the majority of the C. C. weakened this struggle by reservations concerning its "dependent character" of Swedish capitalism. The Comintern demanded explanation to the Swedish workers that in a future war the Swedish bourgeoisie will not remain neutral, but that it is an active factor of imperialist policy making for war. The **parliamentary fraction** of the Swedish Communist Party introduced in the Riksdag, false, through and through opportunist proposals of the bourgeoisie, re disarmament, which foster pacifist illusions among the masses, particularly dangerous in a country like Sweden whose neutrality during the war, still militates against the watchfulness of the working class in regard to the war danger. In accordance with the Comintern line, the Swedish comrades should have made use of the parliamentary platform for ruthless exposure of the fascist role of the Swedish bourgeoisie and its agency, the **Swedish social-democracy**. But the parliamentary Communist fraction, while taking a correct position on a number of other

vital problems, at times drifted towards the position of "Left" social-democracy by introducing all kinds of "business proposals". The "class against class" policy demanded conversion of the May Day demonstration into a militant demonstration of the Swedish working class, not only against the Swedish bourgeoisie, but also against Swedish social-fascism. The leadership of the biggest Stockholm organisation, with **Einar Olsén** at the head, called off, in agreement with social-democracy, the May Day demonstration, emasculating in an opportunist manner the significance of May Day in a situation rendered acute by the accentuation of class differences. At the time when the blood of **Berlin workers** was flowing by order of the social-fascist Zörgiebel, when armed social-fascist bands in Poland were killing proletarian demonstrators, the leaders of the Stockholm organisation were so loyal in regard to the agreement made with social-democracy that they did not even procure speakers to address the several hundred workers who had assembled in spite of the calling-off of the May Day demonstration. Such policy on the part of the chairman of the Stockholm committee was nothing but a continuation of the inadmissible policy of blocs with social-democracy condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Party. The Comintern line dictated to the leaders of the Swedish Communist Party ruthless struggle against concrete signs of a **Right tendency**, relentless exposure of all opportunist mistakes, but the course pursued by your leaders consisted in systematically ignoring these mistakes, in cultivating in the Party a conciliatory attitude to them, in attempts to justify them in the eyes of the Party. The majority of your C. C. did not condemn these mistakes at the June Plenum. On the contrary, it defended them in the face of the just criticism of the minority of the C. C. and the Comintern delegation, representing the C. C. minority as factional mischief-makers in the eyes of the Party. Even after these mistakes had been submitted to severe criticism at the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., the chairman of the Polit Bureau of the Party, **Comrade Flyg**, defended at the Plenum the conduct of the Stockholm leadership and the proposal of the parliamentary fraction re disarmament by typically "Left" social-democratic arguments. An extreme attitude of toleration to these mistakes was taken up by a section of the Swedish delegation which represented the majority of the C. C. in the drawing up of this letter. Instead of straightforward, Bolshevik, bold condemnation of the opportunist wobbles in the Party, it either openly defended the opportunist mistakes, or gave meaningless evasive answers which make it more difficult for the Party to overcome these mistakes and rectify its line. This persistence on the part of the majority of your C. C. in defending the opportunist mistakes is more dangerous than the mistakes themselves. Every separate mistake can be remedied, but defence of opportunist mistakes degenerates into opportunist deviations which impede the further Bolshevik development of the Party. It is this atmosphere of conciliatorship in regard to opportunism that made capitulation possible among comrades such as **Westerlund** in regard to resisting the regressions of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy, it is such conditions that give rise to views such as **Grimlund's** re necessity of supporting capitalist rationalisation, etc.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern has repeatedly drawn the attention of the leadership of the Swedish Communist Party to the opportunist tendencies in the activity of the Party, calling it to energetic struggle against Right opportunism. In its letters of 10. X. 1928 and 2. V. 1929, it recommended the mobilisation of the whole Party to resist opportunist tendencies. It did everything in its power to give the C. C. itself an opportunity to make good its mistakes. But this method of influencing your C. C. did not have any results. The first of these E. C. C. I. letters was not even brought to the notice of the Party. This compels the E. C. C. I. to demand openly, before the whole Party and with its active co-operation, that the C. C. rectify the Party line and make good the opportunist mistakes which had been committed. There must be throughout the Party, from the bottom to the top, a serious discussion of questions connected with the political line of the Party and its organisational work, the present minority of the C. C. being guaranteed full possibility of defending its views before the Party. In this discussion, all problems must be dealt with on the basis of principle; there must be no room for opportunist attempts to obscure questions of principle by secondary matters, to conceal by misleading manoeuvres, the true meaning of the line of the Comintern and of the disagreement with this line on

the part of some comrades, from the Communist workers of Sweden.

The discussion on the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. must contribute towards bringing to light the opportunist elements in the Party, towards the renewal of the leading cadres and to the self-purging of the Party from the hangers-on and alien elements. Only such a discussion, on the basis of principle, will strengthen the real Leninist unity of the Communist Party of Sweden, and the latter will know how to deal a very sharp rebuff to all those who attempt to shake this unity.

The E. C. C. I. recommends that a Party Congress be called not earlier than within 4 months to sum up the results of the political work done in regard to the rectification of the Party line. Side by side with criticism of past mistakes, the Party will have to give at this Congress, as well as during the inner Party discussion, a concrete form to its tasks in the struggle against war, capitalist rationalisation, social-fascism and pacifist illusions. It will also have to give a concrete form to the tasks set by the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I.: conquest by the Communist Party of the leading role in the labour movement in Sweden, giving economic struggles a political character (problem of the mass political strike), firmer establishment of the Party in enterprises by means of reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei, consolidation of the influence of the Party in trade unions accompanied by elaboration of concrete measures to resist the infamous disruptive work of the reformist bureaucracy. The entering of new sections of female workers and youths into the class struggle as a result of capitalist rationalisation makes it the duty of the Communist Party of Sweden to devote particular attention to these strata. Furthermore, the Congress will have to replenish the leadership of your Party by comrades who became conspicuous in the course of recent class struggles, and will have to give an opportunity to all who wish honestly, sincerely and in a Bolshevik manner to make good their mistakes under the vigilant control of the Party and with its energetic help.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. expresses the firm conviction that only on the basis of such self-criticism will the Party continue to grow and to bring new life into its ranks. The Presidium is convinced that your Party, which has been able in the past to resist unanimously all attempts to sabotage the decisions of the Comintern, will profit by the experience of the Bolshevik Parties of other countries, overcome energetically opportunism and conciliatorship in its ranks and will become in the near future one of the foremost and most capable Sections of the Communist International.

## Resolution of the Polit-Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. upon the Report of Comrade Bell on the Plenum of the C. C. of C. P. of Great Britain.

Having become acquainted with the decisions of the last Plenum of the C. C. of C. P. of G. B., the Polit-Secretariat approves of the criticism of the opportunist errors committed by the C. C. as well as the changes in the political and organisational line of the Party in accordance with the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. which it has mapped out. The Polit-Secretariat draws the attention of the C. C. of the C. P. of Great Britain to the necessity for rendering more concrete the decisions of the X. Plenum in the daily activity of the Party. The Polit-Secretariat considers as absolutely correct the decision of the C. C. to concentrate now all Party forces on the widest campaign for the exposure of the pseudo-labour and imperialist character of the MacDonald Government which has most strikingly demonstrated its treason to the interests of the working class: 1. in the treacherous role in the Lancashire lockout; 2. in retaining the Anti-Trade Union Act which was carried after the suppression of the General Strike by the Conservative Government; 3. in the non-recognition of the U. S. S. R., despite the obligation that the British Labour Party undertook before the working class during the elections; 4. in the continuation of the Tory policy of oppression in relation to the colonies (the Meerut trial and shooting down strikers in India, the bloody slaughter of Arabian insurgents and inciting them against the Jews and vice versa in Palestine, the Egypt Treaty of 1936) as well as the continuation of the imperialist policy of the

Conservatives at the Hague Conference). The British Party must link up this main political task with a most active recruitment campaign for membership and for press subscribers in factories. The campaign must be carried out with the most active participation of all Party committees, locals and nuclei of M. M. and of the Left elements of the various working class organisations, and linked up with the task of bringing into existence as quickly as possible a Party Daily Paper. Only by realising this most vital and important task will the Party secure a wide possibility of mobilising the working masses in a struggle against the MacDonald Government, of concentrating all its efforts on the factories, and thus carrying out effect the resolution of the C. C. to bring about those changes outlined in the resolution. Therefore the creation of a Party Daily Paper not later than January 1st, 1930 must be placed as the main task of all Party organisations, and the entire C. P. of Great Britain.

Finally, pointing out the lack of self-criticism in the resolution of the C. C. in connection with the August 1st campaign against the menace of imperialist war, the Polit-Secretariat proposes to the C. C. to take steps towards the widest self-criticism in all Party organisations, ruthlessly closing all defects and shortcomings of the Party and mapping out practical ways and means for their elimination.

## Resolution of the E. C. C. I. on Communist Work in the Trade Unions of China.

An analysis of the strike movement in China last year warrants the assertion that another revival is maturing in the labour movement of that country. Hundreds of thousands of workers were involved in the industrial battles of last year, and the strikes frequently assumed a decidedly political character. The Polit-Secretariat therefore, while pointing out the resolution of the last Plenum of the C. C. of the Communist Party has on the whole correctly mapped out the line of union activity, deems it necessary to draw the attention of the Communist Party of China to the necessity of effecting as far as possible a change in its activity in the mass labour organisations, first and foremost in the trade unions, including separate Red unions as well as the Kuomintang (government) and yellow ("Left" Kuomintang) unions.

The Communist Party of China must now take all measures for putting life into the Red Unions and converting them into real mass organisations. This is particularly important in the present phase of the industrial struggle, otherwise the Red unions run the risk of losing their authority among the workers who do not feel their activity in the economic skirmishes. The main task of the Communists at the present stage is to lead and organise the growing movement. At the same time an energetic struggle must be waged against all liquidationist tendencies within the Party with regard to the Red unions, as well as against all manifestations of the Right danger—outright opportunism. One should bear in mind that the Red unions possess considerable political capital accumulated in the period of revolutionary struggle and that their relative political strength is much greater than their present organisational position. The Red unions constitute the basis of the revolutionary labour movement and should be extended wherever objective favourable conditions warrant this. This applies first of all to the railwaymen's, miners' and seamen's unions which were the backbone of the All-China Federation of Labour.

But the C. C. of the C. P. of C. must no less energetically fight against the lack of appreciation of the significance of Communist activity in the yellow and Kuomintang trade unions, some of which have become broad mass labour organisations, and take up the question of energetic work in these organisations. This is made imperative by the existence of the Kuomintang and yellow unions on the one hand, and by the extremely weak Red trade union organisations on the other. A change in Communist work within the Kuomintang and yellow unions must be real and not only be laid down in resolutions. This will require an inner-Party campaign to explain the necessity of Party members and revolutionary workers joining the mass Kuomintang and yellow trade unions. The removal of sectarianism which still prevail in regard to mass work

must be broken. In view of the absence of reformist tendencies in China (although reformism is making great efforts to penetrate the Chinese labour movement) and the absence of a strong basic trade union apparatus, the capture of the masses of the yellow and the Kuomintang unions during the present strike wave in China will be much easier than in the reformist unions in the old capitalist countries. The Communists belonging to the yellow and Kuomintang unions should organise fractions which would rally to their side all revolutionary elements of these organisations. But the Communist Party of China, while advocating adhesion of Communists and revolutionary workers to the mass yellow and Kuomintang unions, must not take upon itself the function of agitating among the masses for entry into yellow and Kuomintang unions, because of the anti-class character of these organisations. Therefore, wherever the Kuomintang and yellow unions are not of a mass character, the Communists and revolutionary workers must not join them. We join these trade unions only because and insofar as they have large numbers in their ranks and only for the purpose of capturing these masses, making use of the present revival of the labour movement. Wherever conditions are objectively favourable for the creation of the revolutionary union parallel with the mass Kuomintang or yellow union, such should be organised, but at the same time work should be conducted also in the yellow and government unions with the object of capturing the masses on the basis of revolutionary policy, with a view to the ultimate liquidation of these organisations.

Energetic work among the masses demands of the Communist Party of China to consolidate its positions in the factories and workshops through the formation of **factory committees**. The importance of such committees in China is all the greater as either the yellow nor the Kuomintang unions are centralised and co-ordinated on a national, industrial, or even town or provincial scale. The factory committees should be elected by the workers, regardless of the official attitude of the unions. Under the leadership of the Party nuclei in the factories these committees will be able to become the organisers of the struggle and the leaders in the spontaneous economic conflicts, which are daily increasing of late and in the daily struggle of the workers in the factories. If the factory committees will be energetic enough it will be possible to transfer the members of the yellow and Kuomintang unions into mass Red trade unions. Finally, the factory committees will be able to act as a barrier between the workers of the factories and the yellow and Kuomintang unions. The factory committees, when firmly established in the factories, can and most become — when the moment for it arrives — the basic organs of mass Red unions, and take the initiative in organising the union along industrial lines when the labour movement revives. The formation of factory committees is therefore the more important wherever there are yellow and Kuomintang unions. Wherever there is only a Red union, the factory committee should be the starting point for the creation and consolidation of a mass basis of that union.

The Communist Party of China must raise the question of resumption of a legal existence by the Red trade unions, even if it were under another name and without official sanction, in connection with the revival of the labour movement. The actual leadership of these unions however, must continue to work on a conspirative basis. During the period of their legal existence most of the Red unions did not succeed in establishing a firm organisational basis in the factories and workshops. The result was that the Kuomintang had it comparatively easy to smash a considerable section of these organisations. The most important thing therefore now is to create such an organisational basis for the Red unions. Without this it will be impossible to build up stable Red unions, to create factory committees, to work within the yellow and Kuomintang unions, to take an independent lead in the industrial struggles of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of China must wage a decisive struggle in the Party against those of its members who want to dissolve all Red unions immaterial as to whether they are mass organisations, whether they are in a position to become such organisations, whether they have wide influence among the non-Party workers or whether there is a chance for them to become influential if they take direct active part in the economic struggle of the workers. The Communist Party of China must undertake the organisation of class unions (they need not necessarily be called Red unions) in those towns and industries

in which no mass trade union organisations exist. Industrial conflicts between workers and employers provide a suitable moment for the creation of such mass organisations.

But at the same time, the Communist Party of China must resolutely discard the traditional evil of "dictating" and building unions from the top. The list of Red unions must be looked through from the viewpoint of their activity and capability, and those which are not mass organisations, which merely exist on paper (having only their unnecessary machinery) should unhesitatingly be liquidated if they stand no chance of becoming mass organisations and if there are mass yellow or Kuomintang unions in the given locality, so as to enable the comrades freed from that work to work more successfully in the mills and factories or in the yellow and Kuomintang unions. As to the latter, the C. P., when it captures strong positions in them, will at a suitable moment, have to take up the question of ousting the yellow and Kuomintang leaders even if some of the rank and file of these organisations will remain loyal to their leaders and therefore leave the unions.

It would, however, be a harmful opportunist illusion to think that we can, under the present circumstances, get control of the yellow or Kuomintang unions through the basic apparatus or that the Red unions can become legal organisations irrespective of the revival of the labour movement under Kuomintang rule. It is therefore necessary skilfully to co-ordinate the legal and illegal work of the unions, to establish contact between the Red unions and the masses through conspirative leadership, and energetically to fight for the right to strike and organise and for making the Red unions legal organisations despite the Kuomintang laws.

The most important task of the Communist Party of China in the trade union movement is **independently** to lead the growing industrial struggles, to organise and prepare these struggles in the best possible way. With this in view all opportunist elements in the Party who believe that "it is impossible to act without the yellow and Kuomintang unions", that it is necessary "to bring pressure to bear on the leaders of the yellow and Kuomintang unions so that our demands will be carried into effect", must be energetically fought. The Red unions must organise the industrial struggle and lead it through such organs as conferences of factory delegates and committees of action elected by all factory workers. In this respect it is necessary to develop extensive activity among the masses themselves, drawing the revolutionary elements into the leadership of the struggle. This is the most important necessary condition for successful work of the Communist vanguard in gaining control of the labour movement in the present revival.

## **The C. C. of the C. P. of Italy on the Decisions of the X. E. C. C. I. Plenum and the Inner Party Situation.**

### **Expulsion of Serra from the C. P. of Italy.**

The Central Committee of the C. P. of Italy met in the first days of September. It examined the results of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and the problems of the policy and the organisation of the Party.

The C. C. of the C. P. of Italy declared itself in complete agreement with the resolutions of the X. Plenum, both in regard to the analysis of the situation and the tasks of the Communist Parties and to the manner in which the Plenum dealt with and solved the inner problems of the international Communist movement, particularly with regard to the intensification of the struggle against the opportunists and the conciliators. On the basis of the results of the X. Plenum the C. C. has subjected the whole activity of the Party to a thorough examination. It has realised the necessity to lay down the political line of the Party in accordance with the decisions of the X. Plenum and the situation in Italy. The C. C. considered it necessary to admit and correct various mistakes which now and then have been committed by the Party in the past. The precise definition of the political Party line and the correction of the mistakes which have been committed must be carried out in order to conduct the fight against opportunism and against any conciliatory attitude towards it. Only this fight can render the Party capable of correctly solving those tasks by which it is confronted.



The C. C. further dealt with the attitude of Serra (Tasca) both in connection with international questions and in connection with the Italian question. On the basis of the Plenum decisions Serra was asked to withdraw his political platform which he had submitted to the March session of the C. C. of the Party, to condemn the conceptions of the Rights, to abandon any solidarity with the Right and conciliatory groups and to accept unreservedly the political line and the discipline of the Comintern and of the C. P. of Italy. Serra has rejected these conditions. Moreover, he came forward in the discussion and developed a series of views which mean the complete and thorough break with the ideology, the programme and the political line of the Communist world movement. As a result, the C. C. decided to expel Serra from the ranks of the Party, and requested the leading organs of the Communist International to confirm this measure.

## Decision of the X. E. C. C. I. Plenum on the Financial Report of the E. C. C. I. for the Year 1928.

After examination of the financial report for the year 1928, which was submitted by the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. decided:

- to confirm the report in its whole extent;
- to publish the cash report.

Cash Report for the year 1928.

Income:		Rbls.
Balance brought forward from 1927 . . . . .		4,691.96
Membership fees of 43 sections of the Comintern for 1,684,212 members of these sections*) . . . . .	1,015,158.78	
Collections and donations . . . . .	286,916.—	
Income from publishing firms, telegraph agencies and for the Bulletin for Press information . . . . .	180,104.50	
	Total . . . . .	1,486,871.24
Expenditure:		
Administrative expenditure (Personnel, economic expenditure etc.) . . . . .	632,412.26	
Expenses for post, telegrams etc. . . . .	37,018.75	
Delegations . . . . .	65,028.—	
Support for Party papers, publishing firms and for enlightenment work . . . . .	711,324.—	
Balance carried forward to 1929 . . . . .	41,088.23	
	Total . . . . .	1,486,871.24

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Belfast Trade Union Congress.

By Harry Pollitt (London).

The Belfast Trades Union Congress has fully confirmed the analysis of the rôle of the Trade Union Bureaucracy that has been made by the Communist Party and the Minority Movement.

The Congress met in the shadow of the infamous Arbitration Award imposed upon 500,000 Textile workers by the Labour Government and T. U. officials. This is obviously the preliminary to imposing further reductions upon the railwaymen and miners when their demands come up within the course of the coming weeks.

The Labour Government in its short period of power had already demonstrated it would betray every pledge that had been given regarding the 7 Hour Day for Miners; repeal of the Trade Union Act; refusal to assist the unemployed; and its wage cutting policy as carried through by its Arbitration machinery.

\*) The Young Communist International, which numbers 2,340,643 members, is exempted from payment of membership dues. Six Sections have not sent in their membership dues. The remaining sections (before all the countries in the East) were exempted from payment of membership dues for 1928.

The Congress also met at a time when the Labour Government, with the unanimous approval of the whole capitalist press in this country was suppressing with armed violence the legitimate demands of the Arab workers in Palestine, and by selling nationality against nationality and promoting religious differences as has been the traditional imperialist policy in India and China, as a result provoked the attacks made on each other by the Jews and Arabs, this is the excuse for strengthening the hold of British Imperialism in this strategic part of the Imperialist Empire.

32 Indian and British comrades are incarcerated in the Indian gaols by the Labour Government; Snowden was in the Hague carrying out the Reparations demands of his capitalist masters.

Further the Congress met at a time when due to the magnificent achievements of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction in Soviet Russia, the war preparations against the U. S. S. R., under the leadership of the Labour Government were daily being intensified.

The above represented the political and economic situation in which the Congress met.

Ben Tillet, the chairman, gave the most unscrupulous and naked capitalist speech that has yet been made in this country. It was a speech of a company promotor, and has been set upon by the whole of the capitalist forces under the leadership of Beaverbrook and Melchett to be what it is, a public acceptance of co-operation between the T. U. C. and the most unscrupulous section of the capitalist class in this country, and will be found in practice to result in a new terrific drive against the working class at home and abroad.

This speech was described by the Executive Committee of the Minority Movement in a declaration issued to the Congress as follows:

"Mr Tillet's Presidential Address to the 61st Trades Union Congress is the most definite expression yet to hand of these pro-capitalist tendencies which have been so much in evidence in T. U. C. circles since the betrayal of the General Strike in 1926. This, the greatest event in British working-class history was at once a demonstration of the capacity of the workers to sacrifice themselves in a common struggle and the final demonstration of the treacherous character of reformism in every sphere. It is therefore logical that this Congress should record a falling Trade Union membership and a more arrogant and open collaboration with the capitalists on the part of the trade union leaders. Mr. Tillet boasts of the recognition which capitalism now gives to the Trade Union movement. The workers have paid a terrible price since 1926 for this patronage. This recognition is not an admission on the part of the capitalists that the trade union movement has become a menace to their ownership and control of the means of production. It is, on the contrary, the expression of a master who sees his power stabilised and extended through willingness on the part of the trade union leaders to maintain the workers in servitude."

World capitalism is faced in this period with its irreconcilable contradiction, i. e., growing productive capacity and contracting markets. In every capitalist country the employers are searching for new means to increase production per man-shift. In all the markets of the world a terrific struggle is going on for the ability to sell. Prices are being forced down by the most revolting exploitation of the workers. The reformists in every country, Germany, France, America, etc., are occupying the same role as that of the British labour bureaucracy. The pathway can only have one ending. That ending logically arises from Mr. Tillet's speech: the outbreak of a new imperialist war between the powers struggling for the same markets. Mr. Tillet himself indicates the two countries most likely to be involved in such an imperialist war when he points to the United States of America as the outstanding menace to British prosperity. Mr. Tillet has not changed. He rattled sabres for capitalism during the war, 1914—1918: he does so now in preparation for new wars.

The omission of any reference to the colonial workers is not accidental. It is the natural accompaniment to his gospel of British supremacy. The trade union movement with its tradition of defence of colonial workers has abandoned this for the adoption of British Imperialism as the principle of the T. U. C.

The rationalisation (i. e., the utilisation of less labour energy in the production and distribution of commodities) leads



a decay of the living and working conditions of employed and unemployed workers.

The debate on Trade Union Reorganisation proves the hostility by all who participated, whatever phrases they used (his of course refers to the T. U. officials who took part) to any measures that will strengthen the workers' forces to fight capitalism, the Labour Government, and the T. U. leadership. Only the revolutionary delegates exposed the hypocrisy of the Congress' approach to this question and launched specific proposals that alone can lead the workers to victory.

The decisions on the General Council's enquiry into disunion are only a further indication of the desire of the Congress to please their capitalist masters and endorse the policy which is meant to split and disrupt the working class movement. In 1924 at the Hull T. U. C. there took place a debate against the Labour Government in regard to the treatment of trade unionists in important struggles that had taken place in that year. But this year there is complete consolidation between them in the drive towards capitalist rationalisation and war as shown in the telegrams exchanged between Snowden and Tillet.

The debate on the General Councils' negotiations with Macdonald and the Federation of British Industries, brought out clearly, how under the cover of these negotiations, the representatives of the capitalists in charge at the factories are intensifying exploitation and carrying on incessant attacks upon the workers. But these facts did not prevent the Bureaucracy at Belfast from endorsing the policy of the General Council.

A demand was made that recognition should be given to the U. S. S. R., but only from the point of view of getting trade. Not a mention of India was made.

The revolutionary opposition was smaller than in any previous year, and in a very difficult situation carried out their tasks, the most serious defect in their work was in not bringing out strongly and sharply the rôle of the Labour Government in regard to India, and the events connected with the Meerut Trial. But they did force the Textile situation right to the front, and compelled Cramp & Walkden, the railwaymen's leaders in the Arbitration Court that had reduced the railwaymen's wages, to make the most complete self-exposure of the wage reducing rôle of the trade union leadership, that even the English Labour Movement has witnessed.

The Belfast Congress represents the complete consolidation of the Triple Alliance now directing its united force against the working class of the Capitalists, Labour Government and Trade Union Bureaucracy. It marks a further stage in the drive towards capitalist rationalisation and war. The coming conference of the Labour Party at Brighton will witness a further consolidation in the same direction.

The revolutionary delegation at Belfast issued a declaration at the close of the Congress in which it summed up the meaning of Belfast, and concluded by stating:

"This Congress marks the highest point in the transformation of the British Labour Movement into a Capitalist force. The exchange of telegrams between Snowden and Tillet shows the perfect unanimity which now exists between a prostituted Trade Union Movement and the Capitalist Labour Government.

We therefore, as Militant Delegates to this Congress, few as we are, hurl our defiance into the teeth of our class betrayers, and declare that in spite of Belfast decisions, we will assist the workers of Britain to smash through the barriers which have been erected to safeguard our exploiters.

Under the independent leadership of the Minority Movement and the political direction of the Revolutionary Communist Party, we will conduct the economic struggles which face the British working Class.

We will approach the workers, organised and unorganised, at the Mills, Mines and Factories, calling upon them to unite in Committees of Action to fight for the

7-hour day and a National Agreement for Miners,  
25% for Railway Workers, and against the pernicious  
Cotton Arbitration Award.

We will rally the British Workers to the defence of the exploited Colonial workers, wage increasing struggle against Capitalist War, and defend at all costs 'The Workers' State.'

We will call the workers to battle against the unholy triple alliance of the Capitalist Class, the Labour Government, and the British Trade Union Congress."

## Reformist Miners' Leaders Manoeuvre with MacDonald Government.

By W. M. Holmes.

London, 14th September 1929.

It is now clear how the reformist leaders of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain are intending, in alliance with the MacDonald Government, to carry through the betrayal of the miners when a new crisis arises in the industry at the end of this year, with the ending of the district wage agreements concluded in 1926.

The Blackpool conference of the Miners' Federation mandated the Executive to approach the coalowners to demand a national agreement and an increased minimum wage.

The Executive asked the coalowners for a meeting, couching their request in significantly vague terms and speaking only of the need for a "review of the whole situation of the industry."

In conformity with their attitude since the conclusion of the 1926 lock-out the owners rejected this request and reiterated their position of refusing to meet the Federation nationally.

Shortly after this refusal MacDonald, in a speech in his constituency, gave what the "Daily Herald" calls "friendly advice" to the owners, asking them why they were so "stiff-necked" in their refusal of national negotiations and a national agreement.

MacDonald added, for the owners' benefit, that by its proposed legislation concerning the coal industry (the lines of which have yet to be made public) the Government "did not want to affect the industry badly" but "wanted to help it."

At its meeting on September 12th, the M. F. G. B. Executive hastened to express its "appreciation" of MacDonald's statement and decided to send yet another request to the owners for a national meeting. In the event of a further refusal it is generally understood that the Government will intervene to "bring the parties together."

Thus the Federation Executive, far from rallying the miners to fight against the owners' peremptory refusal is manoeuvring with the Government to secure the defeat of the men.

It is significant that, in its further approach to the owners the M. F. G. B. Executive openly stresses the "peace in industry" theme. And A. J. Cook, in the very accents of his predecessor the renegade Frank Hodges explains that what the Federation wants is to secure a "peaceful" settlement "in the light of economic conditions, by national negotiations without a struggle."

To which one may add that the Federation Executive, in response to cries for help, from the "old gang" in Scotland, is to conduct a special campaign in the Scottish coalfields against the militant United Mineworkers of Scotland: and for this, the only fighting it proposes to do, A. J. Cook, the former militant, is being allocated as the principal campaigner.

"Everyone knows that "economic conditions" are the owners' customary pretext for wage cuts: and everyone knows that the owners will demand wage cuts at the end of the year even without any suggestion from the Government of a decrease in working hours.

This is admitted in an article in the "New Leader", the official I. L. P. organ. After the customary Left-Social Democratic sham "criticism" of the Labour Government for not moving forward enough in the mining question, the "New Leader" declares that the "ablest and strongest member of the Cabinet" must be entrusted with the "reconstruction" of the coal industry and peremptorily informs the miners that they must realise "the impossibility of restoring the industry to a satisfactory economic level within a few months."

Thus there is a real united front of the government the reformist bureaucracy of the Miners' Federation and the "Left" Social democrats of the I. L. P. to ensure the defeat and betrayal of the miners.

Against this united front the Communist Party is fighting in the coalfields for the establishment now of Pit Committees, embracing unorganised as well as organised miners. These Pit Committees will form the basis for Committees of Action when the crisis breaks out: only through such Committees, under the revolutionary leadership of the Party, can the miners fight for their elementary demands — the seven hour day and a national minimum wage.

Meantime the coalowners have now accepted in principle a scheme for output regulation, price control and marketing on a district basis with national "co-ordination".

This scheme, which has been drafted with the encouragement of the Government (to whom it is finally to be submitted) represents an attempt to carry mining rationalisation a step further.

Yet another illustration of the attitude of the Government towards the social situation, and its desire to push forward rationalisation, is afforded in a speech made by Lansbury, First Commissioner of Works and member of the Cabinet. Lansbury not merely drops any hint of nationalisation, but suggests the erection of a gigantic national coal monopoly, by the coalowners "supervised" by the State as the railways are now. This is in effect the national coal trust advocated by the millionaire newspaper magnate Beaverbrook.

On the side of the miners themselves the ferment of revolt is steadily growing. During the past few weeks there have been sporadic pit strikes in Scotland and South Wales, and a critical situation is developing in a group of the biggest colliers in Yorkshire.

At Binley, in Warwickshire, 400 miners have been on strike for over three months, sabotaged by the M. F. G. B. and aided only by the Communist Party and the W. I. R. The owners are conducting the strike in true American fashion, attempting to evict the strikers from their company houses; and an attempt was made to dynamite the house of a blackleg which the strikers declare to have been the work of a provocateur.

## INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

### The Results of the International Red Day.

From the "Pravda" 18th August.

(Conclusion.)

#### DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE BALKAN PROLETARIAT, IN SPITE OF THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP.

**Greece.** The agitation carried on by the Communist Party in the industrial centres and in the army caused the government to mobilise the whole of the police and armed forces against the demonstrations on 1st August. A delegation of 70 bourgeois organisations in Athens interviewed the Minister for Home Affairs, in order to induce him to adopt severe measures against the action of the communists. The Industrialists Union issued a circular threatening to discharge every worker absent from work on 31st July or 1st August.

Shortly before the 1st August, various persons who had distributed communist leaflets among the soldiers were arrested. Among these were Comrade Janakis, and Comrade Antonio. Both are to be brought before a court martial.

20,000 copies of the communist newspaper, "The Youth", were confiscated during the night before the 1st August. At the same time the whole editorial staff of the Party organ "Riso-pasti" were arrested.

All these repressive measures failed to prevent numerous demonstrations from being held in Athens on 1st August. As early as 10 o'clock in the morning a demonstration procession was formed. One part of the demonstrators were surrounded by the police and arrested. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon a fresh demonstration was formed in the Nea Develtia quarter; the demonstrators were fired upon by the gendarmerie. The arrested demonstrators were handcuffed and taken to the prison of the political police. Another demonstration was held at Kallite at the same time, and this too was dispersed by force of arms. The communists arrested at Piræus (port of Athens) were at once sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, followed by banishment.

**Rumania.** In Bucharest all the works and factories were occupied by police troops. In Temesvar the street patrol service was carried out by cavalry and infantry. According to the official reports, 50 persons were arrested in Bucharest before the 1st August, 52 in Temesvar. Further arrests were made in Braila, Targul-Mures, Galatz, etc. In all these towns leaflets against war were found.

On 1st August there was a street demonstration in Belgrade. The demonstrations in Kischinev were especially impressive. At 12 o'clock noon great processions of workers from three different sides converged towards the centre of the town. A meeting was held before the electric works and speeches delivered. Police and troops were thrust aside. The demonstrators marched with red flags and standards with the inscription "Down with imperialist war! Everything for the defence of the Soviet Union!" The police, when attempting for the second time to dissolve the demonstration, opened fire. The flag bearer was a participator in the demonstration were wounded. Almost all the factories and places of business stopped work. In Targu Mures (Transylvania) a one-hour strike was organised in the sugar factory. In Temesvar all the large undertakings went on strike for one hour. In Czernowitz a demonstration was held in the centre of the town. Eighty workers were arrested.

**Yugoslavia.** The repressive methods employed before the 1st August placed even the atrocities of the authorities of May in the shade.

In the town of Ossek the number of the arrested was so great that the prisons were overfilled, and recourse had to be had to the barracks. In Spalato ten communists were carried off to some unknown destination, accompanied by a mounted patrol. It is probable that they have been shot. In Bosnia and Herzegovina over 1000 persons were arrested. Comrade Marian Barak, who was found in possession of leaflets dealing with the 1st August, was shot in the street.

On 31st July a strike broke out in the railway workshops at Sarajevo. There was a conflict with the police, in the course of which several workers were injured. Two workshops have been destroyed by fire. In Sarajevo numerous military employees were arrested for distributing communist leaflets.

In Dalmatia a strike broke out in a cement works. It was broken only when the armed police intervened.

In Dubrovnic (Dalmatia) Comrade Stepan Zwic was arrested. Whilst he was being searched at the police station, he sprang down two high police officials, sprang out of the window and escaped.

Although the government has officially announced that thanks to the timely measures taken, the "public peace" was not disturbed anywhere, nevertheless reports have leaked out to the bourgeois press, though subject to the censorship, of demonstrations and arrests in Slavonia among other places at Lyublyane, Lele, Drvovol. In this last named town conflicts took place between the police and workers.

**Bulgaria.** As early as the second half of July, numerous workers were arrested in every part of Bulgaria for offences against the "Defence of the Realm Act". By the 1st August the most active workers were in prison, where they have been maltreated in the customary way. All legally published workers newspapers were prohibited. An especially despicable role was played by the social Fascist press, which approved and supported the repressive measures of the authorities.

Every spot at which it was intended to hold meetings and demonstrations was occupied early in the morning of 1st August by armed forces and Fascist organisations, with full military equipment. Police and soldiers were stationed in large numbers in all the large works and factories.

But in spite of all these measures the demonstrations took place. In Sofia and various other towns the workers marched through the streets carrying red flags and did not disperse until after severe conflicts had been fought with the police.

Even since the 1st August these repressive measures have continued. The workers arrested have not been released. The press is still prohibited.

#### IN THE BALTIC COUNTRIES.

In Finland the 1st August was a day of revolutionary movement. Strikes and great demonstrations took place all over the country, leading in many cases to conflicts with the police for the right to the street.

The Ministry for the Interior, with the approval of the bourgeois and social democratic press, which spoke of a communist putsch, had prohibited all demonstrations on 1st August. The August Committees did not, however, let this prevent them from calling upon the masses to hold demonstrations and strikes. The illegal Communist Party distributed proclamations.

The police measures were unsuccessful. The masses demonstrated in the streets all over Finland. Demonstration processions were formed immediately after working hours, and, though broken up by the police, gathered together again repeatedly. Posters were to be seen with the inscription: "Down with imperialist war!" Long live the Soviet Union etc.

In **Uleaborg** (20,000 inhabitants) strikes were organised on August by the building workers, the printers, co-operatives, and numerous small undertakings. A meeting took place early in the morning, attended by hundreds of workers, who afterwards marched in closed ranks through the streets. In the centre of the town the demonstration procession was attacked by the police; it speedily reassembled and continued its way, singing revolutionary songs. The police repeated the attack. Four workers were arrested. Again the procession reformed and marched to the trade union premises. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon hundreds of workers assembled in the square in front of the town hall. Mounted police attempted repeatedly to disperse the crowd. The police arrested eight women.

In **Kemi** (8000 inhabitants) and environs over 3000 workers went on strike. Two great sawmills were completely laid idle. At 11 o'clock in the morning 300 workers gathered together outside of the town. At 12 o'clock a procession was formed and marched to the trade union headquarters. The police tried vainly to disperse the workers. The crowd remained until the so-called protection corps had fired several volleys.

In **Yxpilä** (port in North Finland) five to six hundred workers assembled in the trade union buildings. After a large division of police and the protection corps had broken up the meeting by force, the workers marched in closed ranks to the harbour to the singing of revolutionary songs.

In **Vasa** 2000 workers demonstrated in the centre of the town. Mounted police attempted to scatter the crowd. The struggle in the streets lasted 7 hours.

In **Tammerfors** (industrial town in the central part of Finland) the police occupied the hall in which the workers' meeting was to take place. Thereupon about 600 workers demonstrated in the streets. The police attacked the demonstrators with drawn swords. Numerous workers were afterwards discharged for taking part in the demonstration.

In **Helsingfors** the police took possession of the day before the 1st August of every place in which meetings were called. Patrols marched through the town the whole night. Passers by were called upon to identify themselves. A machine gun was posted in a building in the vicinity of the trade union premises.

After the factories had closed, three to four thousand workers assembled before the trade union buildings. The police attacked the gathering with truncheons and drawn swords. The demonstrators dispersed very slowly, however, singing revolutionary songs and shouting revolutionary slogans. In the course of the conflicts 20 workers were injured and about 22 arrested. Some police officials were injured. In some parts of the town the demonstrations lasted late into the night. A total of 10,000 workers participated in the demonstrations in Helsingfors.

In **Parliament** the labour deputies submitted a question to the government regarding the 1st August, exposing the Fascist barbarism of the bourgeoisie and its war armaments against the Soviet Union.

The above facts prove that, in spite of the illegality of the party, of the provocation of the police, and the endeavours of social democracy to disrupt the ranks of the proletariat, great masses of the workers have followed the slogans of the C. P.

**Latvia.** The bourgeois and social democratic press is of course doing its utmost to ignore the events of the 1st August. But even the scanty reports obtainable suffice to show that the movement reached not only the industrial centres, but the rural districts.

In **Riga** strikes took place on 1st August in the saw mills Jaunrauna, Bräutmann, Kalnin, Janson, etc. Meetings took place in the Catholic Street and in the Torensberg Park. The police attacked the demonstrations everywhere. The press makes mention of attempts to organise demonstrations, but says nothing as to how these turned out. It is further reported that the police made mass arrests.

In **Libau** 41 leaders of demonstrations and meetings, and 5 "agitators" were arrested. The deputy Jankus spoke at one meeting. Jankus was arrested and the meeting dissolved. Red flags were to be seen everywhere. The police patrols were reinforced in very part of the town.

In **Windau** a strike took place in the Bergmann saw mill. The workers hoisted red flags. When a police constable attempted to remove the flags, he was fired at from some bushes. Mass arrests and house searches were part of the order of the day. The whole of the members of the Left fraction of the municipal administration were arrested, as also 30 persons designated as "ringleaders". Leaflets were distributed in Windau and its environs in the night from 31st July to 1st August.

At **Dünaburg** a meeting was held on the outskirts of the town at 10 o'clock in the evening, but was dissolved by the police. The deputy Jerschov was arrested. Many leaflets calling for participation in the demonstration were distributed.

With respect to the other towns, the press states simply that: "The police were vigilant everywhere, and fulfilled their task successfully".

The above brief reports are of course merely an outline of the events. They show, however, that Latvia, like the other capitalist countries, has entered the phase of fresh revolutionary upsurge.

**Estonia.** The C. P. distributed leaflets and pamphlets before the 1st August, calling upon the workers to organise demonstrations and strikes. By the end of July, however, the police had already arrested all active organisers. The legal workers press was suppressed. The government prohibited demonstrations and "gatherings" all over Estonia. The bourgeois and social-democratic press intensified its provocative agitation against the communists and Left labour organisations. The Fascist "Defence League" mobilised all its members for the 1st August. The prefect of police declared that he would suppress by force any attempt to "disturb the peace".

The illegal organisation of the Party, weakened by the many arrests, was unable to fill up the many gaps in its ranks, and could therefore not bring the workers into the streets. The members of the Left labour fraction in the Parliament, intimidated by the examination in the presidency of police, gave up the struggle. Instead of placing themselves at the head of the demonstration, they persuaded the workers to refrain, in view of the threatened repressive action, from "disallowed" demonstrations and meetings.

In **Revel** the workers were only able to gather together in one meeting. This was at once dispersed by the police.

**Lithuania.** The Fascist authorities made active preparations for 1st August. This summer a new law was passed, imposing the death penalty not only for membership of the Communist Party, but for the distribution of communist literature, the harbouring of communists, etc. The workers were threatened with discharge in the event of their taking part in a strike.

In spite of this, a part of the workers in **Kovno** went on strike. The demonstration was arranged for 3 o'clock in the afternoon, but had to be altered to 4 o'clock in a suburb of Kovno, as the police interfered at once with the utmost brutality. The demonstration then took place in the vicinity of several factories, the managers of which ordered the doors to be locked, in order to prevent their workers from taking part. 120 of the striking workers were arrested. 50 have already been sentenced to terms of imprisonment up to 3 months. A number have been conveyed to the military prison. Others are to be brought before a court martial. They are threatened with the death penalty.

Even the political prisoners contrived to organise demonstrations on 1st August. In Kovno and other towns they organised a 24 hours' hunger strike.

The semi-official Fascist newspaper "Lithuanian Echo" tried to pass over the demonstrations in silence. The rest of the bourgeois press appears however to be very uneasy. It may be read between the lines that on 1st August the Lithuanian workers proved their readiness to gather beneath the flag of the Communist Party and to take up the struggle against the danger of a new imperialist war.

#### IN THE BRITISH COLONY OF PALESTINE.

In spite of the brutal persecutions of the authorities, and in spite of its complete illegality, the Communist Party of Palestine was successful in popularising the slogans of the International Red Day among the broad masses of the workers.

In all three of the largest cities of the country: **Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa**, demonstrations took place on 1st August. The workers demonstrated under the slogans of the Communist Party. A great impression was made on the working masses by the fact that the revolutionary workers, even after two years of

governmental Terror, still proved strong enough to go onto the streets, and that a considerable group of Arab workers took part in the demonstrations, emphasising by their presence the international solidarity of the working class.

Collisions occurred everywhere between demonstrators and the police, and assumed especially sharp forms in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv (near Jaffa). The workers defended themselves bravely. Some police officers, among them an English officer, were injured. 40 workers were arrested and brutally beaten by the police. The responsibility for this brutal maltreatment and for the attacks on the demonstrators rests with the colonial minister of the "Labour" government, Lord Passfield (formerly Sidney Webb). The Palestinian organ of the II. International, the "Dawar", defends the action of the police in every respect.

## OTHER COUNTRIES.

### Belgium.

The Red Day was marked by the severest repressive measures on the part of the police.

According to the reports received by the "Drapeau Rouge", thousands of workers took part in the demonstrations in Brussels on 1st August. 3,000 workers took part in the central demonstrations. The Brussels garrison was held in readiness the whole time.

In Seraing 4,000 workers took part in the demonstrations and meetings. In spite of the strong force of police, a foreign worker was able to deliver a speech. It did not come to any collision.

In Jumet the meetings and demonstrations were also well attended. Comrade Jacquemotte spoke. Our newspaper writes: Neither the mobilisation of the police, nor their repressive measures, were able to prevent the workers from demonstrating in Charleroi against the imperialist war.

In Verviers over 1000 workers demonstrated; in Huy a meeting of 200 workers took place.

In Flanders the government took special measures. The Belgian-French frontier was completely closed. In Menin alone 2000 gendarmes were concentrated. House searches were made in the premises of our organisations. In spite of all this, meetings and demonstrations were held. Several hundreds of workers took part in the demonstration at Werwicq; Comrade Haindel spoke and was arrested. At Mouscron 200 workers gathered together. At Antwerp there was a demonstration and a meeting.

### Switzerland.

Already before the 1st August the Swiss Communist Party had organised frontier meetings with the Parties of the neighbouring countries. On the German frontier a demonstration was held at Rheinfelden (on German territory); this was dispersed by German and Swiss police. The Geneva communists organised a meeting with French comrades on the other side of the frontier. The police, anxious to prevent the meeting, arrested some of the Geneva communists the day before. This same method of preventing a demonstration by means of arrests was also applied in Lausanne. The 1st August demonstrations were prohibited in a number of towns. In Zürich, where the demonstration was prohibited, 7000 workers demonstrated under the slogans of the Communist Party. In Basle the most important trade unions expressed themselves in favour of the demonstration on 1st August, and in spite of the prohibition 1500 workers took part in the demonstration. The call for a one-hour strike was responded to by 1300 workers, including about 1000 building workers. The dock workers went on strike for the whole day. 50 persons were arrested in Basle alone, among them being leading functionaries of the Party who attempted to address the workers.

In spite of the small number of its members, the C. P. of Switzerland has succeeded in arousing revolutionary enthusiasm among the workers.

### Holland.

The events of 1st August in Eindhoven are extremely characteristic of "peace-loving" and "neutral" Holland. Here 20,000 workers are employed in the electro-technical factories of the firm of Philipps. The Dutch bourgeoisie sent large divisions of police and spread the report that on the Red Day the communists were going to blow up the factory. Every means were

used to "protect" the workers, who are still greatly under the influence of the church in spite of the frightful exploitation suffered, from the "communist danger". The Party was successful in distributing 3000 copies of a factory newspaper published before the 1st August, and this was read with great enthusiasm by the workers of the Philipps Works.

Meetings and demonstrations took place in the large towns on 1st August, participated in in Amsterdam by 1600 workers and in Rotterdam by 5000. It is especially worthy of notice in Rotterdam, where the renegade group around Wijnkoop possesses influence, a large number of workers followed the slogans of the Communist Party.

The Trotskyist renegades in Holland, under the leadership of Sneevliet, played precisely the same rôle as in other countries, but they have been as little able as Wijnkoop to prevent broad masses of the workers from taking part in the Anti-War demonstrations.

The anti-militarist activity of the Party is evidenced by the arrest of two comrades for distributing anti-war literature among the soldiers.

### Austria.

The 1st August demonstrations were prohibited in Vienna and in the most important industrial centres. In Vienna the prohibition was contrived and approved by the social-democratic burgomaster. These measures did not, however, succeed in preventing the Austrian proletariat from demonstrating against war and Fascism.

The Party had called a meeting in the centre of the town on 1st August, and appealed to the workers to carry out a one-hour strike. This strike call was followed only in two of the large textile and heavy industrial undertakings, and in some of the undertakings of the building trade. As the demonstration was prohibited, the square in which it was to have been held was surrounded by a strong cordon of police. The "Rote Fackel" reports that the police were specially equipped with firearms for this occasion, and that gendarmerie were drafted from the provinces to reinforce the police. The Law Courts, which were set on fire at the time of the rising on 15th July 1927, were cordoned off and specially guarded, the police having spread the rumour that the communists intended to attack the building. In spite of all these measures, however, at least 1000 workers assembled within the district surrounded by the police, and had scratch meetings. 200 persons were arrested.

In the provinces the workers demonstrated in response to the call of the Party. In Graz, where the Party did not poll even 200 votes at the last election, the communists were successful in organising a demonstration of 1500 workers, despite the prohibition and the slanders spread by the social democrats and Trotskyists. Largely attended demonstrations took place in all the industrial centres of Styria. It is particularly worthy of notice that the Communist Party was able to organise strong demonstrations in those districts in which Austrian Fascism possesses the greatest influence. This was the case in Innsbruck where the Party demonstration was attended by more than 1000 persons.

### Denmark.

The Communist Party of Denmark applied all its forces to the task of organising the 1st August campaign. The resources of the Party are not great; it has but few members, and only one weekly paper and a few factory newspapers, which are however very popular among the workers. The Party was therefore unable to organise a more or less great strike or a temporary stoppage of work on 1st August. It was, however, able to distribute leaflets among the workers, calling attention to the war preparations against the Soviet Union being made by the imperialists, and exposing the treacherous rôle played by the social democrats.

Meetings were held in the larger industrial centres on 1st August. In Copenhagen 2000 workers assembled, in Århus 1000. The speeches delivered by the communist speakers were greeted with approval by the workers. Social-democratic workers also spoke at the meetings. The speeches of the delegates of the brother Parties, the Swedish, English, and German Communist Parties, were received with enthusiastic applause.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### The International Significance of the Uninterrupted Working Week.

By J. L.

The decree of the 27th August concerning the introduction of the uninterrupted working week is, one may confidently say, of world historical importance. It represents an alteration of economic methods taken over from the bourgeoisie, it represents an improvement which must be adopted in every country where the proletariat is victorious. With the application of the uninterrupted working week, it will be possible to increase the production of all mechanical and similar productive arts by a fourth and even by a third.

The emancipation of the proletariat from the yoke of capitalism, the abolition of exploitation and of anarchy, the abandonment of the traditions and prejudices of the bourgeois order will make it possible for the proletariat to offer toiling humanity a considerably higher standard of life with the same amount of effort. In consequence of its socialist systemisation of the economic leadership of the country, and the useful application of its tremendous resources which were formerly wasted unproductively by the bourgeoisie and the rich landowners, the Soviet Union has already achieved a quicker tempo of development.

The growth of the feeling of social responsibility amongst the toilers and the real successes which have already been attained, now make it possible to take a new step and introduce the uninterrupted working week into the factories and offices. The gradual introduction of the uninterrupted working week into all State and other bureaus in the Soviet Union would in any case be the inevitable result of the uninterrupted productive activity of industry. All institutions serve in some way another industry or the persons occupied in industry, and the working methods of these institutions must correspond to those prevailing in industry. The introduction of the uninterrupted week in all factories and offices thus becomes a part of the programme of the Communist International for all countries under a proletarian dictatorship.

We must be prepared, however, to repel all attempts of the bourgeoisie to worsen the situation of "their" workers and at the same time to appeal hypocritically and dishonestly to our sample.

We are introducing the uninterrupted working week into the factories, but every worker will enjoy just as many free days in the year as previously. He will not work more hours yearly than before. This principle has been clearly laid down in the decree. All that will be changed will be the distribution of the free days over the year. Abroad, however, the capitalists would cling to the word "uninterrupted" and be inclined to rob the workers of all or a part of their free days by appealing to the example of "the Bolsheviks". We want our machines to work uninterruptedly, whereby we shall employ more workers and guarantee to each worker the full right of the free time previously enjoyed by him. In the Soviet Union the "uninterrupted" principle is an instrument for improving the general situation of the toilers and in particular for reducing unemployment. The capitalists, however, would force each worker to work uninterruptedly in order to employ a still smaller number of workers or the same machines. For the capitalists the "uninterrupted" principle would be a means for worsening the situation of the workers, a means for increasing the industrial reserve army.

The introduction of the uninterrupted working week in a great country like the Soviet Union must inevitably attract attention in the capitalist countries. Apart from all else, this measure means a considerable increase in the speed of economic development and thus an increase in the competitive capacity of the Soviet Union in the world economic system. Such factors will not be ignored by the capitalists. Therefore we can reckon confidently with a campaign of lies abroad concerning the uninterrupted working week. It will be declared that the uninterrupted working week robs the workers of their free time. At the same time, however, the capitalists, "in order to meet the competition of the Soviet Union" will, in fact, themselves make efforts to organise such a robbery of the workers' free time.

The communists of all countries must therefore be prepared to expose their enemies ideologically and to resist all attempts to worsen the situation of the proletariat by a capitalist offensive under "similar" slogans. In this connection the question of the uninterrupted working week is of special practical importance for the sections of the Comintern in all countries, even before the victory of the proletarian revolution, and not only in the Soviet Union. The Communist Parties abroad must fully inform themselves in order to be prepared to enlighten the proletariat concerning this question. The uninterrupted working week in the Soviet Union must be recognised by the workers of all countries as that which it really is; the expression of the social-progressive superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system and as a powerful instrument for the continued improvement of the standard of life of the toilers.

## THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

### The Presidium of the International Peasant Council to the National Peasant League of Mexico in Vera Cruz.

The National Peasant League of Mexico is faced with the necessity of conducting a merciless struggle against the government which has gone over to the side of the imperialists and concluded a close alliance with the Catholic Church, with the rich landowners, with the counter-revolutionary officers corps and with all the other forces of reaction. At the moment, the government is conducting a policy of white terror against the revolutionary peasant leaders, and is thus preparing the way for an open attack upon all the achievements of the revolution and for the re-establishment of all the old privileges of the rich landowners, the priests and the capitalists.

In this critical moment, a number of communist officials of the Peasants League, including its leader, Ursulo Galvan, have gone over to the side of the reactionary government, the rich landowners, the priests and the foreign capitalists. The International Peasant Council (The Peasant International) has decided to expel Ursulo Galvan from its ranks on account of this treachery and declares that any attempt on the part of Galvan to speak in the name of the Peasant International, is a deception of the peasant masses. The Peasant International appeals to all the members of the League in Vera Cruz and in other parts of Mexico, to distribute declarations amongst the broad masses of the Mexican peasantry. The Peasant International demands the condemnation and the expulsion of Ursulo Galvan and of all other traitors to the cause of the working peasants and the agricultural proletariat, from the ranks of the League.

The Peasant International is firmly convinced, that the exploited masses of the village poor will continue, despite the treachery of their leaders, to oppose energetically the reactionary plans of the government, and, in alliance with the working class, will continue their merciless struggle against the rich landowners, the capitalists and the imperialists, for the establishment of a real workers and peasants government in Mexico.

The Presidium of the International Peasant Council.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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

From the March Revolution to the July Days. Book II\*.)

By A. Komyat.

The second half-volume of volume XX, of Lenin's collected works, which has recently been published in English, contains the articles, speeches, resolutions and notes of Lenin in the period from the beginning of June up to the July crisis of

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



1917 (just six weeks), that is, in that second stage of the Russian revolution which began with the formation of the Coalition Government.

In the sphere of the shifting of class forces this period is characterised, on the one hand, by the "great march" of the parties of petty bourgeois democracy — the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks — from the revolution. They form a bloc with the chief party of the liberal bourgeoisie: the Cadets, who in turn form a bloc with political parties standing to the Right of them.

The parties of the petty bourgeois strive for a sharing of power with the bourgeoisie, and come forward openly, both in regard to foreign politics and home politics, as its agents in the camp of the working class. In foreign politics — the robber-alliance with the imperialist powers England and France is maintained, the imperialist war is resumed. In home politics — further advance of the counter-revolution ("instigators to disobedience" at the front are brought before a court); disbanding of the revolutionary regiments; concessions to the cadets in the question of power (denial of the elementary democratic right to elect local authorities); provocation of the revolutionary working class (prohibition of a peace demonstration of the Bolsheviks); the land question is left unsolved (abandonment by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries of their own programme: support of the revolutionary actions of the peasants up to confiscation of the landed estates); non-solution of the national question (defence of the anti-democratic policy of the Cadets towards the Ukraine and Finland); direct encouragement of the disorganisation of economy by the capitalists etc.

On the other hand the proletarian democracy more and more takes the place of real revolutionary democracy, although the majority of the toiling population of Russia is not yet supporting the Bolsheviks.

That is, in short, the social, political and economic basis upon which Lenin's works originated at this time; these are the problems to which he again and again refers, the events in which he intervenes, along with his Party, driving forward the revolution.

It is impossible within the space of a short article, even to touch upon the great number of problems of the Russian Revolution that are dealt with in this book. We must concentrate on the most important ones.

In the centre of Lenin's analysis, of his whole propaganda and agitational activity there necessarily stands at that time, the exposure of the objective role of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks as a force which is hampering the further development of the revolution, as direct auxiliaries of national and international imperialism, as "leaders of such a petty-bourgeois policy as renders possible and necessary the appearance of Cavaignacs". Lenin considers the emancipation of the toilers from the petty-bourgeois illusions as the precondition for the power passing into the hands of the revolutionary class. The objective situation was at that time already ripe for the proletarian revolution. It was necessary to strengthen the revolutionary class-consciousness of the masses; to reduce the disparity between the objective and subjective factor of revolution; to reveal step by step the contradiction between the revolutionary phrases and the counter-revolutionary deeds of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries at every occasion. Lenin, the revolutionary real politician, has brilliantly solved this task, whereby he never lost sight of the fact that in the first place it is a question of helping the masses to recognise their own experiences and to estimate them correctly.

In the period covered by the present volume there took place the first contest between Lenin and the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, on the agrarian question, at the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies which was held from 17th May to 10th of June.

At this Congress Lenin submitted in the name of the social-democratic fraction of the Peasant Council (Bolsheviks) a draft resolution on the agrarian question. In his speech he demanded the immediate, organised seizure of the big landed estates by the peasants. He spoke, however, against the idea that this would mean the transference of the whole land into the hands of the toilers if every tenant had free disposal of the land. "One cannot eat the soil". He declared that he had no confidence in the standpoint on the distribution of land advocated by the soldiers' deputies, the majority of whom were still follo-

wing the parties of petty-bourgeois democracy. He emphasised the necessity that.

"... say, every large landowner's estate, of which there are 30,000 in Russia, should be organised as quickly as possible into model farms to be worked by agricultural workers jointly with trained agriculturists, with the application for this purpose of the landowners' cattle, implements, etc. Without such common work under the leadership of the Soviets of Agricultural workers, the land must not be in the hands of the toilers." (Vol. XX. Book I, p. 126.)

That was in June 1917. In a later period Lenin realised the inadequacy of this programme. In the interest of the alliance with the great land-hungry peasantry, i. e. in the interest of the seizure of power by the proletariat, the Bolsheviks took a sharp turn in the agrarian question by taking into account the general demands of the peasants for an equal distribution of the land among the toilers. By this they established a basis for the proletarian dictatorship.

The second important point on which Lenin fought in this period against the parties of "revolutionary" democracy was the question of the disorganisation of economy. In his draft resolution for the Conference of the Factory Councils Lenin shows the way to save the country from the economic catastrophe: introduction of real workers' control over production over the distribution of the products, over all financial and business. He emphasised at the same time that

"A well-regulated and successful introduction of the foregoing measures can be accomplished only upon the passing of the power of the state into the hands of the proletarians and semi-proletarians." (Vol. XX. Book I, p. 137.)

Lenin stigmatises in a whole number of articles the Russian Ministerial socialists who do not regard the question of the economic collapse as a class question, but appeal against the robber policy of the capitalists to the State of the capitalists.

"To let this state carry on the struggle against capitalist rapacity" means to throw the shark into the water." (Vol. XX. Book II, p. 180.)

Lenin's fight against the petty-bourgeois opportunists culminates in this period in the struggle against their imperialist war policy. When the coalition government had decided on an offensive against the Central Powers, Lenin, at the First All-Russian Soviet Congress, in his two great speeches on the attitude to the Provisional Government and on the war, has a general settlement of accounts with the Parties of "revolutionary democracy". He declares that the coalition government with its pseudo-socialist Ministers differs in no way from the former government. The robbery of the people's wealth by the capitalists is being continued, the imperialist war is still going on, the A.B.C. of democracy is daily being violated. He shows the value of the "peace-efforts" of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries who are closely allied with the bourgeoisie, who "fight" in words, manifestoes, proclamations and at Congresses against the war, but who in fact resume the offensive in the interest of the British, French and Russian imperialists. He immediately realises that this offensive, in its political and economic significance, means a turning point in the whole Russian revolution; and he makes clear to the masses that the imperialist war can be concluded only by the further development of the revolution:

"We say: the only way out of this war is revolution. Support the revolution of the classes oppressed by the capitalists, overthrow the class of capitalists in your own country, and thus set an example for other countries. This is Socialism. This is the only way to fight the war." (Vol. XX. Book II, p. 214.)

There exists no contradiction, no flaw in the attitude of the class enemy, be it even the smallest, which Lenin would not have exposed with persistent consistency, which he would not have made use of for the enlightenment of the masses, for widening the gulf between the bourgeoisie and the working class, for enhancing the revolutionary wave in the direction of the proletarian revolution. This great strategical aim of the proletarian dictatorship, which Lenin concretely formulated in the April Theses, he did not lose sight of for a moment in this period.

This Lenin volume should be carefully studied by all comrades: it affords an insight in the workshop of the proletarian revolution, in which the theoretical and practical weapons of the emancipation struggles of the working class are forged.