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## CONTENTS

Tang Shin She: The Provocation on the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Powers Behind it.

Working Men and Women, Young Workers! (Appeal of the West European Parties of the Comintern.)

ics.

Editor Stern: Fascist Campaign of Suppression against the Czech C. P. and its Struggle against the Imperialist War Danger.

G.: Italian Fascism and the English Labour Government.

S.: The Result of the Congress of Poles Living Abroad. The British Miners' and the Labour Government.

Anti-Imperialist War.

Forward to International Red Day! (Appeal of the E. B. of the R. I. L. U.).

Sobottka: The Danger of War and the Miners' International.

Economics.

Gore Graham: British Imperial Trade.

The Labour Movement.

Laos: The Chemical Workers' Strike in Piraeus.

Alvarez: The Labour Movement in the Philippines.

In the International.

The Results of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

H. M. Wicks: The Anti-Comintern Opposition in the American Party.

Our Martyrs.

Max Lapon.

Proletarian Youth Movement.

R. Schüller: The Congress of the Young Anti-Bolsheviks.

Children's Movement.

A World Congress of Children.

Proletarian Women's Movement.

Beth Turner: British Women and the Anti-War Campaign.

## The Provocation on the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Powers Behind it.

By Tang Shin She.

The predatory attack on the Chinese Eastern Railway on 10th, made by the Kuomintang generals, is without doubt a provocation against the Soviet Union instigated by the imperialists. But the Soviet Union did not permit itself to be provoked; on the contrary, it proved its sincere desire for peace by refraining from military occupation of the railway, for which imperialists and their accomplices hoped, but withdrew its troops and broke off all negotiations with the Nanking Government.

That the war agitation against the Soviet Union proceeds in Great Britain is probably clear to all. The remarkable fact, however, is that for the new provocation in China it is longer Baldwin and Chamberlain who are responsible but Labour Government, MacDonald, Lansbury & Co. This is the second step of the Labour Government in its China policy the first towards the "recognition" of the Soviet Union.

On July 2nd the "Times" published the following communication, confirmed by the Foreign Office:

"The naval agreement between China and Great Britain is signed. The British Naval Commissioner will proceed to China in order to develop the Chinese fleet. China will send officers to the British navy to study the latest achievements and to practice. China will also buy warships in England for the extension of its fleet."

The Labour Government has taken upon itself not only the task of organising a fleet for Greece in the Mediterranean, but is also organising one in the Pacific Ocean. The start has been made. To the accompaniment of the cry for disarmament and in spite of the naval negotiations with America, MacDonald has secretly made preparations to shift the centre of gravity of British naval supremacy to Asiatic waters at the cost of the Chinese. The naval agreement of Great Britain with China is in reality a reply to the Yankee-imperialist agreement with the Nanking Government for the organisation of an air-service in China.

The air agreement concluded in April of this year is a consolidation of American dominion in China. It serves as preparation for an attack upon the Soviet Union and also to strengthen the American fighting force in the Pacific Ocean. According to the agreement, three lines can be put into operation immediately, namely, Shanghai—Hankow, Hankow—Canton, Nanking—Peking. The newly founded American air transport company receives from the Chinese Government a yearly subsidy of at least ten million dollars. The same company will build numerous broad-casting stations, automobile roads and railways in China, whereby the object is not exclusively to promote Chinese economy but primarily to pursue military aims. The development of affairs in China and the growing influence

of the Americans indicate that in the attack upon the Chinese Eastern Railway, upon which America exercised great influence prior to 1924, the American agents, the advisers to the Nanking Government in railway matters, have also had a hand in the game.

In addition to the naval and air-force development the imperialists are planning to strengthen China's land forces. For this reason, at the end of April this year, the diplomatic corps in Peking decided to abolish the ban on the importation of weapons and munitions into China which was issued in May 1919. Although it is an open secret that the imperialists have been delivering arms to the Chinese generals, the raising of the ban now means an open arming of China. That the prime motive of these preparations is war against the Soviet Union requires no further proof.

The war preparations of the imperialists in China also have an eye to the coming inevitable quarrel in the Pacific Ocean. While, however, these are going on behind the diplomatic scenes, the measures for war against the Soviet Union are being taken quite openly. On this occasion it is possible that the war which the lackeys of the imperialists and Chang Kai-shek have tried to provoke will be prevented by the peaceable note from the Soviet Union. It cannot be said, however, that the incident is without significance for the imperialists. It is a serious attempt, and its purpose is to spoil the realisation of the five-year plan. The imperialists may not, however, be successful. The result may be quite the contrary of what they attended to achieve. The fierce protest of the proletariat of the whole world, and especially of the Soviet Union and Germany, indicates the readiness that exists to fight against imperialist war and to protect the proletarian fatherland.

It should not be believed that the Japanese imperialists, the present Government Party of Minseito, are against the attack upon the Chinese Eastern Railway because they believe the next step of the Nanking Government might be directed against the railway occupied by the Japanese in Southern Manchuria. Such a calculation would be a denial of the united front of the imperialists in the recent events. The "sympathy", which the Japanese bourgeois press expressed for the Soviet Union, does not commit it to anything. In the war in the Far East against the Soviet Union the Japanese imperialists will play a leading role, just as they did in the intervention in Siberia in 1921. Furthermore, the Japanese, who are well aware of the intention of America to take possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway, gain a big immediate financial advantage through the conflict,

inasmuch as the goods traffic is diverted to Dairen and the Southern Manchurian Railway.

But will the Nanking Government gain any special advantage from the predatory attack upon the Chinese Eastern Railway? No. Apart from the moral aspect, it is a disadvantage for the Nanking Government from the financial standpoint. The sharing of the railway in common with the Soviet Union would have meant a much higher revenue for the Chinese and protection against Japanese expansion in Manchuria. Now the traffic with the Soviet Union has been suspended, the railway, which now has an outlet to a port, will be degraded to a branch line of the Japanese Southern Manchurian Railway.

The economic power of Japan will increase tremendously. On the other hand, Chang Kai-shek has probably not taken the action merely to do the imperialists a favour, but to gain political capital out of the conflict. Through the attack upon the Chinese Eastern Railway he designs to restore his own nimbus as a national hero, which had suffered serious damage in particular he wishes to avoid the reproach that through the Tsinan treaty with Japan, the aeroplane agreement with America and the naval agreement with England he has betrayed the national interests of China. Furthermore, he wishes to prevent the formation of a block by Jen Shi San, Hsu Liang and Feng Yu Hsiang or to render it harmless. His attitude of the Soviet Union has, however, frustrated his hope. It disproves his theory of "Red imperialism". The people look upon his procedure as disgraceful. The bankruptcy of the Chinese Eastern Railway will force Chang Hsu Liang to his opposition to Chang Kai-shek. The predatory attack upon the Chinese Eastern Railway will therefore bring about the undoing of Chang Kai-shek.

Summed up briefly: The danger of a war of the imperialists upon the Soviet Union now exists not only in the West, but also in the Far East. The Social imperialists support with their ideologic propaganda not only the imperialists against the colonial peoples, but are even organising a war in the colonies and semi-colonies. The national bourgeoisie of China is only playing a counter-revolutionary role in its own country. It is not only oppressing and persecuting the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement; it has sunk to the level of a leash-dog to the imperialists against the Soviet Union. It is the only power which actually supports the fight for liberation of the oppressed peoples and classes. We must bring this to the attention of the broad masses and thus give the correct answer to the imperialists, the social imperialists and the counter-revolutionary national bourgeoisie in the colonies.

## Working Men and Women, Young Workers Toilers and Nationally Oppressed of All Countries!

(The following has been already sent to the press.)

Chang Kai-shek's raid on the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the acute danger of war resultant on this, have caused the representatives of the undersigned Parties to meet for the purpose of a joint consultation on the means of warding off these war provocations.

In this act of Chang Kai-shek, the executioner of 200,000 workers and peasants in China, there is contained the attempt of the imperialist powers, France, England, Japan, and America, directly or indirectly; to draw the Soviet Union into war. The government of the Soviet Union has done its utmost to preserve peace, and on this occasion again it has not responded to the work of the provocateurs. The Soviet Government is the sole government in the world which has exerted the utmost efforts, since 1917, to secure peace, whilst the capitalist powers in every part of the world are striving to incite fresh imperialist adventures. The socialist construction of the Soviet Union is the basis upon which the well-being, liberty, and peace of the working masses is built up. The imperialist robbers fear the building up of Socialism, for it forms at the same time a lever and a signpost in the struggle for liberation of all oppressed masses. The uplift of the proletarian masses and the liberation of the oppressed peoples is possible only along the path of social revolution. The imperialist powers are determined to close this path to the working masses; hence their offensive

against the workers and the Soviet Union, and the enslavement of the colonial peoples.

In this struggle social democracy, which is developing everywhere into social Fascism, is playing an especially despicable rôle. The MacDonald Government in England, Hermann Müller Government in Germany, and the French socialists under Paul Boncour, are the road makers and organisers of the imperialist raid on the Soviet Union. It is the social democrats who defend the insolent war provocations of Chang Kai-shek, and of the White-Guardist elements and the imperialist wirepullers, and who carry on a savage campaign of agitation against the Soviet Union. They accuse the land of the workers, the Soviet Union, of "red imperialism" and that they may have a better pretext for their imperialist armaments, and the better to veil their own imperialist policy. They aid the transport of weapons and soldiers to crush the Chinese revolution, and they are now supporting Chang Kai-shek and the White-Guardists in their attack on the Soviet Union.

The Chinese workers and peasants are well aware of the war waged by Chang Kai-shek is no war of liberation, but the introduction of a fresh world war, instigated by the imperialists, against the Soviet Union. In fulfilment of their revolutionary duty they have risen and proclaimed by their

by armed rebellion against their hangmen their faith-  
 to the revolution and their alliance with the workers  
 peasants of the Soviet Union. The workers and peasants  
 a Soviet Union, and their Red Army, are keeping faithful  
 that the enemy does not set foot on the soil of the pro-  
 an Fatherland, or endanger the victory of the dictatorship  
 proletariat. We are proud of the heroism of our Russian  
 Chinese brothers, who have joined hands in the common  
 gle against imperialism, which is striving to plunge the  
 into a fresh murder of the peoples. Their struggle must  
 on the workers of all countries to add their efforts in  
 struggle to prevent the attacks of imperialism. Time presses,  
 necessity is urgent!

Action must be taken at once, now! The working people  
 mobilise more intensely from hour to hour, from day to  
 must organise a red front against the imperialist bour-  
 sie in every country! Utilise every day for raising the  
 tion, in the works and factories and in the country, of the  
 tual frustration of the imperialist bandit war! Gather  
 ther in mighty demonstrations, to mass proclamations  
 inst the capitalist war makers! The defence of the Soviet  
 ion is the defence of the life and future of the working class!  
 trol all factories producing armaments, prevent the sending  
 weapons and soldiers for the raid on the Soviet Union! Let  
 hing prevent you from fulfilling this duty!

The soldiers and sailors of the armies and fleets of the im-  
 ialist countries must be made to realise that they are to  
 misused against their brothers! They must not submit to  
 ng used for such a purpose! The enemy is not in the Soviet  
 ion, but in the imperialist countries!

On 1st August, the International Fighting Day against  
 ar, the world proletariat responds to the call of the Com-  
 munist International. The preliminary notes of the mighty de-  
 monstration to take place on 1st August have already been  
 ick in every country, in workers' conferences, in international  
 lies on the frontiers. Every day between now and 1st August  
 ust bring a further intensification of activity, an even greater  
 termination and unification of all fighters against imperialist  
 ar!

On 1st August the bourgeoisie and the social Fascist war  
 stigators must be shown, by means of an international po-  
 lical mass demonstration, that the proletariat, and all the  
 asses of the workers, are standing determined and ready to  
 ke up the decisive struggle against their own bourgeoisie in  
 eir own country, should any attempt be made by the im-  
 rialists to attack the Soviet Union.

Therefore out of the works and factories on 1st August!

The danger of war looms hideously near! It lies in your  
 nds whether the imperialists can make war or not! Make  
 ady, so that if you cannot prevent the outbreak of imperialist  
 ar, you can convert it into civil war against your own bour-  
 oisie and for the proletarian revolution!

March out in masses for the defence of the Soviet Union!

For the fraternal alliance of all workers in the struggle  
 ainst imperialism!

Long live the struggle for the workers' peace!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the world revolution!

Cologne, 20th July, 1929.

#### The West European Bureau of the Communist International:

Communist Party of Great Britain (Pollitt),

Communist Party of France (Sémard),

Communist Party of Germany (Heckert),

Communist Party of China (Chiu Wito),

Communist Party of Japan (Katayama),

Communist Party of Holland (de Visser),

Balkan Communist Federation (Dimitrov),

Young Communist International (Rust).

## POLITICS

### Fascist Campaign of Suppression against the Czech. C. P. and its Struggle against the Imperialist War Danger.

By Viktor Stern.

The bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia, supported by the re-  
 formists and their liquidatory hangers-on, is resorting to the  
 most brutal measures in order to suppress the Czech Commu-  
 nist Party in its struggle against the imperialist war danger  
 and in its preparations for 1st August. For some time there  
 have been increasingly frequent domiciliary searches in the Com-  
 munist Secretariats and in the houses of individual comrades,  
 and arrests have been made on the most ridiculous pretexts.  
 A few days ago the whole communist daily press, including the  
 news sheet of the club of the communist deputies, and finally  
 even a part of the press of the mass organisations, for instance  
 the paper of the proletarian gymnasts, was prohibited for a  
 month or for half a year.

This however has been merely the prelude to further acts of  
 Terror. On Monday 22nd July a perfectly legal conference of  
 factory workers was broken up by the police, and forty parti-  
 cipants, mostly factory workers, were arrested. On Tuesday  
 23rd July the police raided the Central Secretariat and the Se-  
 cretariate of the Prague District. Bands of police and detectives  
 hunted in every hole and corner, threatening to arrest the com-  
 rades who demanded that they should show their warrants,  
 and even arresting one woman comrade for this "interference".  
 Finally, they took away with them in a motor lorry all the  
 office equipment necessary for daily work, duplicating appa-  
 ratus, etc.

On Wednesday 24th a fresh raid took place, at which the  
 police arrested everybody present in the Secretariat, including  
 the whole technical apparatus, the typists, cashiers, clerks, etc.,  
 and dragged them to the police headquarters. In the afternoon  
 the office of the "Red Aid" was surrounded by police detectives,  
 who stopped the comrades, searched them, and made arrests.  
 Similar raids, searches, and arrests are reported from various  
 districts, for instance Aussig (great chemical works), Bratislava,  
 Pilsen (Skoda).

When Comrade Stern entered a decided protest at the police  
 headquarters against all these Fascist acts of violence, and de-  
 manded the immediate release of those arrested in these raids  
 and at the delegates' Conference, he was able to learn the man-  
 ner in which the attempt is made to give a lawful cloak to these  
 terrorist measures. With reference to the delegates Conference,  
 it was explained that so many took part in this that it was im-  
 possible for them to know all the convenors, as required by  
 the law, and that they had also offended against the law by  
 distributing at the Conference leaflets which had not passed  
 the censor; a search was therefore necessary. With reference  
 to the arrest of everybody present in the secretariat, it was  
 declared that during the search on the previous day circulars  
 to the districts had been found, containing information on po-  
 litical events, and therefore to be regarded as an "illegal sub-  
 stitute for the prohibited press"(!).

When the absurdity of this standpoint was pointed out, a  
 much worse *corpus delicti* was produced, a bulletin for factory  
 newspapers. The high police official declared, perfectly rightly,  
 and with the most serious air in the world, that the works  
 newspapers had not reported the name of any responsible edi-  
 tor, that they had not been submitted to the censor, had been  
 prepared with the greatest secrecy, and that it was therefore  
 an offence against the law to publish correspondence for such  
 illegal newspapers. It is the duty of the police to ascertain the  
 originators of all these "crimes", and therefore the arrests were  
 necessary. The official declared naively that it was only a ques-  
 tion of ascertaining the originators. The authorities intended  
 nothing beyond this.

It is obvious that the Fascist state power is aiming at the  
 suppression of all activity of the Party. The Czech Communist  
 Party is not yet officially prohibited or disbanded. "Only" its  
 press is suppressed and its technical and political staff either  
 arrested or threatened with arrest. The officials would have  
 been only too pleased to have seized upon the Polit Bureau

one of these raids, and it is no fault of theirs that they have not succeeded in doing so. Had they succeeded in this, they would certainly have declared that this too had happened "without any other intention", and that it is purely by accident that all this occurs at the time when the Soviet Union is being attacked on the orders of the imperialists, when in Paris, in Poland, and in all other countries, exactly the same thing is occurring; when in Czechoslovakia great military manoeuvres are being carried out in the capital (victorious river-crossing in the fight against the "Reds"); when airships manoeuvre over the town every night, when a military exhibition for increasing war enthusiasm is being held in Tabor, and 1st August, the day of great fighting demonstrations against imperialist war, is approaching.

In view of this Fascist Terror campaign against the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war danger, the social-fascists are proving the most zealous collaborators in the preparation of imperialist war, and especially of war against the Soviet Union. They "condemn" most "severely" the "atrocious" measures of the government (though they have agitated for these the whole time) pleading the argument that the Czech Communist Party is thereby strengthened, and the action of 1st August helped forward. They are therefore only in favour of skilful methods in the fight against the revolutionary defence against imperialist war. They show plainly enough, however, that in reality they are in favour of such brutal Fascist methods, and that their sole reason for proposing others is to appear innocent in the eyes of the workers. They intensify their agitation against the persecuted Czech Communist Party, and against the attacked Soviet Union; they shriek ever louder about the projected "putch" on 1st August, and make the Communists responsible for all the despicable acts of the bourgeoisie.

But all these efforts achieve only the contrary of what is desired by the social-fascists. The movement in preparation for 1st August, against imperialist war, and especially for the protection of the Soviet Union, is growing rapidly and is penetrating deeper among the workers and the masses. A large number of street demonstrations, workshop meetings, and delegates conferences bear witness of this. On the evening of the same day upon which the secretariat was raided, in spite of the prohibition, a great street demonstration was held in Ziskov, the worker's quarter of Prague, against the attack on the Soviet Union, against the threatening imperialist war, against war preparations in Czechoslovakia and against the Fascist persecutions practised by the bourgeoisie. The whole of the inhabitants of the workers' quarter in which the demonstration was held came into the streets and showed their approval of the revolutionary slogans of the Communists.

The persecution of the Czech Communist Party is having the further result that the Party realises with increasing seriousness the necessity for re-organising for illegal work; the fact that agitation among the soldiers is becoming increasingly energetic and extensive is certainly causing no satisfaction to the bourgeoisie.

## Italian Fascism and the English Labour Government.

By R. G.

During the past twelve months Italian social democracy has been in a state of great excitement at the prospect of the election victory of the English Labour Party. MacDonald's victory has thrown it into a perfect ecstasy of joy. The "Liberta", the organ of the "concentration" of the two social democratic parties, designates MacDonald's victory as a "frightful" blow to Mussolini; it foresees a change in the relations between Italy and England, and calculates with results in this sphere of Italian home politics. "Fascism hears with alarm the tolling of the death bell", writes this newspaper of the leaders of Italian social democracy.

For eight years our social democrats have been waiting for Fascism to be overthrown by some magical agency, which is however to come from outside, perhaps in some supernatural way, but is not expected from the initiative of the masses; they have set hopes on the king's goodness of heart and on the general staff of the Italian army, then on the Pope, and later

still on the victory of social democracy in the great European countries. They have had to bury all these hopes.

What has caused Italian social democracy to cherish such rosy hopes? The fact that they still possess a deeply rooted conviction that a great duel is being fought, on an international scale, between the idea of dictatorship and the idea of democracy. But not between proletarian revolution and reactionary capitalism.

There is, however, no trace to be found of such a struggle between democracy and dictatorship, except in the phenomena of a struggle between bourgeois democracy, that is, capitalist reaction, and the proletarian dictatorship. But the social democrats fail to observe this, for they are incapable of seeing that they are the instruments of capitalism in this struggle.

Mussolini has fought the Italian proletariat, and won temporary victory over the proletarian revolution in Italy. The goal aimed at (and attained for the time being) by Mussolini and Fascism, does not differ from the goals aimed at by German, English, Polish, and other socialists: the defence of capitalism. It cannot be maintained that the methods applied by Noske and Zörgiebel, or by the Polish socialists, differ absolutely from those of Mussolini. The "fascisation" of social democracy is going on before our very eyes. The number of workers who are deceived by the chimera of a struggle between the ideas of democracy and dictatorship is becoming fewer and fewer.

The belief that the formation of the Labour cabinet in England might have an "anti-Fascist" reaction upon Italian politics, and upon the relations between England and Italy, is not only cherished by our social democrats, but by the democratic anti-Fascists. This belief also exists, in the form of "doubt", among many Italian and foreign workers. It is our duty to remove all doubts in this regard from both the Italian and all other workers.

1. Fascism indubitably created an ideologically favourable atmosphere for the policy pursued by the English Conservative Government towards Italy. But this policy was not based on the ideological foundation of Fascism, but rather on common mutual interests. These interests are fundamental for England and Italian imperialism, and are foreign to both English Conservative and Italian Fascist ideology.

Two periods are to be distinguished in Anglo-Italian relations; during the first period Fascist Italy was a weapon in the hands of England in the Anglo-French struggle for European hegemony. The Anglo-French struggle was revealed in the policy pursued by England and France towards Germany, in the Balkans, in the Mediterranean, towards the United States, and towards the Soviet Union, until 1927. England exploited Franco-Italian antagonisms, and utilised Fascist Italy as a pillar of support in the Mediterranean.

The second period coincides with the Franco-English rapprochement, the first action of which was the common measure taken by both powers in Sofia for the disbanding of Michael's Fascist Macedonian O. R. I. M. organisation (after the murder of Protogerov) and the prevention of a revision of the Bulgarian customs tariff. This Anglo-French action was directed against Italy. The Italian government did not join in these measures, and openly declared its dissatisfaction. The rapprochement between the two strongest of European great powers, strengthening the position of France with regard to the intentions of Italian imperialism, signified an important change in English foreign policy, and the results at once became apparent (the naval agreement); but the new English policy cannot be regarded as a kind of breach in the Anglo-Italian front. England would like to draw Italy and France together on the basis of the anti-Soviet front. Italy neither can nor will ever break aside from England, or pursue a policy "independent" or hostile to England. England is well aware that Italy is dependent on it, just as it is aware that the French friendship, when necessary, is unreliable. Italy is historically indispensable to England as a spring board.

2. MacDonald's government has already been once in power, in 1924, and even at that time no sign was to be observed that the Labour Party had any intention of departing from the traditional policy of English imperialism with regard to Italy. It was precisely the MacDonald government which at that time solved the question of the frontier regulation between Egypt and the Italian colonial region in North Africa in a manner extremely advantageous to Fascist Italy, that is, it allotted the Giuba district to Italy. MacDonald will pursue a "less cordial" policy towards France, for France, as the Labour

and its friends among the Liberals assume, is the actual result of European politics, Briand having allegedly succeeded in putting Chamberlain in his pocket".

It is obvious that Snowden's utterances in the House of Commons cannot be regarded as signs of a policy fundamentally changing the relations of England to France. It is to the mutual benefit of France and England to hold together. But English imperialism does not want to be "pocketed" by French imperialism. At bottom, the "Entente cordiale" does not overcome the antagonism of the two great powers in the question of European hegemony, though at the present time the policy of France is the most advantageous one. It is interesting to note that the election victory of the Labour Party was preceded by a campaign which can by no means be designated as friendly towards France. It was indeed much more an attempt to carry our with America. These are the first "democratic" manipulations of the English Labour government.

It is a well known fact that at the Congress of the II. International, held last year in Brussels, it was precisely the English delegation which declared, in the debate on Italian Fascism and in reply to the demands of the Italian delegation for more energetic action on the part of the II. International against Fascism, that Fascism was an internal affair of Italy! The Italian social democrats appeared to have forgotten this. Only a few months after this the secretary of the Trade Union Congress, Grimé, accompanied Sassenbach to Italy, in order to investigate, with Mussolini's permission, the liberties of the trade unions in Italy.

There is no prospect whatever that the coming into office of the Labour Government will bring about any alternation in the relations between England and Italy. In view of the actual relations existing among the powers it is much more probable that diplomatic relations between Rome and London will be strengthened, in order that English public opinion may have the satisfaction of believing that the Labour Government has enabled England to escape from the "pocket" in which it was supposed to have been placed by French diplomacy.

Hence no change whatever is to be expected either in the domestic or foreign politics of Italy as the result of the formation of the Labour Government. The Fascist press refers in extremely moderate terms to the coming into power of the Labour government. And on the other hand Fascism, in view of the causes which brought it to power, and of the fact that it incorporates the type of a regime and extends its organisation over a fairly wide territory, cannot be shaken by the circumstance that this or that party has come into power abroad. Italy is no South American or Balkan country, and foreign influences can react on Italian politics only when they represent very far-reaching uprisings of political and social forces, such as would be brought about by a victorious revolution for instance. Fascism will only treat before the rise of the working masses; it dare not re-establish the forms of bourgeois democracy, for this would give the masses the possibility of rapid reorganisation, and bring capitalist rule into serious danger.

We may assume that the victory of the Labour Party was greeted joyfully by the broad masses of the Italian population. The conceptions of "Right" and "Left", of "reaction" and "progressive forces", still possess for our masses the significance which they actually did possess five or six years ago. Our broad masses have not yet grasped the fact that these conceptions have changed their old political and class import. In face of the Fascist ideology, of the unceasing campaign carried on by Fascism against Marxism and socialism, and in face of the daily assurances that Fascism is dealing a deadly blow to class war over the world, the formation of the coalition government in Germany, and of the Labour Government in England, prove that the political mass struggle is in full swing outside of Italy.

But the Italian workers are losing day by day their hope at these "victories" will exercise an influence on Italian politics. These lost hopes are now replaced by new ones. The experiences on the 1st May in Berlin are worth more than ten thousand governments. The great lesson which has to be learnt is that Fascism will only be overthrown when the masses rise up against it. This is the conclusion to be drawn by the broad masses of our country from the actual facts.

## The Result of the Congress of Poles Living Abroad.

Miserable Fiasco of a Fascist Enterprise.

By J. S. (Warsaw).

For more than two years the Fascist Government of Poland announced the convocation of a big congress of the Poles living abroad, which was to be a demonstration of the close relation between the Polish emigrants and the Pilsudski Government. Extensive preparations were made and large sums of money, squeezed out of the workers, were expended. Finally, the congress took place . . . and the result is a miserable fiasco.

For several days there sat in Warsaw "delegates", who had been nominated by the different consuls of European and American States, and who were supplemented by the "Poles from abroad", who are always to be found about the Warsaw streets. They formed several commissions, they held several ceremonious plenary sessions, they rose from their seats as a sign of respect to the memory of the wrecked flyer Idzikowski, sent a message of homage by telegraph to Pilsudski and to his lackey Moscicki, passed resolutions against the Soviet Union and . . . went home.

All this failed to make any impression at all on the working masses of Poland. The failure of the congress enterprise was so apparent that even the Fascist press published very scanty reports about the congress just enough to please the "dear visitors", the "compatriots from abroad".

The Fascist congress sat in empty rooms, without awakening any interest on the part of "society", and amidst open animosity from the peasant and worker masses. On the other hand, the prohibition of the entrance into the country of the delegation of Polish workers from the Soviet Union excited much comment. On this section of the front the Fascist Government suffered the worst defeat.

When the Polish Fascists convoked the congress of Poles living abroad, the purpose was not only to set up anti-Soviet propaganda among the Polish emigrants in the capitalistic countries, but the hope was entertained of gaining some influence among the Polish working population in the Soviet Union and especially in the frontier districts. The organisers of the Warsaw congress thought that the Soviet authorities would not permit the sending of a delegation to the Warsaw congress. They rubbed their hands in anticipation of the dissatisfaction and fermentation, which they hoped in this manner to cause among the Polish toiling masses in the Soviet Union. They even went as far as ordering black mourning crepe, with which to veil the seats of the absent delegates of the Soviet Union.

All these speculations came to nought. The manoeuvres of the Polish Fascists were frustrated by the Polish working masses of the Soviet Union. At more than 1750 mass meetings the Polish workers and peasants and the working Polish intellectuals in the Soviet Union declared that they did not need any "protection" by the Polish bourgeoisie; that they did not want any "national Unity" with Fascism; that they, in common with the proletariat of Poland, regarded as their fatherland the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the workers of the whole world.

While in all other countries the "elections" to the Warsaw congress took the form of nomination of "delegates" by Polish consuls or by little bourgeois clerical cliques, in the Soviet Union a broad, public congress campaign, embracing hundreds of thousands of Polish workers and peasants, was carried on and for this reason the organisation committee of the Warsaw congress, which acted in close agreement with the Fascist Government, resolved not to permit the delegates from the Soviet Union to attend the congress. The chairman of the organisation committee Senate Marshal Szymanski declared curtly at the first session of the congress:

"That the organisation committee regarded the presence of the delegation from the Soviet Union as superfluous."

The Fascist organisers of the Warsaw congress not only regarded the participation of the representatives of the Polish working masses in the Soviet Union as superfluous, but took

the same view of the participation of the real delegates of the working emigrant masses in the capitalist countries. For instance, two congress delegates from Belgium, Polish miners, named Bronislaw Bober and Antoni Pokwiczal, were not admitted, in spite of the fact that, or just because, they were elected and delegated to the congress by meetings of Polish workers in Borinage, Liège and Limbourg. Not only was objection raised to their credentials, which were signed by 3000 Polish emigrants, but these delegates were threatened with arrest if they did not go away immediately from the Sejm Building, in which the congress proceedings took place.

The absence of the delegation from the Soviet Union called forth a wave of violent protest in the Soviet Union, and it also aroused deep indignation among the working masses in Poland, which was expressed at numerous meetings of workers in Warsaw, Lodz, the coal fields of the Dombrowa, Ostrowiec, etc., in whose resolutions it was decided to stigmatise the congress as an anti-Soviet enterprise and to protest against the non-admission of the delegates from the Soviet Union. In Warsaw a reception committee was formed for the workers' and peasants' delegation from the Soviet Union and among its members were Comrade Sypula of the Communist fraction in the Sejm, Deputy Walnizkij of the Ukrainean Selrob Unity Association, and the Deputy Dworczanin of the White-Russian Workers' and Peasants' Club. The committee protested in a leaflet against the non-admission of the representatives of the workers and peasants from the Soviet Union.

The protest action against the non-admission of the delegates from the Soviet Union will develop further in close connection with the preparation action for Anti-War Day, August 1st. The action of protest is also spreading among the Polish emigrant masses in France, Belgium, Germany and the United States. At numerous meetings and demonstrations, the workers, whom capitalist exploitation and Fascist Terror drove out of Poland, proclaim their unshakable determination and readiness to fight in defence of the Soviet Union, against the Fascist dictatorship and for the Polish Soviet Republic.

Through the organisation of the Warsaw Congress, the Fascist Government wished to gain a further possibility for the war against the Soviet Union. The campaign, with which the Polish working masses in the Soviet Union, in Poland and in exile have answered the Fascist manoeuvre, will form a point of departure for an enhanced fight against the criminal plans of Polish Fascism and of international imperialism.

## The British Miners and the Labour Government.

Annual Conference of the Miners Federation.

London, 30th July.

This year's annual conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which sat at Blackpool during the whole of last week, was of the first political importance.

The conference had to declare its attitude in regard to the mining policy of the MacDonald Government, and particularly in regard to the supposed election "pledge" to repeal immediately the Eight-Hour Day Act and reintroduce the Seven Hour Day.

The Government has, of course, no intention of honouring this pledge: and the intentionally vague statement made in Parliament last week simply said that in the Autumn session of the House, legislation would be introduced to deal with the whole question of "re-organising" (i. e. rationalising) the mining industry, this legislation to include the question of hours. There was no mention of the Seven-Hour Day.

After three days discussion, in private session, the Conference adopted a resolution reiterating the demand for immediate repeal of the Eight-Hours Act as the basis for the M. F. G. B. Executive's negotiations with the Government in connection with the promised legislation.

The comment was openly made by astute bourgeois press correspondents at the Conference — does the resolution mean what it says?

Certainly, in this more than 90% bureaucratic conference there were many expressions of tendencies to compromise — in a 7½-hour day, or an 8-hour day "bank to bank" (the present 8-hour day is 8 hours, "plus one winding time" i. e. average of 8½ hours or more).

But it was unquestionably realised by the majority of the conference that so blatant a betrayal, following close on the heels of the general election and the promises then made, would have brought disillusionment to large masses of miners and driven them over to the Communist Party as the only alternative.

The line adopted by the leading officials and Executive members of the Federation, who will do the negotiating with the Government, was, however, highly significant. Cook, for example, pleaded for the withdrawal of the resolution and the giving of a "free hand" to the Executive.

"The Government ought to be grateful to the officials of the Federation" writes the Liberal "Manchester Guardian". Mr. Richards (Vice-President) and Mr. Cook put up a good fight for the Government's policy.

The betrayal, in fact, has merely been postponed so that it can be the more easily accomplished.

On the wages question, the Conference resolved to demand a national agreement and a higher minimum wage. It foreshadows a bitter struggle — and more reformist teachers — at the end of this year when the principal district agreements terminate.

The handful of Communist and militant delegates at the Conference fought a good fight against overwhelming odds and demonstrated clearly that Communist policy and leadership was the only alternative to reformism.

In the hours debate it was George Maslin, a South Wales Communist, who put forward the demand for preparations for strike action to achieve the Seven-Hour Day in view of the Government's inevitable refusal to grant it.

The Conference resolution in nationalisation of the mines which proposed compensation for the owners, was attacked by Arthur Horner, who declared that only nationalisation without compensation and with workers' control, which cannot be achieved save by a Revolutionary Workers' Government, by the seizure of power by the working class, will benefit the miners.

The hypocrisy of a proposal to "invite" the Russian miners to enter the Miners International on accepting the constitution and rules of the International, was effectively exposed by Jan Williams (Forest of Dean) and Horner: before the Russian miners would enter the International, said the latter, it must be based on the waging of the class struggle against capitalism.

Finally, on the situation in the Scottish coalfield, the Executive's report was denounced by Horner on the grounds that they had only sought excuses for the discredited Scottish officials and not the truth. Nothing had been done to disaffiliate the breakaway Union founded by Mr. Adamson, which actually had a delegate at Blackpool. The Executive's report was adopted by the automatic majority of a "card" vote.

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### The "Flight from the Unions" in Britain.

London, 30th July.

How reformist betrayal is causing a steady shrinkage in the membership of Trade Unions in Britain is shown in the official government statistics, just issued.

The total membership of all trade unions declined by 244,605 in 1927, following a decline of 300,000 in 1926. At the end of 1927 the total membership was 3,903,048. Before the General Strike in 1926, the Union membership was some 4,500,000 and at its highest level, in 1920, it was 8,328,000.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### Forward to International Red Day!

(Appeal of the Red International of Labour Unions.)

To All Affiliated Bodies!

To the Workers of All Countries!

Comrades,

The first of August is drawing near, the day that will see a powerful international demonstration against war and imperialism. It will be the day when the workers of all countries will march forth on to the streets and throw their fighting slogan to teach the ruling classes the world over: **No Imperialist War!** From the very outset of the preparations for the International Red Day as a measure to oppose war, the bourgeois social-democratic press has contended all along that it is a vicious demonstration, that the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. have simply "invented" the war menace, and that "by the time it is taking up about the coming war, the U.S.S.R. is anxious to conceal its own internal difficulties". It is under this pretext that the entire international bourgeois-social-democratic alliance has led the counter-attack for the purpose of plastering over the opening cracks in the edifice of world imperialism; to conceal the friction between the different Powers and, muzzling pacifist phrases the while, to screen their work of building up more and more armaments. For the purpose of bringing greater pressure to bear on the minds of the masses, open pacifist gestures are made from time to time (such being the Kellogg Pact and like shams), though each gesture is accompanied by secret military agreements (like the Anglo-French Naval Agreement), and involves a still speedier race in armaments.

The ceaseless talk of peace in Geneva, Locarno, the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan and scores of other international negotiations, have not only failed to lessen the danger of war, but are actually making the menace of war to a still greater extent a thing of the immediate future, especially if it is taken into consideration that under all these pacifist phrases preparations are being carried on with a view to attacking the U.S.S.R., and that every time the imperialists meet together it is to talk of the best way to smash and enslave Soviet Russia. Hence it is to remember that during the recent negotiations in Paris on the reparations question (involving the Young Plan), one of Germany's prominent statesmen negotiated — plainly and without the knowledge of their social-democratic government and with governmental circles of France and Britain concerning conditions on which Germany might join a united block against the Soviet.

Again, whilst MacDonald is talking night and day of his peaceful pacifist intentions, British diplomats, together with the diplomats of America, Japan and France are egging on the Chinese militarists into acts of provocation against the U.S.S.R. Can it be doubted for one moment that the Chinese warmongers would never have dared to do what they have done to Soviet Russia if they had not known that they could count on the support of the imperialists? Now that, owing to the machinations of the imperialists pulling the wires from behind the scenes, the Chinese military caste have let themselves be driven to this act of provocation, it is realised by everyone today that the threat of war has just been hanging over, not the U.S.S.R. and China alone, but over the whole of humanity. What are these ardent pacifists of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals doing to-day? Parties affiliated to the Second International now hold government office; but what are they doing? Can they justify the action taken by the venal militarists of China, to whitewash their deeds, and accuse the U.S.S.R. of "Red imperialism"? Is not this direct provocation to war? Is not this direct support to the thugs that have massacred whole thousands of the Chinese people? Does not such a policy mean that the clouds of war will grow blacker still? Does not a policy like this increase the danger of war? The plan Baldwin and Chamberlain worked out long ago to surround the U.S.S.R. and cut it off from the outer world is now being carried out by their successors, who are doing their dirty work under the fanfare of pacifist phrases, to the shoutings of the socialist tub-thumpers of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals.

In Britain and Germany parties belonging to the Second International have come to power. But that fact does not lessen the threat of war. The bourgeoisie are sufficiently wily to do their dirty work with their own "socialist" hangers-on as their tools. We find that the job of strangling the German Labour movement has been given to social-democratic scoundrels wearing police uniforms; in Britain it is the "historical mission" of MacDonald's government to push on capitalist rationalisation in that country and to carry on with the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. These social-democratic governments are very strict in their observance of all the traditions of the different bourgeois parties and are doubly zealous in advocating the interests of their bourgeoisie. That is why the coming into power of these parties does not do away with all the outstanding frictions in international politics nor denote any lull in the class struggle going on in these countries.

Why has the menace of war come to loom so large precisely to-day? It looms up so big because of the fact that in all countries gigantic social clashes are multiplying, because the revolutionary Labour movement in the colonies is strengthening and because the socialist strength of the Soviet State is gathering volume and force. All this taken in its totality is compelling the bourgeoisie to adopt counter-measures. With fire and sword they are destroying the revolutionary movements in the colonies. By applying wild terrorism and socialist corruption they are endeavouring to disintegrate the workers' ranks in the capitalist countries. By surrounding Soviet Russia with a financial and economic blockade and setting on the Chinese militarists against that country, they are trying to hasten the day when they can draw the blood of the first country of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Only open agents of the bourgeoisie or hopeless idiots cannot see the war danger that is rushing down upon us. Only people anxious to conceal the dark trickery and schemings of the imperialists can talk of a securer peace. Only people who are utterly blind can maintain that the danger of war is being exaggerated by the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. No, we do not exaggerate that danger. When war is just about to overwhelm us in a towering wave it will be too late then to speak of any menace of war, too late to hammer out plans to combat war. Right here and now must the fight against war be begun every day, day in and day out, we must keep on combatting this danger; and the more ruthlessly we combat war and the more determinedly the working class links up its daily interests with the anti-war struggle, the easier it will be to hold back the new war the imperialists are threatening which will mean the mutual destruction of the nations.

The struggle against war is not a single act in itself or anything depending upon the individual effort of the individual worker, but is a fight requiring systematic and stubborn activities towards rallying the masses and welding them together on the basis of the class struggle. It means, too, that all elements of reformist mentality and outlook must be eradicated from their midst. First and foremost, the struggle against war is above all a struggle against the bourgeoisie at home. The enemy is within the gate — that was Liebknecht's slogan, and it retains all its force in every imperialist war. To that slogan the October Revolution added another: **support of the land of the working class dictatorship is the bounden duty of every honest and class-conscious worker.** Any real struggle against war confronts every working class organisation with the problem of utilising the international experience of the Bolsheviks which they acquired in fighting against the imperialist war of 1914—1918. Their experience goes to show that when war does begin all activities must then be directed under the watch-word of: **transform the imperialist war into civil war.**

The first of August will be a review of the revolutionary forces of the world, a day of powerful mass action in the shape of strikes, demonstrations, etc., in which the working class will voice their resistance to the danger of war and give evidence of their hatred of imperialism.

It will be a day when the workers will come out at once against the war-makers, and their social-democratic helpers. That day should see the mobilisation of all the forces of the revolutionary working class against imperialism and reformism. That is why, on that day, all organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U., all workers adhering to the principle of the revolutionary class struggle, and all those who are enemies of imperialism and

friends of the U. S. S. R., must march out on to the streets to tell the world in no uncertain voice:

We will have no imperialist war!

Down with war and the war-mongers!

Sweep Out the Chinese militarists!

Sweep away they social-imperialists of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals!

Forward to the fraternal alliance of the toilers of China with the workers of the U. S. S. R. and the whole world!

Long live the socialist fatherland of the international working class — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Executive Bureau,  
Red International of Labour Unions.

July 24, 1929.

## The Danger of War and the Miners' International.

By G. Sobottka (Berlin).

The most important and most significant factor of capitalist economy is the raising of coal. Without coal no capitalist development and no such tremendous extension of capitalist production would have been possible. The significance of coal raising, that is of mining, was recognised by the miners in the earliest years, not only on a national scale but also internationally. The miners, the mainstay of the mining industry, were, therefore, the first among the ranks of the industrial proletariat to bring under discussion the idea of international solidarity and of international fighting alliances and to try to bring it into being. The first beginnings of the formation of an international miners' organisation were hardly made, before attempts were in progress to achieve an international alliance of the miners of all countries.

The first practical step in this direction was the international miners' congress in Jolimont in Belgium in the year 1890. It was here that the miners of Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and several smaller countries met together for the first time. This congress was followed in the year 1891 by a committee session in Cologne, which made an attempt to create the statutes of an international miners association. These serious beginnings were followed, right up to the outbreak of war, by a regular succession of 24 international miners' congresses, the last of which was held in Carlsbad.

At all these congresses the question of the fight against war was in the foreground.

The miners quite rightly recognised that they had in their hands the lever whereby any war could be made impossible. If the miners do not raise any coal, no steel can be cast, no shells turned. No locomotive can possibly draw the transports of troops or the munitions of war to the frontier or to the theatre of war, if the miner does not deliver the coal for that purpose. For this reason, the determination among the miners in all countries to proclaim a general strike in all countries to prevent the outbreak of war grew constantly stronger. The reformist bureaucrats at the congresses were also compelled to take this determination into consideration and deal with the prevention of war. That, in their case, the fight was, however, only a sham fight, was proved by the first days of August of 1914. The miners were not called upon to reply to the declaration of war of the imperialists of all countries with a general strike; the reformist bureaucrats in the individual countries called upon the miners to produce more coal in order to enable the capitalists to hold out. Whenever a miner dared to remind the bureaucrats of the resolutions of the international congresses, he was denounced by them to the military authorities and immediately sent to the trenches. August 1914 found the trade-union bureaucracy of the miners' organisations of all countries on the side of the capitalists and imperialists, in spite of the many resolutions against war made at the various congresses.

The war years interrupted the activity of the miners' international. But, recognising their value to the maintenance of capitalism, the reformist wire-pullers renewed their connections after the conclusion of the slaughter of the peoples. The first

international miners' congress, the 25th in the series, was in 1920 in Geneva. The same people, who in Germany, France and in Great Britain had for four long years been the miners to war, again put on the agenda the fight against war. They even passed a resolution in which it was stated in the event of a fresh war a general strike of all mines to be proclaimed. At the second congress after the war, the 26th international miners congress, which met in August in Frankfort on Main, the fight against war was once again on the agenda. In the resolution passed at this congress it was stated:

"The international miners' congress confirms the resolution of the Geneva congress regarding the international general strike in case of a war."

The office of the International Miners' Federation was instructed to investigate all means of carrying out an international action. Several months after the miners' congress, namely, December 10th to 15th, 1922, the world peace congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions was held in The Hague, and the reformist miners' bureaucracy of all countries attended. Right at the beginning of the resolution adopted at this congress it is stated:

"War is the most terrible scourge of mankind, particularly of the proletariat. In war the proletariat always the conquered and capitalism always the conqueror. It is also stated in the resolution:

"It is, therefore, the duty of the workers of all countries to wage a fight with all means against war and the danger of war, in order to make war impossible . . .

In order to achieve this purpose (i. e. to make war impossible) the Labour movement must organise the workers for peace and combat with all the means at the disposal of the Labour movement all future threats of war and prevent the actual outbreak of a war by the proclamation of an international general strike."

How much value these resolutions had, or still have, was illustrated in January 1923. When French imperialists sent their troops into the Ruhr District and the danger of war was imminent, the International Propaganda and Action Committee of the revolutionary miners addressed a request to the International Miners' Federation to proclaim an international general strike for the purpose of combating the imperialist occupation of the Ruhr District. The General Secretary of the International Miners' Federation at that time, Hodges, answered the International Propaganda Committee.

"The Miners' International Does not Accept any resolutions from Moscow." In this manner the proposal was rejected. The International Miners' Federation or its committee, did not even raise its little finger to combat the occupation of the Ruhr District by the French imperialists. Just as in 1914, the International Miners' leaders were on the side of their imperialist oppressors. The same was done by the British and German reformist miners' leaders. There was not the slightest trace of international solidarity. The resolutions passed nine months earlier were forgotten and lay in the wastepaper basket. The same attitude was taken by the miners' international in regard to the imperialist attacks of France and Spain upon Morocco and to the brutal suppression of the revolts in Syria by French imperialism. In 1923, again, there was not the slightest protest, not the faintest suggestion for the carrying out of the resolutions that had been passed.

The history of the International Miners' Federation proves fully that in the approaching imperialist wars the miners' international will fail again in the same way and that the prevention of war by the miners can only result from their own strength. The preliminary conditions to this end must now be created in the mines by the formation of really revolutionary pit committees. Through revolutionary representatives, the connection of the miners and of the various pits must be established in the whole country and also beyond the national frontiers. It is only on the basis of revolutionary pit committees in all mines that war can be successfully combated.

"This war will soon be followed by other wars, unless a series of successful revolutions takes place. The fable of 'war to end war' is a sheer noxious myth." —

(Lenin in November 1914)

# ECONOMICS

## British Imperial Trade.

By Gore Graham (London).

At the present time a vigorous agitation is taking place in England for the establishment of the Empire as an economic unit. The aim for which many capitalist elements are fighting is that of Free Trade within the empire and a comprehensive empire tariff defence against foreign goods. Undoubtedly at the forthcoming Imperial Conference economic questions will predominate and these views will be given strong advocacy. But there seems little possibility of the Conference being able to do anything but reveal the fact that the hegemony of Britain has one and that the self-contained imperial unit so fondly imagined by the anxious stabilisers of British capitalism will never be anything more than a dream. Actually the empire is but a loose federation working co-operatively whenever it is not harmful to self-interest. And the Dominions will not sacrifice themselves in behalf of the beatific schemes of British capitalists busy salvaging the one-time "workshop of the world". It is true that the U. S. A. proposals for the further strengthening of their tariff walls has produced some consternation. Not only has it revived the propaganda of a "United States of Europe", but it has given a little fillip to the development of British imperial ideology. Canada, for example, in the eight months ending last May exported £ 20,000,000 worth less of farm products and wheat flour than she did in the eight months ending May 1921, — before U. S. A. first raised its customs tariff against Canada's primary products. Canadian wheat now pays a duty of 1s. 9d. a bushel in the United States. In general it is estimated that the tariff increases due to come into operation in November will bar another £ 10,000,000 worth of Canadian products from the United States. Meanwhile, as will be shown later. United States exports to Canada are advancing by leaps and bounds. As a result of this the theory of imperial free trade is strengthened somewhat and Canadian Conservatives, who speak of Canada as the milch cow of the U. S. A., while they cannot hope for an increase in the tariff on United States goods, yet expect the Government to reduce the tariff on the items covered by the British preferential tariffs.

The British Conservatives are pledged to place no tariffs on food, and the present newly-revived campaign for an imperial economic unit runs counter to this pledge. Already a minor sensation has occurred in the withdrawal by the Conservative Party of its official endorsement of a candidate standing in a current bye-election because he has supported the present imperial crusade and run counter to the Conservative pledges on food tariffs.

The repercussions of the U. S. A. tariff move, the imminent schemes of imperial development by the Labour Government, the important visit of Thomas to Canada to take place this summer, the daily-developing movement in Britain for a self-supporting Empire, the imminent emergence of a new imperial policy of the British Conservatives are all factors which make the present a time in which no very useful estimate of the position could possibly be written.

Nevertheless, the following facts of British empire trade will be of service in judging the developments that are close upon us.

Let us begin by considering the proportions of the British export trade:

### Distribution of British Exports.

Exports to	1913	1924	1925	1927
Countries within the Empire . . .	37 %	42%	43%	46 %
11 European countries . . . . .	30.5%	26%	25%	23.5%
Remaining countries of the World .	32.5%	32%	32%	30.5%

Noticeable at once is the relative decline in British exports to non-empire markets. But in case anyone should think that (putting aside the fact that the relative decline of exports to non-empire markets is also an absolute decline) the relative increase in exports to countries within the empire is cause for jubilation on the part of the British imperial "unitarians", let him consider the following facts.

### India.

India is the biggest market within the British empire. In 1927 the value of exports of domestic products and manufactures amounted to £ 85,000,000. This was only £ 15,000,000 greater than in 1913. But this increase was accounted for by the rise in values; actually there was a decrease in the volume of the exports, owing to the severe competition of the U. S. A., Japan and Germany. Despite the existing preferences to British manufactures, the Capitalists of these countries have eaten deeply into the Indian market. As recently as June 27th the Bombay Millowners Association are pleading with the Viceroy for the protection of their own industry against Japanese competitors who had exported into India 165 million yards of cloth during the first four months of this year as against 75 million yards of cloth in the same period last year.

### Australia.

The value of British exports to Australia, which is the next largest imperial market, amounted to £ 65,000,000 in 1927, or nearly double the 1913 amount of £34,000,000. But there again the relative proportion is actually declining, for in 1913 the British percentage of Australian imports was 63% whereas in 1925 it had fallen to 57.6%. And again for no other reason than that of the fierce competition of Japanese and American capitalists. In 1925 Australia imported manufactured goods from the U. S. A. to the value of £ 38,000,000 or nearly four times the value of American goods imported in 1913.

### South Africa.

Here again is the same story of British decline and American advance. British exports to South Africa in 1927 were £ 30,000,000, an increase, it is true, from the total of £ 22,000,000 in 1913. But whereas the proportions in 1913 were: — British 67.2% and U. S. A. 8.6%, in 1925 the proportions had changed to: — British 62% and U. S. A. 14.7%. And the recent orders from South Africa for eighteen locomotives by Krupp's firm in Germany are reminders that the American deprecations upon the British market are not unaccompanied by attacks from other capitalist competitors.

### Canada.

From the British manufacturers' point of view Canada occupies a very low position, for it is one of those parts of the British empire that fall directly within the economic orbit of the U. S. A. Although Canadian exports of food, raw materials, etc. to Britain amounted to £ 52,000,000 in 1927, the British exports to Canada were only £ 29,000,000. Sixty-four per cent. of Canada's imports were provided by U. S. A. And still again the relative proportion, as far as British manufacturers are concerned, is declining. British exports to Canada are only £ 6,000,000 greater than in 1913, and are now only 17% of the total Canadian import trade. And what makes this more illustrative of British decline is the fact that Canadian imports are speedily increasing, particularly textiles, chemicals and coal. And we have, for example, the edifying sight of the South Wales coal-masters, especially Mond and the Anthracite owners, increasing their exploitation of the Welsh colliers in order to compete for the market within "their own" dominion!

### New Zealand.

British exports to New Zealand have doubled since 1913. New Zealand imports more British manufactures, in proportion to its population, than any other dominion or protectorate of the empire. But while British exports to New Zealand were £ 22,000,000 in 1913 and £ 52,000,000 in 1925, the proportion of imports from Britain was 82.4% in 1913 but had fallen to 73% in 1925, again showing British decline. Once more, the old story — U. S. A. the successful competitor. American exports to New Zealand have increased four-fold between 1913 and 1925. In 1913 the percentage of American imports into New Zealand was 9.5%, but in 1925 it had risen to 17%. And in the great electrical and similar development that is being planned, American success in New Zealand trade is certain to continue.

### Others Colonies.

British exports in 1913 to the West African colonies, Kenya Colony and the Uganda Protectorate amounted to £ 6,750,000. In 1927 they were £ 16,500,000, and growing rapidly. But here again we have the old, old story of fierce attacks being made by the capitalists of U. S. A., Japan and Germany. In Kenya in 1927 the proportion of imports from countries under the British flag was only 54%.

These figures of British empire trade are stubborn and irreducible facts of imperialist rivalry making only for war.

The frantic efforts of the British capitalists to recover and strengthen these markets take the form, as is well known, of the reduction of costs by wage-cuts, rationalisation, etc., and the consequent approach to the "competitive price levels". They also, as is mentioned at the beginning, seek to monopolise the market by agitating for increase of preferences, advocating the idea of an imperial economic unit, and so on. But another equally substantial panacea is the remedy of "better salesmanship and advertising" much vaunted lately in England. Not only does the British Prince of Wales use his influence in the advocacy of this beaming solution, but Mr. MacDonald, the "Labour" Premier, felt constrained on his first day of office to send a special message to the Fifth Annual Convention of the Advertising Association with the words:

"Although this is the first day of my resurrected official life I have been having long consultations on how we can assist industry and get into touch with its responsible people.

What I say to you all is this: go ahead: put your brains into your business: advertise well: organise your sales scientifically, and do not be disturbed by voices of fear."

But what worker with a grain of political sense can fail to see that not one of these solutions will solve anything, that the first two cannot be operated and in so far as they are attempted will only bring imperialist war nearer?

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Chemical Workers' Strike in Piraeus.

By Laos.

The most characteristic feature of the present phase of the class struggle in Greece is undoubtedly the lining up of broad strata of the most backward part of the Greek proletariat in the revolutionary class front against the State and the employers.

A short time ago it was the women carpet makers of Piraeus, consisting for the greater part of refugees and unorganised, who, under the leadership of the Unitary trade unions, repelled a fierce attack by the employers on their wages, and were able to record some successes as a result of their strike.

The same applies also to the strike of the fertiliser workers of Piraeus. The fertiliser works of Piraeus, which are considered to be the most modern chemical plant in Greece, acquire special importance in view of the preparations being made for chemical warfare. This branch of industry, which has been built up with the aid of German technicians, constitutes an example of capitalist methods of exploitation and of the most reactionary attitude towards the workers. The fertiliser works have hitherto succeeded, by the most brutal means, in preventing any trade union organisation of the workers.

It is true, this policy could not be maintained indefinitely in view of the rapidly growing revolutionisation of the Greek workers. The conditions under which the workers are compelled to work in these factories are simply inhuman. The average working day is ten to twelve hours. In addition, all workers, including women and girls, are compelled to do night work. The wages paid are the lowest in Greece: 25 Drachmas and in the highest cases 40 Drachmas. Women and girls receive 15 to 25 Drachmas a day. Protection and safety devices are quite unknown in these works.

At the beginning of July this year some workers attempted to form a sort of trade union organisation; this was enthusiastically welcomed at a workshop meeting. At the same time the

workers elected a factory committee, which had the task of putting forward the economic demands of the workers.

The employers, however, true to their brutal, oppressive policy, immediately dismissed the committee elected by the workers. The indignation of the workers in face of this deliberate provocation was very great, and in several meetings they expressed their solidarity with the discharged workmates and proclaimed their firm intention to reply immediately to the measures of the employers with a strike. The first to go on strike were the women, who spontaneously laid down their work when they heard that 200 workers had been discharged.

On the 10th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, a greater part of the staff went on strike. Over 2000 men and women workers ceased work.

The employers, who had anticipated this action, had already adopted all measures in order to carry out a regular blood-bath and thereby break the resistance of the workers. The fertiliser factories of Piraeus have for a long time possessed their own factory police. These were now brought into action. They immediately occupied the works and in spite of all protest prevented the workers still in the factory from leaving it.

When the workers who had gone on strike learned that they endeavoured to release their imprisoned workmates. This provided the occasion for wild shooting on the part of the factory police, who were not content with firing rifles and revolvers but also threw hand-grenades. The factory manager, a German citizen, to whom the factory police are subordinate, took a very prominent part in this action. Three workers were severely wounded. The strikers at first drew back, but remained assembled before the factory gates. The police, who in the meantime had been alarmed, came upon the scene. Suddenly, without the slightest warning, the police were given the order to fire, and a furious attack was launched. The strikers were pursued into their homes. The shooting lasted until late in the night.

Sixteen severely wounded and several arrests were the result of the attack of the police and the employers' guards. But the strike-front of the fertiliser workers still remained unshaken. Eight-hour day, wage increase, right to organise in trade unions, and reinstatement of all the discharged workers were the demands of the strikers.

Right from the commencement the strikers placed the leadership of their fight in the hands of the Unitary trade unions. All the attempts of the social-fascists to get hold of the leadership of the struggle proved vain against the unshakable confidence of the strikers in the revolutionary trade unions.

The terrorist measures exercised by the police and the authorities beggar description. All means were employed in order to force the strikers to their knees. In spite of everything the strike lasted till the 18th of July. The workers resumed work in the consciousness that the question was no longer that of a simple fight with the employers, but that this fight of the chemical workers of Piraeus was already a fight between the State and the working class.

### The Labour Movement in the Philippines.

By Alvarez.

The labour movement first arose in the Philippines about thirty years ago under the direct influence of the National Revolution of 1898 which led to the formation of the First Republic in the Far East. During this revolution the leading role went over spontaneously to the proletarian elements in the towns and to the poor strata of the population in the rural districts — a movement that was headed by Andres Bonifacio against the landowning bourgeois clique who, seriously alarmed at losing their lands, riches and other privileges, hastened to capitulate to the Americans and thus betrayed the Rebellion. Subsequently, the Americans defeated the Spaniards (for the revolution in the Philippines was directed primarily against Spanish domination) and commenced to suppress the emancipatory movement of the people. It was only after three years of bitter struggle that the U. S. A. finally got full control of the Islands.

The small labour unions that arose in Manila, the capital of the Islands, round about 1901—02 were inspired chiefly by a group of prominent intellectuals who had received their education and knowledge of the labour movement in Spain. And

find the Spanish labour movement of that time, with its craft organisations, formed chiefly to render mutual aid, giving a spirit of co-operation between master and man, thus taken as a model for the labour movement of the Philippines. The predominance of small-scale and handicraft industry greatly facilitated the growth of these forms of the movement and to this day have a strong hold on the Islands.

Despite the peaceful outlook observed throughout the movement generally, several strikes occurred during the early days — the result of the high cost of living that followed the war and the economic policy of the Americans (with Americans in control the trade turn-over rose from 10,000 peso in 1895 to 132,000,000 peso in 1903 — a growth was only possible by enhancing the exploitation of the country).

The repressions directed by the American authorities against strikers and their leaders strengthened the peaceful tendency in the labour movement, the more so, since at that time labour organisations were not purely proletarian in character, there being many small shop-keepers, handicraftsmen and others among the membership.

The bitter struggle between the labour leaders (the majority of whom were not workers at all) to use the labour organisations as a means of getting parliamentary seats, started during the first election campaign (1907) when the Parliament of the Philippines was first established after the Americans had "civilized" the country, extremely weakened the labour organisations. It was universally recognised at that time that the labour movement would have to gather its forces together and reorganise itself — a task that was undertaken by the **Printers' Union** the most progressive labour union at that time. Several new unions catering for the tobacco workers, seamen, carpenters, boot and shoe operatives and others were organised on a new basis which made it impossible for any of the masters employing class to become members. By the first of May 1913, all these organisations had met and formed the **Philippine Labour Congress** — the largest National Labour Federation in the Islands.

The bitter struggle that arose again between the politicians and the Congress leaders — seriously retarded the work of the Congress and in 1916 a group of unions headed by one **Balmori** broke away. This group formed the so-called **Federation of Labour** which subsequently became the extreme **Right Wing** of the labour movement, zealously supporting class collaboration. This Federation is still the loyal agent of the capitalists in the labour movement of the Philippines.

At the present time the percentage of workers organised in the Philippines is very high indeed. In 1927, of about 300,000 workers employed in industry, transport and trade (including members and fishermen working for hire), there were 92,000 organised, of whom 66,137 belong to the Labour Congress (not counting the agricultural workers); 3,268 belong to the Federation of Labour, while 22,786 were lined up in the Independent Unions. The **Peasant and Agricultural Workers' Confederation** affiliated to the Labour Congress, likewise became a very strong factor in the labour movement. However, the percentage organised among the agricultural workers is altogether negligible. The Confederation has less than 15,000 workers lined up, although there are more than 2,000,000 workers employed in the agricultural trades of the Philippines.

The growth of the numerical strength of the workers' organisations especially apparent during the post-war period beginning with 1917, went hand in hand with the rapid growth in industry. At that time many new large-scale enterprises arose, equipped on the latest engineering lines, employing large numbers of workers. There was also a marked increase in the number of transport workers as the railways were extended and other transport facilities introduced.

Despite the fact that a large number of the workers were organised in the trade unions, the mutual aid societies and other organisations, the whole labour movement of the Philippines down to recent years was still characterised by its marked isolation, as seen in the early period of its development and a narrow outlook. (For example, in Manila, alone there were eleven unions catering for the tobacco workers. Some of the organisations could not boast of any members outside a given factory. There were five unions for the seamen, and so on.) The idea of class peace still had a strong hold on the workers, there were no militant leaders; neither were there many active trade

unionists. It was the organisational structure of the Labour Congress, which is a loose federation of various organisations and the fact that no paper was published and no dues fixed, etc., that prevented the Congress from becoming a real organ uniting and leading the labour movement. And, finally, it must be said, the weakest side of the labour movement in the Philippines was its complete isolation from the International Labour Movement.

Besides this, the absence of an independent labour party seriously weakened the unit weight of the labour organisations in the political life of the country. Prior to the formation of the Labour Party of the Philippines in 1928, the workers were mainly influenced by the political views of their leaders who usually belonged to one of the two bourgeois parties. For example, in the **struggle for national independence** — such a vital question for the working masses of the Philippines — the workers followed the lead of the national bourgeoisie.

But the last year or two marks a new era in the labour movement of the Philippines. It was ushered in by the tempestuous growth of the revolutionary movement in China and the fact that the Philippines were drawn into the orbit of the international revolutionary labour movement when the Labour Congress affiliated to the **Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat** (affiliation was made in the middle of 1927 immediately after the Pan-Pacific T. U. Conference had been held). Thanks to the fine work carried out by the most progressive and revolutionary section of the labour movement in the Philippines to strengthen the unions, to reconstruct them on the industrial principle, to get T. U. activities going at the factories and plants, to strengthen unity and propagate the idea of international working class solidarity, urging an implacable class lead, and the strengthened strike movement of the last period, the successes already achieved in the trade union field have certainly been remarkable. For example, **Philippine workers and Chinese workers came out together**; Chinese and Philippine boot and shoe operatives struck for more than four months; the recent wood-workers' strike should also be noted. The Chinese workers in the Islands are united in the so-called **Philippine-Chinese Labourers' Association** which has set up close contact with the Labour Congress, despite the efforts of the native bourgeoisie to foster a spirit of national antagonism. Several strikes that arose at the end of 1928 and the beginning of 1929 were remarkable for the solidarity shown by the workers and the large numbers involved. The growth of the militancy and solidarity of the workers was seen especially during the strike of last December, when 10,000 workers came out to protest against the arrest of one of the tobacco workers' leaders (who had struck a scab).

The conservative elements, however, have been furiously resisting the continued radicalisation of the labour movement. (In the Philippines the Right Wing of the labour movement is nicknamed the Conservatives; the Left Wing — the Radicals.) At the outset this resistance was seen in the internal struggle in the Council of the Labour Congress and in the way the organisations controlled by the Right Wing leaders sabotaged the new policy.

Subsequently, the intensification of the struggle between the two tendencies led to a split in the Labour Congress at the Annual Congress held at the beginning of last May in Manila and a new Labour Congress of the Philippines, known as the **Proletarian Labour Congress** was formed. Where the so-called conservatives are leading the labour movement is seen from the declarations made by their leaders (**Tehadi** and others) after the split had taken place, which state, among other things, that the Labour Movement of the Philippines must now strengthen contact with the Labour Bureau (a Government body), and resist all outside interference in the labour movement and national life of the Philippines (which means there must be no contact with the international revolutionary labour movement). That the services of these gentlemen have been recognised is seen by the sympathetic way in which the bourgeois press support all their efforts, while rabidly attacking all militant elements and inciting the reactionary forces in the country to persecute the Left Wing.

The recent developments and the increased opposition between the opportunist and revolutionary tendencies make it imperative for the Left Wing to stand together solidly and give a clear lead in carrying out its policy, reinforcing achievements already gained and struggling actively to unify the labour movement on the basis of the class struggle, urging an eight-hour

day, increased pay, recognition for the unions, protection of female and child labour, both in town and village, against the inhuman exploitation of the agricultural workers and the poor peasantry, thus extending their influence among the workers (news to hand shows that half of the organised workers have already affiliated to the new Labour Congress), **organising the unorganised** and taking up their place in the vanguard of the struggle for independence.

Unquestionably, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress to be convened in the very near future will strengthen the Revolutionary Wing in the labour movement of the Philippines, will reinforce its connections and bring to its aid the support of 15,000,000 organised workers in the Pacific countries.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Results of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of July 21st 1929.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which recently concluded its work, has adopted decisions of extreme importance for the international Communist movement. The Plenum analysed the economic and political situation after the VI. World Congress. This analysis confirmed to the fullest extent the line of the VI. World Congress. The Plenum at the same time took into account all changes in the economy and politics of the capitalist countries and in their relations to the Soviet Union which have taken place after the VI. Congress.

The Plenum recorded a further decline of capitalist stabilisation, a further intensification of its contradictions (in spite of the Paris Conference and of the MacDonald government), a further deterioration of the position of the working class, upon which the burdens of capitalist rationalisation are being cast, and it recorded a further increase of the war danger and before all of a military attack upon the Soviet Union (in spite of the Kellogg Pact, in spite of the continual disarmament conferences and in spite of the solemn promises of MacDonald to recognise the Soviet government).

At all junction points of world economy and politics, development is proceeding in the direction foreseen by the VI. World Congress. But some changes have taken place since the VI. Congress. The VI. Congress recorded the Left development of the working masses in the capitalist countries. The extent of this Left development already justifies us in speaking of a growing revolutionary advance, especially in such countries as Germany, France, and Poland.

The strikes in the Ruhr, in Lodz and North France, the mass actions of the Berlin workers on the 1st of May, the May demonstrations in Germany, Poland and in other countries, the brilliant successes of the German Party during the factory council elections, the agricultural workers' strikes in Poland are facts which go to prove a growing revolutionary ferment in the big capitalist States, a ferment which social democracy, the main support of capitalism within the working class, can neither check by the social-fascist methods of Zörgiebel nor by the lying, fraudulent "revolutionary" phraseology of the whole Left wing.

In the present circumstance the main danger for our Communist Parties consists in the fact that they (or some of them) might limp behind the developing revolutionary advance (as, for instance, the C. P. of Germany did in 1923 under the leadership of Brandler and Thalheimer). Therefore the task of overcoming the Right deviations and the conciliatory tendencies which the VI. World Congress placed in the centre of attention, is still more urgent. At present it is a question of cleansing the Communist Parties from the tail politicians, the opportunist, semi-social democratic elements who will not see the maturing revolutionary advance (or are incapable of seeing it), who are not able to lead the working class in the coming revolutionary struggles, who are laying down their arms before capitalism and the social democracy and who are beginning to play in our Parties the role of an inner agency of the enemy forces.

Hardly any period in the inner life of the Communist International has been so full of events as that since the VI. World Congress. It is characterised, on the one hand, by the strengthening and inner consolidation of the Communist Parties

and their simultaneous cleansing from the opportunist elements and on the other hand by the consolidation of the Party leadership on the Bolshevist line of the VI. Congress. The Communist Parties of Germany, Czechoslovakia, America, France and Poland have been most strongly affected by this process. But there are also a number of our Parties in which this process is at the beginning or even has not yet begun. The Plenum emphasises the necessity of a further determined struggle against the Right and conciliatory elements in all sections of the Comintern.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. drew up the political and economic balance for the whole period since the VI. Congress. On the basis of the rich experience of this period the Plenum pronounced judgment on the Right elements, part of which are outside of the Comintern, while the other part are on the inside to being outside of the Comintern. The position of these elements is no longer a tactical deviation. As has been the case with Trotskyism, the differences of opinion between the Right and the Communist International are becoming programmatic differences. The line of the Rights is in numerous Parties becoming incompatible with membership of the Comintern. Alongside of these elements there is developing another process: the Right deviation of the conciliatory and vacillating elements, which up to recently could not resolve on opposing their line to the VI. Congress, who attempted to hide their differences of opinion with the Comintern, defended the Rights in a concealed and cowardly form, but did not dare to solidarise with them.

These elements are now taking the place left vacant by the Rights. Their insistence upon their errors and deviations, the denial of the shakiness and rottenness of capitalist stabilisation, the cloaking of its inner contradictions, their policy of disturbing the revolutionary mass actions which are organised by the Communist Parties (the attitude of the German conciliators to the May events) will certainly lead them to where the Rights have arrived, i. e. outside of the Communist movement.

The successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the C. P. S. U., in spite of the desperate resistance of the capitalist elements, are playing an ever greater role in the welding together of the revolutionary forces of the working class in the capitalist countries against imperialism. If, however, the policy of the C. P. S. U. constitutes a peacemaker which is consolidating the forces of the Comintern, the foreign Communist Parties are following the example of the C. P. S. U. and its general line in adapting their tactics and organisation to the conditions of the developing revolutionary advance, then all inwardly rotten, vacillating elements in all Parties of the Comintern which are slipping from Communism to social democracy, as well as the opportunists who have been expelled from the Comintern, are orienting themselves towards the Right and conciliatory elements in the C. P. S. U. This fact the Plenum has once again revealed with great clearness.

One of the most important questions at the Plenum was the trade union question. The tactics of the independent leadership of the strike struggles of the working class, which has been laid down by the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. and the VI. World Congress; the setting up of fighting committees which are to comprise not only the organised but also the unorganised masses; the tactics of putting up independent lists and candidates for the election of the trade union executives and for the factory council elections, simultaneously with increased work within the reformist unions, was fully confirmed in the decisions of the Plenum. Their successful carrying out liberates the masses from the influence of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy; it is the only means of destroying the reformist trade union apparatus in order to weld together the broad masses of the organised and unorganised proletarians not only for the economic struggles but also for the political revolutionary fight for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Plenum adopted a special decision regarding the struggle against the threatening war and the demonstration on 1st of August. The bourgeois and social-democratic governments, who are preparing a new world slaughter, will certainly exert all their efforts to prevent our demonstrations. They will not succeed in this.

The masses are aware of the threatening war danger; the war horrors still live in their memories. The social fascist governments, with whose help the bourgeoisie is preparing the

are exposing themselves too obviously. The recent events on the Chinese Eastern Railway, by which the Chinese generals, acting on the dictates of international imperialism, are imminently provoking a war against the Soviet Union, clearly realise the danger of a new imperialist world slaughter.

The decisions of the E. C. C. I. Plenum, which analyse the economic and political situation of the present period, which determine the next tasks of the Communist Parties in the situation of a maturing revolutionary advance, will play a tremendous role in the mobilisation of the revolutionary forces of the working class and of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries and colonies, in the consolidation of the Communist Parties on the Bolshevik line of the Comintern.

## The Anti-Comintern Opposition in the American Party.

By H. M. Wicks.

The resistance to the line of the Communist International on the part of Jay Lovestone and some of his factional supporters in the Communist Party of the United States of America, now developed into an open campaign against the C. I. of the Communist International, in its Open Letter to the Sixth Congress of the American Party made definite proposals to correct the political line of the Party that was manifestly tilting to the Right and to overcome the long factional struggle by removing from work in the Party for a period of time those considered the most culpable leading factionalists. Lovestone and Pepper and their principal supporters resisted these proposals and deliberately organised the overwhelming majority of the delegates against the decisions.

Not daring to come before the proletarian delegates at the Party congress with open opposition to the political line of the Open Letter, Lovestone & Co. charged that the organisational proposals (one of which demanded his removal from work in the American Party) were not justified by the political line of the Open Letter. A proposal was made by Lovestone's supporters to appeal to the Executive Committee of the Communist International against the organisational measures. A delegation was selected and dispatched to Moscow with the understanding that when the appeal was finally decided they were all to accept it and carry it out.

From the moment of the arrival of the delegation in Moscow was plain that Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe were deliberately preparing the delegation to resist the Comintern even after its final decision on the appeal. The keynote for the anti-Comintern line to be pursued was sounded by Bertram D. Wolfe, who had been sent to Moscow as the representative of the American Party. Wolfe charged before the American Commission that the Comintern was deviating from the line of Lening in dealing with the problem of the American Party. This was precisely the language used by people who are on their way out of the Comintern. This open attack on the Comintern was supplemented by malignant "corridor" gossip to the effect that the Comintern was degenerating, that the Five Year Industrialisation Plan of the Soviet Union was a fraud doomed to failure, that the Soviet government was abandoning the revolution and following a course of compromise with capitalist elements. Though not yet definitely formulated, certainly the content of such maligning of the Comintern and the Soviet Union was nothing other than the Trotskyist platform of Thermidorianism. This had been expressed in typical unmanly gutter language when Lovestone, during the last Congress of the American Party referred to the Open Letter and the organisational proposals as the result of a "running sore" on the Communist International.

As leaders of the delegation in Moscow, Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe thought the majority of the membership of the American Party would follow them in a struggle against the Comintern. In this they were disappointed.

The first blow to their conspiracy to wage an open fight against the Comintern was administered when they sent a cable to the United States urging their former factional associates to seize all the Party institutions, sell the buildings and equipment owned by the Party and to utilize the proceeds for orga-

nising a struggle against the Comintern. The comrades to whom this infamous proposal was made exposed it and began active mobilisation for the line of the Comintern.

Now that Lovestone has returned to the United States in plain violation of the decision of the Comintern, for which he was promptly expelled from the American Party, the Party is able clearly to perceive his whole Right wing line, which has now crystallised into a political platform that, in its international aspect attains complete identity with the Rights and conciliators in Germany. They speak of the necessity of mobilising the Party to resist "destructive Comintern methods against Brandler, Hais, etc." Again they say "the Comintern is killing such valuable elements as Evert, Humbert-Droz, etc." Lovestone & Co. at first formulated their resistance to the line of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, by developing their theory of American exceptionalism. They said the line of the Sixth Congress, the estimate of the third post-war period of capitalist development, could be applied to certain other countries of the world, but that it did not yet apply to the United States. They saw only the rising power of American imperialism, its outdistancing of Britain. They spoke of its formidable power, of its having "attained world hegemony", but they could not perceive that the very growth of American imperialism sharpened all the fundamental antagonisms of capitalism, internally and externally. They could not see that the disproportion between production and the market affected all the imperialist countries of the world. They could only see in the industrialisation of the South of the United States an evidence of the tremendous reserve power of American imperialism but they could not see the mighty class conflicts being generated by that very industrialisation which was proceeding under the most modern methods of capitalist rationalisation. In short the Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe combination, that together with Pepper was in reality the ideological and political leader of the majority faction of the Party, could see only the might of American imperialism before which they stood appalled and paralysed.

When they finally learned that the Sixth Congress did not exempt the United States from its estimate of the period of post war capitalism, and when the Comintern sternly corrected their political line, they then came forth as open opponents of the line of the Sixth Congress. They now repeat the identical words of the Brandlers who traduce the heroic May Day struggle of the Berlin workers as a "putsch", and interpret the defeat of the workers in Wedding and Neukölln as evidence of the increasing might of capitalism; as a refutation of the analysis of the third period as one of growing precariousness of capitalist stabilisation.

The leaders of the American opposition have travelled so far on the road of apostasy that they cannot perceive that the very fact of the occurrence of such a struggle as the May Day events in Berlin is in itself evidence of the extreme precariousness of capitalist stabilisation. By taking such a position as it does, the Lovestone opposition completely aligns itself with Humbert-Droz and Serra who saw in the defeat of the British general strike, the Vienna rising, and the declining revolutionary wave in China the strengthening of the power of capitalism, instead of recognising that such events themselves are evidence of the shaky foundation on which the capitalist system rests at this moment.

It is with such a programme that Lovestone tries to fight against the line of the Communist International in the American Party. But he has miserably failed to alienate even an appreciable number from the Party Line. In spite of the baneful effect of the long factional struggle upon the theoretical development of the Party, the membership, composed in the overwhelming majority of proletarian elements, did not hesitate for one second when it came to a question of making a choice between following the line of the Comintern or following the line of Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe into the camp of the Right wing by the route of conciliation. The rotten diplomacy that Lovestone used in playing Tammany Hall tricks while professing loyalty to the Comintern and thereby fooling the membership proved of no avail when once the membership was fully aware of the fact that Lovestone was openly opposed to the line of the Comintern. The defeat of the Lovestone attempt to split the Party is absolutely assured. The membership of the Party is overwhelmingly opposed to his anti-Comintern line, and approves his expulsion from the Party for his defiance

of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

To this day, however, Lovestone and his supporters is continuing his policy of distorting Comintern decisions. Even while opposing the political line of the Sixth World Congress analysis of the tasks of the third period of post-war capitalism, Lovestone declares the Sixth Congress referred to him as a "stalwart leader" of mass struggles. Such a total misrepresentation of the theses of the Sixth Congress is obvious. The actual statement made in the theses was: "A number of stubborn and fierce class battles (primarily the miners' strike) found in the Party a stalwart leader."

Small remnants of a concealed opposition in the Party accept the decision to expel Lovestone, but say that the expulsion of Lovestone from the Party, the removal of Gitlow and Wolfe from the Political Bureau weakens the Party leadership. Such erroneous views must be strenuously combated. If we are to approach the question in a Leninist, a Bolshevik manner, we must not only deal with the particular acts of Lovestone and his supporters, but we must ask the questions! — "Why, at this particular moment, does the right danger assume threatening organisational forms? Why does Lovestone now expose himself as a right-wing leader?"

The answer to these questions is to be found in the conditions of struggle imposed upon the working class in the third period of post-war development; a period characterised by a swing of the working class to the left, by determined resistance to the onslaughts of the capitalist class, a period in which the working class is taking the counter-offensive against capitalism. Such a situation imposes special tasks upon the Communist Parties as the motivating force, the coordinating force that gives revolutionary direction to the mass offensive against capitalism.

In such a period Communism has to contend with a number of petty bourgeois tendencies which reflect the instability of that class and the vacillation and hesitation of that strata of society. It is precisely in periods of sharpening class conflicts, on the eve of great historical events, in periods when all the contradictions of capitalism become sharpened and imperialism approaches another world war, that such political instability manifests itself in the form of open opportunism. The position of Lovestone and the whole international right wing in this period is nothing more nor less than capitulation before the capitalist enemy. This fact must be clearly understood by every member of the American Party.

Certainly any revolutionist will recognise that it is far better for vacillating elements to expose themselves in such a time as the present than to have them remain in the Party until such time as we face the cataclysmic outburst of another imperialist war and to have them then capitulate to the enemy. Such defections strengthen the Party by cleansing its leadership and its ranks of unreliable petty-bourgeois elements and clearing the ground for the development of a Party and a leadership that can lead the revolutionary struggle under the most trying conditions.

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Militarisation is now embracing the whole of public life. Imperialism — that is an unrelenting fight of the great Powers for the division and redivision of the world, — and therefore it must inevitably lead in all countries, including the neutral and small countries, to further militarisation. What, however, will the proletarian women do against this. Will they only curse every war and everything military and demand disarmament alone? Never will the women of an oppressed class, which is really revolutionary, be content with such a shameful role. They will say to their sons:

"You will soon be big. You will be given weapons. Take them and make yourself proficient in the use of arms. This knowledge is necessary for the proletarian, — not in order to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to Socialism advise you to do, — but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, to poverty and wars, not with pious wishes but by victory over and disarming of the bourgeoisie."

N. Lenin "Against the Stream".

## OUR MARTYRS

### Max Lapon (Albin).

Murdered in the Polish Prison.

On the evening of the 1st of May there died in the prison of Wronke, Comrade Max Lapon (Albin), a 27-year old student of the Technical High School, a member of the C. C. of the Polish Young Communist League, who had fought for 11 years in the revolutionary ranks. Comrade Lapon was deliberately murdered by the Polish court and prison authorities.

Comrade Lapon was arrested already for the first time in October 1928. He was arrested the first time in the year 1921, and the second time in the year 1925. On the latter occasion he was sentenced to four years of hard labour. He remained, also in prison, a staunch fighter whom the prison authorities hated and on whom they vented their rage at every opportunity. The ill-treatment he received undermined his health.

When in August 1925, on the day of the execution of Comrades Hübner, Rutkovski and Kijevski, a demonstration of political prisoners took place, prison warders dragged Comrade Lapon into a dark cell, threw him down the steps and brutally beat him. Since that time Lapon could not be left alone, as during epileptic fits he was in danger of death from suffocation. This fact was confirmed by the prison doctor; in spite of this he was kept in a dark underground cell. Comrade Lapon's state of health became so serious that the prison doctor had to order his removal to the prison hospital.

Comrade Lapon's family endeavoured to secure his release as they knew that if he was kept in prison any longer it would mean his death. Their efforts, however, led to no result. On the contrary, he was again transferred to the Warsaw Prison, where he was once more confined in an underground cell.

Two weeks later the prison authorities suddenly, at night, informed him that he was to be immediately conveyed to Wronke. He was not allowed to make any preparations or to inform his family of his removal. His family was not informed of the name of the prison to which he had been transferred. What happened to him after his removal remains a secret. Nobody saw him except the prison warders. The fact is that three days after his removal to Wronke Comrade Lapon breathed his last.

The prison doctor in Wronke certified that he had died as a result of heart failure. This is an obvious lie, as Comrade Lapon had never had any heart trouble.

Either Comrade Lapon was murdered or he died, left alone in his cell, during an epileptic fit.

The police and the judicial authorities, who feared a demonstration at the funeral, allowed the family to bring the corpse to Warsaw only under the condition that the funeral took place in secret. When the coffin arrived in Warsaw the police stood in front of the railway waggon and forbade even the family to approach the coffin. The next night police detectives brought the coffin to the cemetery and buried Comrade Lapon in secret without even informing his parents.

When Lapon's comrades heard of this they decided to honour his memory by a demonstration. More than a thousand young working men and women gathered at his grave. Speeches of farewell were delivered, the "Internationale" and other revolutionary songs were sung. Towards the conclusion of the demonstration police appeared on the scene and attacked with furious rage the workers who had paid their last respects to their murdered comrade. The police beat the workers with their butts and truncheons and threatened to fire upon them. The cemetery became the scene of a fierce fight of the workers against the violence of the police. Several hundred workers were mishandled, several dozens of them arrested. Until the late evening hours spies remained in the cemetery hunting after demonstrators and trampling on the graves.

In the course of the last few months the following workers have been murdered: Comrade Plak, by the Political Police; Comrade Lapon, in prison; Comrade Königsberg, who was

nable to endure the ill-treatment, committed suicide in prison; comrades Engländer, Soroka and others died of tuberculosis which they had contracted in prison.

The Martyr death of Comrade Lapon again compels us to demand the release of the 6000 of the best sons of the proletariat from the dungeons of fascist Poland.

## PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

### The Congress of the Young Anti-Bolshevists.

The Vienna Congress of the Young Socialists' International.

By R. Schüller (Vienna).

In Vienna there was recently held a so-called international Congress of the Young Socialists' International. It was characterised by an unbounded incitement against the Soviet Union and by the resistance which this incitement encountered at this Congress of the highest functionaries.

The Congress as such was neither international nor a Youth Congress. Youthful elements were very poorly represented; the great majority were officials in their late twenties; many delegates were adults; there were no delegations from countries outside of Europe.

An anti-Bolshevist resolution against the Soviet Union was submitted to the Congress together with the report on the activity of the Executive. The Congress raised a protest against the fascist-reactionary dictatorships in Italy and Lithuania, and thereupon followed the usual calumnies regarding the "persecution of the Russian and Georgian socialist youth which is pining under the Soviet dictatorship".

Otto Bauer delivered a report on the "World Situation and the tasks of the youth". The main thread of his speech was that capitalism had completely stabilised itself and is now again "enormously strong"; that therefore social democracy is compelled to pursue a policy which "daily seeks to conclude a compromise with the deadly enemy" and that as a result many comrades from the pre-war generation have lost their energy and belief.

The Congress reached its culminating point when the question of "war and militarism" was dealt with. After a report delivered by Lindström (Sweden), containing the usual pacifist phrases and attacks upon the alleged militarism of the Soviet Union, it came to lively disputes when Halsall, the representative of the English I. L. P. Guild of Youth, declared in his remarkable speech that not too much hope must be placed on the Labour Government with regard to disarmament. In reply to several speakers who had mentioned an alleged "militarisation" of the Youth in Soviet Russia, he declared that the defensive measures of the Soviet Union are justified, as the Soviet Union is surrounded by imperialist States which are only waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack it. And these States, he said, are at least ideologically supported in their imperialist designs by the constant efforts of the Labour and Socialist International to sow contempt and hatred against the Soviet Union.

After having thus stigmatised the anti-Soviet campaign of the Second International, the English delegate declared that the greatest war danger lies today in an attack upon the Soviet Union. He proposed that a determined effort be made in order to come to an agreement with the Communists and with the Russian workers, who have proved their love of peace at Geneva, regarding a common fight against war.

The speech of the English delegate called forth applause from a number of the delegates but sharp resistance on the part of the platform. Chuidadse, a notorious Georgian emigrant, asked Halsall in a provocative manner whether the latter would maintain his statement. Halsall repeated his assertion. Thereupon this Georgian Menshevist delivered his usual anti-Bolshevist speech. He was followed by Crispian (Germany) who in the name of the Second International made a furious and vituperative attack upon the Soviet Union and Bolshevism. The Soviet government, he declared is not a workers' government; the Bolsheviks have desecrated the Russian revolution; the red army is not a class army but a militarist army for imperialist lust of conquests; in Russia there is ruling a despotic regime under a red mask.

Crispian's incensive speech was rewarded with enthusiastic applause by the majority of the Congress, which consisted of highest officials. But young workers who were among the delegations were indignant at it.

Dora Fabian of the Young Socialists of Germany complained of the attacks upon the Soviet Union. She demanded an answer to the question, what action will be undertaken when war breaks out. The squabbles of the pre-war generation with the Communists is of no concern to the young socialists. It is necessary to fight together with the Communists against the war.

Berchanov, the Bulgarian representative, declared that it is necessary to use also revolutionary means against war.

Every attempt was made to get the English delegation to withdraw their courageous protest against the anti-Soviet campaign of the Second International. Westphal (Germany) delivered a speech in which he "regretted" that the necessary collaboration has not yet been established with England. Crispian himself made an earnest appeal to the English delegates to withdraw their declaration. All in vain. Thereupon the leaders of the Congress referred this unpleasant question to the Commission. In the Commission the Swiss delegation proved very refractory and at the Plenum of the Congress voted against the resolution on war and militarism.

The reports on protection of youth and socialist youth education contained nothing new. They confirmed the policy of extreme right reformism and of bourgeois cultural snobbishness which characterise the social democratic youth organisations. The development of the social-democratic youth international towards social fascism was clearly revealed on this point of the agenda.

The Congress concluded by adopting a manifesto proclaiming a fight against fascism and bolshevism alike. This was a fitting conclusion to the Congress.

The new Executive was instructed to attempt to establish social-democratic youth organisations in India, Central and South America.

The strenuous efforts of the II. International and of the Amsterdam Trade Union International to arrange the International social democratic Youth Rally in Vienna prove that the social democratic Parties are determined to revive the social democratic Youth movement. But the more the social democratic parties develop to social imperialism and social fascist parties, the more there is revealed a process of disintegration as a result of the Left development of the working youth. All parades and shows cannot hide the fact that the so-called Young Socialists' International is not an International at all and that the only International of the working youth is the Young Communist International.

## THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

### A World Congress of Children.

Interest in the Rally of the Young Pioneers of Soviet Russia is increasing from day to day, not only in the Soviet Union, but in all capitalist countries. From all parts of the Soviet Union a mass participation is expected; besides this numerous delegations are expected from all countries of the world, so that the Rally of the Pioneers, which was only intended for the Soviet Union, will now become a great international demonstration as a counter-weight to the international rallies of the boy scouts and the social democrats.

In view of this fact the International Children's Bureau of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. decided, together with the Central Bureau of the Young Pioneers of the Soviet Union, to hold the First World Congress of the Children during the Pioneers' Rally from 18th to 28th August. The children of different nationalities will take part in this World Congress; in addition to the European Children's delegations children's delegations will also be present from America and Canada, from China and Mongolia. Not all the children from the capitalist countries are pioneers, there are in addition to children who do not belong to any organisation, such as come from boy scouts organisations, religious organisations and sports organisations.

The composition of the World Congress will be as follows: 60 children from the various capitalist countries, 130 children from the various national Republics of the Soviet Union, 70 Russian children, and 40 refugee children from Italy, Bulgaria, Roumania and other countries of the white terror — these last as guests. In all about 300 children will take part in the Congress.

The agenda consists of one item only: How will the workers' and peasants' children assist in the protection of the Soviet Union?

After the opening speeches of the representatives of the Y. C. I. and of the C. I., of Comrade Krupskaya and other leading comrades of the Soviet Union, the children and pioneers of America, China, Great Britain, Germany and of different national Republics of the Soviet Union will speak in the discussion. The Congress will then work in three sections for the solution of the following tasks:

1. How do the pioneers of the Soviet Union assist the work of socialist construction, and how can the children of the capitalist countries assist in this work?

2. Fight against the militarisation of the children and their nationalist incitement.

3. International connection of the children of the whole world.

After the work of the sections there follow the reports at the Plenum and the adoption of decisions.

The First World Congress of the Children will be concluded by an International Evening in the Moscow Cultural Park at which more than 100,000 children will take part.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### British Women and the Anti-War Campaign.

By Beth Turner (London).

Anti-War work among women in Britain is more difficult this year than ever before. The advent of the Labour Government has lulled thousands of women into a false sense of security.

Their belief in the pacifist pretensions of MacDonald is pathetic. They feel that the peace of the world is secure in his hands and that all they have to do is to sit down and give the Government a chance to take steps towards disarmament and a quiet world.

Add to this the feeling of hostility towards the Communist Party since the introduction of its new line and it is easily understood that many Labour women's organisations and Co-operative Guilds that last year heartily supported the Communist Anti-War Campaign, are this year definitely opposed to it.

Since last year also, expulsions of Communists and Left Wingers which came later in the Women's Section of the Labour Party than in other parts of that body, have been completed. Reactionaries in the Co-operative Guilds, most of them members of the Labour Parties, have carried their vendetta against the Communists into the Guilds and it is now impossible in most Guilds even to get a circular from the Communist Party read.

But the difficulties are by no means insurmountable. Both Labour and Co-operative women of the rank-and-file earnestly and sincerely desire peace and hate war. It is true, their opposition is mainly pacifist, but work done in previous years against pacifism is bearing fruit.

In order to meet this crystallised opposition, it was realised that women members of the British Party and Left Wingers should have themselves a sound theoretical knowledge that would serve as a basis for their activities during the campaign.

Week-end schools were organised for Party women and sympathisers on the questions of Rationalisation and War. These proved exceedingly successful in London, Mansfield, and Tyneside. At all the schools women participated eagerly in the discussions which in most instances, were on a very high level.

United Front Conferences have been held in Birmingham, London and Notts.

Most of the Districts have engaged in strenuous campaigns of street and factory gate meetings. Special concentration being made on chemical factories and potential war industries.

Rose Smith in the textile area of Lancashire, where leaflets are to come into operation or thousands be locked up. Mrs. Maddox in Birmingham and Kay Beauchamp in South Wales, have carried out an intensive campaign. In the Rhondda over 30 street and street-corner meetings were held in one week and a special feature of the year's activities which is noteworthy in every district is the number of women who are speaking at meetings for the first time in their lives.

Women who were members of last year's Women's Anti-War Delegation to Russia are also playing a prominent part.

South Wales women are making a demand for a one day strike of school children on August 1st, in addition to the Party agitation for strikes at factories on that day. Women from the disaffiliated Women's Labour Sections of the Rhondda are helping the agitation.

Scotland will hold a Scottish demonstration in Edinburgh on August 4th, when contingents will be there from all principal towns. The women have worked hard collecting money, organising conferences and United Front Committees, making banners and slogans arranging to feed the unemployed who come to Edinburgh.

London District circularised all Co-operative Guilds and were successful in getting large numbers of people to participate in a protest against an Air Pageant at Hendon.

They have held sympathisers meetings and conferences in various parts of London and have also been very busy arranging for the reception of contingents from the provinces. There will be in London for the National Women's Anti-War Demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 28th July.

In addition to delegates from all parts of England, Ireland will this time send its representatives to the demonstration. Mrs. Despard and a daughter of James Connolly will be there and a special Anti-War Demonstration is being held in Dublin on 4th August at which the delegates will report.

A meeting of 1,000 textile workers in Preston elected a woman weaver as a delegate to the Demonstration in Leeds and immediately took up a collection to defray the expenses of her journey.

Special women's papers have been issued in several districts in the form of stencilled sheets and this year's Anti-War Campaign among women promises good results.

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