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Put an End to the Provocations of the Imperialists!

The Aggravation of the Situation on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

By Paul Braun (Berlin).

The Mukden Government, in response to the pressure of Nanking rulers, is continuing its brutal and violent policy. There is no end to the acts of repression by the Chinese authorities against Soviet Russian citizens in Manchuria. Not only employees and workers of the Chinese Eastern Railway, but persons who have no connection with the railway are being driven from their positions and persecuted by the police and local authorities. In the last few days no less than 2,000 Soviet citizens have been arrested or expelled from China. In view of the general strike on the Chinese Eastern Railway, particularly brutal terror is being employed against the

railway workers, both against the Soviet Russian and the Chinese. The Chinese authorities, actively supported by Russian white guards, are ruthlessly hunting down the workers. Wholesale arrests are the order of the day. Many of the victims are tortured to death in the Chinese armoured waggons. The rest are threatened with court martial and execution.

In the meantime a great concentration of Chinese troops is proceeding on the Manchurian-Soviet Russian frontier. The frontier district is an armed camp; several regiments of infantry, armoured cars, field artillery and machine guns are standing in readiness to attack the Soviet Union. An especially

active role is being played by the Russian white guards, who by a disposition of the Nanking Government, have been entrusted with the immediate "protection" of the frontier. Already at the end of May, when the conflict commenced in connection with the raid on the Soviet Consulate in Harbin, the white guards began to aggravate the situation by systematic attacks on Soviet Russian frontier guards and by firing on villages situated on Soviet Russian territory. At various places the white guards, together with bodies of Chinese troops, attempted to penetrate Soviet territory. Thus, for example, Soviet Russian frontier guards were attacked in the Blagoslovenoe district and on the banks of the river Sungari. Thanks to the determined action of the Red Army the white guardist-Chinese bands were beaten back.

Of late the raids on Soviet Russian territory have begun to assume an organised character. The conduct of these actions is in the hands of a white guardist committee of action which was formed in Harbin under the leadership of a certain Mashkov. The one-time Bishop Methodius is a member of this committee. The white guard chiefs regard it as their task to kindle a regular little war on the frontiers. This is already shown by the collisions which have occurred in the last few days, which have resulted in dead and wounded.

The background of the aggravation of the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway is the increased activity of the imperialist diplomats in Manchuria. A few days ago the military attachés of the English and American embassies arrived in Harbin. The American attaché in particular is displaying a feverish activity. He is visiting the leading personalities of the Chinese authorities one after the other; calling conferences behind closed doors and showing a lively interest in all questions concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Japanese are also displaying eager activity in Manchuria. The deputy manager of the Southern Manchuria Railway, which, as is known, is controlled by Japan, is negotiating with the Mukden government regarding the construction of a railway line from Kirin to the coast of the Sea of Japan. It is here a question of a branch line of the Southern Manchurian Railway, which is already completed as far as Tunhwansien. This railway would greatly increase Japan's influence in Manchuria. On the other hand, there is growing uneasiness in Japanese government circles in view of the active intervention of America in the Soviet Russian-Chinese conflict.

The events of the last weeks have more and more revealed the secret of the provocative policy of violence of the Chinese governments against the Soviet Union. The development of the conflict has proved beyond doubt that the instigators of the Chinese war provocation are to be found in New York and Paris, in London and Tokio. The most active role is being played by American imperialism, which is commencing aggressively to force its way onto the world market at the points of least resistance: in South America and in China.

America, thanks to its tremendous capital resources, has obtained for itself dominating influence over the policy of the Nanking Government. The American Finance Commission, under the leadership of the well known financial expert Kemmerer, exercises decisive influence upon the Nanking financial policy. The railway department of the Nanking government is likewise subordinate to an American expert, Mantel, upon whose decision depends the carrying out of all railway construction plans in the territory ruled by the Nanking government. The seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which according to the declaration of the Nanking Minister for Ways and Communications, Sun Fo, was carried out on the direct instructions of the Nanking government, cannot have been decided upon without the knowledge and in fact without the approval of the American railway expert Mr. Mantel.

The various "mediation" actions of America expose with all clearness the anti-Soviet plans of American imperialism and of the rest of the imperialist Powers. On the 25th of July, the American State Secretary Stimson, in a secret note, called upon the six Powers who signed the Washington China Agreement, to set up jointly an "arbitration commission" to settle the Chinese Eastern Railway conflict.

This plan, which is nothing but the first step to an international control of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the im-

perialist Powers under the leadership of America, has long maturing. Already in the year 1919, on the initiative of America, an "International Technical Advisory Council" was set up, headed by the American Stevens. The object of the institution (in which, it should be noted, the Russian Bank, which financed the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway under the Tsar, was represented) was to realise over the Chinese Eastern Railway in the name of the imperialist Powers.

America's active intervention in Manchuria has along the whole front the manifold imperialist differences intersect one another in China. The naval and shipping agreement concluded by the MacDonald government with China, was replied to by America with the renewal of the agreement of 21st October 1911, concluded by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation with the Chinese government according to which all materials for shipbuilding in China to be supplied exclusively by the American Steel Trust. America replied to American's claims to the Chinese Eastern Railway with the accelerated construction of its strategic railway system in Manchuria and attempted at the same time diplomatic actions, to thwart America's plans.

The inevitable further accentuation of imperialist antagonisms in Manchuria immediately places on the order of the day the danger of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union. Every action undertaken by one of the imperialist Powers against its rivals, serves to raise the "Russian problem".

The determined attitude of the Soviet Government, steadfastly aimed at the maintenance of peace, and the development of the international revolutionary protest-storm of the workers against the crime of war which is being planned, have now prevented the outbreak of war. The dangers which threaten peace are however, still as great as ever. The Nanking government acting on behalf of the imperialists, is endeavouring to drive the Mukden government — which fears that its power would be weakened by an "internationalisation" of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and is therefore adopting a vacillating attitude towards the Soviet Union — along the path of further aggravation of conflict.

The revolutionary workers of the whole world, call to the imperialist war mongers: stop your provocations. They will know how to back up this cry by action.

POLITICS

Letter from the Hague.

By A. de Vries.

The Hague, August 1st

The Hague conference opened with a crisis — a crisis which has not yet been surmounted.

It is again Snowden who has brought about this crisis of opposing interests. He followed up his first speech on the second day of the finance commission. He had the temerity to repeat the arguments of his French colleague, Chéron, "grotesque and ridiculous" and he ended up by stating that he did not intend "to remain at the Hague for the rest of his life!"

This caused great commotion in the "opposing camp" among the former allies of England: France, Belgium, Italy, and Snowden was obliged to apologise, which he did. He said that the words "grotesque" and "ridiculous" were not of decisive significance in England. The only remark we can make on this liquidation of the incident is that it is as grotesque and as ridiculous.

After this incident had been settled the conference has brought out more clearly to the light of day the acute nature of the conflict within imperialism, continued at a very slow pace. Up to the present progress has been made by neither the finance commission nor yet the political arbitration commission, and rumours are constantly heard that the conference will be brought to a close or postponed until after the session of the League of Nations in September. In the meanwhile

ing carried on eagerly on all sides with a view to arriving at solutions which may serve as compromises.

The attitude of England was most striking. Right from the beginning it was clear that Snowden was not speaking in his own behalf. When Snowden was accused of acting on his own behalf, MacDonal assured him by telegraph of his support and expressed his admiration.

Not only is the English Government behind Snowden, he is backed by the whole of English capital. Lloyd George praises him. The press of all shades backs him up, and even the leader of the English Conservatives, Churchill sides with him. It is a very elementary reaction: from the policy of friendship with France through thick and thin to "splendid isolation". The relations of power are no longer the same as they were in England, strong in its belief in its industrial supremacy, not obliged to look for allies but could hold aloof in splendid isolation.

English capital is today threatened economically, financially and militarily. It is not in a position to carry on on two fronts at the same time the fight for imperialist supremacy: against America and against France. As, however, the conflict with the United States is the more profound, the English bourgeoisie will sooner or later be obliged to seek a compromise with its chief rival. In the meanwhile, it should be pointed out that it needs more a "socialist", a leader of the II. International, who is most rabidly representing the immediate interests of the bourgeoisie. Just as in the fight against the Soviet Union, the predatory fight of the imperialists among themselves will be the ambition of the reformists to appear as the best and most reliable champions of "their own" bourgeoisie!

The position of Briand at the conference is a very difficult one. He is supported by the majority of the Right, which was content in assenting to the Young plan and is not at all disposed to make any further concessions. An open breach with Briand, however, would be attended by no little difficulty. In that case there would be practically nothing else to do than to follow French policy to unite independently with Germany. As a matter of fact that is the meaning of those Briandian phantasmagorias about the "United States of Europe", which were applauded by Stresemann at the Hague conference. But before this could be accomplished tremendous difficulties would have to be overcome. Withdrawal from the Rhineland is already meeting with the greatest opposition on the part of the French Right Wing, the conflict between Poland, the vassal of French imperialism, and Germany has not diminished in intensity.

During the negotiations the German delegation experienced a very painful surprise. The English representative, on whom they had placed great hope, made the additional demand that Germany should purchase the premature withdrawal from the Rhineland by renouncing at least a part of the compensation due to it for damage, etc. caused by the occupation troops. In addition, there is talk that Germany — in contradiction to the provisions of the Young plan — should continue to bear, after September 1924, the share of the occupation costs, which it has so far paid.

The deciding word will, as usual, be uttered by the United States. It is certainly not in the interests of that country that the Young plan, which is so intimately connected with the settlement of English and French debts to America, should be abandoned. It is already reported that Lamont and Morgan are trying to find some kind of solution. It can hardly be seen how the Hague conference will terminate. It is, however, certain that any agreement can only be partial and temporary.

The major portion of the bill will, of course, be met by the German proletariat. Nothing has been said officially about the Saar District. The evacuation of the Rhineland is more certain than ever, and the cost of every compromise will be borne by the weakest party, namely, Germany, whose bourgeoisie will, as in the past, pass it on to the German workers by increasing their exploitation.

The Dictator in Reserve.

Seipel and the Putsch Plans of the Austrian Fascists.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

When Seipel resigned together with the whole government at the beginning of April this year, he did so with a very significant statement. He mentioned the difficulties which existed in Parliament at the time, the question of the tenants protection regulations, the fundamental constitutional laws, the justice reform, etc., and declared that although the internal tension has reached its highest pitch, democracy was not threatened "provided it be possible to solve the existing disputed questions in an objective fashion". He then referred fairly plainly to the development of fascism as progress which would make it possible to make a further great step forward.

At that time the Austrian Communist Party immediately interpreted his words as a threat to establish a fascist dictatorship. The Vienna "Rote Fahne" wrote at the time that the question of the moment is now either dictatorship of the fascist bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat.

Seipel had been for some time not only the protector but in fact one might say the organiser of the Heimwehr fascist movement which, as a result of his assistance, had developed into the most important fascist organisation in Austria and the only one which succeeded in winning any considerable mass support.

The later revelations of the social democratic "Arbeiter-Zeitung" proved on the basis of documents that prior to the 7th October Seipel as Austrian Prime Minister not only supported the fascist parade in Wiener-Neustadt, but actually demanded that this Heimwehr parade should take place as a sort of a full dress rehearsal of the coup d'état.

In November, when the re-election of the President of the Republic became due in consequence of the end of Hainisch's term as president, Seipel proposed constitutional alterations to the presidium of the National Council, alterations which represented a dry coup d'état. He demanded a considerable increase in the powers of the president and further that the president should be elected directly by the people. Everyone knew that the president of the republic, newly dressed up to take the place of the Kaiser, whom Seipel had in mind, was no other than the professor of moral theology, the prelate Seipel himself.

At the same time Seipel publicly proposed that the Federal Council which exists for practically no other purpose than that of receiving its emoluments, should be turned into a sort of upper house of parliament.

When therefore this man whose policy was so openly directed towards a dictatorship, began to speak of a step forwards, there was only one possible conclusion to be drawn.

Seipel resigned in April in order to give his successor the possibility of exploiting the capitulatory policy of the Austrian social democrats to the very end in order to abolish the so-called "Revolutionary refuse", as Seipel termed the social achievements of the overthrow of the monarchy, to rob the proletariat of all possibility of defending itself and to hand it over bound hand and foot to the fascist dictatorship.

The government of the former k and k cavalry officer Streeruwitz, the nominee of the Austrian Federation of industrialists, is now playing the part of the government Facta-Bononi which was the "left wing" democratic government which prepared the way for the fascist march on Rome.

In the meantime, Seipel wished to collect his forces in order at the correct moment to play the part of the deus ex machine in carrying out the fascist coup d'état.

Long ago in a speech in Graz, Seipel declared his support of the Heimwehr fascist movement. Now, however, that he is "only" the chairman of the constitutional committee of the National Council and not the head of the government, he has no need to be careful in his utterances. A little while ago, in a speech to students in Germany, he declared that "real democracy" consisted in freeing the people from the domination of parties. In Austria, he declared, there was a people's movement which had made this real democracy its aim. This movement was the Heimwehr movement!

The attitude of Seipel after his resignation, therefore, justified completely the opinion of Seipel and his policy held by the Communist Party before his resignation. A Heimwehr newspaper

in the Tyrol has now let the cat out of the bag in such a fashion that there can no longer be any doubt about Seipel's plans.

The "Tiroler Volksboten" wrote the following programmatic declaration on the 15th August:

"Either the National Council will alter the Constitution without making any concession to the Reds, and in such a fashion that it will no longer be possible for a few Jewboys with red rosettes to disturb and hinder the legislative work of the nation whenever they feel inclined, or the matter will be put in order without the National Council.

"In the latter case a strong government will be set up which is prepared, if necessary, to ignore the National Council and to make the necessary alterations in the Constitution by decree amidst the applause of a sound body of public opinion. The government associated with the Heimwehr will see to it that such alterations are made.

"In autumn order will be established in Austria and Doctor Seipel will be either in the centre of the stage or waiting in the wings... The present Streeruwitz Government was always considered as a makeshift... The energy of Doctor Seipel is necessary in order to bring the State coach back onto the right path."

This is plain language. One certainly cannot accuse the Austrian fascists of concealing their plans.

The leaders of fascism in Austria are all third and fourth class figures in political life, provincial lawyers, ex-officers, civil servants, engineers, etc. This fact caused a representative of the right wingers in the Communist Party at a recent Party Conference in Vienna to stand up and dispose of the fascist danger with the childish question: "Where is a Mussolini to be found in Austria?"

As we have seen, the bourgeoisie is prepared even in this respect. It is holding its dictator in reserve, and the man is he whose name was coupled with that governmental policy which directly represented without inhibitions or concessions the open and unashamed interests of Austrian high finance and the Austrian trust bourgeoisie.

The article in the "Tiroler Volksboten" was reprinted in Vienna by the "Neuigkeitsweltblatt". This latter newspaper is the organ of the Vienna Christian Social Group under the leadership of Kunschak which is in favour of furthering fascism, but with a bourgeois democratic mask. Out of consideration for the workers organised in the Christian trade unions, this group is opposed to all putch plans. The fact therefore that it was these people who made known the utterances of the Tyrol fascist paper to Vienna public opinion, is of particular importance, and this is made still more evident by the fact that Seipel himself has maintained complete silence concerning the affair.

A Pact at the Expense of the Egyptian Toiling Masses.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

By A. N.

The British Foreign Office has published the proposals for an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which is to last 25 years and consist of the following 16 points:

1. The military occupation of Egypt by the forces of his Britannic Majesty is terminated.

2. An alliance is established between the High Contracting Parties in consecration of their friendship, their cordial understanding and their good relations.

3. Egypt, being anxious to become a member of the League of Nations, will present a request for admission to the League, which his Britannic Majesty undertakes to support.

4. Should any dispute with a third State produce a situation which involves a risk of a rupture with that State, the High Contracting Parties will concert together with a view to the settlement of the said dispute by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of any international obligations which may be applicable to the case.

5. Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to adopt in foreign countries an attitude which is in accordance with the alliance.

6. His Britannic Majesty recognises that the responsibility for the lives and property of foreigners in Egypt devolves forth upon the Egyptian government.

7. Should either of the High Contracting Parties be engaged in war, the other High Contracting Party will immediately come to his aid in the capacity of an ally. In particular His Majesty the King of Egypt will, in the event of a menace of war, furnish to His Britannic Majesty on Egyptian territory all the facilities and assistance in his power, including the use of his ports, aerodromes and means of communication.

8. Should His Majesty the King of Egypt deem it necessary to have recourse to foreign military instructors, these shall be chosen from amongst British subjects.

9. His Majesty the King of Egypt authorises His Britannic Majesty to maintain upon Egyptian territory in localities agreed upon, to the east of longitude 32 degs. E., such fortifications as His Britannic Majesty considers necessary for the protection of the Suez Canal as an essential means of communication between the different parts of the British Empire.

10. The Egyptian government, when engaging the services of foreign officials, will, as a rule, engage British subjects.

11. His Britannic Majesty undertakes to use all his influence with the Powers possessing capitulatory rights in Egypt to obtain the transfer to the Mixed Tribunals of the jurisdiction of the existing Consular Courts, and the application of Egyptian legislation to foreigners.

12. His Britannic Majesty will be represented at the Court of His Majesty the King of Egypt by an Ambassador, and His Majesty the King of Egypt will be represented at the Court of St. James by an Ambassador.

13. While reserving liberty to conclude new conventions in future modifying the conventions of 1899, the High Contracting Parties agree that the status of the Sudan shall be that resulting from the said conventions.

14. Nothing in the present proposals is intended to do in any way prejudice the rights and obligations which devolve upon either of the High Contracting Parties under the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Treaty for the Renunciation of War signed at Paris on the 27th of August 1928.

15. The High Contracting Parties agree that any differences on the subject of the application or the interpretation of the provisions of the present proposals which they are unable to settle by direct negotiations shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

16. At any time after the expiration of a period of 25 years from the coming into force of a treaty based on the above proposals such modification of its terms as may be deemed appropriate in the circumstances as they then exist may be made by agreement between the High Contracting Parties.

The MacDonald Cabinet, which in the "Russian" question is obediently following in the wake of Chamberlain, proposes to be very "daring" with regard to the settlement of Anglo-Egyptian relations. In the above proposals all the conditions are enumerated which could serve as a basis for the reconciliation of Great Britain with Egypt and of a "recognition" of Egypt's independence.

If one bears in mind that the history of Anglo-Egyptian relations during the last decade is characterised by the struggle of the Egyptian nationalists for the independence of their country, one could derive the impression that the "Labour" government has in this case deviated from the policy of British imperialism. Henderson's 16 proposals to the Egyptian Government state that both the British military occupation and the capitulatory rights shall be abolished, that an exchange of Ambassadors shall take place and that Egypt shall become a member of the League of Nations.

On examining Henderson's "generous" proposals more closely, however, one arrives at somewhat different conclusions. An "alliance" between Great Britain and Egypt is to be concluded for a period of 25 years. It is hardly necessary to say what will be the character of the alliance between the great British Empire, armed to the teeth, and the small, weak

impoverished Egypt. The military occupation comes to an end, but the British troops however, are not to be withdrawn from Egypt, but stationed 150 kilometers more to the East, in the vicinity of the Suez Canal. English occupation troops will not be stationed in the Egyptian ports and aerodromes. But in the event of war Great Britain will have the exclusive right to use these ports, aerodromes and means of communication. British officers can become instructors of the Egyptian army. Should Egypt be in need of foreign experts or advisers, it can apply only to Great Britain for the same.

One of the most disputed questions in Anglo-Egyptian relations is the administration of the Sudan, which must be administered jointly by the English and Egyptian Governments in accordance with the convention of 1899. According to Balfour's "proposals" the interested governments can modify this convention. In fact Great Britain has already modified it by driving out the Egyptian troops from the Sudan in the year 1925. The "proposals" contain no mention of the restoration of the status quo.

All the facilities and privileges which England has up to now enjoyed in Egypt by virtue of the military occupation, will continue to be voluntarily granted to her by the Egyptian Government on the basis of the "alliance". This is the meaning and significance of the "achievement" of the Labour Government.

During the Parliamentary debates on the recall of the High Commissioner of Egypt, Lord Lloyd, the very interesting instance came to light that Chamberlain on his part had already demanded the recall of Lloyd on the ground that Lloyd's policy in Egypt was not sufficiently elastic, that he has not realised the necessity of granting some concessions to the poorer sections of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie in order to make it an ally of Great Britain in the struggle against the national emancipation movement of the toiling masses.

The Labour Government in this, as in all other questions, fulfils its historical mission: realisation of the aims of British imperialism under the cloak of pacifism and "respect of the rights of the peoples". It concludes a Pact with the Egyptian bourgeoisie, which is represented by the Government of Ahmad Pasha, which rules without Parliament; it satisfies the demand for a fictitious "independence" and thereby creates no difficulties for the national freedom movement, which is more and more assuming the character of a revolutionary mass struggle against imperialist oppression.

Aggravation of the Conflicts between Japan and the United States.

By Taganaki.

During recent years Japan has made immense progress in industry and commerce and has with one bound taken its place at the front rank of those imperialist countries which are engaged in a murderous fight for world markets.

The chief reason for England's co-operation with Japan is the fear of the Soviet Union. As the greatest imperialist power and the oldest capitalist State, England, which is menaced most directly by the collapse of capitalism, is de facto the leader of the capitalist offensive against the Soviet Union. Japan, whose efforts are directed towards Manchuria, where it seeks fresh possibilities of expansion for its capital, is proving a loyal ally of England.

The tremendous development of industry in the United States compelled America to penetrate in its search for new markets still further into China than it had previously done. This penetration of the dollar into China has also been accompanied by important success. As early as the year 1924 America had acquired about 16 per cent of China's foreign trade, while England's portion amounted to only 37 per cent, and Japan's to 24 per cent. In the year 1927 America was the only foreign power which was able to increase its share in Chinese commerce.

China is only one of the many places where expanding

American imperialism clashes with Great Britain. For this reason America is the more easily successful in defeating English resistance in China.

The case is different with Japan, which naturally exerts the whole of its strength in order to maintain and extend its market in China. To-day America is playing the part of attacker in the Pacific Ocean, while England, and, particularly, Japan are forced onto the defensive.

In the years 1898/99 the Americans took from the Spaniards the Island of Cuba, the strategic key to the future Panama Canal. At the same time, it annexed the Island of Porto Rico, whose strategic significance is very great. In the same war the Spaniards also lost the Philippines, situated at the entrance to the South China Sea. These islands are like a revolver levelled at Japan. In order to complete the chain the Islands of Hawaii were also occupied and America has made of these islands one of the strongest naval harbours of the Pacific Ocean. A squadron of the American fleet with 150 aeroplanes and a submarine fleet are stationed here, while there is also a dry docks capable of accommodating the largest of ships. Just recently the United States allocated a further 20 million dollars for the purpose of fortifying these islands.

This development of American imperialism constitutes a terrible economic and military-strategic menace to Japan. America's aims in China endanger the existence of Japanese imperialism. The Japanese textile industry depends upon the United States, and one of the aims of Japan in China is to free itself from this dependence. But even though America has taken up such a threatening attitude, Japan is by no means without defence. Its strategic position is tremendously powerful. Its first task in case of war will be to capture the Philippines, for these islands are directly opposite the Japanese naval base at Formosa. The naval manoeuvres of the year 1920 showed that it would be possible for Japan to capture the American naval base on the Island of Hawaii, though it must be said that America is increasing its navy.

On the basis of these fundamental imperialist conflicts, each ruling class is carrying on a nationalistic agitation against the other. One of the causes of the anti-Japanese feeling in America was the immigration of a large number of Japanese immigrants from the Hawaii Island to California. This immigration was combatted sharply by the American authorities, and it was only the outbreak of the world war that at that time prevented serious conflicts. The attitude of the Americans on the question of immigration naturally has its reaction in Japan, and a culminating point was reached in the year 1924 when the American Immigration Law excluded all Japanese from immigration to the United States.

The waves of nationalist incitement are rising very high in both States. In Japan the approaching war in the Pacific Ocean is discussed quite openly and thoroughly.

Japan is arming with remarkable thoroughness. As, in consequence of the Washington agreement, it may not have more than ten battle-ships, it is concentrating upon the improvement and development of its cruisers and submarines. In the year 1928 the Japanese fleet had 25 cruisers of the newest type with a speed of 33 knots per hour, 90 torpedo boats and 70 submarines. In the year 1925 Japan ordered 5000 aeroplanes from its own and French factories, and in the year 1931 the Japanese airforce will be one of the strongest in the whole world. The metal and chemical industries are being greatly extended. The expenditure on armaments incurred by Japan in 1927 was 264 per cent. higher than in the year 1913, and in the year 1928 it was still higher. Japan is to-day one of the strongest of the powers preparing for war. Its need of expansion is enormous.

The conflict between Japan and America may very well be called the sharpest imperialist conflict. It is a fight without quarter between two young imperialist powers for supremacy on the east coasts of the Pacific Ocean. It will shortly lead to a belligerent collision, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen. This "next chapter" of the imperialist wars, which is now about to be written, will only be checked in its bloody and suicidal course by the successful progress of the world revolution.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

Appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. of China Regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway Conflict.

To the Workers and Oppressed Masses of all Capitalist Countries and Colonies! To the Proletariat and the Peasants of the Soviet Union!

Comrades!

The Kuomintang Government, which embodies the reactionary bloc of the Chinese bourgeoisie and of the big landowners, has for long since developed into an agent of the international imperialists. Its whole endeavours are directed towards suppressing the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants for emancipation from the yoke of their "own" and the foreign oppressors.

This same government, acting on the dictates of the imperialists, is now provoking a war against the Soviet Union: it has by force of arms occupied the Chinese Eastern railway and concentrated troops on the Manchurian frontier. The Kuomintang Government in Nanking is thereby revealing once more and more clearly than hitherto before the whole world its eagerness to comply with all the instructions of international imperialism, whose policy is aimed at encircling the Soviet Union and preparing an intervention against the country of socialist construction.

The occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway means nothing else but an attempt of the international bourgeoisie to unleash a new war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. At the same time the Nanking Government is adopting measures for the "internationalisation" or "Americanisation" of the railway. The Kuomintang, having bargained away all the Chinese railways to the international imperialists, now wishes to deliver over to them also the Chinese Eastern Railway. It is thereby not only promoting the further colonisation of China but also helping the imperialists to realise their aggressive plans against the Soviet Union. This is all done in order to curry favour with the imperialists, in order, with the assistance of foreign money, to crush with "greater success" the revolutionary movement of the Chinese workers and toiling peasantry.

The struggle of the Nanking Government, which is stained with the blood of the murdered workers and peasants, against the Soviet Union, also pursues the devilish but unrealisable plan of diverting the sympathies of the Chinese masses from the first proletarian State. The Nanking Government is fully aware that the achievements of the first proletarian State, the victorious socialist construction, are shattering the inwardly rotten stabilisation of world capitalism; that the new wave of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries is inspiring the Chinese workers and peasants to new struggles and gives the impetus to a new revolutionary upsurge under the banner of the Soviets.

The occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Kuomintang Government is before all a blow at the Chinese workers and peasants, at the Chinese Revolution, it endangers the cause of China's national emancipation.

The Chinese workers and revolutionary peasants will not be deceived by the leash dogs of world imperialism. They know that they will be able to shake off the yoke of the Kuomintang reaction and of the Imperialists only under the leadership of the international proletariat, under the banner of the Communist International and in close alliance with the Soviet Union. The occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway has clearly defined the front of the class struggle in China: on the one side the reaction, the Kuomintang and the imperialists, on the other side the revolution, the emancipation of the toiling population of China, the Chinese workers and peasants in alliance with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is the fatherland of the world proletariat and the only ally of the oppressed peoples in their struggle for emancipation from the yoke of imperialism and of bourgeois-feudal reaction.

By our comprehensive campaign in China against the military occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the

Kuomintang and against the military preparations in Manchuria which are directed against the Soviet Union, we call upon workers and oppressed masses of all countries and peoples to fight against the hangmen of the Chinese people, the Kuomintang and their allies in the camp of the II. and III. Internationalists, against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. We must set up against the united front of the imperialists, of Chinese reaction and of the international bourgeoisie the front of revolutionary solidarity with the Soviet Union. We assure the proletariat and the toiling masses of the Soviet Union, that anybody who ventures to attack the Soviet Union, will encounter the unanimous resistance of the revolutionary masses of the whole world.

Down with the Kuomintang, the agent of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the betrayer of the national interests of China, the hangman of the workers and peasants!

Down with the imperialists, down with the imperialist bourgeoisie!

Long live the Soviet Union, the powerful support of the international proletarian revolution, the only defender of the oppressed peoples of the whole world!

Long live the Chinese Revolution!

Long live the Red Army!

Forward to the proletarian world revolution!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

THE WHITE TERROR

Save the Proletarian Fighters of Gastonia!

(The following appeal has been already sent to the Press of the
Moscow, 14th August 1934)

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has issued the following appeal:

A great political trial is about to commence in the State of North Carolina in the U. S. A. of 13 workers and a number of working women who are standing their trial at the expense of American capitalism which strives to crush all attacks of the working class upon it.

What was the crime of the 13? They led the workers of Gastonia in a struggle for elementary demands, for a minimum wage, for the eight-hour day, against the terrible exploitation for the reduction of the extremely high rents and for the re-formation of the young National Textile Workers Union. In answer to the textile barons mobilised the militia, which made an attack upon the headquarters of the union and upon the homes of the strikers. The workers defended themselves. They were turned out of their homes, but continued to defend their union organisation. Now the capitalists have set their machine into action and a murder charge has been made against workers who only defended themselves. The capitalists did succeed in destroying the strike in street fighting and they are therefore now preparing a frame-up. The electric chair is to finish the work commenced by the raid of the armed militia.

Two years ago the American capitalists executed two workers, Sacco and Vanzetti. Now they want to do the same with 13 revolutionary workers. Sacco and Vanzetti were held seven years before being executed. But the textile barons want to railroad these 13 class conscious workers to the electric chair without any "preparation".

The process against these workers is of tremendous international significance. At the commencement of a new great wave of the revolutionary working class movement, the United States capitalists wish to show the capitalists of other countries by the workers who rise against capitalism must be defeated. The aim of the coming trial is to slaughter class conscious and active revolutionary workers and to break the working class movement. The blood of the miners shed by the Roumanian gendarmes in the Jiul valley is hardly dry, and already the American capitalists are preparing "the legal basis" for the murder of striking workers.

Workers of the United States and of the whole World! Stop executioners in their work! In 1927 the protest of the workers in all countries was not sufficient to prevent the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. The executioners did their bloody work. The voice of protest must be louder than ever. In the United States and in Europe, in the whole world, the masses must be mobilised in protest. The struggle to save the lives of Gastonia hostages must be conducted with all possible means in all possible strength.

Every working man and every working woman must know that the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was a life and death struggle for all revolutionary class conscious workers, defending the rights against capitalism. Every working man and every working woman must know that the 13 workers in Gastonia are not just like Sacco and Vanzetti, with an already pre-existence of the class court of American capital.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid calls on the toilers of all countries to employ all their forces in the rescue of the prisoners in Gastonia. Expose in all the streets, in the workshops, on the land and at sea the injustice of the American textile barons!

Working men and women! Workers of the whole world! Use your voices in protest! Demand the release of the prisoners in Gastonia!

Rescue them from the hands of the executioners!

Remember Sacco and Vanzetti! Remember, and defend the Gastonia workers with redoubled force!

The Executive Committee of the
International Red Aid.

Appeal against the Blood Bath in Lupeni!

Working Men and Working Women! Working Peasants!

The "democratic" mask of the Maniu Government has been flung off. The counter-revolutionary fascist crusade against the revolutionary workers and peasants of Roumania is clearly shown in the bloodbath of Lupeni (Transylvania - Thirty dead*) and over a hundred seriously wounded are the latest victims of this crusade.

This mass slaughter of fighting workers is a link in the chain of systematic persecutions directed against the revolutionary working class by the Maniu Government with the assistance of the Roumanian social-fascists. On the 1st April it organised a bloodbath in Temesvar which gave the necessary pretext for dissolving the revolutionary trade unions and the Workers and Peasants Block, for closing down the workers' headquarters, for robbing the masses of their arms and for organising a hunt after the pioneers of the workers and peasants movement. Despite the arrest and imprisonment of hundreds of working class leaders and revolutionary workers, the Roumanian proletariat is continuing its struggle for the defence of its class organisations, against increased exploitation, against the system of capitalist centralisation, against the increase of armaments, against the preparations for war and for the defence of the Soviet Union and for a complete and unconditional political, agrarian and workers' amnesty.

After the heroic strikes in Bukovina and in the valley of the Tisza, after the mass strikes and the mass demonstrations on the 1st August, which took place despite innumerable arrests and despite the regime of terror instituted in the workers' class quarters, four thousand miners in Lupeni went on strike on the 4th August in order to secure higher wages and shorter working hours. They brought the mines and the power station to a standstill and showed that without workers' production was not possible.

The answer of the Maniu Government to this heroic struggle against starvation wages was murder, a bloodbath, the slaughter of the exploited and oppressed workers.

The Roumanian and the international social-fascists support the murderous Maniu Government unreservedly.

Nevertheless, the miners of Lupeni, actively supported by the miners of other districts, are continuing their heroic struggle. The correct answer of the Roumanian proletariat to the bloodbath organised and carried out by the National Zaramist Government will be a general strike of all miners, the development of strike movements in other industries and a political mass-strike throughout the whole of Roumania.

Workers and peasants in the Balkan countries!

The fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria, the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, the blood-bespattered Maniu Government in Roumania and the hangman Veniselos in Greece replied to the struggle of the proletariat and of the toiling masses against the offensive of capitalism, against imperialism and against the danger of imperialist wars and in favour of bread, land and freedom, with bloodbaths and slaughter. However, they will not be able to prevent the rise of the revolutionary wave and the development of the struggle. The workers, the working peasants and the oppressed masses of the national minorities will consolidate their united front more and more and carry on their struggle for freedom with still greater determination.

The Balkan Communist Federation, the Western European Bureau of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions, appeal to the workers and peasants to conduct a struggle against the bloody dictatorship of the Roumanian bourgeoisie and its murderous government! Conduct a powerful protest action against the mass murder of the miners in Lupeni, against the Roumanian social-fascists, who have taken an active part in the mass murder, and against the social fascist Second International, which approves of the bloodbath organised by the Maniu Government. Support the heroic struggle of the toilers of Roumania, against the Roumanian bourgeoisie, against the preparations for imperialist war under the leadership of the imperialist powers, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the setting up of a Workers and Peasants Government, for the formation of a Balkan Federation of Workers and Peasants Republics!

August 1929.

The Balkan Communist Federation.

Prevent a Repetition of the Sacco and Vanzetti Murder!

Appeal of the Red International Labour Unions on behalf of
the Gastonia Strike Leaders.

On June 7th 1929, chief of police Aderholt, with a gang of armed thugs attacked the textile strikers' tent colony. The Workers' guard prevented a massacre of unarmed women and children by returning the fire of the police and gunmen.

Sixteen organisers and leaders of the National Textile Workers' Union including three women are framed up on a murder charge and face death in the electric chair.

The trial takes place on August 26th in Charlotte N.C.

Immediately mobilise all workers to prevent the execution by the capitalist State and mill owners.

Prevent a repetition of the Sacco and Vanzetti murder.

Hold demonstrations and protest meetings.

Protest against the murder of innocent workers, expressing solidarity with struggling Gastonia and Southern Textile Workers.

Defeat the conspiracy of mill owners, A.F. of L. bureaucrats and brutal State power to keep the textile workers in slavery through execution of Gastonia strike leaders. Raise world-wide defence.

Down with the imperialist murderers of Sacco and Vanzetti!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

Executive R. I. L. U.

Acting General Secretary: Germanetto.

* Since the issue of this appeal it has transpired that the number of dead was actually 62.

INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

Declaration of the C. C. of the C. P. of France.

In connection with the events before, during and after the Anti-War Day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France has issued a declaration whose most important passages we re-print here. Ed.

The unexampled attack upon the Communist Party in connection with the 1st August; the official instructions which were issued to arrest all members of the Central Committee of the Party, to persecute all active party members and to secure a conviction under any circumstances; the indictment for "conspiracy against the security of the State"; all these things are not accidental phenomena after which the situation will again become normal. On the contrary, they show that the French working class movement has entered a period of state of emergency... The capitalist regime of oppression has now taken on the new form of a police fascist regime which represents the beginning of a period of bitter struggles for the working class. This development of Fascism of the bourgeois State is determined by the great difficulties of the French bourgeoisie abroad and in connection with the class struggle at home.

The Foreign Difficulties of the Bourgeoisie.

The Hague conference has destroyed the petty-bourgeois illusions of a permanent peace as the result of "the financial liquidation of the war", and the illusion of "the United States of Europe" and thus exposed the insoluble international contradictions of capitalism.

The rivalry of the imperialist powers is becoming unbridgeable, although in numerous capitalist States the government is in the hands of "socialists". In the whole world the socialist parties have developed into imperialist parties which defend the policy of their own bourgeoisie in the most open and brutal fashion and which themselves pursue a policy which is more consistently imperialist than that of the old bourgeois parties. It is no accident that it is the social imperialist Snowden who represents the interests of British imperialism so openly at the Hague. The struggle of the European imperialists against each other, and above all the struggle of British imperialism against American imperialism in the Hague (Snowden against the Young Plan) put on the agenda once again the imperialist war as the only possible solution of the irreconcilable contradictions. Simultaneously, the attack upon the Soviet Union in Manchuria brings the danger of a war against the Soviet Union into the immediate present.

The irreconcilable contradictions and the first shadows cast by the coming war, present great difficulties to the French bourgeoisie. The difficulties are the actual cause of the latest governmental crisis which the bourgeoisie will attempt to overcome by calling the most determined representatives of imperialism into the government and abolishing the so-called "democratic and parliamentary guarantees".

The International Difficulties of the Bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois parties are worried about the continual progress of the process of radicalisation amongst the working masses. The strike movement is growing. In July alone 52,000 workers went on strike. These strikes which take place against the will of the leaders of the yellow C. G. T. and of the Socialist Party, are taking on a more and more political character. The revolutionary demonstrations are not declining. The demonstrations in the barracks and on warships, which will be followed by still more and still greater revolts, show once again the deep ferment in the army and the navy.

The bourgeoisie in France is faced with a proletarian party which has definitely become bolshevised, which cannot be corrupted and which fights determinedly against the policy of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois government is determined to crush this party with all possible means, both constitutional and un-

constitutional. The bourgeoisie is therefore working with all its forces to organise a gigantic fascist police army under the leadership of such notorious adventurers as Chiappe and Tardieu.

The Commencement of the State of Emergency

In this situation and in connection with the International Anti-War Day, the bourgeoisie mobilised all its forces for its first exceptional attack upon our Party. The bourgeoisie and its executive organs have declared that all the leaders of the Party who took part in preparing the Anti-War Day, and who on 1st August, have made themselves guilty of, and will be charged with plotting against the security of the State. The basic charge will be both stolen and forged documents.

The bourgeoisie can save itself the trouble of bringing a trial. All the members of our Party worked actively to prepare the 1st August campaign. The Central Committee of the Party bears the whole responsibility... If the bourgeoisie declares that communist agitation against war and the appeal of the Party for mass demonstrations against war is "a plot", then the bourgeoisie loudly that it actively prepared this "plot". The Party declares openly that it does not recognise capitalism which is based upon exploitation and supported by armaments which are making towards a war more terrible than the bourgeoisie has ever experienced.

The actual plot which exists is a plot by the bourgeoisie to destroy the Communist Party because it is the deadly enemy of the bourgeoisie. This plot consists in throwing hundreds of leading members of the Communist Party into prison. These are communists, because they defend the interests of the workers, because they prepared the workers for the international Anti-War Day and because they show the workers the way in which they can fight against the threatening catastrophe of a new imperialist war. The indictment of the bourgeoisie against the Party leadership is the first serious attempt to destroy the Communist Party of its leadership.

The trial of the Central Committee will be a trial of the whole Communist Party in the form of a new attack upon the Communist International.

The French Socialist Party stands in the front ranks of the furious struggle to destroy the Communist Party. In its reprisals of the bourgeoisie are justified by the illegal and secret action of the Communist Party. The socialists take the standpoint of the fascist bourgeoisie for whom any struggle of the proletariat is an illegal action, an action which must be suppressed with the utmost brutality.

The Communist Party stands upon the basis of the struggle and will strive to place itself at the head of every struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. It will weld together the isolated actions of the workers into a political struggle against the capitalist regime and against the coming imperialist war.

The Balance of the 1st August.

On the 1st August the Party set itself the task of organising the working masses of the population in protest demonstrations and temporary strikes against imperialist war and against capitalism. This aim was achieved.

All over the country numerous demonstrations in various forms took place... With few exceptions the most important districts followed the strike appeal of the Party to a considerable degree. In the provinces the strike movement on 1st August was, on the whole, considerably larger than on 12th October 1920*). The miners and the metal workers in particular followed the strike slogan of the Party. Above it must be pointed out that new categories of workers, whom previously the Party had little influence, joined the struggle. There was, for instance, the demonstrations of the workers in the Paris district and the demonstrations of the railwaymen all over the country whose participation caused delays in the train service. In the South of France, not only

*) Demonstration against the Moroccan War.

landworkers take part in the demonstration, but also considerable sections of the working peasantry.

The significance of the 1st August consists above all in the fact that millions of workers were roused and, even in those places where demonstrations were prevented by the exceptional measures of the authorities, they showed their sympathy with the slogans of the Party by contributing to the Party funds and decorating their houses with red flags, etc.

The most valuable positive result of the 1st August was, for the first time the working class was able to see, on the basis of its own experience, the methods which the bourgeoisie use when the coming war actually breaks out. At the same time hundreds of thousands of workers have recognised the real possibility of effective action against war. The example of the workers in the Citroën works who carried out passive resistance in the various departments, is a lesson of great significance for the working class.

The 1st August shook up all social strata. The 1st August showed that the advance guard of the working class is rallying round the Party. The 1st August was a step forward in the struggle against war.

After the 1st August.

The Party regards the 1st August as one stage of its unrelenting struggle against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. It will continue this struggle with increased vigour in the coming months. The Party is already appealing to the workers for an increased participation in the Anti-War League of the Youth in September.

Despite all the efforts of the bourgeoisie, the Party organisations are carrying on now as before. The gaps made by arrests have been filled up. The bourgeoisie will not succeed in crushing the organised advance guard of the working class. The bourgeoisie is attempting to place our Party outside the law. Even such a measure will not be able to weaken our activity.

The terrorism of the fascist police regime has opened the eyes of the masses. Increasing masses of the workers are recognising that they must rally round the Communist Party in order to free the hundreds of arrested workers and to maintain the legal existence of the Communist Party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France appeals to all workers to increase their struggle for the improvement of their standard of life. The Party will place itself at the head of all strikes more than ever before in order, on such occasions, to lead the political struggle of the workers against the unholy trinity of the employers, the capitalist police and the strikebreaking social democracy.

In a few weeks the C. G. T. U., the only trade union organisation in France which stands upon the basis of the class struggle, will hold its congress. The Communist Party draws the attention of all workers to this important event. It appeals to them to come together in the factories, to elect factory committees, to put forward immediate demands, to elect delegates to the congress of the C. G. T. U. and to form trade union committees everywhere in the factories in order to carry on a successful struggle for the demands of the workers.

In the next few months, the Communist Party will conduct a thorough campaign in order to purge and consolidate its own ranks.

At this moment when the bourgeoisie is preparing a monster process against the Party in order to drive it underground and to destroy it, the Communists declare openly, true to the principles of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, that their aim can only be reached by the violent overthrow of the existing social order.

In order to achieve this aim, the workers will answer the plot of the bourgeoisie by joining the Communist Party in the masses, the Communist Party, which is the Party of the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

August 1st in England.

By Tom Bell.

London, 16th August, 1920.

The August 1st campaign in England is unable to record any strike action. Only in a few towns was it possible to hold mass street demonstrations. No united front factory committees were set up. The activity was of the character of a Party talking to the workers from the outside. No open fraternisation with the men in the fighting forces took place, though quantities of literature were circulated amongst them.

When an analysis comes to be made of the campaign it will be found that the Party has not understood the imminence of the war danger. Many comrades approached the campaign from the old angle of general propaganda. They never understood the meaning nor the importance of the appeal for strike action. They did not believe in it themselves. This applies with equal force to the Party leadership which put out the slogan of "Demonstrate on August 1st" without any call for strike action. In short, the character of the campaign was largely of the ordinary anti-war kind, viz. general propaganda, factory gate and street meetings, distribution of factory sheets and leaflets with posters.

Proof of this general approach is found in the lateness with which the Campaign began. During the General Election, the whole activity of the Party was absorbed. The war danger certainly appeared in all our literature and in the speeches, but August 1st was omitted. It was not until some weeks after the Election that August 1st as a special campaign was put before the Party. Thus, we can say, with eight to ten weeks activity, in the course of which the Party leadership in the districts and locals had to prepare its plans, the preparations were insufficient, and, the possibility of results meagre.

Only in four industrial centres did we have outstanding demonstrations. In Greenock, where Geddes polled nearly 8,000 votes in the General Election, a mass demonstration took place at a point known to be prohibited by the police. Factory papers were circulated in the shipyards and workshops. Slogans were chalked all over the ships lying in dock. The result was a large demonstration of workers several hundred strong. In spite of the threats of the police, the meeting was held. Perhaps the police were too fresh from their recent prosecutions against public meetings to encourage them to interfere.

In Glasgow, a large demonstration was held in the Jail square. Here the police tried to stop the meeting, but our Comrade McDermott refused to give way. Apparently the police were unprepared for interference, for, though they remonstrated with our comrades for several minutes and returned once or twice after consultation with their chiefs, the meeting, approximating 5,000, went on.

It is one example of our weakness that in spite of our dominating influence over thousands of miners in Fife and Lanarkshire, not a Pit stopped work. The responsible comrades were hesitant about taking action in view of the unstable character of the New United Mineworkers Union.

In Edinburgh, apart from some small meetings, little was done on August 1st. But a full demonstration of women took place on August 4th. This was a well-prepared demonstration which drew representative women from all parts of Scotland. Over 400 women participated in a march to the National Art Gallery steps, in a down-pour of rain. Despite the efforts of the police, the meeting was held on a spot regarded as sacred by the police.

At Bristol, our comrades were working amongst the unemployed workers for over a month. Here the Trades Council is leading the unemployed under the guidance of the Trades Union Congress to prevent the unemployed being organised by the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement. The unemployed workers demanded a demonstration on August 1st. The Trades Council leaders refused. A rank and file committee was formed. The Police refused permission to demonstrate, but 700 unemployed workers turned up. After a short meeting the workers formed into line to march to the Board of Guardians. Three times the ranks were broken by the police, but the demonstration was held.

In every district of the Party organisation, factory gate meetings were held during the day. In the evening, street meetings took place. Accurate details are not to hand. But what is known is that a considerable number of such meetings were held.

Regarding special anti-militarist activity, large quantities of legal and illegal leaflets were distributed in the barracks and the summer training camps for reservists. At the Boys Scout Jamboree, several hundred leaflets were circulated and anti-war pamphlets sold. Four Y. C. L. comrades were arrested and bound over to keep the peace for three months.

The Party printed 325,000 leaflets, 2,500 posters. In conclusion, we can say this campaign has done excellent service to the Party. It has done considerable ideological work within the Party ranks. It also brought out in a very concrete manner the meaning of our insistence upon the imminence of the war danger. It showed the Party how weak it was in factory work and how removed it is from real leadership of the mass struggle of the workers. It has brought the whole Party up against the new line of the Party in a manner it never appreciated before. When the results and experiences are examined by the Party membership it will be able to take a real step forward in the direction of becoming a mass Communist Party.

The Results of August 1st in Switzerland.

By M. Bodemann (Basle).

Never since the founding of the Communist Party of Switzerland has the bourgeoisie waged such a violent and unanimous campaign against it as before, during, and in connection with the International Red Day. But on the other hand, we may state without exaggeration that the Party has never before conducted a campaign among the broadest masses of the working class so well, or with such clear political slogans, as it has done in its work for the international fighting day against imperialist war.

In the course of this campaign the Swiss social democrats have allied themselves as never before with the national bourgeoisie, and have even supported by their attitude not only the measures taken by the government, but have actually headed Fascist reaction. The whole campaign of lies and calumnies carried on by the bourgeois press has been based on the inventions of the social democratic leaders.

The activities of the Party, and of the revolutionary mass organisations, increased proportionately with the growing efforts of the class enemy against the fighting day. The anti-war committees formed in some of the most important cities represented the whole of the class-conscious working class. A large number of workshop meetings were held in Basle, Zürich, and Winterthur, at which a definite standpoint was adopted towards the international fighting day, agreement with it expressed, and delegates chosen for the anti-war committee. Whilst hitherto factory newspapers have been published only to a very small extent, the 1st August provided the incentive to the issue of a large number of works newspapers, written exclusively by workers from the shops and factories. House-block newspapers were published for the first time. A large number of trade union and sport meetings discussed and proclaimed their standpoint towards the fighting day.

This extensive campaign, awakening echoes far and wide in the working class, greatly perturbed the patriotic citizens and the social democratic leaders who advocate industrial peace. Being well aware that their campaign of lies and slanders would not prevent the revolutionary workers from taking part in the communist demonstrations, they resorted to Fascist measures.

In five Cantons the demonstrations were prohibited. In some places even indoor meetings were not permitted. These prohibitions were emphasised by the presence of divisions of police and soldiery. In places where the Communist Party counts only small groups of 20 to 30 comrades, hundreds of police were held in readiness. The Citizens Defence Corps, a civilian Fascist organisation, was provided with weapons, and employed for purposes of espionage.

The main attack was directed against the Basle workers. Here the whole of the class-conscious workers gathered together in the anti-war committee. The government prohibited the demonstration and all outdoor meetings. As justification for the prohibition it was stated that a circular had come into the hands of the police, in which the workers were called upon to resist the police by force. If this circular exists at all it is a provacatory forgery circulated by either the counter-revolutionists or by the

police themselves. An exhaustive search of the premises of the Party, of the Young Communists, the revolutionary trade unions, etc., failed to bring a shadow of proof that such a circular had been prepared by any workers' organisation. Nor has any copy been seen or distributed anywhere. The forgery is clear and self-evident.

It was, however used as a pretext for transforming the town into an army camp, as on the occasion of the Red Rally on 24th March of this year.

In Schaffhausen only one meeting was allowed, without demonstration. In Lausanne and Geneva no gathering of any kind was permitted. At Lausanne all the Party functionaries were placed under preventative arrest before the 1st August. In Zürich the demonstration was not prohibited, but the police and soldiery were held in readiness.

All these measures on the part of the ruling classes are intended to intimidate the proletariat, or to separate the Communist Party from the working masses. This recourse to force by the bourgeoisie clearly proves the aggravation of class antagonisms. On the other hand the reply given by the workers demonstrates the radicalisation of the working class. During the time that elapsed between the 24th March, the Red Rally, and the 1st August, the International Red Day, the Party has extended its influence over the working class. The demonstrations were twice as large. In Schaffhausen the Party has never before held such a crowded demonstration meeting as on 1st August. In the same applies to Zürich, where a mass meeting followed the demonstration was held, in spite of the despicable machinations of the social democrats. This demonstration, too, exceeded far in extent any other gathering of the kind ever organised by the Party. The meetings held in smaller places in the cantons were also well attended.

Despite the prohibition and the state of siege, the workers of Basle went into the streets and ruled the streets until late in the night. The first demonstrations, at which speeches were delivered, began at 5.30 in the evening. In the workers' quarters of the town the processions went on until 11 o'clock at night. As most of the leading comrades had been arrested, as well as a large number of workers, the places of those arrested were taken by working men, who delivered speeches and led the demonstrations. The young workers especially took an active part. The constant attacks from armed police and soldiery and the mass arrests did not prevent the workers from demonstrating, but rather increased their fighting spirit. On the 1st August, the anti-war committee appealed for a protest demonstration against the prohibition, and against the force and brutalities of the police and soldiery. This demonstration was well attended, and a strong fighting spirit prevailed. The bourgeois and social-democratic press surpassed itself in its lying incitement against this fresh demonstration. A downcast policy was only propagated in Basle. The anti-war committee demanded that work should be stopped only in those places where the workers of an undertaking decided by a majority of their own to stop themselves. Minorities and separate comrades were not to stop work. The slogan of stopping work was followed by the workers employed in the shipping undertakings at Rheinfelden, where the strike was maintained the whole day. In most of the more important building undertakings the workers stopped work 1½ hours before the usual time. In some of the timber works the workers stopped work at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

To sum up, it may be said: The international fighting day has proved that the Party has strengthened its positions, and that it is succeeding in gathering the broad masses around its standard. The 1st August marks an important step forward in the process of enlightenment. It has opened the eyes of many workers to the true content of bourgeois democracy, and has enabled them to gain a clearer idea of the counter-revolutionary rôle played by social democracy.

But although the fighting day has been an undeniable success for the Party, and the campaign has been carried through more efficiently than former ones, we must none the less direct attention to its serious errors and weaknesses. Of these the following first demand our attention:

1. We have not adequately combined the struggle against the war danger with the daily demands of the workers, especially in the works and factories.

2. A number of communist trade union leaders have shown great hesitation in the question of dealing with the fighting day in the oppositional trade union organisations.

th regard to the question of strike, the chief weakness in the fact that many comrades in the trade unions have attempted to evade this question. These errors are to be attributed mainly to insufficient understanding in the whole action.

The Central Committee of the Party dealt in detail with the fighting day at its sessions held on 10th and 11th. It has placed on record the great success achieved, but pointed out at the same time, with searching criticism, the shortcomings and errors of the action.

1st of August in Palestine.

By Bob (Jaffa).

The workers of Palestine devoted the whole month of the preparations for the "Red Day" against imperialist war. The Communist Party being illegal, and anyone showing the slightest sympathy with the communist movement subject to the severest persecution, these preparations were carried on strictly conspiratively. At the same time the 1st of August as the fighting day of the international proletariat was popularised in every possible manner. Pamphlets, special editions of the illegal Party organ, in Arabic, the Arabian and Jewish languages, etc.

It may be stated without exaggeration that, in consequence of preparative activities, both the fact of the "Comintern" (as it was called by the social-democratic press), and the struggle against war danger, against imperialism — the struggle against war danger, against imperialism for the liberation of the country, for the establishment of workers' and peasants' republics in the Arabian countries, for the protection of the Soviet Union, against Zionism and against the British — were known to the broad strata of the working class and that thousands of workers, both Arabs and Jews, followed with breathless interest the action of the revolutionary workers on this day.

Whilst the C.P. of Palestine set itself the aim of organising the revolutionary labour movement in the country on the 1st of August, and of carrying out the most emphatic possible demonstration of its will to fight, imperialist reaction, too, made every power at its disposal, in order to prevent this demonstration. The whole of the police were in instant readiness. Auxiliary divisions were brought from every part of the country to the three largest cities in the country (Jerusalem, Haifa), domiciliary visits and arrests commenced more than a week before the 1st August, and on the day preceding the 1st August the Chief of Police issued an official prohibition of every description of demonstration (minor state of emergency). The streets were actually thronged by uniformed police troops, with the intention of intimidating the workers into cancelling the demonstration.

In spite of all this, the "Red Day" was celebrated in all the large towns, by demonstrations marching through the streets under the flag of the Communist Party of Palestine. It came as a special surprise to the masses of the workers and the revolutionary workers — after the severe persecutions and losses suffered by the communists during the last two years, and in spite of the organised Terror exercised by the British government — still carried out street demonstrations in the most important cities of the country, and were joined to by a large group of Arabian workers, thereby emphasising the anti-imperialist international solidarity of the working class, in striking contrast to the Chauvinist and clerical reaction now once more surging through the country. The imperialist police attacked the demonstrators, and there were some violent conflicts, especially in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv (near Jaffa). The workers defended themselves against the attacks of the police, and some police officials, including an English officer, were injured. More than 40 workers have been arrested. The police, anxious to take vengeance for the repression of the communists, maltreated their prisoners brutally; many of them (especially at Tel Aviv) were savagely beaten, and tormented day after day when cross-examined. Lord Passfield (Sydney Webb), the British colonial minister, who bears the immediate responsibility for the repression of the workers, has therefore shown his approval of those same measures formerly undertaken by his predecessor, the extreme Conservative Mr. Amery. The press organ of the local section of the II. In-

ternational, the "Davar", published even more distorted reports on the demonstration, and viler calumnies against the demonstrators, than the bourgeois and Fascist (!) newspapers themselves, probably with the idea of justifying the brutalities of Lord Passfield's minions.

The working class, on the other hand, even those workers not yet sufficiently developed to join in the street demonstrations and the conflicts with the police, supported the communists with great sympathy. There is no doubt the demonstrations of 1st August have been for many workers — those who whilst already rejecting Zionism and reformism, or Arabian nationalist treachery, have not yet found the right path of struggle — a signal pointing out the way to a better and profounder understanding, and bound to lead finally into the communist ranks. Seen from this standpoint, the "Red Day" may well prove to be a starting point for a fresh upsurge of the communist movement.

It need not be said that the first prerequisite for this is maximum activity on the part of the Party cadres. The 1st of August has proved that no justification exists for the capitulatory and Right opportunist trends in the Party itself (those trends which led for instance to the serious Party errors on 1st May of this year), and that the Party must continue its determined struggle against the Right deviations if it is to accomplish the revolutionary tasks which face it, and if it is to make full use of the revolutionary possibilities.

Anti-War Agitation in Dublin.

By John Nolan (Dublin).

In Dublin the agitation against the War preparations is being carried on by the James Connolly Workers' Club. The club has been successful in arousing the workers from their hitherto indifferent attitude to the tremendous preparations for war. Special stress is being laid on the need of the Irish workers to rally to the aid of Soviet Russia should it be attacked by the capitalist powers. The war-provoking policy of the Wall St. puppet Generals of Manchuria have been laid bare before the workers. The workers appreciate this propaganda.

The authorities i. e. the Free State Government took an interest in this anti-war campaign to the extent of having its political police raid the rooms of the Connolly Club and seize the posters announcing the holding of a great anti-war demonstration on Sunday August 4th in Dublin. These posters, the C. I. D. alleged were seditious and could not be exhibited to the workers. Just after the police left the Connolly Club printing plant was set in motion and a handbill (containing the same material as the seized poster) was printed and later distributed to the workers. Wherever these handbills were pasted on walls, hoardings, etc. the police got busy and hastily removed them.

The meeting in Dublin on August 4th was a huge success. The workers rallied to hear the message of the speakers.

The two delegates (Mrs. Despard and "John Brennan") to the British Communist Party's Women's Demonstration were the first speakers, and they sponsored a resolution protesting against the war preparations; also urging the Irish workers to rally to the support of Russia.

R. J. Connolly who spoke of the damages caused by the last war stated that official figures showed that 75% of those wounded in the last war had since died; this brought the total number of deaths directly resulting from the Great War up to the colossal figure of 20,000,000.

Katherine Duncan (representing the Communist Party of Great Britain) received a great welcome, and in a very vigorous speech exposed the hypocrisy of the present "peace" talks, and urged the workers to organise along real revolutionary working-class lines. She also warned the Irish workers not to display any friendly feeling towards the Imperialist Labour Government of England, but to treat it with the same contempt and hatred as they would a Liberal or Conservative government.

The Connolly Club is continuing this campaign and is determined to develop a real hatred of war (i. e. capitalist wars) among the workers. This agitation conducted in a systematic manner will develop a genuine enthusiasm among the workers and thus prepare the foundations for a definitely revolutionary working-class party in Ireland.

The 1st of August in Denmark.

The C. P. of Denmark, with the slight forces at its disposal (the Party has only a weekly paper, and a few factory newspapers which, though eagerly read by the workers, are much limited by their nature in their possibilities of enlightenment), did its utmost to celebrate the 1st August as anti-war demonstration day. The numerical weakness of the Party made it impossible for it to induce stoppages of work on any large scale. Leaflets pointing out to the workers the danger of the war threatened against the Soviet Union, and the treacherous rôle being played by the social democrats were, however, distributed by the Party among the workers. Demonstration meetings were held in the large industrial towns, and speeches delivered by not only Danish Comrades, but Swedish, German, and English. In spite of the pouring rain, over 2000 workers took part in the demonstration in Copenhagen. Over 1000 workers took part in the meeting at Aarhus.

At all the meetings, even when many social democratic workers were present, the audience fully agreed with the speeches of the communist speakers. The resolutions were passed unanimously. The speeches of the comrades delegated by the sister organisations of Sweden, England, and Germany, were received with enthusiastic applause.

Negro Workers Prominent in Red Day Demonstrations.

Negro workers took a prominent part in the world Communist demonstrations on International Red Day, August 1, against imperialist wars.

In New York City, hundreds of Negroes were in evidence at the huge demonstrations in Union Square (downtown New York) and in the Bronx. As leaders of the Communist movement, as heads of departments in the Communist Party and its various auxiliary organisations, as rank and file members of the Party, as sympathisers with the Communist movement which makes no bones of its opposition to the oppression of the Negro masses by the white ruling class but comes out squarely for full equality for the Negro, racial, social, political, the Negro workers were more in evidence at yesterday's demonstrations than at any previous demonstrations in New York. Over a dozen Negro workers spoke from the platforms at Union Square, with their white, Japanese and Chinese comrades. Among them were Grace Lamb, Charles Alexander, District Negro Director of the Communist youth League; Harold Williams, District Negro Director of the Communist Party. Many young Negro workers were also to be seen in the uniformed ranks of the Young Communist League and in the shock troops of the Communist Party, the Red Front Fighters, whose resistance, backed by the uniformed ranks of the Young Communist League, to the usual brutal tactics of the police prevented the latter from breaking up the Communist demonstrations against imperialist wars.

On many of the banners and signs held aloft at the Communist meetings were slogans calling for the abolition of jim-crowism, disfranchisement, segregation, etc., for admission to the unions on a basis of full equality; for equal pay for equal work; for the freedom of Africa, Haiti and the Virgin Islands.

In Chicago, in Boston, in Baltimore, in Wilkes-Barre, Pittsburgh and other American cities, the presence of large numbers of Negro workers in the Communist demonstrations gave evidence of the striking growth of Communist influence among the Negro masses.

Dispatches from Paris and Moscow also show Negro workers participating in the demonstrations in those cities. In Paris, hundreds of Africans and West Indians from the French colonies marched shoulder with the white workers as they resisted the efforts of the police and military to break up their demonstrations. In Moscow, over thirty American Negroes who are students at the Far Eastern University took a prominent part in the demonstrations at the centre of the world revolutionary movements.

In South Africa, where the huge majority of the Communist Party are native workers, the demonstration took on a revolutionary aspect as the natives, Communist and sympathisers, militantly resisted the efforts of military and police to break up their demonstration.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The English Textile Lock-out

By H. Lee.

The lock-out of the Lancashire cotton workers is the industrial struggle in Britain since the miners' lock-out. The experiences of the workers in this struggle are important lessons for all workers, since in it we saw the alliance of the employers, Mondist trade Union and the Labour Government.

The long planned attempt of the Master Spinners and Manufacturers' Federations to cut the wages of the mill workers ended on July 27th. in the lock-out of the cotton workers. The demand of the employers was for a reduction on current wages — a demand, which, if granted, would reduce the wages of the cotton workers by 3-4% a week. This demand of the employers was given in a notice which expired on July 27th.

During the month of notice the Unions in the industry conducted a ballot of their members on the demand, the ballot papers containing a resolution ceasing work rather than accepting the new terms offered by the employers. The results of the ballots showed a solid vote for wage cuts, the members of the Spinners, Cardroom Weavers Amalgamation voting 95% to 98% for ceasing work.

In the week ending July 27th., when the notices were to expire, the Minister of Labour, Margaret Bondfield, Horace Wilson, Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Labour, Manchester, brought the trade union officials and the employers together in order to discuss a way of settling the dispute without the lock-out taking place. During these negotiations the representatives of the Spinners and Cardroom Amalgamation offered to discuss the 'principle of wage reductions', to settle the amount of the reduction by negotiation. The Weavers Amalgamation objected to this proposal, offering to refer the issues of the dispute to arbitration, and to abide by the findings of the court. The employers' representatives refused their demand, and negotiations broke down. The lock-out commenced on July 29th.

The stand of the Weavers Amalgamation can be explained when the facts of the weavers' conditions are considered. The average wage of the weavers is 33/- per week; during the past twelve months the Weavers Amalgamation has had no agreements with the Manufacturers' Federation which has worsened the conditions of the workers in the weaving of N. E. Lancashire. They had agreed to lower piece rates for working re-wound weft, agreed to the introduction of artificial humidification, and the introduction of automatic and semi-automatic looms, as well as the system of making one work eight looms, where previously they had attended four, at the maximum six, looms. Their offer to submit to the employers' demand to arbitration was an attempt at face-saving.

The cotton workers supported their ballot vote by a show of solidarity. Thousands of unorganised workers, who receive no lock-out pay, stood out against wage cuts. In some mills continued to work on the basis of agreements with local trade union Associations; these agreements provided for the payment of the old rates of wages, with a stipulation that adjustments of wages would take place when a general settlement was reached. These agreements were a further indication of the fact that the Union officials were planning the betrayal of the cotton workers.

At the end of the first week of the lock-out, the Spinners and Weavers Amalgamation organised a series of mass meetings of workers and pieceers, for the purpose of asking for full power to be given to the Executive Council to negotiate the best possible terms. The results of these district meetings showed clear majorities against giving full power to the Executive Council. The votes expressing the growing opposition of the workers to the officials who had proposed to discuss the principle of wage reductions.

In the second week of the lock-out, the Trade Union Congress General Council sent a deputation to Manchester to discuss the situation with the employers.

ply to bring the three main Unions, Spinners, Cardroom weavers, together to discuss united action. Some Lancashire M. P.'s announced their intention of doing something Mr. J. Compton, M. P. for Gorton wired to the Prime Minister to intervene. Sir Horace Wilson, by instruction of the Government, cancelled a journey to Canada (with Mr. J. H. Aspinall), in order to remain in Lancashire while the attempts at open negotiations were being made.

The result of the T. U. C. delegations interview with the representatives of the three main Unions was to get a unanimous decision to make an offer to the employers for arbitration. The offer of the wire to Ramsay MacDonald was that he met representatives of the Masters' organisations in Edinburgh, they declared themselves in favour of arbitration. Sir Horace Wilson brought the employers and the trade union representatives together, and on August 15th a settlement was reached on the following terms:

1. The application of the employers for a reduction of wages shall be referred to arbitration.

2. The terms of reference shall be:

The employers' application for a reduction in the wages of the lower classes of workpeople covered by the operators' amalgamations by 25% on the standard piece price list rates of wages, which in the case of operatives who are at present paid 95% on standard lists, will reduce the aggregate percentage additions on such lists from 95% to 70% and mean a reduction of 12.82% on their current wage, and a similar reduction of 25% from other lists which vary from 95%. This reduction, in the case of operatives not paid on the basis of standard piece price-list, will be in the proportion which the proposed reduction of 25% on list prices bears to the current rates.

3. The arbitrators shall examine the merits of the application and after hearing the evidence of both sides, make an award determining whether, and if so, to what extent the employers' claim to a reduction of wages is sustained.

4. The employers and the operatives pledge themselves to abide by the award.

5. The arbitrators shall be a Board of Arbitration, consisting of two persons nominated by the employers, two persons nominated by the operatives and an independent chairman to be mutually agreed upon, the chairman to have the full powers of an umpire in the event of the other members of the court being unable to agree.

6. Full liberty of action to be given to mills capable of resuming work on Monday next the 19th. August, at the usual time.

7. Pending the award of the Board of Arbitration wages shall be paid at the rates correct prior to the stoppage of work.

At the moment of writing Sir Horace Wilson is busy nominating the independent chairman for the Court of Arbitration. There can be no doubt that the finding of the Court will be for a reduction of wages.

The real significance of the lock-out and its conclusion can only be understood when an examination is made of the conditions of the Lancashire mill owners for the rationalisation of the cotton industry.

The employers' justification in making the claim for lower wages for the workers is that it was one of the main methods of cheapening the costs of production, and so enabling them to re-enter the world's markets with competitive prices. This claim has been exploded over and over again. It has been shown that the proposed reductions in wages would mean a very considerable reduction in the price of the finished cotton goods, and certainly would not enable the Lancashire manufacturers to regain the lost export trade.

The factor that has been responsible for reducing Lancashire's cotton export trade by 25% is the cotton manufacturing industries of America and Japan, where a highly developed technique is lowering costs of production far beyond the present level in Lancashire. A report on the cotton manufacturing industry in U. S. A. made, after a tour of investigation, by

Arno Pearse, Secretary of the International Federation of Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers Associations, showed that there had been developed an expert system of speeding up, efficiency in the mills, and the use of the most modern automatic machinery. In the spinning mills, the spinning mule, commonly used in Lancashire mills, was rarely seen; in the weaving sheds weavers were attending to as many as 120 looms, with the assistance of some unskilled workers, whereas in Lancashire the weavers have been accustomed to look after four and six Lancashire (non-automatic) looms. Arno Pearse points in his report, to increasing spindleage, with a decreasing number of workers, to higher wages in individual cases, with a lower aggregate wages cost. This competition had broken Lancashire's monopoly in the world's markets. And after eight years of short time working, speculative re-capitalisation, borrowing and bankruptcy, the millowners see increasing numbers of mills pass into the hands of the bond-holding Banks.

In numerous statements of leading cotton manufacturers it has been made clear that they do not hope to regain the pre-war level of production; they desire to arrest the decline, and stabilise the industry at the present level of production.

The demand for wage reductions and longer hours has been accompanied by other attempts at reducing costs of production. There have been the usual methods of speeding up, introduction of semi-automatic and automatic looms, and the formation of combines and amalgamations. The largest of the combines, the Lancashire Cotton Corporation Ltd. aims at controlling eight million spindles, and has already bought about 35 mills, offers for many others now being under consideration. One of the declared objects of the Corporation is to close down 'inefficient' mills, to allow the better equipped mills to run full time. All the various plans of the employers for the re-organisation of the industry, and reducing the costs of production have been carried through with the active assistance of the cotton trade union officials. These officials are members of committees that are engaged in discussing the best method of reducing costs of production, and recently the leading members of the Spinners and Cardroom Amalgamations signed a joint report of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in favour of combinations, new machinery for manufacture, and for the full productive week. The latter point means the abolition of a long standing agreement in the spinning section of the industry that the workers shall be allowed two to three hours, included in the forty-eight hour working week, for cleaning and oiling machinery.

Two of the main obstacles in the way of the employers' plans for extending the attempts at reorganisation have been the lack of capital with which to purchase the new automatic machinery, and the difficulty of getting some of the mills to accept the terms offered by amalgamations. A reduction in wages will provide the employers with more finance to meet the cost of new machinery, and will also be the basis of making the banks more favourable to granting bigger loans etc. And the effect of the lock-out will be to close down a number of mills, since the terms of their existence were such that they could only continue if they are constantly working. Some of these mills, with machinery fifty years old, will be thrown on the market, and bought for a song by one of the newly formed amalgamations whose plan will be to keep them permanently closed, causing wholesale unemployment amongst the cotton workers.

The lock-out was, therefore, one of the big steps of the cotton masters in the process of rationalising the industry. Now they will commence the drive for increasing production at the lower rates of pay. Here can be seen the real meaning of the suggestion of the employers that permanent arbitration machinery be set up. The drive of increased production, the speeding up, the breaking of old mill customs, will produce resistance on the part of the workers, and this suggestion is aimed at obtaining an assurance from the trade union officials that no strikes will take place as the workers revolt against the effects of rationalisation.

The trade union officials will not be opposed to the suggestion that arbitration be the method of settling all disputes; already at the last conference of the United Textile Factory Workers Association, with which the main unions are associated, a resolution in favour of compulsory arbitration being instituted by the Government was passed.

In this attack on the cotton workers the masters have had the valuable assistance of the Labour Government. The Labour Government takes part in the struggle in order to assist the employers and the trade union officials and to betray the workers. The policy of the Labour Government in the cotton industry is to assist in the restoration of trade's prosperity. This is the policy of the cotton masters. The Government has set up a Committee of Enquiry into the cotton industry, the guiding lines of this enquiry have been made known i. e., re-organisation, scientific marketing, introduction of new machinery etc. In the dispute the Labour Government's first act was to send in Sir Horace Wilson, as a mediator. In the Alma Mill dispute in May 1929, when a lock-out was threatened, the Baldwin Government sent in Sir Horace Wilson as mediator, and the result of his mediation was to force the Alma strikers to accept the wage reductions imposed by the owners. Here is the Government, the more it changes, the more it remains the same. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Premier, makes it his chief business to meet the cotton masters. The Minister of Labour, on test cases, refuses to grant unemployment benefits to the locked-out workers. The Minister of Health issues a statement that it is against the law to relieve workers who are engaged in a dispute. The Labour Government is a capitalist Government, supporting the attacks being made on the workers, and using its State authority for arbitration against the workers' struggle.

In the conduct of the struggle the cotton trade union officials adopted the same slogans as the T. U. C. did in the general strike of 1926. They advised the workers to stay at home, to assist in the washing, and not to make any ugly scenes when scabs were working in the mills.

The Communist Party conducted a revolutionary struggle in the lock-out. Prior to the lock-out considerable agitation and organisation had been carried out amongst the cotton workers on the basis of a programme of positive demands, including the demand for the 40-hour week, increased weekly minimum wage, abolition of finding, compensation for bad material etc. The lead of the Communist Party was for the workers to take strike action to improve their conditions, so meeting the demand of the employers with a big offensive struggle. The struggle for these demands to be carried on by rank and file mill committees, and strike committees, composed of representatives of all sections of workers, organised and unorganised. Immediately the lock-out opened the call for the formation of rank and file lock-out committees was issued. The functions of these committees were detailed; the organisation of the struggle for relief for those without benefits, mass picketing, appeal for wide assistance, defence activities etc. In addition the political slogans of Down with the Labour Government- Fight for a Revolutionary Workers Government.

The importance of the fight for the Revolutionary Workers Government was constantly brought out as the analysis of the situation showed that the cotton masters would be making further attacks on the workers, and the Labour Government acted as their agent.

The experiences of this lock-out show that the workers are becoming radicalised, and are prepared to fight the rationalisation offensive of the employers. The task is to build up the Communist Party, to supply the revolutionary leadership. The work in the lock-out will help in this task, as many workers have joined the Party during the course of the dispute.

The Communist Party is continuing its campaign against the arbitration settlement, fighting for the formation of rank and file committees to conduct the struggle. The first task of the workers in the face of the alliance of the employers, Government and trade union officials is to build up their own organisations in the mills, which under the leadership of the Communist Party will be the organs of struggle against the attacks that will follow the lockout.

The formation of rank and file mill committees will be a most important task, especially in view of the fact that 45% to 50% of the cotton workers are unorganised.

The cotton lockout opens a new period in the struggle for the revolutionary independent leadership of the workers, and is part of the forward struggle for the establishment of a Revolutionary Workers Government.

The Struggle of the Metal Workers in Bielsko-Biala.

By Ostop (Warsaw).

Apart from the very considerable strengthening of the revolutionary activity of the workers, peasants and oppressed national minorities in Poland, the most notable characteristic of the present labour struggles in Poland is the tremendous persistence and self-sacrificing tenacity with which they conduct their struggles for economic demands, whereby struggles often have a very definitely political character. Persistence and heroism with which the workers are engaged despite the state of semistarvation in which they are existing is a sign of the tremendous sharpening of the class contradictions in Poland and a sign that decisive political struggles are approaching.

This persistence and endurance characterised the great struggle of the textile workers in Lodz which was followed by the months' strike of the textile workers in Warsaw. The characteristic can be seen with regard to the landworkers' struggles in the Western Ukraine. It is sufficient to say that a number of these strikes lasted three or four weeks.

The present struggle of the metal workers in Bielsko-Biala which was answered by a lock-out on the part of the employers has already lasted over six weeks. The six thousand strong metal workers in Bielsko-Biala are an example of the persistence and endurance of the working class. For this reason the significance of this strike extends far beyond the Teschen (Silesia) industrial district and may be considered as the common point for new great struggles of the Polish metal workers.

The situation of the Bielsko-Biala metal workers is very difficult. Whilst the profits of the employers increased from year to year, the standard of living of the working class grew worse until today one can say with certainty that they are the worst paid metal workers in the world. The industry utilised the crisis of 1924/25 and partly also that of 1926 in order to cut wages. Since the 12% wage cut in 1924, the standard of living has increased by 60% in two years. Since 1926 the standard of living has increased still further. In this connection it should be mentioned that the net profit of one single engineering firm for instance Breville et Urban, for 1928, was over 2,000,000. At the same time new factories are being built in the Bielsko-Biala engineering district and great capital investments are made in a system of rationalisation introduced by the employers, plant machinery and an automatic control system, forced the workers to make inhuman efforts with the result that many workers collapsed at the bench and were ill for weeks.

This situation leads to continual spontaneous outbreaks of partial strikes. The employers answered the resistance of the workers with an increase of their system of intimidation in the factories, and victimised, as for instance in the firm of J. and Schwabe the workers' delegates. This provocation of the employers produced an outbreak on the part of the workers and a strike commenced in three factories which was answered by the employers with a lock-out of all the metal workers in the district, a total of 6000. Naturally, the government took the side of the employers and harassed the workers with brutality and terror in order to break their spirit. Despite the fact that the workers were locked out, they were given no unemployment support of any kind, although they were registered.

The attitude of the employers and of the authorities, however, has only increased the fighting spirit of the workers and the call for a general strike is increasing. This fighting spirit of the working class caused the tried and trusted supporters of the capitalists, the leaders of the social fascist Polish Socialist Party, to mobilise all their forces in order to throttle the heroic struggle of the metal workers. For this purpose they caused their trade union bureaucrats to hold a conference of the Trade Union Bureau and of the representatives of the social class trade unions in order to take over the leadership of the movement and to throttle it. The resolution which was adopted at this conference on the 24th July was filled with a spirit of treachery towards the workers and servility towards the employers and the fascist. The resolution demanded

"that the government calls the metal industrialists of Bielsko-Biala to account, as the lockout damages the interests of the State".

This manoeuvre of the social fascists to denounce the industrialists to the fascist government, needs no comment. The

consideration the spirit of the masses, however, the re-also included the following in order to weaken the of the masses and to carry confusion into their ranks:

"The conference condemns the provocative attitude of metal industrialists which is hostile to the State and upon the leadership of the district trade union to put it into touch with other trade unions in order to consider proclamation of a general strike."

s treacherous manoeuvre of the Polish Socialist Party however, that in order to break the will of the masses to a general strike, the Polish socialists were compelled and that they themselves are even prepared to call a strike.

reality, of course, the Polish socialists and the trade union rats are doing everything possible in order to persuade workers to go back to work and in order to negotiate with employers behind the backs of the workers. The five "de- which the Polish socialist deputy Topinek, who went to Biala in order to meet the industrialists, put forward, roof of the mean treachery of the Polish Socialist Party. c "demanded" the withdrawal of the lock-out and pro- that the workers would return to the factories if the in- lists would grant a five per cent wage increase. The eaning of this will be seen when it is realised that a ection of the workers do not earn more than 20 Zloty (about 10 shillings). Trusting firmly to the Polish So- Party, the employers rejected this proposal, whereupon k, fearing that the workers might answer this provocation e general strike, made a declaration containing inter alia owing:

"The form of the struggle will be intensified. We will en go so far that we will probably prepare a general ke in all industries in Teschen." ("Robotnik", the Central gan of the Polish Socialist Party, 11th August 1929.)

is quite clear that the Polish socialists and the trade bureaucrats are talking about a general strike in order vent it and to force the striking workers to go back e factories.

ill the traitors be successful? The attitude of the workers ic. There is no doubt that the metal workers in all of Poland are following the heroic struggle of their fellow- rs in Teschen with great interest, and that our Party will erything possible in order to raise the struggle of the working class to a higher organisational and political

ne strikes of the Polish working class which have been med and the present strike of the metal workers in Bielsko- represent once again a proof of the correctness of the is of the situation made by the Sixth World Congress of ununist International and by the last Plenary Session of C. of the C. I., particularly with regard to the growth activity of the working masses and the existence and ch of great labour struggles upon the basis of the gro- contradictions of the crumbling capitalist stabilisation and tensifying economic crisis.

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

The Labour Struggles in the Southern United States and the W. I. R.

By L. Gibarti.

he labour struggles which are taking place in the textile ry in the Southern States of the U. S. A., clearly bear the eristics of "the third period" of the post-war develop- of the capitalist crisis. These struggles represent a very e offensive on the part of the textile proletariat against sult of the rationalisation which is making the already eable working conditions catastrophic by still more inten- exploitation. In North and South Carolina and in Tennessee capital, which was invested here in the post-war period, rking literally under colonial conditions. Textile capital is the fact that the workers are recruited from the peasant ns of the population of the agrarian Southern States and he American Federation of Labour makes no attempt to ise the new proletariat in the Southern States. Where the

American Federation of Labour intervened in certain cases of labour unrest, it did so solely in order to demoralise the struggle of the workers and to hand them over to the mercy of the employers. It is natural that under such circumstances practically no unions existed in the South until quite recently. Average wages were about 12 dollars a week. Many workers, however, earned no more than eight dollars a week. Their situation was rendered still worse by the fact that in most cases a working week of 72 hours prevailed.

When the capitalist system of rationalisation threatened the working class families, which were already compelled to send their half-grown children into the factories in order to exist at all, with physical annihilation in consequence of increased exploitation, a series of strike movements and labour disturbances broke out in the spring of 1929 in most of the textile centres in North and South Carolina and Tennessee. In order to realise the significance of this movement and the character of these struggles, it is necessary to mention that the textile undertakings in the Southern States are highly organised undertakings, being in many cases branch establishments of international concerns. The Manville-Jenks Company in Gastonia, the Bemberg Silk Company and the Glanzstoff-Corporation in Elisabethton and the various other textile concerns practically hold the political apparatus in the Southern States and the local administrative bodies in their hands. Governor Gardener of North Carolina is a large shareholder in various textile groups. The police chiefs in most of the industrial towns are practically in the pay of the textile companies. This fact explains the extraordinary terrorism of the police and the authorities which commenced immediately after the outbreak of the strike movement.

Like the foreign textile groups, the American textile industry has sought to avoid its crisis in recent years by an intensive rationalisation of production. In the interests of capitalist rationalisation, whose effects upon the situation of the working class were described above, the employers naturally oppose any attempts upon the part of the workers to organise themselves in trade unions. The textile industry in the Southern States is fighting to maintain the so-called open shop system, which represents the most favourable basis for the carrying out of the capitalist rationalisation and places an unorganised proletariat completely at the mercy of highly organised employers.

From the beginning of the movement, the employers grasped the strategic aim of the struggle immediately and defended the open shop system with all possible energy. Immediately after the commencement of the strike on the 2nd April the national guard and the army reserve were called up for service. Infantry and artillery were held in readiness and picketing was prohibited. The terrorism of the authorities took on particularly violent forms in the centre of the strike movement in North Carolina.

In this situation the W. I. R. immediately commenced its activity in support of the strike. Food distributing centres were organised in the strike districts, and clothing and shoes were distributed. The leadership of the American W. I. R. took into account the peculiarities and special characteristics of this strike movement, which drew thousands of unorganised workers into the vortex of social conflict, and utilised the instrument of strike assistance in order to strengthen the idea of organisation, to strengthen the revolutionary trade unions and to strengthen the feelings of working-class solidarity amongst the workers, and to cause them to rally round the strike leadership and the new organisation, the National Textile Workers Union. It was shown here once again that the use of relief work in strikes in the direction of a really revolutionary trade union policy is highly successful both with regard to the leadership of the struggle and with regard to the consolidation of the new union.

It is a remarkable fact that after the efforts to settle the strike through the agency of the American Federation of Labour were unsuccessful, all the terrorist attacks of the employers were concentrated on the W. I. R. At 2 o'clock in the morning on the 18th April a masked band of private policemen of the Manville-Jenks company raided the headquarters of the W. I. R. and razed it to the ground. The food supplies were flung onto the street. The National Guard and the police of course made no arrests and no attempts to investigate the matter and punish the guilty persons.

The W. I. R. answered the attack by extending its relief activity. Not only was a new food depot opened immediately, but when the company evicted the workers and their families from its houses in order thereby further to intimidate the

strikers, the W. I. R. conducted a special campaign for funds for the founding of a tent colony which later was quickly opened. The employers of course did not give up their efforts. They saw that in the W. I. R. the workers had not only a strong material weapon, but also that the initiative and appropriate measures of the W. I. R. strengthened the moral force of the workers' resistance and the will to build up a new organisation.

On the 7th June, when strike pickets in the centre of the strike movement returned to their colony, they were followed by a patrol of police who wished to penetrate into the colony without any justification. The workers, who felt themselves threatened in consequence of the circumstances attending upon the first destructive raid of the employers bands and in consequence of the daily threats of the police and the private detectives of the employers, defended themselves and prevented the police from entering the camp. In the struggle a policeman fired at the strikers and that was the commencement of general shooting in which the police chief Aderholt was mortally wounded. On his death bed Aderholt admitted that he had made a mistake and that there was no legal justification for forcing a way into the camp. Nevertheless the press of North Carolina, led by the "Gastonia Gazette", which is maintained by the textile industrialists, commenced a murderous campaign of incitement against the workers. With the slogan "Vengeance for Aderholt!" an unexampled lynch spirit has been stirred up against the leaders of the new textile workers union, and of the W. I. R. and against the strikers in general. Hundreds of arrests were made and 15 class-conscious workers, including the secretaries and representatives of the W. I. R., have been handed over to a grand jury whose members consist of incited petty-bourgeois and employees of the textile concern. The International Labour Defence, and the trade union movement mobilised, with the assistance of the W. I. R., all the forces of the American working class movement in order to prevent the systematic frame-up of the textile industrialists from resulting in sending the leaders of the working class to the electric chair.

Thanks to this mobilisation, which extended to all the industrial centres of the United States, sufficient mass pressure was brought to bear upon the authorities to compel them to postpone the trial, which had already commenced, until the 30th August. The venue of the trial will no longer be Gastonia but Charlotte in Mecklenburg County in North Carolina.

The general lynch spirit that has been whipped up, is characterised by the fact that the company bands and the "Hundred Committee" (a fascist organisation founded by Manville-Jenks) attempted once again on the 24th July to raid the tent colony and to destroy the headquarters of the strike movement. Only the prompt appearance of the defence guard of the workers of the "Rex" factory was able to drive the fascist attackers out of the colony.

Together with the Labour Defence and the trade unions, the W. I. R. will utilise the time which remains up to the re-opening of the proceedings, in order to carry out a mass mobilisation on behalf of the strikers and for the defence of the accused who are threatened with the electric chair. The trial in Charlotte will therefore represent an important trial of strength between the class forces of the workers and of the bourgeoisie in the United States.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

Rumblings of New Chicago Race Riots.

By William F. Kruse.

The recession in employment in several lines of industry in Chicago already finds employers adopting a conscious policy of preparedness to divide the workers along colour lines and thus play the starving unemployed workers of one race against those of other races. This policy can of course culminate only in one way, in bloody race riots. Such riots have broken out in the past in Chicago, as well as other northern industrial centres like East St. Louis, etc. where they are the northern equivalent of Southern lynching bees by which the bourgeoisie aims to "keep the black man in his place". By discrimination

in giving jobs to workers of different races, always pretending against the more helpless Negro worker yet pretending to change this policy for the purpose of the more backward elements among the white workers. Frenzied race hatred, the capitalists cunningly promote and disunity among the working class, white and black.

The schemes of the capitalists are not altogether successful, as is shown by the fact that hardly a day passes in Chicago without some instance of violence against workers and their children. That thousands of cases occur do not come to light goes without saying. Race riots far on a relatively small scale, is a daily occurrence at Side bathing beaches, and the Chicago police naturally always conveniently absent when these things happen.

On July 28th, the tenth anniversary of the "Chicago Race Riots" which were one of the bloodiest most outrageous phases of the post-war "readjustment" of American capitalism, a gang of young hoodlums gathered together and drove all Negro bathers from the Jackson Beach. Stuffed with illusions about the "impartiality" of the Chicago government, fostered by the white capitalist "even" of renegade Negro aldermen and congressmen, Negroes left hurriedly to protest to the "proper authorities" that what was done was exactly nothing.

The following day a group of 23 Negro children, all accompanied by two adult women, were driven to the beach by a shower of stones thrown by a gang of white stocking hoodlums, with the result that one of the children, Mrs. Jennie Lawrence, had to be taken to the Cook County hospital. The leaders of this group in reporting the incident showed that they were beginning to get their eyes on the South Park Commissioners I want to say", writes them, that unless they order their policemen to arrest young hoodlums instead of playing with them, they will reap a situation that is not pleasant... Had this been composed of boys instead of girls we would have had a different story".

An incident that happened on a street car at the corner of State Street on the same day indicates that this is not only "fighting talk" but active resistance on the part of men, women and children. And it shows also that not only boys but girls can and will make it a "different story". Very young Negro girls, Bernise and Daisy Brown, insulted on boarding the car and when they expressed their anger and vigorous resentment, so that the car was stopped, a big crowd gathered, the whites who were guilty of the insult charged the children with attempting to attack the conductor with knives. The conductor added to this a charge that they attempted to ride for half fare. So the police arrested the Negro children and let their annoyers go merrily on their way.

These are just incidents that show the situation in which Negro workers and their families live in Chicago. They are persecuted and discriminated against on every hand. They are the "last to be hired and first to be fired" in most industries. Where a few of them are organised at all, in trade unions they are for the most part "Jim Crowed" in the localities that are forced to confine themselves to the poorest of work in the trade, notwithstanding the fact that many Negro craftsmen are among the best mechanics. They are forced to pay the highest rents for the worst quarters in those slums where the fire-trap menace is greatest and with the exception the forced dwelling places of Chicago's great population. Large sections of Negro workers still have illusions in the succor to come from the capitalist government but ever increasing sections turn their back on this false hope. This is shown by the fact that nowhere in the city are there as many signatures to place Communist candidates in ballot than in the overwhelmingly Negro wards. And elsewhere is the response to Communist street meetings and despite the repeated gangster attacks and police attempts to break them up. Ever since Communist Party units have been established in all principal Negro sections, Party work in this field has been concentrated and intensified, with the result that Party influence among the Negro workers has grown and an increase in Negro membership is to be noted.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Five-Year Plan and the Revolutionary Class Struggle of the International Proletariat.

By L. F. Winov.

In the Soviet Union the whole working class and great forces of the working peasantry have already concentrated all their revolutionary enthusiasm upon the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan. Outside the Soviet Union the working class is still to a great extent unclear as to exactly the Five-Year Plan is and what importance it has. Perhaps the reason for this lack of appreciation is that this in the real sense of the expression, world historical revolutionary struggle of the Soviet proletariat bears an abstract title, i. e. "The Five-Year Plan", or to give it in full, "The Five-Year Plan for the development of the National Economic System".

And this matter of fact title one of the most significant and heroic struggles of the working class of the Soviet Union since the seizure of power is being carried out would be no exaggeration to say that the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan has no lesser significance for the history of the working class in the Soviet Union, and thus for the development of the international proletarian revolution, than, say, the victory of the Red Armies in the civil war, or the triumph of the Soviet proletariat over the famine and the economic decay of the country, or any of those other tremendous events which followed in their development with bated breath by the international proletariat all over the world.

At first glance the Five-Year Plan represents a complicated mass of statistical information and calculation. The plan configures showing the speed at which the Soviet economic system can and must be developed upon its various fields in the five-year period extending from the 1st October 1928 to the 1st September 1933. A glance at these figures immediately reveals the international significance of the Five-Year Plan. It is sufficient to point out that the plan provides that for instance the rate of development of the industrial productive forces created by capitalism in many decades of slow development will be achieved threefold, in some branches of industry fourfold even fivefold (Electrification) inside a period of five years by the economic system of the Soviet Union. To put it simply, development which cost capitalism whole generations of time will be carried out in the Soviet Union in a few years.

The revolutionary significance of the Five-Year Plan, however, far exceeds the technical results of its carrying out. It is merely a phrase when the Russian comrades term the Five-Year Plan, as Lenin termed the electrification programme of the time, a "second Party Programme".

What will the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan bring to the international proletariat of the Soviet Union?

First of all, an unexampled increase in the productive capacity of the country.

Secondly, an increase in real wages ranging from 70 to 100%. In other words a tremendous advance in the standard of living of the workers, plus a general shortening of working hours (the seven-hour day).

Thirdly, it includes also of course a tremendous improvement in the standards of the lower proletarian strata.

Fourthly, a thorough and radical advance in the cultural level of the population.

Fifthly, the first tremendous steps towards the socialist transformation of agriculture. Great progress in the mechanisation of agriculture and a great increase in the supply of chemical fertilisers. The increase in the productivity of the poor and middle agricultural undertakings and the general raising of the standards of living, and, as a result, the consolidation

of the workers and peasants alliance, and the consolidation of the leading role of the proletariat in this alliance.

A great advance in the process of squeezing out the capitalist elements from their economic positions, and great progress in the general process of socialisation.

A considerable increase in the defensive capacities of the proletarian State.

A tremendous internal and external strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship.

An unexampled extension of proletarian democracy in consequence of the fact that the masses take the initiative more and more, as also the control of the carrying out of the economic and political decisions (the socialist competitive scheme, the mass-agreements, the direct struggle of the masses against bureaucracy etc.).

What will the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan bring to the international proletariat as a whole?

The consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union results automatically in a considerable strengthening of the international proletariat in its class-struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie, and in an increase in the fighting capacities of the oppressed peoples against capitalist imperialism.

The carrying out of the Five-Year Plan will prove irrefutably that even in its present beginning or transition stage and in a backward agrarian country, Socialism contains productive possibilities far superior to anything which the highly-developed capitalist countries have to offer.

It will prove that under the dictatorship of the proletariat all economic progress is indissolubly connected with an advance of the standards of living of the workers, whereas under present-day capitalism economic progress, even when it takes place under the wing of social democratic ministers, can only be bought at the price of the increased exploitation of the workers.

It will prove that the proletarian dictatorship for which the Communist Parties in all countries are fighting, is really the path to Socialism, whilst the path of (bourgeois) "democracy" urged by the social democrats leads to fascism and to an increased exploitation and oppression of the workers. The Five-Year Plan will therefore contribute to the achievement of revolutionary unity amongst the workers under the leadership of the Communist International.

The circumstance that the workers of the Soviet Union who, before the war, were the worst paid section of the European working class, will develop into the best paid section by the end of the five-year period, is a circumstance that will lead to increased fighting energy and class-consciousness to the workers in the capitalist countries in their struggles for their economic aims and in the connection of these labour struggles with the general revolutionary aims of the working class.

To sum up, the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan will result in a great alteration in the international relation of class forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to the advantage of the former. With the progress of the work for the achievement of Socialism, not only will the confidence in the military victory of the Soviet power in the event of an armed attack of the imperialists upon the Soviet Union increase, but also the confidence that, if the proletariat in the imperialist countries is prepared, such an attack would result in the final collapse of imperialism. The unexampled successes of the work for the achievement of Socialism in the Soviet Union will facilitate the work of the Communist Parties to mobilise the masses against any imperialist war upon the Soviet Union and for the transformation of any such war into a civil war for the final overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The carrying out of the Five-Year Plan by the workers in the Soviet Union will provide us with one of the strongest weapons in the struggle for the winning of the majority of the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The popularisation of the Five-Year Plan, and not only its popularisation, but the active support of the work for its carrying out, must therefore be carried on in the closest connection with the general struggle against the danger of imperialist war and be placed in the forefront of our main international tasks and in the forefront of our daily struggle.

The Five-Year Plan in Practice.

By I. (Moscow).

The current economic year, the first year of the Five-Year Plan, is of very great importance for the estimation of the practical carrying out of the Five Year Plan. Fairly exhaustive information is to hand only for the first nine months of the year (October to June), but upon the basis of the experience of former years, this information should be sufficient in order to draw the necessary conclusions for the whole economic year. The carrying out of the industrial finance plan and the results which have been obtained with regard to the transformation of agriculture into a socialised mechanised form of production, are of first rate importance. In these two respects the programme has not only been carried out, but as can already be seen, the systematic pre-requisites have in many respects been exceeded by the development of economy.

In the nine months of the period under review, the gross production of industry increased by 20.9 per cent, as against 20.6 per cent. provided for in the Plan. The third quarter showed particularly great progress, after a number of industries, mining, foodstuffs, etc. were somewhat backward in the first half year. It is noteworthy that the results show the steadily growing role of heavy industry, the basis of the industrialisation, not only "on the whole", but also in the individual branches of industry. The production of the means of production increased by 23.9 per cent. in these nine months, whereas the increase in the production of commodities for immediate consumption, was 18.4 per cent. This tempo of industrial development, absolutely unparalleled in the capitalist world, was made possible chiefly by the great investments made in former years and by the systematic use of the means for the reconstruction and rationalisation of production.

Very interesting in this connection are the figures which show the growth of basic industrial capital during the last few years. In 1924/25 the increase of basic capital was 1.2 per cent. and in 1925/26 4.5 per cent. In 1926/27 it was 9.3 per cent. and in 1927/28 11.1 per cent. In the current year the increase is estimated at from 12 to 13 per cent. In the last four years the main funds of State industry increased by 28.7 per cent., whilst in the same period its production increased approximately 100 per cent. In other words, an increase of less than a third in the inventory of the factories resulted in an increase of production of 100 per cent.

These figures also refute definitely the contentions of the right-wing opposition that the proposed investments for the standing capital of the national economic system of the Soviet Union, provided for in our plans, cannot be realised. Despite a certain delay in connection with the late commencement of the building season, it cannot be doubted that in the current economic year also the industrial building programme will be completely carried out.

The transformation of agriculture under the influence of the policy carried out by the Party and the Soviet authorities, is closely connected with the growth of industrial production and in consequence with the increased possibilities of the Soviet State to assist economically the decisive masses of the poor and middle peasants. The increase of the socialist elements in agriculture has far exceeded that envisaged in the plan.

According to current returns, which are therefore not yet final, in numerous districts the number of collective agricultural undertakings has increased in the period under review by 80 and 100 per cent, instead of the 17 per cent. provided for in the Plan. The area under seed on the Soviet farms has increased by 23 per cent, instead of the 14 per cent. provided for in the Plan, and the area under seed in the collective undertakings has increased by 195 per cent. instead of 62.3 per cent. The average area of land under seed per collective undertaking, was 72 hectares instead of 60 hectares as provided for by the control figures.

The fact that the presumptions of the Plan have been exceeded in this part of the control figures, is of great practical and political significance. The growth of the collective undertakings, both numerically and with regard to their extent, proves irrefutably the correctness of our agricultural policy and shows the complete bankruptcy of the attitude of the right-wing

opposition. The contentions of the right-wingers on the alleged excessive development in the collective organs of agriculture, as provided for in the Five-Year-Plan, have been refuted by reality, as also have their "arguments" concerning the impossibility of giving our economic system a necessary productive and technical basis whilst building collective undertakings and Soviet farms. It must be pointed out here, that this year the number of tractors increased by 7000 and that the villages have been supplied with agricultural machinery and tools to the value of 20 million roubles, or 60 million roubles more than in the previous year.

The "prophesies" of the right-wingers find no justification in any part of the control figures. The results of the nine months under review show a notable increase in the area ploughed and cultivated by the middle peasants, the systematic carrying out of the State budget, whose income will probably exceed 100 million roubles more than provided for in the Plan, a favourable foreign trade balance of 24.7 million roubles, a tremendous increase of commodity circulation (by 21 per cent) whilst at the same time there has been a reduction of the volume of private trade by approximately 50 per cent.; the complete surpassing of the provisions of the Plan with regard to commodity transport and consequently an increase of income in this respect (by 150 million roubles); larger grain reserves than last year, and finally the reduction of commodity prices to normal level. All these factors prove the absolute correctness of the economic measures contained in the first year of the Five-Year Plan. The conclusion is that this Plan will be carried out in its fundamental principles and that in individual and important parts it will even be exceeded.

The development of the economic system has been very successful. This success makes it all the more urgently necessary for us to work with increased energy in order to overcome those negative phenomena which have shown themselves in the course of the development. These phenomena are particularly: the insufficient reduction of the cost of industrial production, and the deterioration of the quality of production; in agriculture, the slow growth of hauling and transport (parallel with the progress which has already been made with regard to the supply of agriculture with machinery and the reduced supply to the peasant farms of live stock).

The work to abolish these negative phenomena is being carried out by increasing the active participation in the constructive work, and by increasing their initiative, and by strengthening the socialist competitive scheme, in which the masses of the workers are participating, has already achieved notable economic results. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that productive capacity per capita per working day in the third quarter, when the socialist competitive scheme was introduced, increased by 19.3 per cent. as compared with the second quarter of the previous year upon the basis of pre-war conditions, whereas in the second quarter the increase was only 12.5 per cent. In June the increase compared with the same month of the previous year was 23.2 per cent. Despite this very important progress in the productivity of labour, the productive capacity of industry were reduced in the nine months under review by 3.5 per cent. only instead of the contemplated 7 per cent.

With regard to the negative phenomena in the sphere of agriculture, these are chiefly due to the lack of organisation in the work of the organs for systematic economy. The favourable prospects of this year's harvest must be secured by the organs for systematic economy, in order to abolish the weakness. In agriculture stress must be laid particularly on the new socialist forms for influencing the productive and distributive activity of the peasants. It is not only a matter of mobilising the poor and middle peasants against the kulaks (with regard to the grain supply, etc.), but also of organising joint discussions concerning the sowing plans, agronomic measures, sowing agreements, etc.

The results of the first year of the Plan and the work of the socialist competitive scheme and the uninterrupted working week, etc. which were not considered when setting up the Five-Year Plan, have not only shown that the Plan can be put into operation, but also that it is possible to carry out the Plan in a shorter period than five years. This circumstance has been taken into account in setting up the control figures for the coming economic year 1929/30.

Practical Successes of Socialist Competition.

By W. Kudrjashova (Leningrad).

The socialist competition began in the "Krasnij Viborshetz" in Leningrad at the benches and furnaces and worked its way into the shops. Since the factory has entered the socialist competition, the benches and in the organisations of the factory have been transformed, the laziness has been eradicated. Men who were previously inconspicuous are now themselves prominent and indispensable collaborators. The initiative of these heroes of every-day life, of these heroes of the crane, the smelting furnace and the bench, has served to the benefit of their work-mates.

The sluggish mechanism of the rolling mills was converted into a lively working speed, and the workers put in three times as much work as usual. Whereas there were previously 10 stokers at three smelting furnaces, the work is now done by one; the group leader is taking the place of the foreman thus saving the works 200,000 roubles.

The heart of the "Krasnij Viborshetz" is the electric smelting-works. Eighteen months ago it still presented a deserted landscape, now it is a regular electric smelting plant. The machines were imported from Germany and Sweden and were set up in the "Krasnij Viborshetz" by our fitters and engineers. With the aid of the Ajax furnaces smelting is done in "Krasnij Viborshetz" at twice the rate first stated.

The electric smelting works, which was erected in the year 1927, was manned by enthusiastic participators in socialist competition, honest workers, faithful soldiers of the revolution and of production.

Numerous examples could be given and names of workers whom socialist competition has exercised a tremendous moral influence upon. Men who from boozers and idlers have been converted into excellent workers. Formerly their names were published in the wall newspapers and they were blamed and disgraced, whereas now they are held up as good examples. Socialist competition is making the eyes of the workers open to deficiencies and mistakes in production. Whereas in the first part of the year the production conferences gathered 1,308 proposals concerning improvement of production, in the months of April, May and June over 200 proposals per shift were submitted.

During the period of socialist competition great animation is observable at the production conferences. The Red manager of the works takes part regularly in the production conferences. The workers have been tackling production as the real business of the works, idling and slacking has diminished. During the past year there was still 0.8 per cent absences from work without excuse, in the first quarter of the present year 0.5 per cent, in the second quarter only 0.3 per cent and in April, May and June the number of absences without excuse sank to 0.2 per cent.

Socialist competition has reduced production costs, which in April sank by nearly 9 per cent. In that month a profit of 100 roubles was made.

The culture commission, too, is carrying on its work on the lines. It organises competition evenings, issues competition-newspapers, and has arranged an excursion and an exhibition of socialist competition.

The altruistic work which these heroes of every-day life are doing, means that the workers of the "Krasnij Viborshetz" are not permitting the resolutions of the XVI. Party Conference concerning the increase in the output of Labour to remain on paper, but are translating them into the reality of life.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Sixth National Congress of Y. C. L. G. B. of Great Britain.

By J. Whitley.

The Sixth National Congress of the Y. C. L. G. B. held in Manchester over the week-end August 3rd—5th emphasised the present critical situation of the British Party. It says some-

thing for the concern of the delegates with this inner Party situation that, meeting on the morrow of Red Day, coincidentally with the International Boy Scout Jamboree at Birkenhead, in the centre of the Lancashire cotton industry, and at the very commencement of the lockout of half a million cotton workers, it was the Political Resolution that aroused in the comrades the keenest interest and the most discussion; a resolution exclusively devoted to the fight against the Right Danger in the Party and the League.

Comrade Campbell who reported on the political situation for the Party came in for very heavy personal criticism of his views on the economic situation, in addition to the bitter condemnation of the delegates of many errors on the part of the leadership of the Party and the League. The Congress declared itself behind the line of the Comintern, confident that by a healthy self-criticism combined with an intensification of daily mass work the right wing danger can and will be overcome.

The Congress did not indeed neglect the factors in the objective situation in which we met. Emergency Resolutions pledged the Y. C. L. G. B. to support the struggle of the young locked-out textile workers, and the fight against the militaristic Boy Scout Movement. A great deal of time was devoted to discussing the Piecers' Reform Movement. It transpired that we had only three comrades in this organisation, at the time of the Congress already 500 strong, and rapidly growing. Moreover a grave danger of losing the leadership of this movement to the Reformists might be traced to a right error on the part of certain Bolton Party comrades, who, at the outset of the movement, had opposed the appointment of an experienced League Member to the Committee, on the formal grounds that he was not a textile worker. This objection had found no echo among the textile workers themselves.

Many criticisms might be made of the Congress. We met on the morrow of Red Day, but scarcely mentioned it in our discussions. That reflected the poor work put in by the League towards making the Red Day a success. But on the whole we were better at pointing out past errors than at laying down satisfactory rules for avoiding errors in the future. In the course of a lengthy agenda, concrete attention, and animated discussion circled round the past. For the future there were only generalisations. We must turn our faces to the factories. We must undertake colonial and anti-militarist work. But how? There the practical parish pump difficulties rose to the surface of the comrades' minds. It is certainly only after a long and difficult period that we shall surmount these difficulties and find our approach to the masses.

The Y. C. L. G. B. is still a weak organisation, numerically and politically. But at least we have set our face against blaming objective circumstances for our own weaknesses. Two things have been made clear by the congress. The coming period is favourable for our League: we can only take advantage of that favourable period by a determined effort to rid the League of all forms of right deviations, while at the same time developing our independent leadership of the masses of the young workers.

OBITUARY

Emil Höllein.

On Sunday, the 18th August, Emil Höllein, the well-known communist Member of the Reichstag died suddenly, at the age of 49 years. His death was due to a long standing gallstone complaint. Those who worked together with him at the recent congress of the League against Imperialism in Frankfurt on Main, little thought that this untiring energy in the cause of the oppressed and exploited would come to such a sudden end.

Comrade Höllein was born on the 8th February 1880 in Eisfeld in Sachsen-Meiningen. He was one of a family of many children of a textile worker. At the age of five years he was taken by his parents to Louvain in Belgium where he remained until 1895 when, after the death of both his parents, he returned to Germany. He became a toolmaker, but when he was victimised in consequence of his activity in the cause of the workers,

his knowledge of the French language enabled him to exist as a teacher.

He was a member of the German Metal Workers Union and in 1905 he joined the Social Democratic Party. During the world war he served in the army for three years, but his activity was devoted to supporting the illegal work of the Spartakists. Before the war he had belonged to the left wing of the German Social Democratic Party, and when, during the war, the Independent Social Democratic Party was formed, he left the S. D. P. and joined the Independents where he was also an active left winger. When the Independent Social Democratic Party split at its congress in Halle in 1920, Comrade Höllein went over with the revolutionary wing to the Communist Party. From the year 1920 onwards, Comrade Höllein was a member of the Reichstag, being re-elected at each election. He was one of the most popular speakers of the Communist Party and also did much journalist work. In the years 1921/23 he was a member of the editorial staff of the *Inprecorr*.

His self-won knowledge on a variety of fields made him an extremely valuable member of the Communist Reichstag Fraction and he specialised particularly in the housing question, being chairman of the housing committee of the Reichstag. Comrade Höllein is also well-known to the German proletariat through his pamphlet against Paragraph 218 of the German Penal Code which punishes the carrying out of voluntary abortions. His pamphlet was sold on a mass scale and received considerable appreciation in medical circles.

Everyone who knew Emil Höllein respected him for his incorruptible honesty and his untiring work in the cause of the proletarian revolution. In the Reichstag, the enemies of the working class feared his bitter tongue. His speeches were made in the language of the workers, his aim being that his own class should understand him. In Emil Höllein the German Communist Party has lost one of its most valuable functionaries.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Proletarian Woman of Germany in the Anti-War Front.

By Lisa Ullrich, Berlin.

The magnificent campaign of the C. P. G. against imperialist war, during which the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway broke out, developed at its culminating point — in the anti-war demonstration on August 1st — very important participation of working women and workers' wives.

At a number of conferences of working women, which were organised for the successful conduct of economic fights, the working women and workers' wives were provided with the ideological equipment for the defence of their vital interests. (Ruhr fight, textile workers fights in Saxony, Thüringia, Silesia, Berlin.) Various factory conflicts, which were successfully concluded by the workwomen, showed that the workwomen are not only abandoning the passive attitude in the factories of dependence on the workmen, but often carry on in the factories independent fights for the improvement of their working conditions without relying on the support of the workmen. For instance, in Berlin at Siemens, which employs 22,000 workers, 166 workwomen on a conveyor demanded an increase of the piece rates; after a day and a half of strike this increase was granted. The same thing happened at Lorenz's, at the A. E. G. and at several smaller works. The question now was to transfer this activity in the fight for a bigger piece of bread to the political questions and to enhance it in particular in the anti-war campaign.

The resolutions of the Wedding Party Congress of the C. P. G. have taken into account the growing significance of the working women; they made it the duty of all members of the Party to give greater consideration to the female proletariat, to give better support to their fights and to attract the women to a greater extent into the general lines of the proletarian class fights.

All the instructions of the Party in relation to Anti-War Day therefore drew the attention of Party members and of the whole of the working class to the role of women in industry. The press, and particularly the factory newspapers, published good and comprehensive material concerning working women in pamphlets, handbills and meetings the significance of women was pointed out and a good mobilisation of women was effected.

In many cases women were delegated to the anti-war committees formed by the factories. In the Ruhr district, Berlin and in several other big towns special committees of women were formed, in which working men from factories employing women were represented.

The committees of the various provincial conferences of working women convoked new conferences for the preparation of anti-war day; at these conferences the working women adopted a definite attitude towards the fight against imperialism and in defence of the Soviet Union and adopted important resolutions and practical plans of operation.

These 15 conferences were well attended and consisted of about 50 per cent of non-party women and, for the part, of factory women. These conferences were backed up by tens of thousands of workwomen in factories, in offices and in the household. The discussions at all these conferences showed how clearly grasped is the necessity of the fight against war; there was no question of every-day life whose connection with the danger of war was not recognised by the women.

The delegates at these conferences declared their eagerness to join in the general fight of the proletariat; they demanded a still greater degree of co-operation throughout the country and welcomed the proposal of the Berlin committee to convene a national congress of working women for October 20th of this year.

The sympathy for and the readiness to defend the Workers State of the world shoulder to shoulder with all the exploited of other countries found enthusiastic expression. Letters of greetings to the working women of Russia, Great Britain, France and America were passed.

At all the demonstrations on August 1st there was a mass participation of proletarian women and especially of women employed in factories. In many cases they knocked off an earlier than usual and marched shoulder to shoulder with their male colleagues, even in the presence of the mass police to demonstrate in front of the factory or to take part in meetings.

Now that the anti-war campaign has been concluded the line of this mass mobilisation of working women will be continued. The working women are meeting to prepare for the national congress, which will deal particularly with the situation of women in general and the question of the combat against militarisation not only of the men but also of the women of the whole population by the imperialist States; they will consider the lessons taught by previous fights and forge the weapons for the approaching conflicts between capital and Labour.

The work of these weeks revealed deficiencies and mistakes. Success was not achieved everywhere in linking up the question of war with the questions of daily struggles.

The anti-war campaign for August 1st nevertheless shows that we are on the right way to get the working women away from the influence of the bourgeoisie, to explain to them the role of the bourgeois women's organisations and also to expose the path of Social-Fascism.

The task of the coming weeks and months is to reach hundreds of thousands of working women in the Red Front, also to range them as class-conscious combatants, with the same rights as the men, in the cadres of the military proletariat, which is forming military organisations in the factories, and to fill up the world-embracing Red Front with millions of working women and thus oppose to our class enemies a united class front, steadfast and confident of success in the coming conflicts.