

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 47

6th September 1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schloßbach 213, Vienna IX.  
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## The End of the Hague and the Beginning of Geneva.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

The conference in the Hague is at an end. The bourgeois and reformist press writes about "complete success", "a great step forward on the road to peace", "the world policy of freedom".

One can admit without hesitation that a great part of the "crises", the mutual abuse, the indignation of the servile press and all the other accompaniments of a normal international conference break-down without achieving any result whatever.

No Power could seriously entertain the idea of letting the conference breakdown without achieving any result whatever. But still the fact remains that the national capitalist groups and interests have not collided so sharply for many years as they have just done at the Hague conference.

The idea that the preliminary conference of experts in Paris had made all the most important decisions and that all that remained for the governments was to sign that which the bankers chose to place before them, proved to be quite wrong. Once again the extreme instability of groupings of the powers in the period of imperialism was shown.

In the last months of the rule of the conservative government in Great Britain an alteration in the relations of Great Britain to the United States was becoming apparent and has been even intensified under the Labour government.

Great Britain, with its old and antiquated industrial organisation and its mass-unemployment, and faced with the threatening problem of the colonial national-revolutionary movement, did not feel itself prepared to take up an immediate struggle for dominance with its powerful rival. Great Britain needed a "breathing space" in which to reorganise its forces, to rationalise industry, etc.

The culminating point of the diplomatic struggle with the United States was the agreement between Great Britain and France concerning the extent of their naval armaments. When Washington energetically rejected this agreement, Great Britain saw itself faced with the prospect of an immediate struggle for dominance with the United States.

Great Britain was not yet in a position to enter on an armed struggle, and it was therefore compelled to make some concessions, compromises, etc. Baldwin had had the intention of visiting Washington himself in order to bring about a naval agreement, and MacDonald continued Baldwin's policy with energy.

This alteration in the foreign relations of Great Britain with the United States also immediately affected its relations with French imperialism. A coolness made itself felt at once. Sir Austin Chamberlain once declared lyrically that he loved

France like a woman, but the present situation is such as to exclude the possibility of any such passionate declaration on the part of Ramsay MacDonald or Arthur Henderson, not to mention Philip Snowden.

The Young Plan was only made possible because the British experts agreed to make considerable concessions to France and Italy. These concessions were then withdrawn and Snowden undertook his journey to the Hague in order to defend the "right" of Great Britain to obtain a larger share of the proceeds squeezed out of the exploited German proletariat.

Snowden's behaviour at the Hague has attracted a deal of attention, and justly.

The British "labour" government is the exhibition piece of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International. It was very interesting to observe how the "Socialist" and "Internationalist" Snowden conducted himself in the arena of international imperialist relations.

Snowden, that is to say, the so-called Labour government which he represented, did not disappoint the hopes which the British capitalists placed upon him. Upon the field of inter-capitalist relations also the social democracy has developed from the servant of capitalist interests into the conscious and willing champion.

Snowden and his colleagues were proud of having defended the pocket interests of British capitalism at the Hague more energetically, more determinedly, more egoistically and in a more nationalist and obstinate fashion than Sir Austen Chamberlain would ever have dared.

As a result they have been louded to the skies by the reactionaries of all shades, from the "Morning Post" and the "Daily Mail". The mild criticism of certain liberal circles who warn Snowden against all too energetic "jingoism" and chauvinism and compare Snowden's policy with that of Palmerston, supplies the comic effect to the situation.

Snowden was not able to get his way completely. His attack upon the Young Plan as such failed. The solution which was finally reached was made within the framework of this plan. And that is understandable, for the strongest Power at the negotiations, even if it did remain silent for the most part, the United States, was not prepared to let the plan which owes its name and its existence to an American citizen, to go by the board. The Young Plan guarantees the payment of the allied debts to the United States, therefore it is inviolable.

Snowden demanded the restoration of the "Spa Percentages", that is, he wanted 22.5% of the German reparation payments for Great Britain instead of the 19% offered by the Young Plan.

Here too, he was unsuccessful. He succeeded only in securing the covering of a portion of the difference, although this portion was the greater part of the difference, as the bourgeois press calculates, even 80%.

Snowden was compelled to sacrifice another "prize" although in this case it probably caused him no heart-burn. During the conference he announced that he would only accept "sacrifices" from France and Italy and not from Germany, any of the smaller Powers, and the social-democratic press beside itself at such "generosity". This noble gesture, of course, came to nothing.

The money necessary to satisfy Great Britain's demands will have to be supplied by Germany.

A surplus of 300 million Marks remained over from Dawes payments. Germany was not freed from this underdog as it had demanded. The "unconditional" payments which German Reich has to make in the first, that is, in the first years, will be made more difficult. Even the costs of the occupation incurred by the British, French and Belgian troops will be loaded onto Germany to the extent of 30 million Marks.

In general, the German Reich was considered and treated at the conference as a second class power. The creditors did not come to an agreement without Germany and at Germany's expense. The German representatives had the right to pay and the privilege of holding their tongues.

What does Germany receive for its willingness?

The evacuation of the Rhineland by the year 1930. This is the trump card with which Stresemann defends the new sacrifices before the forum of the German bourgeoisie.

Peculiarly enough, this is also the trump card used by the international social democracy. It welcomes the "evacuation of the Rhineland" as the abolition of a section of the Versailles Treaty, as an important step towards "the pacification of the world". The former President of the Second International sounded this note in his great speech at the close of the conference, and now the whole of the international social democracy has joined in.

That which was commenced at the Hague will certainly be continued in Geneva. It is certain that reformists and pacifists like MacDonald and Briand will seize the opportunity for a widespread campaign of pacifist deception.

The social democracy will certainly not let slip the opportunity of fostering the petty-bourgeois illusions about the possibility of lasting peace under the domination of imperialism in order to lull the proletariat into a sense of security and to make it easier for the imperialists and social patriots to lead the masses to the slaughter again.

We will hear what MacDonald and Breitscheid have to say in Geneva. For the moment we can see the hard facts.

The German proletariat has been forced to shoulder an almost incredible burden under which it will groan for decades.

At the same time the official policy of the German bourgeoisie has gone a step further in its "Western orientation" in other words in the direction of a capitalist united front against the common enemy, the Soviet Union.

Hypocritical phrases about peace, and increased preparations for imperialist war, these are the two main factors of the present situation.

## The Bloody Events in Palestine.

By P. Kitaigorodski.

The Versailles Peace Treaty divided the united Arabian territory of Syria into two parts; Palestine became British mandate territory and Syria proper was handed over to the French. British imperialism demanded Palestine because it was a territory adjacent to the Suez Canal and important for the British in so far as should an insurrection occur in Egypt, Palestine might be used as a basis for the defence of the Suez Canal which is so important for the maintenance of Britain's connections with its colonies, and particularly with India.

In the Jewish bourgeoisie in Palestine British imperialism found a willing instrument for the oppression of the Arab working masses. In November 1917 the British Minister Balfour made a "declaration" pledging the British government to establish a "home" in Palestine for the Jews, (read: the Jewish bourgeoisie). With this declaration British diplomacy hoped to win the Jewish bourgeoisie of the belligerent countries, and in particular of America, for the Entente.

During the war the leaders of Zionism organised a so-called Jewish Legion drawn from the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie; and this legion fought in Gallipoli and in Palestine against the German and Turkish troops. The petty bourgeois youth of Russian Galicia, Poland, Roumania and other countries, swept by a nationalist wave, shed their blood in the conviction that they were fighting for the "future of the Jewish nation".

When British imperialism had achieved its end and obtained the "mandate" over Palestine, it showed no inclination to consider the "ideals and hopes" of the Zionists. From the first day its policy was to direct the bitterness and dissatisfaction of the Arabs, who form the overwhelming majority of the population of Palestine (600,000 Arabs as against 100,000 Jews), against the Jews. The British authorities artificially inflamed the national hatred and the religious fanaticism of the backward Arab masses against the Jews. In 1921, for

the responsibility of the British police, there was an anti-Jewish pogrom. British imperialism needed this as an excuse for suppressing the Arab movement or setting up the long-planned military regime. A severe blow was dealt at Zionism.

Nevertheless the bourgeois and petty bourgeois Zionists continued to colonise the country with Jewish emigrants, chiefly with petty-bourgeois nationalist youths. The trade union organisation "Histadrut" (Palestine Trade Federation) which is affiliated to the Amsterdam International (I. F. T. U.), put forward slogans such as "Win the land to work!", in other words, the State and private factories should employ exclusively Jewish workers, "Win the land!" in other words, all the land in Palestine should go into Jewish hands, etc.

The Zionist organisation carries on a policy directed towards the annexation of Palestine and the violent expropriation of the fellahin (Arab peasants). This policy led to frequent collisions between the Arabs and the Zionists. With the assistance of the British troops and police, the Zionists of the Mandates maintained the upper hand. Despite this, Zionism ended during the whole time of its existence as a political movement in establishing only 6,000 Jews as "land-holders".

The miserable result of the Zionist efforts and their comical farce can be seen particularly clearly when one compares the progress with the great speed with which the Jewish working masses in the Soviet Union are taking up agriculture.

During the last two years serious class differentiation has itself felt in the Arab camp also. This was expressed in the abandonment of the national-revolutionary movement by the bourgeoisie. The "Arabian delegation" which represents the political party of the Arab bourgeoisie, declared itself at the seventh Congress last year for co-operation with British imperialism. The "Arabian delegation" which, up to then, had opposed the "Constitutional Assembly" convened by the British, radically altered its standpoint and demanded of British imperialism a constitution.

The Arab bourgeoisie is very much interested in coming to a compromise with British imperialism, naturally at the expense of the working masses, because it hopes to obtain great

orders (building of a harbour in Haifa which will also have strategic importance because it will be connected with Mosul by a railway, electrical work at the Dead Sea, etc.). On the other hand, the working masses of Palestine, the workers, peasants, impoverished handicraft workers and the propertyless population of the towns are gathering in a special revolutionary camp. The bourgeoisie, of course, wishes to maintain its influence upon the masses. Even now, after its open treachery, the Executive of the so-called Arabian delegation is still attempting to deceive the masses with revolutionary phrases and nationalist slogans. The eyes of the masses, however, have already been opened.

On the 8th June, in connection with the Mahommedan new year, a mass demonstration took place in Jaffa against the sale of lands to the Zionists and against the speculations of Arabian land agents. The Communist Party used the opportunity in order to give the demonstration an anti-imperialist class character. In the streets of Jaffa the shouts sounded: "Down with imperialism! Down with the feudalists and capitalists!" On the 1st August Arab and Jewish workers demonstrated jointly in the towns of Palestine and numerous British and Jewish police agents were injured.

The events in Egypt (in connection with the project of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement) have charged the atmosphere in Palestine. The British wish to transfer the defence of the Suez Canal to Palestine. If one adds that after the formation of the Labour Government the reactionary Zionists adopted a still more provocative attitude, it can be understood how easily the British were able to provoke a collision with the Arabs at the "Wailing Wall". This was the spark which caused the powder barrel to explode. The whole country rose as one man against the Zionist invaders and the British bandits. The masses went onto the streets. The insurrectionaries stormed the barracks and attacked the British troops.

It is difficult to give a complete picture of the events in Palestine. The British censorship mutilates the news of the events. But one thing is clear, and that is that the Arab national-revolutionary movement has taken on the form of an insurrection. And this insurrection will cause a loud echo throughout the whole of the Arabian East.

# Against British Imperialism in Palestine!

## Manifesto of the League Against Imperialism.

1. A bloody conflict on a hitherto unprecedented scale has broken out between the Arab inhabitants and the immigrant Zionist population artificially imported into Palestine under the famous Balfour Declaration. This general revolt of the Arabs against the Zionists is in reality a revolt against the economic and political serfdom to which they have been reduced by British Imperialism in Palestine.

2. It is in virtue of the anti-imperialist character of the struggle that the Arabs of Palestine are receiving the moral and material support of the Arabs of Egypt, Syria and Transjordan as well as of the masses of the Indian people engaged in a revolutionary struggle for liberation from the yoke of British Imperialism.

3. The Arab population of Palestine rightly regards the Zionist movement as the main instrument of British imperialist exploitation in their country. With the help of Zionist capitalist and fascist organisations, the Arabs are being systematically expropriated and impoverished, and the landless peasants condemned to unemployment or reduced to the position of Coolies in the "philanthropic" pretext of providing a home for the poor, down-trodden Jews of the world, the Zionist capitalists are taking possession of Arab lands while poor Jewish workers are being imported to work for them and for British colonial, military and strategic enterprises in Palestine.

4. There has therefore naturally arisen a sharp economic conflict between the Arabs and the Zionist immigrants, leading to bloody riots, in which the latter are armed by the British imperialists and receive their special protection. Imperialist intrigue has succeeded, as it has in India, in giving

these economic and anti-imperialist fights the character of religious and cultural riots. It has thus placed the leadership of the movement on both sides in the hands of reactionaries and prevented the workers and peasants of the two races from uniting for the overthrow of their common enemies, the British imperialists and their Zionist agents.

5. In the performance of their function as the lackeys of imperialism, the Zionists have received the whole-hearted support of the Social Democratic Parties of the II. International, and more especially of members of the British Labour Party. The Reformist leaders of the Jewish workers' organisations in Palestine have systematically played upon the racial sentiment of the latter and used them as tools of British imperialist policy. The Zionists and the Social Democrats have been the most bitter enemies of the Arab national revolutionary movement. They have prevented the united front of the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants for the overthrow of British Imperialism and the establishment of a free Palestine. They have on the contrary taken active steps to demand the conversion of the British mandate in Palestine into open and flagrant annexation to the British Empire.

6. As a prelude to this annexation, the present deliberately provoked conflicts between the Arabs and the Zionist fascists are being dexterously utilised by the British Government in order to strengthen the permanent military and naval garrison in Palestine. The regiments that have been hurried to that country to maintain "law and order" and to "protect the Jews" in obedient response to the demand made by nationalist Jews in Europe and America, are intended to be retained, while

the fascist Zionist organisations will be armed as volunteer corps against the possibility of a united revolutionary movement.

7. The League Against Imperialism and for National Independence gives its whole-hearted support to the workers and peasants of Palestine as of all other Arabian countries, in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialist exploitation and the establishment of real national independence. The League points out the danger of the broad masses being misled into religious and racial strife by imperialist intrigue, which only strengthens the hands of the enemies of liberty.

The League Against Imperialism appeals to all its affiliated and associated organisations to extend their active help to the masses in the Arabian countries in their struggle for freedom and to carry on an uncompromising fight against Imperialism and against the Zionist and Social Democratic agents of Imperialism.

*Juste* Down with British imperialist exploitation in Palestine!  
Long live the united revolutionary struggle of the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants!

Down with Zionism!

Long live the federation of independent Arabian countries!

## POLITICS

### The Foreign Policy of the British Labour Government.

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

It is characteristic of the present period of sharpening imperialist antagonisms and war-preparation that the principal activities of the new British Labour Government in its first three months of office have been in the sphere of foreign policy and Empire policy; and that these activities have displayed from the outset an openly aggressive national-jingo character which has considerably taken by surprise the pacifists who placed their hopes in the return of a Labour Government in Britain as the opening of a new era of world peace.

The Labour Government came into office on a programme of "peace" — peace in industry and peace abroad. This was the tone of their election campaign. This was still the character of expression of their initial King's speech. The Second International, at the Zürich meeting of its Executive, built up upon the return of the British Labour Government as its central pillar an international perspective of diminishing antagonisms and advance to peace.

Within three months the harsh character of realities has broken through these dreams. These three months have seen as their most characteristic features the chauvinist stand of Snowden at the Hague, bringing the whole European situation to renewed crisis and tension, unequalled since the Dawes settlement; the rupture of the Soviet negotiations; and the direct opening of war by the Chinese Counter-revolutionary Government, with British assistance, against the Soviet Union. At the same time, the internal situation has been marked by the cotton lock out of half a million workers for two weeks, involving the largest struggle since the General Strike, and "settled" by the Labour Government only on the basis of an all-round wage-cut imposed by arbitration under its auspices.

This contradiction between the professions of the Labour Government and the realisation goes to the root of the whole present situation. The easy "pacific" role of 1924 is no longer possible. The tasks to which the Labour Government is called by the bourgeoisie are now of a sterner character, and directly related to the advance to war.

The Labour Government is carrying forward the policy of the Conservative Baldwin Government through new forms. As a Labour Minister, the Under-Secretary for War, Earl de la Warr, boasted at a Labour Party meeting: "We are doing the things the Baldwin Government only talked of doing."

What are these new forms of the continuous policy of British Imperialism, which is to-day expressed through a Labour Government, with the united support of the capitalist press from right to left behind it?

The Conservative Government had reached a dangerous impasse in its foreign policy. With the breakdown of the Geneva

Naval Conference, and the crisis over the Anglo-French Agreement, the Anglo-American antagonism had come to the open, and was reaching a point of extreme tension. At the same time as the break with the Soviet Union was leading way to war on that front. Conservative policy was thus Britain straight in the direction of war on two fronts with the Anglo-French alliance as its only positive basis of support. But British Imperialism is not yet ready, after a previous period of preparation and consolidation both internally and externally, to face directly American Imperialism. Can the primary aim of war on the Soviet Union be so fully realised except on the basis of agreement with America? Therefore a halt had to be called, and some basis of understanding reached with America, to gain a breathing time during this breathing time some measure of relations must be re-established with the Soviet Union, thus meeting the demands of the industrialists, until the time should be ripe for attack.

The Labour Government, accordingly, came into office with the following tasks in the sphere of foreign policy:

1. by "peace" gestures to deceive the masses as to real advance to war, and to attach the workers to imperial policy and to the coming war (this essential task of war-preparation can only be accomplished by a "left" government, not by a Conservative Government, which is suspect to the masses);

2. to endeavour to reach a temporary understanding with America, and to secure American co-operation or agreement for the campaign against the Soviet Union;

3. to re-establish British independence of action in Europe and check the one-sided dependence on France, which is hindering the possibility of a temporary agreement with America;

4. to carry forward the preparations against the Soviet Union, which might include temporary negotiations or relationships, at the same time as war was being pushed ahead.

But the situation since the Labour Government came into power has shown a sharpness of antagonisms which has not made the accomplishment of its tasks easy, and has considerably precipitated the rate of development.

The Paris Conference of Experts had already shown the increasing violence of imperialist antagonisms. At the Paris Conference America succeeded in forming a united front with France and Italy against Britain, by offering concessions to France and Italy at the British expense, and thus isolating the British representatives, who had either to bear the onus of sole rejection or capitulate. And in the same Young Plan, carried through in the face of very considerable protests and threats on the part of the British to leave the Conference, the American financiers succeeded in incorporating their own plan of the International Bank, to be far more than a Reparations Bank, to be the guiding centre of all the leading central banks except New York, i. e. to subordinate London and leave New York independent and supreme.

At the same time New York and Paris have carried through a very deadly offensive against London's gold position. The final outcome of which is still uncertain. The gold reserve falls steadily; the forced raising of the London Bank Rate to 5.5% in February last was already a very serious step; and now the new raising of the New York discount rate to 6% above the London rate, (exactly two days after the opening of the Hague Conference, or immediately on receipt of the news of Snowden's stand) has produced a very menacing position. Not since 1914 has the City and Bank of England had to face so heavy a crisis.

British Imperialism, through the Labour Government, sought to secure control of the Young Plan Conference by obtaining its site in London, and consequently the probable seat of the International Bank in London, which would render it subordinate to London. The stubborn opposition of France prevented this. This was the second defeat, after the Experts Conference. The third round, the Hague Conference itself, now became of decisive importance. It was a case of fight or surrender.

In consequence, British Imperialism at the Hague Conference has had to throw pacific pretences to the winds, and fight like a beast at bay, ready to wreck the whole conference and the Young settlement rather than suffer defeat. For this role, the acid Snowden, the darling of the City, was aptly chosen. In this way it has fallen to the Labour Government, the "pacifist", the "mediator", to have to appear as the wrecker of the peace of Europe, and to display the most reckless intransigence.

ivist role since the days of Curzon. It has fallen to these "realists" to play the role of the militant gladiators of the world. The irony has not been lost on the world. The Second International has been thrown into typical nationalist confusion, its Chairman Vandervelde solemnly rebuking Snowden for violating its principles. When MacDonald comes to Geneva with his pacifist platitudes, they will find a less enthusiastic echo than in 1924.

The jingo stand of Snowden at the Hague is of profound significance as a weather-signal of the whole international situation. For Britain and the Labour Party it has been nothing but a trial war-mobilisation. The entire capitalist press stoked up the jingo spirit behind the Labour Government. The unity of parties has been proclaimed. "I have not in my life seen such unanimity" writes an old member of the Independent Labour Party (William Stewart in the "Forward") repeating only once, and that was when Lord Grey made the speech which ushered this country into the war. The Daily Mail has swelled with patriotic pride; it finds in Snowden a Disraeli! "Not since Disraeli has any British statesman addressed across a Conference table words so sharp in challenge, pregnant with ardour, so significant in their implication" (Herald 13. 8. 29) "The people of this country", has declared a Labour Minister, "irrespective of all party ties and differences, are coming to the conclusion that the country is at being governed, and really governed... We all feel to-day that England once again counts in the Councils of Europe; we are once again a nation". The Labour Party is playing its role as the war-leader of the nation.

Meanwhile, while Snowden has been maintaining the fighting front at the Hague, MacDonald has been manoeuvring secretly against time in Britain to buy off the American Empire, and reach, on a basis of naval concessions, a paper agreement, and economic help to save the pound. The outcome of these negotiations is still to be announced; but the American deal is likely to be a high one, both in respect of naval concessions, and for economic help.

Closely in connection with this situation must be taken the sharp turn in Soviet relations. In defiance of its election promises, and to the surprise, not only of its own supporters, but also of the Liberals, the Labour Government, after long delay in initiating even the appearance of negotiations, has entered negotiations at the outset by taking the full Chamberlain position as a preliminary condition. Despite the pressure of a considerable section of British industrialists, whose dissatisfaction has been directly voiced by the Liberal Party, the hostility of British Imperialism and financial interests to the Soviet Union has proved dominant. The economic advance of the Soviet Union, and the successes of the Five-Year-Plan, have undoubtedly had an important part in determining this attitude. Even more clearly than in the rupture of negotiations, the Labour Government's role in relation to the Soviet Union has been displayed in the open war-provocation of the Chinese Militarists. The war advance of the Chinese Government has been in the hand with the break of the Anglo-Soviet negotiations. The relations of the British Labour Government with the Chinese counter-revolutionary Government are of the worst. In the short period since its accession to office, not only has a Trade Treaty been negotiated, but the sending of a Naval Mission has been further announced. Behind the Chinese Militarists is the hand of the British Labour Government.

The immediate future outcome is likely to depend in large measure on the projected Washington Conference in the autumn. This Conference will determine, firstly the possibility of a temporary agreement with America on the basis of naval concessions by Britain, and secondly the possibility of Britain securing American co-operation in a common policy in relation to the Soviet Union. If these two objectives are secured, then the conditions are laid for a very rapid advance to imperialism on the Soviet Union under British auspices, if the Chinese provocation will not have already forced the situation and produced this result beforehand.

The British Labour Government has thus already in less than three months abundantly shown itself, as the Communists predicted, not a government of "peace and reconciliation", but a government of direct war-preparation, and ready, when the occasion arises, to stand forward as the leader of British Imperialism at war. The workers in Britain and throughout the world need to prepare urgently for this perspective.

## The Terrorist Attempt upon the Reichstag.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

Fourteen bomb attempts within a few months. That is not only a definite sign of the reawakened activity of the fascists, it is also a proof that the fascists have excellent connections with the main wirepullers amongst the German authorities. Fourteen bomb attempts without the police making one single arrest! The police do not dare to grasp the nettle with determination! The fact is that public opinion is in no doubt whatever as to the elements which have carried out these various attempts. The guilty persons are members of those special groups which carried out the assassination of Erzberger and Rathenau and which are working to-day in the closest connection with the National Socialists. (Read National Fascists!)

The mystery of why the authorities under social democratic leadership do not move a finger in order to put the circle of criminals, which is not very extensive, out of action, despite an overwhelming mass of proof against them, is quickly solved. The big industrialists who determine the policy of the Reichs Cabinet and of the various German State governments, are also the financial backers of the fascist organisation. And this is how it happens that the fascists are well-informed about every step which is planned against them long before it is put into operation. When it took over power the social democracy made no attempt to destroy the old State apparatus, but left it intact, deliberately. And this apparatus, supplemented by a few reformists, is only trained to crush the red danger. It hunts workers wearing Red Front badges. It confiscates working class literature daily. It conducts frequent arrests of members of the Communist Party and officials of the former Red Front Fighters League.

If only one of the fourteen attempts carried out by the fascists had been the work of communists, then the result would have been mass arrests, brutal terms of hard labour, the suppression of the working class press and the suppression of the Communist Party.

All these facts force one to the conclusion that first of all it is not possible to conduct any serious campaign of suppression against the fascists because their connections with the authorities are too good, and secondly the authorities do not want to suppress them because they represent excellent fighting material for use against the revolutionary working class. It is sufficient to mention that these same fascists conducted a whole series of attacks upon workers premises and working class meetings in Berlin alone during the last few weeks, whereby dozens of workers were seriously injured. What a valuable supplement to Zoergiebel's own bloody work!

But this is not sufficient to win the pauperised petty-bourgeois sections, is not enough to win the masses of the peasantry, not to mention the workers themselves. In order to show these masses that the fascists represent the party of anti-bourgeois action, a number of comparatively harmless attempts have been made upon "public buildings which are connected in the minds of the people with hateful memories".

With their latest attempt upon the building of the Reichstag the National Socialists speculated upon the disappointment of the masses who formerly believed in Parliament and are now compelled to see how the Reichstag members, who are paid with their money, grant the employers one prize after the other, pass one piece of tax and tariff robbery after the other. Further, however, the dynamiters intended that their attempt on the Reichstag should draw the attention of public opinion to the hypocritical "peoples referendum" against the Young Plan which was opened by Hugenberg the German-Nationalist exploiter on the same day, and not by coincidence, with a public meeting before the Hermann monument in the Teutoburg Forest. A people's referendum under the slogan: "Do not permit the German people to slave year in and year out for foreign capitalism!" which is intended to divert the attention of the people from their social needs and to exploit them in the interests of a national-chauvinist campaign of incitement. The noise of the exploding bombs was intended to drown those voices which pointed out that the allegedly anti-capitalist National Socialists have organised this "peoples referendum" together with bankers, large-scale industrialists and even with Jews!

It must be emphasised that this year the German fascists have really succeeded in increasing the number of their members and supporters to a very considerable extent. The electoral successes which they have achieved in Saxony, Mecklenburg and in a number of towns prove this. Deceived and betrayed by the social democracy, the semi-proletarian masses are being driven into the ranks of the fascists. In order to hold these masses sham actions against the bourgeois State are being conducted side by side with pogroms against the workers.

Here the Janus features of the National Socialists are revealed. The National Socialists are particularly dangerous because the heavy industrial wing under the leadership of Hugenberg is seriously continuing its dictatorship plans and supports itself upon the National Socialists as well as upon the Stahlhelm.

This situation makes it the duty of the Communist Party to carry its propaganda into all proletarian and semi-proletarian sections. The social needs of the poor peasants, of the handworkers, of the small shopkeepers and above all of the employees and lower officials, from whose ranks the fascists recruit their chief adherents, are sufficiently urgent to give the German C. P. ground to work amongst them successfully. Energetic action on the part of the communists in the parliament, the Diets and the municipal councils on behalf of these sections, the issue of periodical newspapers, above all in the big department stores, in the banks etc., greater attention to the demands of these sections in the communist press, joint demonstrations of the workers with the semi-proletarian sections when these latter suffer particular blows at the hands of the exploiters and their government, these are measures which will bring the advance of fascism to a standstill.

The Communist Party has already shown that it is the only force which seriously fights against fascism. Whilst the social democrats victimise policemen who had dared to use their batons against fascists for once instead of against revolutionary workers, the same social-democrats who openly praised the organisers and leaders of the May massacres, the German Communist Party is forming anti-fascist formations in the factories, and leads the workers in the struggle against fascism whose attempts to win the streets of Berlin have up to the present resulted in nothing but bloody heads for its supporters.

## Austro-Marxism — the Pacemaker of Fascism.

### The St. Lorenzen Incident.

By P. (Moscow).

After the Russian October revolution the theorist of Austro-Marxism, Otto Bauer, returned to Austria from revolutionary Russia and, as collaborator of the Russian department of the Austrian Foreign Office, expected the Austrian revolution. In the early days of the revolution he published a book under the promising title: "The Way to Socialism", in which he made it clear to the workers that the Leninist way — the way to socialism via the proletarian dictatorship — is not effective. Bauer proposed his "Democratic" way to Socialism: National Assembly, democratic suffrage, legalisation of factory councils, common control by the workers, employers and consumers over production, gradual nationalisation of the big works, broad social legislation. In order to pursue this path, Austrian Social Democracy took part in the coalition government: Renner became National Chancellor of the Austrian Republic, Bauer Minister for Foreign Affairs, Julius Deutsch Minister for War. With the help of the functionaries of Austrian Social Democracy they held back the indignant workers and soldiers from armed revolution; they were made leaders of the workers' and soldiers' councils in order to make them leaderless; they armed the Kulak Heimwehr in Tyrol, in Styria and other provinces; they gave active assistance to the Entente in carrying out the economic blockade of the Hungarian Soviet Republic; they rescued capitalism. Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch themselves relate these things in their memoirs. They boast that Austro-Marxism had and still has its own way to socialism.

And Austrian Social Democracy is really a model of the Second International. It has in little Austria 700,000 members. It has control over trade-union, co-operative, sport, culture and various other kinds of mass organisations. It is at the head of the Republican Defence Corps. The management of Vienna is in its hands; it has a programme and in this programme proletarian dictatorship is acknowledged — naturally not as a weapon for the suppression of the bourgeoisie and for the development of socialism, but as a means of defence against Fascist counter-revolution.

Austrian Social Democracy also has a land programme, in which it is stated that the land must belong "to the producers", i. e. Kulaks, and that the estates are not to be confiscated without compensation. Austrian Social Democracy has its right wing and its left wing; it has its theorists, its philosophers, its economists, its military organisers. It is so that it could even present to the Second International its secretary, Fritz Adler, who lately proved that in case of outbreak of a new world war, internationalism, as also the "right of the fatherland", is admissible. In short, it is a real party. It had and still has its own way to socialism.

This way led in a bee line to the St. Lorenzen incident when the Fascists prepared a bloodbath for the workers. This way led the working class of Austria straight into the position in which it now stands — threatened by an imminent Fascist dictatorship. The Fascist Heimwehr from the distant parts of Tyrol and Vorarlberg have already advanced to the industrial centres; they are already holding parades in the streets of Vienna. They are no longer armed by the Social-Democrats, Julius Deutsch against Communism, as in the year 1927, but by trust capital. The "march on Vienna", the march of the proletarian centres of Austria has become the slogan of the Heimwehr. In Vienna the joint stock companies are much too heavily taxed; in Vienna rents are much too low from the standpoint of the houseowners. The meagre wages of Austrian workers are still much too high from the standpoint of the Austrian and foreign capitalists. Austrian industry, with a very limited domestic market, it needs markets abroad. Rationalisation is not sufficient. Foreign capital, which in a large measure controls the Austrian banks, demands reduction of wages, cutting down of social legislation. Austrian Fascism is preparing for a march on Vienna after the pattern of Mussolini's march on Rome, in order to destroy the miserable remnants of the achievements of the November Revolution of 1918.

Austrian counter-revolution has not relinquished its aim of restoring the Habsburg Monarchy. In Hungary Horvath Bethlen are preparing the ground for it. Austrian counter-revolution, with the former chancellor Seipel at its head, therefore does not want Austria to be joined to Germany. Under certain circumstances, Italian Fascism would help to realise such a plan, in order to oppose to Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, the vassals of French imperialism, an Austro-Hungarian Fascist block. But French imperialism, too, is inactive. France fears the union of Austria with Germany. According to the Young plan, in view of the approaching evacuation of the Rheinland, the question of Austria's union with Germany has become more acute.

France — according to the "Manchester Guardian" — is striving for a union of Poland, Hungary and Austria. If these three States would constitute a strong Fascist block, and Austria would never form a union with Germany, if it belonged to this federation.

Austrian Fascism is a puppet in the hands of the imperialist powers.

But how does it come about that the Fascist Heimwehr can shed workers' blood in "democratic" Austria, that the Fascist slogan of the march on Vienna has become a danger, that, while a powerful and model Social Democracy exists, the working class is directly threatened with Fascist dictatorship?

Two or three years ago the Heimwehr did not constitute any serious danger. Only in the most backward provinces they attract the Kulaks, who were under the influence of the Catholic Church. Now, however, the Heimwehr have organisations in the towns; their influence extends to certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, to the officials, to the intelligentsia. It must be candidly stated that they are beginning to develop their organisations among the workers. The He-

are already organising so-called "independent" trade unions. They are even trying to mobilise the municipal workers of Vienna against the Social-Democratic municipal administration. Among the Fascists who attacked the workers at St. Lorenzen, there were workmen and clerks from the Alpine *Montangesellschaft* (iron trust). The workers of a tramway depot in Vienna have gone over en masse to the Fascists. The organ of the Heimwehr is propagating the slogan of payment of benefit to the unemployed out of the resources of the municipality of Vienna to an amount of 100 Austrian shillings a month. In a number of factories there are Fascist nuclei. It appears that even individual workers of the Austrian Communist Party do not appreciate the danger which the social-analogy of the Fascists represents. "The rejection of Marxism on principle, the absolute rejection of the class struggle, the renunciation on principle of influence exercised on trade unions by political parties, recognition of the corporative system" — that is the programme of the Fascist "independent" trade unions. This programme is a copy of that of Mussolini, or Mussolini also "worked" among the most backward strata of workers who were disappointed by Social Democracy. How is it possible for the Heimwehr to become such a power and such a danger? It was able to do so because **Austrian Social Democracy objectively supported Fascism. Austro-Marxism was the pacemaker of Fascism.**

Since the stabilisation of the currency Austro-Marxism has systematically retreated before the attacks of the bourgeoisie. When, in July 1927, the working class replied to the attacks of the bourgeoisie with the Vienna insurrection, Austrian Social Democracy checked this insurrection, betrayed it, suppressed it and led it to defeat. After the July defeat of the working class the Fascist attack developed at a great speed. The working class defended itself spontaneously. When the Heimwehr first wanted to demonstrate in Wiener Neustadt and challenged the Communists to counter-action, the Social Democrats sanctioned the Heimwehr demonstration and their police arrested the Communists. In the name of "democracy" the Social Democrats defended the Fascists against the revolutionary workers. When the Fascists began to murder workers, one of the leaders of the Austro-Marxists, **Renner**, stood in parliament and proposed class peace and the dissolution of all organisations of a military character.

When the workers began to throw the Fascists out of the factories, the Social-Democratic trade unions forbade this in the name of democracy and freedom of opinion. When the bourgeoisie disarmed the Social-Democratic Republican Defence Corps, the Social Democrats confined their protest to words. When the workers demonstrated against the Fascists, the Social-Democratic Lord Mayor of Vienna, **Seitz**, forbade the demonstration of workers, while the Fascists continued to demonstrate without permission from **Seitz**. The Social-Democratic metal workers' union recognised the Fascist trade union as representative of the workers! When, after the bloody fights at St. Lorenzen, spontaneous strikes broke out, the Social Democrats suppressed them, forbade the demonstrations and adopted a resolution to the effect that the Fascist coup d'Etat may lead the country into civil war, and such a misfortune would bring great privation not only upon the workers but upon all classes of the State.

Fascist dictatorship injures the bourgeoisie! While workers' blood is being shed, the Austro-Marxists adopt resolutions declaring that "the working class of Austria is thoroughly peaceable". They, the Austro-Marxists, are the pacemakers, the defenders, of Fascism. They are helping to bring about Fascist dictatorship! Through these events Austrian Communists are charged with an extraordinarily important task. They must show the Austrian working class the way of struggle.

The way of Austro-Marxism led to immediate danger of Fascist dictatorship. Otto Bauer's way to socialism led to the bloody attack of the Heimwehr upon the workers. The Communist Party of Austria must, even though it is weak in numbers, lead the working class to the path of the fight against Fascist counter-revolution, to the way of ruthless exposure of Social Democracy as an actual ally and weapon of Fascism.

## HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

### The Collapse of the Adventurist Policy of the Nanking Government.

(Taken from the "Pravda" of the 31st August 1929.)

The provocation policy adopted by the Nanking government towards the Soviet Union has led to a tremendous intensification of the relations of the two countries and causes a great danger of immediate military complications.

The policy of the Nanking government was consciously directed up to the last moment towards preventing any understanding and paralysing the growing tendencies towards peace over the whole of China and even amongst the Mukden authorities. The tendencies amongst the Mukden authorities towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict were determined by the fact that the Manchurian provinces in particular suffered as a result of the raid upon the Chinese Eastern Railway.

When on the 22nd July Mukden put forward its proposals through the diplomatic commissar **Tsa**, by the way essentially the same proposals which Nanking makes to-day, the Soviet government, true to its unchanged policy of peace, agreed to give the proposals its attention.

Mukden, however, withdrew its proposals and thus prevented the possibility which then existed of settling the conflict peacefully. According to a declaration made by **Tsa** to comrade **Melnikov** and later on officially confirmed by the Chinese Mission in Berlin, the unexpected change in the attitude of Mukden was caused by the pressure of Nanking, which decisively rejected the just and minimum demands of the Soviet government.

At that time the Nanking Government obviously wished to prevent any negotiations. It achieved its aim and still more: an organised pogrom activity against the citizens of the Soviet Union set in with the support of the Mukden authorities.

In Manchuria a regime of white terror was instituted which made the Soviet workers and employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway prefer to lay down their work and suffer semi-starvation, privation, arrest and frightful conditions in the internment camps and even torture rather than work on under the command of white-guardists, the irreconcilable enemies of the Soviet Union.

Our frontier posts were fired at and white-guardist bands undertook raids into our territory. Under pressure from Nanking, Mukden decided upon a policy of open war provocation, which created a situation on the Manchurian frontier which is extremely tense even to-day. Our troops were compelled again and again to repulse attacks of white-guardist troops supported by Chinese troops. A direct consequence of these raids was the necessity of taking serious and more effective measures to protect our frontiers and the civil population in the frontier districts.

Thus the Nanking government succeeded in forming a united front with those anti-soviet elements amongst the Mukden authorities and together with them it brought to nought the efforts of those moderate elements in Mukden which were well aware of the harmful consequences of Nanking's insane policy both for China and in particular for Manchuria.

There are elements in the Mukden camp which are closely connected with foreign capital; there is for instance **U-tsin**, the former Under-Secretary for State in the Peking Foreign Ministry during **Chang Tso-lin's** time who is regarded in "young-Mukden" circles as an expert on questions of foreign policy and who maintains close connections with French circles. A no less important and influential figure is **Chang Ho-tchen**, who protects the white-guardists and who is connected through them with the Russo-Asiatic Bank and the French capitalist circles behind it. This fellow made a name for himself by participating energetically in the organisation of the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Nanking's policy aiming at the internationalisation of the Chinese Eastern Railway and thus at the abolition of the situation created by the agreement of 1924 which excluded the influence of the Russo-Asiatic Bank and of all other imperialist groupings, of course met with the complete approval of these elements.

In order to overcome the resistance of the more moderate circles who saw the inevitability of energetic resistance on the part of the Soviet Union, the adventurers tried to prove upon the basis of information supplied by white-guardist allies, that the Soviet Union was not in a position to take decisive measures and that the appearance of white-guardist bands upon Soviet territory would be sufficient to cause insurrections in the Far East and to compel the Soviet government to capitulate.

The plane of the Vabanque players however went to pieces in face of reality. White-guardist bands and reinforcements of Chinese troops which dared to cross our frontiers were wiped out. It was not possible to shake the firm attitude of the Soviet Government which was fully supported by the masses of the toilers. The hopes of the Nanking government and of the Mukden elements already mentioned, that the imperialists would offer them any real assistance, proved to be baseless. The imperialist powers, although unitedly against the Soviet Union, were unable to come to any agreement about their own colonial interests in China. It is sufficient to mention in this connection the united resistance with which Stimson's plan for the internationalisation of the Chinese Eastern Railway met in Japan. Moreover, the same powers who had undoubtedly egged on Nanking to carry out its anti-soviet policy, utilised the general mistrust of Nanking which was caused as the result of the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway (an act violating flagrantly all conceptions of international law), in order to reject in a very unambiguous fashion Nanking's demand for the abolition of ex-territoriality.

In the meantime the situation on the Chinese Eastern Railway had intensified to such an extent that Mukden was faced with a catastrophe. The railway system was paralysed. The treasury was empty and there was no further prospect of any income. The most experienced employees of the railway had laid down their work. It was impossible to replace them effectively by white-guardists because the handwork of these gentry was robbery and plunder and not productive work.

The Mukden authorities, which had previously drawn very considerable sums from the profits of the Chinese Eastern Railway, were faced with the collapse of their currency and a general financial chaos.

Economic life in Manchuria was at a standstill. The bourgeoisie closed down the works and demanded the settlement of the conflict as quickly as possible. Serious fears were caused in Mukden by the persistent offers of Nanking to send troops in order to reinforce Mukden. Mukden knew very well that such "reinforcement" would mean the beginning of the end of Mukden's independence.

The natural result of all these circumstances was an increasing tendency in Mukden to come to an immediate agreement upon the basis of the minimal demand laid down in Comrade Karachan's letter to Chang Hsui-liang of the 1st August. The well-informed Japanese press reports that further resistance on the part of Nanking against the Mukden tendencies towards a peaceful settlement would have resulted in an independent settlement of the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway even against the will of Nanking.

Such an attitude on the part of Mukden could not have remained without influence upon Nanking, which has based its internal policy recently upon a rapprochement with Mukden. It is generally known that Chiang Kai-shek was only able to persuade his rival Feng Yu-hsiang to abandon his plan for an open struggle against Nanking and to evacuate the province of Hunan as a result of Nanking's agreement with Mukden.

Immediately the relations were broken off however, the attention of Mukden was directed exclusively to the developments on the Soviet frontier, so that Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Shi-shan were able to operate in North China undisturbed. Nanking was compelled once again to reckon with Feng Yu-hsiang and to make a bid for his friendship, and this was expressed in the appointment of one of his closest co-operators,

General Lu-Tsun-ling, as War Minister. Reports are to be had which speak of further movements of Feng Yu-hsiang threatening Nanking's influence in Northern China. Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Shi-shan are demonstratively playing the role of non-participants in Nanking's senseless anti-soviet policy which is causing the greatest discontent in all circles of the Chinese population.

All these circumstances make it easy to understand the change in Nanking's policy. Nanking has now made proposals to the Soviet Union which are essentially the same as those made by Mukden for the settlement of the conflict a month ago.

True to its policy of peace, the Soviet Government has altered the standpoint it laid down in the correspondence with Comrade Karachan with Chang Hsui-liang. The Soviet Government is making no attempt to exploit the difficulties of the Nanking government in order to put forward new and more severe conditions. The alterations proposed by the Soviet Government to the Nanking draft of a Declaration refer only to two main points.

The Soviet Government sees no reason to appoint new representatives in the Directorial Board of the Chinese Eastern Railway in place of the former representatives who conducted their work in complete accord with the Peking and Mukden agreements.

The Nanking Government has attempted repeatedly without success to accuse the Soviet citizens, members of the Railway administration, of demoralising political work, and to justify the seizure of the Railway with these slanderous accusations. These accusations caused mistrust even in bourgeois circles. The standpoint of the Soviet Government, which rests to recall conscientious comrades who are thoroughly capable of carrying out their responsible work, is therefore justified in every respect.

The second and no less important alteration which the Soviet Government proposes, is that the Nanking Government must undertake to see that the local authorities strictly observe article 6 of the Peking agreement. This article reads:

"The two governments, being the parties to this agreement, undertake not to tolerate upon their respective territory any organisations or groups whose aim is to act against the government of the other party, by means of violence.

The two governments, being the parties to this agreement, also undertake to conduct no propaganda directed against the political and social system of the government of the other party."

It is hardly necessary to point out that the utilisation of white-guardists, the raids of the latter upon Soviet territory, the toleration shown towards the existence of Russian monarchist organisations in Manchuria etc., represent a flagrant violation of this article of the Peking agreement, and that the Nanking Government must make an end to this state of affairs with all energy if it really wishes to bring about a peaceful solution to the conflict.

It is also quite clear that the victimisation and persecution of Soviet citizens whose only crime is that they refuse to support the anti-soviet activity of the white-guardists, must immediately cease.

The adventurist policy of the Nanking Government towards the Soviet Union has collapsed. Nanking must now draw lessons from these events and without further delay make a complete break with its former provocative policy. The answer of the Soviet Government gives Nanking the possibility of doing this.

The next few days will show whether the present attitude of the Nanking Government is a determined attempt radically to alter its policy towards the Soviet Union, or merely a provocative manoeuvre calculated to cloak a policy of violence by hypocritical demonstrations of "a love of peace".

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### Defence Campaign for the Meerut Prisoners.

By W. M. Holmes.

London, 29th August.

Just two months ago a National Meerut Prisoners' Defence Committee was set up here: and it is now possible to review opening stages of the Committee's campaign in Britain for release of the 33 Indian working class leaders who are languishing at Meerut the first stage of their trial for "conspiracy to deprive the King-Emporer of his sovereignty of British India".

It is notorious that the Labour Government has in fact assumed responsibility for the trial (the declaration of Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India, that "he could not interfere") and his refusal to receive a deputation from the Defence Committee and it is therefore according to plan that the reformist leadership should unite in sabotaging all efforts for the Defence.

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress, for instance, has made no response to reiterated appeals from Jawaharlal Nehru, the president of the All India T. U. C. and the Central Defence Committee in India. A section of the General Council's report to the forthcoming Trades Union Congress deals with the Meerut trial. The General Council state they understand from the All India T. U. C. (i. e. from the well-known reformist secretary Joshi) that "the majority of those arrested are either definitely Communists or active members of the Communist auxiliary organisation, the Workers' and Peasants' Party". They add a paragraph sneering at the "elemental manifesto" of the Comintern on the Indian arrests, and a ridiculously garbled precis of the manifesto. They state that a deputation from the Council to the Secretary for India on July 9th took occasion to mention the Meerut trial and "ask" for trial by jury and they conclude by reproducing, without comment, the statement of Wedgwood Benn that "it will be for the magistrate (i. e. at Meerut) to decide".

Thus the driving force of the Defence Committee naturally comes from militant elements; its chairman is Alex Gossip, a veteran fighting leader of the Furnishing Trades Association and its Secretary, R. Bridgeman, Secretary of the British Section of the League Against Imperialism. At the same time, it needs to be noted that among those who have agreed to associate themselves with the Committee's work are a handful of pseudo-left Labour M. P.'s — typified by James Maxton and Fenner Brockway — and renegades like Cook. The Committee has broadcast nation-wide an appeal to all trade union branches and other working-class organisations in the localities to aid the Meerut prisoners, both financially and morally.

Up to date the sum of £ 180 has been collected in contributions, of which £ 100 has already been sent to India. Protest resolutions and contributions have been received from 11 Trades Councils and 18 Trade Union branches (including Engineers, Miners, Railwaymen, Furnishing Trades). A local Defence Committee has been set up by the important Manchester Trades Council and an all in conference to set up a Committee in London is meeting on the 28th September. The National Committee lays particular stress on the need for establishing these local defence committees.

A feature is being made of the Meerut Defence campaign at Communist local meetings and demonstrations up and down the country. The annual conference of the Minority Movement passed a strong resolution demanding the release of the Meerut prisoners, and a warning was uttered against expecting that "justice" could be secured for the prisoners merely by bringing pressure on the Labour Government.

The Defence Committee has just issued a penny pamphlet entitled "The Meerut Trial: Facts of the Case" of which the first edition of 5000 copies is selling rapidly.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Sixth Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement.

By Harry Pollitt (London).

The Sixth Annual Conference of the National Minority Movement held on August 24th and 25th was, in spite of all the prophecies of the reformist leaders, a tremendous success. This conference has undoubtedly an added significance in the present period. After terrific battles against the reformist bureaucracy, over 700 delegates attended this conference, and in this number were more delegates elected by the workers in the factories and groups than have ever attended a previous conference. There were also present delegates from areas where important strikes have recently taken place such as **Dawdon**, representatives from the Lancashire textile areas, and, in addition, the secretary of the Binley Strike Committee, which strike was still in progress during the time of the conference. There were also large delegations from the United Mineworkers of Scotland and the United Clothing Workers' Union, two new revolutionary unions that have recently been thrown up out of the struggle. An analysis of the conference representation in comparison with that which have previously attended Minority Movement Conferences shows a heavy drop in delegates directly attending from trade union branches, which is indicative of the intense stage that the fight has now entered between the National Minority Movement and the reformist bureaucracy.

The conference was opened by the president, **Tom Mann**, in a brief statement of the fundamental aims of the Minority Movement, and immediately the conference concentrated its attention on the important emergency resolutions which dealt in detail with the **Meerut trial**; a call to action to the **Lancashire textile workers** and a warning to the woollen workers and miners that the same arbitration fraud which had been imposed on the Lancashire cotton workers was now the manoeuvre by which the Labour Government and Trades Union Congress hoped to defeat the woollen workers and miners in their immediate struggles. This resolution also urged immediate strike action to reject the recent arbitration award on the part of the textile workers under the leadership of rank and file strike committees. A further emergency resolution dealt with the intense **war preparations** that are being made against the U.S.S.R. and the special responsibility of the treacherous Labour Government in this respect, and pledged the conference to defend the U.S.S.R. and fight against the Labour Government by every means in their power.

The Conference met in the middle of the **Palestinian** events, and a resolution was unanimously adopted calling on Jewish and Arab workers to unite in their fight against British imperialism, which by fomenting religious and racial differences had provoked the riots which had taken place in Palestine as an excuse for strengthening its mandatory powers and entrenching British imperialism more firmly in the Near East. The conference also demanded the immediate withdrawal of warships and troops from this area, and emphatically condemned and repudiated the imperialist policy of the Labour Government.

The main resolution was taken in conjunction with the **Executive Committee Report**. This draft resolution was considerably amended in the light of the letter of the R.I.L.U. Executive Bureau and of the criticisms made by the delegates themselves. It was noteworthy for the first serious attempt on the part of the Minority Movement leadership themselves to introduce a strong measure of self-criticism in approach to the problems and tasks that the Minority Movement has on hand.

The resolution enumerates the main tasks and organisational measures to carry them out. These covered the fight against capitalist rationalisation, support for unemployed movement, defence of the colonial workers, against the war danger and for the U.S.S.R., and the national and international unity

of the working class, for factory work, agitation and preparation for a daily paper.

Organisationally the resolution then deals with the work of the M. M. in the factories, localities, districts, in the unions, at the Centre, in relation to the new revolutionary unions, work amongst women and youth, in the Co-operatives, educational and cultural work, in relation to international work, closer relations with the R. I. L. U., I. P. C.'s, the new London Industrial Council, the Workers' Legion.

The resolution also instructs the new E. C. "to set up a special Women's Department of the Minority Movement, that shall work out concrete programmes of demands, especially applicable to women labour, as the basis upon which our future work amongst women can be carried out".

An important document on rationalisation was submitted to the conference, which analysed the whole situation in regard to every important aspect of British industry, taking the analysis over the period since our conference last year. The result is that the conference had before it a complete picture of British capitalism today and the effects of rationalisation upon the workers in every industry, both in regard to wages, hours, speeding-up, social and health effects, etc., and upon the basis of this analysis a concrete programme of demands was put forward and endorsed by the conference, which forms the basis upon which the workers — under the leadership of the Minority Movement — will fight against capitalist rationalisation.

An exhaustive analysis of imperialism, which is probably the most complete thing in this direction that has yet been produced, was also considered by the Conference. This memorandum gave a most complete and accurate picture of what are the actual conditions of the workers and peasants in East and South Africa, Malaya and India, together with an important analysis on the whole problem of forced labour which has recently been the subject of acute discussions at the International Labour Office of the League of Nations. The document gave a terrible picture of the effects of British imperialism, and from the analysis it contained a resolution was unanimously endorsed outlining the policy of the Minority Movement in regard to the fight against imperialism and war, with special attention to practical organisational measures being taken to establish closer connections with the workers and peasants of the colonial countries and to work in closer conjunction with the Pan-Pacific and Latin-American Trade Union Secretariats. It is important to note that in this connection the Conference unanimously elected Comrade Joe Scott, a member of the London District Committee of the A. E. U. to go to India on behalf of the Minority Movement to help Indian workers to organise their forces to fight against the effects of British imperialism in India.

The question of unemployment was exhaustively dealt with, and here also a programme of concrete demands was formulated which should be the basis upon which tremendous agitation should take place, particularly in view of the imminence of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement Annual Conference.

The conference also endorsed the steps which had been taken leading to the formation of the London Industrial Council, and it was quite clear that the conference recognised the importance of the work of this Council, and there will undoubtedly be very important developments in every important industrial centre in the direction of new Industrial Councils based upon the successful experience of our London comrades.

One of the outstanding events of the conference, of course, was the visit and speech of Comrade Zikhon, the fraternal delegate from the Central Council of the Russian Trades Unions. The last time a delegate from the Russian unions attended an English conference was at the Scarborough T. U. C. in 1925. It is a thousand pities that the comrades who then comprised the Russian delegation could not have been present at Shore-ditch at the Minority Movement Conference to have contrasted the tremendous reception that Comrade Zikhon got with the cold welcome by the official bureaucrats at the Scarborough T. U. C. Comrade Zikhon was left in no doubt about the warmth, sincerity and desire for closer relations bet-

ween the British and Russian workers as was clearly seen in the reception that he got when called upon to address the Conference. His speech outlining the achievements of the Five-Year Plan and what the Russian trade unions endeavoured to accomplish in their previous connection with the official T. U. C., his condemnation of the Labour Government for its policy of non-recognition of the U. S. S. R. and his timely warning with regard to the growing war danger, all these were exceedingly well dealt with and created a very strong and lasting impression upon the delegates. The effect of this visit will be considerably to strengthen the links that bind the British and Russian workers, and it is to be hoped that on every other possible occasion the Russian unions will seek to send to conferences such as this their representative, so that the united front between the British and Russian workers can be the real thing, and not a formal one as it was in the medium of the old Anglo-Russian Unity Committee.

The fraternal delegate from the R. I. L. U. was also enthusiastically received, but I believe it is permissible to make criticism, because the speech did not deal adequately with the existing international situation and the important part the R. I. L. U. played in various countries during the last 12 months. It seems to me that this would have been an excellent opportunity to have brought sharply before our conference the experiences of the R. I. L. U. in the Polish textile strike, the Rumanian metal struggle, the acute situation that existed in Czechoslovakia and the experience in France, together with what the R. I. L. U. was endeavouring to accomplish in the Latin-American and Pan-Pacific countries. The speech was more in the form of a representative from one Communist Party delivering a fraternal address to a brother Party. I think this criticism will help to prevent a similar mistake being made in the future.

A large portion of the time of the conference was given to sectional conferences, where the workers from particular unions and associated with the same industries gathered together to formulate concrete programmes of economic demands which will be the basis upon which they can conduct their specialised agitation and propaganda in the future.

Throughout the Conference there was a healthy and strong self-criticism, in which particular attention was paid to mistakes which had taken place since our last conference, due to still carrying out remnants of the old line policy and through not clearly understanding the significance of the Fourth Congress decisions of the R. I. L. U. Especially strong was the criticism made by the women delegates and the youth delegates, both of whom were present in large numbers, and the women delegates especially took a leading part in the conference and made some of the best contributions to the discussions.

This self-criticism which was such a marked feature of the Conference was the only thing that the capitalist press and its lackey, the "Daily Herald", seized upon to comment on in their review of the proceedings; and they interpreted self-criticism as an evidence of weakness. On the contrary the delegates felt that as a result of this unsparing unfolding of mistakes they were fitting themselves more adequately to face the heavy tasks which lie in front. This conference will undoubtedly be a landmark. There was a recognition that we face a new period in which the Minority Movement is compelled at all costs to get its roots firmly embedded in the factories, and as a result of its work in the factories develop a new leadership which will be able to lead the new independent struggles which are imminent against the Labour Government, the Trades Union Congress and the capitalist class. The Minority Movement emerges from its Annual Conference strengthened and solidified with a leadership pledged to operate the important decisions that were arrived at, and we are confident that in the coming period we shall be able to record as a result of our conference very radical steps forward in the heavy task we have on hand.

## Labour Struggles in Shanghai.

The rising tendency of the mass movement and struggles the Chinese workers has received further expression in Shanghai during June and July. During this time there have been strikes of medicine and clothing shop workers, coal store employees, jute, soap and tobacco factories and a large section silk filature workers.

The medicine and clothing shop employees strikes have already lasted many weeks and have been fought along roughly militant lines under the leadership of the Shanghai General Federation of Labour. In the other strikes also many interesting features showing a rising militancy in the methods of struggle were to be noted, as for instance, when the jute workers threw a foreign policeman into a creek and arrested the Settlement police who came into Chinese Territory with the purpose of suppressing the strike.

But the biggest and most important has been the strike of silk filature workers, affecting over a third of Shanghai's silk filatures and including approximately 15,000 workers. The months of June and July are the historic time for struggles of the silk filatures. At this time the new silk is coming to the market and unless promptly handled quickly deteriorates in quality and value. Trade at this time is brisk and the employers are anxious to get the new season silk on the market. This does not mean that strikes inevitably take place each year at this time in the industry, but that the circumstances are favourable for the workers putting forward demands for improved wages and conditions and for taking strike action if necessary to enforce their demands.

During this year conditions of the silk filature workers have been particularly bad. The industry is suffering from depression and the employers attempted to worsen these conditions still more, for instance by increasing the hours of work from 11½ to 12 hours per day. This further attack brought matters to a head and on 4th July the workers of one factory on their own initiative commenced a strike. Next day they visited several other factories and were successful in getting another four factories to join the strike. On the next day one of these factories deserted the strike but visits to other factories soon brought the number on strike to 28, which was further added to later.

Again entirely on their own initiative the workers called a delegate meeting attended by from 10 to 15 representatives from each factory participating in the strike. This meeting adopted a programme of 28 demands and elected a Negotiating Committee, to place their demands before the employers.

Instead of going direct to the employers the Negotiating Committee went to the Town Committee of the Kuomintang. Eight times they went — and eight times the Town Committee refused to give any answer to the demands of the strikers. The most important of the demands were: 1. an all round wage increase of 4 per cent., 2. Limitation of hours to 11 per day, 3. Sunday in each week to be a rest day, but to be paid for in full, 4. Monthly bonus to be paid also to children workers.

The first stages of the struggle were conducted on militant lines and the struggle was continued on militant lines by a section of the workers, influenced by the Shanghai Labour Federation. The great majority of the silk filature workers are women and children. But there is a further division — the local, or South Yangtse section, and the North Yangtse Section. Influenced by the foremen and managers, all of whom are local people, the local section of the workers adopted a passive participation, merely staying at home and waiting there for settlement. The North Section, however, continued the struggle on militant lines, while the children and young workers as a whole have also been very active.

It has been said that the workers themselves organised and conducted the strike, influenced by the Shanghai Labour Federation. The silk workers are all organised by factory in capitalist company unions, which are connected in the Shanghai Federation of Silk Unions. The officials and committees of

this fake trade union are exclusively foremen and managers, representatives of the employers and agents sent by the Kuomintang. The Union is greatly hated by the workers who, while they are forced to join, all along have refused to ask it for help in any way. While the Red Unions have no organisation among these workers they themselves have some forms of secret organisation of a provincial character. These, together with the Negotiating Committee elected at the commencement of the strike, represent the organisation with which the workers conduct the strike, obviously a very weak form.

As a means of smashing the dispute the company unions called a delegate meeting which was attended by about 300 people, mostly creatures of the employers and Kuomintang, with only a small section of genuine workers representatives. The hall where the meeting was held was surrounded by police and soldiers. The official statement to this meeting was a mess of anti-working class, collaboration propaganda — "the employers are in a very difficult situation and you must help them", "first you must return to work and then we can make a suitable settlement", "now you must co-operate with the employers to improve the industry", and so on. Intimidated by the presence of such a force of police and soldiers the workers delegates did not speak against this, neither did they, however, give any indication of approval.

When a communist silk worker took the platform and thoroughly exposed the anti-working class nature of these statements she received the support of the workers. The officials, however, sent for the police and our comrade was arrested on the spot. This was greatly resented by the workers, who protested by leaving the meeting in a body, thus frustrating the purpose for which it was called.

Through inadequate preparations and lack of real centralised leadership and direction the strike showed signs of collapse on 13th July, when the workers of several factories returned to work. On this and the next days the capitalist press gleefully reported factory after factory as having been re-opened. This was the case, the workers of factory after factory did return to work — but in some cases ten minutes was enough to convince them that they had been cheated into returning by false promises and lies and again they went on strike in many cases. In this fashion the strike is still continuing, with all the defects and weakness arising from a good spirit on the part of the strikers allied with lack of preparation, hastily constructed organisation, lack of real central leadership and direction.

The employers, the company union, the Kuomintang and Settlement authorities have combined to smash the strike, using some very extreme measures. Immediately the strike started the Mayor of Shanghai issued a decree prohibiting all strikes and many other forms of working class activity and demanding that the workers remain at work while their cases were arbitrated on. Many leaders among the workers and comrades from the Communist and Red Trade Union organisations who have been assisting them have been arrested.

The C.P., the Y.C.L. and the Shanghai Labour Federation have had difficulty in making adequate connections with the strikers, but their vigorous propaganda and organised support is having very good effects in stiffening the attitude of the workers and in influencing their organisation and conduct of the strike. As a result better connections have been made and the militant campaign is making more rapid headway. The Shanghai Labour Federation urges the calling of factory and delegate meetings and the election of factory and central strike committees, organisation of pickets and visits to other filatures to bring the workers into a general silk strike, connection with all other strikes in the city by means of a central committee for joint action and centralised strike relief work, appeals to all sections of the workers for support, etc. Slogans have been issued and popularised among the masses — "No return to work until all demands have been granted", "No return to work by any section of strikers until the arrested members of all sections are released."

## INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

### The Results of the International Red Day.

From the "Pravda", 18th August.

The international police clique, in its endeavour to minimise the extensiveness of the demonstrations made by the working class against war on 1st August, has issued to the bourgeois press a slogan representing the 1st August as a defeat of the world revolution "fixed" for that date by the Communist International. Police petty mindedness has never exposed itself so lamentably as in this foolish diversion manoeuvre. The stabilisation of the bourgeois order must be in a very sad way indeed if Messrs Zörgiebel and Chiappe saved capitalist society from the communist revolution on 1st August. We communists are more modest in the estimation of our powers than the bourgeois politicians who laud the stabilisation of capitalism. At the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. we set ourselves for the time being the more modest — but under present conditions more actual — task of gaining the leading rôle in the world's labour movement, as the prerequisite for the victorious proletarian revolution. It is not by accident that the forces of the proletariat have caused this panic in the class facing extinction. The panic arises out of the historical inevitability of the decay of capitalist society. The nervousness evinced by the bourgeoisie on 1st August is a gauge of the disbelief of the ruling class in its own powers, a gauge which the proletariat must observe in its future struggles! Divisions of reliable police, on foot and mounted, may save the bourgeois once or twice from revolution, but not permanently. General Chabalov, with all the police distributed by him over the roofs of the houses, could not save tsarist rule in February 1917. The misuse of a constant repetition of the state of civil war is for the bourgeoisie playing with fire. The Terror exercised by the bourgeoisie steels the masses, trains them in the art of revolution. On 1st August the state of affairs was such that the bourgeoisie created everywhere a situation of open civil war.

Never since 1st August 1914 has the capitalist world witnessed such an enormous mobilisation of all the means of the bourgeois apparatus of force as in August 1929. This mobilisation has not been confined to certain places, but has been international. The Communists, even with the aid of the most brilliant speeches, pamphlets, and essays, could not have exposed to the eyes of the working masses the driving forces of external and internal war with such clearness as this "demonstration" for war on the part of the whole force apparatus of the bourgeoisie. Nothing could have so shaken the pacifist illusions of the masses as this gnashing of teeth by the bourgeoisie on 1st August, 15 years after the world massacre. Dozens of revolutionary workers were tortured to death, thousands of workers maltreated, tens of thousands arrested, solely because they do not want to be once more, as in 1914, cannon fodder for the international butchers in the interests of the international money market. Every Communist Party in the world was declared to be "outlaw". On this day the communist press was suppressed all over the world. The workers' quarters of the towns were transformed into camps of military police. It was not until afterwards that we learnt that in many countries workers who had left work to take part in the demonstrations were at once surrounded by troops of police, dispersed into groups, forced into the courtyards and then kept under arrest the whole day, not being released until the night before 2nd August. It is only now that news leaks through of the murderous deeds organised by the police in connection with 1st August. The assertion that the 1st August passed off without bloodshed is a crude and despicable lie. Shots were fired by the police on 1st August in many places. In the countries of the White Terror dozens of workers were shot during the days preceding the 1st August, on the 1st August itself, and afterwards. The shooting down of workers in the Jiul Valley (Rumania) has only been a continuation of the deeds of violence committed on 1st August.

The bourgeoisie, having learnt something after all from the experience gained in the various revolutions, did venture to organise a blood bath on an international scale. On 1st August they confined themselves to shooting and maltreating individuals here and there. They were well aware that an international massacre would have been the beginning of the end for capitalist society. Their policy was more subtle. Besides bringing their apparatus of force into action, they mobilised against the 1st August every shade of social fascism from Zörgiebel to the Trotskyist renegades. The 1st August was the decisive stage in the development of international social democracy to social fascism. Social democracy as a party of the class war against the Soviet Union, as a party openly and cynically supporting the Nanking hangmen, as a party whose answer to the struggle of the proletariat against war is a volley —, this is the lesson which the working masses have learnt from their demonstrations on 1st August. Eleven years later social fascism impressed this lesson still further on the masses by demonstrating against proletarian revolution, against the country of the proletarian dictatorship, beneath the banner of the Weimar constitution. Had the 1st August attained nothing more, the self-exposure of social Fascism which brought about would be in itself a mighty achievement on the part of the international working class. But the 1st August was destined to represent a stage attained in the struggle of Comintern for the majority of the working class. The August demonstration brought the last conclusive proof, to millions of workers, that apart from the Communist World Party there is no other party in the world actually fighting against war. The demonstrations of the working class on 1st August carried the struggle against war into the streets. From now onward the struggle against war does not consist only of passive general declarations at meetings; it has become an integral part of that offensive being carried on against the capitalist order by the working class.

The whole of the reports received from abroad by active participants in the demonstrations bear witness to the fact that the struggle against war has only now reached a stage which stirred up the broadest masses of the workers. Not only in such countries as France, Germany, and Poland, but in countries with small Communist Parties possessing but little influence over the working class. In these countries the communists succeeded in bringing tens of thousands of workers into the streets on 1st August. When we hear for instance that the C. P. of the United States, despite the inner party crisis only recently overcome, and despite the tremendous pressure exercised by the powerful capitalism of America, found ways and means to induce the participation of over one hundred thousand workers in the struggle against war, and to organise mass demonstrations amidst the attacks of police troops; and when we hear that the little Argentinian Communist Party with its 1500 members, led 15,000 workers into the streets in Buenos Aires alone; then we have the proof that the Communist Parties are on the right road towards gaining the leading rôle in the labour movement.

No less characteristic of the success of the August demonstrations is the echo which has been awakened by the appeal of the Communist International, to an extent surprising even to itself, in the countries of the White Terror, in China, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, etc. In such lands as these, where torrents of workers' blood are being shed, where all persons suspected of Communism are shot down indiscriminately, participation in the demonstration on 1st August was an act of the greatest heroism, of self-sacrifice, of devotion to the interests of solidarity among the workers. Even the bourgeois newspapers bear witness to the fact that in Shanghai, for instance, the workers gathered together again and again during the whole of the 1st August; that attempts were made to bring the tramway traffic to a standstill; that thousands of workers went on strike; that women took an active part in the movement, etc. Surely it is scarcely necessary specially to point out that such events as these, under Chinese conditions, are of a no less symptomatic importance than even a procession of 150,000 workers in Red Berlin? Meanwhile we still know nothing of what took place in India, South America, Mexico, and the other colonies in Asia and Africa...

But what we already know proves that the working class and the toilers of the whole world have responded to the call

of the Comintern; that the international demonstration on 1st August will be no mere episode; that the Communist Parties of all countries have the task of **continuing the struggle at all costs**. By our action we have first of all only aroused fresh strata of the working class. We have stirred up great masses of the workers in every part of the world, and drawn their attention to the threatening war. It would be a crime on our part were we now to let their enthusiasm cool, were we to fail to make use of it. Our campaign will now be continued along fresh channels. It must be combined with the class struggles of the proletariat in all countries: in Rumania with the shooting of the workers in the Jiu Valley, in England with the lock-out in Lancashire, in India with the Bombay and Calcutta strikes, in the United States with the Gastonia trial, in France and Czechoslovakia with the attempts of the bourgeoisie to force the Communist mass Parties into illegality. The masses must everywhere be mobilised on the basis of their immediate economic demands, in order that fresh strata of the workers, hitherto not participating in the movement, may be won over for the struggle.

The 1st August was a purely political demonstration, and did not comprise the great proletarian reserves. These reserves must be brought into play, so that the political movements may become more extensive. The resolution passed by the Tenth E.C.C.I. Plenum on the political mass strike must be supported by the **propaganda of actual deeds** every economic movement being guided into the political channel. The overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties failed to take the opportunity afforded by the 1st August of putting the question of the political mass strike practically before the broad masses of the workers. They confined themselves solely to demonstrations, a shortcoming which must be corrected by the Communist Parties in the class conflicts which they let lose. The Communist Parties must accomplish extensive work **from below upwards** in order to analyse fully all the lessons taught by the August demonstration, and to expose all weak points, as in the case for instance, of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia through the report given by Comrade Gottwald. The success of the 1st August is so incontestable that we can permit ourselves the luxury of the severest self-criticism, even with the class enemy looking on. After our Parties have in the shortest possible time drawn the balance of the 1st August, the question of an exchange of experiences on an international scale will be placed on our agenda. Our communist press must prepare to draw this balance by a systematic elucidation of the lessons of the 1st August among the masses of the workers. The Party nuclei will devote seriously during the next few weeks to the experience gained.

It is further the duty of the Communist Parties to work with the utmost energy for the **capture of the works and factories**, on the basis of the lessons gathered on the 1st August. The lesson which the workers of the Citroën Works in Paris have taught the whole communist movement must be taken to heart by all Communist Parties. We must popularise this lesson to the utmost of our power; we must ensure that the renowned workers of the Citroën Works become as well known and as dear to the international working class as the proletariat of Red Wedding. Follow the example of the vanguard of the workers of the Citroën Works! — this must be the slogan of revolutionary emulation proclaimed by the Communist Parties in their factory nuclei. The demonstration held on 1st August in the Citroën Works, where in the first half of 1929 alone over 150 of the most active communists were discharged, where the police took special measures on 1st August to prevent action on the part of the workers, where the police aeroplanes hovered over the Citroën Works during the whole of the 1st August, keeping a vigilant eye on every gathering together of the workers — the holding of a demonstration under such circumstances proves that in spite of the Terror exercised by employers and police, the conquest of the works and factories by the communists is perfectly possible.

If we compare the number of those taking part in the demonstrations on 1st August in the different countries, we find that the number of workers responding to the appeal of the Communist Parties was as a rule ten times greater than the number of members of our Parties. Speaking generally, it may be said that on 1st August every communist took ten non-Party proletarians with him into the streets. And this

does not express by any means the whole influence of the Communist Parties on the masses. The Communist Party of Germany, with a membership count of 150,000, secured 3.5 million votes at the elections. In actual fact the number of sympathisers is considerably greater than this. The ten non-Party proletarians standing behind every communist on 1st August were not merely a "sympathising stratum"; they are the fighting cadre of the working class, joined in permanent alliance to the Communist Party. They are already "non-Party" communists, and that they have not yet their membership cards in their pockets is solely because they are still insufficiently enlightened. The events of the 1st August have shown that these elements frequently prove capable of a greater initiative in self-sacrifice and courage than many old members of the Communist Parties. It is therefore the first and most urgent task of the Communist Parties, after the 1st August to enrol these **fresh fighting reserves** in their ranks. It is solely attributable to the fact that we have not yet grasped the right way of working for the development of the Party that these workers still remain outside the organised ranks of the communist movement.

The 1st August has done more to destroy the legalist traditions of a number of European Communist Parties than all our ideological struggles against these. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, on an international scale, has been exposed almost as nakedly to the working class as at the beginning of August 1914. The methods of open civil war employed by the international bourgeoisie on 1st August had the immediate effect of placing before the working class, as the most urgent question, the problem of self-defence. The working class must not permit itself to be made into the passive target of the bullets and Fascist brutality of the bourgeoisie. It must not patiently accept every imposition without an attempt at energetic defence. The working class must confront bourgeois Terror with the organisation of **self-defence organisations** in every works and factory.

The lessons taught by 1st August must make the Communist Parties realise the enormous importance of military work and propaganda in the army. Our demonstration against war did not reach the broad masses of soldiers and sailors. The cases in which workers and soldiers have fraternised have been isolated and bore no mass character, although one of the main objects of the August demonstration was to appeal to the reason and the conscience of those hundreds of thousands of soldiers who will be the first victims of the coming war. By now according the first place in the activity of the Communist Parties to work in the imperialist armies, we sever the last tie connecting the Communist Parties with the legalist position. To the bourgeoisie the imperialist army is its "holy of holies", to be carefully protected against any breath of communist influence. Communists working in the barracks draw down upon themselves the severest penalties for the indictment against them is "high treason". In this question of anti-military work, the greatest irresolution is to be noted among the communists. They entrench themselves behind general phrases instead of performing practical revolutionary work.

These are our tasks after the 1st August. The Comintern calls upon all Sections to take their part in the accomplishment of these tasks, to work unwearingly for their fulfilment, to continue the struggle at any price. At the same time it calls upon the Sections to undertake a systematic examination of the results hereby achieved during the next few months. Unless these premises are realised, the great historical role of the 1st August cannot be fully secured.

#### THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT ON OUTPOST DUTY.

The lessons learnt by the proletariat during the May Day conflicts in Berlin were of paramount importance for the organisation of the anti-war day in Germany.

In most of the towns the authorities made eager preparations for the suppression of the communist demonstrations on 1st August. In **Hamburg**, in **Bavaria** and **Wurtemberg**, the demonstrations were entirely prohibited. The chief of the Berlin police, Zörgiebel, declared in an interview on the eve of the 1st August that should any conflicts arise, the authorities would of course intervene immediately and energetically; it would be

advisable for non-participants to keep away from the demonstration. The social democrats came to the aid of the police in their own way, spreading provocative rumours and gathering together their adherents for a counter-demonstration.

In Breslau the military were held in readiness in the barracks. In the Ruhr district the social democratic newspaper even tried to go one better than the police and the employers. It called upon the social democratic workers to call all brawlers to account on 1st August, and so forth.

Whilst preparing for the anti-war day, the German C. P. organised numerous frontier gatherings in conjunction with the French, Polish, Czech, and Swiss brother Parties. At Aix la Chapelle, still occupied by Belgian troops, a great international demonstration was held, participated in by the representatives of five countries. The demonstrators shouted out their slogans to the Belgian soldiers watching the procession from their windows. On the Danish frontier a meeting of the German and Danish workers was arranged; this was dispersed by the police.

All these gatherings were preparations for the demonstrations on 1st August. The greatest of these took place in Berlin, where 150,000 workers, for the most part straight from the workshop and factories, took part in the communist demonstration. The social democrats, on the other hand, were not able to mobilise more than 50,000 persons for their demonstration. Also in the great industrial centres of Germany the masses responded to the appeal of the C. P. G. In the Ruhr district, in Essen, 10,000 workers took part in the march. On 1st August the chimneys of the Krupp works were decorated with red flags. In Düsseldorf and Leipzig there were demonstrations of 12,000 workers, in Chemnitz and Königsberg of 10,000, etc.

These huge demonstrations had not only the effect of inducing the bourgeoisie to resort to the aid of the police, but they threw the petty bourgeoisie into a state of wildest panic. In Chemnitz, for instance, numerous trades people hastily closed their shops as the time for the demonstration approached. In Hamburg, where, as stated above, all demonstrations were prohibited, the Communist Party called a meeting at which 15,000 workers were present. In Munich thousands of workers thronged the streets, in spite of the prohibition of demonstrations; among these demonstrators many members of the prohibited Red Front Fighters League, in uniform, were to be seen. In the Ruhr district the newly created anti-Fascist organisation, the "Ruhr Watch" demonstrated. In many places anti-Fascist organisations were formed on 1st August.

In Berlin, Chemnitz, Königsberg, etc. the building workers stopped work. In Königsberg 90 per cent. of the building workers went on strike, in Chemnitz 3500. In Berlin the building workers and members of factory councils proclaiming the strike were discharged. On the whole the demonstrations passed off peacefully. In some places, however, bloody conflicts took place, in spite of the iron discipline of the demonstrators, who refused to let themselves be provoked by the Fascist authorities. In Hamburg and Frankfurt the police fired upon the demonstration. A place can scarcely be named where the demonstrations passed off without arrests.

The Right and Ultra-Left renegades from Communism played an especially despicable rôle in connection with the Red Day.

On the 4th August the German C. P. again gave evidence of its power in anti-militarist demonstrations. A demonstration took place in one of the largest undertakings of the I. G. Dye Works at Leverkusen, participated in by 15,000 workers. In Münster, where the influence of the Catholic church is dominant, 8,000 workers demonstrated under communist slogans. All this shows that the C. P. G. is carrying its slogans even into the strongholds of the enemy, into the centres of the war industry, where it has hitherto possessed but slight influence.

(To be continued.)

## FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT DANGER

### On the Deviations and Mistakes of Comrade Bukharin.

From the "Pravda" of August 24th, 1929.

The decisions of the E. C. C. I. and of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany published in the last number of "Pravda", the opportunist mistakes of Comrade Bukharin, who up to the April Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. was the responsible editor of "Pravda" and one of the leaders of the Comintern, deserve the most serious attention.

The role which Comrade Bukharin has played in the leading work of our Party and of the whole Comintern is sufficiently known. This fact alone compels us to deal in detail with the grave opportunist mistakes which Comrade Bukharin has committed in the course of the last period, in order to make this perfectly clear to the broad masses of the C. P. of the Soviet Union as well as of the whole Comintern.

Already before the last July Plenum of the C. C. Comrade Bukharin perceptibly deviated from the line of the XV. Party Congress. This was the case in fundamental questions of Party policy, such as the relation of the working class to the peasantry, as well as the tempo and the direction of work in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Already at that time he had to face the organised sabotage of the kulak portion of the village in the carrying out of the grain procuring, together with vacillations of various middle peasant sections toward the Kulak. Whilst our Party made certain concessions to the middle peasantry (increase of grain prices) it considered it necessary, unswervingly to continue the measures for the reconstruction of the village in the sense of the decisions of the XV. Party Congress (collective undertakings and Soviet farms) on the basis of a determined attack upon the kulak and of the alliance of the poor and middle peasants with the Party. Comrade Bukharin at that time was inclined to renounce the decisive attack against the Kulak, to relegate into the background the measures for the socialist reconstruction of the village, to reduce the State regulation of trade and to grant the kulak a whole number of fundamental concessions in the direction of a development of capitalist relations in the village.

The Party, on the other hand, sought a way out of the grain difficulties by means of co-operation and collectivisation of agriculture (with a simultaneous consolidation of the alliance with the middle peasants).

Comrade Bukharin sought this way out by means of a consolidation of the capitalist upper strata of the village, by means of promoting the production of their undertakings for the market. As a result, for more than a year there existed profound fundamental differences of opinion between the line of our Party and Comrade Bukharin's line. And if these differences of opinion did not come to light already at that time it was only due to the fact that Comrade Bukharin at that time did not venture to defend consistently and determinedly his mistakes which led to the break with the line of our Party.

At the VI. Congress of the Comintern also, Comrade Bukharin made a number of erroneous statements both in his report and in his concluding speech on the first item of the agenda of the Congress ("The International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern"). When Comrade Bukharin spoke of post-war capitalism entering the third period of its development he was inclined to consider this as a period of the technical reconstruction of capitalism, as the period of the strengthening of the inner organisation of capitalism, and in fact as a consolidation of capitalist stabilisation. This standpoint was expressed by a whole number of delegates at the Congress (Ewer, Lovestone, Pepper), from whom Comrade Bukharin did not consider it necessary to dissociate himself. Further, in analysing the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation Comrade Bukharin stated that the outer contradictions of the capitalist countries are beginning to play the decisive role and not the inner contradictions between capital and proletariat (within the

dividual countries and on an international scale). Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: A revolutionary situation only brought about by war and not by an accentuation of the class struggle within the capitalist system along with the growth of the war danger. Such an inference lulled to sleep the revolutionary activity of the Communist Parties and provided the occasion for a demagogic agitation of social democracy, which declared that the Comintern, which desires to win the broad masses of the working class, is staking everything upon the card of war.

At the VI. Congress of the Comintern it was clearly seen that Comrade Bukharin did not wish to conduct any fight against those comrades (especially of the German Party) who adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Rights. On the other hand, Comrade Bukharin did not show at the VI. Congress sufficient determination and consistency in defending to the last his erroneous statements and tendencies. The resolutions of the VI. Congress (among them being the resolution on the report of Comrade Bukharin on the international situation and the tasks of the Comintern), after they had been discussed in the Plenum and in the commissions of the Congress and also by the individual delegations, gave a **decidedly Bolshevik answer to all the fundamental questions of the international communist movement.**

But when it was a question of converting these resolutions into action, when immediately after the Congress the Right and conciliatory elements in the C.P. of Germany organised a genuine revolt against the C.C. and against the line of the VI. Congress, we did not see Comrade Bukharin in the first ranks of the fighters for this line. Comrade Bukharin preferred to stand diplomatically aside, without uttering or writing a single word in defence of the line of the VI. World Congress which everybody expected of him in view of his position in the Comintern. Nay more, Comrade Bukharin did not by a single word protest against the speculation with his name; that the German conciliators claimed to have his solidarity, those conciliators who had formed a regular bloc with the Rights against the C.C. of the German C.P. and even against the Comintern. Not a single participant in the German inner-Party struggles could doubt after this that Comrade Bukharin is really at home with the German conciliators who are fighting against the line of the Comintern.

Comrade Bukharin found time and opportunity in the Autumn of 1928 to come forward openly against the general line of the C. P. S. U. in his article: "**Remarks of an Economist**", which has acquired unenviable fame. Comrade Bukharin's attacks were chiefly directed against the tempo of our industrialisation, as provided for in the Five-Year Plan according to the decisions of the XV. Party Congress. Comrade Bukharin's criticism, which is formally directed against the specialists of the State Planned Economic Commission, is in fact directed against the C. C. of our Party. Through the whole article there runs like a red thread the tendency of slowing down the tempo of our industrialisation, of adaption to the "weak points". The very ambiguous remarks in this article by Comrade Bukharin regarding the degradation of agriculture caused the reader to assume that in our country there is really taking place a degradation of agriculture as a result of the erroneous policy of the Party, as the bourgeois professors have been maintaining for a long time. Here again Comrade Bukharin had not sufficient consistency to defend to the very end the standpoint which he had laid down in his article "**Remarks of an Economist**".

Not quite a year has passed since the publication of this article. The tempo which at that time was provided for our industry by the State Planned Economic Commission has been far surpassed by the Five-Year Plan which has been adopted by the XVI. Party Conference and the V. Soviet Congress. A number of concrete corrections are already being made in this Five-Year Plan in the direction of a further increase of the tempo. Life has shattered the sinister predictions of the author of "**Remarks of an Economist**", which remarks were prompted by the disbelief in the forces of the working class and the overestimation of the difficulties of socialist construction, and nothing has remained of the whole capitulation theory of this article.

Although the Party has from the beginning decidedly and unanimously rejected such an attitude, although Comrade

Bukharin was not yet determined in Autumn 1928 to defend this view to the last consequences and it seemed that he would overcome his vacillations, Comrade Bukharin has nevertheless not abandoned his struggle against the general line of the Party.

At the beginning of 1929, on the anniversary of Lenin's death, Comrade Bukharin published in the "Pravda" an article in which he, in a disguised form, resumed his attack on the Central Committee. The article was full of sallies against our leadership, which, allegedly, did not come up to the requirements of the latest science and technique. The reasons for these shortcomings Comrade Bukharin could only see in the "incorrect" policy; in the refusal to slow down the pace of industrialisation — contrary to all the scientific interpretations of Comrade Bukharin —; that we were not inclined to make concessions to the kulak; that we were not inclined to stake our card on the capitalist development of the village. Bourgeois "culture", science, in the person of Kondratjevs and his like, long ago pointed out to our country and to the Soviet Power this means of overcoming the difficulties.

Comrade Bukharin adopted a still more direct and clear position in his speech at the Moscow Plenum of the Party and Soviet organisations under the heading: "**The political legacy of Lenin**". His political line (which is now sufficiently clear) of capitulation and concessions to the kulak elements of the country, Comrade Bukharin recommended to the Party as "Lenin's legacy". When on this occasion some comrades referred to Eduard Bernstein, who subjected Marx to a revision under the flag of Marxism, this was not at all a polemical exaggeration. Comrade Bukharin has deserved this comparison. How could one react differently to the attempt of cloaking opportunism and capitulatory tendencies with the banner of Lenin! If one were to judge according to Comrade Bukharin's report, then it would appear that Lenin never taught anything else but "caution" towards the peasantry; that he never mentioned anything of the kulak in his last article (why, therefore, does the Party again and again undertake its attacks on the kulak); that Lenin considered the building up of communism in the village (Soviet farms and collective undertakings) as an untimely idea and was in favour of carrying out industrialisation by means of thriftiness and the simplification of the State apparatus, but by no means by an "overburdening" of the peasantry.

Thus Comrade Bukharin gradually developed a whole system of opportunist views and a whole tactical line fundamentally different from that of the Party. In international questions Comrade Bukharin actually defends the thesis of the increasing strength of capitalist stabilisation. There inevitably follows from it the rejection of the whole conception of the VI. Congress regarding the new revolutionary upsurge; there follows the glossing over of the growing contradictions between the working class and capitalism; there follows the support (for the time being only diplomatically) of the Right and conciliatory tendencies in the Comintern.

With regard to the inner-Russian questions: the slowing down of the pace of industrialisation, using as a pretext the weak spots; abandonment of the line of the XV. Party Congress, of the policy of the broad and intensive socialist reconstruction of agriculture; the idea of raising the level of the whole village (on the basis of the individual peasant undertakings) that is to say, the unchaining of the capitalist elements in the village; the theory of peaceful co-existence with the kulak; the peaceful growing of the kulak into socialism; the abandonment of the consistent and determined struggle against bureaucratism in the State apparatus by means of self-criticism, which in practice would mean a conciliatory attitude towards the distortion of the class line in the work of this apparatus and open conciliatory tendencies towards that portion of the bourgeois specialists in the town who are not prepared to settle down to the idea of the Soviet Power. All this together represents capitulation in face of the capitalist elements on all fronts of our socialist construction.

The Right opposition which has arisen in our Party thus found in Comrade Bukharin its theoretician and leader. This opposition has become the centre and point of attraction for all Right, conciliatory elements who have separated from Communism or are about to separate from it in the international communist movement.

After the April Plenum and the XVI. Party Conference, which criticised in detail the views of Comrade Bukharin and of his followers in all the fundamental questions of Party policy one could expect that the representatives of the Right Opposition in our Party, although they may perhaps not openly recognise their mistakes, would at least refrain from a further struggle against the Party line, which has been splendidly confirmed by all the experiences of our socialist construction in the course of the last months since the Conference. But this was not the case.

This was not the case, before all with regard to Comrade Bukharin. Comrade Bukharin published before the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. an article on "Organised Mismanagement" in which he repeated, developed and deepened his mistakes which were ascertained at the VI. Plenum and which already at that time brought him very near to the Rights and conciliators. Comrade Bukharin now speaks still more openly than at the VI. Congress of the growth of the capitalist elements, of the organised state of the capitalist system, of overcoming the anarchist tendency in production and trade, of the mitigation of the inner contradictions. Comrade Bukharin has thereby made a decided step from the Marxist-Leninist estimation of the system of monopolist capitalism to the views of the social democratic decadents of Marxism from the Hilferding school. Needless to say this step encountered unanimous and determined resistance on the part of the representatives of all the sections at the X. Plenum. And precisely as an answer to this conception the X. Plenum has relieved Comrade Bukharin of his function as member of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. and adopted that recently published political resolution on the mistakes of Comrade Bukharin.

The Party is fully conscious of the great merits of Comrade Bukharin who for many years has fought in our ranks side by side with Lenin. The Party highly appreciates the great work which Comrade Bukharin performed in the last years in the leadership of our Party, already after Lenin's death, in the struggle against Trotskyism. But it is impossible for the Party to consider Comrade Bukharin as the infallible guardian of "Lenin's legacy". The Party has not forgotten the great mistakes which Comrade Bukharin committed in the past, his long struggle against Lenin. Comrade Bukharin still conducted this struggle in the years of the imperialist world war, when he vacillated between the semi-anarchist views on the State and the programme of the Party on the one hand, and the conciliatory tendencies towards the open centrist elements of the kind of Trotsky and their opportunist conceptions.

For a number of years, during and after the war, Comrade Bukharin defended anti-Leninist Luxemburg opinions regarding the national question, which is of enormous importance in the epoch of imperialism. In the year 1918 Comrade Bukharin stood at the head of the fraction of the Left Communists, who almost brought about a split, and who whilst they themselves were sitting up to their ears in the petty bourgeois bog, accused the Party and Lenin of degeneration. In the year 1919, at the VIII. Party Congress, Comrade Bukharin was the first to criticise the Leninist draft of the Party Programme. In the year 1920 he wrote the brochure, "The Economy of the Transition Period", which called forth a number of very energetic criticisms from Lenin (this brochure contained various germs of Bukharin's present ideas regarding "organised capitalism"). In the year 1921 Comrade Bukharin entered the ranks of the Trotskyist Opposition to the Leninist C. C. and made a number of quite impermissible concessions to the semi-anarchist-sindicalist ideology of the labour opposition. Finally, at the time of the III. Congress of the Comintern, also in the year 1921, Comrade Bukharin fought against Lenin in the fundamental questions of the tactics of the Comintern.

After Lenin's withdrawal from work, Comrade Bukharin came forward, after the XII. Party Congress, in defence of the deviation of the Georgian comrades, who later went over to Trotsky, and in their overwhelming majority have been expelled from the Party together with the whole Trotskyist Opposition. In the year 1925, at the beginning of the struggle against the so-called new Opposition, Comrade Bukharin, who joined the Party in this struggle, committed a number of great opportunist mistakes (the slogan "Enrich yourselves"; the declaration regarding the kulak co-operatives, which, allegedly, along with the concession undertakings, are growing into our socialist system; the observations that it is possible for us to advance

to socialism at a 'snail's pace') although at that time he admitted some of these mistakes.

However great the services of Comrade Bukharin in the past may be he has not therefore the right to come before the Party in the role of the infallible and only authentic interpreter of Lenin's legacy and as the only guardian of this legacy.

That Comrade Bukharin has become, in the twelfth year of the Soviet Power, the leader of the Right Opposition in our Party; that his present mistakes surpass all the limits of his former mistakes, proves the extent of the danger which threatens our Party from the Right deviation, without the exposure and overcoming of which the successful socialist construction of our country and the further consolidation of the Party is unthinkable. The experience with the former oppositions shows us where the struggle against the Party leads. This experience must serve as a serious warning for Comrade Bukharin.

Whatever position Comrade Bukharin may adopt at present — whether he will have sufficient courage to admit his mistakes, or whether he will develop and deepen them further — our Party possesses sufficient proletarian firmness and determination in order to continue the struggle against the Right deviation, which is disintegrating its ranks and to conduct this struggle to the final victory.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Resolution upon the X. Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. and upon the Tasks of the C. P. of Germany.

Adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany on the 14th August, 1929.

\* The Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany approves entirely of all the decisions of the tenth plenary session of the E. C. of the C. I.

1. The most important decision of the tenth plenary session was the placing on record of the new phenomena in the international class struggle which have shown themselves since the sixth world congress: the sharply defined radicalisation of the international working class and the new wave of the revolutionary working class movement. The taking over of the reins of government by the most important parties of the Second International creates, in view of the approaching war and the increasing misery of the working class, the conditions for a serious crisis of the social democracy. This crisis leads inevitably to the loss of social-democratic influence upon the broad masses of the workers, and thus creates the most favourable conditions for the winning of the majority of the working class by the Communist Party.

The self-exposure of the social democracy and the growth of communist influence upon the working masses urge the proletariat to adopt the methods of a more active struggle against the bourgeoisie. The class struggles are beginning to develop from offensive struggles of the bourgeoisie into counter-offensive struggles on the part of the proletariat, and partly into direct offensive struggles on the part of the proletariat. The Central Committee draws the attention of the party membership and of the whole proletariat to the extreme importance of this new situation for the future mass-struggles of the proletariat, and to the leading role of the communists in these struggles.

#### The Stabilisation of Capitalism more Decayed and Shaky.

2. The plenary session of the E. C. C. I. rightly pointed out that the development of events had proved completely the correctness of the policy laid down by the sixth world congress of the C. I. Contrary to the prophecies of the social democracy, which were repeated by the right-wingers and the conciliators, the stabilisation of capitalism has not become firmer and stronger, but more decayed and shaky. The danger of a new imperialist war, and in particular of an imperialist war of intervention against the Soviet Union, has become much more acute in recent months, as the events in Manchuria show. Despite the bitter struggles within the camp of

imperialists, the most important, world dominating contradiction, the contradiction between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, the inevitable conflict between two diametrically opposed class societies, is intensifying more and more. The hopes of the bourgeoisie for a capitalist degeneration of the Soviet Union have been **completely shattered**. The work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the **victorious offensive**, under the leadership of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, against the capitalist elements in town and country in the Soviet Union, are already showing magnificent successes. The decisive domination of the socialist economic forms over the capitalist elements is already guaranteed. **The tremendous development of socialist industry, the speedy mass-collectivisation of agriculture, the initial results of the carrying out of the Five-Year plan for the construction of Socialism, considerably strengthen the basis of the proletarian dictatorship, increase its capacity for defence and represent, therefore, gigantic achievements not only for the toiling masses in the Soviet Union, but for the whole world proletariat.**

### The Approaching Revolutionary Crisis.

3. The tenth plenary session of the E. C. C. I. devoted particular attention to the questions of the German working class movement and to the German Communist Party whose fighting experiences formed the central point of the session. The new regulation of the reparations question by the **Young Plan** leads to an ever closer participation of Germany in the front of the anti-soviet imperialist war policy. Particularly important was the statement of the plenary session that the double oppression of the German proletariat by the reparations payments and the exploitation of the German bourgeoisie **"speeded up the approach of a revolutionary crisis in Germany"**. Together with the growing strike struggles and the new wave of the revolutionary movement, the **May struggles of the Berlin proletariat** are of the greatest international importance because they showed not only the fighting initiative of the proletariat, but also the **strength of the influence of our Party**. The plenary session confirmed the statement of the Wedding party congress that the Berlin May events represent a turning point in the class struggle in Germany and accelerate the pace of the revolutionary advance of the German working class movement". At the same time the plenary session declared itself **"completely in agreement with the tactical line of the German C. P. during the Berlin May events"**.

### The Social Fascist Character of the German S. D. P.

4. With the intensification of the class struggle the Social Democratic Parties, which are firmly coalesced with the employers and the capitalist State apparatus, develop more and more towards **social fascism**, which is not only a tendency in the German social democracy, but already a fact. The Party must conduct a broad enlightenment campaign in order to convince not only its own members, but the whole of the working class of the social-fascist character of the German S. D. P. **Social-fascism is socialism in hypocritical phrases and fascism in deeds**. Under a socialist-democratic flag, the German social democracy is in reality carrying out a fascist policy on all fields: with regard to foreign policy, a chauvinist campaign of war incitement; internal policy, the preparation of an open fascist dictatorship and the **suppression of the working class** with fascist methods; social economic policy, the **unlimited worsening of the position of the proletariat in the open service of finance capitalism**. One of the most important tasks of our Party is to expose social-fascism, to develop an annihilating **proletarian mass-struggle** against its reactionary policy and at the same time to increase the struggle against **open fascism**.

### Bolshevist Criticism of Deficiencies.

5. The tenth plenary session of the E. C. C. I. exercised sharp **bolshevist self-criticism** of the deficiencies and errors of all the sections of the C. I. The German C. P. was criticised chiefly for the insufficient organisational consolidation of its increased mass influence, for its weaknesses in the carrying out of the political mass-strike after the May events, and for the insufficient organisation of its groups in the factories. The Party must make good these deficiencies with the greatest speed and determination in order to be capable of performing its tasks in the coming revolutionary struggles.

### Conditions for the Winning of the Majority of the Workers.

6. The tenth plenary session placed a series of extremely important **fighting tasks** before all Communist Parties, tasks which determine the fundamental nature of their policy in the coming period. The course of the recent mass struggles in a number of countries has confirmed on an international scale the lessons of the German events, i. e. that under present-day conditions and with the extreme intensification of the class struggle, **economic struggles take on a definite political character everywhere and develop more and more frequently into political mass strikes**. The intensification of the class struggle shows itself in the political measures of oppression taken by the bourgeoisie and the social fascists against the working class, whilst at the same time the working masses adopt **higher forms of the political struggle against the State power and against the fascist organisations** (political mass-strikes, proletarian self-defence organisations against police terror, the **disarming of the fascists**). The plenary session placed the problem of the **political mass strike** before the Communist Parties as **"the decisive problem"** of the immediate future. It pointed out at the same time that in view of the approaching new revolutionary wave, the **winning of the majority of the working class** was **"the central task of the Communist Parties"**. The preliminary condition is the **winning of the leading role in the working class movement**, that is, the leadership by the Communist Parties in all the actions of the working class, in the labour struggles, in street demonstrations, in order to guarantee the bolshevist leadership of the proletariat in the decisive struggles. The basis of this policy is formed by the application of **new forms of the united front tactic from below with the greatest possible participation of the unorganised masses in the struggle**. For this purpose the communists must concentrate all their forces onto the **factories and make them into Communist strongholds**. In the struggle against the threatening danger of war, against the offensive of the employers and against the slanderous campaign of the reformists, all the sections of the C. I. must conduct a **broad campaign of enlightenment concerning the tremendous successes of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union**. The activity of the communists and of the revolutionary trade union opposition **within the reformist trade unions must under no circumstances be weakened upon the basis of our tactical change, but on the contrary, it must be strengthened very decisively**. In order to strengthen the influence of the Communist Parties in the factories and to give all the struggles of the working class an **organised character**, it is necessary to form **revolutionary shop stewards bodies** which are elected by the workers in all factories and in particular in the large-scale factories. The plenary session has made it the duty of all sections **"to carry out a radical change in the methods of work upon the field of the revolutionary activity amongst the most exploited and oppressed sections of the proletariat, the working women, the working youth and the landworkers"**. And finally, in view of the danger of a loss of legality, the plenary session made it the duty of all sections to carry out immediately all the necessary political and organisational measures in order to mobilise a mass struggle against this danger and to ensure the continuation and even the extension of the mass work under **conditions of illegality, and to be prepared at any time to combine the illegal with the legal methods of work**.

### The Cleansing of the Sections from all Right-Wing and Conciliatory Elements.

7. Upon the field of inner-party work the central task of the Communist International is the **struggle against opportunism**, the bearer of bourgeois influence into the working class and of social democratic tendencies into the communist movement. **Without cleansing their ranks from the open and covert opportunist elements, the sections will not be able to carry out their new tasks**. A number of parties have already great successes to book with regard to the cleansing of their ranks from the rotten, opportunist elements which play a **strike-breaking** role in the proletarian class struggle (German, French, Polish, American and Czechoslovakian C. P.'s). The plenary session also pointed out that **"the conciliators who act as cowardly opportunists and protect open liquidatorism, have recently adopted the position of the right-wingers in all the most important questions of the communist movement, and have taken over the role of the right-wingers in the C. I."**

Following upon the expulsion of the right-wing liquidators, the conciliators, and in particular the leading conciliatory groups (Bukharin-Tomsky in the C. P. of the Soviet Union, Ewert-Meyer in the German C. P. and Humbert-Droz) have become the rallying points for all the defeatist tendencies and the bearers of all opportunist opinions. The plenary session placed a number of elementary conditions before the representatives of the international conciliators, upon the basis of which they might remain members of the Communist Parties. Failure to fulfil any one of these conditions would result in **expulsion from the C. I.** The plenary session removed the chief representative of cowardly opportunism in the C. P. of the Soviet Union, comrade Bukharin, from the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. Despite the fact that the 16th Party conference of the C. P. of the Soviet Union (April 1929) sharply condemned his fractional activity which was directed against the general policy of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, Comrade Bukharin has systematically continued his struggle against the policy of the Comintern and of the C. P. of the Soviet Union. In recent articles he has developed those **blatant opportunist deviations**, which were justly criticised at the time of the sixth world congress of the C. I. in the delegations of the C. P.'s of the Soviet Union and of Germany, into a **political platform** in the form of the theory of "organised capitalism", which represents an ideological capitulation to Hilferding, and an open approach towards social democratic revisionism. Whilst condemning this and similar conciliatory attacks, the plenary session also confirmed the **expulsion of the right liquidators**, the renegades of communism (Lovestone, Jilek, Hais, Brandler, Thalheimer and Co.).

### The Lessons of the 1st and the 11th August.

8. The Party must learn from the events of the 1st and the 11th August. On the 1st August we were successful in organising revolutionary mass demonstrations on the International Red Day throughout the whole of Germany, but particularly in Berlin. In the carrying out of the Red Day, however, a number of serious deficiencies and weaknesses showed themselves. The Central Committee pointed in particular to the following: the insufficient connection of all daily questions with the struggle against the danger of war, the insufficient formation and extension of the anti-war committees, the faint-hearted and passive attitude of individual party members before the 1st August, the **legalist retreat** in the face of the bourgeois State power in certain places, and the deficient preparation and carrying out of the **limited political protest strikes** in the factories. The campaign against the reactionary constitution celebrations on the 11th August was also successful on the whole. The Party developed a correct, bolshevist, clear and fighting policy towards the **bourgeois republic**; stood up as the only organised mass force, against social-fascism and the Reichsbanner, and stirred up broad masses of the workers against the bourgeois republic. However, in this action also considerable deficiencies were shown. In Berlin, in the days prior to the 11th August a number of legal and illegal demonstrations against the bourgeois republic were held and a successful defence against the attacks of the Reichsbanner upon the workers was organised. The Reichsbanner parade on the 11th August showed the **complete lack of success of the counter-revolutionary constitution celebrations** and the **isolation of the Reichsbanner formations from the whole of the working class**, and represented a defeat of social fascism. The deficiencies of the Party in this campaign were above all the lack of sufficient enlightenment amongst the workers concerning the essence and the character of social fascism, and the **organisational weaknesses of the counter-demonstration on the 11th August**.

### The Next Tasks of the Party.

9. Numerous new tasks result for the C. P. of Germany from the decisions of the tenth plenary session of the E. C. C. I., and the Central Committee points in particular to the following:

a) Energetic political and ideological utilisation of the decisions of the **Wedding party congress** and of the tenth plenary session of the E. C. C. I.

b) The continuation of the **anti-war campaign**. Following upon the successful revolutionary mass demonstrations on the 1st August over the whole of Germany, the anti-war committees in all factories must be firmly consolidated, and where such

anti-war committees do not exist, or where the factories elected delegates to the local committees, such anti-war committees must immediately be formed and organised upon a national scale. The Party must head for the calling of a **proletarian anti-war congress** in the winter months and for this purpose it must carry out a broad mass-mobilisation in the factories and the revolutionary working class organisations. Great mass demonstrations must be prepared for the 7th November. The national congress of working women on the 20th October in Berlin must be prepared by all party organisations with the greatest possible activity with a view to mobilising the masses of the **working women** against imperialist war and to preparing them for the great labour struggles in the coming winter months.

c) The immediate building up of an organisation of **revolutionary shop stewards in the factories**. This task must be carried out in the closest connection with the political and economic struggles of the workers.

d) Increase of the activity to bring about **economic struggles** for the improvement of the proletarian standards of living (extra-tariff wage movements) and the possible efforts to develop such struggles into a **political mass strike**.

e) The speedy building up of **proletarian self-defence** organisations in the factories as the organ of the whole factory workers, and the formation of broad, firm, permanent, independent proletarian defence organisations on the initiative of the Party. The existing Red Defence organisation of the fighting working class must not disappear in the new defence organisations to be formed by the Party, but must continue to exist as the basis and the nucleus of the whole proletarian self-defence movement and must continue their work under all circumstances and at any costs under the altered conditions. The previous unclarity, vacillations and failures upon this revolutionary field of work, which is of decisive importance must be ruthlessly done away with.

f) Increased attention and increased initiative in the leadership of the **unemployed workers movement**, which is becoming one of the burning questions of the day in consequence of the increasing unemployment, the increase in the cost of living, and the brutal measures of the coalition government against the unemployed workers. Enlivenment and re-organisation of the unemployed workers committees. Mobilisation of the whole working class on behalf of the unemployed workers. A campaign for the reduction of working hours, for the seven-hour day, for refusal to work overtime, in order to support the unemployed workers. In close connection with the struggles of the whole working class the Party must develop the unemployed workers movement in the direction of bold revolutionary mass actions.

g) Decisive strengthening of the communist work in the **trade unions**. Struggle against all capitulatory tendencies and all tendencies to leave the unions. Firmer organisation of the revolutionary trade union opposition. Continuation of the new tactical line in order to increase the activity of the unorganised masses of the proletariat.

h) Continuation of the struggle against social fascism and against the bourgeois republic which was carried out successfully in the mobilisation of the masses against the counter-revolutionary constitution celebrations. Special attention must be paid to the coming municipal elections.

i) A radical re-organisation of the unsatisfactory work of the **Young Communist League**. At the coming League congress a decisive change in the system of work must be made, and the necessary choice of leaders carried out in order to guarantee the carrying out of the correct **political line**. Preparation and carrying out of the International Day of Youth with the energetic support of the whole Party. All-round increase of the work for the revolutionisation of the young workers and for the strengthening of the Y. C. L. of Germany.

j) **Inner-party tasks**: struggle against the defeatist elements which showed themselves in connection with the preparation of the Red Day on the 1st August as in connection with former actions of the Party. Increase of the self-confidence of the party members. Abolition of deficiencies and shortcomings by concrete bolshevist self-criticism in all the party bodies and organisations. In the present period the chief danger is that the Party might remain behind the development of the revolu-

tionary mass movements. The whole membership must carry on a **decisive struggle against all such tendencies to limp along in the rear of the mass movement**, which represent a reflection of the social democratic remnants in the communist movement.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.  
(Section of the Third International.)

### **The III. Congress of the C. P. of Spain.**

By M. Garlandi, Moscow.

Of all the countries of Europe Spain is the most backward as regards economic forms and feudal relations alongside of modern capitalist economic forms. This character of the economic structure of Spain is the basis of a whole series of political facts in the public life of Spain. Still, the backward and the new economic forms found a point of contact in the development of finance-capital hegemony.

Finance capital, of which De Rivera is the tool and which is subject to the various changes in the relations of foreign imperialists (Spanish industry is influenced in a large measure by American, English and French capital), has acquired a power which endangers the development of the national economy of Spain. The big feudal lords, who are interested as shareholders in the industrial companies and in the bank speculations, in this way share directly in the power and prevent land reform, which might be a means of expanding the market for Spanish industry. Spanish capitalism is weak and crumbly. The dictatorship of Rivera assumes, on the one hand, the task of opposing the danger of the Labour movement, whose organisations show noticeable progress; on the other hand, it is trying to bring about a union of the ruling groups of Spain. This process of uniting politically the ruling classes, which has gone on in spite of many differences and has, at the same time, created new and profound differences, is by no means complete. The weakness of capitalism in Spain itself and the fight which the big imperialists are carrying on in Spain, each with the object of securing the hegemony and privileges, by gaining the support of one or another group, make the political game of the dictatorship more and more complicated. The "success" of the dictatorship in the matter of uniting politically the ruling forces is, therefore, built on sand.

Social-Democracy has become intimately friendly with the dictatorship. Although the Social-Democratic Party of Spain has never openly confessed this friendship, but rather — since the year 1923 — proclaimed its "neutrality" in the conflict "between the ruling groups" (i. e. in relation to the coup-d'état) Social Democracy has really been co-operating with Primo de Rivera and is still doing so. While combating all other oppositions with illegal means — the conservative, constitutional monarchists included — he has permitted the Social Democratic Party of Spain to function as a legal party and has done the same for the reformist organisations, which he has frequently accorded public praise. The so-called social policy of Rivera and the law for the regulation of economic conflicts, which renders compulsory the setting up of "parity commissions" (a trade union, which does not acknowledge the parity commissions, is denied legal existence), were created with the assistance of the Social Democratic organisations, which in this manner became part of the machinery of State and organisations of a Fascist type.

The development of the international contradictions of capitalism in Spain, which development was accelerated by the policy of the dictatorship, and the aggravation of the international situation, as also the rise of the mass movement, compelled Primo de Rivera in the year 1927 to organise an advisory assembly nominated from above. It is a kind of grand Fascist council on a broader basis than that created by Mussolini in Italy, and its discussions are public, in contrast to the secrecy observed in Italy.

The creation of the advisory assembly was regarded by several (including some of our comrades) as a symptom of gradual return to a parliamentary-democratic regime. These people saw in the fact of the creation of the advisory assembly not a weakness of the dictatorship but a sign of its consolidation. In reality, the advisory assembly manoeuvre served Primo de Rivera to get a hold on the Social Democrats and a number

of other antagonistic or indifferent groups; for it gave the impression that he was trying to set up "a normal" constitutional regime. Instead of normalisation, however, the inner situation was aggravated.

The Moroccan war, the misery in the country, the movement of the peasant masses and of the workers in the towns, of the autonomists and separatists in the various provinces, the dissatisfaction among the officers and the petty bourgeois masses, the strike of the students this year — all this caused de Rivera to declare his readiness to resign. But to whom should he hand over the power? The weakness of the position of de Rivera corresponds to the weakness and instability of the whole regime in Spain.

The Communist Party of Spain was formed by the fusion of groups of the Social Democratic Party of Spain and of the Anarcho-Syndicalists. The old ideology of these groups has not been overcome by the work of the last nine years and is the cause of all the disharmony in the Party and of the slowness of its development. The petty-bourgeois, anarchist influences are observable in the most various matters and in all questions. The illegal existence entered upon by the Party when it took the first steps towards transformation into a Communist Party was not a school of Bolshevism, and the different groups, headed by inexperienced leaders, fought against one another and split up into still smaller groups. A search for the political mistakes discloses that each of the groups took a false point of view. Those which claimed to defend the most radical standpoint usually hid their opportunism beneath the radical phraseology. In spite of all this, the most determined portion of the masses followed the Communist Party of Spain in consequence of the unhappy experiences they had had with Social Democracy and Anarcho-Syndicalism. The Communist Party of Spain has led many mass movements, but, owing to insufficient Communist preparation, the Party was not able to exploit politically and organisationally the results of its work. Our Party in Spain is a real workers' party, and we therefore have the foundation for the creation of a real Communist Party. But the Communist Party of Spain must draw from its own ranks capable leaders for the revolutionary class struggle.

The nine years of existence of the Communist Party of Spain constitutes an experience from which every comrade must draw the lesson. This lesson is a hard one. The Communist International has several times intervened in the affairs of the Spanish Party and given directives, advice and help. It is indisputable that the Communist International must support the C. P. of Spain still more than it has done in the past. But the Spanish comrades must also support the Comintern; they must help the Comintern to sift from the ranks of the Spanish Party all the elements of decomposition, of factionism, all the lazy and incapable, who tend to disintegrate the Party.

The Third Congress of the C. P. of Spain has shown that there is a group of good working-class comrades in the Party from most diverse parts of the country, many of whom have been active in the Labour movement for more than twenty years. But all these comrades have no idea of the big problem confronting the proletariat and the Party. The Party does not know that it is the proletariat alone that can take the leading role in the fight against the dictatorship and against capitalism; playing with conspiracies is only keeping it back; the idea is widely spread in the Party that "first the dictatorship must fall and then the class struggle can begin". That is the view of Italian Social Democracy in regard to Fascism and Mussolini! One of the delegates at the congress stated: "We must support the petty-bourgeoisie, which is fighting against the dictatorship (but where is this "fighting" bourgeoisie?), by insisting on certain conditions from the dictatorship." Our brave comrades from Catalonia, whose revolutionary enthusiasm we would not call in question, supported at the congress the slogan of the "Democratic-Republican Federation". The Spanish workers are, therefore, to fight for the reactionary republic (tor, Spanish comrades, the democratic republic of the bourgeoisie is reaction!).

The congress has convinced itself that the directives of the Comintern in regard to the policy of the Party are right. The congress is also convinced that the Party must alter its organisations, its methods of operation and its whole mentality. At the conclusion of the congress, the comrades in the opposition honestly declared that they saw their errors.

It was not difficult to prove that the Spanish Party was exposed to a serious "right wing" danger, for it was not con-

fined to groups but extended to the whole Party. Combating the right-wing danger in the C.P. of Spain to-day means rectifying under the leadership of the C.I. all mistakes made by the Party in all directions. The C.P. of Spain is following, somewhat belatedly, the call of the V. Comintern Congress for Bolshevisation. It must make up for the time which has been lost. It is probable, nay, even certain that, owing to the new course being taken by the Party, further elements will fall away. But in the ranks of the proletariat of Spain and in the ranks of the Spanish workers the Party has a tremendous reserve of strength.

It must begin a new work. The situation in Spain requires that our Party should be prepared, prepared for the fight against Fascism and against Social Fascism in Spain, which fight it must lead with energy and without hesitation. The workers and agricultural labouring masses have shown that they are not afraid to fight. It is up to us to show that we are prepared to take into our hands the lead in the fight.

The Party already has the opportunity to show that it has comprehended the meaning of its third congress. De Rivera is preparing a new constitution. Around this all the reactionary forces of Spain are concentrating. The Social Democrats have proclaimed that they favour the old constitution of the year 1876, i. e. they are for the status quo ante, but they will do nothing against the new constitution. The Anarcho-Syndicalists will adopt the same attitude. We, however, must adopt a clear class attitude against both the new and the old constitutions, against the monarchy of yesterday and against that of to-day: we must lead the fight against the consequences of unemployment, for higher wages, against the arbitration system, against the dictatorship, for right of combination and freedom of the press, for unlimited right to strike, against the danger of war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

If the C.P. of Spain, in conjunction with its executive committee, will fight against the disintegrating and passive elements in its ranks, and participate energetically and with a clear fighting programme in the next class fights, it will create a firm foundation for its reorganisation. And proletarian Spain will at last find in this Party the leader of its revolution.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### A Historic Decree of the Soviet Government.

Uninterrupted Production from the 1st October — The Abolition of All Religious Holidays.

By L. F. Vinov.

The idea of the so-called uninterrupted working week which was raised for the first time not so very long ago, has now taken on the form of a practical and binding decree of the Soviet Government. The introduction of the seven hour day, the socialist competitive scheme, and now the uninterrupted working week are the three great contributions of the mass initiative of the ruling proletariat released by the victorious revolution, in the present period of socialist construction.

The decree of the Soviet Government, which was published on the 27th August, contains the following provisions:

Point one provides for the commencement of the systematic reorganisation of the factories and Soviet offices on the 1st October, which is the beginning of the coming economic year.

Point two stresses the fact that this reorganisation must take place with full consideration for the interests of the workers employed on the factories and offices in question. In particular, the reorganisation must not diminish the previous number of free days in the year and must not increase the number of hours per year worked.

The decree contains no concrete measures concerning the distribution of the rest days. According to the previous course of the preparatory work, the following arrangement will probably be made: The previous working year contained 300 working days and 65 rest days, including Sundays and revolu-

tionary and religious holidays. In the future, there will be five revolutionary holidays upon which no work will be done. The previous proposals provide for general days of rest on the 1st and 2nd May, the 7th and 8th November and a further revolutionary holiday or memorial day (international women's day, the anniversary of Lenin's death, etc. or one each year in turn). Otherwise the shifts will take their day of rest every sixth day instead of, as previously, every seventh day and thus the obligatory 65 rest days in the year will rest apart of course, from the legal annual vacation.

Point three of the decree enumerates those categories of factories and offices in which the reorganisation must be carried out first of all. These are:

- a) Coal and iron production, the production of building material, power stations, all State, co-operative, and other joint building enterprises, particularly railway and road building;
- b) those manufacturing undertakings which can already be supplied with the necessary increased supplies of raw materials and half finished goods;
- c) in other branches of industry, those individual workshops should be first reorganised where an increase of production is particularly necessary;
- d) loading and unloading work and the commercial transport operations;
- e) forestry; and
- f) State and co-operative wholesale and retail trade in the towns and working class settlements.

The other points of the decree contain instructions to the various authorities and institutions concerning the measures which must be worked out to satisfy the cultural and other requirements of the workers in reorganised undertakings.

What is the chief significance of this reorganisation? Its chief significance is that the socialist constructive work is speedened up to a tremendous extent.

As from now on the factories will work 360 days a year instead of 300, there will be the possibility of an almost 20% increase of industrial production without any corresponding increase in the capital invested. The reorganisation means that the number of employed workers can be increased by one sixth, thus considerably diminishing unemployment.

The shortage of commodities, one of the most important symptoms and at the same time one of the causes of the difficulties facing the socialist constructive work, will be considerably mitigated.

The uninterrupted working week is one of those factors which provide the material basis for the new slogan of the Soviet proletariat: "Carry out the Five Year Plan in four Years!"

The reorganisation will make possible a much better and more effective organisation of the supplies of food and other products to the population.

The reorganisation will facilitate and increase the tempo of the cultural progress amongst the masses of the population.

It is not necessary to deal in detail with the significance of the abolition of all religious holidays, for the struggle against religion and against the church, and thus for one of the most important fields of the cultural revolution. The "Pravda" correctly points out that the abolition of the religious holidays is the greatest blow against religious superstition in the Soviet Union since the promulgation of the decree separating the church from the State.

Apart from these main revolutionary results, the reorganisation will also bring a whole series of smaller but taken together, considerable improvements for the workers. Let us take for instance the following examples: Should a worker have anything to settle with the authorities, or anything to do which cannot be done on a general day of rest, then under the reorganisation he will not be compelled to take the necessary time off his work. Under the new system, that phenomenon will be abolished which is to be seen internationally in all great department stores. On week days during the day very few buyers are to be found in the stores, whereas in the evenings and on Saturday afternoons they are so crowded that shopping becomes an unnecessarily wearisome business. Or, another example: What a tremendous improvement it will be when the workers who wish to use their day of rest in order to go out into the country, are not compelled to squeeze themselves into overcrowded trains like sardines in a tin. Under the new system the workers excursions into the country will be equally divided over all days of the week and over-

rowding will therefore not take place. One could cite scores of such examples which, taken as a whole, represent a very considerable improvement in the organisation of the workers' daily life.

Not only the authorities, but also the masses themselves are turning their attention energetically to organising the uninterrupted working week. There are, of course, many difficulties and hindrances to be overcome (raw material questions, questions of the reorganisation of the trade union and cultural work, etc.). The way the masses have taken up the idea of the uninterrupted working week, however, was shown by the elementary storm of protest which arose amongst the industrial workers in Leningrad and Moscow when Comrade Uglanov, the People's Commissar for Labour exaggerated the difficulties of the reorganisation and declared that "haste was not necessary" in introducing the new system. The tremendous success of the socialist constructional work in recent years has so consolidated the class consciousness of the masses and the consciousness of their power that today they are much less inclined than formerly to let themselves be influenced in their revolutionary advance by the pessimistic mood of individual leading comrades.

## Carrying out the Five-Year Plan in Four Years.

### Material for Pessimists and Opportunists.

The following is taken from the "Ekonomicheskaya Zhisn" of 18th August 1929.

It is not so long ago that the Planned Economy Commission put forward the idea of drafting the Five-Year-Plan in two forms: One, a modest so-called "minimal variant" and the other, the so-called "optimal variant". It will be remembered with what energy the right-wing opportunist elements and the bourgeois specialists opposed the optimal variant of the Five-Year-Plan. It is characteristic that these elements regarded even the minimal variant as extremely strained and only possible with the greatest possible efforts. We can still hear their warnings: "Special care with the figures"; "Scientific honesty"; "Conscientious calculation of all the factors of the economic situation", and all the other apparently objective arguments with which a number of groups in the State apparatus, in the economic organs, in the trade unions and also in the Party sought to hide their petty bourgeois vacillations and their opportunist fear of the generous programme of the socialist offensive.

The Party and the working class did not permit themselves to be confused by these pessimist warnings and fears. They did not believe the prophecies of the right-wing elements who declared that in the very first year of the Five-Year-Plan the economic life of the Soviet Union would enter into a chronic crisis if the optimal variant of the Five-Year-Plan were taken as the basis for the constructional programme. The 16th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 5th Soviet Congress adopted the optimal variant of the Five-Year-Plan and it alone.

Reality has completely refuted the Jeremiahs. It must even be said very clearly that reality has overtaken even the economic tempo of development projected in the optimal variant of the Plan. The first year of the Five-Year-Plan showed clearly that the figures set by the plan for the development of the various sections of the national economic system, would have to be revised, but not in the sense that these figures were too high, but in the sense that they were too low.

Let us examine the control figures for industry in the economic year 1929/30. Do they confirm the prophecies of the right-wingers according to which the speed of economic development decided upon by us, was impossible and exaggerated? Not in the least. According to the optimal variant of the Five-Year-Plan of the Planned Economy Commission, the second year of the Five-Year-Plan should have seen a 10.6% increase of industrial production. The Five-Year-Plan confirmed by the 5th Soviet Congress, almost doubled this figure. And what does reality show? In reality, our politico-economic position and the opening up of great reserves of socialist reconstruction, permits an increase of production for the year 1929/30 not of 10%, not of 20%, but of an average of 28.7%. The increase of production of the industry producing the means of production, will not be 23% as provided for in the Plan, but 37.5%. (Since the

publication of this article in the "Ekonomicheskaya Zhisn" a further increase has been decided upon. Ed. Inprecorr.) This means nothing more nor less than a 51% increase of that programme contained in the most daring, the optimal variant draft of the Five-Year-Plan. This is the speed with which socialist industry is advancing in the first stage of the reconstruction, at a time when the socialist competitive scheme is still in its beginnings. The perspective opens up before us that we shall be able to carry out the Five-Year-Plan within four years. It must be pointed out in this connection, that the "friends" of our industrialisation, amongst the pessimists and opportunists of all shades, were not long ago of the opinion that it would be a great victory of the Soviet Power if the minimal variant, i. e. that draft of the Plan whose proposals for the coming year have been increased threefold by reality, were carried out in six years.

Perhaps the right-wingers think of taking their revenge in agriculture. Perhaps the Party and the Government have made some mistakes here. No, this is not the case. The tendencies of agricultural development offer the right-wingers no consolation. Let us take an example: The collectivisation plan provided for the formation of 7000 collective undertakings in the R. S. F. S. R. in the economic year 1928/29. Up till the 1st June i. e. in the first eight months of the economic year, 11,340 collective undertakings had been formed. It may reasonably be assumed that in the total year the original plan will be carried out to a more than doubled extent. The coming economic year 1929/30 will see a further great growth of the collective undertakings. They will till no less than 15 million hectares of arable land and no less than 13 million hectares will be under seed. The Five-Year-Plan provides for a development of the tilled area of the collective undertakings to 20 million hectares up to the end of the plan period. If the development of the collective undertakings continues at the same speed as at present, and there is no reason why it should not, then the Five-Year-Plan will be carried out in considerably less than five years upon this field also.

When one considers this growth of the collective undertakings and of the Soviet undertakings, which considerably overtakes the provisions of the Five-Year-Plan, then one may reckon that by the end of the Plan period not 40%, but from 65 to 70% of the total amount of commodity grain will be received from the socialised sector of agriculture. Under such circumstances the individual sector in grain production would no longer be predominant, but will have given place to the socialised sector. We can also see considerable progress on the individual sector of agriculture, because the poor and middle peasants are only now beginning to utilise those technical, organisational and financial possibilities, which the social character of the Soviet System afford them.

It is important to point out that the production of raw material cultures, and in particular the cotton production, was set the task of carrying out the Five-Year-Plan with a surplus of from 30 to 35%. This task can also be carried out if all those levers are set in motion which are at the disposal of the organisations for the production of cotton. It must be remembered that the Five-Year-Plan did not take into consideration such a tremendous factor for the development of cotton production as the Turkestan Siberian Railway which will be completed next year.

Without difficulty one could enumerate many such facts which prove with absolute clarity that the original figures of our Five-Year-Plan can no longer serve us as the directions for the socialist reconstruction of the national economic system upon many a field. Facts have shown us that the present Five-Year-Plan did not sufficiently take into consideration the great reserves of our socialist economy. It also failed to take into consideration such facts as the introduction of the uninterrupted working week, the socialist competitive scheme, the increased training of technical forces, the speedy cultural progress which results in a more class conscious attitude towards the economic constructive work in town and country, and the more and more active attitude of the broad masses towards the great and popular task of "catching up with and passing the advanced capitalist countries".

It is therefore necessary to revise carefully the Five-Year-Plan upon the basis of our experiences in this first year. The working masses must be drawn into this task on a much greater scale than hitherto. This will be the best antidote to all forms of opportunism in this most responsible and important work.

## Exceeding the Five-Year Plan!

Further Increase of the Production Programme of Soviet Industry.

Moscow, 26th August 1929.

Only a few days ago the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council set a 28.7% increase of industrial production in the programme of industrial production for the coming economic year. The corresponding figure contained in the Five-Year-Plan for this same year was 20.2%. Further examination of the possibilities, however, have shown that even this increased programme is already exceeded. According to the newly ratified industrial production plan, industrial production will increase next year by 31.2%.

Heavy industry, including the production of the means of production, will increase its production in a single year by 42.1% (as compared with 23.5% in the Five-Year-Plan and 37.5% in the increased production plan 1929/30). Light industry will increase its production in the same period by 22.5% (as compared with 17.5% and 22.3% respectively).

According to the various branches of industry, the increase of production will be as follows: Coal mining 24.5%; petroleum 29.5%; peat 47.1%; iron ore and manganese ore 32.2%; raw minerals 97.3%; black metallurgy 24.2%; coloured metals 34.7%; general engineering 44.2%; agricultural machinery 75.7%; building materials 60.5%; chemicals 45.3%; textiles 14.6% etc.

In the same economic year 100 new tractor and agricultural machinery stations will be formed which will till 1½ million hectares of peasant land. The labour power released by this rational tilling will be used for a great development of road building.

## OUR MARTYRS

### Haja Lipschitz.

#### A Fresh Victim of the White Terror in Rumania.

In August last there died in the military prison of Klausenburg our Comrade Haja Lipschitz (known under the conspirative name of Jenni). She died after a 42-days heroic hunger strike.

Twelve comrades who have been sentenced by the Rumanian Special Court to five to ten years hard labour on account of their revolutionary activity, took part in this hunger strike. They were sentenced in the notorious trial of September 1928, when nearly 70 comrades were in the dock.

These comrades declared a hunger strike in order to compel the authorities to extend to the political prisoners the "amnesty" which was issued by the National-Zarunist government in May of this year and which was applied solely to common criminals. After 42 days of terrible sufferings, after the Communist Party and the working class of Rumania and of other countries came forward in defence of the hunger strikers, the government was compelled to release all the prisoners. But the 42-days hunger strike had exhausted the forces of Comrade Haja Lipschitz. All the efforts of the physicians were in vain, she died.

Comrade Haja Lipschitz died at the age of 25. She was born in Kischinev. Already as a scholar she entered the Communist movement and there displayed her whole idealism and devotion to the cause of the proletariat. With the temperament of a born fighter she worked intensively and incessantly for Communism. The modest and hard-working comrade was possessed with the desire to understand the teachings of Lenin and rapidly developed, so that she soon became secretary of the Young Communist League of Rumania. In the last three years she had to work illegally under the greatest difficulties.

In the trial of Klausenburg she bore herself as an undaunted revolutionary although she knew that a heavy sentence would be the result.

The news of the death of Haja Lipschitz, the great revolutionary at the front of the class struggle, must arouse a protest movement of the working class of the whole world against the white terror prevailing in Rumania.

## IN THE R. I. L. U.

### Convocation of the 5th R. I. L. U. Congress.

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U., at its meeting of July 23rd, resolved to call the Fifth Congress of the R. I. L. U. on July 15th, 1930, on the Tenth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Red International of Labour Unions. The campaign of preparation for the Fifth Congress should be carried out parallelly with explanatory work of the ten years of activity of the R. I. L. U. and the achievements of the world revolutionary trade union movement. In view of the manifest upward surge of the international labour movement and the experience gained in the economic struggles on the basis of the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress decisions, the next congress of the Red International of Labour Unions will undoubtedly be of exceptionally great importance. The Fifth Congress must sum up the results of the rich experience gained in the economic struggles during the last two years, and must outline the further ways and means of penetrating into the masses and winning more and more new strata of workers over to the side of the revolutionary class struggle.

In order to enable the Fifth Congress of the R. I. L. U. to carry out the tasks which now confront the world revolutionary trade union movement, the active and systematic participation of all organisations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. is required for the preparations for the Congress. It is necessary to sum up with the greatest attention and thoroughness the positive and negative sides of the experience of the economic struggles, the experience of strike and Fighting Committees, the experience of the illegal and semi-legal trade unions, the experience of the new unions, the forms and methods of organising the unorganised, the struggle against expulsions, etc., and to come to the Congress armed to the teeth with the experience of the economic and political struggles of the proletariat.

The Executive Bureau addresses all the organisations affiliated to the R. I. L. U. with the request to send their proposals for the Congress agents, in order that it be possible to publish all not later than January 1930. The Executive Bureau on its part will do everything in its power in order that the agenda, draft resolutions and materials be sent in good time to all R. I. L. U. affiliated organisations.

Prepare for the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions!

Executive Bureau, Red International  
of Labour Unions.

Moscow, July 25, 1929.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Results of the III. National Congress of the Red Women's and Girls' League.

By Lene Overlach (Berlin).

The III. National Congress of the R. W. G. L. at Erfurt proved to be a magnificent prelude to increased revolutionary mass work on the part of the League among the women workers, of a systematic tough fight against imperialist war, to whose successful execution the female proletarians must be trained to fight.

The III. National Congress shows significant progress in the political maturity of the organisation. The delegates, for the most part old members of the League, met together in full political unanimity and determination in regard to the political direction of the work as laid down in the reports and directives.

This was decisively influenced by the directives of the Wedding Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany. Expression was given in all the speeches of the non-party delegates to the growing confidence in the C. P. of Germany and the acknowledgement was made of the necessity of leadership of

proletariat, and therewith of all its organisations by the party of the workers and of the toiling masses, by the party of Germany. Subordination to a single political leadership in regard to the elaboration of the special tasks of the organisation, under the direct leadership of women leaders elected by the members — such was the clear conception of the Congress of the question of political leadership.

What were the tasks contemplated by the League for the future? From the working report of Comrade Ludewig and from the political speech of Comrade Overlach the following became apparent: The League regards as its chief task

**the fight against imperialist war, for the protection of the Soviet Union!**

It is necessary to convince the masses of proletarian women of the threatening danger of war, to destroy their pacifist illusions, to overcome their fear of any war, any armed fight, "bloodshed", and to make them ready and tough fighters for the revolution.

The congress liquidated conclusively those dangerous tendencies observable in a slight degree in several sections, to separate from the masses of the women the objective of our fight, "not to frighten them off". It emphasised the necessity of combining all the slogans of the day in the fight against imperialist war with Lenin's slogan: **conversion of imperialist war into civil war!** World peace will only be secured through the overthrow of capital in all countries, the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the creation of a world Soviet Union. This is the principle of the fight of the R. W. G. L. against imperialist war.

The proletarian self-defence training of the women, which the R. W. G. L. has set up as its decisive task, calls for the theoretic and practical training of the female proletariat as revolutionary class fighters.

The following slogan, previously propagated by individual women functionaries was rejected at the congress as false: "The chief task of the R. W. G. L. is the theoretic training of its members. If we convince our members in lectures and courses of the necessity for the revolutionary fight, they will become fighters".

In opposition to that, the congress was reminded of the words of Lenin as quoted at the Wedding Party Congress by Comrade Thälmann:

"The real education of the masses can never be separated and carried on apart from the independent political and special revolutionary fight of the mass itself. It is the fight which educates the exploited class, it is the fight which gives it the measures of its strength, extends its horizon, promotes its capacity, clarifies its reason and forges its will."

The proletarian self-defence training of the women calls for the creation of theoretic clarity and also the drawing of the women into all daily fights, the strengthening of the will to fight, the stiffening of the proletarian discipline in the course of the fight, the physical development of the women, so that they may be able to stand the strain of the fight. The congress therefore welcomes the formation of workers' defence corps and emphasises the necessity of including women in these corps.

The congress proposed the task: in all fights the R. W. G. L. must march in the van. Its members should not be afraid of the conflict with the power of State. May 1st and August 1st, as also many strike fights in Germany have already given practical examples of how in direct collision with the organs of the capitalist State the revolutionary fighter is created.

The R. W. G. L. will therefore in the future also adopt a much more determined and confident attitude. By means of powerful demonstrations, Red meetings, and processions it will considerably strengthen its attractiveness. Owing to the false conception of mere training tasks of the League last year the League made inadequate appearance before the public.

In the execution of its chief task, the fight against imperialist war, the R. W. G. L. is passing an important turning point. From the steady propagation of the task, the carrying on of the bulk of the work in the factories, it is now proceeding definitely to the practical execution of this task.

**Every fight in the factory is a fight against imperialist war!**

Under this slogan the fight against war should be carried out daily in a practical way in the factories. It is the task of the R. W. G. L. to be more active than ever in co-operating in the rapid mobilisation of the million masses of the working women.

The R. W. G. L. members in the factories are to become valuable supporters of the revolutionary working class, the most active champions in the fight for wages and bread, who through the confidence reposed in them by their colleagues should be elected to the strike committees and fighting committees, as revolutionary representatives and shop stewards, and give a rousing and exemplary lead at picket duty, in supporting the solidarity actions of the I. R. A., etc.

The R. W. G. L. should carry on a systematic and determined fight in the factories against the bourgeois women's organisations, against Social Democracy and their social-Fascist organisations.

The R. W. G. L. should through its exemplary work gain the confidence of the working women and bring in great masses of young working women as members of the organisation.

The congress sets the task, rapidly to form into factory groups the members of the R. W. G. L. in order that their tasks may be facilitated and systematic work rendered possible.

The R. W. G. L. will draw into the fight the unemployed women and join them up with the women in the factories. It will also devote more attention to the winning over of the female agricultural labourers.

The proletarian housewives should also be drawn into the factory fight. Their most important task is participation in the fight of the workingmen and women for their working conditions. The fight for the fulfilment of social-political demands is an important sub-task in that economic fight.

By directing its work in this manner towards the factories the R. W. G. L. at its III. National Congress, overcame conclusively those political tendencies in the organisation towards shifting the main part of the work of the Leagues to social-political and cultural tasks and thus making the R. W. G. L. a rallying point chiefly for housewives and women of the lower middle class.

The III. National Congress emphasised the necessity, in propagating its task of fighting against imperialist war and protecting the Soviet Union, of informing the proletarian women much more minutely than heretofore of the tremendous successes of the development of socialism and of drawing special attention to the important role played by women in the Soviet Union, and of presenting the Soviet Union as the sole centre of peace, the powerful support of the fighting proletariat. By planting in the hearts of the women a glowing love for the proletarian fatherland, the R. W. G. L. will indubitably make the women ready, in spite of the immense war agitation of the bourgeoisie and of their Social-Democratic lackeys, to defend the Soviet Union at the risk of their lives.

## August 1st and the Working Women in Czechoslovakia.

By Maria Wiedmeyer.

The Masaryk Government of the Czech Republic combated with the vilest Terror even the preparations of the revolutionary workers for the international fighting day against imperialist war. It used the whole of its apparatus of power and thereby proved its determination to break with brutal violence every serious resistance of the working class to the imperialist war preparations and to war itself. For this reason the C.P.Cz. had to carry out the mass mobilisation under the most difficult conditions, and was further handicapped by insufficient revolutionary experience and steadfastness on the part of the Party. Furthermore, the liquidation tendencies, which still exist in the Party, and which have not yet been overcome in spite of the expulsion of a number of professed liquidators, constitute a serious hindrance.

Again, the mobilisation of the working women encountered difficulties. The work of the Party among the women in Czechoslovakia had been but slight hitherto. Prior to August 1st scarcely any work at all was carried on in most factories.

Wherever the Party had already systematically influenced the working women and workers' wives, there was no failure of the Party on August 1st, for at those places the proletarian women were well to the fore in the fight to hold the streets against the Terror of the Czech authorities. In Komotau the workers' wives blocked the side streets leading to the Mannesmann Works, so that the workers were morally compelled to stand and listen to the Communist speeches. In places in the district of Aussig the women actively resisted the police force and the baton charges and arrests which took place. The leaflets, the illegal newspapers, and, especially, the prohibited Rosewatka ("Women's Journal"), were enthusiastically distributed by the working women and workers' wives inside the factories and at the factory gates. The rage of the police knew no bounds when, in spite of the persecution, the paper was always there again.

Factory gate meetings of working women took place during the dinner hour. At these meetings women comrades delivered speeches on the question of imperialist war and price inflation. In all the large towns the Party succeeded in holding big meetings on the market square on market days. The workers' wives protected their speakers courageously. The appointed speaker in all cases succeeded in addressing the masses. The police nosed into the women's baskets in their search for forbidden material, but the women did not allow them to take their leaflets from them.

A conference of working women was held in Prague. Comrade Vobecka delivered the speech. In the discussion the working women reported upon the bad conditions obtaining at their works and promised to get other working women to join the fight. It was resolved by the conference to demonstrate in the settlements of the working women and workers' wives, in spite of illegality, to distribute leaflets and to organise meetings. These meetings were successfully converted into demonstrations of protest against imperialist war. The committee elected by the conference was instructed to conduct the pioneer work among the proletarian women of Prague against imperialist war.

The police were not successful in preventing this conference. The working women fully understood the necessity of absolute secrecy in preparing this conference and of giving it the utmost publicity among the workers afterwards.

A conference of men and women factory workers was held at Prague. This conference was convened by the Prague committee of action. A great number of working women and workers' wives attended the conference. Some of these women were arrested. In prison they fought on and did work among the proletarian prisoners who were still vacillating.

In the district of Carlsbad also an illegal conference took place. This was well attended, especially by factory women and out-workers.

It is the intention of the Party to organise further conferences, which are to be prepared now during the discussion concerning August 1st. The mistakes which were made prior to August will be rectified in this work. In particular, the work on this question will not, as was the case with the work of the whole Party prior to August 1st, be prepared merely in the residential areas, but for the most part it will be carried on in the factories and thereby devoted to bringing in the working women engaged in production.

On August 1st the proletarian women of Czechoslovakia gave courageous acknowledgement of the revolutionary class fight against imperialist war. They will take their place in the forefront of the fights of the working class, in the fight against the Masaryk Government and in the organising of the proletarian revolution.

## One of the Many.

(Letter from Yugoslavia.)

After the revolution of January 6th a campaign was set against all workers who had belonged to the disbanded organisations. The monarchist military dictatorship put in order of the day the intensification of the White Terror, only means whereby to throttle the movement of the working masses, one of the chief preliminary conditions for the preparation of imperialist war. On top of starvation, barbaric measures of exploitation, survivals of feudalism, and national oppression there came the bloody offensive of the Yugoslavian military against the active functionaries of the working class and against the class-conscious workers. The prisons and jails of Yugoslavia are filled to overflowing. Many of the prisoners are murdered without trial. The rest are subjected to inhuman torture in the prisons.

There are also women among them. One of the many is Anka Buturatz, a 25-year old garment worker from Zagreb. Under the yoke of exploitation the young working girl, as a member of the oppressed class and of an oppressed nation, as a member of the most oppressed stratum of the working class, as a woman, she entered the ranks of the class-conscious workers. It became her life work to rouse her class sisters and draw them into the class fight and into the organisation. For this "great crime" the hangmen of the workers in Yugoslavia have called this working girl to account. She is accused of distributing illegal literature and has been in Zagreb prison since April 8th. For many months she has been subjected to all the methods of torture, which have become the usual system in all countries where White Terror prevails either openly or under the cloak of a Fascist regime: flogging, breaking of hands and feet, pricking with red-hot needles, etc.

Before the court, Anka Buturatz and the other political prisoners threw this fact in the face of the judge-agent of the bourgeoisie.

In the eyes of the working women and the working class of Yugoslavia, Anka Buturatz is the incarnation of the victim of the bloody dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. She is also the incarnation of the call to the fight for the overthrow of the military dictatorship, to fight for the proletarian dictatorship.

We working women and female toilers of Yugoslavia expect and demand of our foreign sisters that they will support our fight by a mass protest against all the attacks of the hangings of the Yugoslavian bourgeoisie.

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The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

England . . . . .	2 sh.
Germany . . . . .	1.50 marks
Austria . . . . .	2 sh.
Norway . . . . .	1.50 crowns
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**The Business Manager.**