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Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow May 5th 1926.

Workers of all countries!

The events in Great Britain are of historical importance. The British capitalists intend ruthlessly to smash and humiliate the vanguard of the British proletariat, the miners, in order to demoralise the Labour movement of Great Britain and thus to throw back the British proletariat for decades. The Conservative Government resolved to declare "a preventive war" on the British working class, fearing that the growing discontent of the widest strata of the British working class provoked by the rule of the Conservatives, might cause the wave of the Labour movement to rise still higher. The Baldwin Government has for months been working in a cold-blooded way towards the destruction and suppression of the British working-class, with the intention of thus consolidating its own position of supremacy in the country.

The great contest between Capital and Labour in Great Britain began as an economic struggle, but is developing into a political one. The British bourgeoisie and its Government are

giving the proletariat of Great Britain and of the whole world an object lesson as to the extent to which economics are bound up with politics. The leaders of the British bourgeoisie talked at random about "the rights of the nation", "the inviolability of the Constitution", about "democracy" etc. At the same time the ruling Conservative party, long before the outbreak of the conflict, issued a circular letter calling upon its partisans to prepare for a fight against the workers' organisations. At the same time the British bourgeoisie, with the support of the Conservative party, began to form the O. M. S., a Fascist organisation, which is now more and more revealing itself as a strike-breaking organisation.

The army, navy, air-force and police are being mobilised against the working class. The censorship has been introduced throughout the country and warrants of arrest have been issued. The methods which were used against the "external enemy" during the Great War are at the present moment being applied against the "internal enemy", i. e. the working class which is fighting in defence of its rights.

The bourgeoisie has formed a united front in the fight against the working class. The British Liberal party has assured the Conservatives of its unreserved support. We must oppose the united front of the bourgeoisie by a united front of the proletariat. The fight of the British proletariat is a fight of the proletariat of the whole world. The Communist International calls upon all its members and adherents to do, without delay, everything in their power to support the British proletariat in its great struggle.

Miners of Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, America, Japan and other countries, to you the Communist International addresses its first words! On you depends the victory of your British brothers, which is also a victory for you. Not a single ton of coal or petroleum must be allowed to enter British ports or other ports from which they could be introduced into Great Britain. Demand that the resolutions of your Brussels Conference be carried through and do not allow them to become scraps of paper!

Transport workers, railwaymen of the whole world, the eyes of the fighting proletariat of Great Britain and other countries are fixed on you, the most responsible task is yours! You must not allow a single train, a single steamer to convey coal or petroleum to Great Britain as long as the fight lasts. Insist upon the resolutions of the International Transport Workers Federation being carried through with all energy.

All sections of the Communist International will invite the Social Democrats in all countries to join without delay in forming a committee for united action which is to undertake to support the fight of the British workers in every way. Today, hesitation would be a crime; to protract the negotiations or to pass over these proposals with diplomatic answers would be equivalent to a refusal to support our British brothers. The Social Democratic and non-party workers must — with their leaders where the latter are willing, but over the leaders' heads, where they offer resistance — form, in common with the Communists, committees of action for the support of the British proletariat.

To the British workers, the Communist International expresses its enthusiasm for the fight so heroically begun. In this fight, the British proletariat are the outposts of the proletariat of the whole world. The model organisation of the British workers is destined to play the greatest rôle at the present moment. Since the days of Chartism, Great Britain has known no such mighty movement as the present one. The British workers may rest assured that all honest proletarians throughout the world will enthusiastically come to their aid.

The British workers will not forget the grave lessons of 1921. The "heroes" of Black Friday will meet with the well-deserved distrust of the organised British workers. The history of strike-war in Great Britain has seen a particularly large number of examples of a few treacherous leaders placing themselves at the head of the Labour movement in order to betray it at the first opportunity. These are the principles of Mr. Thomas. Do not forget, Comrades, that this danger is the greatest which threatens your movement. The plain and blunt words of British workers at meetings in the last few days, that everyone who does not support the British miners is an enemy of the working class, the words of Saklatvala the communist Member of Parliament, to the British soldiers asking them not to fire on the workers should it come to firing, have everywhere been taken up with enthusiasm.

The Trade Union Councils must support the movement for the formation of committees of action with all their power. In the course of the fight, committees of action and workers' defence corps will inevitably be formed and developed.

The Conservative party, which has undertaken the task of suppressing and annihilating the British proletariat, will conjure up a still more intense and well-deserved hatred against itself among the whole of the workers of Great Britain. In the House of Commons, Baldwin shed tears over the civil war. Baldwin's policy indeed is a policy of civil war, the Conservative Government is inevitably riding for a fall. Whatever may be the immediate issue of the fight begun by the British working class — and the Communists of the whole world are under the obligation of making use of every means at their disposal to ensure a victory in the fight — one thing is certain, this great fight is opening a new era in the class war not only of the British proletariat, but of the proletariat of the whole world.

Proletarians of all countries, join in the fight! Unity, international solidarity, these are the slogans of the day! Energetic, self-sacrificing and immediate material help to our British brothers! Numerous Labour organisations and all the trade unions of the Soviet Union are already sending material help to the British workers.

Committees of Action in all countries! The fight must continue with more force and more unity! To the aid of the British workers with all your forces and all your thoughts! Long live the working class of Great Britain! Long live the international solidarity of the workers of all countries!

The First British General Strike.

By R. Palme Dutt.

I.

London, 5th May 1926.

The forces in the British Government aiming at immediate conflict have triumphed. By their action they have forced the whole line of the working class into battle with complete and unparalleled unity.

From the morning of May 4th four million workers, the organised fighting force of the whole working class and representing the overwhelming majority of the nation, are in direct conflict with the whole apparatus of government and the ruling capitalist dictatorship. The forms of "democracy" are thrown to the winds. On the one side Emergency Powers, mobilising as in wartime, troops, guns, and government by proclamation. On the other side proletarian organisation, solidarity and discipline, of a class knowing they can only defend themselves by their strength as a class. On both sides the knowledge that the issue is an issue of strength alone and will only be settled on the basis of strength.

All reports indicate the unparalleled success of the general strike. The enthusiasm of the whole working class is intense. From all centres come the same reports of paralysis. On the morning of May 4th the great railway termini in London were closed and barred. Newspapers of world notoriety and with circulations of close on two millions, like the "Daily Mail" have been unable to appear. The hooting of Churchill and other Ministers in the streets, and their having to slip through back doors under police protection into their own ministries is an indication of popular feeling. Already the gigantic procession of May Day in London, lasting an hour and a quarter from point to point, as correspondingly in all centres in the country, showed the spirit of the workers, and was the first genuine celebration of May Day in Britain as a mass demonstration of proletarian battle. Particularly striking has been the tremendous acclamation accorded everywhere to the Communist speakers. It was for his May Day call to struggle that the Communist Member of Parliament, Saklatvala, has been arrested.

The Government is out to exert its full strength, and intensely rather than diminish the conflict. The drafting of troops into the industrial areas, the arrest of Saklatvala and similar measures show this. Churchill, Joynson-Hicks, Birkenhead and Company are in command. Their aim is to convert the economic issue into a political crisis and strike a decisive blow at the whole working class movement.

The issue for the working class is a defensive issue. Their solidarity has been called forth in the first place by the direct attack upon the standards of one section of themselves, the miners, an attack they know by experience to be only the first stage of a further attack on the standards of the whole working class. The disastrous results of the failure of that solidarity five years ago have burnt themselves into working class experience. The desire to end the retreat and make a united stand has reached overwhelming strength at last, and swept aside all obstacles, constitutional formalities (there is, strictly, no constitutional basis for the ruling powers over the whole movement now placed in the hands of the General Council) and delays and sabotage. It is noteworthy that since the development of the mining crisis two bye-elections have taken place, one in a Scottish mining constituency and the other in an East London constituency, and both have resulted in sweeping Labour victories — in one case a Labour gain, and in both cases heavy increases in the Labour vote and decreases in the bourgeois vote — and in both cases the candidates have themselves attributed their victory mainly to the miners' issue. The central issue and starting point of the con-

hlict is the question of the reduction of miners' wages, and this is still the test of victory for either side.

But in fact, with the conflict once begun, the whole issue has inevitably become wider. The open attack and preparation for civil conflict of the Government has aroused the resentment and conscious resistance of the working class equally with the wage issue. It has become a trial of strength between the whole power of the Government and the organised working class. And the Government has conspicuously abandoned the old British as the method of the general strike was persisted in there could be no question of negotiations, has done everything to intensify and bring to the front this character of the issue. In doing this, the Government has conspicuously abandoned the old British bourgeois tradition of suppleness, class conciliation at home, masking of issues etc., and visibly manifested its determination that the relation of classes in Britain also shall be openly based on the mailed fist. With the present conflict the class struggle in Britain enters on a new epoch, going beyond the old industrial battles and electoral campaigns, and which can only sweep forward, stage after stage, through partial defeats and victories to the final revolutionary struggle for political power.

The deliberate provocation of the Government towards civil war is the most noticeable feature of the situation. This was shown in the whole conduct of the negotiations, in the open and aggressive ruptures at each critical point, and the contemptuous rejection of the pathetic and (in Thomas' own words) "grovelling" appeals of the right wing labour leaders.

Even up to the last these leaders believed that their masters would not throw them over, and that some settlement would be rigged up at the last moment. At the very meeting where the general strike was determined, MacDonald declared

"Let the Government begin where they left off. If on Monday there is no response, there will be one man who is lamentably disillusioned regarding the character of the people in this country".

But there was no response, and MacDonald had his "disillusionment". In the same way the Daily Herald came out on the very day of the General Strike with an appeal to Baldwin (in its editorial article, next door to a further editorial in very large letters "Trust Your Leaders", "any who try to sow distrust are the worst foes of Labour, worse than any capitalists"):

"Let him cease to be the tool of Big Business. Let him be the Prime Minister of the People".

(Daily Herald 3rd May.)

Here, too, was "disillusionment", in fact, the right wing leaders' overtures were rejected. The Government was determined, not merely to win its usual victory over the workers by an open alliance with these leaders, but to win a complete victory over the whole organised movement; and therefore it kicked these leaders, trembling, back into the ranks of the working class. For the present complete united working class front from the Communist Party to Thomas, at the opening of the conflict, the workers have to thank the action of the Government, who defeated for the moment Thomas' and MacDonald's plans of surrender.

The final and decisive ultimatum of the Government, delivered at 1 a. m. in the early morning of Monday, May 3rd and breaking off negotiations, was made comprehensive and downright in the extreme. It seized on the issue of general strike instructions as in themselves an impermissible and anti-democratic action, making any discussion impossible. In particular, it seized very significantly on the holding up of the "Daily Mail", which had then just occurred an hour and a half earlier, as an "interference with the freedom of the press" (was the Government's own seizure and holding up of the "Workers Weekly" last October an "interference with the freedom of the press"?). The ultimatum declared:

"Such action constitutes a challenge to the constitutional rights of the nation, and before the Government can continue negotiations these persons must be repudiated and instructions for a general strike withdrawn".

This was to give the widest area to the conflict, and close down the last possibility of escape.

The whole procedure of the Government during the negotiations showed also their absence of concern to secure a settlement. This was shown in Baldwin's late, mechanical and casual intervention, his air of infinite time and as if having a

plan up his sleeve, which, when the time came, was found to be non-existent. Baldwin served as the decoy duck to draw the innocents to the edge of the precipice, successfully giving to all the labour leaders hopes of an extension of the subsidy and an easy peaceful exit, and only at the last moment (at which point, Birkenhead, Churchill and others began to come to the front in the negotiations) revealing war.

"The Trade Union Movement had no thought of war. The General Council believed peace would accrue".

(Bevin at the Trade Union Conference 1st May.)

But while the negotiations were thus delayed, action of government preparation was pushed forward. The posters declaring the emergency were prepared by the middle of the week, although the Privy Council to sanction it did not meet till the Friday.

"The O. M. S. (Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies, the nominally unofficial strikebreaking force organised with government approval since last autumn) were kept fully informed of Cabinet affairs, and by the middle of the week they had prepared a poster proclaiming a state of emergency and calling upon the citizens to enrol".

("Sunday News" 2/5/26.)

As MacDonald himself declared in the heat of the moment at the Trade Union Conference, referring to the Government's action for the whole of the past nine months since July, and thus completely giving away his own position of pacific hopes:

"From that day to this they have not devoted five minutes time to consideration of the coal problem except so far as it is associated with O. M. S."

In the same spirit has been the drafting of the troops into the industrial areas in a directly provocative spirit. The best evidence of this is to be got from the ultra-militarist Morning Post, which publishes the following from its South Wales correspondent:

"The authorities have drafted a mobile military force into the district. At the moment there is no report of any ripple of disturbance".

(Morning Post 3/5/26.)

Great publicity has been given to the handing out of munitions to troops, stationing of bombing aeroplanes over the railways etc. However, the General Council has sent beforehand the strongest warnings to all localities to be on their guard against government provocations, and the organised workers will know to maintain their discipline.

Finally and equally striking is the propaganda of press and the Government. The coal question is pushed in the background, and declared to be no longer important. The issue is declared to be Revolution or Democracy, Soviets or Parliament. Comparisons are made to August, 1914, or to a state of civil war. The "Times" finds the situation "the gravest menace which has hung over the nation since the fall of the Stuarts". The "Daily Telegraph" affirms it is a "Struggle for Power"; "the Proclamation (of the General Council) is the Proclamation of a usurping authority"; "a General Strike is Civil War". And in the House of Commons debate on May 3rd, the Prime Minister declared:

"The Government found itself challenged with an alternative Government".

"We are nearer to civil war than we have been for centuries".

"It is not wages that are in peril. It is the freedom of our Constitution".

Such language is calculated to give the widest possible scope to the conflict and justify the extremest measures. The working class both in Britain and abroad needs to steel itself for the most stubborn and desperate conflict. Already the leaders of the type of Thomas, who are more dangerous when nominally with the workers than when against them, are declaring that the one objective must be to shorten and end the conflict as rapidly as possible. In view of the declarations of the Government, that can only be on a basis of surrender. But the workers' battlefront needs to be more strongly maintained in view of the vehemence of the Government's attack. The central issue for the workers at present is a simple one -- no reduction of wages: but that issue

must be maintained and successfully won. For behind it now rises another of even greater import: the maintenance of working class organisation and rights against the Government attack. Failure will mean a triumph of Reaction in Britain and Western Europe, which will undoubtedly at once begin to take extreme measures both at home and abroad in the hour of success. Therefore the initial triumph of solidarity which has been won needs to be maintained and extended with absolute firmness. The workers have so far found their way through each step of the path against all the odds and obstacles: there remains the culminating step, the maintenance of the united front, in the face of all the Governments threats, provocations and intrigues, to a victorious ending which shall leave the workers free and stronger for further advance.

II.

The Deepening of the Conflict in Britain.

London, 7th May 1926.

With every day the conflict in Britain takes on a more profound character, shaking from top to bottom the whole social structure.

On the one hand the Government has deliberately turned the economic conflict into a political conflict, and on this basis cuts out the possibility of compromise, and is manifesting its determination to shatter the existing power and position of trade unionism in Britain.

On the other hand the mass movement has found itself in Britain as never before, and is sweeping everything before it. The leaders are no longer leading; they are dragged at the tail. The treachery of the right wing leaders has been hurled into impotence. The centrist trade union leaders are powerless to restrain the character of the conflict that has developed. The iron determination of every section of the working class has answered to the determination of the government as solid as a rock.

From this follows inevitably a desperate life-and-death struggle, from which the old Britain can no more re-emerge.

The Policy of the Government.

The deliberate forcing of the crisis by the Government is now increasingly clear from the subsequent discussions that have taken place. This was established in the debate in the House of Commons on Wednesday, May 5th.

The principal revelation of this debate was the fact that on the decisive final negotiations on the night of Sunday May 2nd, the Trade Union negotiating committee (dominated by Thomas and MacDonald) had already surrendered and accepted the Government's formula, when the Government thereupon at once changed its ground and broke off negotiations on an entirely new issue — the suppression of the Daily Mail.

Thus the crisis was a declaration of war by the government. The treachery of the right wing labour leaders was in fact complete, but was not accepted by the government. As MacDonald declared in the same debate, when the labour leaders came to make their final appeal to the government after the sudden ultimatum, "they found the doors locked and the whole room in darkness". The direct intervention of the semi-Fascist Churchill-Birkenhead-Daily Mail group precipitated the crisis.

The ultimatum of the Government was framed so as to cut out the possibility of further negotiation. It laid down three conditions

1. Acceptance of the Coal Report (reduction of miners wages)
2. Repudiation of the stopping of the Daily Mail
3. Unconditional Withdrawal of the General Strike notices.

This ultimatum was delivered at 1 a. m. on the morning of May 3rd and made the basis of war. In subsequent declarations the Government has laid down the single war aim:

Unconditional Calling off of the General Strike before any negotiations.

But that acceptance of the Coal Report goes with it, is suggested by the statement of the political correspondent of the Daily Mail (Paris).

Thus the Government has by its own action converted the economic defensive struggle of the workers for the maintenance of miners' standards into a social political struggle of the first magnitude. The old trade union leaders vainly plead for

confinement to an "industrial" conflict. The whole Conservative Group in Parliament is now pressing for the repeal of trade union organisation rights and a resolution for this has already been passed in the House of Lords. The Communist Party has called for the resignation of the Government and the formation of a Workers Government.

The collapse of the right wing leaders.

The complete collapse of the right wing leaders is the strongest demonstration of the revolutionary character of the whole situation.

Thomas, MacDonald, Henderson etc. did not fail to carry through their role of treachery to the full as much as ever before, but this time it was completely without effect on the situation. They were dragged at the tail of the mass movement, and appear now as unwilling "leaders" of a general strike, which in all their speeches they have denounced as an illegitimate weapon, and for which the Government is now threatening to hold them personally responsible.

The right wing leaders did in fact repeat Black Friday. According to Thomas' statement in the House of Commons the Trade Union Committee not only accepted the Prime Minister's written formula i. e. surrendered the miners' case, but were ready actually to abandon the miners, and refuse to fulfil their pledges of solidarity if the miners still held out. Thomas declared:

But this time the manoeuvre completely failed. It failed in the first place because the Government refused to accept the surrender and immediately found fresh ground for breaking the negotiations. And the Government refused to accept the surrender, because the Government knew that these leaders no longer represented the working class, were "not plenipotentiaries", that working class action, as in the case of the Daily Mail, was ready to break out in spite of them, and that this time the Government would have to face, not the easy surrenders of MacDonald and Thomas, but the whole united strength of the working class.

MacDonald, Thomas and the rest remained pitifully pleading, intriguing and whining to the last. In the House of Commons debate MacDonald made a speech, which was the speech of a strikebreaker and a coward. He is reported to have said:

"I again ask this House if it cannot do it (resume negotiations). I am not speaking for the Trades Union Congress at all. I am speaking for nobody. I have not consulted my colleagues. I am speaking from my own heart. I am not a member of a Trade Union, and therefore am a little freer than some of my colleagues, and can do things for which perhaps I will get blamed to-morrow by the trade unionists, but I cannot let this opportunity go"

(House of Commons 5. 5. 26.)

The role of MacDonald, Thomas and the rest may emerge again, if the struggle proceeds to mutual exhaustion and a compromise settlement becomes inevitable. If the Government find the smashing victory they are counting on not so easy in face of the iron resistance of the working class, they may again have recourse to MacDonald Thomas and company to help them out and break the front. But that time is not yet. They remain hanging round back doors in hopes, and endeavouring to damp down the spirits of the workers.

The mass movement takes control.

Four million workers came out on the call. Every worker responded to the call. Not only that, but many more workers came out than were called. It was impossible for the General Council to restrain the enthusiasm of the working class.

Not the General Council, which became reduced to helpless protests and restraining words, but the whole mass movement, (with the revolutionary workers, the Minority Movement and the Communist Party as the backbone) became the effective daily leader.

The working class interpreted the general strike as a general strike, and in all the big industrial areas acted accordingly. The mines, the docks, the railways, the great factories and engineering establishments, the repair shops, the printing presses were all deserted.

The Government, despite all their elaborate preparations, were completely taken aback by the vastness and extent of the movement. The newspapers stopped; and a paralysis much greater than the war descended on the country. The Government, in complete possession of the finest printing machinery in the world, with troops to guard it, was unable even to bring out a tiny newspaper until the second day. The supply of volunteers was wholly inadequate. On the third day, after two days hard recruiting, the Government boasted that in the whole London area they had won 12,000 volunteers. In the whole Northern Division they had won 10,000.

At the same time legal weapons were brought into play. Saklatvala, the Communist Member of Parliament, was arrested on the first day of the general strike. He was sentenced to two months. Thus three of the most widely known and popular Communist leaders, Gallacher, Pollitt and Saklatvala were held behind bars throughout the struggle, thus showing the Government's keen appreciation of the line of danger. Threats that the general strike was illegal, and that every trade union official would be held personally responsible, were broadcast from Parliament. The courts were used to protect Havelock Wilson's notorious "yellow" seamen's union from obeying the orders of the Trades Union Congress, and restraining local officials who were carrying out those orders.

With every day the intensity of the struggle increases. The whole working class is being forced to face the barest issues of the class struggle. Rapid and offensive action is becoming realised as the only effective weapon — the bringing of yet more working class forces into the field, and the throwing aside of all reserves and half-measures.

At the moment all importance turns on the meeting of the International Miners Committee and the international action of the miners and transport workers. At the time of writing the result is not yet known: but the speedy development of the gigantic struggle in Britain to an international phase is now the essential and decisive next step for bringing into play the whole force of the working class and inflicting a smashing defeat on the whole international bourgeois front.

The Significance of the General Strike in Great Britain.

By G. Zinoviev.

Moscow, May 5th 1926.

The events in Great Britain are of historical importance. However events may develop, one thing is certain: what has already happened in Great Britain has opened a new era in the British and international Labour movement. No power in the world can now arrest the rapid Bolshevisation of the vanguard of the British proletariat, the revolutionising of the British working class, the strengthening of communist ideas among the British proletariat. This alone is an event of historical importance. The slogan of the British bourgeoisie is: "No Soviets in our country!" It is clear that, the more the British bourgeoisie raves against the Soviets, the more logically will the British workers concern themselves with this fundamental question of the imminent fight.

The slogan of the formation of committees of action has already been issued. The necessity of organising workers' defence corps is being discussed. The trade unions have made themselves responsible for maintaining the supply of food, thus finding the right way to the "humble folk", to the mothers, women, workers and employees who number millions. From the first steps onwards, the strikers have shown an admirable capability of organisation. When in 1920, the British workers formed the first committee of action, Lenin wrote that this meant a great revolution in the whole British policy. What can we say to-day about the immeasurably greater events?

The mighty movement of the British proletariat began as a purely economic one, but even its first steps showed that the movement has at bottom a deeply political character. None but the most narrow-minded among the Reformists fail to understand this; the majority of the Reformists only pretend that

they do not understand the political character of the movement. Here also the Reformists act as agents of the bourgeoisie and do everything to damp down the movement.

The chief danger which threatens the movement begun with such magnificent unanimity, comes from the Right leaders of the trade union movement and from the Right leaders of the Labour party. The unprecedented treachery of "Black Friday" in 1921 is the best warning. At the present moment, the sweeping wave of the Labour movement has carried a section of the Reformists with it; they, in the present stage at least, are forced to keep pace with the workers on strike. There can be no doubt however that some of the Right leaders have "taken the lead" in the present movement with the intention of betraying it at the first opportunity; their plan is to be the head of the movement so as to behead it.

It is the absolute duty of the Communists to proclaim this openly, and just now, when at the first glance almost complete unanimity seems to prevail in the ranks of the leaders of the movement, this bitter truth should be voiced abroad. Neither Baldwin nor his O. M. S. nor even bombing air-craft are as great a danger to the movement as are Thomas & Co. The Communists of the whole world are supporting the fight which has been entered upon, with the greatest enthusiasm and will show in deeds and not in words their actual readiness to form a united front with the Social Democratic and non-party miners and even with those Catholic miners, who, as in Holland, are willing to help. The Communists of the whole world will whole-heartedly support the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress in this affair, as long as it expresses the will of the working masses, but the Communists feel in duty bound to warn their British brothers against Thomas & Co., their brothers who have entered on so serious and reponsible a fight.

The May Day celebrations this year showed in several European countries that a fresh revolutionary wind is blowing. In France, Germany, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the May Day celebrations were carried out with extraordinary enthusiasm and gathered thousands and hundreds of thousands of class-conscious proletarians under the Communist banner.

"Stabilised" Europe! It suffices to recall the most important events between Spring 1925 and Spring 1926: a powerful movement in China, two colonial wars in Morocco and Syria, a severe crisis and two million unemployed in Germany, a permanent, mainly financial crisis in France, almost a collapse in Poland, a severe blow to the League of Nations in Geneva and finally, great events in Great Britain. Was not the Communist International in the right a thousand times over when it described the present stabilisation as a partial, transient and already vacillating one? We wish the bourgeoisie a "stabilisation" of this kind for the future also.

The class-conscious workers of the whole world will follow the development of events in Great Britain with the greatest suspense and will undertake everything possible to help the vanguard of the British proletariat in its efforts to raise the present struggle to a higher level, to generalise it and to give it broader and broader slogans as the situation matures. The Communists will fulfil their duty to the end!

Splendid Solidarity and Courageous Militancy of the British Workers.

By Tom Mann.

(President of the National Minority Movement of Great Britain.)

Five millions of the organised workers of Great Britain are now out in connection with the General Strike. These with their families amount to approximately 20 millions of persons, that is to say more than two fifths of the total population.

The stagnation will increase, because of hundred of thousands of others who will be each day affected and also thrown out, bringing about such a condition that it will be impossible to continue without forcing a conclusion inside of another week.

Of the male population, 1,300,000 are directly connected with the mines, thus showing the importance of that industry, not merely because of their numbers, but also because the product of their labour provides the power for most of the other industries.

The engineers have grievances as serious as those of the miners. For two years they have been negotiating with their employers for a substantial increase of wages, but without any result whatever. During the past few weeks, these men have determined to formulate their claims by districts, instead of on a national basis, which had been refused by the employers. These, with the other metal workers, who are also affected, make fully another million, who with their families in their turn make up a total of three times that number.

The militancy of the engineers was shown by the behaviour of the men working at Hoe's printing machine works in London. This same militancy characterises practically all the members of the forty unions in the engineering industry, who certainly will not return to work until their grievances are satisfied.

The railwaymen recently made application for an improvement in the position of all sections. This was refused by the employers who, in their turn, claimed and enforced a reduction in the wages of a number; these desire to get this rectified, while the others not immediately affected by the reduction also desire to get satisfaction of the claims originally submitted.

These cases show why the struggle is a far bigger one than that for the miners alone.

Many have been surprised that the British workers should have shown such militancy. The explanation is to be found chiefly in the fact that during the past three or four years the Minority Movement has been at work persistently in many thousand of Trade Union branches, in the Trades Councils and also in the Co-operative movement. We have persistently advocated the necessity for solidarity, the elimination of all sectional unionism and aiming definitely at one hundred percent in the unions.

In addition to this, the Communist Party has unceasingly kept before the workers the necessity of fighting on class conscious lines with the ultimate aim of overthrowing capitalism, by showing the impossibility of curing the evils from which the workers now suffer, under Capitalism.

The effect of these teachings is now showing itself. We are able also to state that the women too are rapidly becoming class conscious, and for many months past special efforts have been made in order to get them to realise the probability of a gigantic outbreak of the kind with which we are now confronted. Of similar importance is the systematic educational work that has been carried on amongst the working youth of the country, and these too are showing an extraordinary capacity and militancy with the full object in view of overthrowing the existing system.

While this struggle is primarily economic in character, it is certain that it will manifest itself on the political field also, and the probabilities are that inside of another two weeks we shall find a general slogan of: "Down with the Conservative Government!". And following this will come the establishment of a real Workers' Government with genuine workers' control and opposed to all the bourgeoisie.

Another slogan now being popularised is that of "Nationalisation of the Mines without Compensation, but with Workers' Control!". Hitherto even the miners have been content with demanding Nationalisation, some of them with compensation for the owners; now the demand "Nationalisation without compensation" is becoming general, and this will be an excellent time for genuine education and propaganda.

We do not fear the reactionaries, such as Thomas, Henderson, MacDonald, Clynes etc., because the militancy that now characterises the workers, in this struggle will be strong enough to sweep them aside, should they attempt their usual role of compromising.

Solidarity of the Workers of France with the British Workers.

By Paul Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

There is no single proletarian in France who will fail to recognise the enormous significance of the historical hours through which the workers of Great Britain are passing.

A mining population which since the years of "victory" has been brought into a desperate situation and from whom a further reduction of wages and a prolongation of hours of work is demanded in the interests of the mine-owners; a proletariat which numbers on the average a million unemployed; four million workers who are prepared, at the call to enter on a general strike, to support their comrades, the miners, in blunting the point of Great Britain's immense power.

On the one side we see the British State; behind it the Empire, British finance, the British fleet, British Fascism, but also the international bourgeoisie. Opposed to it is the British proletariat and the international working class, among them the working class of France.

The "Temps", with its internationalist feeling for the defence of the bourgeoisie, has rightly estimated the significance of events and their revolutionary character. It approves of the measures taken by the British Government and adds that negotiations cannot be carried on with those who are in a condition of revolt against the nation. It thus repeats almost word for word the sayings which Thiers hurled against the Commune of 1871.

It is actually a battle, with all its consequences, victory or defeat.

The proletariat of France is ready to support with all its forces the magnificent light which the proletariat of Great Britain is carrying on.

Practical Solidarity.

By A. Neurath (Prague).

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has repeatedly endeavoured to negotiate openly and directly with the leading bodies of the reformist trade unions and socialist parties for the setting up of the proletarian united front. The idea of the united front is capturing ever larger masses of social democratic, indifferent and national-socialist workers in Czechoslovakia. But the Party leaders who retain the apparatus firmly in their hands, have been able, in the majority of cases, to prevent the working classes coming to an understanding.

As soon as the general Strike of the British proletariat was proclaimed, the members of the leading bodies of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia were fully agreed that, in this moment every suitable means must be employed in order to bring about the united action of the most important workers' parties of Czechoslovakia. In its first proclamation the Central Committee of the C. P. Cz. only called attention to the necessity of prompt and united action of the entire proletariat of Czechoslovakia, but did not address any so-called "Open Letter" to the reformist trade union leaders or to the socialist parties. The Party Central instructed two comrades of the C. C. to enter into immediate negotiations, at the head of a workers' delegation, with the leaders of the Czech and German trade unions and the socialist parties. We have not submitted any conditions or any ultimatum, and the joint action is in no way made conditional upon wild revolutionary demands.

We said to the reformists and social democrats: we take into consideration your argument that, to inform the public before the commencement of any negotiations, is unacceptable by you. We therefore propose that you render possible a discussion in which the representatives of the German and Czech trade unions as well as the representatives of the political workers' parties will take part. The task of the Conference to consist in drawing up a joint appeal, assuring the British proletariat not only of the sympathy of the Czech working class, but which will also clearly and plainly express the will to prevent any support of the British bourgeoisie by the dispatching of coal or by agreeing to overtime work. In addition to this, joint action in order to render great material support to the English working class and a great campaign of meetings would be necessary.

None of these leading bodies could bring themselves directly to reject our demands; they adopted an evasive attitude and promised to let us have their final opinion during the next two days.

Our C. C. waited until Thursday (6th inst.). In this critical time, we were able to and had to, take on the responsibility of refraining from saying anything to the proletarian public for almost four days regarding our efforts to set up a united front, as we had the faint hope that by this means we should be able to arrive at joint action of all workers' parties in the interest of the British proletariat. By Thursday it was clear that we had placed the leaders of the reformist trade unions and of the socialist parties in a disagreeable situation, but that they, in spite of all our endeavours and although we had deprived them of all their former arguments, wished to have nothing to do with any honest common action in the interest of the British proletariat.

Our Party, in a great proclamation showed to the entire proletarian public of Czechoslovakia the persistent efforts of the Central Committee of the C. P. Cz. in order to bring about a united proletarian demonstration, and made known the reasons why the public were not immediately informed regarding these efforts. At the same time our comrades were called upon, everywhere to approach the workers, regardless of their political opinions, in order to summon them to joint demonstrations with or without the approval of their functionaries. The International General Trade Union Federation (I. A. V.) and the Central of the C. P. Cz. have convened monster meetings and demonstrations at Prague, Kladno, Moravian Ostrau, Vitkovitz, Aussig, Brunn, Reichenberg etc.

The Czechoslovakian press, and in particular the so-called labour press is showing great uneasiness. Even such papers, as the "Právo Lidu", the central organ of the Czech social democrats, realise what is at stake. They fear the victory of the British bourgeoisie, for they know that this would render unavoidable the offensive of the Czechoslovakian exploiters. On the other hand, they cannot show particular enthusiasm for the successful struggle of the British proletariat, and therefore they do not support any joint action on behalf of the British proletariat, because such a victory of the British working class would rouse the proletariat of the other capitalist States to determined struggles. But now they had to decide: either openly and completely to take the side of the proletariat and support every sincere effort of the entire Czech proletariat in the interest of the British proletariat or, by evading this clear and definite attitude, to encourage the reactionary action of the British bourgeoisie.

The manner in which these reformist and socialist leaders seek to side-track our campaign for the united front in this moment of the tremendous struggle of the British working class, will open the eyes of the social democratic and national socialist workers as to the reactionary policy of their leaders. There is not the least doubt that our demonstrations and all our actions on behalf of the British proletariat will meet with a powerful response among the broad sections of the working population of Czechoslovakia.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE BRITISH FIGHTERS

Solidarity Action in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, May 6th, 1926.

There is to-day hardly a town in the Soviet Union where no proclamations of solidarity with the British strikers have been made. The hundreds of telegrams received by the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union with the request to communicate to London the readiness of the workers of the Soviet Union to help, the collections for the strikers which have been undertaken spontaneously everywhere, even before they were called for by the trade unions, the tense interest of the whole working population in every fresh report as to the development of the great fight in Great Britain, are fresh evidence of the steadfastness of the spirit of international solidarity among the workers in the Soviet Union.

In to-day's meeting of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, it was resolved after receiving the communications of Comrades Tomsky and Lozovsky, to call upon

all members of trade unions in the Soviet Union to pay a quarter of their daily wage to help the strikers, which, according to a preliminary estimate, will amount to 3,500,000—4,000,000 roubles, i. e. 320,000—350,000 English pounds.

News has been received from some towns that the miners are resolving to contribute as much as two days' wages. The Central Trade Union Council to-day despatched telegraphically to London the first instalment of 250,000 roubles as a payment in advance, and appointed a commission consisting of representatives of the various trade unions to decide on further measures of help for the British strikers.

The Central Committee of the Trade Union of the Seamen and Transport Workers of the Soviet Union has to-day despatched a telegram to all its local groups in the Soviet Union announcing a partial strike of all seamen and dock-workers, who work for export to Great Britain, and further giving instructions that no fuel should be loaded on to steamers where there can be any reason to suspect that their freight might indirectly be transported to Great Britain. All vessels which are loading any kind of cargo for Great Britain must immediately stop work, all Soviet steamers which are on their way to Great Britain must, after receiving the wireless message of the partial strike of the seamen of the Soviet Union, on entering the nearest British port, immediately join the British strike, prevent the unloading of the cargo if attempts are made to unload it with strike-breakers, withdraw to the docks, and only permit special goods to be loaded and unloaded with the consent of the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress.

News has just been received from Charkov of the great demonstration of solidarity of the workers in the factories after the closing hour. More than 150,000 persons took part in the demonstration, the tramway traffic had to be stopped. Flags were carried with the inscription: "Our British brothers expect not only greetings, but actual help" etc. The latest news from Great Britain was continually announced by loud-speakers. Among other speakers, in front of the building of the Ukranian Trade Union Soviet, Oliver, the representative and chairman of the delegation of the British Railwaymen's Union, who is at present staying in Charkov, thanked the demonstrators for their solidarity which is the best guarantee of the victory of the British workers.

The first day's collection in Leningrad yielded 26,500 roubles.

Apart from the trade unions, the co-operative societies and various labour unions made collection on behalf of the British strikers and addressed messages of solidarity to the British trade unions.

The latest news from Leningrad, Charkov, Rostov and several other towns show that the workers are constantly discovering new ways of helping their British class brothers. The miners of the Leningrad proletarian metal works resolved to do two hours overtime for several days on behalf of the British workers, the largest shoe factory "Skorochood" undertook to contribute 4% of their wages for the whole duration of the British strike etc.

Moscow, 7th May 1926.

The solidarity strike of the seamen, dock and transport workers organised in the trade unions of the Soviet Union, has spread to all the harbours of the Black Sea and the Sea of Agov and also to the British steamers in Leningrad harbour, which at present comprise almost the whole of the foreign ships in the Soviet harbours. 8000 Russian dock workers have refused to unload the cargoes destined for England.

The solidarity action of the proletariat of the Soviet Union in support of the British general strike is attaining ever larger dimensions. The appeal of the Central Council of the Russian trade unions to contribute a quarter of a day's wages, is finding an eager response even in the most remote parts of the Soviet Union. The struggle of the British workers is everywhere regarded as the cause of the Russian proletariat. The Chairman of the Leningrad trades Council declared at the Plenum of the Leningrad trade unions and factory councils: "The British proletariat in 1920 prevented the intervention of the British bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia, we will pay back our debt a hundredfold". A similar resolution was adopted at the Enlarged Plenum of the Moscow trade unions after a report of Lozovsky. Particular enthusiasm for the general strike in Great Britain prevails in the Russian harbour towns and in the mining areas. At these places the local trade unions and mass meetings spontaneously decided to yield up a day's wages.

The delegation of British railway workers in Charkow visited mass meetings of the transport workers and the barracks of the Red Army. At the meetings there took place a fraternisation of the British delegation and the Russian workers and members of the Red Army. It is already clear that the solidarity action of the Russian working class for their British class comrades will achieve an unexampled success.

Moscow, 8th May 1926.

The International Propaganda Committee of the Printers Union has issued an appeal to the printers of the Continent to prevent at all costs the printing of English bourgeois newspapers outside of England. The Moscow journalists dispatched a congratulatory telegram to the General Council in London on the occasion of a portion of the English journalists joining in the Strike. The newspapers and the various public organisations have commenced collections of money which already in the first days yielded hundreds of thousand roubles. The theatres arranged performances on behalf of the strikers. In addition to the levy on wages, the central committees of the trade unions and the local committees are contributing considerable sums, amounting in some cases to 50,000 roubles, from the International Solidarity Funds. The flood of contributions exceeds all expectations. The demonstrations of solidarity are being continued in all localities. They are being participated in not only by workers and employees, but by intellectuals, doctors, engineers professors etc. The meeting of scientists of university professors held in Leningrad to-day issued an appeal to the intellectuals of Great Britain, in which they express the conviction that in this struggle of world-historical importance the British intellectuals will stand on the side of the British working class.

Moscow, 9th May 1926.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions have sent the following telegram to the joint session of the Executive of the Socialist and Labour International and the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam:

"The fight of the British proletariat renders it the duty of the workers of all countries, and particularly of their international organisations to do everything in their power in order to help the English working class in their severe struggle. The C. I. and R. I. L. U. are of the opinion that only the unanimous action of the workers of all tendencies can yield effective and real aid for the British working class. In view of this the Executive of the C. I. and the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. propose to organise a joint campaign in support of the British workers. The Comintern and the R. I. L. U. entrust the following comrades with the negotiations in this question: Thälmann, Semard, Dogadov, Jilek and Monmousseau. We request you to send an answer to our proposal to the Secretary of the French Communist Party, Semard, and to the Secretary of the C. G. T. U., Monmousseau.

* * *

An appeal of the Co-operative Section of the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls attention to the fact that the Russian co-operatives, after the Executive of the Co-operative Alliance refused a co-operative action in support of the British strike, again propose a solidarity action. The Russian Co-operatives have sent 30,000 roubles to the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress.

The Communist co-operators must everywhere immediately take up the initiative to set up co-operative solidarity. They must conduct a press campaign and submit proposals in support of the British strikers to the co-operative societies, co-operative guilds and congresses.

International Solidarity.

Moscow, May 6th, 1926.

The Red International of Labour Unions has addressed the following telegram to all bodies affiliated to it:

"While preventing the importation of coal to Great Britain, refusing to load British ships in continental ports and to carry out British orders in the factories, it is necessary at the same time to begin collecting money at once. The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions considers it a good

plan for all workers to contribute simultaneously a quarter of a day's wages. It is absolutely necessary to form unity committees consisting of representatives of the workers of all points of view with the object of organising help in common."

The International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers addressed a manifesto to all transport workers and to the Revolutionary Transport Workers Unions in which, after describing in detail the causes of the British strike and the course of negotiations, the workers in all branches of transport, especially the seamen, railwaymen and dock-workers, are called upon to refuse to transport coal to England and to provide British steamers with coal and to form committees of action in the ports. The manifesto lays emphasis on the prominent part which the support of the transport workers will play in the fate of the mighty struggle of their British brothers, on the results of which depends the whole situation not only of the British workers, but of the workers of the whole world.

An appeal to the Young Communists' International emphasises the profound political character of the fight which at the commencement was an economic one. No single young communist, no single young worker must stand aloof from the work in aid of our British brothers. The Young Communists' International calls upon its members to organise solidarity campaigns among the young workers and to prevent all attempts on the part of the capitalists of the Continent to convey coal, naphtha and other products to Great Britain. "Begin yourselves", are the concluding words of the manifesto, "the fight for the demands raised by the British workers, use all your force and energy to help the British proletariat and its young generation".

The International Red Aid addressed an appeal to all sections and all workers, calling upon them to come to the help of the victims of the class fight of British reaction by generous contributions.

Paris, 6th May 1926.

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party has issued an appeal to the French working class, calling upon the latter to support the English strikers and before all to form a united front between the socialist and communist trade unions. In addition the appeal calls upon the Amsterdam Trade Union International to form a united front with the Moscow Trade Union International which shall give all possible support to the English workers. The immediate aim must be the general strike of the miners of France, Germany, Belgium and Czechoslovakia.

* * *

The Greek trade unions have adopted a resolution expressing sympathy with the English trade unions and promising material support should it be required.

The President of the Miners' Union of Illinois (U. S. A.), Faringdon, has sent a telegram to the Miners' Federation of Great Britain promising the moral and financial support of his Union.

The combined Miners' Unions of Czechoslovakia have informed the Ministry for Public Works and the Mine Owners' Federation that, in accordance with the decision adopted at the Brussels conference of the Miners' International, extreme measures will be resorted to in the event of an increase in the export of coal.

The "Humanité" announces the setting up of a French Committee whose duty it will be to see that neither the miners, the printers nor the dock workers neglect anything in order to carry out the boycott of goods and newspapers destined for England. The typographical section of the trade union of the workers in the printing trade has issued posters in Paris, forbidding the typograph workers to print newspapers destined for England. The Red Trade Union Federation (C. G. T. U.) has issued an appeal calling for collections. In addition a committee has been formed to arrange for the children of English workers to be taken care of by French workers' families. It was also decided at the session of the General Federation of Trade Unions (C. G. F.) to furnish financial aid to the English strikers.

The Central Executive of the Dutch Trade Union Federation has decided to place a sum of 60,000 guilders from its strike funds at the disposal of the English Trade Union Congress, and to organise collections. The dockers' union at Antwerp has decided to instruct its members to render impossible the export of coal to England.

A leading official of the Mexican Trade Union Federation, Moneda, declared that the Trade Union Federation would not permit the coaling up of English ships in Mexican ports.

The Workers' Party of America is distributing an appeal among the dock workers in which they are called upon to refuse to load and unload ships bound for England.

Berlin, 7th May 1926.

Yesterday there were held five mass demonstrations in crowded meeting halls in support of the general strike in England. The words of the speakers were constantly punctuated by spontaneous applause, a proof of the strong feeling of solidarity binding the Berlin workers to the fighting English proletariat. At each of the five meetings a resolution was unanimously adopted, greeting with the warmest sympathy the gigantic struggle of the English workers, which is of extreme importance to the whole of the international labour movement and especially to the German working class, and promising to support with all forces the English workers in their severe struggle.

The Miners of New South Wales have decided to enter on a sympathetic strike in support of the English working class.

The Amsterdam dock workers, in accordance with the instructions of the Transport Workers' Unions, have refused to take part in coaling up the English steamers lying in the docks. The workers have been discharged.

The Trades Council of Sydney (Australia) has decided to get into touch with the Seamen's Union, the Miners' Union and the coal porters in the docks in order to prevent the coaling up of British ships and the export of coal to England. It has also been decided to support the British miners.

Among the Belgian trade unions, the Miners' Union has decided not to produce any coal destined for England, the Transport Workers Union not to transport any coal destined for England and the Dock Workers Union not to load or unload any such coal. A delegate of the Miners' Union declared that this solidarity-action was in their own interest, as a defeat of the English miners on the question of working hours and wages would also lead to a defeat of the Belgian workers.

The Executive Committee of the South African Trade Union Congress has decided on full support for the English strikers. All exports to England are to be prevented. The Printers are called upon to refuse any printing work calculated to injure the cause of the British workers.

The Miners' Unions of Czechoslovakia have decided at a joint session with the Railway Workers' Union to prevent any increase in the export of coal from Czechoslovakia. At the frontier stations special Trade Union Control Commissions are to be organised, which shall at once resort to the necessary preventative measures should there be an increase in the export of coal. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Red Trade Union Federation have sent to the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress a telegram of greeting, in which they promise to prevent any intervention of the Czech bourgeoisie in favour of the English capitalists.

In order to prevent the English newspaper strike being rendered ineffective by foreign strike-breaking work, the French Printers organisations have instructed their members to refuse to print English newspapers in France.

The C. P. of France and the French Red Trade Unions, as well as various other unions have issued proclamations to the French working class calling for solidarity actions and demonstrations of sympathy with the English working class. A telegram from the French C. G. T. U. to the English General Council states: "Unity Trade Union Federation, 500,000 members, places itself at disposal of English Trade Unions. We are organising boycott of exports to England. Please send instructions."

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Economic Struggle in Norway.

The great lock-out in Norway has now entered on its second week, and there exists not the slightest prospect that the conflict will be settled in the near future. On the contrary, the tariff revisions which are now being carried out in various smaller workshops and factories, are in the majority of cases on precisely the same lines as in the chief industries: the employers are demanding impossible wage reductions, and if the workers do not willingly agree to the worsening of their standard of living, the negotiations are broken off after a few days and the workers locked out.

The First of May celebrations were held under the impression of the great lockout. In Oslo there took place in the afternoon a demonstration participated in by 25,000 workers. By their great number and the banners and placards carried in the procession the workers gave evidence of their firm will to fight against the brutal offensive of the employers. Our Norwegian Party paper states: The situation created by the lock-out seems to have created a feeling of brotherly solidarity and determination such as we have seldom or never experienced hitherto in Oslo. In the morning there was held a tremendous 'children's demonstration, which showed that the children also feel the pressure of present-day conditions and are thereby drawn into the class struggle. "Hundreds of workers' children are starving. Who is responsible?" was the question asked by one of the placards carried in the procession.

The locked-out workers, along with the many unemployed, are gradually beginning to constitute one of the features of the life of the city as they proceed to and from the gatherings of workers which are held every day. There have been no disorders anywhere. If at the beginning the machinery for paying out strike support did not run quite smoothly, the long queues of workers everywhere maintained good humour. The fighting mood in the whole country is excellent, although the locked out workers are fully aware that a long and bitter fight confronts them.

The Trade Union Conference of the Countries of the Pacific Ocean.

By A. Losovski.

More than once we have had reason to call attention to the growth of the international consciousness in the labour movement in new countries and new continents. The inflexible laws of capitalist development and the intensification of imperialist conflicts, compel even those who, up to quite recently, have stood aloof from the international movement, to enter the international arena. In this respect, the Trade Union Conference of the countries on the Pacific Ocean, which is to be held in Sydney at the end of July 1926, is of great significance.

The idea of calling a conference of the labour organisations of the countries on the Pacific Ocean, first arose at the Second Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions in November 1922. The first step towards carrying out the resolution of the 2nd Congress of the R. I. L. U., was the Conference of Transport Workers of the countries on the Pacific Ocean held in Canton in June 1924. The Trades Council of New South Wales has now taken upon itself to call a trade union conference of the countries on the Pacific Ocean; it realises that in the next few years, the Pacific Ocean will be the arena of serious encounters not only of a diplomatic, but also of a military nature. This accounts for its taking the initiative which we must heartily welcome. In his invitation to the Trade Union Conference of the countries on the Pacific Ocean, D. S. Garden, the General Secretary of the Trade Union Council of New South Wales, writes as follows:

"The workers of Australia are absolutely convinced that it is of extreme importance in the interest of the working class of the countries on the Pacific, that a trade union conference of these countries should be called as soon as possible.

All are convinced that the Pacific Ocean will in the future be the apple of discord of the world, thus creating a serious danger for the labour movement in the countries on the Pacific Ocean and for the international labour movement as a whole.

Invitations to the Conference have been sent to China, Japan, Russia, India, South Africa, Java, the South Sea Islands, South America, Canada, North America and England.

The conference should be a labour conference and should be attended by representatives of the various organisations of the countries on the Pacific Ocean.

We should be glad for the trade unions of your country to be represented at the Conference. We request you to support the workers in Australia by passing on this invitation to all the other labour organisations in your country."

This invitation is evidence that the workers of Australia, in spite of their remoteness from European and American affairs,

quite understand in what direction imperialism is developing. The fight for the Pacific Ocean means above all the fight for the countries on the Pacific Ocean and the subjugation of all these countries to the most powerful imperialism of the present day, to the **United States**.

The Trade Union Conference of the countries on the Pacific Ocean should unite the trade union organisations of all these countries for the purpose of firstly, working out a uniform policy for those countries, and secondly of uniting new sections of workers in the international trade union movement. This Conference is meeting, not with the object of isolating the labour movement of the countries on the Pacific Ocean, but with the idea of their forming one unified and organised body to deal with all questions which concern the international trade union movement. The significance of this Conference for the whole international trade union movement can hardly be exaggerated. It will undoubtedly be a powerful instrument in the transformation of the international trade union movement which is at present scattered, into an actual world organisation which will embrace the labour organisations of every country and every continent. The initiative of the Trades Council of New South Wales deserves every support.

Postscript. The resolution to call a trade union conference of the countries on the Pacific Ocean has caused alarm in the **Australian Labour party**, whose leaders are at present carrying on a violent campaign against the Left trade unions in general and against the Trades Council of New South Wales in particular. In order not to be beaten by the trade unions, the Executive Committee of the Labour party of Australia is calling a **Conference of the Labour organisations of the countries on the Pacific Ocean at Honolulu for November 1926**. This imitation shows firstly that the question of collective action on the part of the labour organisations of the countries on the Pacific Ocean has matured, and secondly that MacDonald's Australian colleagues are prepared to sabotage any enterprise which is directed against world imperialism.

Australia is a chip of the old British block.

MAY DAY

The First of May in Italy.

By Fisa (Milan).

As was to be expected, the **abstention from work** in Italy on this 1st of May was very limited, especially in the big industrial centres and in the agricultural districts in which the fascist terror rages. The cessation of work was more extensive in the small centres which are characterised by the existence of small industry and handicrafts, and in certain agricultural districts of southern Italy, where Fascism almost exclusively made its first appearance after the march on Rome and can therefore be regarded rather as something imported from outside.

That which however, characterised this 1st of May was the strong repressive measures adopted by the **police and the fascists** in order to prevent the distribution of leaflets, as well as the powerful propaganda of the Communists among the workers on this occasion. The great mustering of the forces of the police and the fascists in the days preceding the 1st of May, the tremendous numbers of domiciliary searches, the arrests, the beating of workers suspected of seeking to create unrest, clearly show how great the fear of the Italian bourgeoisie on this day still is.

In addition to the thousands of **arrests**, in addition to the countless "preventative" **mishandlings**, the **communist press** in the days preceding the 1st of May was systematically confiscated. Besides this, on the morning of the 1st of May the **printing works of our newspaper were wrecked**. In spite of the cruel repressions and the sharp watch kept, on the morning of the 1st of May numerous **red flags** were to be found on the telegraph wires and on the clock towers of the churches. Our **lighting slogans** were everywhere chalked up on the walls, on which illegal bills and posters were also pasted up, which rendered the police and the fascists furious.

In very many factories, in which the workers had no proper right to strike (it must not be forgotten that precisely on the 1st of May the **strike law** came into force, under which **striking**

workers are liable to at least six months imprisonment), pauses from work lasting ten minutes were carried out. In addition to this there were numerous **secret meetings** many of which, along with our comrades, were attended by non-party workers or members of other proletarian parties, women etc., and at which the most important questions of the day were dealt with such as, the **united front, formation of agitation committees**, and in addition the special 1st of May slogans: **eight hour day, general increase in wages, fight against war**.

Before, and especially after the 1st of May the repressive measures against those workers who were suspected of having struck work on the 1st of May or having carried on agitation for this purpose, were increased. The management of the works and factories communicated the names of such workers to the fascists and these then proceeded to mishandlings which in many cases resulted in the death of the victim. Besides this there was the legal reaction: **imprisonment, dismissals** etc.

The **revolutionary press** cannot report in its columns even the hundredth part of these daily acts of violence against the class conscious workers, and is forced to pass over in complete silence the most characteristic cases of these methods of repression and precautionary measures of counter-revolution.

In the days following the 1st of May thousands and thousands of workers in all parts of Italy were cruelly ill-treated as they were coming out of the factories or in their homes. But the press reports nothing of all this. According to the press the 1st of May passed quite peacefully. The workers defend themselves where this is at all possible. Viewed outwardly this often appears to be a case of an ordinary row, but it is a part of the **growing resistance of the workers to the fascist bands**.

Bloody First of May in Warsaw.

By T. (Warsaw).

The role which the leaders of the P. P. S. (Socialist Party of Poland) played in **Warsaw on 1st of May 1926** is such a shameful and criminal one, that even the entire **Warsaw bourgeois press**, which always comes forward in a united front against the Communists, this time could not conceal the truth of the facts which was apparent to everyone.

The entire public opinion of the bourgeoisie in Warsaw admits the fact that **armed bands of the P. P. S. fired into the masses of unarmed workers who were demonstrating for communist slogans**.

Among these general voices of public opinion there are naturally **three exceptions**: "**Robotnik**" ("**The Worker**"), the central organ of the P. P. S., "**Kurjer Poranny**" ("**Morning Post**"), the organ of Pilsudski, and finally, "**Expres Poranny**" ("**Morning Express**"), a boulevard paper, the holy trinity of the P. P. S. bandits, who seek to white-wash the blood-bespattered P. P. S. heroes, the hangmen of the working class.

The evening edition of the "**Kurjer Czerwony**" ("**Red Post**") states that the **shooting was begun by the bands of the P. P. S.**, who were driving round in motor wagons which had been placed at their disposal by the **National Democratic administration of the city of Warsaw**. All newspapers unanimously confirmed this fact on 2nd May.

"**Warszawianka**", the organ of the **monarchist agrarians**, writes:

According to the unanimous testimony of witnesses, it appears beyond dispute that the shots were fired from motor wagons in which the fighting troops of the P. P. S. were driving. People in the crowd were killed and wounded by these shots.... Only the so-called militia of the P. P. S. has distinguished itself by the **fratricidal shedding of workers blood**.

"**Kurjer Warszawski**" ("**Warsaw Post**"), an organ of the **National Democrats** writes:

"The participants in the procession of the P. P. S. and the militia of the P. P. S. maintain that the shots came from the crowd and that it was only then that the military of the P. P. S. retaliated... The original reports regarding the shooting from a house in which is situated the **Bank of the sugar manufacturers** has proved to be incorrect... At **Three Cross Square** the militia got down from the motor wagons and began an attack."

"Kurjer Polski", the organ of the munitions industry, writes:

"The first serious collision began in the suburb of Cracow. The fighting troops of the P. P. S. fired a volley from the motor wagons. The most serious collision took place at Three Cross Square. A group of young communists greeted the procession of the P. P. S. with whistling and hostile exclamations; stones were thrown, revolver shots were fired, the members of the fighting troops of the P. P. S. climbed down from the motor wagons and proceeded to attack. About fifty shots were fired; groans and cries for help were heard... The police let the procession proceed into the Ujazdo Alley, then barred the road with a chain and a portion of agitators (communists) who were surrounded by the police, were arrested.

We have quoted these reports from the press that is hostile to the communists as an irrefutable witness as to who it was that fired on the 1st May in Warsaw. The answer is unanimous! Those who fired were the fighting troops who were organised by the leaders of the P. P. S. in order, by means of a pogrom, to hand over the workers and communists to the police and the fascists. Seven killed and some dozen wounded, these are the latest victims, the responsibility for whom falls entirely upon the heads of the leaders of the P. P. S.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY

Join the Fight for the United Front of the World Proletariat.

Appeal of the workers of the "Red Putilov" to the Metal Workers of both sexes throughout the World.

Dear Comrades!

We workers and working women of the greatest engineering works in the Soviet Union the "Red Putilov" send our fraternal revolutionary greetings to you metal workers of the whole world on the 125th anniversary of the founding of our works.

The 125 years of the existence of our works have been, for the working masses, a difficult period of fighting against slavery, subjugation and distress. A hundred and twenty five years ago, the workers in our works were dumb slaves of the Czar and of feudal society. For decades we, in common with the whole working class of Russia, fought against being enslaved and exploited by capitalism. In the great October days, we finally annihilated the Czar and the capitalists, created our Power, the Soviet Power and took into our hands the industry which had been built up by the toil of several generations of the workers of our country. We became the ruling class and are reconstructing life on the new socialist foundation.

To-day we are celebrating the 125th year of our journey, the journey of an incessant class war which, in its final result, has led the workers of our works from slavery to supremacy.

Metal workers of all countries!

For several years, the Press and orators of the world bourgeoisie have been asseverating that the capitalist world has finally arrived at peace and that we have collapsed economically and politically. For several years the world bourgeoisie has been trying to split up the ranks of the international proletariat, to bring confusion and doubt into its midst and thus to strengthen its own position of supremacy which has been shaken since the war and the revolution.

The leaders of the 2nd International have been carrying on a fight against us for several years by supporting the world bourgeoisie and deceiving the broad masses of the international proletariat.

But where is this peace of the capitalist world to be found? It is constantly being more and more eroded by international and external conflicts. Bourgeois Europe has not yet been able to extricate itself from its condition of permanent, severe economic and political crises. The attack of capital on the economic and legal achievements of the working class is being intensified. Distress and unemployment are increasing in the ranks of the proletariat of the capitalist countries. The wave of revolution among the workers of the whole world is spreading and deepening.

Capitalism is being more and more disintegrated by the ceaseless, ever increasing national revolutionary fight of the suppressed masses of workers in the colonies and semi-colonies. This fight has extended to China, Egypt, Morocco and Syria. The indignation of the working masses of these countries against their bondage and subjugation to the imperialists is waxing in strength.

The international bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic Press have raised a great clamour about our economic and political disintegration and about the terror which is said to rule in our country and in our undertakings. The workers' delegations from all the countries of Europe who have visited our works and factories, and especially our own works, have seen the mighty achievements of which we can boast in the line of re-establishing our industry and of socialist construction, in every nook and corner of our great Soviet Union.

Comrades, metal workers and working women throughout the world!

The world is divided into two parts. On the one side are the world bourgeoisie and the compromising, reactionary 2nd International under the leadership of Anglo-American financial capital. On the other side is the world proletariat and the oppressed working masses of the East under the leadership of the Communist International and the Soviet Union.

After a number of years of Fascist reaction and petty bourgeois vacillation, we have again entered on an era of direct class battles in the capitalist countries of Western Europe.

You, Comrades, metal workers, are in the vanguard of the international proletariat. The eyes of all who are oppressed, of all who are humiliated, of all who are disinherited are fixed on you. History is laying a mighty burden on your powerful shoulders, the task of standing in the foremost ranks in the class fights of to-day.

New wars are threatening the whole world.

The tremendous material load is weighing on the shoulders of the working class of the whole world. In this moment pregnant with fate, the metal workers of the whole world must be on their guard, must prepare to close and organise their ranks, must strenuously oppose the assault of Fascism and of the reactionary nationalism of the world bourgeoisie.

Comrades, metal workers!

12,000 advanced, class conscious, revolutionary proletarians of the "Red Putilov", who have freed themselves from the yoke of Czarism and of capitalism which they had borne for centuries, and who are building up a socialist economy with their own hands, turn to you with the fraternal appeal:

Metal workers of all countries, unite!

The only issue from the rule of capitalist enslavement, from misery and subjugation lies in the united front of the international proletariat. Only by the united front of the international proletariat will the world be rescued from enslavement and exploitation.

Long live the metal workers, the vanguard of the international proletariat!

Long live the united front of the metal workers of all countries!

The 9th Works' Conference of the "Red Putilov",
Leningrad.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Two Murderers of Workers Brought to Trial.

By L. F. Vinov (Moscow).

In the last few days, two trials before the Revolutionary Tribunal — the one in Moscow and the other in Baku — have been attracting attention. Each of them has opened up to us a chapter of the history of the Russian working class which has claimed so many victims.

Serebriakova, the Agent Provocateur, of the Ochrana.

In the dock before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow sits an old woman of almost 70 years who, from her youth up, has been one of the most "capable" assistants of the Czarist secret police. From the middle of the eighties, for more than a quarter of a century, she helped the secret police to throw a large number of revolutionary fighters into prison, to send them into exile or to the gallows.

She insinuated herself into the confidence of revolutionaries of all shades, putting her own and other houses at their disposal for the purpose of illegal meetings. In this way she often succeeded in delivering whole groups of revolutionaries into the hands of the police.

The act of indictment attributes to her activities the "springing" of the following revolutionary groups.

1888: The revolutionary Narodniki group, which was gathered round the newspaper "Self-Administration." 1892: The Narodniki group of the author Astyriev. 1894: The dispersal of an illegal printing works and the arrest of several Narodniki leaders.

When, in the middle of the nineties, the Marxist movement began to assert itself, she concentrated her "activities" on it and betrayed: 1896: the Social Democratic organisation "The Workers' League". 1897: a further group of the same workers' league. 1900: the Social Democratic organisations which were grouped round the newspaper "The South-Russian Worker", in the towns of Jekaterinoslav, Kiev, Odessa, Kremenschug. 1902: the Moscow Committee of Russian Social Democracy. 1903: the group of Comrade Avdeiev, who died in a tragic way of heart failure a few days ago whilst giving evidence in this trial. 1905: the arrest of the Federative Committee for preparing the insurrection in Moscow.

The accused was one the confidantes of the ill-famed general of the gendarmerie, Subatov, who, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of her "activities", recommended in the warmest terms that she should receive an allowance.

The accused does not deny her connection with Subatov. She maintains however that she did not denounce anyone personally but that, in her enthusiasm for Subatov's idea of the "legalisation of the trade union movement", she only supplied him with general information as to the attitude of mind in different groups of the Labour movement. This excuse was refuted by the evidence of witnesses. The sentence was one of death, but it was commuted to seven years' imprisonment.

The Social Revolutionary Funtikov, one of the murderers of the 26 Commissaries of Baku.

Whilst the trial of Serebriakova gives us a picture of the direct work of Czarist reaction when it was still unshaken, the proceedings at the trial of the S.-R. Funtikov reveals to us the still more brutal anti-labour policy and slaughter of workers of the auxiliary troops of the bourgeoisie, those traitors to socialism.

The "Social Revolutionary" Funtikov, a high functionary of the "democratic" Menshevik rule in the Caucasus, which was so lauded by Kautsky, is accused of no less a crime than that of having, with the help of the English troops, which were called upon by the S. R., ostensibly to oppose the threatened advance of the Turkish troops, but in reality to oppose the Bolsheviks, murdered in a brutal way the 26 Commissaries of Baku in 1918, as well as of having taken part in the murder of nine Communists in Ashabad.

As is well known, after the overthrow of the first Soviet Power in Baku by the united forces of the English imperialists who were out after petroleum, and of the home parties who were traitors to Socialism, 26 leading functionaries of the Soviet Power, most of them Communists and a few Left Social Revolutionaries, were dragged from prison and deported from the town in a special train. The transport of prisoners was accompanied by members of the trans-Caspian Government and by English officers. The relatives of the prisoners were told that the prisoners were being sent "to India".

Between the stations of Achtsha-Kuima and Pereval however, the accused were taken from the train and tortured and murdered in the most bestial manner. The corpses were found later in a horribly mutilated condition.

In Ashabad, 9 Communists were arrested and shot by the direct order of Funtikov.

Of the instigators of and participants in these loathesome murders, Funtikov alone (in January 1925) has so far fallen into the hands of the Soviet Union. This "Social Revolutionary" does not attempt to deny having murdered the nine comrades in Ashabad, he only disputes having directly participated in the murder of the 26 Commissaries of Baku. This however was also proved by the evidence of several witnesses. After a trial lasting several days, Funtikov was sentenced to death.

It is characteristic that this time, not even the actual party comrades of Funtikov, the S. R. emigrants, not to mention the Mensheviks, who raised such a clamour on the occasion of the S. R. trial in 1922, have dared to take the side of their party comrade who has fallen into the hands of revolutionary justice. Neither do the English imperialists raise a hand to save their instrument. It is obviously difficult to reconcile the wholesale murder of revolutionary workers in the public eye with the democratic phrases of the S. R. and the Mensheviks and with the "mission of civilisation" of the English imperialists (particularly in the districts rich in petroleum!).

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Greetings from the Remotest Corners of the Soviet Union on International Women's Day.

By G. G. L. Alexander (Moscow).

More than eight weeks have now passed since the International Women's Day, and yet each week numerous letters continue to straggle in after the hundreds of telegrams which preceded them. These letters have covered long distances from the Far East, in many cases, from little villages almost cut off from the world, and they are only now bringing their Women's Day greetings and their news and reports concerning its celebration. When one glances through the mountains of telegrams and letters one is overwhelmed by the impression they make: the mighty Communist perspective of Lenin — the perspective of the significance of women's active participation in political and economic social life — we see it here in the course of transition to flesh and blood.

We have the impression that the International Women's Day is one of the greatest holidays of the Soviet Union, and its founder, our venerable comrade Clara Zetkin, to whom, as secretary of the International Women's Secretariat, the bulk of these telegrams are addressed, is recognised as the universally known and esteemed leader in fighting and working for the emancipation and freedom of women from political, economic and social servitude and oppression, in which tradition and prejudice bind them.

There we see greetings from the working women and peasant women of far Choresma in Chiwa or those of the organised and unorganised women of the distant Ural villages of Ustkisherte and a greeting from still further — from the workers and fisherwomen of Murmansk, or from the peasant women of far Siberia. Who in this great "civilised" world ever took any notice of them?

There are also dwellers in the distant mountains of Machatshkala and of Dagestan, where until recently the purchase and capture of women were still sanctioned by tribal rights, the peasant women, Mohamedans, of the isolated mountains of Central Asia — Turkestan and Usbekistan, the Pioneer Club "Clara Zetkin" Nr. 1, Tashkent, all of whom greet their sisters, the proletarian women of the West. Their letter reads:

"We beg you to inform the working women and peasant women in the countries of the East and of the West that the former Czarist colony — Turkestan — now comprising the Independent Soviet Republics Usbekistan, Turkmenia, Kirgisia and Tadshikistan, is carrying on an immensely cultural economic work and is at the same time occupied with the emancipation of the women of the Orient. More than 5000 women and girls of the native population are being educated in schools, 1500 are working in the administrative departments of the Soviets, over 3000 women have organised themselves into clubs, thousands of Dechanian women work as delegates and members of the Koshtzi Association in trade-unions and in production. Under the land reform, which came into force this year, working women received their portion of ground. In the name of thousands of Oriental women, who are organised in connection with the Communist Party and the Soviets, we send our greetings to our comrades abroad. May the working women of foreign coun-

tries know that the emancipation of women is possible only under a workers' and peasants' government and under the Lenin Communist International."

That is the Oriental woman, who is casting off her veil and, thanks to the rights which the Soviet Government has given her, is shaking herself free of her social and spiritual servitude — an event of great importance in world history.

The telegrams received in connection with Women's Day also depict the many-sided fresh forms of life in the workers' State and of the lively participation of women in productive processes and in public life, and all express the proud will of the working women and peasant women to take part in the economic construction of the Soviet Republic and, at the same time, to be member of the world-embracing Communist International. This desire to entertain closer relations with their sisters in the Capitalist countries finds repeated expression: for instance, here is a letter to the International Women's Secretariat, in which the peasant women delegates of the township Bolchun, in the Government of Astrachan, beg to be put into communication with the working women of a factory in Halle:

... "We should be very glad to know how the German working women live, what their present circumstances are and whether they are endeavouring to free themselves from the Capitalist yoke. We peasant women sympathise with our sisters and should like to know what privations they have to undergo. We might be able to help them in some way or other.

Kindly translate our letter into German and, if you find it too elaborate, tell us how we ought to write. We shall take careful note of all your instructions, for we are desirous of fulfilling Lenin's Commandments."

It will be seen that the Russian working woman is fully conscious of her superior position in relation to her proletarian sister in the West. There is a telegram from the home industry working women, the wives of home workers in the Home-Industry Union of Krassnodar in the Kuban district. Aye, in the Soviet State the difficult question of the organisation of home industry has been solved, though it is impossible to solve it in a Capitalist State.

Numerous telegrams from the big industrial district Ivanowo Wosnessensk report the absorption of women into industrial work, in which, after special schooling, the way is open to them to engage in skilled work. From Kusnetz greetings are sent by the women's sections of the railway workers', metal workers', printers' and traffic workers' unions: from Leningrad and Stalingrad there are greetings from the women in the National River Navigation Company and in water-transport work. Among others from Moscow, there are greetings from the female employees of the post and telegraph services, who also associate themselves with the proletarian women on their holiday. Other telegrams illustrate the good relations between factory women, village workers and peasant women; for instance, the telegram of "the Workers' and Employees' meeting in Twer, together with the peasant women of the village for which they have assumed sponsorship," or that of the "Women Railway Workers and Transport Workers of the town of Wladimir, together with the housewives, peasant women and young comrades of the village adopted by them", or a telegram from the "General Delegates' Meeting, together with the male and female workers and workers' wives of the town of Tula." It is impossible to enumerate all these telegrams, which are so characteristic of the structure of the modes of life now developing in the Workers' State.

One telegram, which illustrates more clearly than most the fundamentally changed position and evaluation of women in the Workers' and Peasants' State, is deserving of special attention, viz., a telegram from the organised women of the political military school S. W. C. and of the 64th Division, who send their warmest greetings to the woman-leader of the world's proletariat: "We are ready for the fight, we are only waiting for the word." "Active women-fighters," they call themselves, just as the Siberian peasant women say of themselves:

"We women, who were formerly so oppressed and backward, are at present active constructors."

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

The International Agrarian Institute of the International Peasant Council.

The International Agrarian Institute of the International Peasant Council was organised in accordance with a resolution of the 1st International Conference. It is the first time in the history of the peasant movement that the organised peasantry is seeking the support of scientific investigation of agriculture and of the situation of the peasantry in the various countries of the world. It is the task of this Institute to collect all the scientific forces which are willing to investigate these questions really objectively and from a strictly scientific point of view.

The International Agrarian Institute was formally opened on March 8th 1926. Representatives of peasants and scientists of many countries of Europe, America and the East took part in these celebrations. Many scientists from the Soviet Union were also present.

Although the Institute has only just been organised, it has already developed its activities in a considerable measure. The following departments have already been formed: 1. Department for the theoretical and concrete economics of agriculture; 2. Department for agrarian policy and legislation; 3. Department for the international peasant movement; 4. Department for investigating the Russian agrarian revolution and 5. Information Department.

The department for agricultural economics has already organised a number of sections for dealing scientifically with the most important questions. The department is preparing to publish the "Summary of Agricultural Statistics". The work has been entrusted to eminent scholars.

The department for the international peasant movement is developing the work of the following sections; 1. Section for the agrarian countries, which is divided into three sub sections, for the Near, the Middle and the Far East; 2. Section for the agrarian and industrial countries; 3. Section for the industrial countries; 4. Section for the co-operative movement. The work of organisation is already finished and the work of the programme which has been drawn up, is now being carried out. Further two training colleges for agrarian questions are working in this department.

The department for the investigation of the Russian agrarian revolution has so far started the work of two sections: the section for the peasant movement before "October" and the section for investigating co-operative economics. A third section is being organised for investigating the great agricultural undertakings. Professors and other eminent scientists are taking part in the work of this department. It is proposed to publish about 15 works in 1926, some of which are ready for printing.

The library of the Institute already numbers 5000 volumes; the Institute hopes to bring the total number of volumes up to 10,000 by the beginning of October. The whole work of the library is divided into the following sections: 1. section for the fundamental work of the library; 2. section for enlarging the library and 3. section for bibliography. A library commission has been formed for combining the work of the departments with the systematic work of the library.

In connection with the extension of the scientific work, the Institute is proceeding to issue its scientific "Bulletins". The plan for the first number is already provided, and the work of preparing it for print is being carried through. At the same time the information bulletin of the Institute, in which short communications about the scientific research work are to be published, is also being prepared for printing.

The structure of the management of the International Agrarian Institute is as follows: at the head of the Institute is a managing committee of seven members. The Chairman of the Committee is at the same time the Director of the Institute. The Director and the vice-directors form the Presidium (Board of Directors) of the Institute. The managing committee meet at least once a month, the Presidium at least once a week. The Presidium decides questions which arise in connection with the current work of the Institute and prepares the reports and material for the questions the discussion of which lies in the domain of the managing committee. The Council of the Institute consists of representatives of collective members and of individual members who take part in the work of the Institute. The Council of

the Institute meets at least once a year and, at its meetings, receives the reports of the managing committee and the revision commission.

Members of the Institute may be: a) Honorary members, b) Ordinary members, c) Collective ordinary members, such as public, political, co-operative and State organisations and institutes, d) correspondents of the Institute.

The honorary members of the Institute are chosen from among persons who have achieved special merit in the field of the agrarian question and the peasant movement, either scientifically or practically.

Persons are accepted as ordinary members who have expressed a desire to work in the Institute in accordance with its tasks and under its control.

Ordinary collective members are public political and State institutions which have expressed a wish to take part in the work of the Institute and to support it by membership subscriptions and the supply of literature and material etc. The amount of the subscription of membership is determined every year by the managing committee of the Institute.

Persons are accepted as correspondents of the Institute who have declared their willingness to co-operate in the work of the Institute in some way or other.

The fact that the Institute has existed so short a time necessitates caution in estimating the results achieved. Results have however been achieved, and it can be safely assumed that, before the year is out, the International Agrarian Institute will be able completely to unfold its activities in accordance with the programme planned.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Revolutionary Museum Reveals Comintern History.

By William F. Kruse.

Ordinarily the suggestion that one seek an organisation's history in a museum would hardly be considered a complimentary one. But here in Moscow the museums are not institutions dedicated to a dim and dusty past — they are vital, living organs that play an important role in the life of the workers. Museums for labour protection, for mother and child welfare, for home industry — all deal with living, everyday matters of concern to the masses and their state. Even such collections as in capitalist countries represent the last word in antiquarian isolation, a collection of valuable old violins, for instance, here serves the purpose of a peoples' treasure chest from which qualified artists can borrow a rare old Stradivarius in order to give a concert, just as a child can borrow a book from a public library.

The response on the part of the workers is commensurate with this living conception of the purpose of a museum. A single institution of this sort, the Revolutionary Museum is visited by 37,000 workers every month in order to study the story of their own struggle for freedom, as well as the liberation efforts of their brothers in other countries. The section dealing with the history of the Russian movement and of its revolutionary struggles is already in excellent condition. Beginning with the early uprisings of Stenka Rasin and Pugatcheff, the story goes on through the period of the Decembrists, Narodniki, Social-Democrats and finally the victorious Bolsheviks.

There is a new section to the museum in course of preparation, that will broaden the scope of the great museum to an international one. This is a large, extensive, special section devoted to the history of the Communist International.

By means of pictures, graphs, original documents, and actual objects from the struggle of the International and all its various sections, the labour history of the recent past will be told in terms that can be understood by the humblest worker or peasant. Here is displayed material from the work of every Party and on every field — mass agitation, party education, publishing, activity in trade unions, co-operatives and other mass organisations, among women, children, the youth — all phases of the Parties' work, their battles, their experiences under persecution — in short, a cross-section of the life of the Communist Parties and their International.

Each of the C. I. Congresses is dealt with. A gigantic original painting of the II Congress, with Lenin speaking, painted by Brodsky, covers one entire wall. Then there are 140 portraits of

comrades who have taken leading parts in C. I. activity, as well as illegal mandates on linen and silk were presented by brave workers who risked life and liberty to cross the hostile borders which separated them from the world-capital of the revolution. Here are displayed also the many gifts, made by Russian workers and peasants and presented to the Comintern Congresses as tokens of their solidarity with the revolutionary movement of the whole wide world. Here for instance, is a model of a red torpedo boat, another of a locomotive, still another of an electrified village. Long have these gifts been treasured in the offices in the Kremlin, here they will be on everyday view for the workers of the world.

A most interesting exhibit is a banner presented by the Mongolian youth organisation to the Russian youth — a red banner on which a young Mongol and a young Russian are fraternising. The most revered banner of all is a bullet-torn red flag stained with the blood of the Berlin workers who fought desperately to carry it to victory in front of the Reichstag in January 1920. The German Party's exhibit is a large one, and besides photographs, posters and other material illustrative of Party work, it includes also banners and emblems captured from Fascist and monarchist corps in clashes with the Red Front.

Thus present and past are fully illustrated by these exhibits. Many rare and valuable historical materials are to be found. The first illegal copy of the Zimmerwald manifesto can be seen here. A letter from Zetkin to Zinoviev telling of Jogisches' account of Rosa Luxemburg's attitude toward the Bolsheviks and her regret at the differences that arose out of her pamphlet — a conversation which took place shortly before her death. It is impossible to give in detail more than a glimpse of the many treasures brought together here. Their value is absolutely inestimable to future students of the world's revolutionary movement. And this is only the beginning. From year to year, from struggle to struggle, the exhibition will grow in richness and interest.

Unfortunately some of the Sections that have a most interesting store of materials, past and present, are as yet but poorly represented. Germany has the best collection, yet even her such important modern branches of agitation as the motion picture and the radio, both of which have been used there, are absent. From America, known to have been particularly far advanced in the use of posters and pictures, even motion pictures, in its agitational work, there is hardly anything but the press and publications in the exhibition. What is needed from all Parties are photos of their campaigns, trials, struggles, etc., coloured posters, copies of illegal papers.

From China and Persia, from France and Norway, from all over the world the life of the Communist International and its Sections is shown here. It should be a matter of pride and joy to the Western comrades to contribute everything possible in the line of such material to this collection. All units of the organisation, all functionaries, should lend every possible aid in bringing together this material and having it dispatched.

IN THE BOURGEOIS CAMP

On the 4th International Congress for Ethical Education in Rome.

By N. Krupskaja.

The 4th International Congress for ethical education is to be held in Rome shortly. On the agenda of the Congress there are two questions: 1. The possibility of creating an international moral law as an educational basis; 2. the possibility of developing individuality in the family, in school and in society.

The whole arrangement of the Congress under the patronage of the King of Italy Victor Emanuel III. and Prime Minister Benito Mussolini, comprising a considerable number of high born personages, clergymen, pedagogues, fervent adherents of the civic regime and all the experience obtained from previous Congresses, — all this indicates that it is intended to create a code of upper middle class morality, and to further the individual development only according to the bourgeois point of view.

Already 79 years ago, Marx and Engels, in the "Communist Manifesto" brilliantly exposed what there is behind all the talk about eternal morality and individuality. They have shown how the middle class with their outcry about the destruction of morality and of individuality, have endeavoured to divert the

attention of the working classes from recognising the class antagonisms and the class struggle. In his first works Engels has revealed with a clearness and acuteness which leaves nothing to be desired, how, in the depths of capitalist society, a new class, the class of wage workers is arising, among which — under the influence of the working conditions and the general circumstances — a new and higher morality, a collective, communist morality is springing up.

During the eight decades which have elapsed since the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" the workers of all countries have learnt to their cost what is the real value of middle class morality, with what success it maintains and increases the "physical and mental well-being" of the bourgeoisie, and how it helps systematically to kill the development of the individuality of the child in school.

With regard to education the French bourgeoisie has practically shown in what a cunning way it is possible to replace the authority of a "God" who has lost his power through the Revolution, by the authority of a higher morality. In France the teaching of bourgeois morality is compulsory in schools, and the other civic States are following this example. The workmen's children however have begun to display some difficulty in imbibing this bourgeois morality, and the Communist Children's Movement is rendering the position still more difficult.

It will not be out of place to quote here the words of Lenin at the Youth Congress in 1920 with regard to morals. He said:

"It is necessary that the whole education, training and enlightenment of the rising generation should be an education towards the communist morality.

But is there a communist morality? Does there exist a communist ethic? Of course. The matter is often put in such a way as if we had no morality of our own, and very often the bourgeoisie accuses us communists of denying all morality. That means a perversion of ideas, that means throwing dust in the eyes of the workers and peasants.

In what sense do we reject morals and ethics? In the sense in which they have been preached by the bourgeoisie, having derived this morality from the Lord's commandments. We say, of course, that we do not believe in God, and we know very well what the clergy, the landowners and the bourgeoisie have said in the name of God. Their ethic, derived from idealistic or semi-idealistic phrases, has ultimately a damning resemblance to God's commandments.

We reject any ethic which is based on ideas that stand "beyond" men and above the classes. We declare it as being a fraud, a mockery and a deception of the workers and peasants in the interests of the agrarians and capitalists.

We say that our moral is entirely subordinate to the interests of the proletarian class struggle, and that our ethic is in the same way the outcome of proletarian interests.

We say: Morality is something that serves to destroy the old exploiting society, to unite all the working people around the proletariat and to create a new social order, — Communism."

The 4th International Congress for moral education will try to show the middle-class moral as being universally human and binding on everybody; the Congress will, in other words, continue the work of stupefying the working masses. In the century of electricity, broadcasting and other great achievements of modern science, it is difficult to make us believe in a Father who resides in Heaven, and therefore the question of a universally human morality is much more refined and subtle.

Every educator must clearly understand that he cannot "simply" attend the International Congress for moral Education. To attend it means joining the number of conscious or unconscious deceivers of the working class.

BOOK REVIEWS

"Against Reformism"*)

By Hermann Duncker, Berlin.

To the Masses! The realisation of this slogan requires an exact knowledge of the ideology of the masses. What has hindered the masses up to the present in finding in Communism the only escape from the maelstrom of Capitalistic misery? Have we not perhaps done too much preaching of Communist ultimate demands without first of all endeavouring to understand the mind of the working people? It is necessary to understand the speech and mentality of the person, whom one wishes to convince.

These masses who are still so distant from us, — the Social Democrats and also the so-called "Indifferent" — already have a certain fundamental outlook in politics, conscious or unconscious. It is hardly possible to find a modern worker who has not some sort of intellectual attitude towards the general complex of his proletarian experience. No matter how amazingly humble and modest the proletarian may be in his demands on life, absolute contentment is to be found in no man in these days. Every one has desires, every man is conscious of the existence of want and all cry out: there must be a change! Then the question arises: Is improvement to be expected from the further course of Capitalism itself, by reckoning on higher wages, more favourable working conditions, measures of State protection and social support? In short, can we anticipate ameliorations which depend upon increasing insight on the part of bourgeois legislators, accommodating employers and skilled proletarian negotiators? Or, on the other hand, is real improvement for the proletariat possible only through the revolutionary destruction of bourgeois rule and of the Capitalist system? Every proletarian must face the question: **Revolutionary or Reformist?**

This vital question arises afresh to confront each succeeding generation of workers. Nothing is more erroneous than the view: A fight against Reformism once took place, namely, at the end of the nineties in Germany against the Bernstein affair, but the question has long been settled theoretically and, therefore, done with. No, this fight must be fought over and over again until the proletarian assumption of power is consummated. Just as he has to pass through years of puberty, so every proletarian has to face this decision. The chief thing is that the lessons learned from past disputes and discussions on the subject of reform or revolution should be preserved and utilised; and it is important that the spiritual weapons employed in this fight are constantly improved and that revolutionary enlightenment spreads to ever widening circles of the proletariat! Here it will be seen how necessary it is to perceive the roots of modern Communism in Germany not merely in the anti-world-war ideology.

The Spartakus League, founded in 1915, passed its embryonic stage of development within the German Socialist Party. The more our Communist attitude on the question of the world war may decrease in immediate importance and the more it is necessary in our progress through the desert phase of Capitalist decline to dwell upon topical questions touching the proletariat, the more important it is for us to make clear to the mind of the average worker the every-day and constantly recurring problems with their distortions and foreshortenings, i.e. to revert to the struggles against Reformism which took place in the earlier history of the Labour movement. It is here in particular that we find the decisive master-stroke of the leader of German Communism, Comrade Rosa Luxemburg.

Throughout the two decades of Rosa's political activity in the German Socialist Party her fight against Reformism runs like a scarlet thread. Volume III of the "Collected Works of Rosa Luxemburg", "Against Reformism", issued by Paul Frölich, therefore, constitutes an invaluable manual for our present-day fight against Reformism. Here are compiled for us

*) Rosa Luxemburg, Collected Works, Vol. III, "Against Reformism". Prefaced and edited by Paul Frölich, Vereinigung Internationaler Verlagsanstalten, Berlin, 1925.

all the important campaigns carried on by Rosa Luxemburg against the various Reformist advances between 1898 and 1914 — a special volume, however, is reserved for the discussion of the mass-strike. It is with ever-growing astonishment that the reader sees how political battles similar to those of to-day were at that time fought out by Rosa under the banner of political slogans and against political personalities all long since forgotten.

It would mean immense injury to the Communist movement if in its inevitable "domestic" disputes with the sham-leftward praters and those anarchistically inclined liquidators in the Party, the main battle front against Reformism, as the mass-ideology of the non-Communist proletariat, were neglected or even overlooked. Although it is undeniable that at present the Left deviations are the only unhealthy symptoms displayed by the German Party which give cause for concern, it is also perfectly true that — when we take the whole of the proletariat of Capitalist countries into account — the fight against the "right" errors in the Labour movement as a whole will, until the day of complete victory, remain a task of world historical importance far exceeding all others.

First of all comes the question of the examination and explanation of Reformism (Opportunism, Menshevism, etc.) as a complete political theory. Rosa discusses it in relation to the slogan: "Here the theory of collapse, there illusions of adaptability!" i. e. in relation to the question of the course of development of Capitalist society and in relation to the transition to the Socialist regime. It was with admiration that the standard-bearer of Reformism, Bernstein, recorded the "adaptability of Capitalism" (disappearance of crises, augmentation of the middle-class, advancement of the proletariat). Rosa cut the ground from under his feet and proved (1898) that Capitalist development is destined, through the contradictions inherent in the Capitalist Order, to end in "general economic collapse" (page 40). It is well known how much value Rosa set upon the proof of the objective necessity for Socialism. It was in her endeavour to show more clearly such objective inevitability that she started her subsequent (1913) extensive investigation of the accumulation of capital. No matter what attitude one may assume towards this book, the fact remains that even Bucharin, the severest communist critic of this work, agrees with her in her estimation of the importance of making objectively clear the economic nature of Imperialism and of Capitalistic collapse. Just as in our time, in view of the talk of Capitalist re-organisation, i. e. in the face of all the theoretic attempts to bolster up for a while the Capitalist pretension to adaptability, an exposition of the theory of Capitalist collapse seems highly desirable from the viewpoint of every thoughtful Communist. In Rosa's "Social Reform or Revolution" we have the clearest and most complete refutation of all opportunist hopes concerning adaptability. For instance, what Rosa has to say against the views of credit as an instrument of adaptation could be pointed out to-day to all people who are affected with the craze for reform of banking, credit system etc.

"Credit reproduces all the cardinal contradictions of the Capitalist world, brings them to a head and accelerates the speed at which this regime hastens towards its own destruction — collapse" (page 43).

Naturally, Rosa does not regard the collapse as a product of mechanical, automatic inevitability in Capitalist development. She holds the same view as Marx, viz., that men make their own history, and, therefore, Rosa appeals for the hammer-blow of revolution.

"The conditions of production in Capitalist society constantly approach to those in socialist society; on the other hand, the political and legal relations of the former erect an ever-heightening barrier between the two. This barrier will be broken neither by the development of social reform nor by the progress of Democracy, but on the contrary will only be rendered more firm. The only means to remove the division is the hammer-stroke of revolution, i. e. the seizure of political power by the proletariat." (page 61).

Nothing was more foreign to Rosa than the habit of gazing in revolutionary enchantment towards her objective. It

was precisely in her method of linking up the fight in which she was actually engaged with the advance towards her ultimate objective that her greatness lay. In an article against French Ministerialism Rosa expresses herself in 1899 as follows:

"It is as hopeless to try to comprehend the principles of Social-Democracy from brochures and lectures alone as it is to try to learn swimming on dry land. It is only upon the high-seas of political life, only on the extended front of the battle with the present State, in adaptation to the whole multiplicity of living reality that the proletariat can gain its schooling" (page 28).

In a dissertation upon our parliamentary tasks she says: "To take part in positive legislation and, wherever possible, with practical effect and at the same time to vindicate at every step their fundamental opposition to the Capitalist State, this, in general outline, is the difficult task set for our parliamentary representatives" (page 157).

Rosa played havoc with the misleading statement of present tasks issued by the German Socialist Party and in her articles, as compiled and supplemented with little historical insertions by Frölich, we have the complete history of the German party crises from 1898 to 1914; and the ground covered embraces the discussion of the militia question (Schippel, Heine), the customs policy (Schippel, Calwer), the Bavarian provincial Diet treaty and the franchise question (Vollmar), the Baden budget movement and court intrigues as far down as the Stuttgart mayoral election and, finally, the problem of the second ballot agreement (1912).

So well did Rosa understand how to state in classic language the fundamental Marxian attitude in every daily article, no matter how localised or focused, that these compositions and speeches appear topical to posterity and to readers in 1926.

There is, of course, a certain inadequacy and incompleteness in these disputations, for, finally, Rosa's belief in the political restoration of a revolutionary Social Democracy which would emancipate the peoples was a stupendous miscalculation. That which Rosa in 1910 predicted in order to frustrate the general spread of the Baden parliamentary tactics, namely:

"If these tactics are adopted throughout Germany, the consequence will be that Social Democracy will simply cease to exist as a party and become a mere shuttle-cock to be played with by the bourgeois parties or a ridiculous distortion of a social-monarchist-reformist-governmental party" (page 154).

became dread reality.

It must, however, be admitted that in her polemic with Vollmar on the Stuttgart Party Congress (1907) Rosa allowed herself to be led astray in her too categorical forswearing of "methods of violence" (page 129). Furthermore, the prophecy that Capitalism would find itself driven into a hopeless cul-de-sac (page 40), must be modified with the aid of Lenin's statement at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920:

"Revolutionaries sometimes endeavour to prove that there is no way out of the crisis. That is a mistake; no position is absolutely hopeless" (protocol page 31).

But these are trifles; in matters of importance time has made no erosion. What is most remarkable about this book is, that it is only now that we can appreciate the profound truths contained in all these articles written so long ago. A world war had to destroy millions of people, a Labour party had to betray foully the trust of the proletariat of all countries, misery unknown since the first rise of Capitalism had to descend upon the wretched victims of exploitation before the proletariat could bring itself to throw reformist illusions overboard. To-day — a quarter of a century after the most brilliant and keenest theoretic refutation of Reformism — we have reached the point when the truth of these things can be driven home among the great masses of the proletariat, aye, must be driven home, if disaster is to be avoided.

Of all the writings connected with the German Labour movement subsequent to those of Marx, the works of Rosa Luxemburg are far and away the most significant and freshest intellectual products.