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## CONTENTS

- J. Berlioz: The Ministry of the Young Plan and the Anti-Communist Conspiracy.  
Rudolf Renner: The Second International Assists the Imperialists.
- Politics.**  
G.: Before the International Conference at the Hague.  
J. B.: The Government of the British Labour Party and Egypt.  
J. B.: The Fight for Land in Palestine.
- International Red Day.**  
Fritz Heckert: A Provisional Balance of the 1st of August.  
M. L.: The Anti-War Demonstration of the Polish Workers.
- The Labour Movement.**  
Support the Locked-out Cotton Workers! (Manifesto of the C. P. of Great Britain).
- Against Colonial Oppression.**  
Willi Münzenberg: The Frankfort Congress of the League against Imperialism.
- Hands off the Soviet Union.**  
G. Zinoviev: A Foretaste of Big Treacheries.
- In the International.**  
John Williamson: Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of Canada.  
William W. Weinstein: The C. P. of the U. S. A. and the Address of the Communist International.  
Decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I.:  
re the Expulsion of Jilek from the E. C. C. I.  
re the Appeal of Lovestone against his Expulsion from the C. P. U. S. A.  
re the Expulsion of Spector from the Comintern.
- The White Terror.**  
New Savage Sentences and Bloody Deeds in Yugoslavia.
- Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.**  
The Loan for the Industrialisation of the Soviet Union.  
The Fresh Regulation of the Production Conferences.
- In the Camp of our Enemies.**  
F. M.: The Boy Scouts Jamboree.

## The Ministry of the Young Plan and the Anti-Communist Conspiracy.

By J. Berlioz.

"Poincaré has gone, but Poincaré's system remains", wrote the "Deutsche Tageszeitung" when the resignation of Poincaré became known, and thus characterised the situation with one sentence. This sentence is not only politically correct. Poincaré's Cabinet, with the exception of its old chief, remains in power under the leadership of the "Hero of Locarno", Aristide Briand.

The ministry which is now continuing its activity, exists since November 1928, i. e. since the moment when the four radical ministers, who had maintained the closest connections with the leaders of the right-wing for over two years, resigned and returned to the opposition for reasons of demagoguery, at the same time taking into consideration the general dissatisfaction prevalent amongst the broad masses. From this point on the majority of the government (right-wing and centre) was reduced to about 50 votes. During the violent debate concerning the ratification of the inter-allied debt agreement, the governmental majority was still further reduced by the defection of the M. de Wendel group which represents the interests of heavy industry

and was opposed to the ratification. In the last three weeks the chamber lost its balance, as pointed out by the whole press. In the decisive voting there was a majority for Poincaré of only 8 votes. The overthrow of the Cabinet seemed inevitable in connection with the debate upon the general tax alleviation and in connection with the amnesty in Alsace-Lorraine. The government therefore preferred to avoid the danger by declaring the session closed on the 26th July in defiance of the old "democratic" traditions. This act caused a storm of indignation from the left-wing and resulted in a minority for the government on a formal question of 252 against 276 votes.

From this moment the sickness of Poincaré suddenly grew worse. An hour after the close of the session he handed in his resignation. The next day the whole ministry followed his example. Briand, who the evening before had made a great speech in the Senate concerning "the peaceful policy" of France and had won the hearts of all parties, was appointed as the successor of Poincaré.

The hero of Locarno at first intended to form a purely Republican ministry whose limits towards the right were to be uncertain, but in any case a number of prominent radicals were to be members of the Cabinet. His idea was to extend the governmental majority considerably and thus obtain greater authority for the negotiations at the Hague conference. The idea of a "Republican Concentration" had been the object of a widespread campaign for several months, and in particular since the municipal elections in May, which were officially represented as a victory for a centrist policy. The organ of the radicals (the Caillaux group), which is said to have been purchased by Tardieu, devoted itself zealously to the idea. Even "le Temps" expressed no hostility to the idea upon condition that the Radicals "Loyale" should be included. The socialists were prepared to maintain a friendly neutrality towards the idea. The real aim of the campaign was to give the government a somewhat less reactionary appearance in the eyes of the masses, who are tending towards the left, to appease their dissatisfaction and to discredit still more the parties of the left-wing.

After negotiating two days Briand was compelled to abandon his idea. He made the Radicals the absurd offer of a number of "Ministers without Portfolio", or posts as Under secretaries of State. This offer was rejected because the radical socialists did not want to play the role of "Caretakers", but wanted a real share in the governmental power. The hero of Locarno then returned simply to the old formula. That was the result of the struggle between the two bourgeois programmes which were put on the agenda as early as November 1928.

Large-scale capitalist circles are unitedly of the opinion that the middle parties have already too long survived the economic decline of the middle classes and the petty-bourgeoisie which they represent, and that their dissolution must be speeded up in order that the large-scale capitalists may take over the State power completely. There are however, differences of opinion concerning the means to be adopted. One group (the metal, mining and chemical industrialists) is of the opinion that it is already possible to rule against the petty-bourgeoisie now, whilst the other group is of the opinion that the parties which represent the petty-bourgeoisie and a considerable section of the peasantry and which even have the confidence of the workers, must first of all be disposed of. Of course, the supporters of the "Republican Concentration" do not intend for one moment to treat the parties of the left-wing as equals. On the very first day of the crisis it was declared very clearly that if an extension of the Cabinet was desired, then the line of the old Cabinet would have to be maintained under all circumstances: foreign policy — conference at the Hague under Briand; internal policy — struggle against the 1st August, the struggle to be under the leadership of Tardieu.

The first group remained the victors, i. e. that group which was of the opinion that even in a period when there is talk about the United States of Europe, it was not desirable to give the democratic phrasemongers even the appearance of influence, and that considerations of internal policy — an open struggle against Communism with the ignoring of all laws — must outweigh everything else in the present period. This and the fact that the radicals, who were being hard pressed by their supporters who were dissatisfied in consequence of the taxation policy, the increase in the cost of living and the feverish increase of armaments, were compelled to put forward one or two demands concerning the "democratic" freedoms, caused the attempt to form a "Republican Concentration" to break down. In consequence of all this, it is more advantageous for the bourgeoisie that the radicals and the socialists should form a fake opposition in order to hinder the rapid process of the radicalisation of the masses.

How much this opposition is worth, we know already. During the course of the negotiations, Malvy, the leader of the left-wing of the Radicals, declared, "We are in complete agreement with Briand both regarding his foreign and his financial policy". Some time ago the socialists termed him a prominent pacifist. Amongst the socialists strong tendencies have shown themselves recently for participation in the Cabinet. Paul Boncour openly declared that the best solution of the problem would be the formation of a "National United Front" with the assistance of all parties.

One must, however, be able to see further than this parliamentary game of division into groups. The crisis which was

temporarily liquidated by a so-called "holiday Cabinet" is a sign of the great confusion amongst the bourgeois parties. The economic situation of France is becoming daily more unstable. On the whole the situation is still good, but vacillations are making themselves felt in those industries which work for immediate consumption, as also are capital and credit shortage and difficulties in export trade. Peasant agriculture is declining and the working class is beginning to oppose more and more energetically the capitalist rationalisation and the preparations for war. The capitalists are anxious about the disturbances which have shown themselves in the industrial advance of the country and are trying to find ways and means of avoiding a diminution of markets and the growth of the already very high costs of production.

The disturbance of the balance of the political parties is a result of this situation and is expressed in particular in the question of the ratification of the inter-allied debt agreement. At first the parties of the right-wing were opposed and the parties of the left-wing in favour of the ratification, but later on the situation changed completely. At the final voting the majority of the groups divided into two camps. All the parties tried to find a basis in this confusion. "la Journée Industrielle" declared again and again, "At the cost of great sacrifices we have liquidated the past. Now we need a clear economic policy which the government has not yet formulated. We have had enough of experiments. We want a jumping off platform for a new period of reconstruction". The instability and vacillation is a sign of the general instability of the international capitalist stabilisation.

At the moment therefore France has a Ministry in the spirit of the Young Plan and the anti-communist plot. In the two most decisive questions "national unity" continues to exist. The "pacification of the world", and "the final liquidation of war" are being placed in the foreground in order to obtain a secure parliamentary majority of the right-wing, the centre and a considerable section of the Radicals, one of whose leaders declared after the fiasco of the "Republican Concentration", that they would "prefer to stand on one side in a friendly fashion". The socialists will not make any opposition to the "pacifist" Briand. All the left-wing groups are without exception in favour of the anti-communist offensive. In a resolution adopted a few days ago the socialists devoted 10 lines to the fascism of the government and fifty to an attack upon "the illegal action of the Communist Party", against "the bluff and the agitation of the communists" etc. The socialists hope to gain from the attitude of the bourgeoisie through the destruction of the revolutionary organisations. Large-scale capital, which won the left-wingers with ease for its foreign policy and for its struggle against communism, will probably also succeed finally in discrediting them in the eyes of their followers and thus speeding up the liquidation of these parties which refuse to see the deep contradiction between the highly organised ranks of finance capital and the more and more aggressive ranks of the workers.

The political concentration around the two opposite poles will probably proceed at an increased pace, as is the aim of large-scale capital. The pacifist phrases of Briand will of course only serve to cloak the same policy of military armaments. "There are not two foreign policies for France", wrote "le Temps", "The foreign policy of Briand is the same as that of Poincaré". In the present situation, however, the more ambiguous language of Briand will probably do more to destroy the illusions connected with the Young Plan than the more blunt way of Poincaré. That is all that is new in the situation.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the crisis has enabled Tardieu, the Minister of the bitter struggle against the working class, to convince "public opinion" of his indispensability. The press demands almost unanimously that he remain Minister of the Interior. This adventurer has emerged from the crisis strengthened. As the representative of large-scale capital and a supporter of brutal methods of repression, he is obviously the very man to take over the leadership of the "national unity". He is a determined supporter of the policy of economic expansion demanded by the "Journée Industrielle". "Le Matin" writes, "One often compared the last Cabinet to a table with one leg, the radical leg, missing". After a short period of vacillation the united bourgeoisie will succeed in obtaining this leg also in order to maintain its balance. The strong list of the proletariat will, however, destroy this table. The increased persecution will not destroy the Communist Party. On the contrary,

# The Second International Assists the Imperialists.

By Rudolf Renner (Berlin).

The Executive of the Second International has issued an appeal in which it calls upon the workers of the world "to turn their attention to the dangers arising from the conflict between the Soviet Union and China". The II. International is once again concerned for the "maintenance of world peace". But the eagerness with which it comes forward, is suspicious. The II. International has not done anything to make the workers realise the sources of war danger which spring from the imperialist squabbles or the attacks upon the Soviet Union. When the French General Staff held a Conference in Warsaw with the military commands of Poland, Roumania and the Border States for the purpose of organising a military front against the Soviet Union, we did not hear of any appeal by the II. International. The Executive Committee of the II. International took no notice of the war-like attacks of Poland on Lithuania. The II. International has not called the attention of the workers to the war dangers resulting from Italy's encroachments in the Balkans. Nor did the II. International call the attention of the workers to the policy of encirclement pursued by the English imperialists against the Soviet Union. It uttered not a word regarding the Anglo-French war alliance, the intrigues of England in Afghanistan etc. But now it declares:

"It is unbearable to think that 15 years after the outbreak of the world war... in Manchuria again troops are being conveyed to the frontiers from both sides, the collision of which threatens again to set the world in flames.

It is unbearable to think that a collision between the Russian and the Chinese revolutions could lead to an economic catastrophe and thereby to the victory of counter-revolution."

And further:

"The International, which right from the commencement of the Chinese Revolution has defended the right of the Chinese people to its full national sovereignty, to the abolition of all privileges of the foreign Powers on Chinese territory, recognises that it is the right of China to demand the removal of Russian control over the Chinese Eastern railway insofar as it runs over Chinese territory, as well as the abolition of any foreign control of railways on Chinese territory."

The appeal of the II. International speaks of the "Chinese revolution" and its rights. What, however, is ruling in China today is not revolution, but **counter-revolution**. When the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese working peasantry have actually conducted a struggle against the imperialists in China, when they converted this struggle into a revolutionary war also against their own exploiting bourgeoisie, the II. International did not recognise this struggle. On the contrary, it conducted a campaign of calumny against the Chinese revolution. The first MacDonald government sent its warships and soldiers against the Chinese revolution and caused thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants to be murdered; and the II. International did not appeal to the public opinion of the world against the cruel deeds of the imperialists. When Chiang Kai-shek carried out his coup d'état, when he betrayed the national revolution and kindled the **bourgeois counter-revolution** and had the peasants slaughtered wholesale, the II. International did not protest against the dispatch of arms by the English imperialists to the counter-revolutionary hangmen's general. Not even once did the II. International raise its voice for the national sovereignty of China against the military interventions of the English, French and Japanese imperialists. This clearly and plainly characterises the actual purpose of the present appeal of the II. International: assistance for Chiang Kai-shek,

assistance for the imperialists, war incitement against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government is the first and only government in the world which recognised China's complete equality and which abolished all unequal treaties. Formerly the Chinese Eastern railway was completely under Russian control. Nowhere in China does the Soviet Government occupy with its troops ex-territorial districts as do all the imperialist States. But the appeal of the II. International does not as much as by a single word protest against these imperialist privileges; in the eyes of the workers of the whole world therefore this appeal appears as a document of hypocritical lying, which has been published for the purpose of **strengthening the front against Soviet Russia by drawing in the social democratic, not sufficiently enlightened workers**. The appeal deliberately omits to state that here it is not merely a conflict between China and the Soviet Union, but a fresh attack of world imperialism, in whose hands the Mukden and the Nanking governments are mere puppets, against the workers' State.

The purpose of the appeal is still further revealed by the fact that the Executive of the II. International states that "the rulers of Manchuria have made use of the conflict with the Soviet Union in order to rob the trade unions and the workers of their right to strike". In the next sentence the appeal declares that the Soviet government has furnished the pretext for this persecution of the working class by misusing the labour organisations "as a tool of Russian policy".

The Soviet government has made the railway a bearer of culture. Even the bourgeois "Frankfort Zeitung" had to admit:

"It (the railway) has become a cultural factor, which founded and maintained schools, as well as hospitals, clubs, and homes for the employees and scientific workers, a factor which established whole industries, telephone and telegraph lines. Only on the railway has the eight-hour day been completely carried through in China."

This is called by the II. International "misusing the labour organisations as a tool of Russian policy".

The honourable leaders of the II. International are making every effort to carry out a manoeuvre to deceive the working class. The Executive of the II. International demands the renunciation of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union. But the workers of the world realise that it is here a demagogic action against the Soviet State. What the leaders of the II. International are aiming at is rendered obvious by the demand raised in the appeal that the Soviet Union submit to an arbitration court in order to settle the conflict. The arbitration court which the Soviet Union is called upon to recognise, would consist of the same imperialists who have instigated the raid upon the Chinese Eastern Railway and who by means of this raid are preparing further interventions in the Soviet Union.

In conclusion the appeal declares that "the Chinese government (that is the Mukden government. Ed.) is endangering the sympathies of the working class of the world towards the unrestricted national sovereignty of China". By this the Executive of the II. International indirectly expresses its sympathy for the Nanking government of the hangmen's general Chiang Kai-shek. The workers of the world, the workers and peasants of China, however, are expressing their complete sympathy with the Soviet Union and will not be misled by the hypocritical machinations of the II. International. The reply of the revolutionary workers of the whole world to this appeal, which supports the imperialists, will be the intensified struggle against the threatening war dangers, against the imperialists of all countries and their social democratic lackeys.

## POLITICS

### Before the International Conference at the Hague.

By G., Paris.

The Hague has been decided upon as the place where the international conference called deceptively the "conference for the liquidation of war" is to be held.

The governments have taken sixty days to arrive at this choice, and the disputes clearly disclose the divergent interests. The England of MacDonald apparently intended to create through the proposal, that London should be chosen as the place of the conference, a kind of precedent, and, at the same time, by this fact to put forward the English metropolis as the seat of the international bank which is to be founded. Montagu Norman Governor of the Bank of England, who is at present on a business trip in the United States for the recuperation of his health, recently propagated this idea with great persistence.

However, the preparatory negotiations have now been concluded. Within a few days the delegates and their numerous retinues will probably be on their way to Holland.

The object of the negotiations at the conference will be the acceptance of the Young Plan or, rather, the execution of the protocol signed at Geneva in September, 1928, by France, England, Belgium, Japan, Italy and Germany. The protocol provided for the convocation of a committee of experts to work out a plan regulating the reparations and negotiations concerning the conditions of the evacuation of the Rhineland. Finally, it sanctioned the appointment of a commission, to which the control of the demilitarised Rhineland zone should be transferred.

The discussion will accordingly be concentrated upon the report of the experts and upon the two points mentioned above.

In accordance with the sacred principles of secret diplomacy, the negotiators are making use of their right to say nothing about the instructions with which they are setting out for the conference.

Upon being called upon by the Chamber for several explanations, Briand evaded them, and in justification cited, not without malice, the case of Henderson, who exercised similar reticence in the House of Commons.

In the meantime, there have occurred two political events, the significance of which should not be underestimated: the British view of the Young plan, as formulated by Snowden in the Lower House, and Poincaré's resignation.

The plan elaborated by Young and confirmed by the conference after a number of crises, is a compromise between the claims of the creditors and the offers of the new-German imperialism. A fresh regulation of the German debt came into being and the political significance of this was pointed out by our Party in a special declaration several weeks ago. Although the new regulation reduces the nominal amount of the German debt, it not only fails to lighten but in a measure it adds to the burdens imposed on the proletariat. Nevertheless, agreement had to be arrived at concerning the sacrifice which the reduction of the German loan required of the allies. In particular, England had to agree to a reduction of its claims. Against the first reduction proposed by Owen Young, energetic resistance was made by W. Churchill, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time.

The Yankees, however, finally got the victory. The proportion of the annuity payable by Germany to England was reduced from 23 per cent. to 19 per cent. As compensation for the reduction of the deliveries in kind, which English industrialists regarded as a kind of dumping, England had to agree to a reduction of the reparation payments destined for the dominions and to renounce a portion of the occupation costs.

These concessions appear to the English statesmen to be an abuse. Lloyd George opened a strong attack upon the Young plan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Snowden, stated in his answer to the leader of the Liberals that the sacrifice made by England was "enormous, magnanimous, quixotic", but that

the limit had been reached. He added: "England is by no means obliged to accept the proposals of the Young Plan."

These statements should be compared with Stresemann's utterance in the German Reichstag that the Young Plan was a regulation for the duration of ten years, at the most. A significant confession!

Apart from the particular problem, the experts are disposed to come to a settlement in regard to the conflicts of the "third period of imperialism" and to consolidate the stabilisation of world capitalism. But even before their work is completed the chief parties are already beating a retreat.

The second event, whose significance prior to the international conference, must be explained, is the resignation of the Poincaré Cabinet.

The Socialists, who are always ready to cause confusion in the minds of the workers, are already proclaiming the resignation of the Cabinet and its substitution by the Briand government as a sign of a new direction in the foreign policy of France, and declaring that the "Ruhr policy" is giving way to the "Locarno policy"! It is not worth while discussing this twaddle.

What are now the worries of French imperialism, which are overshadowing all others?

a) Manoeuvring against American imperialism, whose policy closes the American market to most of the French articles of luxury and whose enormous overproduction leads to a kind of dumping on the continent of Europe with which French industry cannot cope.

b) Maintenance and strengthening of the alliances in the Balkans and in the East as preparatory measures for the fight against Italian imperialism and against the Soviet Union. Shortly before assuming office Briand boasted before the Senate that he presided at one of the greatest pillages in the interests of Poland (the division of Upper Silesia). On the same day he received Minister Zaleski and promised to support the claim of Poland to participate in the international conference.

c) Recruiting of Germany in the anti-Soviet block through agreement to evacuate Rhineland, subject to certain conditions.

d) Avoidance of a rupture with England, maintenance of the Anglo-French alliance, which is indispensable for the fight against the colonies, which are in a state of fermentation, for the support of the counter-revolution in China and for the offensive against the Soviet Union.

e) Still closer participation of the Socialists in this policy: to send Boncour and Jouhaux again to the League of Nations.

This is the outward aspect of the parliamentary incident. It is hardly necessary to say that it will not make the slightest difference in the principles of French imperialism on the eve of the international conference. The Briand Ministry will be a ministry of war, of war against the Soviet Union, just as was its predecessor.

### The Government of the British Labour Party and Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The banquet given by Mr. Henderson, the chairman of the II. International and Minister for Foreign Affairs to His British Majesty, to the honorary doctor of Oxford University and dictator of Egypt by the grace of Chamberlain, Mohammed Pacha Mahmoud, soon after the arrival of the latter in London, has had the expected political results. A few days after this social event, the official announcement was made that the Labour Government has entered into formal negotiations on the future fate of Egypt with the anti-constitutional and anti-democratic Mahmoud, the puppet of the Conservative government, of whom the Labour members declared only eleven months ago that without the British tanks near Cairo he would have long since floated down the Nile with his government; now these same Labour members enter into negotiations with this oppressor of the Egyptian people, on behalf of court and banking interests.

This is such a flagrant violation of every pledge given by the British Labour Party, such an open taking over of the reactionary Chamberlain traditions, that even the **Wafd** Party, cautious as it is, and anxious to pursue a policy of alliance with the Labour Party, has not been able to preserve silence. The organ of the Egyptian national bourgeoisie, although anything but revolutionary, has been forced by the total abandonment by the Labour Government of its own political line in the Egyptian question to make the following statement, which is extremely characteristic of the estimate formed of the policy of the social reformists by even the most Right wing national reformist elements in the colonies:

"If the English, whether Right or Left, keep Egypt under their yoke, this does not mean either great honour or great gain for them. It might, however, be expected that Mr. MacDonald, after proclaiming an era of justice and reason, of work in friendship for peace, would not, the very next day, make common cause with the imperialists against the defenceless peoples. On the part of the imperialists this is logical. From the standpoint of the workers it is betrayal. Principles and agreements alike are not scraps of paper. And the Conservatives will not fail, as soon as problems of a more European character arise, to demand from the Cabinet of the Labour Party fresh guarantees, and ever and again fresh guarantees. The path chosen by Mr. MacDonald is strewn with dangers. If he were clearer sighted he would have built up his position on a securer basis. Now he is the slave of his opponents, and it is not he who will be able to manoeuvre. They will force him, day by day and threat by threat, to lay aside his halo.

As a matter of fact the Conservatives are delighted at the Labour Party experiment, the Labour Party Cabinet being weak in its majority and through the character of its leaders. In this manner they have been able to achieve an aim of which they have never made a secret: that is, to let others carry out what they themselves consider necessary, but what they could not realise without breaking the inviolable principles of a traditional policy. It was a ticklish experiment. If it succeeded, they would have time enough to overthrow the Cabinet and prepare for their own return. If it did not succeed, the game was still theirs, and they could shatter the Labour Party."

("La Patrie", Cairo. 17th July 1929.)

Thus after only a few weeks of government Henderson had gone so far that he had to listen to a lesson, from an organ of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, on the subject of adherence to principles. Therefore the greater the rejoicing on the part of the Mahmoud government, supported by the British bureaucratic apparatus in Egypt, for it has been able to see in the action of the Cabinet of the Labour Party a sanction of its dictatorship.

The Mahmoud government at once began to increase its pressure on its political opponents again, after relaxing this slightly for a few days after the victory of the Labour Party. Again newspapers were prohibited, domiciliary visits made (among these the house of Zaghlul Pasha's widow was searched), meetings dissolved. In order to prevent the possibility of a really revolutionary outbreak, although this was scarcely likely on the part the Wafd, the Ministry for Home Affairs hastened to draw up a special draft of an emergency law threatening with heavy sentences of penal servitude anyone making communist propaganda. The negotiations between Great Britain and Egypt were to be commenced on the basis of the previously rejected Chamberlain Sarwat Pasha agreement, tantamount to the complete capitulation of Egypt to British demands.

But now the pressure from the opposite side began. The Wafdists mobilised — not the masses of the people, whom they fear like the plague — but at least all available telegraph wires, in order to proclaim to the world their protest against the "treachery" of the government of the Labour Party. Besides this they uttered the warning that it would be better not to force them to extremes, since the discontent among the population had actually reached a very high pitch... In Great Britain itself Henderson's cordial welcome to Mohammed Mahmoud was too much for the adherents of the **Independent**

**Labour Party**, and even some of the Liberal papers, the "**Manchester Guardian**" for instance, commented on the Egyptian question in a manner disagreeable for Henderson. Above all, the adherents of the Labour Party find themselves obliged to ask what it may mean when an agreement is concluded with a person who is merely the tool of the **British Conservative Party**.

The result has been that in the Egyptian question, as in the question of relations with the Soviet Union, in the disarmament question, and in the mining question, certain waverings may be observed in the course of the Labour Party ship, which has hitherto been sailing consistently in the Conservative wake. A sacrifice must be made to the angry gods of public opinion. In Egyptian politics the sacrificial lamb has been **Lord Lloyd**.

It is true that the retention of Lord Lloyd as British High Commissioner in Egypt would have imposed an intolerable burden on a **MacDonald** Cabinet. Lord Lloyd of Dolobran has not pursued a moderately Conservative policy in Egypt, but an expressly Diehard policy; he is an unbridled imperialist of the old school, unable to appear as anything else either in word or deed; he has always ridden rough shod over Egyptian nationalism, and has behaved in Egypt, which is at least formally "independent", as if it were one of the crown colonies of Great Britain. Hence it would scarcely have been possible for Lord Lloyd to remain in office in any case, and Henderson seems to have considered it an effective political move to dismiss him at precisely the moment public opinion in Great Britain and Egypt was protesting indignantly against the negotiations with Mohammed Mahmoud.

It would, however, be an error to assume that this "symbolic gesture" actually signifies Henderson's intention to deviate from the imperialist line in Egypt. It can mean either a be the more safely concluded (Lloyd the man being dropped "cover" under which a pact with Mohammed Mahmoud may but his system maintained), or it can be the prelude of an alliance between the Labour government and the Wafd, whose extreme nationalism and parliamentary enthusiasm are at bottom nothing more nor less than an attempt to come to a compromise with the British bourgeoisie, even at the expense of the Egyptian people.

So long as the government of the British Labour Party does not do away with the British occupation of Egypt; does not annul the capitulation privileges, and does not secure full free and legal development for the proletarian class organisations in Egypt, no "gestures" or explanations will make its policy otherwise than imperialist, a policy which is in principle a continuation of Chamberlain's policy, protecting solely the interests of British capital and betraying the interests of the working classes of Egypt and Great Britain.

## The Fight for Land in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

As a result of the methods of imperialist rule, a unique, hard and bitter struggle — the fight for land — has become the most immediate, in fact the central problem of political and economic life in Palestine. In order to convert Palestine into a favourable strategic basis for its war adventures, into a favourable strategic key position for conquering the whole of the Arabian East, **British** imperialism requires the aid of a "Jewish National Home". This **Jewish** national home must, however, if British policy is to achieve its aim, be "built" in fierce and lasting conflict with the **Arabian** masses, in the first place with the peasant masses. The **British** imperialists have, therefore, give their servants the **Zionists** to understand, that if a Jewish colonisation is to be tolerated at all, then it must proceed along agricultural lines.

Thus the **Zionists** have been given the hint to place once again in the foreground the expropriation campaign against the **Arab** peasants, which ever since the inception of **Zionism** has constituted the foundation of this "idealistic" movement. But in expropriating the **Arab** peasants recourse must not be had

to such primitive means as brute force. The British are far too cautious to rouse the anger of the Arabs all at once by fulfilling the demands of the Zionists and directly handing over to them large stretches of land. The expropriation of the Arab Fellahin is carried out in a more subtle and refined way — and it is precisely these underhand methods of the Zionists that cause the resistance of the Arab peasants to be all the more fierce and desperate.

In carrying out its historical mission of helping British imperialism by driving the poor Arab peasants from the soil, Zionism makes use of two factors. The first is the **Arab big landowners** who "sell" to the Zionist societies the peasants' land, the real possessors and cultivators of which, owing to the peculiar conditions of land registration, are often quite unaware that it does not belong to them but to the Effendi (the big landed proprietors). Nay more, the big landowners are at the same time dealers in land, who bribe the elders of the Arab villages, make dirty bargains with the government officials and in this manner hand over the Arab lands to the Zionist colonising companies. Once the first part of the business (the fraudulent bargaining away of the peasants' land without the previous knowledge of the fellahin) is concluded, the Zionists, backed by the authority of the law, can now proceed to the second act of land-robbery.

This is where the **Zionist labour leaders**, the section of the II. International, come on the scene. The chief task which the Zionist socialists set the members and supporters of their party, is to carry out the seizure of the land. The poverty stricken Jewish workers are incited in the most unscrupulous manner against the Arab small peasants in order to induce them to seize the latter's land. Numerous bloody collisions result in the carrying out of this task. Upon the ruins of the small Arab farms there arise huge orange plantations, upon which a few parasitic capitalists exploit in the most unheard of manner hundreds of Jewish workers, who have "won" this land, and thousands of Arabs, mostly expropriated small peasants. And that is Zionism.

The only force which offers resistance to this perfidious imperialist-Zionist-feudal-reformist game is the Communist Party. The **Arab nationalists**, who at first protested in words against the monstrous land robbery, have now found ways and means of becoming, so to speak, "sleeping partners" of the Zionists. They are fulfilling their national duty by endeavouring to forestall the Zionists in purchasing the fellahin's land. The rich **Wakf** administration (Mohammedan church lands) has lately been competing with the imperialist "**Jewish National Fund**" in the purchase of land. In both cases the cost has to be borne by the fellahin.

The **Communists**, on the other hand, place in the foreground the interests of the Arab small peasants. The fighting slogan of the Communists is, active revolutionary fight against the expropriation of the small peasants' land by the Zionists. **Brotherly union of the Arab and Jewish workers** in the fight against the base actions of the social imperialists, is the way indicated by the Communists.

Against this clear and plain policy of the Communists there is concentrated the whole fire of the British, Zionist and Arab reaction. On the Arab New-Years' Day (8th of June) some nationalist groups in Jaffa wanted to hold a demonstration against the sale of land to the Zionists. The Communists immediately placed themselves at the head of the movement, but turned it in the direction of the fight against imperialism and for the dividing up of the land of the big landed proprietors.

The Communist appeals made a great impression upon the Arab population, and the government summoned troops and police from all parts of the country in order to prevent a demonstration. As a further counter-measure it called upon the Arab notables (big merchants, landowners and Sheiks) to render help in suppressing the Communist demonstrations. The Arab notables, some of whom only very recently posed as being very radical and even coquetted with the Labour movement, immediately complied with this demand. A few weeks later the British High Commissioner was able to express his thanks to these notables with whose help he had succeeded in quelling the Communist disturbances!

So far as the Zionists are concerned, the object of the Communist struggle is to expose the true character of Zionism. It is the chief aim of the Zionists to prevent the truth coming to light, even if it means employing the most brutal and criminal means. Thus the Communists, who are fighting against the Arabs being driven from the soil, are boycotted, beaten, driven from their homes, handed over to the police and condemned to imprisonment, compulsory labour and deportation.

A Communist delegate who, at a Jewish "meeting of deputies", protested against the driving of the fellahin from the soil, was prevented from concluding his speech, howled down and thrown out of the hall by the Zionist socialists who talk so much of justice and democracy. Similar incidents occur at trade union meetings, public gatherings etc.

The fight for land has become the cardinal point of development in Palestine. It is an important instrument of British imperialism and at the same time an episode in the war preparations which are at present being made in the Near East. For this reason the Communist Party is connecting its anti-war campaign with its immediate slogans in the fight for land and with the fighting slogans against imperialism and Zionism, for the alliance of the workers and peasants and the agrarian revolution.

## INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

### A Provisional Balance of the 1st of August

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

It is not yet possible to see all the details of the campaign in connection with the First International Red Day on the 1st August. One thing however, is already certain, and that is that generally the demonstrations can be termed successful mass manifestations of the proletariat against imperialist war. In very many places where up till a little while ago the Communist International had no very great influence upon the working masses, the latter followed the appeal of the C. I. to demonstrate against imperialist war on the 1st August. This is an obvious sign that broader and broader masses of the workers are rallying to the leadership of the Communist Parties, despite the furious counter-campaign of our enemies. To judge from the social-democratic reports our demonstrations on the 1st August were a miserable fiasco. The social-democratic "**Leipziger Volkszeitung**" also writes in this spirit, although it admitted that the social-democratic counter-demonstration on the 31st July was a failure. The "**Vorwaerts**", the central organ of the German Social Democratic Party, discovered on the 2nd August not only that the social-democratic counter-demonstration was at least three times as large as the communist demonstration in the Lustgarten, but also that those who were present at the latter demonstration were there only "under orders". The "**Vorwaerts**" even pretends to know that it was generally admitted at a session of the Berlin district leadership of the Communist Party, that the demonstration was a failure, but that it was necessary to save the face of the Party by calling it a tremendous success. To argue with the editors of the social-democratic press about whether the communist demonstrations on the 1st August were a success or not would be a waste of time, because in any case, these poor quill drivers only receive their salaries in return for a systematic campaign of slander against the Communist Party. The bourgeois press, and in particular the left-wing bourgeois press, seeks to depreciate the 1st August action of the Communists. The "**Frankfurter Zeitung**" for instance writes of a fiasco of the Comintern on the 1st August. If the "**Frankfurter Zeitung**" and the other bourgeois newspapers which share its point of view, assumed that the Communists wanted to make the proletarian revolution on the 1st August 1929, and now observe that the Communists did not even disturb the order of their offices, then they can write of a fiasco, but not of the fiasco of our 1st August action, but only of the fiasco of their own ideas.

The demonstrations on the 1st August were undoubtedly a step forwards, and numerically they can stand comparison with the demonstrations on the 1st May, which, it must be

remembered, has a tradition of forty years behind it. In most cases the demonstrations on the 1st August were larger than on the 1st May, and what was particularly admirable was the fighting spirit of the masses. The 1st August demonstrations also introduced a new factor, and that was that they took place from the factories, a circumstance which must not be underestimated owing to the irregular knocking off times, which caused many workers to demonstrate for 5 and 6 hours in order to be able to march together with their fellow workers. Added to this, in many places the 1st August was a pay day, which is always a very bad day for demonstrations, and this was expressed in the insufficient carrying out of a short strike. The workers are tied down to the factories until the normal knocking off time, because the wages are not paid out until then. In the main it was only building workers and those workers employed in smaller factories took part in the strike. Only here and there was it possible to set the workers of large-scale factories to take part in the demonstration strike.

This deficiency in the 1st August movement must be seriously considered. A further shortcoming was that the activity on the 1st August was considered chiefly as a demonstration after work. There was no systematic revolutionary activity during the day. There was not sufficient activity in the factories during working hours; the unemployed workers did not show themselves sufficiently on the streets during the day; there was not sufficient activity amongst the housewives at home and in the markets. It would be a great error to lose sight of these serious deficiencies in the general satisfaction at the success of the demonstrations. The most important fact which showed itself on the 1st August was the obvious disparity between the spirit of the masses and that of the revolutionary officials. That which has often showed itself in recent years, that the masses are more active, that their revolutionary élan is greater than the activity and élan of the party members, that was shown clearly on the 1st August. It was shown that the Party, instead of marching a step ahead of the masses, was considerably in the wake of the masses. This is a circumstance which must be altered under all circumstances if the Party is to fulfil its task as the leader of the masses.

How can the deficiencies be explained, the lack of proportion between the activity of the masses and the relative passivity of the Party? There are not only objective reasons, but also a number of subjective reasons for this. Up till recently the Party was not able through its agitation and enlightenment to show the danger of war to the masses as real as it is. It must be admitted without beating about the bush that the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway was the factor which brought the party to conduct a more serious and better founded anti-war work amongst the masses. Among broad sections of the party comrades the idea was prevalent that the situation was really not so serious, that there was no acute danger of war. This wrong idea was strengthened by the counter-action of the social democracy, which whilst inciting unceasingly to war, conducted a widespread propaganda in order to persuade the masses that the danger of war was decreasing, and accused us communists of producing a war atmosphere.

The social democratic counter-action is supported energetically by the ultra-left and right-wing renegades of communism. In the "Fahne des Kommunismus", the organ of the Trotzkyists, a campaign was carried on for weeks before the 1st August declaring that it was the task of all revolutionaries to prevent the swindle demonstrations of the communists on the 1st August. Whilst "Gegen den Strom", the organ of the Brandlerists, accused us of organising Pitches on the 1st August and of confusing the proletariat concerning the existing situation. The arguments used by these people and the atmosphere created by them caused pessimism amongst a considerable section of the revolutionary officials. This bad influence was liquidated for the most part by the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, which brought the ultra-left and right-wing renegades into an impossible position; in the last few days before the 1st August they were compelled to abandon their hostile attitude towards the demonstrations in order not to isolate themselves completely from the masses. Despite their manoeuvre, the 1st August proved their complete lack of influence upon the working masses and passed a destructive verdict against them.

A further important factor which caused a certain amount of reserve amongst the revolutionary officials was the terror

waged against the workers after the 1st May. Many hundreds of the best officials were victimised and the idea grew amongst some of them that the Party had taken a bigger step than was justified on the 1st May and that this had caused setbacks. The successful demonstrations on the 1st August also showed the wrong conclusions which some of our officials drew from the May events. It was precisely the tremendous dissatisfaction of the proletarian masses with the attitude of the Social Democratic Party on the 1st May, which was the best mobiliser of the masses on the 1st August. This great dissatisfaction caused the social democratic leaders to adopt another tactic towards the 1st August. In order to steer their social-fascist course more adroitly, they had themselves to call for demonstrations and were compelled to use the police in a more reserved fashion. To-day there is no doubt whatever that without the determined struggle of the revolutionary workers on the 1st May to maintain the streets for the working masses, the 1st August would not have been such a success. Thus, the struggles on the 1st May were decisive for the success of the demonstrations on the 1st August.

The campaign against the danger of war and for the demonstrations and demonstration strikes, was carried on without sufficient touch with the other questions which interest the proletariat, i. e. the questions of better working conditions, tax and customs duties questions, the unemployed problem, the growing cultural reaction etc. The party members and the party organs were not able to connect all these questions so closely together that one of them could be used to mobilise the masses for the others. On the contrary, many comrades considered many problems side by side to be a hindrance in carrying out the campaign in connection with one of these problems. The capacity of the party to manoeuvre must be considerably increased in this connection. In conclusion, the 1st August taught us that if we want to use the favourable spirit of the masses in order to strengthen the revolutionary movement, then it is necessary to put the decision of the 12th Party Congress into operation quickly, to rejuvenate and enliven the party ranks by disposing of the old fossilised elements and by drawing in all those young and fresh proletarians who are carrying out the communist policy at the head of the working masses, fearlessly and without inner inhibitions.

## The Anti-War Demonstration of the Polish Workers.

By M. L. (Warsaw).

The 1st August was accompanied by a wave of terror unusual even for the fascist regime in Poland.

Many thousands of workers were arrested all over the country and all the forces of the police were mobilised. Despite this, the workers succeeded in establishing the anti-war front in the form of demonstrations and part strikes. In Warsaw alone, over 2000 workers were arrested in the days before the 1st August. There was not enough room in the police stations for all the prisoners and most of them had to spend the night in the courtyards. Whole streets were cordoned off and arbitrary arrests were made from amongst the masses.

On the 1st August police, mounted and on foot and armed with carbines, patrolled all the places where the authorities thought the workers might attempt to meet. Motor lorries full of armed police drove around the town. All the factories were surrounded by police from the early morning on. The workers left the factories and walked through cordons of police which prevented any meetings before the factories. In the larger factories agents of the Defensive (Political Police) were stationed and noted down the names of those who did not appear at work.

Despite all these precautions several thousand workers, both Polish and Jewish, followed the slogans of the Communist Party. The workers in the metal works **Bezet, Henneburg** etc., went on strike, as also did the workers in the State works in the **Wola** district. In Henneburg the workers left the factory a few hours before the normal time. The police tried unsuccessfully to prevent them doing so.

Workers demonstrations took place in all parts of the town. In the morning a district demonstration of about a thousand workers took place in the Nalevski Street. After a short time it was broken up by the police. At about 5 o'clock about 500 workers gathered in front of the **Norbein** factory, but the police succeeded in preventing any organised demonstration. At 6 o'clock a demonstration of about 2000 workers took place on the Grzybovski Square, but was immediately broken up by large forces of police. The masses collected again on the Zelazna-Brama Square, where the police occupied the pavements and arrested dozens of workers. A further attempt was made to assemble on the Baute Square, but strong forces of police were present and made numerous arrests immediately. A factory demonstration took place in the Povisle district. A demonstration in the **Vola** district was immediately broken up by the police.

In Lemberg also there was a demonstration on the Solski Square, when the police made mass arrests. Amongst the arrested was the parliamentary deputy **Walnicki**. Whilst the parliamentary deputy **Cham** was speaking a plain clothes policeman hit him over the head with a revolver butt. A second speaker was also arrested. After the demonstration was broken up the workers again attempted to demonstrate before the theatre. Anti-war posters were pasted up in the centre of the town.

In **Lodz** a mass demonstration took place on the Reymont Square. It was also broken up by the police.

In **Wilm** the workers of the glass works went on strike.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Support the Locked-out Cotton Workers!

Manifesto of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The fight of the Lancashire cotton workers is the biggest event in the class struggle in Great Britain since the great General Strike and the fight of the miners in 1926. It is a sign that the employers' drive for rationalisation, far from stabilising British capitalism is on the contrary arousing the working class to a new wave of mass struggle. The lock-out of 500,000 Lancashire cotton workers marks the opening of a new era of gigantic conflicts between the capitalist class and the working class, which will lead the workers further towards their historic goal of a socialist Revolution.

The condition of the cotton industry shows in miniature the utter chaos, incompetence and bankruptcy of production under capitalism. Even the competition of sweated Indian, Chinese and Japanese labour has not had the same disastrous effect upon Lancashire as the speculation, the anarchy and the stranglehold of parasitic bondholders due to capitalist management. The capitalists are trying to wipe out, at the expense of the workers, the gigantic mess created by capitalist ownership of the industry.

In this way they are being assisted by the reformist trade union officials. The present attack has been openly prepared for nearly two years. The officials, far from organising resistance, have done their utmost to break even local strikes, as at Nelson last year and the Alma Mill, Oldham, recently. In recent months the officials have systematically expelled from Union Committee all the Communist and militant workers who might expose their plans for selling the workers. In the weaving section, the officials have co-operated with the employers in introducing a number of encroachments on the workers' conditions. Even now, despite 95% majorities of the workers for a struggle to resist reductions, the bureaucracy are ready to sell out — the spinning and card room officials by advising modified reductions, the weaving officials by offering to accept arbitration.

The capitalists are also being assisted by the Labour Government. It has encouraged their offensive by openly declaring

that its policy is to promote rationalisation (J. H. Thomas). While declaring that it looks on the capitalist as "a man and a brother" (H. Morrison), it has continued the persecution of the unemployed (M. Bondfield). Its police have supplied the cotton union officials with copies of correspondence between Communist cotton workers and their Party (J. R. Clynes). It sent a permanent official to Lancashire to try and persuade the workers to accept wage reductions. Under the guise of "impartiality" the Labour Party and the Labour Government are helping the employers.

Against this close combination of employers, trade union bureaucracy and the Labour Government and Labour Party, the workers can and must look for a genuine leadership only within their own ranks. The Communist Party calls upon the workers in every industry and in every part of the country to realise that the Lancashire cotton workers are fighting the battle of the whole of our class. Engineers, miners, railwaymen, wollen workers, shipbuilders — all are interested in seeing that the cotton workers win their fight.

In Lancashire the Communist Party has issued the slogan of: "Rank and File Lockout Committees, representing all the workers, men and women, adults and youths, organised and unorganised, to be elected at mass meetings of the locked out workers". The Communist Party urges the workers throughout the country to set up "Textile Workers' Aid Committees", based on Textile Workers' Aid groups in the factories and trade union branches, to collect money for the locked out workers, and to organise other forms of class assistance.

In this struggle, the workers on the one side, with the Communist Party as the real revolutionary leadership, are fighting the capitalists on the other side, led by the capitalist Labour Government and supported by their "Labour" agents, the trade union and Labour Party officials. In Lancashire it is the first rounds of a new and higher stage in the struggle of classes which are being fought out. The Communist Party draws the attention of all militant workers to the fact that the same supreme class issue is involved in the struggle against the growing peril of new imperialist wars. The Chinese-White Guard attack on Workers' Russia, backed by foreign imperialism, is a sharp and clear reminder. The Communist Party calls on every class conscious worker to extend the open fight begun in Lancashire by helping it to organise one day strikes against imperialist war on August 1st, as part of the world-wide demonstration on that day against capitalist war-makers and their "Labour" agents.

July 30, 1929.

The Central Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Frankfort Congress of the League against Imperialism.

By Willi Münzenberg.

The Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism in Frankfort on Main reflected the development of the national-revolutionary movement during the past few years. The right-wing groups of the national bourgeoisie in most countries have made their peace with imperialism, have allied themselves with imperialism and are now organising a joint exploitation of the workers and peasants. In Brussels a number of these groups were still represented, but at Frankfort none of them was there.

The Kuomintang in China is characteristic of the development of these sections of the national bourgeoisie in the countries oppressed by imperialism. In alliance with the British, French and American imperialists the Kuomintang has not only crushed the revolutionary workers and peasants movement in China and choked it in blood, but to-day it is also striving to kindle a conflagration against the Soviet Union. In India the right wing of the national bourgeoisie, at this year's session of the Indian



National Congress abandoned the demand for the complete independence of India, a demand which the Brussels congress of the League against Imperialism also adopted at the direct proposal of the representative of the Indian National Congress, and adopted a miserable compromise of Ghandi. In the Latin-American countries Calles and his friends who posed as being very revolutionary in 1927, have since made their peace with Wall Street and have become obedient servants of North American imperialism.

The congress in Frankfort expressed this development of the leading sections of the national bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries with all possible sharpness, and at the same time it exposed the counter-revolutionary role which these groups are playing to-day in the struggle for national and social freedom.

The congress went still further, it pointed to the dangers which exist with regard to those vacillating elements which consist partly of groups of the national bourgeoisie and partly of petty-bourgeois groups, grouped around Mme. Sun Yat-sen, Eugen Tchen and Janda Deng in China, and in India around the leaders of the left-wing of the Indian National Congress and around the leaders of the Indian Trades Union Congress. In its reports, its manifesto and its theses concerning the situation in China, India, Latin-America and Indonesia, the congress pointed out with all possible clarity that a real and serious revolutionary movement, capable of driving out the foreign imperialists and overthrowing native capitalism, could only be based upon the million masses of the workers and peasants.

One of the great successes of the Frankfort congress, which marked considerable progress as compared with Brussels, was that not only were the imperialist right-wing groups of the national bourgeoisie not present, but that the representatives of the workers and peasants organisations were present to a far greater degree than before. From the Philippines, from China, from Latin-America, from Arabia, from North Africa etc., there were almost solely representatives of proletarian organisations, of trade unions, workers and peasants organisations, Communist Parties etc. present. It was the characteristic feature of the Frankfort congress that the majority of the delegates were from workers and peasants organisations, whereas at the Brussels congress the intellectual groups still greatly predominated.

The Frankfort congress also answered the pro-imperialist policy of the Second International which caused the latter to adopt a decision against the League Against Imperialism at the international congress of the L. S. I. in Brussels in 1928. It is clear that an organisation in which such people as the imperialist and capitalist ministers MacDonald, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Henderson, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who are continuing Chamberlain's policy of oppression and exploitation in India and in the other colonial countries against the colonial peoples, Hermann Mueller, Severing and their friends, the former Belgian Minister Vanderavelde, cannot conduct an anti-imperialist policy, that it can conduct only an imperialist and capitalist policy. The declarations and speeches of hundreds of colonial delegates at the Frankfort congress brought this fact once again to the attention of public opinion and of the proletariat all over the world. The severe criticism directed against the Second International did not spare the so-called left-wing of the socialist parties, like the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain. The congress was compelled to record the fact that the policy of the Independent Labour Party, which in words is an anti-imperialist policy, is in fact a support of the imperialist policy of MacDonald etc. The parliamentary Labour Party and the fate of the Labour government depends considerably upon the attitude of the I. L. P. fraction. The criticism directed against the Labour Party of course hit James Maxton also, the chairman of the I. L. P. and the chairman of the League Against Imperialism. Challenged by the plain questions of the representative of the Soviet labour unions, Melnichansky, Maxton made a long declaration in Friday's session of the congress condemning not only the policy of the MacDonald government and of the Labour Party, but also the policy of the majority of the Independent Labour Party. The future must show how far Maxton's promise to conduct a decisive struggle against the imperialist policy of the Labour Party and of the Independent Labour Party will be fulfilled.

The discussion between the communist section of the congress and the Maxton group, which was intensified in the commissions and to some extent in the congress itself by the participation of anti-militarist groups, representatives of national-revolutionary organisations and intellectuals, gave the so-called

great press the opportunity of speaking of a threatening split in the League and of the threatening break up of the congress. On Thursday a Frankfort newspaper reported that the British delegation was leaving. The hopes of the capitalist and social democratic newspapers that a split would take place and that considerable sections would split away from the League have happily not been fulfilled. The League against Imperialism stood its acid test at Frankfort. It has rejected the reactionary groups of the national bourgeoisie which pursue a capitalist policy jointly with the imperialists and commenced an intensified struggle against them through the Frankfort congress.

At the Frankfort congress the League Against Imperialism made all the necessary preparations for the fulfilment of its historical task of forming a fighting alliance between the national-revolutionary wing of the petty-bourgeois and peasant strata with the broad masses of the international proletariat. In various countries of international political importance, such as Indonesia, Arabia, Syria, Northern Africa, Latin-America etc., there are still national-revolutionary organisations which are conducting a serious struggle for national freedom.

The great political success of the Frankfort congress was the fact that it completely united just these groups and organisations and strengthened the alliance with the representatives of the European and non-European working class and peasant organisations who were present at the congress. In comparison with the Brussels congress, the Frankfort congress represents a considerable move to the Left. The main weight of the League against Imperialism no longer rests on liberal and intellectual men and women as individuals, as it did at the time of its formation, but upon the broad masses of the workers and peasants affiliated to the League in the oppressed countries. That this development was made and this result achieved with the unanimous approval of everyone at the congress, anarchists, syndicalists, anti-militarists, socialists, communists and social revolutionaries, is a success upon which the League against Imperialism may pride itself, which causes profound chagrin to all our enemies and which is received by all our friends with pleasure and satisfaction.

## HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

### A Foretaste of Big Treacheries.

By G. Zinoviev.

The events on the Chinese Eastern Railway, which are of world wide significance, have again proved to be a touch-stone for Social Democracy, too. As is the case in every big political crisis, the Chinese crisis was bound to disclose the real significance of the big political factors, including Social Democracy.

What is lurking behind the present Chinese events? What has happened in Harbin? China's Koltchak, Chiang Kai-shek, who has temporarily succeeded in forcing the Chinese revolution to its knees, organised an impudent attack on the Soviet Union. China's Koltchak is at present in need of victories abroad to render it possible for him to continue at home with still greater brutality his executioner's work on his own workers and revolutionary peasants. The Chinese Koltchak is being supported by the imperialists of the wealthiest countries, just as the Russian Koltchak formerly was. Only a blind man could fail to see that these imperialists have formed a conspiracy. Chiang Kai-shek is acting in complete agreement with his Anglo-American and French protectors. China's Koltchak does not take a single step without consulting the representatives of English imperialism in his immediate neighbourhood (The Socialist MacDonald has, of course, left at their posts all the English representatives appointed by Chamberlain), without consulting the representatives of imperialist America and France. He can also get on very well with the Japanese imperialists.

The situation, therefore, seems to be clear. The meaning of the event is so obvious that a misunderstanding is simply impossible. In spite of this, "world" Social Democracy can still change black to white and white to black. The guilty party is not the Chinese Koltchak but the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!

The hatred of the counter-revolutionary leaders of Social Democracy for the Soviet Union, for socialist construction, has

reached such a pitch that to these gentlemen it is a matter of indifference who attacks the Soviet Union, as long as it is attacked.

On July 2nd, 1929, i. e. before the attack of the Chinese Koltchak upon the Chinese Eastern Railway, the "Vorwärts" published as leader an article by a prominent "leader" of the Russian Mensheviks, Peter Garvy: "Moscow and Nanking". Apparently, as early as July 2nd the "Vorwärts", now a ministerial paper, knew that Chiang Kai-shek was about to make an attack upon the Chinese Eastern Railway. The leaders of Social Democracy to-day have "access" to the "highest circles" of imperialist society. They are particularly at home in the American embassy. Nobody should, therefore, be surprised when at some future date there fall into the hands of the workers documents, from which it is perfectly clear that such articles against the Soviet Union, for the protection of the Chinese Koltchak, are written by Russian Mensheviks at the orders of French or English or American imperialists for the chief organ of German Social Democracy. So close is the community of interest of international counter-revolution against international revolution.

"China no longer needs any revolutionary instructors, such as Borodin, but financial instructors, such as the Americans Kemmerer and Young", writes P. Garvy in his article. "United China declines to serve as the theatre, first for conflicts between Russia and England or Japan, then for the world-revolutionary plans of the Comintern." Then follow scurrilous inventions about an alleged connection of the Soviet Union with General Feng Yu Hsiang, who has recently been at loggerheads with Chiang Kai-shek, possibly because he has not been permitted to share with the Chinese Koltchak some piece of plunder or other. And, finally, there are remarks about the results of the searches made by the Harbin police on the premises of our consulate, etc. In other words, several days before Chiang Kai-shek's attack upon the Chinese Eastern Railway, one of the leaders of Russian Menshevism prepared in the chief organ of the German Mensheviks "public opinion" for the circumstance that Chiang Kai-shek who watches over "United China" and the Chinese revolution, would be obliged to "defend" himself.

The came the above-mentioned step on the part of China's Koltchak. The Soviet Union was forced to resort to elementary measures of self-defence. Without any attempt to hide the fact, the imperialists placed the sword in the hand of the Chinese Koltchak. Only those who are struck with blindness can fail to observe the forces of imperialist counter-revolution, which stand behind Chiang Kai-shek and goad him on against the Soviet Union and, at the same time, against the Chinese revolution, which is rallying afresh. What do the leaders of "world" Social Democracy do in this situation? They howl and shout against the Soviet Union.

An especially energetic activity is developed by the leaders of German Social Democracy, which to-day is again the leading party of the Second International. The "Vorwärts", which is generally so phlegmatic, suddenly becomes morbidly lively. The front page is packed with new calumnies on the Soviet Union. Every day, articles, notices, caricatures, sensational telegrams, verses, letters from "our own" correspondents, etc., are published, all directed to one end: Chiang Kai-shek is innocent; "Soviet imperialism" alone is guilty. "Two nations — the Russians and the Chinese — are facing one another with drawn swords, and the leading powers of the capitalist countries are acting as mediators, in order to regulate Soviet Russia's claims in China." — that is the manner in which the "Vorwärts" of July 21st, 1929, describes the position of things in the leading article entitled "Crime against Peace". The Chinese nation is... Chiang Kai-shek! China is... the Chinese Koltchak!

"The originators of the Soviet policy are lusting after corpses" — writes the "Vorwärts". The protests of the workers, peasants and toilers of the whole of the Soviet Union against the attack of the Chinese Koltchak are described by the organ of German Social Democracy as "ordered". The tone of the Soviet press is compared with that of the imperialist press on the eve of the war of 1914. "The only fault of the Chinese people is that they will no longer permit the form of their domestic political life to be prescribed for them by the Comintern." Chiang Kai-shek is allegedly only fighting to prevent the "semi-colonial countries from becoming satellites of the Soviet power!"

The "Vorwärts" is seconded by the "Populaire", the organ of the French Social traitors, which is hammering into the French workers the "thought": "The narrow-minded policy of Bolshevism in China is fateful not only for the Chinese revolution but also for Russia itself."

But, as already stated, the attitude of German Social Democracy is especially characteristic. It is the most zealous in advocacy of the Chinese Koltchak, although the interest of the German bourgeois "fatherland" in the Chinese-Soviet Russian conflict is at present not a burning one. But things have already so developed that the leaders of German Social Democracy conceive their task to be the defence not only of the "fatherland" of their bourgeoisie, but also of the interests of capitalism in general, of world counter-revolution. Not only the revolution of the proletariat but also the bourgeois counter-revolution is constantly becoming more international. This is the explanation of the passion and persistency with which the leaders of German Social Democracy are fighting for the cause of the Chinese Koltchak.

The acid tests of the leaders of world Social Democracy have been: 1. The world war, 2. the October Revolution and the founding of the Comintern, 3. the revolutions in the European countries, 4. the outbreak of the revolution in China and in the East in general, 5. the epoch of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, 6. the preparation of a new war against the Soviet Union. On all these occasions the leaders of Social Democracy stood the trial by fire as accomplices, and even as direct organisers, of the counter-revolutionary fight of the bourgeoisie against the workers. The new phase of reanimation of the revolutionary movement in numerous countries is making the social-democratic leaders still more furious and embittered opponents of the Union. Even at the time of the first successes, at the first symptoms of revolutionary reanimation we noticed (and we shall continue to experience) the most furious resistance of the leaders of Social Democracy. Just for this reason they are taking up their position in the front ranks of those who are agitating for war against the Soviet Union.

Immediately before the world war the chief task of the social-democratic leaders was to bring opportunistic decay into the rank of the workers and to prepare for the victory of "their" bourgeoisie.

During the world war itself the task of the social-democratic leaders consisted of inciting the working class to war for the purpose of enriching the capitalists of their "fatherland".

At the conclusion of the war, when the proletarian revolts broke out, the task of the social-democratic leaders, after their alliance with counter-revolution, was to suppress the proletarian revolts at any price.

When in Hungary, Bavaria and Finland the Soviet power triumphed, the social-democratic leaders made it their task to help the imperialist bandits in the suppression of the soviets in the above-mentioned countries.

When the Soviet power in Russia was consolidated and the Comintern was founded as a mighty organisation threatening the stronghold of capitalism, the social-democratic leaders made it their chief aim systematically to poison the mind of the European workers by calumniating the Soviet Government and the Comintern.

When, in the last few years, the preparations of the bourgeoisie for a new war became ever more apparent, the social-democratic leaders regarded it as their mission to help the bourgeoisie to prepare for this war.

What the leaders of counter-revolutionary Social Democracy are doing in connection with the events in Harbin is only an indication of what is to come. The lively activity of the leaders of Social Democracy for the benefit of the Chinese Koltchak, that marionette in the hands of the big imperialist powers, is only a minor public rehearsal of approaching treacheries on a big scale. One thing is certain: Whoever, and under whatever circumstances, and for whatever cause, attacks the Soviet Union, the leaders of Social Democracy will always find "material" to justify the attack, to add fuel to the flames, and to stab the Soviet Union in the back. We must take particular notice of this "little" test of big treacheries.

Our reply thereto is: Penetrate deeper into the masses! Rely exclusively on your own strength! We must clearly realise that Social Democracy of to-day is one of the forces of the bourgeoisie. Our answer must be: Still more determined fight against

counter-revolutionary Social Democracy; still greater efforts to expose the particularly despicable role of "left wing" Social Democracy; clear recognition that modern Social Democracy is a **bourgeois Labour party of counter-revolution**. Be prepared for the worst from the leaders of "world" Social Democracy, for you will then be nearest to the truth!

The workers will find our answer in the speeches at the recently concluded X. Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. on the international situation. Class conscious workers of the whole world, close your ranks against imperialism, against the Chinese Koltchaks, against the counter-revolutionary leaders of Social Democracy!

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of Canada.

By John Williamson.

The economic and political relationship of Canada to Great Britain and United States, in view of the intensification of world rivalry, leading directly to imperialist war between the U. S. and Britain, makes the deliberations and decisions of the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of Canada of importance for the working class of the world and specifically important for the Communist Parties of the United States and Great Britain.

Canada occupies the peculiar status of being nominally a dominion of Great Britain, but having actually outgrown its semi-colonial status and having developed a definite capitalist economy of its own. Canada is a capitalist state in the full sense of the word, both in the class relationships inside the country and its foreign policies on a world scale.

Since the close of the world war, industrial and agricultural production have grown at a more rapid tempo than any other country. From a total gross industrial production at approximately 2,500 Million dollars in 1922, this has grown to 4,000 Million dollars in 1928.

In the agricultural field the same growth is in evidence, the total grain crops of Canada having nearly doubled since 1914.

In world trade Canada occupies first place in per capita trade balance; second in per capita export; third place in absolute trade balance and fifth in total exports. Her total trade is growing annually, amounting in 1928 to \$2,572,069,319. Of major importance is the fact that the growth of Canadian trade grows more favourable to the U. S. A. and less to Great Britain both in regard to favourable trade balances and in respect to the composition of trade — increased export of raw materials to Britain and finished products to America.

In the field of investments we see America advancing and Britain lagging far behind, while Canadian capital (this in many cases is actually controlled by, either British or American) is dominant.

The political implications of this situation are far reaching. To-day Canada is an arena of struggle between the two powerful imperialist contenders for complete world hegemony — U. S. A. and Great Britain.

The Canadian bourgeoisie, while playing a much more independent role, especially in relation to Britain (demand for independent representation at international conferences, establishment of independent embassies in U. S. A., France and Japan, independent trade treaties, opposition to British foreign policy in Egypt, Chanak, etc.) is, nevertheless, hopelessly divided, some sections being under the hegemony of American Imperialism, others of British Imperialism, and still others trying to maintain an independent position. At the same time Canada takes her place in the international united front against the Soviet Union and simultaneously in increasing her armaments (building two new cruisers, 38 new army planes, hangars, 20% increase in military budget this year, etc.).

The present situation can only become more complicated and the friction more intensified as the struggle between the two imperialist powers goes on, until on the outbreak of war between the U. S. A. and Great Britain, it will in all probability lead to

civil war in Canada. The Ottawa government can never be maintained in such a situation, and there will exist the basis for a revolutionary situation, in which the **Communist Party** must become the leader of the workers in alliance with the farmers against both Imperialisms and against the Canadian bourgeoisie and struggle for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

This present so-called "prosperity" of Canadian industry, is bound to be short lived, due to its development in the midst of sharpened world contradictions and due to developing contradictions within Canadian economy itself.

An examination of the internal and external contradictions — the definite leftward trend and radicalisation process amongst the workers, especially young workers and women — leaves no doubt as to the temporary character of the present "prosperity" and indicates that all these factors are leading towards a crisis in Canadian economy.

**Social reformism** in Canada is strong. Relatively speaking the Canadian workers are much better organised in trade unions than anywhere else in the Western Hemisphere. The bulk of them are divided between the A. F. of L. unions and the Canadian National Union. A small number are organised in the Industrial unions through the efforts of the C. P. and the T. U. E. L.

The **A. F. of L. unions** play their usual role of class collaboration, class peace, simultaneously expelling the communists. The **A. C. C. L.** (All Canadian Congress of Labour), while paying lip service to industrial unionism and even using revolutionary phrases is little different from the A. F. of L. — indorsing Mondism and vying with the A. F. L. to have representatives sent to the Geneva International Labour Office, etc.

The **Canadian Labour Party** is practically non-existing except in one or two provinces, where our Party capitulated and handed the leadership to the reformists, in other provinces where Communist Party waged a struggle, the fakers were able to have the big bulk of the Unions withdraw. Social-reformist influence is very strong — most of the trade union leaders and parliamentary representatives (Woodsworth, etc.) using "left" phrases to fool the workers and at all times trying to paralyse their struggles. Insufficient trade union work with many right errors and a totally wrong attitude towards the Labour Party by our Party, has prevented an effective struggle being waged against the reformists to date.

The **French Canadian** population numbering one third of the total population and being a compact mass with a common language, traditions, etc. — having anti-imperialist traditions — recently being drawn into industry at a rapid rate and even participating in strikes — the bulk, however, being small peasants — under the complete domination of the Catholic Church — they form a most important problem for the Party, which has not even been approached as yet. Without the French-Canadian masses our Party can never be successful.

#### Status of our Party and Its Policy.

In this situation the Canadian Communist Party found itself in no way prepared for the tremendous tasks and possibilities before it. The Party is made up of 95% of members of three language groups, (Finnish 65%, Ukrainian 25%, Jewish 5%). It is thus isolated from the basic sections of the workers — the **Anglo Saxon and French Canadians**. Furthermore, it is isolated from whole industrial areas, such as **Nova Scotia**, where there is not a single Party group today, although a few years ago, the Party was the recognised leader of thousands of miners in their struggle against the bosses and the state. In connection with strikes the Party was always at the tail end and we saw evidence of the complete subordination of the C. P. to the Canadian Labour Party (Alberta). Organisationally the Party had an actual loss of 400 members in the past two years. All of this was further accentuated by the existence of a federated language structure — with the bulk of the membership limited to language clubs and fraternal organisations.

The background of the entire leadership of the Party showed lack of understanding of the C. I. line. The fact that **Spector** — now a counter-revolutionary Trotskyist — was the undisputed political leader, although his reservations were known, is proof of this.

In the pre-convention discussion, the majority of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade **MacDonald**, brought forward a

thesis that was not in line with the VI. Congress of the C. I. It overestimated the present "prosperity" — ignored the immediate and growing possibilities for sharpened class struggles under Party leadership — saw no contradictions internally leading to crisis — ignored radicalisation and declared there was no Leftward drift — believed the C. L. P. could still be an instrument of struggle for the workers — neglected the agrarian question — and completely underestimated the Right Danger as the main danger in the Party.

The entire Party leadership, including those who were more correct in their approach to the above questions, underestimated the **War Danger** and believed the "Independence" slogan to have a revolutionary value. Much unclarity was also evident on the Trade Union question, the majority orientating completely on the skilled sections of the workers in the A. F. L. unions, and the Buck-Smith resolutions showing a decided tendency to accept uncritically the All Canadian Congress of Labour, as against the A. F. L., instead of waging a sharp struggle against both social reformists organisation and organising new unions, especially in the basic industries, which are largely unorganised.

### The Sixth Party Convention — Its Tasks.

This was the situation and the status of the Canadian Party at its Sixth Convention. The **Comintern** addressed a special letter to the Convention, sharply criticising and correcting the line of the thesis and resolutions presented and gave to the Party a proper line on all political and organisational problems, in line with the decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern. To carry out this line meant a sharp break with the past and a sharp turn in all its work. While the C. I. Letter was unanimously endorsed through adoption of a resolution, the Convention and the preceding Plenum were the scenes of sharp struggle, which indicated that this Convention was only the first to shake up the C. P. C., that the new line is not understood fully as yet and the Right Danger is deep rooted and much ideological clarity is still needed.

The Convention and Plenum were divided into three tendencies, 1. those who declared their acceptance of the C. I. Letter (**Buck-Smith**) and made efforts to correct their own mistakes (the tendency to see possibility for increased class struggle only in developing crisis and Right errors in Trade Union work and uncritical attitude towards A. C. C. L.), although displaying a factional approach at times; 2. those who resisted the C. I. line like **M. Buhay, Moriarty** etc. — associates of **MacDonald**, and 3: **MacDonald**, who while declaring he accepted the C. I. Letter and admitting his own mistakes, in his report repeated his basic errors and categorically refused to attack and dissociate himself from Buhay etc. The first signs of organised factionalism took place at the Convention under the leadership of MacDonald, and was defended by him as necessary to "save the Party". The respective tendencies in the Canadian Party reflected to some extent the struggle going on in the American Party prior to the American Party Convention.

The Convention was the **most successful** in the history of the Party, insofar as it definitely discussed in a thorough-going manner basic political problems, although the Convention did not fully understand the C. I. line — many comrades actually resisting it — and no political thesis was adopted applying the line of the C. I. Letter to the tasks and problems of the Party. This Convention actually shook the Party out of the smug complacency which it had got itself into for the last years and was the starting point for a thorough beginning in ideological clarification and putting the Party to work. Resolutions were adopted on the Trade Union Question, Inner Organisational Problems, Women's Work and Youth. A basic weakness of the convention was the lack of any French-Canadian delegates and the lack of discussion and failure to adopt a resolution and policy on this all important question.

The political report of Comrade MacDonald presented to the Convention had two basic shortcomings 1. fitting Canada into the 3rd. Period by virtue of its upward trend of economy alone and omitting the basic, determining consideration of the intensified contradictions, the Leftward trend of the workers and the developing crisis in Canadian economy, and 2. his failure to explain the basis for the Right Danger and to repudiate categorically all Right elements openly.

### Right Danger in the C. P. C.

The Right Danger has deep roots in the C. P. C. The thesis of the MacDonald leadership and the attitude of some comrades in the convention discussion, show that there was complete lack of understanding of the situation in Canada — its relation to the international situation — and as a result mistaken policies on all practical fields of work. This situation is accentuated by a series of secondary factors, such as 1. general passivity and existence of language blocs which are not linked up actively in the class struggle; 2. low ideological level; 3. isolation of the Party from basic sections of the working class and 4. social democratic structure of the Party. The basis of the Right Danger in the Canadian Party is the over-estimation of the Canadian "prosperity" and underestimation of the growing radicalisation of the working class. How deep rooted and what crass expressions of Right errors have been committed in the practical work of the Party, flowing from the wrong analyses, can be seen from the following few examples:

1. In **Vancouver**, two Party members, who were members of the C. L. P. Executive, did not oppose this Executive's invitation to **Ramsay MacDonald** to speak in Vancouver. These same two comrades agreed in this C. L. P. Executive not to fight for the Oriental franchise and at other times fought against selling the "Worker" at united front mass meetings.

2. In **Sudbury**, the Party, under threat of an injunction by the Courts, turned over to the Courts the subscription lists of the Party Finnish Daily, **Vaupus**. At this time in the "Sudbury Worker" a Party paper, Comrade **Moriarty**, a Polcom member, writes, "So exhibit number three (the sub lists, J. W.) was gratefully received by the Crown. It contains particulars, which, in different hands (my emphasis, J. W.) might be used as a handy blacklist".

Similar cases could be cited without end.

The Right Danger in the Communist Party of Canada was not liquidated at this Convention. The struggle was only started. The Letter of the Comintern and the resolution adopted, are the instruments in this struggle. The Right Danger must be fought by a) broad ideological campaign to win the Party for the political line of the C. I. and for the changed org structure proposed, b) in making the changes in the org. structure, we must understand this as one of the best guarantees for carrying through successfully the political line of the C. I., c) decisive orientating to mass work, d) proletarianisation of all committees, e) establish district leadership, f) deal sharply with those who persist in resisting the C. I. line.

### Outlook for the Party.

Like all sections of the C. I., the C. P. C. faces great responsibilities in this period. The opportunities for developing mass activity are in existence everywhere if the Party makes the sharp turn demanded of it by the C. I.

The Party must prosecute energetically the line of the Comintern — combating all theories of exceptionalism — combating all other manifestations of the Right Danger — putting the Party to work by participation in mass struggles — reorganising the Party — develop intensive training amongst the membership — win the basic sections of the workers, Anglo-Saxon and French Canadians, to our Party and organise the unorganised into new trade unions on the programme of the R. I. L. U.

Canada is a powder magazine in connection with the imperialist war between America and Britain. Canada is the weakest link in the situation and great responsibilities are placed on the C. P. C. which demand a Bolshevised, well disciplined, energetic mass political Party. The VI. Convention was the first step in that direction.

(Note. Since completing this article, information has arrived that at the recent Plenum held two months after the Convention, upon the defeat of the org. proposals of **Comrade MacDonald** by the Plenum, Comrade MacDonald resigned as General Secretary, Comrade **Popovich** resigned as head of the Ukrainian Language Buro and Comrade **Hill** resigned as head of the Finnish Language Buro. It seems they learn fast from their American "Right" associates, who also in critical times try to cripple the Party with wholesale resignations.)

## The C. P. of the U. S. A. and the Address of the Communist International.

By William W. Weinstone (New York).

The Address of the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States of America, directed against the growing Right danger in the Party and against the unprincipled and devastating factional struggle, has met with the enthusiastic response of the entire Party membership. It has already had a shattering effect upon group ideology in the Party.

The Address was received in the United States on May 18 and published in the next issue of the "Daily Worker" on the 20th of May. The Polbureau which consists of a majority of members of the group formerly headed by Lovestone immediately accepted and endorsed the Address and pledged wholehearted support to the Comintern in the struggle against the splitting tactics of Lovestone, Gitlow and others in refusing to accept the line and discipline of the Communist International and in their endeavours to undertake measures to defeat the purpose of the Address. This action was followed by a wave of resolutions and statements from district committees, language fraction bureaus and leading functionaries in support of the Address.

Every District Committee and Party organisation has thus far accepted and pledged full co-operation to the Communist international in its resolute efforts to suppress factionalism and overcome the Right danger in the Party. The meetings of active comrades that have already taken place in the leading districts of the country have uniformly supported the stand of the Central Executive Committee. At a meeting of leading functionaries of the New York District following reports made by Comrades Bedacht, Foster and Weinstone, a unanimous resolution was adopted which, 1. accepted and endorsed the Address; 2. Recognised the striking accuracy of the estimation of the situation in the Party contained in the Address; 3. condemned the splitting tactics of Lovestone and Gitlow and directed attention against any concealed opposition that may be carried on against the Communist International; 4. emphasised the need of intensifying the Party activities in the spirit of the Address, the enlargement of inner Party democracy, of Bolshevik self-criticism and the establishment of a firm Party discipline.

Similar resolutions have been adopted by the Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and other districts.

The Address of the Communist International is being discussed in the basic units of the Party. The discussion is conducted in a non-factional spirit and is motivated by an endeavour to expose the errors of the past through a genuine Bolshevik self criticism. The Polbureau is at the present time conducting a campaign of enlightenment on the meaning of the Address. In a manifesto issued to all Party organisations and to the revolutionary workers published in the "Daily Worker" of June 4, the Polbureau by unanimous decision declared that the line of the Party before the receipt of the Address has been away from the line of the Sixth World Congress. It expressed agreement with the condemnation of the theory of exceptionalism which was the root of the Right errors of the Party and combats the slanders of the International Rights against the Communist International and indicates that the Rights and opportunist elements which cannot adapt themselves to the revolutionary requirements of the third period are sinking into the morass of social democracy and are becoming renegades and splitters. It outlines the tasks of the enlightenment campaign, expressing that the Address can be carried out only if it achieves the following objects:

1. Open and unsparing criticism, exposure of the old Right errors made by the former majority and minority groups.
2. Establishment of inner Party democracy.
3. Intensification of the Party work, in the spirit of the Address.
4. Ruthless fight against open and hidden opposition to the Address of the Communist International.

The Central Executive Committee in the Manifesto issued shows that the events in the United States have confirmed the correctness of the decision of the Sixth World Congress in regard to the growing class struggle and on the basis of these events outlines the tasks that the Party is to carry out in order

to realise the purpose of the Address and to throw the Party more intensely into the work among the masses.

The Party Manifesto declares as follows:

"The events in the United States since the Sixth World Congress have more and more proven the correctness of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress. The establishment and growth of the new revolutionary unions, the growing response to the idea of the creation of a new trade union centre co-ordinating the new unions with the Left wing in the existing unions, the entrance of new masses into struggle with unparalleled militancy and vigour (New Bedford, Elizabethton, Gastonia, shoe, food workers) resistance to wage cuts among the miners, the growth of the number of sporadic strikes, the street demonstrations on May day, the increase of the election vote in a number of local elections, on the one hand; and on the other hand the cunning manoeuvres of the reformists to deceive the masses (Muste movement) the ever closer collaboration of the reformists with the employers and the state (A.F. of L. Executive Council and West Point, Green and the launching of the battleship Pensacola; the A.F. of L. treachery in the textile strikes in the South) confirm the correctness of the line of the Sixth World Congress for the United States as well as for Europe...

The activity of the Party lies in the resumption and intensification of its everyday tasks, in the need to intensify the building of the new unions and to increase the work in the existing unions, in the application of the strike policy and strategy of the R.I.L.U., in opening up a broad campaign against the effect of capitalist rationalisation and for unemployment insurance and social insurance, in struggling for the shorter workday, the creating of new shop nuclei and shop papers, in recruiting new cadres of workers, especially the industrial youth, the widening of the agitation and organisational work in the big plants in the main branches of industry and among the Negroes...

In the direction of giving immediate attention towards the development of broad mass demonstrations on International Red Day, August 1st, the Party must intensify manifold its activity in the struggle against the war danger. The Tenth Anniversary of the Party September 1st, must be utilised for a campaign to be begun immediately for the building of the Party, for the raising of the ideological level of the Party, for sharpening the struggle against reformism and for increasing the influence of the Party among the masses. Intensive efforts must be made to make the coming conference of the T.U.E.L. a great success in the direction of building a new trade union centre..."

The general favourable response of the membership to the Address is due to the conviction on the part of the Party membership that only by the firm action of the Comintern could the Party be freed from the prison of factionalism. The membership recognised that the Party has been in the blind alley of factionalism, has been operating in a vicious circle which could be broken only by the Comintern. At the same time, the events in the United States are sharpening. The class struggles — the frame-up at Gastonia, the entrance of new masses into strike struggles convinces the membership that the opportunity is ripe for accelerating the process of transforming the Party into a mass Bolshevik Party. The Party has recognised that this could be accomplished not only by destroying all vestiges of factionalism and shattering the group situation but by an energetic struggle to overcome the Right errors and opportunistic deviations in the Party.

The results of the discussion in the Party and the response of the membership to the Address demonstrate definitely that Lovestone miscalculated on the stand of the membership. The American Party, despite its shortcomings, has always prided itself upon being a Party of the Comintern.

To be sure, there are elements that cannot reconcile themselves to the decisive stand of the Comintern and are conducting a hidden propaganda against the decision, but so strong is the will of the membership in support of the Comintern that they fear to conduct an open struggle, but by devious ways they are attempting to build up a faction within the Party.

In all units and district meetings this hidden opposition is being combated. In the New York District which had been at one time a firm supporter of the Lovestone group, this hidden opposition, which was led by the Organisation Secretary of

the District, attempted to come out into the open but was defeated decisively and this led to his removal by the action of the District Bureau, which action has already gained complete support in resolutions by the Party units.

The continuation of a policy of hidden opposition can lead only to the crystallisation of the Right elements in the Party which will quickly be exposed and isolated.

The results of the Address indicate that the revolutionary optimism of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was justified, that the American Party will quickly recover from the disease of factionalism and that the new leadership of the Party, supported by the overwhelming mass of members, will resolutely overcome the danger from the Right within the Party.

The practical work, the pressure of events, the intensification of the class struggle, the sharpening of contradictions, internally and internationally is a powerful support for this process of Bolshevisation and purification of the American section of the Communist International.

### **Decision of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Re Expulsion of Jilek from the E. C. C. I.**

The X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. endorses the decision of the C. C. of the C. P. Cz. to expel Jilek from the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, and resolves to exclude him from the Executive Committee of the Communist International, a member of which he has hitherto been.

In view of the fact that in its struggle against the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia the Jilek group cannot be politically distinguished from the social-democrats and the bourgeois Parties, and in view of the fact that the Jilek group has actually decided at its recent conference to organise a new Party the object of which will be to carry on a more intensive struggle against the Communist Party, the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. resolves that membership in this actually existing new Party as well as ideological and political solidarity with the expelled Jilek group on the part of members of the Communist Party is incompatible with membership of the Communist Party and the Communist International.

### **Decision of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the Appeal of J. Lovestone, Member of the E. C. C. I. against his Expulsion from the C. P. of the United States.**

Lovestone seriously violated Comintern discipline in failing to comply with the decision of the E. C. C. I. presidium, in accordance with which, in order to facilitate the recovery of the Party, he was to be removed from work in the C. P. of the U. S. A. His conduct became even more reprehensible in that after his return to the U. S. A. — regardless of the admonition of the C. C. that he unconditionally observe the decisions of the E. C. C. I. — he proceeded in the most criminal manner to prepare to split the Party. The Plenum condemns in the sharpest possible manner this anti-Party conduct of Lovestone, which is impermissible in the ranks of the Comintern, and considers it impossible to cancel the decision of the C. C. of the C. P. of the U. S. A. regarding the expulsion of Lovestone from the Party. Lovestone is thereby excluded from the E. C. C. I.

Lovestone's appeal to the E. C. C. I. is only a manoeuvre on his part; he has no intention of remaining in the ranks of the Party, against the unity of which he aimed such a criminal blow. This fact is demonstrated beyond doubt by his political position. After the decision of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., in which Lovestone's right errors are exposed and his fractional activity are condemned, Lovestone pursued the course of an open struggle to split the C. P. of the U. S. A. and the Comintern, at the same time setting up against the programme and the decisions of the VI. World Congress his opportunist platform of the exceptional position of the United

States and his social-democratic views regarding discipline. He has thereby finally landed in the camp of the renegades of Communism (Brandler, Hais and others).

Nevertheless the Plenum instructs the International Control Commission to deal with Lovestone's appeal to the E. C. C. I. at the earliest possible date, in the presence of Lovestone, and make its final decision thereon. In the event, however, of Lovestone not being present when his appeal is dealt with, the Plenum will regard him as being finally expelled from the C. I. and from the E. C. C. I.

### **Decision of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the Expulsion of Spector, Member of the E. C. C. I. from the Comintern.**

The X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. confirms the decision of the Communist Party of Canada on the expulsion of Spector, member of the E. C. C. I., from the Party on account of being connected with the American group of Trotzkyists and of attempting to carry on Trotzkyist propaganda in the Communist Party of Canada, and in view of this fact decides to consider him as expelled from the Executive of the C. I.

## **THE WHITE TERROR**

### **New Savage Sentences and Bloody Deeds in Yugoslavia.**

The murderous justice machine of the military-fascist government is working at full pressure. At Celje, on July 18th, the following workers were sentenced for having collected money for the Red Aid: Jakob Butula, tailor's assistant, to three years' imprisonment; Josip Kuzman, carpenter, to two and a half years' imprisonment; Ivan Stankovic to two years; Anton Bostchak, Hinko Somer and Franjo Stovan, each to ten months' imprisonment; Franjo Weisbacher, Ivan Segar, Vyekoslav Loutcharic, Gustav Vicar and Karl Pirs, from five to eight months' imprisonment.

On the 24th July, in Maribor, the following were condemned for being suspected of having carried on communist propaganda: Marie Breznik, again, to three months' imprisonment; Ivan Spolenak, a smith in the state railway workshops, and Albin Breznik, railway employee, each to eight months' imprisonment.

On the same day the following five workers from Mostar (Hercegovina) were sentenced by the Extraordinary court in Belgrade for distributing the May Day Manifesto of the Communist Party: Mustafa Pasic, locksmith, and Jakov Rascha, miner, each to five years' imprisonment; Joso Galic, miner, and Miho Rajic, bakers' assistant, each to three years; Karl Batko to two years' hard labour.

In addition the Extraordinary Court in Belgrade sentenced Mirko Bukovac, an industrial worker of Zagreb, to ten years' penal servitude for having distributed Communist leaflets.

Recently fresh wholesale arrests have been carried out in Agram, Esseg, Veles, Sarajevo, Subotica, Vel, Beckerek etc., and according to the reports of the bourgeois press a number of big Communist trials are pending.

Among the many arrested a few days ago in Sarajevo was Husnija Cengic, a youth of 21 years. When he was being brought back to his cell at midnight after being "examined", he was flung from the third storey. He sustained severe internal injuries and there is no prospect of his recovery.

The murder-regime is spreading lying reports that Cengic himself jumped from the third storey in order to commit suicide.

On July 26th the gendarmerie and police in Samobor, near Agram, forced their way into the house in which was the illegal printing press of the Communist Party. It came to an armed fight with the Communist functionaries in the house, in which Oreski, a building worker, the political secretary of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia, his brother and Janko Mistic, the organisation secretary of the Y. C. L. were killed. In the fight a gendarme was killed and several wounded.

The brutal gendarmes not only killed Oreski and Mistic who were already seriously wounded and no longer able to offer resistance, but also seriously wounded Oreski's wife.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### The Loan for the Industrialisation of the Soviet Union.

Recently the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries decided to issue the third industrialisation loan for subscription. The "Pravda" comments as follows on this decision:

The budget of the Soviet State differs from the budgets of the capitalist states, in which the administrative and military factors take the leading place, in being preponderantly economic in character. This content of the Soviet budget makes it one of the most important factors in the economic policy of the Union, one of the most important means in the sphere of formation of capital and distribution of the national income. In the budget of the Soviet Union we find the reflection of every economic task, and especially of the task of utilising the savings of the population for the building up of Socialism.

That we have been able to record growing success during the last few years may be seen from the following facts: Whilst three years ago, on 1st October 1926, the inner state debts of the Soviet Union amounted to 657.2 million roubles, at the present time they have risen to over 2000 million roubles; whilst three years ago the number of holders of our loan shares was still very limited, these have now increased to over 17 million. And finally, three years ago the interest paid on our inner loans was 17 and more per cent, whilst today the State only needs to pay an interest of 10 to 11 per cent. for the credit granted to it by the population.

Besides extending the credit of the State and more firmly establishing our financial economy, the loans serve the essentially important purpose of furthering the industrialisation and socialist development of the country, and thereby simultaneously improving the material and cultural standard of living of the broad masses.

That the state loans are applied exclusively to serving production purposes may be seen from the rôle which they play in financing national economy. Of the 1500 million roubles set aside by the budget for financing national economy, 706.5 million roubles had been raised by inner loans, or 407.5 million after deducting expenses (25 per cent. of the investments in accordance with the budgets). In the current year the importance of the loans has become even greater. According to the draft of the budget plan, these loans will probably cover almost one half of the investments envisaged in industrial building undertakings for the present year, to the amount of 1659 million roubles.

An important point in connection with the new, the third, industrialisation loan is the decision to carry on suitable propaganda inducing the peasant population to subscribe more extensively. According to the assessment which can be made at the present time, and after the experience gained with the second loan, it should be possible to dispose of third loan bonds to the amount 500 million roubles among the workers and employees, 250 million among the peasantry, and 50 millions among the non-organised city population (free professions, traders, etc.) The actuality of the task may be seen from the following figures: 10 to 12 million peasant farms must be induced to participate with an average amount of 16 to 20 roubles each. On 1st October 1928 the national debt amounted to an average of 8.7 roubles per head of the whole population, peasants 1.30 roubles; this means that the savings of the rural population are invested only to a very small extent in the loans. The task set by the third loan, therefore, can and must be accomplished.

The issue of the third industrialisation loan coincided with the raid made by the Chinese military clique on the Chinese Eastern Railway. The numerous demands sent in to the government by the workers, in the form of resolutions calling for the issue of a new loan in support of industrialisation, has therefore been at the same time a reply to the provocation of the Chinese generals, a reply proving the determination of the working class of the Soviet Union to persevere steadfastly in the struggle for the establishment of the socialist state of society. The proclamation of solidarity thereby given by the working class is further a proof of the unbounded faith of the proletariat in the Soviet Government. This is the best guarantee for the success of the loan.

### The Fresh Regulation of the Production Conferences.

The decree issued by the Council of People's Commissaries on the production conferences opens a new chapter in economic mass work. Although it is true that the production conferences have already played an important part in the economic life of the Soviet Union, still there have been many cases in which the proposals of the workers, even after being passed, remain "pigeon-holed" for long months in the various departments of the managements of the works and factories. This is to be finally done away with. The "economic organs" undertake "to take immediate measures for carrying out all proposals of the production conferences which have been accepted by the works management."

The liquidation of the "arrears" (which must be organised by the trade unions within the shortest possible time) will guarantee the systematic and regular work necessary for the maximum utilisation of the initiative of the workers. The rationalisation plans proposed by the works and factories will therewith become a project for the realisation of the majority of the proposals made within certain periods, the means required being included in the production and financial programme.

"The proposals of the workers form a part of what is known as operative production work." Every worker taking part in the production conferences participates simultaneously in the systematic development of economic life within his works or factory, and therewith within the whole Soviet Union. Workers who contribute by their initiative to the perfecting of the process of production and to the removal of great or small defects in the undertakings in which they are employed, receive a remuneration, in the form of a premium, of which 50 per cent. is paid immediately on acceptance of the proposal, and the remainder after it has been put into execution. This enactment on the part of the government signifies an essential change from the system hitherto in use. Up to the present only comparatively few workers have received premiums for their proposals. The premium funds have remained untouched to a great extent. The legal regulation of the amount of the premium will greatly increase the number benefiting, and at the same time make it necessary to replenish the fund. The decree provides for this: "10 per cent. of the amounts saved by the undertaking by the execution of the proposals is to be paid into the premium fund."

An important enactment of the new decree requires that statistics are to be kept of the accepted proposals, their realisation, and the economic results attained.

In conclusion it must be emphasised that the trade unions, to whom as mass organisations and representatives of the working class great tasks fall in the building up of Socialism, must devote themselves seriously to the animation of the production conferences. The law solves the most difficult problems in the activities of the production conferences, but it assumes that the trade unions popularise the new enactments among the workers, and ensure that every single worker is informed on the law and can see that it is carried out.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Boy Scouts Jamboree.

By F. M. (Liverpool).

Of all the organisations that the English bourgeoisie has created to serve its purpose among the young none has been more successful than that of the Boy Scouts. Controlled and financed by the bourgeoisie, its main purpose has been, along with its sister organisation the Girl Guides, to take the children of the working class and lower middle class and make them into what the governing class considers to be good citizens. This, of course, means the teaching of the trinity of militarism, imperialism and capitalism.

The Boy Scout Movement had a militarist origin; it was founded by General Sir Robert Baden-Powell and based on his experiences at Mafeking during English imperialism's war against the Boers of South Africa. Its very uniform is a copy of the military uniform used in this war. Baden-Powell has recently disclosed that Edward VII. released him from his military duties when it became evident that he could be

equally useful to the bourgeoisie in developing this movement. It has, indeed, been very skillfully contrived by its leader who has shown great knowledge of what appeals to children and especially to boys. The camping, the open air life, the Nature knowledge and the way in which Baden-Powell has utilised a boy's natural desire for practical activity have together proved irresistible baits, and the movement has rapidly grown in strength. Military drill would injure this appeal and too openly reveal the purpose of the Scouts. Moreover, it is quite unnecessary; Baden-Powell has realised that what is important is the mental attitude. Everything in the training of the Scouts is directed towards producing just those qualities that tend to make a good soldier. Moreover, the Scouts are constantly associated with the military; their big parades are invariably before generals, admirals, or members of the English royal family. At the same time they are taught in their official handbooks that it is necessary to "be prepared" to defend "our" Empire from envious foreigners, and that the British army and navy are for defence only. They are encouraged to learn shooting and to enlist in the army, navy, or air-force. Hence the organisation is constantly receiving high praise from militarists whose interests are well served by this training. Baden-Powell, in the ninth edition of "Scouting for Boy", the official handbook, quoted these praises with naive pride; but since 1920 he has learnt that it is advisable to avoid too open a confession and has suppressed these passages in later editions. He is, in fact, quite anxious now to deny the military character of the Scout Movement and gives the lucid explanation that he is anti-militarist, but not anti-military.

The imperialist character of the movement is even more open. One of the first things that each scout has to learn is the meaning of the Union Jack, which he must always salute. He is also taught to keep Empire Day and such celebrations as the King's Birthday. All this accompanied by much instruction in imperialist history which consists partly of praise of the imperialist freebooters and soldiers of former times, and partly of ingenious explanations that certain of the British colonies were obtained by "friendly trading with the natives" — a distinctly curious result of "friendly" trading.

The anti-proletarian bias is no less skillfully introduced. Children are taught that socialists teach fallacies and that agitators cause unrest. Lies against the U. S. S. R. are scattered about the official handbooks. The boys are told, "Don't think of yourself, but think of your country and your employers, and the good that your work is going to do to other people" ("Scouting for Boys"). Among the promises the Boy Scouts have to make is that of being loyal to their employers. Loyalty to employers naturally means disloyalty to the working class, in other words, becoming strike-breakers. The officers, who are all appointed from above, are almost invariably bourgeois or those who can be depended upon to support bourgeois ideas. The result was seen clearly enough in the General Strike of 1926. Almost all the officers of Imperial Headquarters at London were members of the Order for the Maintenance of Supplies, a fascist organisation at the head of which is Lord Jellicoe, the Chief Commissioner of the Scouts of London. A very large number of the Scout Masters also became special constables. In the North the boy Scouts actually provided strike-breakers. In Manchester, Preston, Bolton and Barrow they aided the special section of the Railway Clerks who were trained to blackleg on the workers.

The success of the movement has led to its imitation in other countries. This year the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Scouts is being celebrated by a monster gathering at Birkenhead in what is called a "Jamboree". For months past the bourgeois press of England has been lauding the Scout movement, and great preparations have been made to provide a series of attractive spectacles lasting for two weeks in July and August. So important do the bourgeoisie find this that the Prince of Wales, who himself holds honorary rank among the Scouts, will personally attend. Money was obtained by the issue last year of a special appeal, "to fight Communism", as

Baden-Powell was reported to have declared in a special interview granted to the "Daily Telegraph".

Much is made of the internationalism of the jamboree, which is being attended by representatives of 42 nations. Many of these are of course merely colonies of Great Britain, but everywhere the same militarist, imperialist, and anti-proletarian characteristics are strongly in evidence. The internationalism of the Scouts is in fact merely an internationalism of capitalism which remains as long as capitalist interests demand it, but breaks down when capitalism leads to open warfare. This was the case in the time of the Great War when Scouts of various nations followed their vows of loyalty to their king or republic by aiding the military in the different belligerent countries.

The publicity afforded by the Jamboree is having its result in vastly increased recruiting. The class aims of the movement are being clearly revealed by the special appeal to ex-members of the "Public Schools" to become officers. These ironically named schools are really "private" and are highly exclusive institutions for the wealthy bourgeoisie. The fact of having once attended a "Public School" stamps a man as almost certain to be thoroughly bourgeois in his ideology. The anti-proletarian character of the training of the Scouts will thus be maintained.

The Jamboree must be considered in the light of the war danger and of imperialist preparations for war; it is expressly designed to increase the numbers of the future cannon fodder as well as to spread the ideas of industrial peace and of Mondism.

These preparations have not gone on without opposition. The lead in this has been taken by the Young Communist League and by the Workers' Council of Education. This latter is a growing body of working class organisations set up towards the end of 1927 by the small knot of revolutionary teachers organised in the Teachers' Labour League. Anti-Scout Campaign Committees have been formed in various towns; conferences, debates, and open air meetings have been held. Campaigns have been carried on in the bourgeois press as far as possible and also in the revolutionary press, especially in "The Young Worker", the organ of the Young Communist League, and in "The Educational Worker", the organ of the Teachers' Labour League. In the Birkenhead district numbers of a bulletin "The Anti-Scout" have been issued. Everywhere there is the same tale of deliberate boycott or sabotage on the part of the reformist Labour Party officials, many of whom actively support the Scout Movement. When the message has reached the working masses it has been well received. The campaign has received active support from the Communist Party which, particularly in the Lancashire and Cheshire districts, has connected the anti-Scout agitation with its anti-war activity.

A further means of counteracting the dangerous activities of the Scouts has been the election of a number of children to attend the Pioneer Camp shortly to be held in Moscow. It is of the greatest importance that proletarian children should learn what a youth movement can be like in a workers' state and should bring back their knowledge to their comrades in England.

When all has been said, however, the fact remains that the great masses of proletarian youth have not yet been reached. The only effective means of counteracting the Scout Movement is to make the Y. C. L. and the Workers' Sports Federation into mass movements. The danger remains and the campaign must continue.

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## NOTICE.

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