

JUDGE BARS STORY OF ASSAULT ON LORAY PICKETS

Ramsey MacDonald Returns to England to Fight British Working Class

When Ramsay MacDonald appeared before the United States Senate Monday almost his first words were:

"There are two functions that the prime minister of Great Britain fills. The first, he is the leader of his party, and he is the head of a party government. But there is a second function far more important than that: he represents his nation. He leads not only his party, but the house of commons itself. IN THE SECOND CAPACITY, Mr. President, I HAVE COME HERE."

MacDonald, of course, meant this as a reassurance that he, Mr. MacDonald—though he faces the necessity of posing as a representative of working class for certain purposes—appears before the fat millionaires of the United States Senate only in the "second capacity"—his real capacity as the chief and most adroit strike-breaker of the big bourgeoisie of Great Britain. In other words, that he can throw off his disguise among his own kind.

MacDonald has been "sitting on a log" in the woods of Virginia engaged in maneuvers with the other arch imperialist, Hoover, for advantages (each against the other) in the coming imperialist war. And he wants it understood, by all except British workmen, that he is no such low creature as a representative of our class, but that he is the real, confidential representative of the finance-capital of the mighty empire of Great Britain; that he represents the bosses and not the workers. "In foreign affairs," said the Tory chief, Stanley Baldwin, "the socialist government (of England) has undoubtedly achieved a measure of success very largely because there has been no break in the continuity with the imperial policy of its predecessors, the conservative government." And MacDonald sails home tomorrow with whatever results he may have been able to obtain in the fencing with Hoover, by way of preparation of the British Navy for the coming war with the Wall Street Empire.

The prophet of "Peace" on his arrival in London will first of all rush into conference with the military and naval chiefs to show what he got for the coming war. But once this is done, MacDonald will turn his attention to the immediate strike-breaking in hand. There is much of it to be done. For, while MacDonald and the British "labor" government, of which he is the head, are carrying out an aggressive war policy in the foreign field (and interpreting as a great victory for peace every one of its maneuvers leading to a new imperialist war), the internal situation in England becomes more and more unstable. The characteristics of the third period of post-war crisis of capitalism—distinguished from the previous period by a growing shakiness and precariousness of capitalist stabilization—are outstanding. The internal situation of the country is marked by a rapid sharpening of the inner contradictions of capitalism. Unemployment is growing at a rapid rate. Industry is still lagging behind the pre-war level, and in not less than four branches of industry there are conflicts directly involving not less than three million workers. These are:

In the cotton textile industry wages are being lowered below the starvation wages heretofore existing.

In the woolen industry a ten per cent wage cut is in prospect.

In the railroad transport industry the workers are demanding the restoration of the 2 1/2 per cent wage cut imposed upon them two years ago by Thomas and his fellow labor fakers, and the railroad management replies that not only is it impossible for the industry to restore the former wage, but conditions are such that a new wage cut will "have to be" enforced so that the roads can continue to operate at a profit.

In the coal industry crisis continues. The mine owners, with the full approval of the "labor" government, drew up a plan for the national organization of coal production and marketing, which dooms new masses of coal miners to the misery and starvation resulting from permanent unemployment.

To a marked degree the situation in Britain is reminiscent of the crisis of 1926, the year of the general strike. But whereas in 1926 the crisis in coal was the predominant factor, this time the crisis embraces many more industries.

Meanwhile the "labor" government of the British bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucracy (equally its servants) are doing everything in their power to discourage and defeat any preparations on the part of the working class for struggle against their oppressors. The British bosses through their spokesmen of the "labor" ministry propose to "solve" the mining crisis by an international agreement of mine owners to "reduce" volume of production. Phillip Snowden, as spokesman for the "labor" government at the Hague, tried to pave the way for the mine owners' agreement by some of their difficulties by insistently demanding that the Yoffe Plan for reparations settlements must not be interpreted as a market for German coal as part of the reparations settlements. Snowden's kind (payments by industrial products instead of gold). Snowden finally reached an agreement whereby Italy guarantees to take a stipulated amount of British coal in an effort artificially to uphold its rapidly falling coal market.

The British bourgeoisie through its "labor" government endeavors constantly to deceive the workers into believing that the astute MacDonald, Henderson and Snowden can, by following an "aggressive" foreign policy, solve the difficulties at home. The game of the "labor" government is to persuade the workers to refrain from action against the wage cuts, speed-up, increasing unemployment and other efforts of rationalization of British industry, while they help the employers and the government to more firmly to consolidate their forces against the absolutely assured oncoming offensive of the working class. Then the inherent social-fascist character of the MacDonald government and "labor" party will be exposed in naked action to the eyes of even the most credulous worker.

The labor bureaucracy, especially the former so-called "left" forces of the General Council, are aiding the government out through its policy against the working class. A. J. Cook fawns before the mine owners and publicly praises them in the public press. While MacDonald is deceiving the masses with a program of "peace" abroad, Cook and the rest of the former left of the General Council are advocating "peace" in industry at home.

This division of labor between the laborites at the head of the "labor" imperialist government and the trade union leaders has a common objective—the consolidation of the ruling class at the top and the subjugation of the working masses, in preparation for imperialist war that is today the central question of the world situation.

The labor government boasts that it has achieved unity of the capitalist elements at the top. Snowden, at Geneva, and now MacDonald, visiting Hoover at Washington, both proclaim that they speak as representatives of the entire nation. Snowden's course at Geneva had the enthusiastic approval of the labor imperialists, the liberals and Tories. MacDonald, before the representatives of the American big bourgeoisie at Washington, is clear in his assurance that he represents the big bourgeoisie of England.

But while MacDonald can, with full approval of all its sections speak in behalf of the capitalist class, there are large sections of the working class, its vanguard, the Communist Party, and the Minority Movement, that wage a determined militant campaign against this imperialist government of war-mongers, masquerading as "labor."

The economic crisis in England has developed the material conditions for mighty struggles against capitalism and events of the near future will produce an open conflict between the millions of workers whose standard of life is being driven even lower and the "labor" government, under the leadership of the imperialist lackey, MacDonald. It is class against class, and the front-line trenches of the bourgeoisie will be offered by the party of the social-fascists, MacDonald, Snowden, Henderson & Co.

As of course these British "socialist" enemies of the working class are "enemies" of the American "socialist" enemies of the working class, the strike-breaking Socialist Party of the United States,

A Friendly Order
(Cartoon published in Moscow "Pravda" on departure of Ramsay MacDonald for America.)



CONFERENCE TO WHITE WASH BE A SWINDLE MARION KILLERS

More Warships for All Is Certain Result

LONDON, Oct. 8.—The official "unofficial" statement given out in regard to the "five-power conference on armaments" remarks that "well-informed sources declined to comment on the possibility of Anglo-American difficulties, but believe that Britain may be influenced by the attitude of the dominions"—which is one way of making American imperialism feel the forces of British imperialism interests in the form of demands for no weakening of British naval power.

From Paris, where Briand says he accepts the invitation "on principle" reports state that France's acceptance will be "a qualified, conditional" one, and that France will not "well receive" any question on the abolition of submarines.

From Italy, the most caustic comment comes on the invitation as well

UNION OFFICIALS SELL OUT STRIKE

Adding one more black lead to the record of the A. F. of L. betrayals, the misleaders of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, Local 22, yesterday sold out the strike of the 2,000 fruit and vegetable truckmen which had effectively tied up the local produce market since Saturday.

The Metropolitan Area Trade Union Unity League in a statement, copies of which were distributed among the strikers earlier in the day warned against the impending sell-out in the following words: "You must not and cannot rely upon your officials who are ready to sell out your demands. You must immediately take the situation into your own hands. You must immediately set up your own rank and file strike committee and def. the attempt to betray you."

Neither the eight-hour day nor time and a half for overtime, the

(Continued on Page Two)

Workers Clash With Austrian Fascists

VIENNA (By Mail).—Despite socialist appeals to ignore the Austrian soldiers-of-the-front day in Wels, workers organized counter demonstrations whereby collisions occurred.

Build Up the United Front of the Working Class

ELIZABETHTON WORKERS VOTE FOR NEW STRIKE

1120 To 64 Is Answer To Sell Out Policy of U. T. W. Heads

Held Vote for Kummer

Officials No Calling in Government

ELIZABETHTON, Tenn., Oct. 9.—In spite of everything the United Textile Workers bureaucracy could do, the workers in the American Bemberg and American Glanzstoff corporations (rayon mills) voted today to strike. The vote was 1,120 to 64.

One week ago, on the eve of the vote, and after the ballot boxes were being distributed the officialdom of the N. U. T. W. recalled the boxes and postponed the ballot, "as an expression of sympathy and regret for the deplorable death of Konsul Kummer," acting head of both companies.

(Continued on Page Three)

LUDLOW STRIKE LEADERS FINED

Organization Proceeds Among Mill Workers

LUDLOW, Mass., Oct. 9.—Nat Richards, organizer of District 10, National Textile Union, Jack Ross, District Secretary, Harry Hersh, organizer of District 15, Young Communist League, Ruth Fisher and Rose Ross, active members of the N. T. W. U. were fined \$5 each in the Springfield District Court, Monday on the technical charge of ob-

(Continued on Page Three)

keepers' shack at the mill. Jones denied dynamite had been stored at or around the mill by the company.

Jones further denied he ever had said that the men would be shot down if they had trouble, that he gave a man a shotgun and directed him to shoot up union headquarters, or that he had been instrumental in arming anyone.

One of the most ridiculous features of the case of "rebellion" against the strike is that Alfred Hoffman, partner in the betrayal of the Elizabethton and Marion strikers, is indicted along with them. Hoffman is an organizer of the Hosiery Workers' Federation, part of the United Textile Workers, but was lent to the U. T. W. main office because of his known expertise in the sell-out.

The Federated Press report: Hoffman as saying:

"Heaven knows I had trouble enough down in Marion trying to prevent armed insurrection against Sheriff Adk's and his armed thugs. Leading a strike of 100 percent Nordic native southerners is largely an exercise in setting on the lid to prevent them from arming the violence of the mill owners and their sheriffs in kind."

This gives a good indication of the watchfulness to the bosses of the U. T. W. officials in Marion and assures them that whatever happens to the strikers, and file who really wanted to win the strike. Hoffman and his friends will be leniently dealt with.

The case is the first of its nature to be prosecuted since 1878 under laws passed by the northern carpet-bagger to suppress the native southerners after the Civil War.

DEFENSE WITNESS TELLS OF POLICE ANNOUNCEMENT "NOW IS BEST TIME TO KILL THEM" WHICH STARTED RAID

Woman Striker Smashes State's Theory of Conspiracy Within Union Hall By Testifying She Placed Board in Window to Block Spies

Defense Proves Prosecution Witnesses' Testimony Is Conflicting and Self Contradictory; Barnhill Refuses to Quash Charges

BULLETIN.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Oct. 9.—Henry strong, formerly a Loray carpenter testified in the Gastonia case today that he saw police break up the picket lines and heard Gilbert yell to Aderholt, "Let's go down and kill 'em. This is the best time to do it." He said five officers then got into the car and went towards headquarters.

Gladys Wallace, a defense witness was asked by the prosecution how many speeches she had made, and what she said. She said, "Well, once I made a speech and told how the police beat me up on the picket line and threatened to get me in the work."

"Did you report this to the police?" asked the prosecution lawyer.

"No, it wouldn't do any good," stated Wallace, "because the law is on the side of the bosses. They arrested me nine times for picketing and once for arguing with scabs."

"So you hate officers?" asked the prosecution.

"Well, I don't love them any," replied the witness.

The main argument of the prosecution is that the strikers conspired to kill the officers, in that they held a conference just before the picket line in the office, and planned the whole thing behind a window closed by card board. Gladys Wallace testified she placed the card board over the broken window because two stool-pigeons were trying to listen while the strike committee was holding a meeting in the office.

She told of the destruction of the first union headquarters. She lived nearby and the noise woke her up, but the national guard wouldn't let any of the strikers to the headquarters.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Oct. 9.—Judge Barnhill this afternoon ruled out all evidence offered by the defense in the Gastonia case to prove that before Chief of Police Aderholt led the raiding party on the union headquarters, these police followers of his had assaulted strikers on the picket line.

When Gladys Wallace took the stand and began to tell how Policemen Gilbert,

Roach, Ferguson and others who a few minutes later went with Aderholt to attack the tent colony, had attacked the picket line on June 7, the prosecution objected. The judge sustained the objection.

Workers Forced to Arm. The defense contended that they should be allowed to show what happened prior to Aderholt's raid upon the headquarters in order to prove the animus of the police against the strikers, and the reign of terror that forced the strikers to arm themselves.

The defense intended to prove the police were the aggressors and the strikers were on the defensive. The defense argued that the attacks of the police on the picket line and later on the headquarters were all part of the same offensive against the union.

The conduct of the police just before they went to the headquarters is important for these reasons, and legally competent, the defense contended, to show that the strikers had to defend themselves.

Overrule Defense. But Barnhill overruled the defense, and evidence will not be permitted to show how the strikers were attacked, beaten brutally, and persecuted continuously from April 1 to June 7, when the fatal raid occurred.

When interrupted by the prosecution's objection, Gladys Wallace was telling how the police were choking Vera Buch and Sophie Melvin, beating old Mrs. McGinnis and others on the picket line. She denied ever hearing Beal instructing the guard to "shoot and shoot to kill," as prosecution witnesses tried to say.

Wallace told how the state's witness G. M. H. who testified yesterday, and Hanna, a Loray mill electrician, and other Loray stool-pigeons tried to break up the strike meeting before the picket line started, by throwing rotten eggs and rocks at Beal. This evidence was ruled out by the court. Gladys Wallace told how Harrison and other strikers grabbed the Loray stool-pigeons to throw them off the union lot. Harrison was knocked down, she said, when one of the stool-pigeons fired a shot.

Tells of Broken Picket Line. Finally the strikers threw their assaults off the lot and the speaking went on. Then she followed the picket line and saw it broken up. She came back to the headquarters and saw Aderholt, Gilbert and Reuch approach a guard threateningly. The guard asked for a warrant.

Police Fired First. "We don't need no god damned warrant, answered Gilbert who then started to disarm Carter one of the

(Continued on Page Three)

WHITEWASH KY. GOVERNOR. FRANKFORT, Ky., Oct. 9.—Gov. Flen D. Sampson was acquitted of a charge of "accepting gifts of value" from publishing houses as chairman of the State Textbook Commission.

wish to adopt a southern mill town or village, and see to it that the workers there are supplied with copies of the Daily Worker every day for weeks. We include \$...

Kindly send us the name of the mill village or city as we wish to communicate with the workers there.

Name
Address
City
State
Amount \$

FOR ORGANIZATIONS
We
(Name of Organization)

City and State
wish to adopt a southern mill town or village, and see to it that the workers there are supplied with copies of the Daily Worker every day for weeks. We include \$... Kindly send us the name of the mill village or city as we wish to communicate with the workers there.

Gastonia Defendants Discuss Rev. Muste's Role in South

Miller Compares Him to Father Gapon as Part of Machinery of Suppression; Will Fail

CHARLOTTE, Oct. 9.—The Gastonia defendants are taking a great interest in the Marion Massacre, and the antics of the U. T. W. officials in that situation. They point out the similarity of this murder with that attempted against them in Gastonia June 7, which was prevented by the heroism of the workers' guard in the tent colony that was slayed by the mill owners for destruction. It was for defending because this defense was made, that the present attempt to give practical life sentences to the seven Gastonia strike leaders now on trial was resorted to.

(Continued on Page Three)

PARTY LIFE

Notice of C. C. C. Action on the Case of E. Kobel, Estonian Editor

E. Kobel, who until now was editor of the Estonian paper, "Uus Ilm," has been expelled from the Communist Party of the U. S. A. for anti-Comintern and anti-Party stand and actions as manifested in an ideological solidification with the renegade Lovestone and his group of disrupters and splitters, in attending the meetings of this group, and in a defiant attitude toward authoritative Party committees and their decisions.

CENTRAL CONTROL COMMITTEE C. P. OF U. S. A.
CHAS. DIRBA, Sec'y.

GUATEMALA AND ITS TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

By GUMES

The social structure of Guatemala has changed very little in relation with that which it had when it was a colony of Spain. The trade union and mutualist organizations of half a century ago still exist. The workers and artisans were able to organize only for mutual aid. They fought for no more than the juridical recognition of certain rights and for these only by legal means and without attacking in the slightest degree the constituted social regime.

These organizations did not cease to exist even during the most despotic regimes the Guatemalan people had suffered. During the 22 years of the bloody tyranny of Estrada Cabrera, the organizations, "The Workers' Future," the "Artisans' Center," the "Mutualist Crusade" and others, did no more than practice mutual aid, and that deficiently, accommodating themselves to the dominant power.

ALWAYS A COLONY

Guatemala has never ceased being a colony. It was a colony of Spain for three centuries, and after having obtained its political independence it was conquered economically by British imperialism. The principal economic resources of the country were monopolized by British capitalists, and the "independent" government itself was mortgaged to British imperialism by means of big loans, that have never been paid even to this day, because the state income is enough only to pay the interest on these loans.

The pressure of British imperialism on the various governments which have ruled the destiny of Guatemala has culminated in the dismembering of the national territory.

President Cabrera presented to the British Crown one of the richest regions of the country, Belice, in exchange for a "sword of honor." This zone has been colonized by Negro slaves from Jamaica and from Africa, for the exploitation of coal mines and timber, and it continues being actually an English colony.

Meanwhile, United States imperialism was conquering little by little other natural resources not yet exploited by the English and, in this manner, initiated its penetration in Guatemala, which has carried as its consequence the struggle between the two imperialisms. Yankee imperialism took account of the fact that it would not be able to triumph without having in its hands the political control, and therefore aided a series of coup d'etats led sometimes by the "Liberal" and sometimes by the "Conservative" national political parties.

U. S. IMPERIALISM ENTERS

The movement of 1871, known as the "Reform," was no more than an audacious stroke of North American imperialism supporting the Conservative Party. After that date was constructed the inter-oceanic railway by the North American company, "The International Railway of Central America," and the fight began for control of the banks and the exploitation of sugar, coffee and cotton.

This struggle could not be directed satisfactorily to North American imperialism by the various governments that followed that of the "Reformer," Justino Rufino Barrios. It was necessary to establish an iron dictatorship—under no matter which party—that would favor the consolidation of American imperialism and the displacement of British imperialism.

Such a dictatorship was exercised by the government of Estrada Cabrera. During the 22 years which it lasted the "United Fruit Company" and the "Cuyamel Company" obtained the concessions of the eastern banana zones.

Immediately after the world war all the resources that had been in the hands of German and British imperialisms passed automatically into the hands of North American imperialism. The government of Estrada Cabrera, following the orders of the White House, had declared war on Germany and the Central Powers. The governments which followed that of Cabrera have been, in fact, agents of North American imperialism, and Guatemala is actually a colony of the United States.

In 1923 the real trade union movement began with the formation of trade unions that proclaim the necessity of class struggle by means of direct action.

THE FIRST GREAT STRIKE

In 1924 ten thousand peones (unskilled agricultural workers little better than serfs) declared the first strike against the United Fruit Company in 54 of its plantations. They demanded a raise in wages, the eight-hour day and better living conditions. This strike, which lasted for 27 days, was crushed by force of arms, as a consequence of the lack of an organization that might have directed the movement. A great number of workers were killed or wounded, jailed and deported from the country.

The same year, 1924, five thousand railroad workers entered the struggle in defense of similar demands. The direct intervention of the United States minister determined the dissolution of the organization and, with it, the complete failure of the strike.

Imperialism went further. It demanded that the government decree a law prohibiting all strike movements and declaring leaders of such movements responsible for crimes of sedition and rebellion. Since then the Railway Workers' Union has not been able to be reorganized.

In 1925 1500 bakers of the capital city and of other cities declared a strike for a wage raise, no night work and a betterment of working conditions. It was the first successful strike. Almost all points of the strikers were accepted. The victory was due to the fact that the baking industry is not in the hands of imperialism, and, secondly, to the existence of a strong and revolutionary trade union, "Sindicato de Panaderos," which directed the movement. However, many workers, both of the said union and of other organizations that aided the strike, were imprisoned and tortured.

CLASS TRADE UNIONS DEVELOPING.

Toward the end of the same year the organization of working men and women made rapid advances. Numerous trade unions were formed and began the struggle directly, by means of strikes and other mass movements. Among the most important of these struggles were those of the Coffee Sorters (women), the Soap Workers, Glass Workers and Garment Workers (women), for the putting into effect of the eight-hour law and for increased wages. These strikes took on a clearly political character, because the workers saw themselves compelled to fight against the government which, closely linked to the capitalists, adopted severe repressive measures against the proletariat.

In the last few years the organization of trade unions has attained great progress, as may be seen by the growing consolidation of the "Federacion Regional de Trabajadores de Guatemala," the national center of class struggle unionism in the country. Class consciousness is growing ever stronger in the Guatemalan proletariat.

CORRECTION

Owing to an error in typesetting Leon Platt's article on the "Labor Government in England," which appeared in yesterday's Daily Worker, contains the sentence "The disarmament negotiation between MacDonald and Hoover do lessen the war danger." Obviously it should read: "The disarmament negotiations between MacDonald and Hoover do NOT lessen the war danger."

THE CAPITALIST STATE TO THE 3 MARION MASSACRE DEPUTIES: "HERE'S YOUR RELEASE. GO MURDER MORE WORKERS."

By Fred Ellis



Open Letter of the ECCI to Membership of the C. P. of Sweden

Comrades:

The Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., having examined the state of affairs in the Swedish Communist Party, has instructed the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. to address to all Swedish Communists the following open letter:

The Swedish Communist Party is among those sections of the Comintern, the influence of which on wide proletarian masses has been growing continuously, in spite of the condition created by the partial and relative stabilization of capitalism. In the course of the last five years, the Party has almost trebled its membership (from 7,000 to 18,000). At the last parliamentary elections it polled over 150,000 votes; it strengthened its influence in trade unions by steady systematic work; the recent strikes in the mining and paper industries have shown that our Party in Sweden is on the road to securing a leading role in the leading Swedish labor movement. All these successes are indisputable, and every member of the Swedish Communist Party can be justly proud of them. These achievements of the Swedish comrades can even serve as a lesson to other sections of the Comintern.

But side by side with these successes, serious opportunist leadership errors have cropped up in the Party, which, if not rectified and liquidated without much delay by the Party as a whole, threaten to impede the further growth of the influence of the Communist Party and to impair its fighting capacity. The fact that the entire rank and file of the Party did not react immediately to the opportunist errors of their leadership, is due not only to the ignorance of the Party in regard to divergencies among the leaders. It is also due to the fact that the rank and file of the Party has not yet a clear notion of the political line of the Comintern, that the Party leaders have failed to explain to the whole Party without delay the meaning of the decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. The still existing "provincialism," i.e. a certain dissociation of a section of the Party from the fundamental tasks of the world Communist movement, a lagging behind this movement, have retarded the rectification of the line of the Party by its rank and file. In order to overcome the relics of this provincialism, to assimilate completely the political line of the Comintern, Swedish Communist workers must be fully aware of the changes which have taken place in the last years in the correlation of class forces on the international arena, as well as in Sweden itself.

The characteristic feature of the present world situation is a monstrous accentuation of all capitalist contradictions. Owing to the accentuation of these contradictions, under the blows of the universal revolutionary labor movement, of insurrections in the colonies and, above all, of the glorious successes of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. which is building up socialism, capitalist stabilization is becoming more and more unstable. The war of 1914-1918 which gave vent to the capitalist contradictions accumulated prior to 1914, will no doubt be considerably exceeded by the terrible events towards which the capitalist world is certainly marching.

The frantic struggle of markets leads inevitably to armed struggle for another distribution of the world. All the capitalist states, big and small, are becoming part and parcel of the system of world imperialism through the establishment and development of international trusts and cartels, and are drawn on the path of unprecedented aggressive imperialist policy. Concerns such as the Swedish Kruger Concern, which operates with American capital, which owns 75 per cent of the world production of matches, which penetrates into the farthest nooks and corners of the terrestrial globe and which also strives for a monopolist amalgamation of the mineral production of the world, is a vivid example of the imperialist character of Swedish capitalism. The contemporary Sweden is not a small patriarchal state with characteristics of semi-colonial dependence, it is a young imperialist state fighting greedily for its place among the other imperialist states and following in the wake of the policy of world imperialism. The Swedish bourgeoisie acts as the most energetic agent of world imperialism in the Baltic states by endeavoring to form a bloc of Baltic states against the Soviet Union. Like all imperialist spoliators, it subsidizes, through the Kruger Concern, political reaction in Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Estonia, Latvia. The assertion that in a future war Sweden will remain neutral is nothing but a pseudo-pacifist legend. The keynote of the development of Swedish capitalism is its closer and closer association with the imperialist system of the world. It leads Sweden inevitably into active participation in wars.

This accentuation of external contradictions is closely connected with the accentuation of the internal contradictions of capitalism. In order to be able to compete on the world market and to cheapen production, the bourgeoisie is lowering the standard of living of the working class. The capitalist rationalization carried through in the capitalist countries, is the most ruthless form of the bourgeois offensive against the toiling masses. It brings with it innumerable hardships to the proletariat; a longer working day, lower wages, mass unemployment. This pressure in the economic sphere is accompanied by brutal political reaction in regard to the working class. These new processes have not left Sweden untouched. Hundreds of thousands of Swedish workers are feeling the effect of this new pressure of trustified capital, unprecedented in its intensity. Just as in the rest of the world, this pressure calls for a counter-offensive of the working class which has no wish to allow itself to be thrown into the abyss of poverty and extinction, without resistance. This leads inevitably to class conflicts of considerable magnitude. The class front is becoming more distinct. On the one side, the triple alliance of the capitalist state, employers' organizations and reformist bureaucracy; on the other side, the fighting forces of the proletarian masses which are becoming rapidly radicalized. The strikes which swept Sweden in the last year, signalize the beginning of the big class struggles between these irreconcilable forces. These strikes open to the Swedish workers a phase of revolutionary eruptions. The maturing of another revival of the revolutionary labor movement is accelerating the fascistization of the Swedish bourgeoisie as well as the conversion of Swedish social-democracy into social-fascism. The policy

of Mondism, compulsory arbitration, by which social-democracy is throttling strikes, its policy of expulsion of revolutionary elements from trade unions which is only complementary to the methods of repression of the state apparatus which is becoming fascistized—all this combined is radically changing the old pre-war ideas of the role of social-democracy as a worker's party. Those who fail to see all these changes will never be able to steer, at this new stage of the world labor movement, a correct revolutionary course and to lead the mass of the workers in the coming class struggles.

The changes must be realized first of all by the Swedish Communist workers; they must understand that the "third period" in the post-war development of capitalism and the universal labor movement is not the relatively quiet time experienced prior to 1914.

The old "Swedish idyll" of petty-bourgeois prosperity with the mirage of which social-democracy is endeavoring to allure the workers, must be relegated to the realm of fiction. Hardships, hardships, starvation, and unemployment are knocking at the doors of the workers' dwellings. Stubborn, ruthless, self-sacrificing struggle is in store for the working class. Its struggle with social fascism for the toiling masses, the Communist vanguard will fight out not on the basis of a "labor majority" in municipal councils and parliaments, but on the basis of civil war with the forces of trust capital.

These changes also determine the tasks which are confronting the Communists and which were laid down by the Sixth World Congress and by the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Our "class against class" policy is a revolutionary program of struggle in all spheres. This policy, in the struggle against war, is based on "the enemy is in our own country" principle. This revolutionary policy is incompatible with any slurring over the imperialist character of the Swedish capitalist state, the imperialist aggressiveness of the Swedish bourgeoisie. It is contrary to all manifestations of provincialism, national narrowness which is frequently disguised in Sweden by theories about special "specific features" of the Swedish capitalism. The "class against class" policy also means life or death struggle against the agency of trust capital—the Swedish social-democracy. To consider now social-democracy as a workers' party, to invite proletarian masses to create a "labor majority" in parliaments and municipal councils, is tantamount, under present conditions, to inviting the workers to collaborate with the bourgeoisie. The policy of the Comintern presupposes struggle for independent leadership of the labor movements apart from and against social-democracy, struggle against trade union legalism, separate demonstrations based on the tactics of united front from below, as for instance, in the militant demonstrations on May 1. It is opposed to all khvostism, peaceful "democratic" cohabitation with social-democracy in the enterprises. It presupposes methods other than those of social-democracy for the capture of the majority of the working class. Not only by methods of peaceful propaganda and agitation, not by methods of "loyal" discussions with social-democracy, but by ruthless class struggles in the course of which the treachery of social-democracy will be more and more divulged, will we, Communists, be able to capture the majority of the working class. Not by capitulation before the trade union reformist bureaucracy will Communists be able to keep and extend their positions in the trade unions, but by energetic resistance to repressive measures in trade unions applied by the social-democratic upper stratum. The "class against class" policy presupposes, furthermore, consistent and ruthless struggle against Right tendencies, the result of capitalist pressure and the pressure of the still strong social-democracy on some weak layers of the Communist Party. It is incompatible with unprincipled philistinism, with shielding opportunist errors or with the toleration of such. Without energetic, consistent struggle against Right opportunist tendencies, your Party cannot become a strong Communist Party capable of asserting itself and leading the working class towards proletarian dictatorship.

A close examination, from the viewpoint of the Comintern policy, of the course pursued by the Central Committee of your Party, will compel you to admit that this course has deviated from the line of the Communist International in a series of very important questions. The present majority in the C.C. failed to understand the substance of this line, it adopted it formally, only by words, but carried on in reality, a stubborn struggle against the opposition and the Swedish Young Communist League who endeavored to show to the rank and file of the Party the mistakes made by the C. C. The Comintern line demanded of the Swedish Communist Party energetic consistent struggle against Swedish imperialism, but the majority in the C.C. weakened this struggle by reservations concerning the "dependent character" of Swedish capitalism. The Comintern line demanded explanation to the Swedish workers that in a future war the Swedish bourgeoisie will not remain neutral, that it is an active factor of imperialist policy making for war. The parliamentary fraction of the Swedish Communist Party introduced in the Riksdag, false, through and through opportunist proposals of the bourgeoisie, re disarmament, which foster pacifist illusions among the masses, particularly dangerous in a country like Sweden whose neutrality during the war still militates against the watchfulness of the working class in regard to the war danger. In accordance with the Comintern line, the Swedish comrades should have made use of the parliamentary platform for ruthless exposure of the fascist role of the Swedish bourgeoisie and its agency, the Swedish social-democracy. But the parliamentary Communist fraction, while taking a correct position on a number of other vital problems, at times drifted towards the position of "Left" social-democracy by introducing all kinds of "business proposals." The "class against class" policy demanded conversion of the May Day demonstration into a militant demonstration of the Swedish working class, not only against the Swedish bourgeoisie, but also against Swedish social-fascism. The leadership of the biggest Stockholm organization, with Einar Olsson at the head, called off, in agreement with social-democracy, the May Day demonstration, emanulating in an opportunist manner the significance of May Day in a situation rendered acute by the accentuation of class differences. At the time when the blood of Berlin workers was flowing by order of the social-

I SAW IT MYSELF

HENRI BARBUSSE
Translated by Brian Rhys
Reprinted, by permission, from "I Saw It Myself" by Henri Barbusse, published and copyrighted by H. F. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.

A STORY was built around him which agreed in every way with the prophesies of Old Testament: Jesus the Messiah, born of the Virgin Mary and of the Holy Ghost, of the line of David, was born at Bethlehem, lived at Nazareth, preached on the shores of the Sea of Tiberias, brought unheard of miracles, was taken and put to death by the Pharisees and priests of Jerusalem, who forced Pontius Pilate's hand, arose on the third day and ascended into heaven. The books which recount this story are called the Gospels. They first appeared towards the end of the first century 'after Jesus Christ'; the last appeared, in the form that we now know it, towards the end of the second century.

By this semi-magical device, the Resurrection, the man Jesus was now for the first time assimilated to the divine Myth; he was decked out in superhuman qualities, clouded about with an afterglow of wonder, of ancient prophecy, new commandments. And a strange mixture it all made.

But stranger than all, this humble victim the preacher, who had been requisitioned like some beast of sacrifice to give up his body in martyrdom to the Doctrine of Redemption, to symbolize in the flesh this Agony of theologians, was great in himself, and his greatest is apparent in spite of all religious paraphernalia heaped upon his head.

Echoing in the Gospels where Jesus is imprisoned and mutilated is something of the true voice of the true Jesus, some reverberation of his cry for justice and equality—that great cry of the Jew, calling on justice for a people enslaved, which he sent ringing out over the desert of upturned faces.

THUS the most extraordinary thing about this very true and simple story—the thing which evidence tells us more and more plainly now that we can look the scriptures squarely in the face—is that the real Jesus, Jesus the man, lives on among the tales invented by the gospel romancers. Looking down these pages with open mind, we still can find, can recognize certain human verities which the inventors of a religion could never have invented.

This real Jesus, who eludes us in the realm of fact (except as the man condemned for fomenting political and social unrest), because we only have the scenario and the biased material of the stage-managers of religion, is revealed to us most directly in his thought, which could not be disguised as effectively as the events of his earthly life.

(To be Continued)

fascist Zoergibel, when armed social-fascist bands in Poland were killing proletarian demonstrators, the leaders of the Stockholm organization were so loyal in regard to the agreement made with social-democracy that they did not even procure speakers to address the several hundred workers who had assembled in spite of the calling-off of the May Day demonstration. Such policy on the part of the chairman of the Stockholm committee was nothing but a continuation of the inadmissible policy of blocs with social-democracy condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Party. The Comintern line dictated to the leaders of the Swedish Communist Party ruthless struggle against concrete signs of a Right tendency, relentless exposure of all opportunist mistakes, but the course pursued by your leaders consisted in systematically ignoring these mistakes, in cultivating in the Party a conciliatory attitude to them, in attempts to justify them in the eyes of the Party. The majority of your C.C. did not condemn these mistakes at the June Plenum. On the contrary, it defended them in the face of the just criticism of the minority of the C.C. and the Comintern delegation, representing the C. C. minority as factional mischief-makers in the eyes of the Party. Even after these mistakes had been submitted to severe criticism at the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the chairman of the Polit Bureau of the Party, Comrade Flyg, defended at the Plenum the conduct of the Stockholm leadership and the proposal of the parliamentary fraction re disarmament by typically "Left" social-democratic arguments. An extreme attitude of toleration to these mistakes was taken up by a section of the Swedish delegation which represented the majority of the C.C. in the drawing up of this letter. Instead of straightforward, Bolshevik bold condemnation of the opportunist wobbles in the Party, it either openly defended the opportunist mistakes, or gave meaningless evasive answers which make it more difficult for the Party to overcome these mistakes and rectify its line. This persistence on the part of the majority of your C.C. in defending the opportunist mistakes is more dangerous than the mistakes themselves. Every separate mistake can be remedied, but defense of opportunist mistakes degenerates into opportunist deviations which impede the further Bolshevik development of the Party. It is this atmosphere of conciliatorship in regard to opportunism that made capitulation possible among comrades such as Westerlund in regard to resisting the repressions of the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy, it is such conditions that give rise to views such as Grimlund's re necessity of supporting capitalist rationalization, etc.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern has repeatedly drawn the attention of the leadership of the Swedish Communist Party to the opportunist tendencies in the activity of the Party, calling it to energetic struggle against Right opportunism. In its letter of October 19, 1928 and May 2, 1929, it recommended the mobilization of the whole Party to resist opportunist tendencies. It did everything in its power to give the C. C. itself an opportunity to make good its mistakes. But this method of influencing your C. C. did not have any results. The first of these E.C.C.I. letters was not even brought to the notice of the Party. This compels the E.C.C.I. to demand openly, before the whole Party and with its active cooperation, that the C.C. rectify the Party line and shake good the opportunist mistakes which had been committed. There must be throughout the Party, from the bottom to the top, a serious discussion of questions connected with the political line of the Party and its organizational work, the present minority of the C.C. being guaranteed full possibility of defending its views before the Party. In this discussion, all problems must be dealt with on the basis of principle; there must be no room for opportunist attempts to obscure questions of principle by secondary matters, to conceal by misleading maneuvers, the true meaning of the line of the Comintern and of the disagreement with this line on the part of some comrades, from the Communist workers of Sweden.

The discussion on the Open Letter of the E.C.C.I. must contribute towards bringing to light the opportunist elements in the Party, towards the renewal of the leading cadres and to the self-purging of the Party from the hangers-on and alien elements. Only such a discussion on the basis of principle, will strengthen the real Leninist unity of the Communist Party of Sweden, and the latter will know how to deal a very sharp rebuff to all those who attempt to shake this unity.

The E.C.C.I. recommends that a Party Congress be called not earlier than within four months to sum up the results of the political work done in regard to the rectification of the Party line. Side by side with criticism of past mistakes, the Party will have to give at this Congress, as well as during the inner Party discussion, a concrete form to its tasks in the struggle against war, capitalist rationalization, social fascism and pacifist illusions. It will also have to give a concrete form to the tasks set by the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.: conquest by the Communist Party of the leading role in the labor movement in Sweden, giving economic struggles a political character (problems of the mass political strike), firmer establishment of the Party in enterprises by means of reorganization on the basis of factory nuclei, consolidation of the influence of the Party in trade unions accompanied by elaboration of concrete measures to resist the infamous disruptive work of the reformist bureaucracy. The entering of new sections of female workers and youths into the class struggle as a result of capitalist rationalization makes it the duty of the Communist Party of Sweden to devote particular attention to these strata. Furthermore, the Congress will have to replenish the leadership of your Party by comrades who became conspicuous in the course of recent class struggles, and will have to give an opportunity to all who wish honestly, sincerely and in a Bolshevik manner to make good their mistakes under the vigilant control of the Party and with its energetic help.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. expresses the firm conviction that only on the basis of such self-criticism will the Party continue to grow and to bring new life into its ranks. The Presidium is convinced that your Party, which has been able in the past to resist unanimously all attempts to sabotage the decisions of the Comintern, will profit by the experience of the Bolshevik Parties of other countries, overcome energetically opportunist and conciliatory in its ranks and will become in the near future one of the foremost and most capable sections of the Communist International.