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The Revolutionary Crisis in India and English Terrorism.

By P. Sch.

The arrest of the leaders of the legal mass organisations of the Indian workers and peasants did not come unexpectedly. There is also nothing unusual in the fact that the arrested editors of legal weekly journals, the functionaries of the trade union movement, including among others Comrade Spratt, who was recently acquitted by a jury, are charged with crimes involving imprisonment or even the death penalty. English imperialism, which feeds on the blood of hundreds of millions, which organises the murder of striking workers, which keeps the peasantry in slave-fetters, which does not shrink from raiding the houses of the workers in order to beat the workers and ill-treat their wives and children — the Indian government of hangmen, provocateurs and pogrom-inciters can no longer "tolerate" the existence of legal peasant and workers' organisations.

The Anglo-Indian government allowed itself the luxury of adopting a "liberal" attitude to the workers and peasants parties so long as the influence of these parties was not very great. But in India the revolutionary energy of the masses is developing at such a rate, that the workers and peasants parties, in spite of the uncertainty of their tactical line, in spite of the vacillations and many fatal errors, have already been able to win great sympathy and support among the broad, awakening masses.

At the recent provincial conferences of these parties in Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore and in the United Provinces, thousands of poor peasants were present as guests. The wave of strikes which swept the entire country was accompanied by the setting up of strike committees, to which, in addition to

rank and file workers from the factories, representatives of the workers and peasants party were elected.

In no country at present are the Left trade unions developing with such rapidity as they are in India, although the strikes which gave rise to these trade unions led to the utmost physical exhaustion of the workers and demanded of them the greatest sacrifices. According to the official returns of the Bombay authorities, which were published in January, the membership of the textile workers' trade union "Red Flag" increased in the course of the three-months strike from 370 to 65,000. In all demonstrations, actions and strikes it has been repeatedly evident that the working masses are far in advance of their Left leaders. The demonstration of 20,000 in Calcutta on the occasion of the All-India Conference of workers and peasants party, which took place in December, was carried out under the slogan, "For Soviet India!", while the Conference itself, in its resolutions, spoke in exceedingly vague terms of a fight for a democratic regime.

A still greater class-consciousness, self-denial and capacity for organisation has been displayed by the Bombay workers during the last three years. The five-months strike of the textile workers in Summer and autumn of last year ended with the reference of the "complicated questions" to an arbitration court, and this with the approval of the leaders of the Left trade unions, although the masses demanded the continuation of the fight and carried on a partial strike even after the signing of the agreement. But the proceedings in the arbitration court did not delude the textile workers a single day; and they began immediately to prepare for a new strike by augmenting the strike funds, organising defence corps and strengthening and extending their trade union organisations.

The mass slaughter in the streets of Bombay organised by the English government, which places in the shade all the "achievements" of the Tsarist pogroms, was intended to disturb the organised preparation for the strike. But the Bombay workers did not allow themselves to be intimidated. The struggle of the Bombay proletariat, which, in an atmosphere of religious fanaticism, amidst the hail of bullets of the imperialist troops, has dispelled the lies of the hypocritical pacifism of the Indian mussulman bourgeoisie, will be recorded for ever in the history of the national revolution. The Bombay proletariat deliberately opposed the pogrom inciters and won the streets for the red flag. In this case also the movement left the leaders far behind.

In spite of the police raids and in spite of the "scientific" considerations put forward by the "Daily Telegraph", the workers and peasant parties, owing to their very nature, do not and never can belong to the Communist International. Their positive role in the movement was determined by the extraordinary activity and revolutionary energy displayed by the masses of workers and peasants who gathered round these parties. English imperialism has carried out a coup against the leaders of the workers and peasants parties in order to deprive the workers' and peasants' movement of its leadership. But here it made a mistake in its calculations. 20,000 textile workers in Bombay have already declared a protest strike against the arrests. The Indian working class has reached such a level of maturity that the White Terror will not be able to get the better of it. Whilst they are forming their ranks, the Indian workers are teaching the masses of the peasants how to conduct the revolutionary fight and lead it to victory.

The revolution in India is developing quite in accordance with "prescribed rules": along the line of differentiation of class forces, of the growth of the specific weight and influence of the proletariat, along a line which guarantees the hegemony of the proletariat and its leading role in the victorious revolution. The Communist Party of England has made a timely appeal to the proletariat in connection with the new wave of terror in India. Hundreds of millions of Indian workers and peasants, who form the reserves of the Indian revolution, are thereby at the same time the allies of the international proletariat.

It is time that the question of the Indian revolution occupied the centre of interest of the whole proletariat. English imperialism regards India as the most vulnerable spot in its Empire. It is to India that it is sending its main forces; it is here that it is preparing for the future war. The international proletariat will reply to these plans of the imperialists by organising real support for the Indian revolution which is developing.

POLITICS

The Creation of a Workers' and Peasants' Bloc in Mexico.

Letter from Mexico.

This letter was written before the outbreak of the revolution in Mexico. Ed.

On January 24th and 25th there took place in Mexico City a conference which will play an important role in the history of the Labour movement of Latin America. For the first time in Mexico the industrial workers and the peasants have founded a bloc, put up a common candidate for the approaching presidential election campaign and formed a permanent revolutionary league.

In this conference more than 300 delegates participated from the towns and villages of all parts of the country. Representatives were present from the following organisations: 1. The Communist Party of Mexico; 2. The United Party of Railway workers; 3. The National Farmers' League; 4. The Workers' and Peasants' League of Durango; 5. The Labour Federation of Michuaca; 6. Various workers' and peasants' societies.

The conference represented more than half a million workers and peasants, but there is no doubt that it had behind it the majority of the proletariat of Mexico and the sympathy of the broad masses.

The programme adopted is of most revolutionary content. Not a single delegate harboured illusions. Everyone comprehended that in the course of the next elections the crisis might be transformed into civil war and everybody, from the president to the humblest combatant, is preparing himself for this moment.

The object of this conference is laid down in the following formula: foundation of a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. The programme which is set up contained the following points: 1. Nationalisation of the land in favour of the working peasants and agricultural labourers; 2. Nationalisation of industry under the control of the workers; 3. Abolition of the machinery of State and the formation of workers' and peasants' councils; 4. Arming of the masses.

Slogans such as these can rouse the enthusiasm of the proletariat only on the eve of an acute revolution. They have now called forth this enthusiasm. Furthermore, it is an illuminating fact that the peasants no longer obey their petty-bourgeois leaders but have joined the trade unions under the leadership of the Communist Party.

For the next elections the conference has put up a well-tryed revolutionary fighter: **Pedro V. Rodriguez Triana**. In the year 1903 he was on the side of **Madeiro**. Subsequently he fought bitterly along with the anarchistic leader **Flores Magon** in the **National Liberal Party** against **Madeiro**, after this gentleman had betrayed the revolution. In the year 1913 Triana was one of the best generals of the army of **Zapata**, the revolutionary peasants' army, whose slogan was: "Land and Liberty!" When the reaction began under **de la Huerta** and the regime of **Sorano** was set up, Triana was against it. In recent years Triana has been occupied with the organising of the peasants.

In Triana's opinion the workers' and peasants' bloc was not formed before, because the fighting elements did not recognise its utility. These elements have now begun to have more confidence in their own strength. Triana anticipates that the masses will follow the bloc, because they desire a change from the present system, and that the agricultural toilers will help the industrial workers to seize the factories, the petroleum wells, etc., and that the reaction will provoke a civil war, whereby the revolutionary elements will have the opportunity of proving their value. There is already a well-armed and well-trained Red militia battalion in the country. Naturally, in case of a victory for the reactionaries, the further success of the revolution in Mexico would depend upon the attitude of the proletariat of the United States and of the whole world.

The same conclusion has been reached by the Communist Party of Mexico. This also appears in their theses:

"The conflict, which is about to break out among the various groups of the bourgeoisie, will rouse the peasant masses to fight, and they will try to get possession of the land. We can predict that this conflict between these groups will later turn into a fight of these groups against the peasant masses. Still later the fight will be carried on against the working class. It is therefore the duty of the Party to gather together all dissatisfied elements and bring about a united fight of the masses in order to create a solid front against the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

The first duty of the Party is to emancipate the workers and peasants from the influence of the upper classes and middle classes, and to organise these masses immediately in a fighting unit. The Party must bend its whole strength to the fulfilment of this task. At our April conference the Comintern indicated the method of operation. This method is a class programme which draws the line separating the bourgeoisie from the proletarian masses. First of all the workers' and peasants' bloc must be created".

Before it closed, the conference created a permanent organization headed by an executive committee. On this executive committee are: Diego Rivera (C. P. of Mexico), president; Balvin (National Peasants' Association), secretary; Labarde (Railway Workers' Party); Monson (C. P.); Diaz (Columbia League); Cabal (Tuamalufas League); Silva (Labour Association of Tchibaha); Lara (Vera Cruz League).

The Murder of the Soldiers of the French Occupation Army.

By B...z (Paris).

The scandalous incidents in the French army of occupation in the Rhineland have created a great stir among the workers and peasants and have afforded our Party leaders a good opportunity of shaking off the lamentable inactivity of our organization in regard to practical anti-militarist work and to the struggle against war.

The circumstances of the case are tragically simple. During a period of extreme frost in February, more than 300 soldiers in the garrisons of Treves, Düren, Coblenz, Mayence, Landau, ... died within the space of a few days as a result of bodily over-exertion in the face of particularly dangerous climatic conditions, and that in the absence of adequate medical aid or of measures of precaution on the part of the military authorities.

The young soldiers stationed in this area were under-fed, and are all French soldiers, and had been accommodated in inadequate and insufficiently heated quarters. The sum spent on daily rations of each soldier is 4.98 francs, which is approximately the same as one hour's wages of a worker. Rooms inhabited by 15 men have to make do with a daily supply of 6 grammes of coal. A very strenuous service is aggravated by an extremely severe discipline, and both were continued throughout the exceptionally cold spell in February. Marches, marches, and drill were carried out at 26 degrees of frost. Under these circumstances a very virulent epidemic of influenza broke out, accompanied in numerous instances by complications, especially disturbance of the respiratory organs. Since the medical service was altogether inadequate, with a shortage of medicines, doctors, and beds, the results of the epidemic were incomparably more fatal than in the case of the civilian population.

Absolutely scandalous instances are reported. The soldiers were required to stand immovably at attention for two hours without having received any warm food the same morning, and merely for the purpose of celebrating the arrival of a new regiment at Coblenz. The night-watches were forbidden to put on additional clothing. The officers of the Treves garrison organised a mask-ball in the midst of the epidemic, and the drivers of their cars had thus to wait all night out in the open. At the least protest which the soldiers dared to make they were met with a regular torrent of punishments. This shows up the present state of affairs in the army: an exaggerated recruitment

even of the weakest men, a hectic rate of military training in view of the shorter term of service, far-reaching alterations in techniques and equipment, calling for greater physical and mental exertion, and a hurried preparation for the next war requiring constant effort often in excess of the strength of the young recruits. While the military budget for the current year was augmented by 1.5 million francs, the provisions for the alimentation of the troops were reduced. The human material is of less interest to the bourgeoisie than the perfection of arms and munitions.

The League for Human Rights was informed by some of its petty-bourgeois adherents of the wholesale slaughter of soldiers in the Rhineland. It contented itself, "discreetly and without any fuss", with an intervention with the Minister of War, for the purpose of suppressing the scandal before it came to the knowledge of the general public. Very soon, however, the "Humanité" received dozens of letters from the soldiers themselves or from their relatives. Early in March the "Humanité" began a press-campaign which created a great sensation. In the Chamber numerous questions were put to the Minister of War. On March 6th Painlevé formed an investigatory commission of four eminent military men and two doctors, to which two deputies were subsequently added. The bourgeoisie inquired into conditions in its army. The Communist Party disclosed the entire scandal and demanded an investigation by commissions formed of relatives of the victims, of soldiers elected by the individual units, and of representatives of the workers' organisations. The Social Democrats contented themselves with demanding "a serious Parliamentary investigation by representatives of all parties" and refused to assume any pronounced class-attitude in the matter.

They started a campaign against the "individual shortcomings" and against the War Minister, without attacking militarism and the regime itself and without showing up the war-preparations and the mechanisation of the army. Before speaking on this matter, the Socialist deputy Barthé placed all his data at the disposal of the War Minister, thus betraying the soldiers who had applied to him for help. He hastened to point out that the officers had "admirable hearts, just as kind as our own" and called upon the Minister to "defend the army, so that such instances should not inflict on our military institutions any blows from which it would be hard to recover".

Both in their press and in Parliament, the Communists championed the demands of the soldiers, viz., increase of pay from 0.25 to 2 francs daily, increase of the value of rations to 12 francs a day, control of alimentation by a commission elected by the soldiers, free passes for the railways, right to additional examination by civilian doctors, abolition of the penal system, and substitution of soldiers' tribunals for the military courts. The Party laid particular stress on the political demand for the right to read any newspaper whatsoever, the right of combination and assembly, and for an amnesty in favour of all soldiers sentenced to punishment for having supported these demands. At the same time the Party demanded the immediate evacuation of the Rhineland.

The bourgeois parties redoubled their agitation against our anti-militarist activity. The Ministry moved the vote of confidence and attained a majority of barely 70 votes, since under the stress of the general excitement the Radicals and Socialists found themselves forced to oppose it. This, however, was nothing but a manoeuvre on the part of this so-called Opposition, which itself proposed and seconded legislative acts aiming at the reorganisation of the army and the preparation for war. So as to pacify public opinion, Painlevé decreed ridiculously trifling penalties for three generals, one of whom was reprimanded and two transferred to other units. The Socialists, whose only object was a political manoeuvre, since they were anxious for the "defence of the army and of the country", could expect no other results. The Social Democrats, whose leaders Renaudel and Boncour are the reporter on the budget for military aviation and vice-chairman of the Supreme Council of National Defence, respectively, endeavoured by means of demagogic speeches to camouflage the preparations for war to which they are party and to deter the masses from any really anti-militarist steps.

Our Party wages the fight in quite a different manner. It aims at strengthening its direct connections with the soldiers

themselves. In the last six months the Communist press has received more than 1000 communications from soldiers from more than 300 different units. The elaboration of a system of secret soldiers' committees in numerous garrisons is being continued. With a view to strengthening the connection between workers and soldiers the Party has issued accurate instructions particularly in regard to the sponsorship of certain units on the part of bodies of organised workers. Numerous big industrial concerns of the Paris area have complied with the appeal of the Party and are now about to elect delegations, which will attempt to procure information as to the life of the soldiers in barracks. The youth section of the revolutionary Trade Union Federation had undertaken to sponsor the 20th Army Corps, stationed in the East. As soon as the next contingent of 80,000 recruits joins the colours next May and when in the summer 250,000 reserves are called in, the Party will do its utmost to form "circles" of recruits and reserve-men. The workers in factories must raise special contributions to the "soldiers' pence", so that a constant contact may be maintained with the juvenile elements enrolled in the army.

Unfortunately this activity still encounters a great degree of indolence in our midst. The members of the Party still adhere to the custom of leaving the entire responsibility for anti-militarist work to the Young Communist League, and the obvious result is that we have done very little to exploit the general indignation felt in connection with the incidents in the Rhineland. The improvement of our work in this direction constitutes an essential portion of the work of reform which is to assume a tangible form on the occasion of our Party Congress on March 31st.

Ireland and Moscow.

By Jack Carney.

A decisive bye-election has just been fought in North Dublin due to the election of a member of the Dail (parliament) to the Seaned (Senate). The two candidates were Dr. O'Higgins, brother of the late Minister for Justice, who was struck down in 1927, member of the Government Party, and Oscar Traynor, member of Fianna Fail (De Valera party). The election was fought in Ireland, but Russia was the centre of the campaign, with Mexico as a sideline.

The Irish Worker League decided to make a united front with Fianna Fail and oppose the Government with a solid Opposition. This step was taken as a protest against the terrorist tactics of the Government, the callous treatment of the unemployed, the numerous dismissals of railway workers and the general attitude of the Government towards the working class as a whole. The capitalist press made Moscow the issue. The Government organ declared on the morning of the poll:

"The Communist leader, who has now rallied his supporters behind Fianna Fail, has time and time again held up Bolshevik Russia as the model for Ireland. He is the principal performer at the meetings held in Dublin every year to commemorate the memory of Lenin. Lenin drenched his country in blood, made it a crime to teach that there is a God, and prescribed and executed the Catholic clergy of Russia. The man who holds up this blasphemous wretch as an exemplar to Irishmen does not understand the mentality of Irishmen or of Catholics. We believe they will give him his answer in North Dublin today."

The election was fought with much bitterness. Nearly three hundred of the Opposition supporters were jailed, thus preventing them from voting. In one case, where the Workers Union of Ireland has control, the members of the staff, who had voted against the Government at the last election, found themselves struck off the voting register. The men who had driven the motor-cars at the last election found themselves in jail the night before polling day. Yet, despite the warning that "Ireland must not be ruled by Moscow"; that terrorist tactics had been resorted to; that money had flowed like water among Government supporters, the vote was as follows:

O'Higgins, Government	28,426 votes
Traynor, Fianna Fail-Communist	28,275
Government majority	151

The Irish Worker League must be given credit for the high vote cast. The vote recorded doubly ensures the election of two Communists at the next election, which may be held shortly, in North City Dublin. The working-class districts voted six to one against the Government. It was in the rich and middle-class districts that the Government secured its votes and all of these were not secured by direct voting, the Government agents, in many instances, saving the voters the trouble of voting by voting for them.

The soldiers were allowed to vote. There are six hundred residents in the North City of Dublin. Of these 600, thirty-three voted for "Moscow". When one understands the vigilance exercised by the Army officials over soldiers the vote of thirty-three assumes great significance. It shows that the Army is not solid behind the Government, that within are the germs of discontent.

When the result was made known there was no loud cheering from the Government supporters. The capitalist press was of the opinion that the Government had not gained a victory. There is a significant silence about the result. Twenty-eight thousand, two hundred and seventy-five people were told that if they voted against the Government, they were for Moscow, they were for Mexico, they were for the gunmen, they were for the killing of imperialists, they were for the destruction of "law and order". They were threatened, cajoled and bullied. In many instances their sons and daughters were arrested. Their homes were invaded in the dead of night. Yet they voted against the government.

The quiet work of the Irish Worker League, unaccompanied by any loud hurrahs, is bearing fruit. The election was fought on issues that not even Fianna Fail would approve. The Government made the fight centre around Moscow and Moscow won.

The Conflict between Holland and Belgium.

By de Vries.

On March 19th the Belgian parliament considered the question of the Labour Party in regard to the allegedly forged treaty between France and Belgium.

The Social Democrats did their utmost to support their government against foreign attack: nothing was said about the actual economic and political conflicts between Belgian capitalism and Dutch capitalism, and the affair was sidestepped by means of the appearance of the spy Frank-Heine.

However, it is now clear that this gentleman delivered the secret documents to the Flemish nationalist Vard Hermans, who then sold them to the Rotterdam capitalist Van Beuningen.

Frank-Heine was a paid agent of the Belgian secret police who are said to have known of the existence and contents of the documents. It is also certain that Frank-Heine was immediately set at liberty upon threatening to make disclosures and compromise his principals.

Up to the present only one document has been published but it is known that there are still several more in the possession of Van Beuningen. The "Nieuwe Rotterdammer Courant", with which Van Beuningen is closely connected is still carrying on the anti-Belgian campaign and at the right moment will certainly publish the rest of the documents.

Ward Hermans, who fled to Holland, has not yet returned to Belgium. In case he stays in Holland, the Front Party, to which he belongs, will withdraw him as parliamentary candidate. The Belgian Minister of State, Segers, representative of the Port of Antwerp, has publicly threatened that, in case his wishes are not complied with within six months, Belgium will lodge an appeal with the "International Law Colleges".

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Government Report on Bombay Cotton Strikes.

Reformist Leaders and "Co-Operation".

By W. M. Holmes.

London, 25th March, 1929.

The outstanding feature of the Report of the **Bombay Government Committee of Inquiry** into the strikes in the cotton textile industry in and around that city is its insistence on the need for "co-operation" between the mill-owners and the **Workers**.

By "Co-Operation" the Report clearly means **Mondism** — industrial peace and rationalisation enforced by the employers with the aid of the reformist leaders. This fact emerges very clearly from the Report's discussion of the mill-owners' proposals for standardisation of wages and the regulations regarding the conditions of employment of workers.

It was the mill-owners' attempt to enforce these proposals, which may be briefly characterised as rationalisation proposals, that led to the strike. The Report declares that these proposals of the mill-owners are "fair and reasonable"; and it adds that the owners' demand for a 7.5 per cent. cut in weavers' wages is also justifiable.

But, the Report adds, there is an over-riding consideration against the mill-owners pressing their demand for a wage cut — namely, the necessity for "full co-operation" with the (reformist) Labour leaders in operating the standardisation scheme; and it goes on to declare that if the Labour leaders "undertake really to co-operate" in this way, the mill-owners should drop their wage cut demand. The Report supports 10 of the 17 demands of the strikers; but 8 of these 10 have already been conceded by the mill-owners. Five of the strikers' demands the Report holds to be either wholly or partly "unfair".

During the sittings of the Committee there were 70 strikes in the Bombay textile industry. Noting this fact, the Report declares (with a thinly-veiled threat) that it is "prejudicial to the well-being of the industry" and its continuance "may result in an increasing tendency on the part of the mill-owners to establish mills up-country where labour is cheaper and steadier".

The Report advocates the achievement of economies by the amalgamation of mills, and by a cartel to regulate the production of certain classes of cotton goods.

The Bombay correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph" reports that the (reformist) leaders have "promised" that if the mill-owners withdraw their wage cut demands, they will endeavour to persuade the workers to accept the standardisation scheme.

A hungry man cannot distinguish between a Republic and a Monarchy: a frozen, shoeless, weary soldier, perishing for the interests of others, is incapable of getting to love a republic. However, when the last common workman, every unemployed, every cook, every ruined peasant sees, not from the paper, but with his own eyes, that the proletarian authority is not cringing before the rich, but is helping poverty, that this power is not afraid of revolutionary measures, that it takes surplus products from the parasites and gives them to the hungry, that it forcibly moves the homeless into the dwellings of the rich, that it forces the rich to pay for milk, but does not give them a drop of it until the children of all the poor families have received adequate supplies, that the land is passing into the hands of those who labour on it, that the factories and banks come under the control of the workers, that serious and immediate punishment is meted out to the millionaires who conceal their riches — when the poverty-stricken see and feel this, then no force of the capitalists and kulaks, no forces supported by the hundreds of milliards of international financial capital, will be able to conquer the people's revolution. On the contrary, it will conquer the whole world.

Lenin: "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?"

The Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India.

By P. Sch.

The whole of the conditions of the approaching upsurge of the revolutionary wave found clear expression at the recently held **Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties of India**. If we compare the general tone of this Conference with the attitude which the workers' and peasants' parties adopted not only two to three years ago, but even within the last twelve months, then we can unhesitatingly record a swing to the Left which is characteristic of the general mood of the masses in the country.

The following essential reservations must be made however. In the first place the provincial conferences of these parties were superior to the central conference in that they revealed a great contact with the masses and raised in a more concrete form the questions of the struggle which is now proceeding; this contact with the masses found particular expression in the attendance of numerous peasant fraternal delegates. Secondly, the decisions of the Central Conference in a number of questions, in particular the question of power, lagged far behind the sentiments of the broad masses. This fact found striking expression in that, while the Conference in its resolutions speaks only of a "democratic organisation of the country", of a "democratic regime", the demonstrations of the workers which welcomed the Conference delegates, had inscribed on their flags the slogan: "Long live the independent Soviet Republic of India!"

That the workers of **Calcutta** had not proclaimed this slogan "by chance" is to be seen from the fact that all three demonstrations of the workers which took place in the last two months (the demonstration which forced its way into the session of the **National Congress**, the demonstration which welcomed the **Workers and Peasants Conference**, and finally the demonstration, attended by 20,000 workers, which took place at the end of January against the **Simon Commission**), had on their flags the slogan of the Soviets. The whittling down of the slogans by the Conference was shown in other questions, despite the fact that among the participants in the Conference there were comrades who possess the confidence of the proletarian advance-guard.

What is the reason for this? It lies before all in the character of the workers and peasants parties themselves, in their composition of two classes, which is bound to result in rendering vague the proletarian line.

Owing to the lack of material it is impossible for the time being to give a more or less detailed evaluation of the work of the Central Conference and to compare it with the provincial conferences. We therefore confine ourselves to a number of decisions, which serve to illustrate both the positive and the weak sides of the work of the Conference.

Among the positive sides of the conference there must be fore all be included the plain and clear estimate of the treacherous role of bourgeois nationalism and the emphatic criticism of the hypocrisy and the empty words of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. The political resolution of the Conference, in characterising bourgeois nationalism and the double game played by its Left wing, proceeds from a class analysis of the forces in the camp of the national liberation movement.

In the question of the relation to the **Independence League**, this recently arisen organisation of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, the Conference, after an exhaustive discussion, decided not to join the League, but at the same time not to renounce the application of united front tactics in those cases in which it really conducts a fight for independence. The resolution points out that the radical points which have been inserted into the programme of the League, do not constitute demands for the realisation of which the masses must fight, but merely promises which the bourgeoisie gives in order to deceive the masses. The Conference, therefore, demands from the petty-bourgeois intellectuals not words but deeds, not promises but proofs. In this respect the resolution declares:

"The unreal and hypocritical character of the programme is perhaps most definitely revealed by the fact that

throughout there is not a word mentioned of the method by which the aims are to be achieved."

Such a method of putting the question proves that the lessons of the severe defeats and the treacherous actions beginning from the year 1921 have not been lost on the workers of India, and that these experiences are beginning to find expression, in this or that form, in the decisions of their mass organisations.

The concrete attitude of the Conference in regard to the relations to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and their groupings would not deserve any special emphasis, had there not at the same time been put forward in the press opinions which seek to revive in the workers and peasants' parties the old illusions, to cause them to exaggerate the importance of the leading organisations of the intellectuals and to induce them to come to an understanding with them.

How powerful, and at the same time how very dangerous, these illusions are, can be seen from two articles by Comrade Roy, one of which appeared in the bourgeois-nationalist "Forward" before the December Conferences, and contained "Advice" to the workers and peasants Party, while the other appeared in the "Inprecorr." (No. 6, February 1st, 1929) already after the Conference of the workers' and peasants Party and contains a very decided criticism of this Conference.

In the first article "Appeal to the Independence movement" (Forward Annual 1928, pages 57/58) Comrade Roy writes:

"In view of this historic significance of the Calcutta Congress (this refers to the National Congress P. Sch.) all fighters for the freedom of India must heartily greet the rise of the Independence League. The Nationalist Movement has reached a parting of the ways. This can no longer be denied. Otherwise, the formation of the Independence League would be premature. The rude reality of the situation is that one section of the movement has decided to compromise with imperialist domination, while the other has declared its determination to overthrow foreign rule. In Calcutta the Congress must commit itself clearly to the one or the other point of view. In order to have the Congress remain faithful to the Madras Resolution, the Independence League must move the rejection of the Nehru Report by the Calcutta Congress. Failing to do this the League will lose the right to a separate existence..."

Comrade Roy, in proposing to the Independence League that it bring forward at the National Congress at Calcutta a resolution on the "Convocation of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of general election" writes further:

"...In course of this agitation (for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly P. Sch.) the National Revolutionary Party (into which the Independence League should develop) will rally under its banner the majority of the nation..."

Let us leave on one side Comrade Roy's main slogan, which aims at the convocation by the National Congress of a Constituent Assembly, and thereby fosters the extremely harmful illusions, which have been instilled into the masses by Motilal Nehru, that it is possible by a "fight" of the Congress to achieve the emancipation of India.

Still more characteristic of the present attitude of Comrade Roy is the heroic future he promises the Independence League at its cradle. Beneath its flag there will gather the majority of the nation. The mere fact of its existence will mean a turning point in the national revolutionary movement. Finally, should this mountain labour and produce a mouse, if it succeeds in obtaining from the Congress of Calcutta... what? fidelity to the resolution of Madras, i. e. to the resolution which proclaimed as its aim complete independence, but which, in accordance with the chief principle of the National Congress, must be achieved by "peaceable and lawful means". As is known, by this resolution, in the course of a year, not only have the walls of British imperialism not collapsed, but not even a single hair of the head of Simon has been injured. Why Comrade Roy expects a miracle from the repetition of this resolution remains a mystery.

(To be continued.)

FASCISM

International Fascism and How to Combat it.

(Unanimously Adopted Resolution of the International Anti-Fascist Congress.)

Fascism is the outcome of imperialist war, the shattering of the capitalist regime and the general crisis of post-war times of the bankruptcy of the parliamentary system and of the decay of the system of the bourgeois parties, whose petty-bourgeois fundament is rebelling against the deterioration of their standard of living and shrinking from the threatening social revolution. Fascism, which has seized power in a number of countries under petty-bourgeois-reformist slogans, such as "social peace", "reconciliation of the classes", soon proved to be open and direct dictatorship of the upper classes under the guidance of organised finance-capital. It is the form in which the bourgeoisie is trying to maintain the shaken capitalist system of oppression and exploitation against the attack of the revolutionary proletariat.

But even seven years after the seizing of power by Italian Fascism the general crisis of capitalism is not on the wane but continues to grow more acute. The maintenance of Fascist domination is a proof not of the stabilisation of capitalist power but of its permanently critical state and of its decay.

In the countries which are ruled by Fascism, the individual classes which stand aloof from or oppose the Fascist regime are the working classes: the proletariat and the toiling peasantry. The fight against Fascism is under the circumstances nothing but a form of the class fight of the exploited and oppressed masses of the people against the capitalists and landed proprietors.

Under the iron yoke of Fascism more than 150 million people in Europe alone are at present held down, gagged and exploited. The bloody scourge of Fascism reigns in Italy, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Lithuania. In Asia the Fascist Kuomintang has gagged the Chinese workers and peasants and is exterminating the best revolutionary champions; in Japan Fascist shock troops are being organised under the open protection of the government against the awakening revolutionary Labour movement; the imperialistic rulers of Indonesia employ Fascist methods of terror in order to combat and overthrow the movement for national freedom. In Latin America, Fascist rule of terror is raging in Chile, Cuba and Venezuela. The danger of Fascist upheavals and coup d'Etat menaces a great number of countries in which the bourgeois democratic system still prevails, while in a number of other countries the Fascist movement is making marked progress. For instance, in Austria, which up to quite recently was one of the most democratic countries, Fascism has come to the fore and constitutes a direct menace to Labour.

Wherever Fascism imposes its rule it destroys the cultural life of the nation. In order to maintain its power it allies itself with all the reactionary forces of the army and the church.

The aggravation of the Fascist danger of the whole of Europe is closely connected with the menace of a new murderous imperialist war. The imperialists of all countries are preparing to drive the working masses once more to the slaughterhouse and are organising a predatory attack on the Union of the Socialistic Soviet Republics.

A further cause of the consolidation of Fascist elements in countries where bourgeois democracy prevails is the recent development of the Labour movement, outlined by the mighty waves of strikes, economic fights and revolutionary mass demonstrations and the rebellion of the exploited broad peasant masses against the capitalist rulers. The constantly approaching perspective of war and of revolutionary mass fights against the growing oppression and danger of war are causing the bourgeoisie to use Fascist fighting methods in ever increasing measure against the working class and the whole of the toiling population.

Social Democracy and the leaders of the Amsterdam trade unions, which are more and more merging with bourgeois machinery of State and the heads of capitalist trusts, are preaching

the idea of "economic peace" and "reconciliation of the classes" amidst the open fight which the bourgeoisie is waging against the revolutionary Labour movement. These are the same mendacious slogans under which Mussolini organised his march on Rome in October 1922 and imposed Fascist rule. Reformism is preparing the way for Fascism everywhere. While its "left" wing promotes Fascism by holding the workers back from the fight against Fascism, the right wing does not shy at an open alliance with Fascism for the combating of the revolutionary proletariat and its organisations. The International Anti-Fascist Congress draws the attention of the workers of all countries to the seriousness and the magnitude of the Fascist danger, which is threatening their very life, and it calls upon them to put their whole strength and all their resources into the fight for the defence of the working class and the toiling peasantry against the establishment of a sanguinary Fascist regime.

The International Anti-Fascist Congress regards the participation of numerous representatives of labouring strata closely connected with the working class as a promising symptom of the revolutionary awakening in the ranks of the overwhelming majority of workers. Constantly growing circles of the people are beginning to realise that they can wage a real fight against Fascism, which is nothing else but a representative of predatory big capital, only as long as they stand shoulder to shoulder with the class-conscious proletariat under its revolutionary class organisation.

The International Anti-Fascist Congress warns the working masses against the pernicious illusion that the bourgeois democratic State affords even the slightest protection against the establishment of Fascist rule. Experience shows that in all capitalist States bourgeois democracy merely paves the way for Fascism and that the Social-Fascist policy of the reformists leads directly to the victory of Fascist reaction. The bourgeois State power, even in its democratic form, arms — for the defence of capitalist profits — the white guards, the strikebreaker bands and the counter-revolutionary fighting organisations against the proletariat and accords them every kind of favour and support. It concentrates all the weapons of suppression and persecution and all the instruments of terror against the revolutionary labouring masses. It thereby lifts Fascism into the saddle. The International Anti-Fascist Congress solemnly declares to the labouring masses of all countries that the fight against Fascism in all the spheres of political and economic life must be carried on ruthlessly with any and every weapon, including armed revolutionary mass action.

The genuine anti-Fascist shows his determination by the strength and resolution with which he fights against Fascism in his own country. The International Anti-Fascist Congress stigmatises the vacillating attitude of those who satisfy themselves with moaning over the victims of Fascism in foreign countries while remaining the allies of the reactionaries in their own country. The Congress declares that in those countries in which Fascism already holds power, the liberation of the toilers from the Fascist yoke must in the first place be the work of the labouring masses of the country in question. The anti-Fascist fight is a proletarian and revolutionary fight. The overthrow and the destruction of Fascism is unthinkable apart from the violent overthrow and complete destruction of the order of society, the result and expression of which is Fascism: decaying capitalist society. The return to capitalist democracy, the restoration of the bourgeois democratic State, as preached by the agents of capital, means nothing else but the continuation of the Fascist rule of violence in other, veiled forms, as is shown, for example, by the substitution of Lianchev or Zankoff in Bulgaria and of Maniu for Bratianu in Roumania.

The real fight of the million-headed masses in town and country against the Fascism, which oppresses and exploits them, is seen in the form of the indefatigable and stubborn daily fights of the proletariat against wage reductions, lengthening of working hours, price inflation, taxes, every kind of economic exploitation and of political and cultural reaction, against the danger of war, exceptional laws and White Terror, against social fascism in the trade union movement, against the Fascist ally, the clergy, and against the pacifist democratic ideology, which favours Fascism. This fight which is, at the same time, the fight for right of combination and assembly, freedom of the Press, for the release of the prisoners, for the abolition of national oppression and for the emancipation of the colonial peoples, must be co-ordinated with and subordinated to the po-

litical fight for the defeat of the Fascist regime, for the extirpation of everything that might lead to a restoration of the Fascist regime, for the overthrow of capitalism, for the creation of workers' and peasants' governments.

This social purport of the anti-Fascist fight makes of it an integral part of the world front of the proletariat against imperialism.

The International Anti-Fascist Congress proclaims to the suppressed and subjugated, Fascist-ridden and tortured masses of workers and peasants in Italy, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Lithuania, China, Japan and the Latin-American and colonial countries:

Your cause is our cause, it is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world! It is the sacred duty of the working class of all countries to do its utmost to defend and support our tortured brothers languishing in the chains of Fascism. The working class of all countries takes under its protection the masses of harassed and hunted victims of Fascism. It is fighting in warm solidarity for the release of the prisoners and exiles of Fascism. It is fighting with all its strength against the intervention of the bourgeois States against the anti-Fascist movement of freedom. The International Anti-Fascist Congress proclaims the unwavering and irreconcilable fight, the offensive of the world proletariat against bloodthirsty Fascism and against all its agents and allies.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Latvia in the Anti-Soviet Bloc.

By V. O.

The signing of the Moscow Protocol by Latvia in conjunction with Poland by no means implies an approach of Latvia to the Soviet Union but rather marks a stage on its way to participation in the anti-Soviet bloc. Another such stage was the raid on the Riga "Sovtorglot", a small-scale "Arcos" raid. In the absence of the Soviet officials, the police sought and "found" illegal hand-bills, Communist literature, and the like. He who knows the methods of the Latvian police, will not wonder at all that this should be so, for the Riga police always knows how to find what it wants. This action naturally had the support of the "State-upholding" parties of the country.

Public opinion in Latvia is being prepared for war on the Soviet Union. The favourite method of provocation is resorted to in this connection.

At the end of February an unknown gentleman entered a Reval workshop and ordered postal stamps for Moscow and Leningrad. Since the stamps were not called for, the proprietor of the workshop himself took them to the Soviet Legation, where he was surprised to learn that they had not been ordered by any one connected with the Legation, which immediately informed the Estonian Government of the incident.

A few days later the Reval paper "Postimees" published a report by its Riga correspondent, according to which the Third Division of the Latvian General Staff had come into possession of two letters, apparently sent by the Comintern to Laizen and Slaugotnis-Zukurs, the workers' and peasants' deputies to the Latvian Diet. These letters were photographed and then forwarded, whereupon the arrest of the workers' and peasants' fraction was immediately ordered.

The connection between these two incidents was now apparent. It was for the preparation of the "Comintern letters" that the Moscow and Leningrad stamps were required. And it was the Latvian police that had ordered them. It appears that other letters, found in the possession of Orloff in Berlin, were likewise concocted with the aid of the Latvian Legation.

The arrest of the deputies of the Peasants' and Workers' Fraction is now imminent. The first step was the arrest of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia. On this occasion a quantity of illegal literature, 1000 lats, and naturally also "instructions from Moscow" are said to have been found. The prisoners are men who have for many years worked illegally. The persecution of the revolutionary workers in Latvia has greatly increased. This is also a link in the war policy against the Soviet Union.

The bourgeois press is actively working up the war fever the Fascist "Latvis" and the monarchist "Segodnia" being the foremost in this direction. These papers are playing into the

hands of the Polish imperialists in pointing to the "liberation" of Ukraina as a panacea for all ills of European capitalism. An independent Ukraina would be a first-class market for the European capitalists and at the same time mean a reduction in unemployment throughout Europe.

The Social Democrats, who are very well informed in regard to the provocation, prefer to remain silent. They aid the reactionaries in their sinister work. Only the class-conscious workers of the country are mobilising, in view of this growing danger, to fight against the reaction and its agents.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Reformists Split the Berlin Metal Workers' Union.

By Paul Merker (Berlin).

The first results of the factory council elections already show that in the most important big concerns the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade-union opposition exercise a very great influence. In the **Berlin transport service** the revolutionary Opposition obtained the absolute majority over all other lists. In the **Dresden electricity works**, in the "Dixi" works at **Eisenach**, and in several mines of the **Ruhr district**, there is likewise a Communist majority.

The radicalisation of the masses continues. In the **Ruhr district** there was a **miners' conference** summoned by the opposition, which was attended by 450 delegates organised in trade-unions and by roughly 200 guests. This conference expressed its attitude in regard to further measures in the organisation of the miners' movement and declared most emphatically in favour of the revolutionary directives of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress and against the disruptive measures of the reformists. The conference took place in spite of the fact that the leaders of the Miners' Federation threatened every participant with expulsion.

In the **Leuna works**, the Social Democrats set up their own list of candidates against the list put forward by the oppositional free-trade-union for the factory council election. In this leading concern of Central Germany there is every prospect of a great success for the revolutionary opposition.

All these facts lead to a great aggravation of the differences between the revolutionary opposition and the social-imperialist trade-union leaders, who are increasing their measures of expulsion and disruption. In Berlin, the general meeting of the **German Metal-Workers' Union**, which had been arbitrarily called together by the bureaucrats, resolved upon the proposal of **Urich**, the chief secretary, to pledge the revolutionary functionaries to proceed, both in writing and in speaking, against the directives of the Communist Party in the coming economic struggles and factory council elections. Functionaries who refused to carry out this resolution are to be deprived of their functions and expelled from the union.

On the strength of this resolution, which had the support of three-fifths of the reformist delegates, **Niederkirchner**, branch-leader of the pipe-layers, was removed from office, while other leading oppositional functionaries were instructed to report to the Central Committee of the union. It may safely be assumed that they, too, will be removed from their respective offices.

These measures are an attempt at destroying the metal-workers' organisation, seeing that a great part of the sections are occupied by oppositional administrations, the members of which have gained the confidence of the great majority and are not inclined to let themselves be intimidated by the threats and attacks of the social-imperialist officials and members of the local administrations. The local administration carries out these disruptive measures with a view to hindering a further growth of the oppositional influence in the union and of undermining in advance the prospective tariff-movement of the Berlin metal-workers.

The attack of the bureaucracy on the unity of the **Metal-Workers' Union** is a further step in the interest of the bourgeoisie, with whom the Social Democratic leaders are closely allied in pursuing an imperialist policy. The great majority of the Berlin metal-workers and of the other groups of workers will ruthlessly oppose the social-imperialist traitors.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Swedish Reformists in Favour of Strikebreaking and Compulsory Labour.

By A. J. Sm.

For several months a bitter struggle has been raging in Sweden between the **State Commission for the Unemployed** and its "beneficiaries", the latter most decidedly opposing the attempt of the reactionary Government to effect the construction of a railway from **Jönköping** and **Ulricehamn** by means of relief work.

This construction was already commenced a few years ago, the work being paid for according to the usual rates. When subsequently a difference arose, both the reformists and the syndicalists declared a boycott of the entire undertaking, whereupon work was suspended for a considerable time.

By the negotiations initiated in the autumn in favour of "class collaboration", the reformist **constructional-workers' union** was forced by the **Trade Union Federation** to change its attitude; it repudiated solidarity with the syndicalist workers and a further participation in the declared boycott. The **Unemployment Commission** sent to the railway-construction work hundreds of unemployed, whom they proceeded to pay starvation wages for hard and exhausting work, not according to the tariff but in the character of unemployed workers engaged on relief work.

These forcibly commandeered unemployed protested and turned for help to their own home authorities, but the latter assumed the same standpoint as the reactionary Government. This was quite particularly the case in the two cities of **Stockholm** and **Gothenburg**, which have for years had a **Social Democratic majority** on the town council.

Here the **Social Democrats** did their utmost to break the resistance of the unemployed; they deprived their families of poor relief and in the middle of winter drove many homeless individuals out of the hostels for single people, not even refraining from relegating many indigenous workers to the workhouses for months together. Nor were they ashamed of denouncing as embezzlers such unemployed as had received a few articles of clothing (footwear and overalls) from the municipality, when they declared their solidarity with the others and also stayed away from the works.

This was practised in particularly by the **Stockholm Social Democrats**, who four years ago did their utmost to save from punishment an old and tried Party leader, when he had defrauded the lottery fund of the unemployed of 70,000 crowns.

Nevertheless, the Social Democrats did not succeed in putting through their plans, since the Communists organised a campaign of defence which extended all over the country. Hundreds of public meetings of protest were convoked, at which great masses expressed their indignation at the anti-labour policy of the Social Democrats; in this they were joined by numerous local trade unions, which also gave practical proof to their solidarity with the unemployed by raising tens of thousands of crowns for the relief of those who had been victimised.

Whenever a larger number of unemployed was drafted off to some public place of work, the Social Democrats and the bourgeoisie rejoiced at the "unbroken ranks of the workers and the collapse of the Communist action". But their joy was never of long duration. Hardly had the newly-recruited workers heard that there was no chance of earning anything at the low rate of wages, when they followed the example of their predecessors in laying down their work and in departing, in many cases on foot.

Many of them received money for the return journey from the oppositionally-inclined sections of the union or thanks to the intervention of the Communist Party. In a few instances it was even sent them by post by the authorities of their usual domiciles. In this connection it appeared that even many of the bourgeois parish representatives had a greater sense of decency than the Social Democrats had, since they accorded the unemployed support, which was in all cases refused by such parishes as were controlled by Social Democrats.

PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

The Tenth Anniversary of the Hungarian Proletarian Revolution.

By Béla Kun (Moscow).

The victory of the October revolution had to come before the significance of the Russian revolution of 1905 was comprehensible to everyone. Especially before it was comprehensible that the victory of the October revolution 1917 would not have been possible without the "dress rehearsal" of 1905. (Lenin.)

The historical significance of the Hungarian proletarian revolution, too, will not be fully grasped until we can look back upon it from the next stage of international revolution, from the perspective of the new Hungarian Socialist Soviet Republic, as upon the Hungarian dress rehearsal of victorious European revolutions. It needed not only inflexible faith in the revolution, but at the same time a penetration into the profoundest depths of the Marxist theory of revolution, to recognise — as Lenin did — even through the bloody mist of the defeat of the revolution in 1905, the epochal success of the creative force of the defeated revolution; the Soviets as the concrete form of the proletarian dictatorship. There are a great number of the special experiences and special features of the Hungarian proletarian revolution still awaiting their historical appraisal and testing. In regard to the estimate to be formed of its positive international importance we can still adduce, ten years later, the words spoken by Lenin two days after the Hungarian proletarian revolution, on 23rd March, 1919, in his speech at the VIII. Congress of the Bolshevik Party:

"Hitherto the Soviet power has been victorious only in the sphere of the former Russian Empire, and only among the peoples living there. Hitherto short-sighted people, particularly those unable to free themselves from the routine and old habits of thought (even when they have belonged to the socialist camp), could still hold the opinion that this unexpected turn in the direction taken by proletarian Soviet democracy had been brought about solely by the peculiarities of Russia, and that in the peculiarities of this democracy there are reflected, as in a distorting mirror, only the old peculiarities of tsarist Russia. This opinion has, however, now been radically destroyed... If it has hitherto been asserted that we are usurpers, if the bourgeoisie and many of its adherents had at the end of 1917 and beginning of 1918 no other word for our revolution but force and robbery of rights, if even now the air is still filled with that outcry whose foolishness we have proved not only once, that the power of the Bolsheviks rests upon force, and if it has hitherto been possible to repeat these absurdities, now the example furnished by Hungary reduces all these voices to silence... The difficulties of the Hungarian revolution are gigantic. The imperialists can much more easily strangle this country, small in comparison with Russia. But however great the difficulties undoubtedly confronting Hungary, we see here not only the victory of the Soviet power, but at the same time our moral victory. The most radical and democratic bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie most inclined to compromises, has acknowledged that at the moment of acutest crisis, when a fresh war threatens the exhausted country, the Soviet power is an historical necessity; has acknowledged that in such a country no other power can exist than the Soviet power, than the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Scarcely two weeks before the victory of the Hungarian proletarian revolution, before the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the Communist International was founded. The world historical importance of this inauguration lay precisely in the fact that it began on an international scale to realise Marx' watchword.

"It was the sum of the centuries of development of Socialism and of the labour movement, the watchword expressed in the conception of the proletarian dictatorship." (Lenin.)

The first step towards the fulfilment of the world historical task of the Communist International was the aiding of the Hungarian proletarian revolution to victory, the establishment of the Hungarian Socialist Republic. Therein lies the main and undoubted international significance of the Hungarian revolution from the standpoint of the world historical mission of the Communist International.

II.

The strategical and tactical lessons of the Hungarian proletarian revolution, gleaned from its errors with the aid, above all, of the Bolshevik self-criticism of the Hungarian Communists and of the Communist International, are the common property of not only the Hungarian, but of the whole international revolutionary labour movement. These errors were in the main due to precisely the circumstance that the Hungarian proletarian revolution had no such preliminary "dress rehearsal" as that afforded by the revolution of 1905 for the October revolution. The C. P. of Hungary began its struggle only four and a half months before the victory of the proletarian revolution. It conducted its on-rushing revolutionary agitation among working masses who, whilst not lacking in revolutionary fervour, and possessing the will to revolution, had been reared in the school of reformism, entirely without revolutionary tradition. The Hungarian labour movement lacked not only Marxist theory in general, but the formulation of the question: What forces, and the striving towards the solution of what problems, are urging the workers and the whole working class forward together in the direction of revolution?

In a country resembling tsarist Russia in many of the features of its political and economic structure, Hungarian social democracy had never even so much as raised the question of a bourgeois, democratic revolution, and therefore much less the question of social revolution, of the proletarian dictatorship. The question of the hegemony of the working class in the revolution was naturally equally unknown to it. Although without parliamentary representation, it was a party of parliamentary cretinism. The goals which it aimed at for the working class did not go beyond democratic reform under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

The leader of the democratic bourgeois revolution in October 1918 was not social democracy. This party had merely recognised the revolution following the breakdown of the lost war, maintaining however a more or less negative attitude, and after first making every possible and impossible attempt to prevent it, even not shrinking from sending their leaders as ministers into a government formed for the purpose of liquidating the revolution. And yet there was only one class which remained comparatively organised at the outbreak of the revolution, and which combined with the peasant masses of the armies, without any leadership whatever, to overthrow the rule of the Hapsburgs — the working class. The collapse of old Hungary almost buried the Hungarian bourgeoisie beneath the ruins. The defeat in the war proved to be a national defeat in the truest sense of the word, especially for the semi-feudal strata of the Hungarian bourgeoisie. Losing the war meant for them not only the cessation of the possibility of oppressing other peoples, but subjected a considerable part of the Hungarian nation to foreign oppression.

In this situation the Social Democratic Party became not only the sheet anchor for the salvation of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, but at the same time of the representatives of the last remnants of feudalism, the large landowners who had not yet fully adapted themselves to capitalism. The majority of that part of the working class not yet prepared for revolution helped in this task at first, and continued the policy of civil peace, as pursued during the war, into the era of revolutionary democracy, where it naturally became the shield and protector not only of capitalist private property, but at the same time (owing to its degree of development) of the semi-feudal survivals. The founding of the Communist Party of Hungary, soon after the outbreak of the revolution, gave revolutionary leaders to those working masses which were not inclined to take part in rescuing the rule of the Hungarian bourgeoisie and of the semi-feudal strata. The slogans of the Soviet power, of armed insurrection, were spread with lightning rapidity through the

agitation of the young Communist Party, and struck deep root in the broad masses of the workers. The outbreak of the democratic revolution and the breakdown of the conduct of the war had completely disorganised the armed forces. The agitation and organisational activities of the communists complemented this process by arming the workers. The task of safeguarding the bourgeoisie fell entirely to the Social Democratic Party; but this Social Democratic Party was no longer united in itself; one part of its masses, and one part of its leading cadre (which joined the communists after the fall of the dictatorship), were extremely irresolute and reluctant in their tolerance of the further maintenance of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The fatal error committed in the amalgamation of the communists with the Social Democratic Party is partly attributable to the fact that the C. P. of Hungary — in spite of its revolutionary élan — was still a young Party without revolutionary traditions, and partly to the fact that during the war differentiation had been very imperfect in the ranks of the social democrats, so that these still contained, both among the masses and among the leaders, many revolutionary elements whose complete revolutionisation was chiefly hampered by "unity ideology".

The C. P. itself, when the moment came to seize power, was not capable of rightly grasping the rôle to be played by the Party in revolution, and this although a number of its leaders had gained experience in the Russian revolution. Moreover, the C. P. of Hungary, during the brief duration of its four months of activity, had scarcely been able to raise one of the most important fundamental questions of the Hungarian proletarian revolution: the peasant question — much less to solve this question theoretically and politically.

The two fundamental errors of the revolution arose from these two factors; the error of joining forces with the Social Democratic Party, and the error of the doctrinaire and un-Bolshevist manipulation of the peasant question, by which the proletarian revolution and its leading class, the proletariat, was deprived of its most important reserve, the peasantry. These two errors were disastrous.

III.

Apart from these two errors, the Hungarian proletarian revolution was characterised at the same time by a number of special features the detailed analysis of which is necessary in order to understand both the victory and the overthrow of the revolution. Even at that time the victory of the revolution drew interrogative surprise from not only the social democrats of many countries, but from many pedants in the communist movement, who found themselves totally at a loss for its interpretation. On 24th March, 1919, Paul Levi, the leader of the C. P. of Germany, wrote as follows, in a communist provincial paper, on the victory of the Hungarian proletarian revolution:

"The new revolution in Hungary, replacing the bourgeois democracy by the Soviet government, is not the immediate prize of victory, won by the Hungarian proletariat in battle with the Hungarian bourgeoisie and the Hungarian landowners. It is not a success won in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in which the bourgeoisie has been defeated, but simply the result of the fact that the Hungarian bourgeoisie is — no other word can be found — rotten."

It did not occur to this super-sensitive renegade, who feels himself impelled to apologise before venturing to designate the bourgeoisie as rotten, that in view of the closeness of the Hungarian revolution, it might be necessary to analyse the special circumstances and forms of this revolution. And yet the concrete preliminary conditions under which the Hungarian revolution was victorious were so obviously different from those of the Russian October revolution that an analysis of these differences was an unconditional necessity for the leader of that Party whose task it should have been to support the Hungarian revolution from its immediate neighbourhood.

The last act of the victory of the Hungarian proletarian revolution was as a matter of fact not an armed insurrection. But this does not by any means signify that the conquest of State power was not the work of the armed proletariat. The proletariat, especially that of the cities, but in part also that

of the rural districts, actually used their arms in a number of conflicts with the truly rotten and almost completely defenceless bourgeoisie. The industrial workers seized factories and landed estates by force of arms, and with weapons in hand drove the heads of the administrative apparatus from their positions. In the provincial towns and villages there were numerous armed conflicts with the dwindling remainder of the armed forces of State power. In most cases, however, the use of weapons was needless, for the bourgeoisie could only look to the Social Democratic Party for protection. But social democracy was not in a position to play the part of a No. 1 for the absence of differentiation in its own ranks deprived it of control over its working masses. The difference between the victory of the Hungarian and Russian proletarian revolutions does not consist of the one being the result of armed insurrection and the other not. Although the comparative circumstances differed entirely from one another in the two cases, both were decided by the question of which class had more weapons in its hands. The sole difference was the fact that in Russia the bourgeoisie had more arms at its disposal at the beginning of the revolution, and was able to offer a proportionately greater resistance than the bourgeoisie of Hungary. A feature common to both revolutions is the circumstance that the inner revolutionary situation was advantageously complemented, in the interests of revolution, by the international situation of the country in which the revolution was taking place. This international situation, although changing greatly during both revolutions, contributed in both countries in like manner to weakening the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The analysis of the international and inner conditions of both revolutions reveals in a striking manner the special circumstances surrounding the victory of the Hungarian revolution.

Lenin pointed out that the possibility of combining the setting up of the Soviet power with the close of the imperialist war substantially facilitated the victory of the October revolution. Whilst the October revolution, therefore, stood over against the imperialist war, the Hungarian proletarian revolution was able to find a stepping off place in the trend of mass feeling resultant on the dictated imperialist peace. Both circumstances, the end of the imperialist war, the longing for peace, and the resistance to the dictated imperialist peace, although widely differing in character, alike brought broad non-proletarian masses over to the side of proletarian revolution. In Russia, too, the Bolshevik peace policy for a time drew the whole of the peasantry over to its side in active sympathy. The resistance to the proletarian revolution in Hungary, as evinced within the bourgeoisie, especially within the nationalist petty bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, and the middle strata of the peasantry, weakened the expectation that Bolshevism would organise the struggle against the imperialist peace. This important foreign political fact exercised considerable influence even over the working class itself. The masses of the C. P., it is true, did not consist of labour aristocracy. But at the time when the imperialist dismemberment of the country was already being foreshadowed in Colonel Vyx' note, there were certain strata of the labour aristocracy which allied themselves to the C. P. These strata feared the consequences of the dismemberment of the country, of separation from industrial centres and sources of raw materials, and the affiliation of these to other countries.

The C. P. did not succumb for a moment to the national-Bolshevist tendency. It exerted its whole power, most successfully, to dispel every illusion cherished in connection with Wilsonism, or with the social pacifism of the II. International, and opposed energetically not only the imperialist peace, but at the same time the endeavour being made to preserve the so-called integrity of Hungary and the advancing Magyar dominance, an endeavour championed mainly by, inter alia, the Hungarian social democrats. The C. P., in the course of its agitation, emphasised that it opposed every war aiming at the violation of the right of self-determination of the people, and disorganised the troops sent by the social democratic minister of war against the Czechoslovakian and Roumanian occupation troops, for the protection of the line of demarcation. The "Entente orientation" of the ruling section of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, the social pacifism of the social democrats after springing up overnight, collapsed before the facts of the imperialist peace dictates. And for a time this circumstance drew all vacillating strata over to the side of proletarian revolution. Hence chauvinism, petty bourgeois patriotism, one

arch enemies of proletarian revolution, disappeared from the path of the Hungarian proletarian revolution, for the reason that the petty bourgeoisie and one section of the labour aristocracy saw in the Russian Soviet Republic the sole hope for the organisation of resistance to the imperialist peace.

In view of the subsequent accusations of national Bolshevism made by the social democratic leaders, themselves at times the prey of national Bolshevism, and in view of Levi's pedantry, it is as well to draw attention to the manner in which Lenin assessed the special conditions attending the victory of the Hungarian proletarian revolution. His speech, delivered in the Moscow Soviet on 4th April, contained the following passage:

"Hungary offers the example of a revolution born in a special manner. Hungary will doubtless have to fight a severe battle with its bourgeoisie. This is unavoidable. It is, however, a fact that the English and French imperialists, these raging beasts, when they saw the Hungarian revolution approaching, sought to abase it, to prevent its seeing the light of day. In our case the difficulty of our conditions lay in the fact that the Soviet power had to maintain itself against patriotism, and that we had to shatter patriotism and conclude the Brest peace. This was the most desperate and ravaging devastation."

It would have been stupid pedantry, doctrinarianism, and betrayal of the revolution, had the C. P. of Hungary refused to take over power at a time when the "Eastern orientation", the patriotism of a considerable section of the petty bourgeois masses, and especially of the bourgeois intelligencia, had weakened the resistance to the proletarian revolution, which was being reinforced by inner revolutionary forces, and when the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, under the pressure of the attitude of this petty bourgeoisie, proposed the joint taking over of power. It is pure calumny when the Austrian and Hungarian adherents of Austro-Marxism maintain that the Hungarian proletarian revolution was not a proletarian revolution, but a national Bolshevik, petty bourgeois rebellion against Entente imperialism. It is, however, undeniably true that the proletarian revolution, in encountering the imperialist peace dictates immediately after its victory, and in being forced to enter into armed conflict with this, was set extremely difficult and almost insoluble international-political and strategical tasks. The victory of the Hungarian proletarian revolution differed from that of the Russian in that it took place at a moment when one of the opposing (Entente and Central European) groups of imperialist powers had already been defeated. Lenin, in speaking of the conditions aiding the victory of the Russian revolution, expressly pointed out that the revolution in Russia was only enabled to maintain itself because it possessed the possibility of utilising the life and death struggle of the two groups of imperialist bandits, and because these two groups could not join hands against the hostile Soviets. The Hungarian proletarian revolution, after the defeat of Germano-Magyar imperialism, was in a different position. Lenin foresaw the danger contingent on the end of the imperialist war, and after the German and Austro-Hungarian collapse he pointed out the danger conjured up by the victory of the Entente imperialism and by the end of the war, for the proletarian revolution.

This situation affected the fate of the Hungarian proletarian revolution along in different directions. The masses of the working class, exhausted by the deprivations of war, were weary of war, whilst many sections of the petty bourgeoisie, roused to enthusiasm by their own patriotism, were not only anxious for war, but even endeavoured to get into their hands the leadership of the revolutionary war, and to transform this into a national war. The exhausted working class in the adjacent countries, especially in Austria and Germany, shrank from the prospect of a fresh war, and instead of supporting the Hungarian proletarian revolution, looked on resignedly whilst their social democratic leaders, the Bauers and Scheide-manns, exploited the victory of the Hungarian proletarian revolution and the Bolshevik danger approaching nearer and nearer to the West with the advance of the Red army, alike simply for the purpose of blackmailing the Entente. The workers of the new "victor countries", of Czechoslovakia and Greater Roumania, experienced at that time the intoxication of national liberation, and supported their bourgeoisies to the

utmost. The Entente succeeded in inducing the military forces which had formerly fought in part in the Austro-Hungarian army, and in part with the Central powers against the Entente, the armies of Czechoslovakia and Greater Roumania, to march against the Hungarian proletarian revolution. In these circumstances the Hungarian proletarian revolution, from the standpoint of international revolutionary strategy, could only fulfil one of its tasks: it prevented the Entente armies, released by the victory (Balkan army of Franchet d'Esperay), from marching against Soviet Russia. Its second task, that of reinforcing the advanced position of proletarian revolution towards the West, it could not accomplish for the simple reason that in the given circumstances its foreign policy, as also the conduct of war operations, could not but be irrelevant in face of the inner and international position of the Soviet Republic.

The greatest difference was that between the military-strategical position, in the narrowest sense of the term, of the Hungarian revolution and of the Russian revolution. Lenin himself pointed out that one of the conditions favouring the success of the Russian proletarian revolution was the circumstance that "in consequence of the vast area of the country and the deficient transport conditions" the possibility existed of carrying on a prolonged civil war. In Hungary the situation was entirely different. Engels, when referring to the Hungarian revolution of 1848/49, had already pointed out the difficulties bound to be encountered by a Hungarian revolution as a result of the limited area. And at that time the revolutionary Hungarian army had the advantage of the extremely imperfect transport possibilities, besides possessing an operating basis at least two and a half times as large as that of the Hungarian Red Army of 1919. The limited area caused insuperable strategical difficulties. Whilst in 1848/49, even after the surrender of Budapest, Kossuth was able to continue and organise the war, in little Hungary the loss of the capital would have been tantamount, both politically (since the greater part of the working class was concentrated here) and militarily (since the base of the armament industry was in Budapest), to the overthrow of the revolution. Besides this, at the time of the outbreak of the revolution the front in the North was two to three day's march away, and in the East the Red Army of the Soviet Republic was forced to withdraw its front for a like distance after the first advance of the Roumanians. Further, the war on Soviet Hungary differed from that on Soviet Russia in being carried on from the very beginning by regular armies, a fact rendering the immediate services of military specialists necessary in the Red Army, before the revolution had succeeded in doing away with the officer caste.

The fourth decisive difference in the conditions of the two revolutions lay in the differing situations of the Russian and the Hungarian peasantries. The errors committed by the C. P. in the peasant question, as a subjective factor of the revolution, were further aggravated by the difference existing between the objective historical positions of the Russian and the Hungarian peasants. Lenin perceived a further condition aiding the victory of the Russian proletarian revolution in the circumstance that a profound bourgeois-democratic movement was going on among the peasantry, and that the Party of the proletariat took over the revolutionary demands of the peasants from the party of the peasantry, the S. R. (a party hostile for the most part to the Bolsheviks), and at once realised these demands when the proletariat seized power. There can be no doubt, and it cannot be sufficiently stressed, that the Hungarian Soviet power committed a fatal error when it gave the peasants "the choice" between division of the land and maintenance of the large scale agricultural undertakings. One source of this disastrous error was the anxiety to secure the food supplies of the towns; the other source was the circumstance that the dictatorship, in accordance with its "immediately socialist" economic policy, sought to accomplish a direct socialisation of both capitalist and semi-feudal landed property. Besides this, the differentiation among the peasantry created in Hungary an objective situation different from that in Russia. This differentiation meant that the whole of the peasantry was not on the side of the revolution. Even during the bourgeois-democratic revolution the class struggle flamed up in its acutest form between the rich farmers and upper strata of the middle peasantry on the one hand, and the agricultural proletariat (servants, day labourers) on the other. The agricultural labourers were anxious to prevent the large landed

estates, upon which they earned their bread, from being placed in the hands of the propertied peasants by means of a division of land. From this the communists drew the false conclusion that the agricultural labourers, too, should be given no land, and retained the large landed estates as "production co-operatives", or rather, in reality, as Soviet farms centralised to death. The consequence was that the former farm servants, in spite of their improved standard of living, failed to recognise the changes brought about by the revolution. After the revolution they regarded themselves as "state servants". Again, the historical past of the Hungarian peasantry differed from that of the Russian. The Hungarian peasantry possessed no such party as the S. R. as characterised by Lenin, not even during the revolution. Neither under communist leadership, nor still less under any other, did there exist among the Hungarian peasantry any such extensive revolutionary movement as that among the Russian peasants at the beginning of the 20th century or in 1917. These were factors bringing the Hungarian proletarian revolution, after its victory, into a more difficult position than that experienced in Russia, and the fault was not solely due to subjective errors, but at the same time to the objective situation.

Hence the Hungarian proletarian revolution found its first victorious steps hindered by enormous objective difficulties. These were not unvanquishable. The view that the Hungarian proletarian revolution was condemned to extinction right from its commencement, as asserted by the Hungarian social democrats and by the then leaders of the Western Communist Parties in the countries nearest Hungary, the German Levi and the Austrians Ruth Fischer and Straßer, who philosophised on the "death sentence" of the revolution instead of helping, was merely the expression of the defeatist attitude towards Western proletarian revolution in general. In the international situation in which the Hungarian proletariat gained its victory, the situation formed by the end of the imperialist war, no single Soviet power could have held the favourable position enjoyed by the Russian proletarian revolution immediately after its outbreak. But this simply means that the Hungarian Soviet Republic was much more dependent on the direct and immediate help of the international proletariat, and that without this direct and immediate help it was much less capable of maintaining itself than the Russian Soviet Republic.

IV.

The position of the international labour movement, however, was not at all favourable for the Hungarian proletarian revolution. The military position of the Russian Soviet Republic was even more unfavourable for it. On 18th March, 1919, the operative report published by the Soviet Russian Red Army stated that the vanguard of the Red Army had taken Tarnopol (this event was decisive in its effect on the "Eastern orientation" of social democracy, and on the trends in the other strata of the petty bourgeoisie). On the 4th April Lenin raised the alarm, in the interests of the East front, in a letter to the workers of Petrograd:

"The position on the East front has worsened frightfully. To-day Koltschak took the Votkinsk factory. It seems that we are going to lose Bugulma. Koltschak is advancing. The danger is great... We beg the workers of Petrograd to arouse everybody, to mobilise all their forces in support of the East front. The worker-soldiers can supply themselves there with food, and can help their families by sending them food. It is most important that the fate of the revolution be decided there. If we are victorious there, we can end the war, for the Whites receive no more help from abroad. In the South we are approaching victory. We cannot withdraw any forces from the South until the victory is complete."

All this made the military position of the Hungarian proletarian revolution the more difficult, for we had built on combining with the Red Army of the Russian Soviet Republic for aiding the fate of the revolution in Hungary. But upon this too were based the hopes of the petty bourgeoisie, the neutrality — at first even a benevolent neutrality — of these strata towards the proletarian revolution. These hopes played a decisive role in the merging with social democracy, for we hoped that after joining the Red Army of the Russian Soviet Republic, we should be able to eliminate the most vacillating social democratic elements from the Soviet government and from the leading cadres

of the combined parties. It was this same circumstance which caused the first waverings within the working class itself. These waverings became more and more definite after the fall of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, and after the South Western defeats of the Russian Red Army, the treachery of Grigorieff and the advance of the armies of Petlyura and Denikin had diminished more and more the hope that we might receive international help from East or West. All around the little Soviet State, surrounded by imperialist armies (in the North the Czechoslovakian, in the South the Yugoslavian and French, in the West the Austrian), there were only small communist groups working in the interests of the protection of the Soviet Republic, and their activities scarcely went beyond propaganda. The association with the Social Democratic Party, the errors committed in the peasant policy, and the blockade, prepared the ground for the democratic counter-revolution, even within the country itself. The inner political errors shortened the life of the proletarian revolution, diminished its powers of resistance, and deprived it of the possibility of holding out until the longed for help of the international proletariat should arrive.

The Hungarian proletarian revolution was therefore — in spite of its four and a half months' of struggle — only the "dress rehearsal" of the new, the European, proletarian revolution. But even in its downfall it remains, as the II. World Congress of the Communist International declared: "the beacon for the proletariat of Central Europe". Whatever revolutionary defeatism may say, and whatever the social democrats and the apostates from Communism may proclaim, in this revolution, too, the blood of the proletariat was not shed in vain. Fresh shoots of revolution are already sprouting from the felled trunk, even in Hungary of the White Terror. "Laetius ex trunco florabit" ("It will blossom the more magnificently from the stump") — as the Hungarian Jacobins wrote on the walls of their prison cells.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Workers Courts v. Bureaucrats.

By L. F. Vinov.

Proceedings in court, hitherto unparalleled in their kind, have been attracting the attention of the Moscow workers of late.

The preamble of the case is as follows: At the end of February 1500 workers from various big industrial concerns arranged, in agreement with the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, to make a "raid" on numerous authorities so as to see for themselves in what way applicants with something to place before the competent quarters are received and treated by the officials in question. These "raiders" reported the outcome of their investigation to the Office of Complaints of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

At the initiative of this bureau, therefore, a workers' tribunal was held in a big theatre at Moscow in the presence of almost 2000 workers, the bureaucrats who had been caught "red-handed" being arraigned before it and publicly condemned. Besides the head of the Bureau of Complaints, the tribunal consisted of ten workers. The verdicts passed sufficiently characterise the significance and purport of this first step in a mass offensive against bureaucracy. Among the accused parties who were obliged to defend themselves and were condemned before an audience of workers, there were high officials of the State who thus experienced the meaning of proletarian democracy as practised in the Soviet Union.

Thus Libermann, the head of the Central Office for Social Insurance, and Strelnikov, his secretary, whose duty it is to give information in regard to the manner of pension-distribution and in regard to the possibility of lodging complaints against decisions on the part of the insurance authorities, were accused of treating applicants rudely, impatiently, and with bureaucratic arrogance. Libermann was severely reprimanded and relegated to a lower category of employment for one year while Strelnikov was dismissed from office.

Paroshin, head of the State "Labour Exchange" of the Sokolniki area, was likewise dismissed from office for his rudi-

and negligent treatment of unemployed women; he was at the same time forbidden to occupy any responsible position for the next two years. Since Paroshin is a Party member, the assembly requested the competent control commission to decide whether he should be allowed to remain in the ranks of the C. P. S. U.

The same sentence was passed on the Government attorney Borissov, who was found to have treated the applicants who came to him in a supercilious way. His manners, moreover, had been copied by his subordinates, and the two employees Kolokolnina and Kaltypina were, respectively, severely reprimanded and dismissed for their rude treatment of applicants.

A co-operative salesman who had been rude to proletarian customers, the head of a medical ambulatorium, and many other bureaucrats were likewise called in and sentenced, with the lively approval of the audience, to dismissal, to relegation to a lower category of employment, to a severe public reprimand, to the prohibition of occupying responsible positions, and to various similar penalties, according to the gravity of their several transgressions. The sentences are to be submitted for confirmation to the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

This was the first, but by no means the last, judgement of bureaucrats by workers. The workers of Leningrad and other towns have already adopted this new method of improving and rectifying the Soviet apparatus. In this connection the "Pravda" writes as follows:

"The Workers' courts are an institution of great social significance. It is not a question merely of the sentences, or of the decision of the workers to remove 15 convicted bureaucrats from office. The chief significance of the Courts lies in the fact that they prove convincingly that we are determined to drag all the bureaucratic abuses of our apparatus into the light of publicity. The event above described must show the widest circles of the working class that the fight for proper attention to applicants in our State apparatus has ceased to be a fight merely between the applicants themselves and the bureaucrats in office. The courts must show that behind each individual applicant there stands the broad mass of workers, who are determined to fight against bureaucracy to the last. The raid and the trial will serve to remind the officials in our apparatus that they are there for the purpose of serving the working class."

The Development of the Manganese-Ore Works of Chiatury — Without Concessionaires.

The Workers Achieve it Single-Handed.

The manganese-ore works of Chiatury in Georgia were until recently still exploited by the American Harriman group of concessionaires. Since the Soviet authorities were not inclined to fulfil the exorbitant demands of the Americans, they dissolved the concessionary contract. By the request of the workers employed therein, these works were no longer entrusted to concessionaires, it being decided that they should be carried on on a self-supporting basis. They were entrusted to the Manganese-Ore Trust, while the workers energetically set about the operation and extension of the works.

The concessionaires left these works in a dreadful condition. Many of the mines and workshops could only be set going again after being completely overhauled. Fifteen ore-washing works, which the concessionaires had brought to a standstill, are now again in working order. During the last period of the concession, there were only some 400 workers employed in the works; at present there are 3,000 with a greatly enhanced output per worker. Whereas in August last the works had an output of 14,200 tons of manganese-ore, the output of January 1929 was 80,000 tons.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

V. Party Congress of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

(Continued.)

Comrade Ziegler, Representative of the Comintern.

Perhaps no Party has ever been faced at its Party Congress with such organisational and political problems as those now confronting the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

Comrade Ziegler then proceeded to analyse the various tasks, indicating their importance and the way in which they can be surmounted.

The first question is the threatening imperialist war and the fight against it. The second is the problem of the political and economic offensive against the working population of Czechoslovakia. This question is closely bound up with the offensive of international imperialism as a whole against the toiling population of the whole world.

The Party Congress meets after severe defeats. An analysis of the causes of the defeat in connection with the Red Day, of the whole development of the Party and its actions, right up to its last action, the struggle of the textile workers, shows above all that the most important thing is to find the way to the masses and to establish the closest connection with them, which is an indispensable condition for a correct and successful solution of the problem of the economic struggles.

Taking the textile worker's fight as an example, Comrade Ziegler drew attention to the chief errors and shortcomings of the Party and showed the way in which they are to be remedied. He stated at the same time that the first step had been already made which went to show that the Party was on the way to correcting its faults. Referring to the retreat in the Textile Workers Union, he compared this fight with the Red Day and reluted the liquidatory comparison with the Red Day.

The speaker then proceeded to deal with the Party discussion and the attitude adopted by some comrades, who especially in the recent actions had defended an incorrect (either outspokenly opportunist or purely liquidatory) standpoint, or expressed confused opinions, which showed that they do not understand the present situation. He made special reference to the liquidatory action of Sikora in the textile worker's fight and also to the so-called Hlohovec Memorandum. He then went on to deal with the election action of the Party and criticised its faults and errors. He further dealt with the agrarian question, in which the political line of the Party was quite wrong. Supported by quotations from Party documents he pointed out the incorrectness of the agrarian policy, particularly refuting the views of Comrade Bolen as expressed by him at the IV. Party Congress and also in an article appearing in the February number of the "Kommunistischen Revue". This proves that Comrade Bolen has not up to the present revised his incorrect views.

The representative of the Communist International then dealt with the national question and here also pointed to the incorrect, opportunist and, at bottom, social democratic line of the former Party leadership. He laid the main stress on the incorrect action in the question of Carpatho-Ukraine and analysed in connection therewith the conception of Czechoslovakia as being an imperialist State, at the same time reluting the absolutely false view that had gained currency in recent times, according to which Czechoslovakia is a colony of the big capitalist Powers.

All the characteristics of the development of Czechoslovakia show that Czechoslovakia is an imperialist State, which is allied with the great Powers because its subjective interests coincide with the interests of the big imperialist States. They indicate that also the offensive of the Czech bourgeoisie against the working class is but a component part of the whole offensive of international imperialism against the proletariat of the entire world. A correct solution and a correct standpoint in this direction are very important in connection with the tasks which will fall to the Party in the fight against the imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

The speaker expressed the conviction that the present Party Congress would mark a great step forward in the development of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. During its deliberations the Party Congress must keep clearly in mind that the fight against the Right danger, against the danger of liquidationism, must remain the chief inner political task.

Unfortunately the Party discussion had extended only to the upper section of the functionaries. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to underestimate its positive results. A number of fundamental problems of Communist policy in Czechoslovakia had been rendered clear. It was the task of the Party Congress to extend the achievements of the Party discussion and to supplement them on the basis of the recent experiences.

During the Party discussion, and before all in the practical carrying out of the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the C. I. and of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U., there were revealed the true features of the various groups in the Party.

During the Party discussion Comrade Jilek had shown that he himself had thwarted the efforts of the Communist International to bring him back to the correct line. Comrade Jilek had indeed revised partial problems, but not the false fundamental line.

The Neurath group had come forward in the discussion as a semi-liquidatory group.

With regard to the historic Rights, a portion of this group had already developed into liquidators; only a few had exercised self-criticism on a large scale.

The discussion and also the recent practical activity of the Party had shown that the small opposition group had become more and more the leader of the Party. It was this opposition group which had worked out the new line of the Party on the basis of the decisions of the Comintern and the Open Letter to the C. P. Cz. The Comrades of the Left opposition must realise today that they are no longer a small group but the representatives of the Party. The comrades, on the basis of the new political line of the Party and of the decisions of the V. Party Congress, must draw into the work of the Party all revolutionary elements who acknowledge the new line. I trust, said the speaker, that the hopes of the Communist International in the new Party leadership represented by the former Left opposition will not prove vain. It is my hope that the new Party leadership will lead the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to great revolutionary struggles and to great achievements. (Lively applause.)

Second Day (19th February, 1929).

Continuation of the Political Debate.

The debate on the first item on the agenda occupied the whole of the second day. 31 speakers, most of them from the works and factories in the most important industrial districts, took part in the debate. The representatives of the working rural population also participated in the debate and dealt in particular with the agrarian question and work in the village.

A Comrade from Beraun protested against the action of Comrade Jilek in refusing to deliver a report at the Congress. The speaker pointed out that Jilek, along with Melichar, Tchevovaki, Touchil and Bolen, had endeavoured to stifle the discussion because they knew that their arguments would prove untenable. The present action of Comrade Jilek indicated that new attacks on the Party were to be expected. It was necessary to adopt all measures to prevent anything of this sort from happening.

Another worker, a delegate from Brux, also spoke to the same effect.

Comrade Klinger dealt in particular with conditions in Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine. He analysed the mistakes in the agrarian and national question and called attention to the opportunism of the former leadership.

A worker from Komotau condemned the faults and failures of the Party and its former leadership in the practical work in the workshops, in the factory committees and in the nuclei.

A worker from Königsgrätz dealt with the trade union policy and laid particular emphasis on the danger which lies

in the opportunist and liquidatory standpoint and in the actions of the trade union functionaries in the International Workers Federation. He called attention to the action of the secretaries of the Chemical and Textile section. Here it was a question of the very existence of the Federation. The former Party leadership was perfectly passive in this direction, whereby the fight against the trade union opportunists and liquidators and for the improvement of the International Workers' Federation was rendered extremely difficult.

Comrade Kyrál (Wittingau) endeavoured to defend the opportunist view of the historic rights and of the Jilek Party leadership. He stated that present representatives of the Left tendency, such as Comrade Gottwald, who was likewise in the Party leadership, must be made responsible for the policy pursued hitherto. Only if the Party succeeded in gathering together all forces which were really prepared to fight would it be possible to advance successfully.

Comrade Hruschka (Prague) replied to Comrade Kyrál with special reference to conditions in the Budweis district. He condemned the liquidatory tendencies in the Budweis district and pointed out that Comrade Kyrál and his immediate associates must first overcome their own liquidatory views, and then it would be possible to talk about uniting all forces. Thereupon he dealt with the tasks of the Congress, and in this connection described the development of the Party in the various historical periods from the era of so-called Smeralism up to the present time. The comrades who formally adopted the standpoint of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress and of the VI. Congress of the C. I., the whole Jilek group, showed precisely in the recent actions that they were not sincere, and therein lay the greatest danger.

Comrade Hawelka (Prague) attempted in a disguised form to defend the views of Trotzkyism and at the same time made a concealed attack upon the Communist International.

Comrade Stern acknowledged the opportunist failures which he had committed along with the whole Party leadership, and declared that he wished so to work that all former errors should be exposed and removed and that the Party should arrive at a correct line. This could be realised only in practice. He expressed his conviction that the Left opposition, in spite of all difficulties, would lead the Party forward and would rally together all forces for the fight against liquidationism.

A worker from Reichenberg described the situation in the German movement in North Bohemia. He declared that Comrade Neurath right from beginning was enthusiastic for the fight against the Jilek group. But when he was given the possibility of practical collaboration, then it became evident that he still clung to his original Trotzkyist views. Comrade Kreibich, who had enjoyed great confidence in the Reichenberg district, behaved in a similar manner. Comrade Stern, it is true, made a fresh declaration and gave a fresh promise, but declared the speaker we must wait and see whether he will keep his promises. Comrade Jilek's declaration that he would not deliver a report is a direct crime. We therefore announce here that we repudiate such comrades. The Party must do everything in order to carry out the line in accordance with the decisions of the VI. World Congress.

A small peasant from Slovakia, who spoke in Hungarian, spoke on the conditions of the small peasantry and of the faults committed hitherto in the agrarian question in Slovakia.

Comrade Weiss, Kaschau, described the opportunist line in the peasant and national question in Slovakia and pointed in this connection to the mistakes and incorrect views of Comrades Safránek and Verölk. Up to now the Party had not realised that in Slovakia the agrarian and the national questions were the most important levers for promoting the movement, with the result that there had been no political movement and the whole work of the Party had been devoid of political content. Only when the Party gives this work a real bolshevik basis can we lead the working people in Slovakia in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Appelt (Karlsbad) declared that Comrade Stern had again made solemn declarations, as he had already done at several Party Conferences. We must declare that Comrade Stern's declaration is absolutely worthless. Comrade Stern was the theoretical head of the old Party leadership and therefore we must accord him the greatest mistrust. When anybody has

been blind for three years then we cannot believe that his eyes had been suddenly opened.

A representative of the Polish workers of Ostrau pointed to the importance of the correct line for winning the Polish industrial and agricultural proletariat for the fight in this important area.

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After the midday pause the debate was continued. A delegate from the Pilsen district pointed to the faulty and, for the Party, highly dangerous policy hitherto pursued by the adherents of the Jilek group in the Pilsen district.

A worker from Kladno described how hard the Left opposition has to fight against the traditional opportunism of some comrades in the Kladno district. The Jilek group in the Kladno district had completely allied themselves with the supporters of the historic Right. It was the task of the Party to get rid of this Right danger.

Comrade Urx dealt with the policy of the Party in Slovakia and analysed the opportunist action of Vercik as that of a representative of the former leadership in the peasant and national questions.

After his speech the representative of the Communist Party of West Ukraine, Comrade Petrenko, greeted the Congress. He laid special stress upon the tasks which fall to the C. P. Cz. and the C. P. of West Ukraine in the fight against the planned attack of the imperialists on the Soviet Union.

A worker from Pilsen dealt with the importance of the work in the Skoda works.

Thereupon Comrade Guttmann, in the name of the delegation from No. 1 district, made the following declaration:

"The delegation of No. 1 district declares that the views set forth by Comrade Havelka in his speech, are absolutely contrary to the standpoint of the delegation of No. 1 district and of the district Conference which elected this delegation. Comrade Havelka's speech was a concealed attack upon the line of the Comintern. We condemn Comrade Havelka most emphatically when he endeavours to make the Comintern partly responsible for the opportunist line of the Jilek leadership, although it is generally known that the Comintern not only several times pointed to the mistakes of the Party leadership but also sharply criticised them. The Prague delegation also condemns the action of Comrade Leonorovitch who managed to smuggle himself into the ranks of the Opposition with a concealed Trotzkyist platform. The Prague delegation condemns the counter-revolutionary views of both these comrades and considers them to be incompatible with their membership in the Party." (Loud applause.)

Comrade Janek (Moravian Ostrau) declared that the Jilek group, to which he belongs, does not wish to set up a new platform. It was a very serious accusation against Comrade Jilek to say that he wishes to conduct a struggle against the Comintern. That is not true. The speaker repudiated the declaration of Comrade Fried, that he or any other comrades were organising a fight against the Party. He accused Comrades Kopetzky and Slansky of having conducted Trotzkyist propaganda in Ostrau.

Comrade Sinek, on behalf of the Youth, spoke of the importance of the Youth for the Party in general and in the present period in particular and criticised the false line of the former Youth leadership. Comrade Alex also spoke for the Youth.

Comrade Jilek declared that he could not deal with all the questions and would only touch upon the most important ones. In the question of the textile workers' struggle he defended himself against the accusation that his standpoint had been liquidatory, and attempted to back up his contention by quotations from his speeches. He declared that he would also be at the disposal of the Party and that he would bear the consequences of his former actions. Whether he was included in the new leadership or not he would always be prepared to fulfil his duty in the Party.

Comrade Fried pointed out that Comrade Jilek, by refusing to deliver his report, had completely exposed himself. He showed how all opportunist tendencies had merged together in the

course of time, so that we now had a completely homogeneous opportunism. He then pointed to the big theoretical mistakes of the old leadership which found expression especially in the Draft programme of Comrade Vaitauer. The opportunist elements had characterised themselves by their attitude to the textile workers' strike. This struggle was the first attempt of the Party to carry out the new line. As opportunism was so dangerous it was necessary to have a uniform leadership, as a bloc without principles as it had existed hitherto, could not conduct a correct policy. If Comrade Jilek declared that he would submit, then this was a matter of course and we called upon him to draw the consequences from his political bankruptcy. Continuing, the speaker said, we warn him and all those elements who may gather under his flag against conducting a fraction struggle, as we know that this struggle cannot have a successful outcome for opportunism.

Comrade Kopetzky made an analysis of the policy pursued by the former leadership and its isolation from the masses. He then repudiated the attacks of Comrades Janek and Juskevich, who had accused him of being a Trotzkyist, as a completely unfounded demagogic manoeuvre, and backed up his assertions by a number of facts. He declared that this attack reveals the attempt to discredit the new leadership.

Third Day (20th February).

Sixteen delegates, mostly factory workers, took part in the political discussion.

Thereupon Comrade Guttmann gave a report on the decisions of the VI. World Congress and dealt especially with the question of stabilisation of capitalism.

After a delegate from Göding had spoken, Comrade Bolen declared that the Opposition was applying mechanical means in its struggle. The date for the outbreak of the textile workers' strike was unfortunate. The slogan of a wage increase had been an empty phrase (Indignation among the delegates) and that greater emphasis must be laid upon the question of rationalisation.

Several other speakers followed, among them being Comrade Vercik who attempted to defend his opportunist policy in Slovakia. Two delegates from Bratislava at once replied to him and declared that Comrade Vercik has to prove in practice whether his new turn is intended seriously.

In the afternoon session Comrade Gottwald delivered his speech in reply to the discussion, which was received with stormy applause.

Fourth Day (21st February).

Comrade Slansky delivered a report on the strategy and tactics of the trade union struggle. Following him Comrade Kohn spoke on the reorganisation of the International Workers' Federation.

In the trade union debate there took part 32 speakers, mostly workers from the factories, who fully confirmed the correctness of the new line of the R. I. L. U. as applied in the textile workers' strike.

Thereupon Comrade Stasny delivered the report on the Credentials Committee. At the Party Congress there are represented 137 delegates with decisive vote, among them being 15 representatives of the youth, 90 per cent. of the delegates are workers, 10 per cent. intellectuals. The majority of the workers are metal workers. About 50 per cent. of the delegates are over 35 years of age, 47 per cent. are organised in factory nuclei, 20 per cent. in street nuclei, 33 per cent. in local branches.

* * *

Fifth Day (22nd February).

The Congress was opened by the report of Comrade Reimann on the programme of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

Thereupon the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Party Congress was read out and received with enthusiastic applause. In this Letter the E. C. C. I. fully agrees with the Left Opposition, which represents the best Bolshevik elements in the Party.

Then followed the discussion on the Programme, in which ten speakers participated. Comrade Paul spoke for the Executive of the Comintern.

* * *

Sixth Day (23rd February).

After several speeches of greeting there followed the reports of the Commissions. Comrade Slansky reported for the trade union commission, Comrade Kopetzky for the Organizational Commission, Comrade Reimann for the Political Commission.

The importance of the Workers International Relief was dealt with in a special resolution and a collection for the textile workers was taken.

Comrade Hünigen reported for the Co-operative Commission, Comrade Synek for the Youth commission.

All resolutions and theses were adopted unanimously by the Party Congress.

After the midday pause Comrade Fried reported for the Election Commission and read out the list of candidates for the new Central Committee. It is to consist of 52 members, including 3 representatives of the Youth. The social composition of the Central Committee will be as follows: Two thirds of its members are factory workers who are still working in the factories. The new Committee will consist of 32 factory workers, 17 Party functionaries, of whom 9 are former workers.

According to its national composition the new Central Committee will consist of 32 Czechs, 11 Germans, 4 Slovaks, 2 Ukrainians, 2 Magyars, and 1 Pole.

On the motion of Comrade Fried in the election commission it was decided to recall Comrades Jilek and Smeral from the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. This motion was unanimously adopted without any abstentions from voting.

A further motion to recall Comrade Smeřal from his position as representative of the C. P. Cz. in the E. C. C. I. was likewise unanimously adopted.

The new Central Committee was elected en bloc. Only three comrades of the Kladno delegation voted against the proposed list, as they declared they were opposed to Comrade Zapotocky, who is a representative of opportunism, being elected as member of the Central Committee.

Thereupon Comrade Gottwald concluded the Party Congress by giving a general evaluation of its decisions.

* * *

The new Central Committee held its first session immediately after the Party Congress and unanimously elected the Polit Bureau, which consists of the following comrades: Gottwald, Hruška, Sverma, Haken, Hruby (Prague), Stulik (Pilsen), Slansky, Guttmann, Reimann, Melzer (Komotau), Fried, Zapotocky and a representative of the youth. In addition six candidates were elected to the Polit Bureau.

The secretariat consists of the following comrades: Gottwald, Sverma, Melzer, Fried.

Comrade Guttmann was unanimously elected chief editor of the Rude Pravo.

Comrade Hanis was elected chairman of the revision commission.

The IV. Party Congress of the C. P. of Belgium.

By Henri.

The IV. Party Congress of the C. P. of Belgium took place, in all quietness, from the 1st to 3rd of March.

The agenda was as follows: 1. Political Report; 2. Trade union question; 3. Flemish question; 4. Organisational questions and statutes; 5. The forthcoming elections (Parliamentary and provincial elections in May); 6. Election of the C. C.

The Party Congress has unanimously and unreservedly placed itself on the basis of the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern and of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U.

1. The Party Congress has emphasised that in the present period of the intensification of the class struggles and the radicalisation of the masses, the Party has to play a specially important role; the Party must adopt measures in order to ensure the independent leadership of the forthcoming mass struggles.

The Party must subject its activity in the trade union sphere to a thorough examination, criticise the weaknesses and shortcomings and adopt energetic measures in order to improve the trade union work of the Party. The campaign against the expulsion and splitting tactics of the reformists must be increased.

2. **Struggle against danger of war:** It must be shown by concrete examples how Belgian imperialism (an outpost of French imperialism) is preparing for new wars (secret military treaties) and is joining the anti-Soviet front. It is further necessary to show how the social democrats are the imperialist lackeys of their government.

3. **National question:** The struggle of the Flemish people against the imperialist Belgian State must be made use of for the broadest mobilisation of the toiling masses against the preparation of new wars.

In this connection it is of the greatest importance that the Party place itself at the head of the struggle for the freeing of Flanders in the sense that it leads this movement towards revolutionary mass actions. The C. P. must not only stand for the right of self-determination of the Flemish nation but actively support this fight up to the separation from the Belgian State; this struggle must be conducted with all means up to the armed insurrection. The Party in supporting this struggle must always emphasise that the final real emancipation of the Flemish people can only be achieved by the proletarian revolution, by the establishment of the Soviet government.

4. The agrarian question is closely linked up with the Flemish question. In Flanders before all we find the masses of poor peasants. The Party must elaborate a programme of action which will enable us to reach the masses of the toiling population in the open country (poor peasants, small proprietors and agricultural labourers). Measures must be adopted for the organisation of the agricultural labourers and for the establishment of organisations of the poor peasants.

5. **Colonial question:** Work in this sphere has been greatly neglected up to now. The Party Congress emphasised that better work must be done in this sphere. In view of the attitude of the social-imperialists, who regard the Negroes "as not sufficiently civilised", our Party must advocate the right of self-determination of the population of the Congo up to the separation of the Congo from Belgium. Our Party must more energetically defend the rights of the Negroes and establish contact with them by consistently and actively supporting them in all their struggles.

6. Owing to the fact that the co-operatives in Belgium are controlled and ruled by the trade union bureaucracy, which not only does not support the labour struggles, but on the contrary, takes active part in plundering the colony, it is necessary to take up work among the co-operatives. Unfortunately the Party has up to now not done much in this direction.

7. In the present period of capitalist rationalisation, when ever greater masses of unskilled workers (especially women and youth) are drawn into the production-process, the Party must devote greater attention to work among women and the young workers.

8. **Organisational questions:** The Party Congress emphasised that the Party can fulfil these tasks only if it succeeds in breaking the monopoly of the Belgian Labour Party in the labour movement and winning ever greater masses for its programme. The Party must effect a radical change in its working methods. In the past period the Party has already made the first steps in this direction: the Party has played an important role in a number of strikes, as a result of which the Party has gained considerably in influence among the masses. Also the by-elections of Ghent and Antwerp have shown that broad masses are rallying round the Party. But our Party has not yet understood how to bring these masses into our organisations; the whole work of the Party must therefore be devoted to a large scale campaign for winning new members for the Party.

The approaching elections must be made use of in order to mobilise broad masses by means of the struggle for economic and political demands under the slogan of "class against class", to strengthen the revolutionary trade union opposition by means of the independent leadership of economic struggles and to bring new members into the Party.

The Party must concentrate especially upon those factories and industries which are of special importance in connection with the preparation and conduct of new wars: metal industry, chemical production, textile industry and transport. Belgium is a country of big industry. The majority of the workers are employed in middle and big factories. Up to now our Party has not penetrated the big concerns; factory nuclei exist only in a few factories. The struggle for the conquest of the trade unions requires a much more systematic work among the masses of the workers in the big concerns, the establishment of factory nuclei and fractions for the purpose of capturing the masses.

The IV. Congress of the C. P. of Belgium signifies a great advance in this direction. Great political differences did not crop up. The discussion was very fruitful, and chiefly dealt with the trade union, the Flemish and the organisational questions.

In the trade union question the discussion revealed a rather strong tendency for the establishment of new trade unions, owing to the expulsion tactics of the reformist trade unions. The Party Conference repudiated by an overwhelming majority the wrong standpoint of the adherents of this "left" theory and, supported by the decisions of the Comintern and of the R. I. L. U., advocated an enhanced activity of the Communists in the trade unions with an orientation to the factories and the comprehension of the unorganised into special committees of the expelled etc.

In the Flemish question it turned out that Comrade Van Extergem, who had been in prison for many years during the war on account of his activity in the Flemish movement has now gone to the other extreme and wishes to ignore the national movement altogether. He is in favour of advocating that the emancipation of the Flemish population will be achieved only by means of the class struggle. A special Commission was set up to deal thoroughly with this question.

Owing to lack of time the peasant, colonial and women questions were not dealt with in the Plenum, and the newly elected C. C. was instructed to devote special attention to these questions.

The newly elected Central Committee affords the guarantee that it will be in a position to carry out the decisions of the Party Congress; it will find the C. P. of Belgium, which has grown both ideologically and organisationally in the last period in spite of the treachery of the Trozkyists, prepared for the approaching struggles.

The Results of the Leningrad District Conference of the C. P. S. U.

By A. Stetzky.

The 1500 delegates who participated in the Leningrad District Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. represented 130,000 Bolsheviks. Hundreds of speakers in the discussion examined the work of the Leningrad organisation and of the Central Committee. The Conference was an eloquent testimony to the growth of the organisation, to its increased activity and its political consciousness, and the development of inner-Party democracy.

The Conference pronounced itself precisely, clearly, decisively and unanimously in favour of the general line of the Party and against any attempt at its revision. One felt at the Conference the serious concern of the Leningrad Bolsheviks for the defence of the line of the XV. Party Congress. The difficulties which our Party encountered in the last year have not caused any split in the ranks of the Leningrad Bolsheviks. Their collective experience confirmed in practice that we shall be able to overcome these difficulties only on the basis of the line of the XV. Party Congress, only by a further extension of our

socialist positions. The Conference reflected the mood of the proletarian masses of Leningrad, who clearly realise that the Party is steadily overcoming the difficulties and is seeking to raise the level of agriculture. The Leningrad working class is convinced that the Party is leading it in the right direction.

The Conference thoroughly discussed the five-year economic plan of the Leningrad district, which is one of the most important links in the industry of the Soviet Union. In 1927/28 Leningrad accounted for 13.4 per cent. of the whole industrial production and 10 per cent. of the working class of the Soviet Union. Leningrad will doubtlessly retain its importance for industry also in the future. There was a time when some pessimists prophesied the decline of Leningrad as an industrial centre owing to its great distance from the fuel and raw material centres. Leningrad, however, has great sources of cheap electric energy at its disposal: the Volchow power works, the "Red October", the water-power works "Swirstroi" which is in process of construction, are solving the problem of power supply. The existence of a highly skilled working class, of a cadre of engineers, and rich technical experience, render possible a highly qualified production, especially in the sphere of machine, chemical and electro industry. The five-year economic plan aims in this direction; these industrial branches will furnish record figures of increased output. The metal industry will increase its production in the next five years by 300 per cent., the electrical industry by 360 per cent., the chemical industry by 279 per cent. and the textile industry by 210 per cent. These are tasks upon which the Leningrad proletariat is concentrating its economic energy. The best and most effective guarantee is the ever-extending work at rationalisation, the increasing activity of the workers in the improvement of production. The Conference recorded that, apart from the production conferences, the inventive activity of the workers etc., new forms of an active participation of the workers, especially of the youth in raising production are arising. Such are, for instance, the model brigades, production competitions, rationalisation and other competitions. These forms are being adopted on an ever increasing scale. Their significance for the improvement of production is growing more and more. The Conference called upon the local organisations to support in every possible way the initiative of the workers in production.

This initiative has undoubtedly a great political importance. It shows again that the working class (in contradiction to some panicmongers in our Party) is meeting these difficulties by a new exertion of all its forces and a consolidation of its labour discipline.

The Conference dealt very thoroughly with the question of agriculture, which is in a very difficult position owing to the unfavourable weather conditions of last year.

The peculiarity of the Leningrad district consists in the fact that 92 per cent. of its powerful industry is concentrated in the city of Leningrad. This, however does not by any means lead to "industrial limitedness". The Leningrad workers were the first to set up a society for alliance with the village. In connection with the tasks set by the Party, the Leningrad workers are devoting ever increasing attention to the questions of the development of agriculture. At present their efforts are concentrated on organising the carrying out of the spring sowing campaign. Not only the Soviet and Party organisations are occupied with this task but also the working masses by means of their organisations for the alliance with the village. They are doing extra work in the factories for the benefit of the patronage organisations; they send "brigades" to the village, who repair the agricultural machines and perform agronomic work. Some organisations are sending tractor gangs. The youth is conducting a "harvest campaign", and there is a competition among some village organisations of the youth for collectivisation. The fund for the provision of seed to the village is five times bigger this year than it was last year.

The Conference called upon the Young Communist League to promote in ever possible way the initiative and the independence of the working youth in regard to the serious study of the political questions and of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The general line of the Party found expression in the decision of the Conference on the industry and agriculture of the Leningrad, in the work of the Conference for the extension of the mass organisations (before all of the trade unions), and

in the discussion of the questions of purging the Soviet apparatus and the Party. The Conference most emphatically condemned the Right deviation and the conciliatory tendency. The Leningrad organisation has gone through a great school of struggle against deviations; it developed and became steeled in this struggle. The Leningrad Bolsheviks, the factory workers, soon learned to see through the attempts at an opportunist distortion of Leninism as has been again practised by the representatives of the Right deviation and the conciliators.

Dozens of Communist factory workers stigmatised in their speeches the representatives of these deviations, who are making shameful and slanderous accusations against the Party: such as "military feudal exploitation of the peasantry", "lack of inner-Party democracy", "terror" etc. The workers declared that these accusations prove that those who make them have lost their Bolshevik standpoint. They emphasised that these accusations, that these attempts of the Right to revise the general line of the Party, to slow down the rate of industrialisation, to stop the offensive against the kulak and to hamper the development of collectivisation of agriculture are nothing else but an expression of panic in face of difficulties, the expression of the sentiments of the kulaks, of their attempts to undermine the line of the XV. Party Congress.

The Leningrad Communists demand from the C. C. and from the C. C. C. an energetic struggle against all fractional attacks of the Rights. They are indignant at the attitude of those comrades who negligently treat the decisions of the C. C. and demand from them an unconditional submission to Party discipline and unconditional execution of the decisions of the higher Party organs. Refusal to observe these decisions, the tactics of "resignations" is regarded by the Party as desertion.

The Leningrad organisation assured the C. C. of its full and entire support, both in the carrying out of the line of the XV. Party Congress as well as in the struggle against the deviations.

AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

The C. C. of the C. P. of Hungary on the Situation in the C. P. of Germany.

1. The C. C. of the C. P. of Hungary fully endorses the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the C. P. G. in the question of the Right liquidators and conciliators as well as the line and the measures adopted by the C. C. of the C. P. G. towards the Right liquidators and conciliators.

2. The C. C. of the C. P. H. considers the consistent struggle against the Right liquidators to be the more necessary as the basis of their opposition to the line of the Comintern and Profintern is forming the line of a bloc with social democracy. The Hungarian proletariat has already experienced to its own cost the results of forming a bloc with social democracy. This experience of the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary should be a warning to the proletarians in all countries. All attempts at revising the line of the Comintern in this question in order to follow the path of a bloc with social democracy, are to be fought with every ideological and organisational measure.

3. The C. C. of the C. P. H. especially welcomes the expulsion of the chief bearers of these liquidatory views (Brandler and Co.) from the ranks of the Comintern, as the further toleration of this group as a social democratic foreign body in the German section of the Comintern would prove impossible without making a concession to semi-menshevik views.

The conciliatory attitude towards the struggle against the Right liquidators is incompatible with Bolshevism. Therefore, the C. C. of the C. P. H. welcomes the consistent struggle of the R. I. L. U. of the C. P. Germany against the conciliators. Their

pessimistic views on stabilisation, their under-estimation of the Left development of the working masses, their reservations regarding the decisions of the IV. R. I. L. U. and of the VI. Comintern Congress only serve to help the Right liquidators. The conciliators who in words agree to all international decisions and continue the struggle in their own Party against the Party line, are "cowardly opportunists".

5. The C. C. of the C. P. H. is of opinion that the struggle conducted by the C. C. of the C. P. G. against the Right liquidators acquires international importance. In the present situation the struggle against the Right danger is the task of all sections of the Comintern. In Hungary, where social democracy is openly allying itself with the police against the C. P. H. and the Left workers, where it is developing into a social fascist party, the Right danger consists in denying the merging of social democracy with the counter-revolutionary State power and in under-estimating the fighting spirit of the working masses. The struggle against the Right deviation in the direction of trade union legality is an immediate question also in the C. P. H. Therefore the C. C. of the C. P. H. welcomes the struggle of the C. P. of Germany against the Right danger as a struggle from which all the sections of the Comintern have to learn.

The C. C. of the C. P. of Hungary.

Budapest, 4th March, 1929.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The "Crown-Prince" Socialists in Norway.

By Arvid Hansen (Oslo).

The Norwegian Labour Party, which is not organisationally attached to the Second International, reveals its counter-revolutionary, social-imperialist nature more and more pronouncedly. This was in the first place apparent in the attitude of the Party in regard to the Military budget in the Norwegian Storting, to the problem of the Soviet Union, to the adoption of measures of expulsion of Communists from the trade unions, and to various other questions. The Norwegian "Tranmaelites" carry on a frenzied propaganda for disarmament and adherence to the Kellogg Pact, but at the same time — like the armoured-cruiser Socialists of Germany — pursue a realist policy in the question of the military budget, voting for the accordance of a budget of 25 million crowns. Besides this consent to the militarisation of the bourgeoisie in Norway, as a link in the imperialist chain against the Soviet Union, the Tranmaelites also voted in favour of a grant of 60,000 crowns for the bourgeois sport organisations, which are nothing but reserves of a bourgeois, counter-revolutionary militarism.

Professor Bull, the champion of the "Left", who only a few months ago spoke of the necessity of accentuating the programme of the Social Democrats in the direction of a "revolutionary offensive theory", passed on to prove that Russia, irrespective of whether it was under a Socialist or a capitalist regime, must needs pursue an expansive, i. e. imperialist foreign policy in relation to the border States. A whole series of the most important newspapers of the Socialist Norwegian Labour Party welcomed the suggestions of the Fascist politician Thommesen, which tended in the direction of transforming the Norwegian army according to the model of the German Reichswehr and granting it a budget of 30 millions.

Parallel with the sympathising attitude of the Tranmael leaders in relation to the leaders of Fascism, the campaign against the Communists became more virulent. Two leading Communist trade-unionists were excluded from the management of the trade-union federation. Various unions were called up to take part in the communal conference of the Norwegian Labour Party on the distinct understanding that they should not be represented by Communist delegates but by members of the Social Democratic Party. With the pretext of work control, the same Social Democratic leaders join w

the entire reformist trade-union bureaucracy in propagating a community of interests in industry and the closest co-operation of the so-called "clubs" in the metal-workshops with the employers in the interest of capitalist rationalisation. Indeed, the trade-union press of the reformists has of late gone to the length of preaching an absolutely bourgeois patriotism in appealing to the Liberal Government to represent the "common interests of the people". And all this at a time when the dictatorial-fascist tendencies in the camp of the Norwegian bourgeoisie are daily more pronouncedly perceptible.

It is upon this background that the entire stir in regard to the wedding of the Crown-Prince must be regarded. It is no mere coincidence that just now all possible steps are being taken to strengthen the nationalist tendencies in the Norwegian masses in connection with the Crown-Prince's wedding. The "National Fête" which was held at Oslo with the participation of the Social Democratic municipal authorities and the "fraternisation" of the royal pair with the "common people" in the workers' districts, where, according to bourgeois press-reports, the Princess kissed the pauper children in passing, reflect the ideological advances of the Norwegian bourgeoisie in the direction of Fascism and nationalism. It is not very long ago that the King of Norway held a speech in which he extolled the merits of the workers in connection with the opening of a new railway-line. This tone is sometimes adopted by leading Fascist politicians and by Liberal statesmen. The weaker capitalist stabilisation grows, the more zealously does the bourgeoisie have recourse to the most varied measures of the ideological consolidation of its rule.

As was to be foreseen, the Norwegian Social Democrats felt obliged to figure at the Crown-Prince's wedding festivities as a staunch prop of nationalism. Quite a number of Social Democratic parliamentarians took part in the festivities of the royal family. The Communist Party of Norway is in possession of a protocol of the Social Democratic municipal fraction of Oslo, dealing with the question of participation in the official festivities. In this protocol the following passage occurs:

"The municipal chairman reported on the measures adopted in this connection. He stated that most of the deputies of the Party had registered their names as desirous of taking part in the church ceremony and that an absention on his own part would be taken as an offence to the royal family."

The motion of an N.L.P. member of the municipal council, to the effect that the wedding of the Crown-Prince was no reason for expenditure by the municipal council, was turned down by 26 votes to 14. The chairman's motion that 30,000 crowns be voted for the adornment of the capital in honour of the occasion, was thus passed. Nor was this fact influenced by the subsequent demagogic resolution of the Social Democratic Party with a view to non-participation, the members of Parliament being called upon to refrain from using their tickets of admission to the ceremony. The bourgeois press was in a position to record with great satisfaction that a number of leading deputies of the N.L.P. had refused to obey this hypocritical appeal on the part of their Party leaders.

In the more radical sections of the Norwegian working class, the fraternisation of the Social Democratic leaders with the bourgeoisie in connection with the royal wedding excited great indignation. Protests were raised in different quarters. Pseudo-Left elements spoke of the necessity of a Left Opposition in the N.L.P. The Communist Party warns the Left working masses against all illusions of this kind. Any attempt to reform the politically corrupt N.L.P. would be vain. Any attempt at treating the Crown-Prince incident, which was the outcome of an adoption of the "Royal-Ministerial" form of Socialism, as an isolated phenomenon, must naturally be combated. The Left workers who are still behind Tranael must draw the only logical political conclusion as revolutionary workers and break off all connection, whether political or organisational, with the "Crown-Prince" Socialists of the Norwegian Labour Party.

TEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

The Forces of the Comintern and its Allies.

By B. Vassiliyev (Moscow).

Temporally speaking, the history of the Communist International is very short, but in view of the tremendous historical rôle the Communist International has come to play in this short space of time it is very significant indeed. Is there, indeed, another political organisation which has developed in ten short years into an international factor of first-class importance? Such is to-day the rôle played by the Communist International.

Within this period of ten years, the Communist International has succeeded in creating a far wider system of national sections than the "Socialist International" ever succeeded in doing in the thirty years of its existence. At the VI. Congress of the Comintern, the Credentials Commission recorded the following 52 countries as having been present:

1. Soviet Union, 2. Czechoslovakia, 3. Germany, 4. France, 5. China, 6. Sweden, 7. United States, 8. Great Britain, 9. Norway, 10. Indonesia, 11. Italy, 12. Poland, 13. Austria, 14. Canada, 15. Yugoslavia, 16. Switzerland, 17. Argentina, 18. Chile, 19. Finland, 20. Belgium, 21. Spain, 22. Holland, 23. Bulgaria, 24. Denmark, 25. Colombia, 26. Mexico, 27. Greece, 28. Uruguay, 29. Hungary, 30. Estonia, 31. Latvia, 32. Lithuania, 33. Brazil, 34. Australia, 35. New Zealand, 36. Japan, 37. Roumania, 38. South Africa, 39. Cuba, 40. Algeria, 41. Tunis, 42. Syria, 43. Ireland, 44. Palestine, 45. Ecuador, 46. Corea, 47. Egypt, 48. Turkey, 49. Persia, 50. Portugal, 51. India, 52. Iceland.

According to the official report of the Second International at its Brussels Conference, which took place at the same time as the Congress of the Comintern, the Second International possessed sections only in the following 35 countries:

1. Great Britain, 2. Belgium, 3. Hungary, 4. Iceland, 5. British Guiana, 6. Germany, 7. Austria, 8. Sweden, 9. Czechoslovakia, 10. Denmark, 11. France, 12. Poland, 13. Holland, 14. Finland, 15. Switzerland, 16. Bulgaria, 17. Palestine, 18. United States, 19. Roumania, 20. Argentina, 21. Spain, 22. Danzig, 23. Latvia, 24. Estonia, 25. Yugoslavia, 26. China, 27. Greece, 28. Portugal, 29. Lithuania, 30. Luxembourg, 31. Georgia, 32. Italy, 33. Russia, 34. Ukraina, 35. Armenia.

These two lists call for some very radical corrections. Two such corrections refer to the list of the countries affiliated to the Second International. This list contains mention of China, and in the report of the Secretariat there is the address of a certain Wan Kin, who lives in the neighbourhood of Paris, which is not exactly situated in China. Furthermore, the report contains statements in regard to the economic and political history of China and violent abuse of the Chinese Communist Party. The entire report, however, does not contain a single word in regard to the activity or even to the existence of a Chinese section of the Second International. Altogether no document is known of, from which the deduction could be drawn that the Second International is supported in China by an organisation of workers and peasants. We must therefore assume that it was due to a "mistake" that China got into the report of the Secretariat of the Second International in connection with the Brussels Conference.

The second correction refers to the following point. According to the report of the Secretariat of the Second International, the Soviet Union is represented there by Socialist parties in Russia (Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries), Ukraina, Georgia, and Armenia. In the Communist International these countries are all represented by one party, the C. P. S. U. The report of the Second International, moreover, contains not a word in regard to the activity of the Socialist Parties of these areas, which form parts of the Soviet Union, just as complete silence is observed regarding the activity of the alleged party in China. The report contains information regarding the number of party members of the Social Demo-

cratic and Social Revolutionary Parties in 1917, before the elections for the Constituent Assembly; it also makes mention of the number of votes recorded at the said elections. The statements in regard to the Armenian National Socialist Party ("Dashniak") refer to the present day but only cover the number of party-members among the emigrants.

Every attempt at justifying such "information" by reasons of conspiracy would be in vain in the present instance. The facts of the case are much simpler than that. In the Soviet Union there are simply no Socialist Parties, for which reason the total of 35 countries allegedly represented in the Second International must be reduced by four; there thus only remain 31, and it is specially worthy of remark that the whole Soviet Union, Latin America, and the entire tremendous colonial realm is outside the sphere of influence of the Second International.

In regard to the list of the countries represented in the Communist International, it must be pointed out that this list calls for an explanation and for various addenda. The explanation refers to the fact that though the Soviet Union is represented in the Communist International by a single Party, the C. P. S. U., the Communist Parties of the following five independent Socialist Republics are attached to it, viz. Armenia, White Russia, Ukraina, Aserbeijan, and Georgia. This brings the number of countries represented in the Third International up to 57.

To this must be added three further parties, the Revolutionary People's Parties of Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia, and the Republic of Tuva, respectively. These three parties are not really Communist Parties and are affiliated to the Communist International merely in the character of sympathising parties, though working in close touch with the E. C. C. I. Besides these, the Communist group of the Philippines is joined to the Comintern, so that the total number of countries represented by the latter figures at 61, as against 31 in the Second International. Among these 61 countries there is the Soviet Union and the whole gigantic colonial and semi-colonial realm.

The enemies of Communism, especially the Social Democrats, maintain that the Communist International is approaching its end. In support of this statement they cite two facts which they believe to be significant. Firstly, that the number of members of the Communist International is far smaller than that of the Second International and is represented to two thirds by the C. P. S. U. alone. Secondly, that the membership of the Communist International has of late been constantly on the decline. Let us look a little closer at these assertions.

At the time of its VI. Congress, the Communist International, including the Young Communist International, numbered roughly rather more than four million members. At the same time the Secretariat of the Second International announced that it numbered 5½ million members. It is quite true that the C. P. S. U. forms the bulk of the membership of the Communist International. Suffice it to say that in the capitalist countries, including the colonial and semi-colonial areas, the Third International possesses roughly half a million members, whereas it is just in the strongest capitalist countries that the Second International numbers 5½ million.

Regarded according to the main individual capitalist countries, this numeric proportion of strength between the Social Democratic and the Communist Parties is yet more marked. Thus, e. g., the German Communist Party figures at 124,729 members, while the Social Democrats in Germany total 867,671. In Great Britain the corresponding numbers are 9000 and 3,338,256 for the Communist Party and the Labour Party, respectively. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has 150,000 members, while the Czech, German, Polish, and Carpatho-Russian Social Democrats of the Czechoslovakian Republic number 194,960. In France the Communist Party numbers 52,376 members and the Socialist Party 99,106. In Austria the Communist Party has roughly 6250 members against 683,786 Social Democrats. In Belgium the Communist Party totals 500 members against 597,971 members in the Labour Party. All these figures, however, call for thorough elucidation.

Though it is true that the Socialist International is numerically stronger than the Communist, it must not be forgotten that the latter has only existed for ten years and the former for thirty, besides which the Second International does all in

its power to strangle and destroy the Communist International with the aid of the police and of other instruments of persecution of the bourgeois States.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that in the capitalist countries (save in Italy and even there in part) the Social Democratic parties are not only legal but are also in more or less touch with the Governments of the respective countries in which, therefore, they enjoy more or less protection and more or less support on the part of the Governments. The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, on the other hand, work in a condition of whole or partial illegality and have to cope with ever-increasing persecutions on the part of the powerful apparatus of the bourgeois State and with the strong Social Democratic parties supporting this apparatus.

In an analysis of the numeric strength of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, respectively, attention must, moreover, be paid to the great differences in the composition and structures of the said parties. This difference is particularly apparent in Great Britain, which is represented in the Second International by no fewer than three parties, the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society. All three go to make up the total Labour Party with its 3,338,256 members, a truly formidable number.

It must, however, be borne in mind that all members of trade unions (people of the most varied political tendencies) are automatically joined to the Labour Party through collective affiliation. Until quite recently, even members of the C. P. G. B. were in their capacity as members of trade unions attached to the Labour Party; at present the leaders of the latter are making strenuous efforts to "get rid of the Communists".

With the growing accentuation of class differences, the struggle between the various tendencies in the Labour Party is bound to increase. For a time, it is true, the Labour Party will continue to number its members by hundreds of thousands, but it may be assumed that the membership totals will be merely on paper. At present already numerous members of the British trade unions refuse to pay the political contributions in support of the Labour Party, and the C. P. G. B. is obliged to fight against this increasing tendency.

The same may be said of another great section of the Second International, the Belgian Labour Party, which numbers 597,971 members and is likewise based on a collective membership. This party, too, is being consumed by growing internal contradictions. A growing revolutionary activity on the part of the proletarian masses will cause the foundations of the Labour Parties of Great Britain and Belgium to shake quite ominously.

The Socialist parties which are based on individual membership undoubtedly afford greater guarantees of their stability. The hundreds of thousands of workers belonging to the Social Democratic parties of Germany and Austria doubtlessly represent a more compact and better organised force than do the Labour Parties of Great Britain and Belgium.

But there is another side of the structure of all parties (without exception) combined in the Second International, to which attention must be paid, a property which greatly impairs their fighting qualities. It lies in the following fact. The Social Democratic parties are and always were primarily adapted to the conducting of election-campaigns. In keeping with this direction of their main activity, their construction is based on territorial considerations, i. e. on the residence of the members in definite constituencies. This structure has made it impossible to organise good work in the industrial enterprises.

It is, furthermore, characteristic of the structure of the Social Democratic Party that all questions are decided in the administrative bodies (at meetings and conferences of functionaries) or, as we should say, by the apparatus, the respective functionaries also having been appointed by the administrative authorities of the Party. The rank and file of the Social Democratic parties do not take part in the resolutions by means of general assemblies and conferences.

By reason of this orientation of work and of this internal structure of the Social Democratic parties, the significance of the hundreds of thousands organised by them is considerably diminished. It is obvious that even in the sections with an individual membership the present Social Democratic leaders can only hold their own through the passivity of the members. Any increase in the activity of the rank and file of the Social

Democratic parties would immediately entail strained relations between them and the Party functionaries, a growing discontent on the part of the "lower" with the "upper" elements, and a consequent weakening of party discipline with all its results.

Besides this, the structure of the Social Democratic parties is not adapted to the purpose of organising a leadership of the political and economic struggles of the proletariat. In this respect, it is true, the Social Democratic parties are assisted by the reformist trade unions, whose leaders very cleverly profit by the giant apparatus of the trade-union bureaucracy for the purpose of strangling strike movements. As the experience of the recent trade-union movements has shown us, however, the reformist trade-union discipline is also no longer in a position to cripple the fighting spirit of the proletarians, who, in defiance of their Social Democratic and trade-union leaders and regardless of the assistance these leaders derive from the police, have unanimously taken up the fight and carried it on under the most adverse objective circumstances.

All we have said here in regard to the weak sides of the Social Democratic parties must, however, by no means be understood as a reason for relaxing our fight against them or awaken illusions in us that they are weak, that they are likely to succumb to their own shortcomings and the like. These and similar assumptions would be serious and dangerous mistakes. The Second International is still very strong, even though its strength is not so great as it is made out to be; its heel of Achilles, the inactivity of the working masses, is at the same time its greatest protection.

The Communist Parties are established on the basis of principles which are diametrically opposed to those of the parties of the Second International. They are set up as parties whose task it is to perform the daily details of organisational work and to prepare mass-actions on the part of the working class. The basis of the Communist Parties is not the constituency but the factory, and in the first line the big works in the most important branches of industry. While in the Social Democratic Party inactive and fairly petty-bourgeois elements of a more individualist and therefore less militant nature are combined, the Communist Parties consist of revolutionary members who are fully aware in entering the Party that they are thereby pledging themselves to an untiring, ruthless revolutionary fight against the capitalist regime, which is bound to demand of them great sacrifices and iron discipline.

In view of all this we cannot but come to the conclusions that the comparison of numeric strength between the Communist and the Social Democratic Parties, respectively, is to a great extent a comparison between quantities of a different nature, and that therefore the present numeric superiority of the Second International can by no means be taken as proof of its real superiority. This last consideration acquires greater significance if we bear in mind that the Second International possesses no sections in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, whereas the Communist International has more or less important organisations in all the chief colonial countries, where they are in intimate touch with the native masses. It is in the colonial and semi-colonial countries that the majority of the inhabitants of the world reside. Of the sum total of 1500 millions, China alone claims 450 and India 325 millions, which together makes almost half the population of the globe. Adding the 150 millions of the Soviet Union, we have more than 50 per cent.

(To be concluded.)

The Influence of the Comintern upon Negroes on the Tenth Anniversary of the Comintern.

By J. W. Ford.

Already at the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin devoted special attention to the Negro Question; the Colonial Theses of this Congress, which was drawn up by Lenin, gave directives on this question. The Colonial Theses of the Second Congress are still the guiding line on the Negro Question, and this line is embodied in the Colonial Theses of the Sixth Congress.

At the Fourth Congress and at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern there was one Negro delegate. The Fifth Congress laid the basis for the organisation of the American Negro

Labour Congress in the U. S. A. The organisation of the American Negro Labour Congress took place in October 1925 at Chicago. This organisation has had very little organisational success insofar as its mass membership is concerned, but it has exerted an ideological influence over large numbers of Negroes in America and to some extent abroad.

At the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution at Moscow, there were Negro representatives from South Africa and from West Africa. The Communist Party of South Africa is the only Communist Party in the world that has a decided Negro membership; it can be considered a "Negro" Communist Party. The Communist Party of South Africa in its beginning was influenced by Social-Democratic reformism, which had its basis in its European membership; it also had chauvinistic tendencies coming from the same source. Apart from this, Communist influence began to penetrate the native workers, who are now coming into the Party in larger and larger numbers.

Negro comrades were in the American Communist movement at its very beginning, having come from the Socialist Party with other comrades to form the Workers' (Communist) Party of America. From this time to the present these comrades have been making a determined fight, in the first place to focus the attention of the Party upon the Negro question and its relationship to the American working class, and secondly, to direct attention to the question of penetrating the Negro masses with the idea of the revolutionary class struggle. In the early days this was done largely through the African Blood Brotherhood and later, as has already been mentioned, through the American Negro Labour Congress. The Party has sent Negro Fractions and delegates into reformist racial organisations of the American Negroes. Up to the present time, however, the influence of the Party among Negroes in America, organisationally, has not been very great. When we remember the influence that "race" and reformism and the church have over the Negro masses, we can comprehend the necessity for special work among Negroes to overcome these tendencies and for spreading Communism.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International gave considerable attention to the question of the Negro. There were four delegates from America, three representatives of the South African Party. In addition, Negroes residing in Moscow at the time participated in the deliberations on the Negro Question, as well as representatives from South America, where there are compact masses of Negro workers. The Sixth Congress laid down very definite lines of action and instructions on the Negro Question. Since the Sixth Congress a Negro Bureau has been formed at the Comintern. Already in America much agitation and organisational work is being started. The South African Party has begun not only to enlarge its membership among the natives but has begun to organise revolutionary trade unions. The French Party has many Negro members in France and is beginning more and more to activate its work among Negroes, which work is extending into the French Colonies.

Another source of revolutionary influence among Negroes is the Red International of Labour Unions. The R. I. L. U. has organised an International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, which already has contact with Negro workers in America, trade unions in the West Indies, and recently the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions of South Africa has affiliated to the R. I. L. U. Plans are on the way for the convening of an International Conference of Negro Workers by the R. I. L. U. in 1929.

Thus, from an early beginning the influence of the Communist International has been felt among Negroes. The Negro Question as such, however, differs from most of the questions of oppressed peoples with which the Comintern is concerned in that it has a decided racial approach. As a consequence there are ideologies from two points of view, which must be combated in order to have a large mass influence among Negro workers. On the one hand, Negroes themselves have been tremendously influenced by racial adventures, such as the Garvey Movement, the Pan-African Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, and other racial and reformist organisations; consequently, considerable attention must be given to combating the tendencies in these organisations. At the same time, within the ranks of the white workers (and this is important in sections where white workers and Negro workers come in contact with each other in large numbers, such as South Africa and America) there are remnants of white chauvinism, which has a decided effect in preventing

the unity of the black and white workers and the spreading of revolutionary class propaganda among Negroes.

Finally, it can be said, at the Tenth Anniversary of the Communist International, that Communism is more and more penetrating the ranks of the Negro workers and peasants throughout the world.

OBITUARY

Sou Chao King

By Tang Shin She.

From Shanghai we have received the sad news that Comrade Sou Chao King, the eminent, meritorious, and beloved leader of the revolutionary workers' movement and of the Communist Party of China, who was a champion of the Soviets not only in China but in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in general, has died of appendicitis.

Sou Chao King was the chairman of the Canton Soviet, the first Soviet in China. His name is a symbol of the Soviet aspirations in that country, which numbers four hundred million inhabitants. The Canton Soviet was not only the first Soviet in China but also the first Soviet in a colonial or semi-colonial country. Therefore the name of its chairman is a symbol for the Soviet aspirations among all the suppressed peoples, and therefore his work and his spirit will long survive him in the memory of hundreds of millions.

Sou Chao King was a bitter enemy not only of the imperialists and capitalists but also of the opportunists among the ranks of the revolution. At the commencement of the period of liquidation of opportunism in the Chinese Communist Party in 1927, he first became a member of the Executive Committee of the C. P. Ch. Soon after, he took part in the rising of Nanchang, which laid the corner-stone of the land-revolution in China. At the extraordinary conference of the C. P. Ch. on August 7th, 1927, he became the leading member of the Political Bureau. He thereupon waged a relentless fight against opportunism and conducted the revolutionary mass-movement out of its old stage into a new one, the stage of the Soviets.

For the first time in China it happened that the workers took part in the anti-imperialist national war of emancipation and, over and beyond that, struggled with the bourgeoisie for the hegemony in the State. Comrade Sou Chao King was the chief leader in this movement. It was he who conducted the first great fight against the imperialists, the effective 56-day strike of the seamen at Hong-Kong in 1922, for which he had prepared the men by means of a year's agitation. In 1925 he became chairman of the renowned strike-committee of Hong-Kong and Canton, which in a two-year struggle seriously harmed the harbour of Hong-Kong, the head-quarters of British imperialism and at the same time formed a good Party-cadre from among the ranks of the strikers. As the leader of the workers, he was on the black lists of all imperialists. For the first time in the history of Asia, a class-conscious worker took part in the character of a Minister in a bourgeois-democratic Government for the purpose of fighting for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. This fact caused great consternation among the bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Comrade Sou Chao King was born in the province of Kwantung, in the region of the so-called "fragrant mountains". For more than twenty years he worked as a seaman on ocean-steamer and coasting-vessels. Since the big seamen's strike of 1922, he did not work on board ship but expressly for the workers' movement as chairman of the All Chinese Seamen's Union. At the Third Trade Union Congress in 1925, he was elected chairman of the Trade Union Federation of China, which position he occupied until his death. At the VI. World Congress of the Comintern, he was the leading member of the Chinese delegation and a member of the Presidium and of the newly-elected E. C. C. I. Furthermore, he was a member of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions and one of the founders of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Comrade Sou Chao King was an untiring worker for the Party and trade-union movement. Originally he had been of a robust constitution, but his untiring and strenuous work told on him in time. After the World Congress of 1928 he contracted

appendicitis, of which he was temporarily cured at Moscow. As he allowed himself no rest but resumed his work at once, his state of health again deteriorated, all the more so seeing that he was unable to procure the necessary care and treatment in view of his illegal status.

The workers and peasants of China will never forget this great leader and champion. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, they will continue to labour for the building up of the Soviets on the foundation laid by him and will gain the victory over the treacherous bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

A Strike of the Finnish Women Textile Workers.

By Hanna Malm.

As in other capitalist countries, in Finland too the stabilisation of capitalism has been accompanied by the increased employment of female labour in industry. This may be seen from the following figures: in 1923 49,897 women (90,067 men) were employed, in 1925 51,705 women (87,791 men), in 1926 53,850 women (95,517 men). In 1927 the number of industrial workers increased by 10,000, the number of women increasing accordingly and amounting to at least 55,000. Whilst before the war the proportion of women employed in industry was 16 per cent. compared with the men, it has now increased to approximately 36 per cent.

Most of the women are employed in the textile industry. Here there were 16,155 women out of 20,110 workers in 1926. By 1927 the number of workers engaged in the textile industry had risen to 21,870, this increase being chiefly due to the further growth of the women's contingent (exact data are not available).

The data furnished by the saw mills show an even greater increase in the proportion of women employed, although the number of women engaged in this work (25 per cent. of the total number of workers employed in the industry) shows a lower percentage than in the textile trade (80 per cent.).

The wages, of these women are very low. Women doing the same work as men receive as a rule only 50 per cent. of the wage of the male worker. The following table gives the average hourly wages in Finnish marks (9.44 Finnish marks being about one shilling):

	Men	Women
1923	6.24	3.58
1924	6.73	3.55
1925	6.65	3.45
1926	7.07	4.53
1927	7.16	4.53

In the textile industry especially women's wages have been so low that the municipal authorities of the districts in which women are employed in the textile factories have been obliged to grant the women poor relief, for their income has not sufficed to cover the barest necessities. The acceptance of this aid resulted, however, in the women losing their right to vote at the parliamentary election, thereby degrading them to a species of pariah.

It is easily understood that the want and misery suffered by the women weaken their fighting will and reduce them to meek objects of capitalist exploitation. And that this is so is largely the fault of the reformist leaders of the textile workers union.

The trade unionist organisation of the women is still very imperfectly developed, and embraces only about 15,000, or 26 per cent., of the women employed in industry. In the textile trade the proportion is even less favourable. In 1928 5100 women were organised in the textile workers union, in 1926/27 only 3495. That the reformist leaders are to blame for this inadequate organisation of the women, as they have taken no measures to prepare the exploited women textile workers for a struggle, may be seen, for example, in the fact that in the trade unions in which the Left and the Communists possess influence, for instance the unions of the building and wood workers, the

Among struggles of the whole of the workers has been the demand of obtaining higher wages for women as well as men.

Finally, even the patience of the women textile workers is exhausted. They took up the struggle for the improvement of their conditions of living. The first move was in the spinning weaving mills belonging to a firm in the neighbourhood of Helsingfors. In the factory where the struggle broke out, out 1200 workers were employed, including 900 women. 900 workers were organised in the trade union (25 per cent. of the membership of the union). The women workers demanded a wage increase to 3.50 Finnish marks per hour for those who hitherto received less than 3 marks, and of 20 per cent. for those who had hitherto received an hourly wage of 3 to 4 marks; besides this an advance of 30 per cent. of piecework wages was demanded.

The strike began on 31st March, 1928, with the unanimous support of the women workers. It need scarcely be observed that the reformist union leaders set to work at once to disintegrate the fighting front. The secretary of the union, in an interview published by the social democratic press, declared:

"Should the joint stock company increase the sum paid in wages by 1 million marks*), a settlement might be arrived at. Were one million marks granted for the purpose of raising wages, an increase of 0.35 mk per head of the 1200 workers would be possible. The workers would be satisfied with this."

The strikers, however, held meetings daily, and repudiated the union secretary, declaring that "the union secretary had expressed his private opinion, and not that of the strikers, who are not satisfied with an advance of 0.35".

Besides this, the Social Democratic Party organised a campaign agitating against the women workers. The president of the party, the municipal head of the district in which the factory was situated, gave his consent to a juridical investigation on the part of the authorities to ascertain whether collections were being made for the striking workers, which is "legally" prohibited. The unanimous resistance of the strikers to this proceeding on the part of the representatives of the law, however, forced both the social democratic president and the authorities to retreat.

The employers did everything in order to make a breach in the front. They replaced a number of the strikers by heavily fined strike-breakers, and raised the rents of the workers' dwellings by 100 per cent. But they failed to attain their object, for the workers left the works dwellings and found accommodation among their fellow workers and working peasants. The united front of the reformist trade union leaders, the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, the Fascist strike-breaker bands and the capitalists, was unable to force the strikers to their knees.

It was not until after 6½ months of obstinate struggle that the strike could be ended on 22nd October, 1928. The women textile workers succeeded in having the hourly wage raised from 2.55 or 2.60 Finnish marks to 3 up to 3.10 marks, and having this fixed by tariff. Some categories achieved smaller results. In addition, the works management was obliged to undertake, on the resumption of work, to reinstate the participants in the strike first of all, to discharge the strike breakers, and to take into account the number of years of service in granting holidays.

The textile workers' strike here described was an outpost of the further struggles of the third period of capitalist stabilisation. In many works and factories the capitalists have already introduced short time, and have reduced the already very low wages of the workers. This strike rendered other considerable service in tearing the mask from the face of the reformist leaders. The union secretary, who was so anxious to sell the striking workers to the capitalists for thirty per cent. of silver, was obliged to resign. And although another reformist was elected in his place, still the ban is broken and the long other spring storms will sweep through the textile workers' union.

*) Finnish marks.

Azerbaijan.

By Sultanova.

Azerbaijan is one of the Trans-Caucasian republics. Before the October revolution its women were profoundly under the influence of their religion. They wore the chadra, veiling the face; they had no right to remain in the same room with men, were not allowed to eat at the same table as their husbands. A wife had to keep silent, and did not become acquainted with her husband till after the wedding. Even now the chadra has not been entirely laid aside. The Soviet Union laws have given the women the same rights as the men but tradition exercises an enormous pressure, and up to the present there has been much difficulty in overcoming it.

The Communist Party, anxious for the conclusive social strengthening of woman's position, is carrying on an intensive agitation among the working masses for the abandonment of the chadra. The newspapers write about it; it is discussed at meetings. In special women's meetings, convened for the purpose, women declare: "We are ready to lay aside the chadra, but we fear our environment." This expresses the fanaticism still existing, the fear of the despotism of the man. But the question of laying aside the chadra is not only bound up with the women's way of life, but involves the tasks of production. Industry is growing, new factories are springing up, fresh labour resources are required for these factories, and the women can and will be given their place in the process of production. The question of laying aside the chadra is no longer regarded as a general question of the cultural revolution, but as a question deeply concerning the economic strengthening of woman.

The Turkish woman cannot work in the factory, for at the same work-bench there are men; she must take off her chadra if she is to work, but the ancient laws of the Moslem religion forbid her to do this. The training of women as skilled workers again depends on this same factor; if she does not lay aside the chadra, she cannot attend school, cannot remedy her illiteracy, cannot improve her qualifications. The women's departments of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are carrying on energetic agitation in this direction; they began with women's meetings, and advanced gradually to public meetings and to appeals to the more culturally advanced strata of the population, calling upon these to free their women from the chadra.

The chadra was abandoned first of all by the Party members and Young Communists, then by the wives of the members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League, and by the women teachers. In some cases, however, backward Party members or Young Communists have not been able to grasp the necessity of their wives', sisters', and daughters' abandonment of the chadra, and do nothing to promote this. The women's departments have raised a protest in the press, making it clear to these comrades that this concession to ancient prejudice is utterly wrong, and that membership of the Communist Party is incompatible with failure to comprehend the necessity of the social strengthening of woman.

Much progress has now been made in this direction, and it is to be expected that in the course of about six months the majority of the women of Azerbaijan will have laid aside the chadra.

Other causes of social subjection bequeathed to the women of Azerbaijan from olden days are polygamy, corporal punishment, and early marriage. All these are now prohibited by the Soviet law, but this does not prevent the law from being broken by a variety of subterfuges. Polygamy, as prescribed by the law of Mohammed, is still carried on in a concealed form. For the Turkish women the greatest source of unhappiness is early marriage. At the age of seven or ten they become the property of their betrothed. The man has the right not to send the girl to school, and to marry her whilst she is still a child, which often leads to physical ruin and utter loss of capacity to work. The Party is fighting energetically against these last remnants of the old life of Azerbaijan, and those who violate the Soviet laws are called to account before the Soviet tribunals.

British Textile Workers under Capitalist Bombardment.

By K. P.

The textile industry is one of the basic industries of Great Britain, employing a large majority of women — over 700,000 women against about 500,000 men. The cotton section of this industry has already suffered seven years of steady decline — a decline which came first and most rapidly in that part which works coarse (American) cotton. Activity here in 1927—28, was only 50% of that of 1913, while the mills were carrying a tremendous burden of over-capitalisation, the legacy of the boom period immediately following the war.

The effects have naturally been felt by the workers in all the well-known ways: in unemployment; in systematic short time (many operatives not having taken a full week's wage in several years); in repeated attacks upon wages. Thirty five shillings is now a "good" wage for an adult spinner; women seldom earn more than £1 per week, and a man and wife often take home together no more than 50 shillings for a week's work. Wages in the coarse cotton section have been reduced three times in these seven years, with the consent of the reformist trade union officials. The vicious system of fining has been revived; speeding-up has been introduced; and cheap, inferior cotton systematically supplied to the operatives, involving not only much waste of time and energy, but also the introduction of the sheds, in order to make the material workable at all.

When all this is remembered, it is easy to understand in what mood the women of the textile industry would receive the new attacks of the employers at the beginning of last year. Desiring to reorganise and rationalise, the capitalists demanded as indispensable for attracting new capital to their failing industry, a general reduction in wages of 12.5% and an increase in weekly working hours from 48 to 55. The indignant determination of the workers to resist found no leadership among the trade union officials. While these dared not immediately surrender to the employers' demands, they entered into protracted negotiations which resulted simply in the employers withdrawing their concerted demands and proceeding to attack mill by mill.

Meanwhile the Communist Party and the Minority Movement had launched a vigorous campaign, rousing the workers, by factory-gate meetings, bulletins and personal penetration, for a united fight against the cotton capitalists. In the many struggles which make up the history of the cotton area during 1928 (some of which were won by the workers, and some lost), the only fighting leadership was provided by the Party and the Minority Movement, which strained their slender forces to the utmost to rally and assist the workers.

At **Stalybridge**, the capitalists attempted to introduce the 55-hour week, involving the starting of the machines at 6 A. M. This meant that the women with young children must carry them out at 5:30 in the bitter winter mornings to the old women who would mind them for the day. Here the workers won a complete victory, the employers admitting that the Communist Party was responsible.

At **Livingstone**, the workers were defeated with regard to the early morning start, but successfully resisted the introduction of the double shift.

Nelson was the scene of a seven-weeks' struggle, involving directly and indirectly about 18,000 workers, for the reinstatement of a victimised weaver. This ended in a compromise whereby the victimised worker was found a post in another mill. The employers in this dispute received the support of factory owners

throughout the county, both financially and by the threat to lock out every weaver in Lancashire. They also received shameful support from the trade union County Federation of Weavers. On the E. C. of the local union of weavers, the two Communist members fought to the last with the militant workers for the reinstatement of the discharged worker and the complete abolition of fining, but without success.

At **Oldham**, spinners and packers similarly struck in sympathy with a tenter who was discharged. At **Hebden Bridge** the employers succeeded in imposing a wage reduction of 10% on the trade union officials advising the workers to submit on the ground that there were many non-unionists among them!

These are but some of the incidents of the past year. There is hardly a mill in Lancashire where it can be said that there has been no attack upon hours, piece-prices, or customs, and in every dispute many women were involved. It was in the midst of a situation such as this, that prominent textile trade union officials voluntarily joined a committee appointed by the cotton capitalists, and subscribed to a report which called for more intense work, removal of existing limits and cheapening of production; declaring that the interest of the operatives in the war was as great as that of the employers, and that they might be "reasonably expected" to give all possible assistance.

Now the spinning employers have come forward with the demand that machines shall be cleaned outside of regular working hours and without pay — a demand which means that the workers must either work longer hours for the same money, or pay the wages of a cleaning gang. The determination is, as before, to enforce it mill by mill. The trade union officials have met this demand by proposing to limit the struggle to particular mills where the attempt is made, and even in some cases by suggesting that a struggle be evaded by the workers paying half the cost of a cleaning gang. Yet the effects of such an imposition are obvious: where, as in most cases, the spinners would be obliged to work the extra time to avoid deductions from their wages, numbers of spinners would become redundant and would be discharged, while with the increase in unemployed trained spinners, the young piecers in the trade would find it ever more difficult to pass up into this occupation. No less than 200,000 spinners are directly threatened — the majority men — but if they are involved in a fight (and there is small doubt of their determination to resist, whatever reformist leaders may advise), another 400,000 workers, of whom the majority are women, will be drawn in.

This new offensive upon a powerful section of the cotton workers coincides with the news of the formation of an ambitious capitalist corporation, backed by the Bank of England, for the purpose of acquiring a large number of mills and merging them into a trust, modernising the equipment, introducing more scientific methods of exploitation, securing greater output from a much smaller number of workers, and thus drastically reducing the costs of production for the purpose of underselling foreign competitors.

Only a united fight of all cotton workers will call a halt to these repeated endeavours to restore prosperity to a declining industry on a capitalist basis. It is necessary to strengthen the factory committees, to ensure that the women workers and young workers are well represented there, and to organise a united action of all Lancashire and all sections of the industry, thrusting aside the reformist leaders who stand in the way of a workers' victory and replacing them by a revolutionary leadership drawn from the Communist Party and the Minority Movement. Upon this depends the issue of the new struggles which are facing the textile workers in 1929, and the outcome of these, in turn, will either encourage or check the area upon all other sections of the British workers.