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# To the Proletarians of all Countries! To the Oppressed Colonial Peoples!

(May Day Appeal of the E. C. C. I.)

This is the fortieth time that the international proletariat will celebrate May Day, but this time it will celebrate it as a day of militant international demonstrations of the workers under extraordinary conditions. These conditions lend the May Day demonstrations a profound revolutionary significance. Just as on the eve of the war of 1914, there is again the smell of gun powder in the air. Fascist reaction is raging, and capitalism is seeking to deprive the working class of its gains. The exploitation of the working class in this period of capitalist rationalisation assumes a monstrous character. Millions of unemployed are filling the towns. The pauperisation of the colonial peasantry assumes unprecedented dimensions. At the same time the wave of resistance on the part of the toilers is constantly rising. One class is arrayed against another. The movement of the proletariat and the oppressed colonial peoples

is approaching a turning point in history. Never has the treacherous character of the policy of the II. International been so obvious when the new revolutionary wave is rising. Never in history has a class been so cynically and systematically betrayed as the proletariat by the II. International during and after the war. The workers' idea of international brotherhood is replaced by the call for fratricidal struggle among the workers, the class struggle by cooperation with the bourgeoisie, the call for revolution by an active counter-revolutionary struggle against it, the task of overthrowing the capitalist order by efforts to rescue and strengthen it. The workers cannot take a single victorious revolutionary stride without stepping over the body of the II. International, without breaking its opposition to the labour movement, without realising the full significance of the betrayal of the II. International. Workers and oppressed

colonial peoples, the nefarious work of the international social democracy after the war must be brought before your merciless judgement.

You were told that the war of 1914—18 would be the last war and that it would be followed by the golden age of peace among peoples. All your hatred of war, all your noblest feelings of international solidarity, all your indignation at the barbarous system of capitalism has been used by the II. International in order to enable the bourgeoisie to hold millions of workers under arms for more than 4 years. If the war of 1914—18 did not end in a workers' revolution, if capitalism succeeded in emerging, although seriously wounded, from the post-war crisis, this is entirely due to the authority of the II. International, the confidence of the masses in it being placed at the service of the military staffs, being made the instrument of the policy of the international stock exchange which plunged the nations under its rule into a mad sanguinary carnage. No language is strong enough to express the crime which was committed by the staff of the II. International against the millions of workers who followed it during the war. They did not save the future generations from new wars. By their very treachery, they even prepared the ground for a war for world hegemony between the United States and Great Britain which will be even more disastrous in its consequences. Armaments are growing, armies are being mechanised, the air, the seas and the land are becoming theatres of war, just as was the case on the eve of 1914. The Pacific Ocean is about to become a bloody ocean. A catastrophe is coming compared with which the war of 1914—18 with its wholesale carnage will pale into insignificance. Under the blows of modern instruments of extermination, under the death dealing fumes of poison gas entire cities will be turned into cemeteries, the difference between the civil populations in the rear and the military front will be obliterated. If there is a force which will delay the outbreak of this world war, it is the fear of the ruling class that the workers will revolt, in addition to fear of the existence of the Soviet Union. To the oppressed of the world, the first labour republic is like a shining star surrounded by clouds of hatred on the part of the executioners of the toilers. The international bourgeoisie wants to wipe it off the face of the earth so as to have a free hand in the redivision of the world. The bayonets of its vassals — Poland, Roumania and the Baltic states are directed against the U. S. S. R. In order to smite the U. S. S. R. in Central Asia, Great Britain organises a coup d'Etat in Afghanistan.

The capitalist world prepares and organises a war against the Soviet Union before any other war, because only by breaking the resistance of the toilers will it be able to start a new world war. For the existence of the Soviet Union constitutes a mortal danger to the capitalist world.

You were told that at the end of the war the nations will disarm. What a mockery these promises are in face of the facts before us! Under the cloak of pacifism and disarmament, the ruling classes, by depriving the toilers of arms and by arming the bourgeoisie, are systematically and persistently continuing to create a counter-revolutionary army, the chief task of which is to crush the revolt of the toilers at home. Today, Indian workers are being murdered with the arms of British volunteers in Bombay, yesterday British guns bombarded Chinese towns, tomorrow soldiers of the fascist Reichswehr will be sent to crush the revolt of the German workers. Only the blind do not see that the international bourgeoisie, by organising its fascist armies and irregular fascist detachments, is preparing for war, for the extermination of the revolutionary workers and the toilers of the colonies. The social-democrats, by lulling the vigilance of the working class with the help of pacifist prattle, ideologically disarm it in face of the bourgeoisie and deliberately drive the workers to complete and unconditional surrender.

The workers were told when sent to the front that in the trenches they would be fighting for their social and political rights, that on return, they would be able to restrict the power of capital. The II. International assured the workers that a new era would set in in the relations between labour and capital after the war. But is there even one capitalist country in the world today where the most elementary rights of the working class are not trampled under foot? Under the cloak of applying the principle of "economic democracy", the proletariat is deprived of the right of class struggle. The heavy industry magnates in the Ruhr can throw with impunity a quarter of a million of workers into the streets under Müller's social-democratic government, but if the workers throw up their work in the struggle

for a few extra pennies, for the piece of bread which has been taken away from them, the entire capitalist and state apparatus of coercion is mobilised against them, and social-democracy sends its Severings with the thumb-screw of compulsory arbitration. The right to strike which the workers gained in the course of stubborn struggle in various countries in the 19th century, is now being annulled with the active support of the II. International. The capitalists want to throw the working class one century back. The capitalist state, transformed into a police department of the Morgan Banking Office, is hailed by social-democracy as the "neutral" party, destined to settle conflicts between labour and capital. "Economic democracy" is turning before our very eyes into Fascism. The right of combination has already been taken away in a number of countries such as Italy, and Yugoslavia; in others, like Great Britain, it is restricted by law. Beginning with America and ending with Europe and the colonies, everywhere the bourgeoisie is trying to convert the unions into organs of "industrial peace", into agencies of big capital for the taming of the workers. The wave of expulsions of Communists and revolutionary workers from the reformist unions, the disruptive policy now pursued by the reformist bureaucracy, is only a part of the general plan of world capitalism to weaken the power of resistance of the working class. The 8-hour day has been abolished. Even the miserable Washington agreement of which the social-democrats boasted as their achievement, has collapsed. Whereas in the Soviet Union the workers have a seven hour day, in the capitalist countries we see a return to the day of ten hours and more. Capitalist rationalisation intensifies the exploitation of labour to the utmost. The blind monster of mechanism converts the worker into an inarticulate tool with the help of which surplus value is created for the capitalist. The victory of Fordism before which the social-democratic "leaders" are grovelling, brings new calamities to the working class. Millions of workers are squeezed out of the process of production and turned into paupers. Fifteen millions of unemployed throughout the world — such is one of the features of the reverse of the medal of the famous "prosperity", of the Hoover cult to which all the social-democracy magi in every part of the world are kowtowing. This much boomed "prosperity" is bought at the price of such a lowering of the standard of living of the working class, as was unknown prior to the war. It is founded on terrific exploitation of the colonies, of South America, China and India, on the rags of the starving Asian coolie, on the bones of colonial slaves which are turned into gold by the international banks. Was this the ideal for which the proletariat was struggling when it consented to be torn to pieces, to suffer agonies through poison gases during the last war? Is this the kind of system for which the new generation of workers will die and make war on the Soviet Union with the blessing of the church and the II. International?

When you were sent to war you were told that you were going to fight for freedom, that you would carry on your bayonets the ideas of democracy to every part of the capitalist world. How much resemblance is there between this false legend and the harsh truth of the present day? Half of the European continent is now in the grip of white terror. The tsarist methods have been internationalised. Never have there been before the war such brutal sentences as are passed now against working class rebels. Members of the II. International are working as agents of the Secret Service. The prisons are full to overflowing. Murder without trial has become the order of the day in the Balkans. Rivers of workers' and peasants' blood are flowing in China, India and Indonesia. The accentuation of the class struggle leads with inexorable consistency all capitalist governments to civil war methods in their dealings with the toilers. In Germany, France, Great Britain, United States, conditions of an open fascist dictatorship are maturing. Is that the ideal of post-war democracy with which the capitalist and social-democratic press was lulling the workers?

#### Workers of the world, colonial toilers!

There are millions of you scattered throughout the world. The capitalists can be counted only by tens and hundreds, but they are organised. You are a great force capable of unchaining a revolutionary hurricane strong enough to wipe out the capitalist order with its exploitation, social inequality, colonial oppression and war. The II. International has become an organisation of the petty-bourgeoisie and the numerically weak but

corrupted labour aristocracy which is ever more becoming part and parcel of the capitalist system. Outside of it are the masses of unorganised who in many countries are either spontaneously rising against capitalist oppression or are consciously following the lead of their vanguard as represented by the Communist Parties. The extreme accentuation of all capitalist contradictions in the epoch of imperialism, the intensified exploitation of the working class, the growing repression and unashamed spoliation of the colonies and the menace of war raise the militant activity of these masses. A new strike wave is rising which illustrates the process of radicalisation within the working class of all countries. The metal workers of the Ruhr, the textile workers of France and Poland have answered the revolutionary call of the Indian weavers and the rebellious workers of the Columbian plantations. Following in the footsteps of China, millions of Indian toilers are rising. The recent events in Bombay have opened a page in the history of the Indian revolution to that opened by the proletariat of Shanghai in 1925 in the history of the Chinese revolution. The world is now entering upon the stage of colonial revolutions which, combined with the proletarian revolutionary movement of the West, undermine the foundations of capitalist society. Although the new high tide is only beginning, in contradistinction to the revolutionary movements of the past, it is not merely of a European character, its tendency is to become a world movement. Ever growing human reserves are being involved in the conflict on an ever wider international front. The next sharp crisis in the world economy may create a direct revolutionary situation in the immediate future in a number of advanced capitalist countries. If preceding economic crises were a menace to the capitalist system, the new crisis which has set in under conditions when all the contradictions of capitalism have reached their culminating point, when the activity of the toiling masses is growing, may become fatal to capitalism. The toilers will not be awed by capitalist stabilisation which reveals ever more clearly its relative and temporary character, they will not wait with folded arms for war, they will carry on a self-sacrificing struggle against war and capitalist rationalisation. They are becoming more and more daring and determinate in the transition from the defensive to the offensive. Their contact with the Communist International will grow and increase in the international struggles confronting the working class and all toilers. The struggle of the Communist International against the II. International for these vast numbers of human beings will not be simply an ideological struggle within one class, but a struggle between two classes developing into civil war against the bourgeoisie whom the social democrats are now serving. There is no other organisation now so staunchly fighting at the head of the masses so stalwartly defending their daily interests and the great final aims of their movement as the Communist International. Apart from it, there is no other force capable of uniting in one mighty stream the disjointed efforts of individual detachments of toilers in the various parts of the world. It is the bearer of the best traditions of the entire history of the revolutionary labour movement. Only under its leadership and in its ranks, will the workers triumph over capitalism.

### Comrades!

Let May Day be a day of class struggle. Let it be not a holiday granted by the powers that be and limited to a few meetings in halls after work, but a mass strike of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is depriving the workers of the freedom of the street. It is everywhere mobilising the police and the military in order to prevent May Day demonstrations. The reply of the workers to this challenge will be mass demonstrations in the streets. Let May 1st be a day of a self-sacrificing struggle of the workers against war. Do not allow yourselves to be caught unaware as happened in 1914. Convert May Day into a day of mobilisation of your forces in preparation for international war against imperialist war which has been set for August 1, 1929. Call upon the soldiers of the imperialist armies to turn their guns against their masters. Fascist reaction must be confronted by an international iron front of labour. Take over the defensive and organise factory guards in the struggle against fascism. Let the bourgeoisie know that the cause of the Soviet Union is the cause of millions of workers throughout the world, that the international proletariat will allow no one to interfere with the victorious building up of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Do not allow any attacks upon the Soviet Union. In reply to

the motto of the Indian workers: Long live the Soviets, your May Day slogan should be heard across the borders and oceans, the slogan: **Long live Soviet India, long live the Soviet Governments throughout the world.** Give active support to the toilers of the colonies in their struggle for freedom. Form one militant phalanx of labour in opposition to capitalist rationalisation and demand the 7-hour day. Prepare, extend and deepen your strikes and set up your own strike committees in spite of the reformists. **Workers of the world, rally to the banner of the Communist International in the struggle for the international revolution.**

**Long live May Day, the day of international class war!  
Down with war!  
Long live the U. S. S. R.!  
Long live the international dictatorship of the proletariat!**

## POLITICS

### The Status of the Paris Reparations Discussions.

By Paul Braun (Berlin).

The Paris Reparation Conference has entered upon its decisive stage. The Reparations creditors have presented their reckoning to the German delegation, and the "Temps" triumphantly declares that the Germans will have no choice but to put up with what is inevitable, seeing that the necessity of a Reparations settlement is becoming more and imperative and the premature evacuation of the Rhine zone cannot be attained at any other price.

The total demands of the Reparations creditors, however, prove to be so great that the Conference appears to have arrived at a deadlock. An addition of the individual demands of the four Reparations creditors, France, Great Britain, Belgium, and Italy, yields a sum which far exceeds the present normal annuity of 2,500 millions and according to the German press very nearly reaches the 3,000 million mark.

No real significance naturally attaches to this sum. It is rather a question of a new manoeuvre of the Entente against the United States, with a view to accelerating the understanding with Germany on the basis of the Franco-British Reparations demands.

"It is Owen Young's fault". Such is the leitmotif of all French press comments. America refuses to reduce the debts of the Allies, who have in their turn already reduced their own reconstruction and compensation demands "to a minimum". It, therefore, an addition of the "theoretically justified" Reparations demands of the Allies produces the tremendous total of wellnigh 3,000 millions, it is only America that is responsible. This is the significance of the far-reaching discussions in the Paris Government organs in regard to the figures under discussion at the Reparations Conference.

The "Liberté" expresses this opinion far more clearly. It considers it "highly reprehensible" that argument should turn solely on the question of the demands made by the Reparations creditors, whereas no attempt was made to discuss the American claim to full restitution of the amounts owing by the Allies to the United States. America, the "Liberté" affirms, is again trying to make sure of the lion's share.

This new united attack of the Entente on America, however, is only of secondary importance at the present stage of the Paris Reparations negotiations. The actual difficulties lie elsewhere. With the discussion of the central problem, the establishment of the amount of the annual German payments, the question of Germany's counter-services for concessions — however small — on the part of the Reparations creditors has come up for discussion. This, however, is a political question which already exceeds the competency and scope of the "experts" assembled in Paris, though it will obviously decide the fate of the Paris Conference.

It is for the German imperialists to say the decisive word. The further course of negotiations depends on whether Germany joins the Entente Bloc and incurs a binding foreign-political obligation to take part in the Franco-British anti-Soviet policy.

It was no mere coincidence that immediately at the commencement of the last phase of the Paris discussions, after the

critical Easter pause, which marked the end of the first section of the Conference and at the same time initiated the following phase of negotiations by the presentation to the German delegation of a memorandum at the last pre-Easter session, the "*Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung*", representing the interests of the German heavy industries, should have given publication to an article by the well-known French foreign-politician de Jouvenel, who quite openly announces what are the points mainly at issue in the last, then forthcoming, phase of the discussions.

"It seems to me," writes this "Left-Bloc" politician and intimate associate of Poincaré, "that it is unpardonable that the Western Powers, in spite of their common culture, should not yet have recognised the necessity of a uniform policy in relation to Russia. The Soviet Government must sooner or later disappear and then the advantages of a common policy will be apparent. In its restored (!) condition, Russia will become a very essential component of European economy. We shall then be obliged in the first place to assist Russia in its reconstruction, which we shall not be able to do effectively unless we are fully acquainted with its conditions and possess the necessary capital for according it loans. Undoubtedly, however, no single European State is in possession of the necessary funds for such a purpose. If only for this reason, the European Powers must therefore unite and avoid being exploited separately in the interest of present-day Russia."

Turning to the German imperialists, de Jouvenel proceeds as follows:

"This difficulty shows the absolute necessity of establishing a firm and united front against the economic, political, psychological, and "European" aspects of Bolshevism. This, however, will continue to be impossible, as long as Germany vacillates between an East and a West-European policy, for which reason it would be most desirable that Germany should be brought to abandon the policy it has hitherto pursued. An all-round readjustment of Germany's policy would be just as advantageous to Germany itself as it would to the rest of Europe."

So much for Jouvenel. What is more significant, however, than this open expression of opinion on the part of the French politician, is the introductory note with which the German heavy-industrial newspaper presents this French opinion to its readers.

"The following expatiations of the French politician," writes the "*Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung*", "are of particular interest for the reason that they demonstrate the importance France attaches to seeing Germany figure in the united front against Russia. The author merely forgets to add what advantages France is able and willing to offer Germany for the abandonment of the policy hitherto pursued by the latter".

This attitude on the part of the French politician and the answer given him by the "*Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung*" give us the key to the comprehension of the present phase of the Paris Conference and of its specific "difficulties".

Simultaneously with the question of the foreign-political decision of the German imperialists in regard to co-operation with the Entente Bloc, which forms the chief matter of the present final phase of the Paris negotiations, the question of the effects of the imminent Reparations "agreement" acquires particular importance for the German working class.

The course of the Reparations Conference has convincingly proved that Germany cannot look for any essential reduction in its Reparations obligations. The accentuation of Anglo-American rivalry, the increased competitive struggle on the restricted world market, the approaching end of the business boom in the United States — all these factors have definitely dispelled the last illusion as to a possible co-operation of Germany and America and a common pressure on the Reparations creditors.

In regard to the prospective amount of the German Reparations payments, no reliable data are as yet to hand. So much may, however, already be gathered from the insinuations of the French press, that at best there will be a reduction of the annual payments by the trifling sum of 200 or 300 million marks.

If the "final" solution of the Reparations question were merely a matter of calculations, everything would remain very

much as it is. In a period of increasing shocks to capitalist stabilisation, however and of an aggravation in the general crisis of capitalism, the matter gains quite a different aspect. In such a situation, the Reparations question becomes a more dangerous critical factor, for which reason all the contradictions of German capitalism must naturally make themselves felt with particular violence.

The restriction of the world market, the accentuation of international competition, and the failure of the American sources of credit force the German capitalists to have recourse to a vigorous increase of exports, if they are to fulfill their Reparations obligations. The situation on the world market, however, does not permit of any very pronounced augmentation of German exports, save in the case of a great reduction of German export prices, which, expressed in capitalist phraseology, read "costs of production" and which practically means "wages".

In Germany, therefore, more than in any other country, the growing crisis of capitalism in direct connection with the Reparations problem leads directly to a general offensive against the working class, to a great intensification of the class struggle, and to the outbreak of great social upheavals which already cast their shadows before.

In the other countries, too, great social struggles appear to be imminent, especially in France and England, where the working masses are likewise beginning to feel the effects of the growing antagonisms of international capitalism and (in the same degree in which the struggle on the world market increases) also of the vicious circle of the Reparations problem.

Here we likewise see that the fight against the Reparations programme of international financial capital, which is ultimately directed against the workers of all countries, can but be an international fight, which the working class of each individual country must wage in close alliance with the proletariat of the world and the proletariat of the Soviet Union against the bourgeoisie and its Social Democratic and reformist aiders and abettors.

## The Big Coalition in Germany.

By W. KOENEN (Berlin).

The Government crisis in Germany, which has already led to a Parliamentary crisis and to some talk of a dictatorship, has now provisionally tailed off into the formation of a big coalition by the accession of three Centre Ministers to the Cabinet. These three new Ministers, *Guerard*, *Stegerwald*, and *Wirth*, will take charge of the Ministries of Justice, Traffic and the Occupied Territories, respectively.

Since the differences regarding *Stresemann* and the budget made it impossible for an agreement to be attained between the Centre and the People's Party in respect of the distribution of Cabinet functions, the Ministers of the Social Democratic Party of Germany have now suggested a new form of compromise to the two bourgeois parties. This compromise is naturally entirely at the cost of the working masses, who will have to pay for the economy effected in the budget. The great cut to be made by the Party experts will mainly affect social expenditure, though public buildings are also considerably involved. On the other hand, the increased revenue will also be altogether to the detriment of the working class, since an aggregate surplus of about 200 millions is to be gained from the postal revenue, from the consumption of spirits, and from the tax on wages.

All these measures directed against the workers have been swallowed without comment by the S. P. G. Only on one point was the resentment of the masses inside and outside the Party so strong that, in view of the great advances of the Communists at the works-council elections, the S. P. G. felt induced to yield to the pressure of mass opinion. This was in regard to the armoured-cruiser question. When the S. P. G. fraction had refused the second instalment for the armoured cruisers, it was rumoured that this would entail the resignation of the Government.

The leading bourgeois parties, the Centre and the People's Party fully comprehended that the entire success of the unscrupulous measures directed against the working masses would

be endangered if the S. P. G. Ministers were no longer available for the purpose of openly opposing the workers' interests. These parties therefore permitted the S. P. G. fraction provisionally to turn down armoured-cruiser instalment as a manoeuvre of which the S. P. G. is greatly in need for the purpose of cloaking the other pitfalls of the programme of economy and for the preparation of its Party Congress and of the elections in Saxony. The final vote in regard to the budget, which also covers the questions of the army and the armoured cruisers, may well be postponed till the middle of June in view of the emergency budget at present in force. In the meantime the Coalition policy will be continued on its present social-reactionary basis and the impaired budget will be passed, the further negotiations in regard to the second armoured-cruiser instalment being postponed until after the Saxon elections and after the S. P. G. Party Congress in June.

With thinly-veiled irony, the "Vossische Zeitung" characterises the rôle of the Social-Democrats in the following words:

"Particular interest attaches to the fact that the Centre now no longer insists on the Social-Democratic Parliamentary fraction's refraining from the vote on the matter of the armoured cruiser. The Centre contents itself with the assurance that the Socialist members of the Cabinet will accede to the second cruiser instalment and leaves it to the S. P. G. to settle the question as to whether, as the leading Government Party, it can well vote on this matter in a contrary sense to the advocacy of its own Ministers."

The formation of the Big Coalition was accelerated by the revolutionary advance of the working class and the victories of the Communist Party, which is gaining over the workers in the big German factories and saving great masses of workers from the further influence of the reformists. The bourgeois press, which has been gradually compelled by circumstances to recognise that the twaddle of some renegades in regard to an alleged decline of the C. P. was nothing but the outcome of the wishes cherished by certain intimidated philistines, and that the working masses are placing ever-growing confidence in the C. P. G., has ceased to joke about the "self-laceration" of Communism. It is again summoning all the guardians of capitalist property, from the police and the army to the Social-Democrats, for the protection of the endangered capitalist order of society. The greatest impediment in the way of the Big Coalition, the resistance of the Centre, has been overcome. All bourgeois parties — with the exception of the German Nationals — are agreed as to the Government programme for the immediate future.

The inner-political tasks envisaged by the bourgeoisie on the strength of the new Coalition Government, are similar to the aims pursued by the Big Coalition of the year 1923 and culminate in the subjection, by all methods of force and treachery, of the increasingly militant working class.

The Big Coalition of 1923 suppressed the workers by means of the army. It is no mere coincidence that the preliminaries preceding the formation of the present Big Coalition should have consisted in the preparations to suppress the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat. The Social-Democratic Party, with its Ministers, Police-Prefects, and what not, continues to play the chief rôle in the fettering of the working class.

Viewed from the standpoint of foreign politics, the newly-formed Cabinet is an outcome of the Paris Reparations crisis. It is destined to facilitate an understanding with the Anglo-French Entente at any price.

In a recent leading article, the "Rote Fahne" wrote:

"The bourgeoisie has effected a tactical volt-face."

"We too, the working class and the Communist Party, have changed our tactics. It is just the change of tactics which was the outcome of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern, which has aroused the fury, hatred, and consternation of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois lackeys of the "Bergwerkszeitung" again and again substantiate their desire for Fascism and for the prohibition of our Party with references to the line of accentuated offensive adopted by the Communists. Following on the "last warning" of Herr Grzesinski, the "Bergwerkszeitung" exclaimed in consternation: "And what is the outcome of this decree? Is it moderation? Quite the contrary!"

"Yes, indeed. This recognition is fully correct. We are not for moderation, but for an advance. We are calling

up the millions to fight. We call upon the proletariat to organise powerful revolutionary manifestations before the 1st of May, on the 1st of May, and after the 1st of May. No force on earth, no provisional coalition, no definite coalition, no final decree, no last warning, no police, and no reformists will prevent the proletariat from following the banners of the Communist Party.

"We are not a conciliatory Party. We are the Party of Bolshevism, and Bolshevism spells unrestricted proletarian class-war against the bourgeois State, the employers, and the Social-Democrats. Whether Bolshevism is legal or illegal, sanctioned or forbidden, it has the adherence of the proletariat."

It is in this spirit that the Communist Party of Germany declares ruthless war on the new Big Coalition.

## Intensified Fascist Policy in Poland.

By J. S. (Warsaw).

Both the article of Pilsudski on the Sejm menagerie and the formation of the Svitalski Government undoubtedly constitute one of the most important factors in the development of Polish fascism. The government press unanimously emphasises "the victory of the more drastic policy in relation to the Sejm": it announces "a new period" in the development of the May coup, "a second coup d'etat which will lead to the imposition of new laws and convert Poland into a great Power."

Without venturing any prophecies regarding the immediate fate of the Polish Sejm, one can say with full certainty that the fascist dictatorship in Poland is entering on a period of rapid extension of the fascist regime, of growing oppression and terror against the working masses.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the recent events in Poland are evidence that fascism is becoming stronger. On the contrary, it is by means of an intensification of the fascist regime that the Pilsudski camp is seeking a way out of the ever-increasing contradictions of capitalist stabilisation.

The economic situation of fascist Poland is worsening from week to week. It now no longer suffices to speak of the growth of economic difficulties; one must record a serious monetary crisis and the commencing stage of an industrial crisis. A striking illustration of the monetary crisis is afforded by the number of bills which have been issued. Whilst in October and November, 1928, the total sum of the bills issued exceeded 1000 million Zloty, in January 1929 this sum fell to 978 million, and in the following month to 813 million Zloty. At the same time the number and the total value of the protested bills increased. In the course of three months the sum of bills protested in the private banks increased by 53 per cent, in the Polish State bank by 60 per cent.

The financial crisis will become more acute. The further fall in the quotation of the rate of the Polish loan in the United States, which means a stoppage of the further flow of American capital to Poland, will also work in this direction.

The position of trade is more than weak. In the textile trade the turnover fell by 50 per cent, in comparison with last year. In other branches the turnover fell by 30 per cent. The number of bankruptcies is rapidly increasing.

Symptoms of over-production are becoming more and more apparent in industry. A restriction of production is contemplated in a whole number of industries. The press publishes the alarming news that in Lodz the cotton and also the woollen manufacturers are contemplating ceasing production altogether. A considerable worsening of the industrial situation is evidenced by the number of officially registered unemployed, which amounted in March to 187,000, a number far exceeding the highest figure of the previous year.

The reason of this crisis is to be sought in the growing disproportion between industrial production and the inner market and export, as well as in the incapability of Polish industry to compete against its rivals. The growing poverty of the working and peasant masses is causing a further shrinkage of the home market, whilst falling prices and intensified competition on the foreign markets reduce the possibilities of exporting industrial and agrarian products.

As a result of the growth of elements of crisis in the economic situation, the increase in the prices of articles of mass consumption, and the growing offensive of the capitalists, big agrarians and their government, the revolutionary mood of the toiling masses and their hatred against fascism is increasing. There are increasing signs that the workers and peasants are proceeding to a counter-attack.

The big-capitalist policy of the fascist government, which is continually tightening the screw of taxation, is calling forth discontent also among the masses of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie. The signs of uncertainty and discontent are increasing even among the bourgeois middle classes, such as the small shopkeepers, artisans etc. who have hitherto followed Pilsudski.

All these facts found their reflection in the squabbles in the government camp. The resignation of the Finance Minister Czechowicz, and of the deputy Krzyzcmowski from the position of chief reporter for the budget, and finally, the unparliamentary language employed by Pilsudski towards his fellow ministers and the valedictory article of the Prime Minister Bartels are all an expression of these differences in the government camp.

Pilsudski is endeavouring to remove the symptoms of collapse in his own camp by a sharpening of the fascist policy; but he is striving in the first place, by means of the whip and bayonet, to check the threatening economic and political crisis and to crush the revolutionary fight of the working and peasant masses.

The new Svitalski government is at the same time a proclamation of increased war preparations against the Soviet Union. It is not by chance that precisely at the moment of general intensification of the fascist regime in Poland the Polish Ambassador in Riga, Apeiszewski, gave a provocative interview in which he incited the Baltic States against the Soviet Union. The further advance of Poland towards the militarisation of the whole social life is illustrated by the fact that all new Ministers in the Svitalski government are active high officers.

The fascist dictator does not fear any resistance on the part of the Sejm. He is sufficiently acquainted with the lying leaders of the quasi oppositional parties. He knows that they will continue to play the part of fascist agents as hitherto.

The tactics of the Polist Socialist Party and the compromising peasant party aim at lulling the vigilance of the working masses. The press of the P. P. S. gives it to be understood that the State President Moscichi, who, as is known, is a puppet in the hands of Pilsudski, will shortly curb Pilsudski and restore legality in Poland. At the same time the P. P. S. is speaking in a more oppositional tone and endeavouring, by means of a deceitful demagogy, to harness the workers to the chariot of fascism.

The Communist Party alone is bearing and will in the future bear the whole burden of the fight against fascism.

## In Anticipation of a New "Labour" Government in Denmark.

By A. J. Smolan.

The new elections to the Second chamber of the Danish Parliament will take place on April 24th, the "Sovereign" people are once more to decide. The Government crisis arose allegedly because the bourgeoisie were not united on the question of armaments, whereby the "left wing", the peasants, were overthrown by the conservative party. The Social Democrats rendered this event possible by deserting their traditional policy of "the lesser evil" and withholding their votes. If after the election they are entrusted with the formation of the government, they will have to thank the extreme right wing for helping them into the saddle. This is very probable, as the Social Democrats, who are again pretending to be in opposition, have good prospects of winning a few seats from the bourgeois parties.

As early as the municipal elections in March the Social Democrats met with considerable success, not, however, on account of their more progressive programme, but because in many cities, including Copenhagen, they have proved to be the

best and most reliable advocates of the capitalist system. At the previous elections they had already drawn on their last reserves and the increase in the votes cast for them this year has been achieved at the cost of all the bourgeois parties. The explanation thereof lies in the fact that Danish Social Democracy, which even in pre-war times was ranged in the right wing of the Second International, through its technically excellent party machinery and through the support of the reformist trade unions, which have no competitors in that country, has the great majority of the working masses firmly in hand for the present and therefore appears to many anxious petty bourgeois as the pivot of society, as the surest guarantor for the "maintenance of law and order".

It has already given proof of this. For the first time in the history of the peasant country of Denmark, the Social Democrats took office in the spring of 1924, with the declared intention to put a stop to inflation, to stabilise the currency and thereby once more to consolidate the capitalist system, which had begun to totter. On that occasion they achieved victory by attracting the last reserves of the Labour voters by means of a very radical election programme. They demanded confiscation of big fortunes, the conversion of all big estates into holiday and convalescent homes, increased old-age pensions and unemployment benefits, etc. The voters who were won by these promises were completely left in the lurch by the party as soon as it gained office. On the other hand, it scrupulously fulfilled the promises given to the big bourgeoisie; it stabilised the currency successfully, so that the value of capital was doubled. During those times the number of unemployed rose from 10.7 per cent. in April, 1924, to 22.3 per cent in the year 1926, which means that the "purely Labour government" stabilised capitalist society at the cost of the working class.

In recognition of its valuable services, the Labour government was driven out by the bourgeoisie after 2½ years' activity, whereby the king, on the proposal of the sacked "tobacco worker" Stauning, nominated the peasant leader Madsen-Mygdal prime minister. Mygdal, who, as leader of the peasants was quite independent of the votes of the workers, was called to office to complete the work begun by the Labour government. His term of office is characterised by a ruthless cutting down of social benefits, reduction of wages and whittling down of the rights of the civil servants, of sick benefit, old-age pensions and unemployment allowances. He also passed a Bill forbidding the workers to carry out international sympathy strikes. But this has brought the peasant leader to the end of his tether, and, with the help of the right wing, high finance is taking the power out of his hands, because, on account of the peasants, he cannot carry on any further the stabilisation programme of the big bourgeoisie. The urban bourgeoisie calls for increased duties and State support of industry, but this demand does not lie in the interests of the peasants. Moreover, in the military question the peasants keep to their old standpoint and want a strong army, while the right wing has become modern, fallen in with the anti-Soviet policy of England and desires extension of the fleet and of the air force in order to "hold its own in the Baltic". The Social Democrats have no objection to such a programme in view of their boundless hatred of the Workers' State and are very willing to take the responsibility for this step.

It is characteristic of the absolute leader-dictatorship among Social Democrats that the parliamentary fraction and not the party executive has written the manifesto and despatched it to the voters. This is not so full of promise as it was four years ago. To-day it demands neither confiscation nor extension of social benefits; it merely promises to "try to prevent further retrenchment". It furthermore desires to procure State support for industry, in order that industry may be modernised and rendered capable of competing more efficiently. The prospective prime minister, Stauning, with the approval of the other leaders at the last party congress advocated further stabilisation and added that the working class would have to make further sacrifices for this stabilisation.

The Communists will put up their own candidates at the elections, but the Party is very small and it is doubtful whether it will get any seats. It can do very little against the thoroughly organised election apparatus of Social Democracy, with its 80 party newspapers and 150,000 members, an enormous number for this small country of so little industrial development. The great majority of the workers still entertain illusions about the power of the ballot box, and even though many of them

may be dissatisfied with the leaders and applaud Communist speakers at mass meetings they nevertheless vote for Social Democracy in the belief that party can gain most advantages for them for the time being. The fact remains, however, that the Communists have considerable influence in the factories and trade unions, where they are stronger than they are in the political sphere.

Another difficulty with which the Communists have to contend is the complicated and undemocratic election system, which favours the big parties at the cost of the small ones. For instance, every new party must collect 10,000 signatures before it can take part at all in elections, and these signatures must be gathered from voters only. Furthermore, it may happen that the elections are fixed with such short notice that the Communists have only a few weeks' time in which to collect the signatures. In view of their small number, that is a difficult matter; a handful of comrades have to work such a huge territory that they cannot manage to reach even the people who are in sympathy with them. It is characteristic of the spirit of the Social Democrats that these "fundamental democrats" advocate the retention of this unjust system which greatly facilitates their fight against the left wing.

## THE BALKANS

### Against the New Fascist Campaign in Bulgaria!

Appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria.

The more the working masses in Bulgaria are becoming radicalised, the more they are strengthened in their determination to fight, to institute street-demonstrations in defence of their rights and interests, the stronger become the organisational foundations and the ideological and political influence of the heroic illegal Communist Party of Bulgaria (the so-called "Narrow Socialists"), the indispensable leader of the working masses of that country.

The arrest on March 20th of Mladen Stoyanov, the Communist functionary and illegal proletarian leader, together with a number of other proletarian fighters, is a further striking proof that the rule of the cruel Fascist dictatorship is being increasingly opposed by the iron organisation of the Bulgarian Communists.

The radicalisation of the working class is spreading not only among the working masses in the private enterprises, who for the most part actively support the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, but also among the Government workers in the transport workshops, who are among the chief victims of the Fascist dictatorship. The social democratic leaders of the Bulgarian Railwaymen's Union, who are opposed to any idea of a fight for the improvement of the position of the transport workers, are day by day more plainly revealed in the eyes of the workers as allies of Bulgarian Fascism. The growing discontent among the transport workers with the Fascist dictatorship and its social-democratic supporters was answered by Liaptchev and Zankov by the arrest, on March 19th, of dozens of railway workers at Sofia, at the central railway-station, in the railway workshops, and in their homes.

The three day's strike and the demonstrations of the Sofia students, which constituted an impressive utterance of the students' opposition to the Fascist law regarding the one-year obligatory and gratuitous service on the part of young teachers graduating from the high-schools, undoubtedly reflect the growing discontent with the Fascist regime in Bulgaria. Liaptchev's police attacked the demonstrators, on whom they opened fire, wounding several of them severely. Thereupon the Government ordered the wholesale arrest of the striking and demonstrating students.

These arrests are still being carried out. Many workers have likewise been arrested and the Government is contemplating yet further arrests, as appears from reports inspired by official circles, which speak of "the police possessing a copious list of suspects, whose arrest may shortly be expected".

The arrests started in the provinces. The Fascist Government once more made an assault on the proletarian town of Slivno and blockaded villages and whole urban districts. The Fascist

Government directs its attacks against the factories and other workshops, i. e. against the heart of the working class, the great and reliable basis of the revolutionary movement and of the Communist Party.

The general significance of the new Fascist campaign, which may be accounted a link in the chain of persecutions from the operations against the trade unions in December 1927 to the concerted attack on the entire movement and on the Communist Party in particular on September 4th, 1928, is part of the Fascist policy of "hindering" the process of radicalisation and the rise of the mass-movement among the workers and of "isolating" the latter from the growing political and ideological influence of the Communist Party. The concrete political aim of the Liaptchev-Zankov dictatorship is to "oust" the influence of Communism from among the broad masses and replace it by that of Fascism, thereby broadening the social basis of Fascism in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and within smaller groups of the working population. This is a necessity for the bourgeoisie if it is to consolidate the weak foundations of its Fascist rule with a view more easily to induce the Bulgarian people to take part in the war against the Soviet Union, the home of the international proletariat. If the enemies of the Bulgarian proletariat can so far only record failure, which they are likely to continue to do, this is solely owing to the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party, its fidelity to the class interests of the workers and peasants, and its adherence to the revolutionary directives of the Communist International.

The dictatorship of the Bulgarian Fascists stands for the work of capitalist exploitation and anti-Soviet imperialism, and that in a country in which the social-democratic influence among the broad proletarian masses is practically nil. This situation is all the more unfavourable for the Bulgarian Fascists, seeing that the Left oppositional movement among the Government employees, which is threatening the Amsterdam leaders in their last strongholds in Bulgaria, is constantly growing by reason of the general misery among the proletariat and the effects of capitalist rationalisation.

It is therefore conceivable that the new Fascist campaign against the Communist Party and against the broad masses is also directed against the Communist International.

But the Fascist dictators have yet another reason for accompanying every blow dealt against the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria with a rabid campaign against the Communist International. The strategy of the Bulgarian Fascists is based on the idea of clearing the way for the formation of a party, or of "workers' organisations", composed of liquidators and renegades of the Communist Party and the Labour movement since the revolt of September 1923. The Bulgarian renegades and liquidators are, however, not only repudiated by the mass of the Bulgarian proletariat but are combatted implacably under the slogans of "Class War!", "For the Communist Party!", and "For the Communist International!". But in spite of this, or rather just on this account, the Fascist Government, cleverly masking its intentions from the working class, directs its attacks mainly against the Communist International, hoping thus to create favourable presumptions for the liquidation theory, which maintains that the Labour movement is exposed to White Terror because of its allegiance to the Communist Party and the Communist International. The Fascists hope for an internal disorganisation, dismemberment, and enfeeblement of the revolutionary workers' movement by means of the treachery of the liquidators.

Just as the arrests of September 1928 (of Comrade Jonko Panov and others) were effected for the purpose of striking down the action arranged for the fifth anniversary of the September rising, the recent arrests (of Comrade Mladen Stoyanov etc.) were made with a view to frustrating the intended action on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Comintern and of the affiliation to it of the Bulgarian C. P.

The Government is provoking the entire workers' and peasants' movement: it is proceeding towards the formal dissolution of the legal class organisations of the working class.

On March 8th, the representatives of the legal Young Workers' League were informed that "if they did not voluntarily dissolve their association", it would be dissolved by force.

The fate of the Young Workers' League depends on the resistance of the masses, as does also the existence of the other legal class organisations of the proletariat and peasantry, be-

sides the lives and health of the arrested revolutionary workers, railwaymen, and militant students.

The life of Comrade Mladen Stoyanov is in imminent danger. By officially announcing that Comrade Stoyanov has made an attempt at suicide, the Fascist Government is merely trying to conceal its plan of destroying this great revolutionary fighter. Therefore, workers and peasants, it is up to you to organise mass-measures to save the life of Mladen Stoyanov, who is subjected to inhuman torture in the Bastille of Liaptchev and Zankov. Demand the immediate release of Mladen Stoyanov, of the arrested railwaymen and other workers and of the striking students. Demand the release of Comrade Jonko Panov and of all others who were arrested in September last and in the last few weeks and against whom proceedings are pending on the basis of the Defence of the Realm Acts. Fight for the full and unconditional amnesty of all prisoners, emigrants, and other victims of the White Terror, and for the abolition of the Defence of the Realm Acts. Fight for the legality of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the Bulgarian Youth League. Assemble in your masses, create anti-Fascist committees and affiliate them to the International Anti-Fascist Bureau. Extend and strengthen the Bulgarian, inter-Balkan, and international anti-Fascist fronts.

The catastrophe in the Sofia arsenal, by which 25 workers of both sexes were buried and many more suffered injuries, an outcome of capitalist rationalisation under Fascist rule, clearly shows that capitalist exploitation and Fascist terrorism are closely connected with the preparation of munitions for the prospective war against the Soviet Union and for the civil war against the Bulgarian workers and peasants. Therefore, workers and peasants, organise street-demonstrations and mass-protests for the protection, salvation, and liberation of the imprisoned champions of the working class. Fight against the menace of an imperialist war. Protect the Soviet Union. To the fight against the Fascist dictatorship and in defence of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Young Communist League of Bulgaria, and the legal workers' and peasants' organisations. This is the one and only presumption for an effective fight against the war-plans against the Soviet Union both in Bulgaria itself and in the Balkans in general.

The new sanguinary campaign against the Bulgarian Communist Party must be answered by a hundredfold increase of energy in the consolidation of the Party of the revolutionary proletariat and by the distribution of its illegal publications throughout the country, in towns and villages, in the works and the offices, in the cottages of peasants and workers, and wherever the oppressed and the exploited live and work. It must be answered by untiring efforts for the unity of the working masses and their active organisation under the revolutionary banner of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, which has been tested in the fire of the class-war.

Workers and peasants! Fight without hesitation or confusion. You have overcome tremendous difficulties by iron class-energy and revolutionary determination. You have boldly opposed the capitulationists in your own ranks. Great difficulties are still ahead. But we have proved that we are able to overcome them and to proceed with all the more determination towards the final victory over the Fascist dictatorship and towards the establishment of the rule of workers and peasants, the dictatorship of the proletariat in conjunction with the working peasantry.

Only a determined and implacable mass-struggle under the lead of the Bulgarian Communist Party can achieve the salvation of the proletariat and the working peasant masses.

You are not alone in this glorious fight. You have the support of the proletariat of the other Balkan countries and of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, which raises its voice against the atrocities of the Bulgarian Fascist dictatorship. Working men and women! Working peasants, juveniles, and proletarian women! Prepare revolutionary mass-demonstrations for the 1st of May, the international festival of labour, and protest against the repeated arrests, the barbarous ill-treatment and persecution!

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian  
Communist Party  
(Narrow Socialists.)

## The Dissolution of the Revolutionary Organisations of the Roumanian Workers and Poor Peasants.

By R.

Broad sections of the peasantry and the more backward Roumanian workers who voted for the National Zaranists at the Parliamentary elections of November 1928 soon had occasion to experience the blessings of the much-lauded "democracy" of the Maniu Government. The National Zaranist Party and its government have shown themselves to be the worst enemies of the Roumanian workers and peasants. Instead of "democratic liberties" they forced upon the toiling masses still greater oppression and exploitation in the interest of national and foreign capital. A rapid radicalisation of the masses set in, which, among other things, found expression at the municipal elections in Vulkan (Schiltal coal area), where the revolutionary working class succeeded in gaining an absolute majority over the united front of the government, the social democrats and the other bourgeois parties.

The radicalisation of the masses filled the bourgeoisie and its government with alarm. They finally tore aside the democratic mask and decided to deal an annihilating blow at the toiling masses in town and country. Already before the Congress of the Unitary trade unions of Roumania the Maniu government attempted all sorts of provocations. It confiscated the whole press of the revolutionary working class. "Inainte" (Forward) the organ of the workers and peasants bloc, "Viata Muncitoare" (Workers Life) and "Tanarul Lutator" (The Young Worker) were suppressed. The vendors of these papers were arrested and tortured in the police prisons.

The Trade Union Congress of the Unitary Trade Unions was convened for the 31st of March in Temesvar. Although the authorities had given permission for the Congress to be held, the police, on the day of the opening of the Congress, demanded its postponement on the ground that no meeting of workers can be allowed to take place on Sunday. The President wished to avoid giving the police any pretext for intervening, and therefore adjourned the Congress until the 2nd of April. The working class of Roumania had already been prevented for five and a half years from holding any trade union Congress. Consequently, the Temesvar Congress had a great number of questions to deal with, a work which it could not complete in the three days fixed for the Congress. The police demanded that the Congress be concluded at the fixed date. In spite of the prohibition, however, the Congress continued to meet. The police now intervened in order to break up the Congress by means of provocation. For this purpose they made use of the funeral of Comrade Fonagy, who had died in prison and to whom the delegates of the Congress wished to pay their last respects. The police forbade the funeral procession and demanded that the corpse be handed over to them. When the delegates refused to comply with this demand the police proceeded to storm the trade unions house. The workers offered resistance. It came to a collision in which several workers and police were wounded. The police finally succeeded in entering the premises; whereupon they arrested all participants in the Congress as well as all workers, and women and children found on the premises. All the arrested were, without discrimination, brutally ill-treated.

The plan of the Government was, by breaking up the trade union congress and arresting the revolutionary leaders of the unitary trade unions, to disorganise the legal Labour movement of Roumania. Among those arrested are Comrades Koloman Müller, the late president, and Dimitru Grofu, the newly-elected president of the Unitary Trade Union (Comrade Grofu was seriously injured in the collisions with the police), Stefan Dan, secretary of the woodworkers' union, Abraham Bernhard and Ghempet Petrescu, secretary of the metalworkers' union, Aladar Imre, general secretary of the unitary trade unions, and Michailleanu, chief editor of the "Viata Muncitoare". Of the 300 arrested nearly a hundred workers and trade union leaders have been kept under arrest and handed over to the court. A state of emergency was proclaimed in the town.

The whole of the bourgeois press, and in the first place the so-called "democratic" papers, opened a furious campaign against the revolutionary Labour movement and called upon

the Government to dissolve the unitary trade unions immediately, as "the Communist workers who are in the ranks of the unitary trade unions are carrying on political agitation". According to the latest news, the Government, supported by the whole of the bourgeois and social-democratic camp, has actually dissolved the unitary trade unions, closed the trade union premises and confiscated their papers and documents.

The arrest of the participants in the Trade Union Congress and the dissolution of the unitary trade union means the open going over of the "democratic" National Peasant Government to a fascist dictatorship, to methods of bloody suppression of every movement of the working class, of the poor peasantry and the national minorities and their revolutionary organisations, with a view to the greatest possible exploitation of the toiling masses by native and foreign capital. Further, it means an attempt on the part of the Roumanian bourgeoisie, acting on the dictates of English and French imperialism, to put itself in a position to prepare for war against Soviet Russia without disturbance. The workers and poor peasants of Roumania, however, under the leadership of the revolutionary class organisations, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Roumania, will continue without interruption the fight against the bloody dictatorship of the Roumanian bourgeoisie. The Roumanian proletariat, in its heroic fight, appeals to the solidarity of the toiling masses and revolutionary organisations of the whole world. A broad international protest campaign must be launched against the Maniu Government, which is a government of the bourgeois-boyar-social democratic united front against the working masses of Roumania.

## CHINA

### Partisan Fights in China.

By Tang Shin She.

According to newspaper reports the strong red troops under the command of Comrades Chü Teh and Mao Tse Dun have arrived at the frontier of the three provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien and Kwangtung, and have already occupied Shanghai, Tinchow and other towns. This has served to encourage the partisan troops in East and North Kwangtung and South Hunan, who are now beginning to display a greater activity. The big partisan troop called "Chü-Mao" (Chü Teh and Mao Tse Dun) even intends to march on Canton and Swatow.

Armed collisions and raids of the black hundreds of the Kuomintang regime are taking place over the whole country. According to their account peasant revolts and partisan struggles are flaring up not only in the South but also in the Northern provinces, as Shantung, Anhwei and Honan, and even in the neighbourhood of industrial towns like Shanghai, Wuhu and Nanking. At the beginning of this year great partisan struggles took place on the Shanghai-Nanking line, and in the middle of January, in the town of Tsangfang, 20 kilometres from Shanghai, the partisan set up a Soviet government which was able to maintain itself for a week.

At the beginning of this year the "Chü-Mao" troops were on the frontier of Hunan and Kiangsi; their head quarters were on the Djin Gan San mountain. They were 10,000 strong and were equipped with every kind of modern weapon. The troops consisted of two sections: the one, originally under the leadership of Mao Tse Dun, was recruited from the Hunan peasant defence corps, which, at the coup d'état of the Kuomintang on 20th of May 1927, failed owing to the opportunist policy of the Communist Central Committee and was therefore compelled to continue its existence as "green cadres". The other section, originally under Chü Teh's leadership, are the remnants of Ye-Ting's and Ho-Dung's troops, who in 1927 marched from Nanchang to Swatow. At the beginning of 1928 the two bodies of troops united and Comrade Chü Teh took over the military leadership, while Mao Tse Dun became Party commissar in the army.

At that time South and East Hunan, South and West Kiangsi and North Kwangtung were in their hands. After the threat by the Kuomintang army the area occupied by them was never less than 30,000 square kilometres. Although the bourgeoisie and the landowners called for the extermination of the "Chü-Mao", no Kuomintang general ventured to oppose these troops, because they knew from experience that their soldiers would

go over to the red troops. It was only at the end of last year that the Kuomintang succeeded in inducing General Ho Chen, by means of supplies of arms and money, by holding out political prospects to him and bribing his soldiers, to take over the chief command against the partisans, the dreaded "Chü Mao". The armies of Hunan, Kiangsi, Kwangtung and Fukien were also sent to assist him. The troops of the enemy amounted in all to six divisions. Faced by this overwhelming force the main troops of "Chü Mao" were compelled to abandon the Djin Gan San mountain and marched to the coast district of Kwangtung and Fukien. Up to now they have remained the cadres of the red army; they still have a revolutionary attractive force and serve to rouse and develop the peasant movement and promote the class consciousness of the proletariat.

The liquidators, the leaders of the so-called third party, who are working in the interest of the Kuomintang against the workers and peasants, since the defeat of the Canton revolt have demagogically preached that the Communist peasant revolts and partisan actions disturb the Chinese people, and disorganise and demoralise the revolutionary masses. They thereby wish to keep the working masses and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie from the Communist flag in order to create for themselves a basis for their counter-revolutionary activity. But the revolutionary workers and petty bourgeois do not believe in their "social peace theory". On the contrary, the peasants revolts and partisan movements are extending more and more.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Riots in Bombay.

By T. H. L. Rezmie.

The English bourgeois press is endeavouring for obvious reasons to represent the struggle of the Bombay proletariat not as a class demonstration of big sections of workers against imperialism and the native bourgeoisie, but as religious strife of backward, superstitious workers. By viewing this question from this angle, the British authorities who shot down from armoured cars about 1,000 proletarians, are bound to appear as the protectors of the Moslem section of the population (the Pathans) from the violence of a handful of religious fanatics. The facts which have hitherto been published, give the lie to this mendacious version, a version repeatedly resorted to by the Secret Intelligence Service of many countries.

As an actual document which gives the quietus to the imperialist legend of the "religious" movement in Bombay, we are publishing the article which appeared in the *New York "Nation"* of February 27. This article shows clearly the class origin of the Bombay incidents and their connection with the general anti-imperialist movement.

Editor.

The awakening of India's masses is now an established fact, and events in that country are taking a serious turn. The recent carnival of blood and fire in the city of Bombay, lurid accounts of which were dutifully cabled by British news agencies in the United States, was the most sanguinary and significant occurrence in many years. With 116 killed and 700 wounded the Bombay riots take a place in Indian history with the massacre of Amritsar. Though propagandists have sought to describe these riots as motivated by religious and communal animosities, even a cursory survey of the events of the preceding year will be enough to furnish the true explanation of the unfortunate mob violence which has taken place.

It will be recalled that the appointment by the present Tory Government of an All-British Royal Commission to investigate the workings of the reforms granted in 1919 was universally and vehemently resented by Indians. The arrival of the commission in Bombay a year ago was greeted by a nation-wide hartal (complete cessation of activity as a sign of mourning). A unanimous appeal by leaders of all shades of public opinion was responded to with the greatest enthusiasm and masses were

organised for boycott demonstrations everywhere. As the commission, headed by Sir John Simon, entered on its itinerary, citizens of Poona, Madras, Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Calcutta, in short all the principal cities visited, in their turn successfully emulated the example set by Bombay. In each city scores of thousands of men, women and boys gathered near railway stations displaying black banners and shouting "Simon, go back!" as the commissioners alighted from trains. Unsympathetic Indian police under the command of hostile English officers attacked these unarmed crowds in several places and with clubs and lances foot and mounted police corps inflicted injuries on these admittedly peaceful protestants. At Lahore charging police officers fatally injured the well-known Nationalist leader and member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Lala Lajpat Rai, and at Lucknow seriously wounded, among others, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, secretary of the Indian National Congress. But the boycott of the commission has gone on apace and is becoming increasingly stricter, with none but the government-controlled men, toadies, and a few scared religious leaders paying any attention to its proceedings. The native press has even resolved to banish its reports from its columns. This is a triumph of mass action.

Behind the recent riots, in addition to this general anti-British movement, lies the epoch-making struggle of the peasants of Bardoli District, in Bombay Presidency. When the revision of land-revenue schedules by a single revenue officer, acting in camera, increased the taxes to a confiscatory degree, the peasants of Bardoli declared a campaign of non-payment of taxes. Illiterate and ignorant though they were, they placed themselves under the leadership of a lieutenant of Mahatma Gandhi and took oaths of non-violence, pledging themselves to undergo all sufferings, without lifting a finger but without yielding an inch. For eight long months they kept up the fight, neither sowing nor reaping in their fields, which in most cases had been confiscated and auctioned off. Their properties were seized and despoiled by revenue men. Their leaders were arrested and imprisoned after farcical trials. Their stocks of seed and sheep were taken away from them. And their cows — to them more sacred than to any other sect of Hindus — beaten to death before their very eyes. But they refused to retaliate. The majority of the law-officers in these cases were Moslem Pathans from Bombay. The brutality of the Pathans added bitterness to the natural anger against the losses suffered by the peasants. The entire country became aroused and offered to help make good this unique challenge of a handful of unarmed men and women to the mightiest of the empires. At last the government of Bombay yielded and accepted the popular demand for an open, impartial, and judicial inquiry into the land revision question before increased taxes should be paid. The battle of the masses had been won and a landmark had been established in Indio-British relations.

Almost simultaneously with the Bardoli struggle, mill-workers of Bombay had to wage a long and bitter fight against foreign and native capitalists who own the jute and cotton mills in and around the city. The causes of the dispute here were, as is so often the case, an increase in the number of working hours, a reduction of personnel, and reduction of salaries. The labouring population of Bombay is drawn from all parts of the Presidency. A great many had come from the District of Bardoli too. The fact and the spirit of self-defence made them fighters. Within a few days of the breaking down of negotiations 150,000 workers were on the streets. Unarmed, as all Indian crowds always of necessity are, they roamed about and attended their demonstrations and meetings. The police, helping their natural allies, the employers, used force to maintain "order" by the most disorderly method. The auxiliary branch of the police had a good many Pathans in it and the workers knew well how cruel they were. But though the strike lasted for several months and at times privations made the strikers desperate, they did not indulge in violence of any kind. When the situation became very acute, leaders of the community prevailed upon the government of Bombay to stress the need of a settlement upon employers, and, after long pourparlers and compromises, more or less satisfactory adjustments were reached. The event was a monument to the organisation and stamina of the mass movement in Bombay.

This, briefly, was the situation and the mental condition of the labourers in Bombay mills when a strike took place in the plant of the British Burmah Shell Oil Company. The concern immediately recruited "new" hands in the city to replace the

strikers, and many of the strike-breakers were Pathans. A clash between the striking Hindu mill-workers and the strike-breaking Pathans of Bardoli and Bombay ill-fame was inevitable.

A few days later some interested parties circulated the rumour that the Pathans were kidnapping children to use for sacrificial purposes. That the Pathans are Moslems — rugged and fighting stalwarts from the North-western frontier of India — and therefore forbidden human sacrifice in any shape or form, must have been clear to the authors of the rumour, but the Hindu labourers could be counted upon either not to know it or to be too inflamed at the news to ponder over the matter. The news spread like wild-fire, and according to the news dispatches from that city and the propaganda mills in London the workers became a mob of frenzied men roaming the streets hunting Pathans, and killing them wherever found. Panic ensued and the population became frightened and desperate. Street brawls grew into cases of homicide and murder. Places of worship were desecrated and feelings ran high on both sides. In the million and a half population of Bombay there are only about a thousand Pathans, and the Moslem population held aloof. Yet the dispatches continuously insisted on the theory that the riots were motivated by religious hatred and that the British military and police had to fire to prevent the two communities from tearing each other to pieces. The number of casualties could not possibly have resulted from the sporadic and weaponless fights of such an unequal combat. The main portion of them can probably be traced to the machine-guns and bayonets, the sandbags, the barbed-wire entanglements, the armoured cars, and military pickets, in describing which the war correspondent of a London daily exultantly says the scenes match any he saw in France. But whatever the aftermath of the outbreak it is clear that the reasons for it were not chiefly religious, and that purely economic discontent mixed with hatred for a group of indiscriminating bullies aiding the arch-oppressor of their country led to the riots. And the seven hundred arrests of riot promoters promise that the court proceedings will give us the opportunity of learning the whole truth.

## Increased Repressive Policy of the Mahmud Dictatorship in Egypt.

By J. B., Jerusalem.

In the summer of this year, when the parliamentary elections in Great Britain have cleared the political atmosphere of that country, Mahomed Mahmud, dictator of Egypt by the grace of the British High Commissioner, will resume the negotiations with the British Foreign Office. By that time the internal political situation of Egypt has to be so far knocked into shape that even in the case of a victory for the Labour Party he, as representative of the Egyptian people, can play the part of the only force capable of guaranteeing the maintenance of law and order in case of emergency.

This is the reason why Mahomed Mahmud is putting the screw on the party of his opponents, the Wafd, and taking measures which will rapidly lead to its complete destruction. As Mahmud announced in the speech he made in February, he intends to proceed in the most ruthless manner against agitators and enemies of the State. In view of the ineffectiveness of the reforms proclaimed by Mahmud at the commencement of his government, of the growing dissatisfaction of the population, and especially of the working masses in the towns, with the British-Mahmudistic dictatorship, these threats mean nothing less than that the organisatory overthrow of the Wafd is now to form a prominent part of the Government's activities.

What response is the Wafd making to the sharper tactics of the Mahmud dictatorship? There can be no further doubt that the bourgeois and semi-feudal strata, who still have the leadership of the Wafd, the pashas and beys, who determine its directives (and whom Mahmud himself, through the clumsily staged Seif-ed-Din trial, which ended in favour of the Wafd leaders, unwittingly offered the possibility of complete rehabilitation), are afraid to take any really revolutionary step against the dictatorship, just as they were in the beginning. Their course is not directed towards the revolutionary overthrow of the Mahmud dictatorship, which would of necessity lead to the undermining, if not the fall, of the monarchy in Egypt; for King

Fuad was the initiator of the June coup d'Etat and, he is now the formal supporter of the State and also its justification.

The Wafdists fight shy of doing anything against the king. On the contrary, for a number of months the leaders of the Wafd have been trying feverishly to arrive at an understanding with the king, so that they may form a block with the king and this reactionary "Ittehad" Party and thus isolate Mahmud. They exploited personal rivalries between the Mahmudists and the Ittehadists and tried to make use of the fears of the characterless King Fuad of the inordinate strengthening of Mahmud, who is hand in glove with the British.

The latest phase of the Wafdist "fight" against the dictatorship is therefore taking the form of a petition-campaign to the king. The "constitutional" king is requested to do away with the dictatorship, re-establish parliamentary life and help the Wafd to gain power. With this object in view articles are written, telegrams despatched and delegations formed. "Down with the Government", but "Long live the King!". This new phase of political development in Egypt shows with still greater clarity the boundless opportunism and reactionary character of the Wafd leadership.

It may, however, be assumed that many of the supporters of the Wafd are not in agreement with this treacherous policy of the "National" party. This is apparent whenever the masses parade the streets to demonstrate against the Mahmud dictatorship. There are always serious collisions between the police and the demonstrators; there are broken heads (at the Wafd demonstration on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of Egyptian independence there were several people seriously wounded), the police arrest dozens of demonstrators and bring them before the court. The bitterness on account of the brutality of the police is general, and every street demonstration proves clearly how little faith the masses have in the constitutional methods, which the Wafd executive would gladly see employed exclusively.

In spite of the treacherous manoeuvres of the Wafd pashas, the more rigorous course of the dictatorship of Mahomed Mahmud is resulting in an increase of the revolutionary fermentation among the Egyptian masses.

## MAY DAY

### Theses of the Agitprop of the E. C. C. I. for May Day.

(Continued.)

#### II. The 1st of May in the Epoch of Wars and Revolutions.

8. The shameful collapse of the II. International, which had been vanquished by reformism, found its conclusion in the August days of 1914, when the first imperialist war broke out. The socialist parties of the II. International disgraced the banner of the II. International, declared themselves in favour of defence of native country, and called upon the workers to take active part in the fratricidal slaughter. The socialist parties, which had become social-patriotic parties, now took up an openly hostile attitude to the red May Day celebration, which they had already combated with varying success in the years before the imperialist war. Immediately before the 1st of May 1915, the Central organ of the German social democracy published the following appeal:

"The central organs order the organisations, in view of the special circumstances, not to cease work on the 1st of May of this year. The contributions for the May Day celebrations will not be levied. Where the organisations succeed in obtaining premises in which to hold meetings, they are recommended to hold meetings of members in the evening. There will be no special appeal issued this year."

The Central Committee of the French socialist party issued an even more disgraceful manifesto, in which it assured the ruling class that the 1st of May would pass off quite peacefully. The French workers were called upon to work on this day for the defence of their native country. The Italian social reformists, however, beat the record by choosing the 1st of May for a

demonstration in favour of Italy's intervention in the war. The British social reformists never thought of offering resistance to their government, which prohibited the May demonstrations in 1915. The formal pretext for the prohibition of the demonstrations was the attempt of the advanced British workers to put through at the May demonstrations a protest resolution against the sentences passed on the Bolshevik members of the Tsarist Duma, who had courageously raised the banner of fight against imperialist war. The attitude of the social democracy to the May celebration in the year 1915, which aroused joy among the bourgeoisie, was the continuation of the shameful policy commenced by the II. International in the August days of 1914.

Only the Bolsheviks in Tsarist Russia and small revolutionary groups in other countries remained true to the principles of the international revolutionary fight. They opposed the patriotic stream and endeavoured to unite and weld together the elements of a new, Communist International. In his draft report on "The 1st of May and War" Lenin, in summing up the first months of the imperialist slaughter, already pointed to the revolutionary prospects which the war opened up. In this draft he stated:

"War is a gigantic crisis. Every crisis means, along with a possible temporary arrest and retreat: a) acceleration of development; b) sharpening of contradictions; c) the coming to the surface of these contradictions; d) collapse of everything which is rotten etc."

We read further in this draft:

"It is from this point of view that the crisis is to be considered (on 1st May): whether it does not contain progressive, advantageous features, as are common to every crisis".

Lenin, immediately before 1st of May 1915, understood how to draw the revolutionary perspectives of a new epoch introduced by the imperialist war.

Lenin's May draft of 1915 is a further development and continuation of the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Russia of 1st of November 1914, which was likewise drawn up by Lenin. The November Manifesto called upon the advanced workers to take note of the collapse of the II. International in order that a new and permanent, socialist association of workers of all lands could be built up as rapidly as possible.

Already on 1st of November we read in an article written by Lenin:

"The II. International is dead, vanquished by opportunism. Down with opportunism; long live the III. International, purged not only from renegades ... but also from opportunism!"

In the May draft it is clearly and plainly stated:

"The collapse of opportunism is of advantage to the Labour movement".

9. The May festival of 1916 fully and entirely confirmed Lenin's estimate. One of the most important documents on the fight for the May celebrations during the world war is the order of the court of the Royal commander regarding the arrest of Karl Liebknecht. This order reads as follows:

"Karl Liebknecht, soldier of the labour battalion, is to be held under arrest for the whole term of examination concerning the charge that he, on the 1st of May 1916, before a gathering of people and by spreading written proclamations, called for disobedience to the orders of the authorities; further, in connection with the circumstance that he refused to obey the competent authorities, did not carry out an order, and thereby called forth the danger of harming the army; and that he finally offered violent resistance to an official commanded by the administrative authorities for the carrying out of orders and dispositions, when the said official was discharging his duties (§§ 110, 113 of the Reichpenal Code, § 92 of the military penal code and the Highest Army command of 3rd July, 1914) finally, because his arrest is necessary in the interests of maintaining military discipline. (§ 176, 8 of the military court regulations).

President of the court

F. Benn.

Court of the Royal Commander.

Berlin, 3rd of May, 1916.

The demonstration on the 1st of May 1916 in Berlin pierces like a flash of lightning the darkness of the imperialist war and social patriotic mania. It was a reminder that the working class lives, that it is gradually freeing itself from the influence of the treacherous social democracy and that the May festival lives.

The 1st of May 1916 was also characterised by partial strikes in France, collisions in Austria-Hungary (Vienna and Prague) and a strike in Italy. The red May festival of 1916 was preceded by the revolt in Ireland. "The misfortune of the Irish", wrote Lenin, "was that they rose inopportunistly, when the European insurrection of the proletariat was still not ripe." At the same time, however, this revolt helped to awaken the revolutionary energy of the proletarian masses. The 1st of May 1917 was observed in the atmosphere created by the victory of the 2nd Russian revolution (March revolution), which overthrew the throne of the Romanoffs and gave a powerful impetus to the development of the world revolution, to its first great victory in October of the same year 1917.

The 1st of May 1917 is an exceedingly important date both in the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia and in the history of the red May celebrations. The May days of 1917, which were still outwardly characterised by the "general people's revolution" were preceded by Lenin's April Theses, containing the strategy of the struggle for the Soviets, which were realised in the great days of October 1917.

10. The great importance of the May Day celebrations of 1918 was that the proletariat of one-time Tsarist Russia demonstrated on this day for the first time as the ruling class, under the Soviet banner. In the Soviet Republic this day was celebrated in the midst of civil war. The counter-revolution within the country and German imperialism, as well as the troops of the Entente, immediately threatened the land of the proletarian dictatorship. But on the 1st of May 1918 the Soviet Republic had already realised the best traditions of the 1st of May. The first demand of the May celebrations — the eight-hour day — was already an accomplished fact. The young Soviet power, surrounded by a ring of powerful foes, realised the fraternisation of the peoples not merely on paper, but in fact. In the Declaration of the Rights of the People of 3rd November 1917 we read:

"In the epoch of Tsarism the peoples of Russia were systematically incited against one another. The results of such a policy are clear: slaughter and programs on one side, slavery of the peoples on the other. This shameful policy has now disappeared. It must never return; it must from now on be replaced by a voluntary and sincere union of the peoples of Russia."

The social upheaval of which the Zürich resolution spoke became a fact. By means of civil war against imperialist war, the first country of the proletarian dictatorship burst the chains of imperialism.

11. The May Day festival of 1919 was preceded by the organisation on the Communist International, which, thanks to the efforts of the advanced proletarians, was created in the midst of the acutest crisis of capitalism and a strong upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the whole world. In the first May Day appeal (1919) of the Communist International we read:

"Our III. International is an international union of the proletarians of all countries who have set themselves the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of establishing an international Soviet Republic. Our Communist International is taking in hand the organisation of the international demonstrations of the 1st of May."

The chief slogan of this appeal is:

"Under the sign of the Soviets we shall conquer!"

On the 1st of May 1919 the red flag waved not only over the Russian Soviet Republic, but also over the young Hungarian Soviet Republic, engaged in the glorious fight against its overwhelming enemies. Thus the principle of the 1st of May — the social revolution — was made a reality by the self-sacrificing and courageous fight of the proletariat.

12. The character of the May Day festival underwent a sudden change. The formation of Soviet Republics split the States of the world into two camps: the camp of capitalism and the camp of the building up of socialism. The red May festival becomes a day of defence of the Soviets, of mobilisation for the

fight for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the world union of Soviet republics.

The II. International, which in the world war had fallen apart into national social-patriotic organisations and had then again united its ranks in order to bolster up the rotten pillars of capitalism, takes into account the power of the red May celebrations and their popularity among the working masses. It is continuing with the most varied means the systematic fight against the red May festival — this symbol of proletarian unity and the class struggle against capitalism. The German social democracy reveals a despicable cunning in this fight against the Red May celebration. After having placed the role of throtter of the German revolution, it, in common with its partner the German bourgeoisie, inserted a special clause in the Weimar Constitution by which the 1st of May became a national holiday of bourgeois Germany. In other countries the social parties are continuing their old policy and are endeavouring with every means to convert the red May festival into a meaningless people's festival.

The more, however, the revolutionary meaning of the red May festival on the one hand and the counter-revolutionary character of the social democracy on the other hand become apparent, the more energetically the social democracy conducts its fight against the May celebrations. The period preceding the 1st of May 1929 is characterised by the circumstance that the "left" Chancellor of Prussia; the social democrat Grzesinsky, threatens with machine guns the workers who venture to celebrate the 1st of May — the festival recognised by the Weimar Constitution — by street demonstrations.

Grzesinsky's latest threat to the proletariat acquires particular importance in the light of the ruthless campaign of vengeance of another party of the II. International against those participating in the red May Day festival. In May 1928, the Communist International recorded

"the monstrous crime which had been committed against the international proletarian festival day — on the 1st of May — in the streets of Warsaw by members of the II. International, members of the fighting troops of the Polish social democracy (P. P. S.)."

This monstrous crime consisted in the fact that the bands of social democratic murderers fired volleys into the ranks of demonstrators who appeared on the streets on the 1st of May 1928, with the result that five corpses, dozens of dying, and hundreds of wounded strewed the street. This blood bath was carried out in the same Warsaw in which the workers had taken part in the first May festival of 1890.

On the 1st of May 1928 the Polish socialist police-aiders came forward as the continuers of the work of the American gendarmes, the heroes of the bloody slaughter in the May days of 1886 at the Hay Market in Chicago.

### III. The Tasks of the First of May 1929.

13. The preparations for the May celebration of 1929 are proceeding at a moment when, in the capitalist countries, the prerequisites for a fresh upsurge of the revolutionary movement are increasing, and when a new and powerful wave of revolutionary struggle is rising in the East (India). All the contradictions which are tearing the capitalist system to pieces are becoming more acute and more obvious. The sharpening contradictions find their expression in desperate collisions of the imperialist States in the fight for markets for the sale of goods and in the fight for markets for capital-export, in the massive increase of armaments, in the organisation of fresh, both secret and open, war alliances, in the preparation for fresh imperialist wars and, in the first place, for counter-revolutionary wars against the Soviet Union, in the increasing struggle of the colonies against the imperialist robbers, and in the extension of class struggles. This situation determines also the character and tasks of the May celebrations of 1929.

14. All features of modern militarism bear witness to the growing war danger, in spite of the pacifist lies of the League of Nations and of the social democracy of the whole world. The peace strength of the armies has increased in the five most important States (France, England, Italy, United States and Japan) from 1,827,000 in the year 1913-14 to 2,145,000; the trained reserves in the above-mentioned States total today over 20 million.

men, while in the year 1914 they amounted to only 7 to 8 million. In the period between 1914 and 1929 all the old instruments of destruction have been perfected and new ones invented, with which the modern armies are heavily equipped. In addition to the development and perfecting of machine guns, tanks and artillery, we see a great growth of aviation on the one hand and perfecting of chemical means of warfare on the other. The airfleets of the above five States have increased ten or twelve-fold, and show a tendency to further and more rapid development. The same thing is to be recorded regarding the growth of the navies. The ratification of the Kellogg Pact was celebrated by the United States by a fresh naval construction programme of 15 cruisers. In England, in May of this year, the four cruisers will be completed, the construction of which is the pride of the pacifist government of the pious MacDonald. The Anglo-American rivalry has resulted in feverish armaments in the countries of the soaring dollar and the falling pound.

15. The bourgeoisie, however, is not only arming for imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the U.S.S.R., but also for immediate fight against the approaching proletarian world revolution. A characteristic peculiarity of the war preparations of the post-war period is the creation of purely class military organisations in the majority of the capitalist countries. At the same time the armies are being filled with professional soldiers in order to strengthen the class influence of the bourgeoisie over the army. In many countries, as England, the United States, Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria the armies are recruiting volunteers for a long period of service. The bourgeoisie will thereby greatly facilitate the task of subordinating the whole of the armed forces to its class interests. In countries where general compulsory service prevails, the bourgeoisie are taking care to create within the armies strong as possible cadres of professional soldiers. Thus, in the year 1913 officers and non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had signed on for a long term of service, represented only 34% of the total strength of the army; in the year 1929 they already form 45.5 per cent., and in the year 1931 they will constitute 51 per cent.

Thus the bourgeoisie before the eyes of the whole world, is creating strong armies for imperialist wars, for war against the U.S.S.R., for suppression of the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, as well as for directly crushing the workers and peasants who are rising.

The light against imperialism and militarism is one of the chief slogans of the red First of May.

16. The social democracy is playing an active role in the war preparations. From material published recently it is to be seen that the MacDonald government did not confine itself to constructing cruisers. The "Times" is now praising MacDonald for having ventured to commence the construction of two enormous airships. The German social democracy has agreed to the construction of armoured cruisers, and is also adapting its programme to this practical activity. The French socialist party actively participated in the drawing up and introduction of the military law which provides for the militarisation of the whole country, including the organisations of the working class on the day after mobilisation. In all countries the Right, and also the Left, social democrats are working at arming their imperialist "native countries" in preparation for new and horrible wars. In the first world war of 1914-18 about 9 million men were killed or died of their wounds, about 19 million men were wounded, and three and a half million cripples and invalids were left behind as a heritage of this war. The war expenditure of the 11 most important belligerent States amounted to 250,000 million dollars. If one takes into account the growth of the armies and their equipment with new instruments of destruction, then one comes to the conclusion that the approaching war will be far more costly and will result in much greater devastation. The preparation for these new horribly destructive wars is being actively participated in, however, by the social democracy, but which, in order to deceive the public, is calling upon its members to submit petitions on the First of May in favour of disarmament. The stage managers of this petition-comedy promise to make also the first of August 1929, i. e. the anniversary of the blackest treachery of the social democracy, into an anti-war demonstration.

The light against imperialist war is thus in the first place a light against the hypocritical and treacherous social democracy.

17. In the fight against the revolution the bourgeoisie combines fascist methods with the method of a coalition with social democracy. The old forms of bourgeois democracy went up in the flames of war and revolution. With the beginning of the era of socialist revolution the bourgeoisie replaces its "normal" method of rule with new, with the help of which it wishes to solve the task of suppressing the growing proletarian revolution. The social democracy often poses as a fighter against fascism. In reality, however, it has in a number of countries smoothed the way for the victory of fascism, and in those countries where the bourgeoisie, supported by "democratic" coalitions with it, holds sway social democracy often employs open fascist fighting methods. The fascist bands of Mussolini and the socialist fighting troops of the P.P.S. are playing one and the same role, are fulfilling the same function. The secret strivings of the fascists and the social democrats rendered possible the secret negotiations which, however, have since come to light between the representatives of the Amsterdam International (Sassenbach and Citrine) and the leaders of the fascist Italian trade unions. The fascist organ "Labour Problems" declares that the aim of these negotiations was the establishment of "cordial relations".

The slogans "Down with fascism" and "Down with the social democracy" are closely linked with one another. The May celebrations must take the form of a powerful demonstration against fascism and social democracy. The light against fascism and social democracy is an integral part of the fight against imperialist war and for the defence of the U.S.S.R.

(To be concluded.)

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### New Scottish Miners Union Formed.

By W. M. Holmes.

London 16th April.

At a Conference in Glasgow last Saturday, the new Scottish Miners' Union, the "United Mineworkers of Scotland" was formed.

The conference was most successful and enthusiastic. 123 delegates were present from all counties in the Scottish coalfield, including delegates from 25 branches of the new Union that have already been formed.

Alexander Kirk, of West Lothian, a working miner was in the Chair. In his opening speech he referred to the complete breakdown of the old county Unions in Scotland, the open alliance of the old reformist leaders with the coalowners, their damping down of the Miners' struggle and their consequent policy of disruption, splits and the expulsion of militants. Kirk castigated in strong terms the shameful part played by Cook, who, he said, has now completely turned against the rank and file and joined hands with Mondism.

Resolutions on the mining situation (stressing the fact that a period of intensified struggle is opening) and the formation of the One Union for Scotland, were agreed to unanimously.

Only one voice was raised against the immediate formation of the new Union; and that was the voice of Philip Hodge, the General Secretary of the Fife Miners' Union. Delegate after delegate from Fife, however, rose to explain that Hodge's viewpoint was not that of the Fife miners. The draft rules of the new Union were approved with incidental amendments. William Allan (Lanarkshire), was appointed provisional general secretary and a provisional executive of 14 was appointed.

The conference instructed the provisional Executive to get into touch with the M.F.G.B. and the individual district miners' Union with regard to the termination of the district agreements.

A programme of immediate demands was agreed to by the Conference. This included the seven-hour day, a national wage agreement, a five-day week and time and a half for overtime, a minimum wage of 12/- a shift for miners (the present minimum in Scotland is 8/4), 11/- for other underground workers and 10/- for surface workers.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### On the General Party Purging of the C. P. S. U.

Theses on the Report of Comrade Yaroslavsky concerning the Control of Members and Candidates of the C. P. S. U., confirmed by the Presidium of the Central Control Commission on March 3rd, 1929.

#### Conclusion.

9. The control and purging can then be successful only if it is accompanied by a broad development of criticism and self-criticism in the local and national press, in the wall newspapers, at the Party meetings and public meetings, with the participation of the workers and peasants. It is necessary to adopt measures in order to draw also the non-Party workers, into the work of control and purging. We must be guided by the words of Lenin:

"There are localities where the Party is purged by chiefly making use of the experiences and suggestions of non-Party workers, by being guided by their opinions, where the Party takes into account the representatives of the non-Party proletarian masses. That is the most valuable, the most important fact. If we really succeed in purging the Party in this manner from top to bottom, regardless of persons, the achievements of the revolution will be really great.

Of course we do not comply with all the suggestions of the masses, because the masses also sometimes (especially in years of extraordinary difficulties and sufferings) succumb to moods which are by no means exemplary. But the judgement of people who adopt a rejective attitude towards those who have 'crept' into the Party, towards those who have become too officious, towards those who have become bureaucrats, the judgment of the non-Party proletarian masses, and in many cases also the views of the non-Party peasant masses, is very valuable. The masses of the toilers distinguish with an extraordinarily fine perceptibility between honest Communists who are devoted to the cause and those who fill with repugnance those who have to earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, who have no privileges and no access to leadership.

To purge the Party by taking heed of the opinions of the non-Party toilers is a great thing which will yield us serious results. In this manner the Party becomes a much stronger advance-guard than it was before; it becomes the advance-guard which is firmly welded with the class, which is more capable of leading it to victory in the midst of numerous difficulties and dangers".

But if we get the non-Party workers and peasants to participate in the control of the ranks of the Party it is necessary:

a) That an open meeting never becomes the arena for demagogic discrediting of the Party by anti-proletarian elements, and that we never permit non-toiling and anti-class elements to take part in such meetings;

b) that we must never follow in the wake of the non-Party masses when it is a question of defining the correctness of the Party line of this or that comrade;

c) that such public meetings be made of for explaining the Party line and drawing the best elements of the non-Party working class, of the agricultural workers and poor peasants into the ranks of the Party.

All instructions regarding the necessity for a careful treatment of the valuable Communist elements in the Party, of safeguarding the fundamental principle in the purging, and creating thoroughly comrade-like relations at the moment of purging and control, particularly apply to the public meetings in which non-Party workers also take part.

10. A specially important task in the period of purging the ranks of the Party falls to the Party press. We must take care that, right from the outset, a fundamental exposition of the tasks of purging is carried out, that during the whole time a certain political level is maintained in the treatment of the questions of purging, that apart from examining objectionable facts which the Party must do away with, the press shall also enumerate all the valuable facts, all the positive factors in the

work of the organisations which are controlled. The Press, while castigating the unfit elements, must in no event terrorise and stigmatise those comrades who, owing to their inexperience, have committed this or that mistake. The local Control Commissions must conduct this enlightenment campaign of the press, explain the Control and must not permit the whole Party to be abused on account of errors and shortcomings of its individual members.

11. The Party must devote its attention to the careful preparation of the General Control, in order that the process of purging and control be carried out in the shortest time. For this purpose an exact preparatory work must be conducted; the tasks of purging must be dealt with in the press and at meetings; the demands which the Party submits to every member and every candidate at the time of purging must be explained not only for the whole membership but also for the non-Party workers who are attracted to the work of control and purging of the Party.

The Party must carefully prepare for this control by taking into account what mistakes have been committed in the former control and that the control comprises 1,500,000 members and candidates of the Party who are working under the most varied conditions and spread over an enormously great territory. The Party devotes extraordinary attention to the composition of the Control Commissions, in which, apart from the most solid and best Party members of the old Bolshevik guard, there should be included those members who have entered the Party in the year 1917 and in the period of civil war. These commissions must be assured the best proletarian composition possible; the composition of these control commissions must be made known beforehand to the working masses in order that the workers and the Party members shall be able to correct in time the composition of these control commissions where they are unsuitable. These commissions must carefully prepare for the work, exactly determine the tasks of control in every nucleus in regard to the composition of the nucleus, its working conditions, the level of its development etc.

12. The present control will then be able to avoid many mistakes only if the Party deals attentively with every member and every candidate; if the accusations raised are carefully investigated; if the control commissions prove able to exclude the personal factor, to avoid group struggles, to shun quarrels and mischief-making, to reject deliberate calumniations; if the control proceeds on a certain fundamental level by avoiding petty narrowness and stereotyped methods. The Party considers it specially necessary to warn against proceeding formally in the control. The Control Commission are bound to take into account all the peculiarities of the work of the members and candidates of the Party in the factories, in the institutions, the conditions of life and the material position of the Party members, the national peculiarities, the special working conditions of six members, of women, agricultural workers, peasants, youths etc. The Central Control Commission must draw up the most exact instructions for the local Control Commissions and warn them of a number of errors. The Central Control Commission must the whole time follow the course of the control, correct the mistakes in the work of the local Control commissions or single control commissions.

13. Proceeding from these considerations, the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. resolves:

a) To carry out the general Party purging in such a manner that the control of the Party ranks is completed by the 10th Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. In fixing the date by which the control of various categories of the Party nuclei (village nuclei must be controlled in the period between the busy seasons regard must be had to the peculiarities of work (the village nuclei must be controlled in the period between the busy seasons on the land etc.). These dates must be fixed by each individual organisation;

b) To instruct the C. C. C. to draw up the most exact instructions for the Control Commissions: regarding the regulations governing the election of the Control Commissions, the carrying out of the control and purging, the reporting on the experiences of the Control Commissions, their conduct, and of appeals against the decisions of the local Control Commissions. The greatest care must be exercised in the composition of the Control Commissions, and they must be assured of being constantly supplied with instructions from the C. C. C. and the respective higher control commissions (control commissions of the various Republics, districts, gubernia etc.);

c) To carry out the purging of the Party quite openly before the non-Party workers and the masses of agricultural labourers, the poor and middle peasants in the village;

d) To carry out a comprehensive preparation-campaign, both in the Press and at Party meetings, in order to enlighten not only all members and candidates of the Party but also the non-Party workers and peasants regarding the tasks of the control and purging.

## The VI. Party Congress of the C. P. of France.

(Continued).

Session of 2nd April, afternoon.

Comrade Semard delivers a detailed report, containing numerous statistical data, on the **Economic Situation in France: Industrialisation, concentration of factories and works, ever increasing preponderance of the role of finance capital, tendency towards State capitalism, growing misproportion between industry and agriculture, industrialisation of agriculture etc.**

Comrade Semard examines the question of prime costs, which at the present time, owing to prices in France approaching the level of world prices, are creating difficulties of export and intensifying the struggle for markets. Speaking of the general business position in France, Comrade Semard emphasises that the worst Right danger is not that represented by Comrade Crozet, but by those who vote for resolutions and sabotage them in practice by their pessimism. The great activity on the home market is leading to an increase of the means of production, but this only increases the future difficulties, and in any event does not better the position of the proletariat.

The second part of the report is devoted to the regrouping of the social strata in France and the changes in the social composition of the proletariat. The collisions between big capital and the proletariat are no longer softened by the middle strata, who are now dominated by the policy of the big bourgeoisie. The National Unity extends from the extreme Rights to the socialists, while the roles are, roughly speaking, divided according to the groupings, which frequently change.

The third part of the report deals with the Communist Party and its bad social composition. Comrade Semard exercises self-criticism of the Party's Policy and points to the great share taken by the International in the reorganisation of the Party. The Open Letter arrived a year too late, especially after our false estimation of the significance of the National Unity in the year 1926. The Right tendencies have increased in all our districts: Passivity, pessimism, underestimation of the role of the social democracy, inadequate work for the united front from below are phenomena which should give cause for thought.

Comrade Semard deals with the underestimation of the repressions, which is revealed in the lack of practical fighting measures, before all, however, in the lack of practical work against war, which is concealed far too much behind big theoretical discussions. He then proceeds to criticise the false attitude of Comrade Doriot, and points out that the declarations of Comrade Doriot are still insufficient.

Comrade Semard shows that the self-criticism of the North district is inadequate and that the district ought to have discussed its mistakes in the strike of the textile workers.

After setting forth the tasks of the Party, Comrade Semard declares that they can be fulfilled only if a fierce fight is waged against the Rights. Whoever has the slightest difference of opinion must clearly express it.

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The Party Congress sends its greetings to the brave Communist fighters of Bulgaria, who are imprisoned and tortured, as well as to all victims of fascism.

Session of 3rd of April, Morning.

Comrade Billoux (Y. C. L.) points to the necessity of capturing the working youth. He calls attention to the efforts of the employers to capture the youth: training of a small number for the purpose of their becoming factory foremen, sport and recreation organisations; Christian youth associations with a magogic programme. Comrade Billoux opposes those con-

rades who wish to dissolve the Youth League, and demands of the whole Party more active support of the anti-militarist work of the Y. C. L. He points out that all members of the League, and not only the leading comrades, have taken part in the discussion and calls attention to the danger of unanimously adopted decisions, whereby concealed differences of opinion would be cloaked over. He calls upon Comrade Doriot to formulate his declarations more precisely in order not to be regarded as a conciliator.

Finally, comrades from the lower organisations are now taking part in the discussion, whilst up to now only Party officials have spoken.

A delegate from the North-East district shows how the Communists underestimate the radicalisation of the masses, which is an indisputable fact, and cites cases of sabotaging of strikes by bureaucratic trade union officials.

A comrade from the heavy industry points out that the production of war material by heavy industry is greatly increasing.

Session of 3rd April, Afternoon.

Comrade Boute undertakes the defence of the Nord district against the reproach of having underestimated the social democracy. He admits the mistakes made by this district. The district has not underestimated the active role of social democracy, but its influence upon the masses, and has overestimated the radicalisation of the masses.

A delegate from the Paris district states that our Party, by reason of its social composition and its lack of contact with the exploited strata of the proletariat, offers a social basis for the development of a Right deviation. The Party does not yet know how to get at the poorest strata and understand their requirements.

Comrade Doriot, who was listened to with great attention, recognises the mistakes which he has committed: 1. He did not perceive the tactical change at the moment of the application of the election tactics, and believed that one must distinguish between Right and Left socialists. He admits that this was a dangerous mistake for the Party. 2. He describes the conditions under which he made the proposals for committees of action after the defeat of Ivry, in order, as he believed, to mobilise broader masses by a Central Committee of Action and by local committees of action. He admits that, on the contrary, one should have orientated oneself under the exclusive leadership of the Party and not cherished any illusions regarding the reformist organisations. 3. Comrade Doriot admits that the imperialist role of social democracy can no longer be an object of discussion, and that all tendencies of social democracy are united in treachery.

The factors which have induced Comrade Doriot to recognise his mistakes are: the development of the workers' struggles, the role of the social democracy in these struggles, the attitude of the international Rights and conciliators, the estimates of our discussion by the socialists and, last of all, the Party leadership, which Comrade Doriot reproaches on account of its bad discussion methods. He had been greatly influenced by the Right danger in the C. P. S. U., in which the Rights are abandoning the idea of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, Comrade Doriot stigmatises this deviation, which serves to help the anti-socialist tendencies. He also shows how the Rights in Germany constituted the accommodation, of tendencies to the development of German imperialism since the world war. Comrade Doriot does not wish to be compared in any way with this movement, which lands one outside the ranks of the C. P.

The "compliments" of the French social democrats had also made him realise whether the logic of his attitude led. Comrade Doriot rejects the estimate of stabilisation by the Rights and declares the stabilisation to be rotten, even when one considers the situation in France alone.

Comrade Doriot then proceeds to analyse the true nature of the Right dangers in France. He points to our social democratic traditions and the social composition of our Party, which does not correspond to the class groupings and the corrupt policy of the employers. In order to defeat the Rights we must change our basis of recruitment and not rely for the great part upon the labour aristocracy.

Comrade Doriot concludes by emphasising that he is sincere and his only desire is to serve the working class.

A comrade from the North-East district immediately expresses his judgment of this confession by saying that a fighter will

Comrade Doriot ought not have waited so long in order to observe his mistakes, and above all the role of the social democracy. He points to the Right danger in the lower organisations: false estimate of the situation, bureaucratism and remnants of pure electoral policy. He shows how in Alsace Lorraine the trade union cadres despise the unorganised workers. The comrade demands a homogeneous Central Committee and the acceptance of workers into the district committees.

A delegate from the nuclei of the biggest rubber factory of France, **Michelin**, brings facts from his own experience of rationalisation and exposes the alleged benevolence of the employers. He emphasises the tremendous importance of the factory nuclei in the preparation of the revolution. Other speakers who follow make valuable contributions to the discussion.

Comrade **Michel Marty** (Paris district) speaks of the Communists who are working in the auxiliary organisations and all too frequently forget that they are Communists. He desires the Party to keep a more careful eye on the political line of "Humanité" and that more space be granted to the worker correspondents.

#### Session of 4th of April, Morning.

The discussion on the two reports of Comrades **Frachon** and **Semard** are continued.

A Comrade from the **Bordeaux** district cites local examples which prove that too many active Party members declare that they "agree in principle", but do not carry out the resolutions in practical work. This is the result of a too superficial discussion exclusively over side issues, whereby it is possible for everybody to declare himself to be in agreement.

A delegate from the **Limoges** district speaks to the same effect. Far too many comrades do not yet understand the necessity of being active in the workshops.

A delegate from the **Toulouse** district gives examples from his own district showing the tremendous increase in the production of war material. He demands that open self-criticism be extended to all spheres in order that the masses acquire confidence in the Party.

The North district puts up Comrade **Jacob** to reply to the attacks directed against the district. The district has no differences of opinion with the Party leadership. He wishes to prove this by an analysis of the activity of the district for some years, which shows how the district has worked in the revival of the trade union organisations. He justifies the preparations of the textile workers' strike, even if he has to admit the failures which have been committed, but complains that not sufficient emphasis has been laid on the positive aspects of the action of the district. He opposes the methods of the Party leadership, which does not discuss in co-operation with the district but over its head, and seems to desire to conceal its weaknesses behind unconsidered criticism.

#### Session of 4th of April, Afternoon.

Comrade **Dorou** (Lyons) shows the opportunist tendencies which are resisting the reorganisation of the Party in his district, which had their sources before all in the bad social composition of the Party and in the compromising tendencies in the leading organs, which render impossible a thorough-going discussion. The strike of the miners of the Loire Basin exposed the extreme passivity of the Communist elements in the trade unions, which had no confidence in the masses. It is necessary to possess everywhere leading cadres which work collectively, and to pay more attention to the life of the nuclei.

Comrade **Malzieres** (Paris district), demands of the whole Congress that it pay attention to the situation in the Paris district and its leadership. In this district, our organisation, owing to the repressions and attempts at disintegration by the bourgeoisie, shows a relapse: Social democracy and Trotzkyism in our ranks, activity of the police in the Party itself, the district committee must be immediately strengthened.

Comrade **Declercq**, from Halluin, secretary of the district trade union, attacks the leadership of the C. G. T. U., which he makes responsible for the anarcho-syndicalist mistakes in the fight of the textile workers of the north district. He admits having committed an act of indisipline in Tourcoing, but attempts to justify it. He calls for an unrelenting fight against the rights in the whole Party.

Comrade **Monmousseau**, on behalf of the Central Committees, thereupon delivers a very important report on the workers' struggles and on the leading role which our Party has to play in them. He censures those in our ranks who deny the radicalisation of the masses, because they would not see the new character of the strike movement, and declares that they were afraid of the masses. He shows the complete absorption of the C. G. T. in the apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the part it plays as a tool of big capital against the working class.

The radicalisation of the masses is to be seen in the fact of the increasing number of strikes. In the year 1928 there were more than a thousand strikes of an offensive character, aiming at increased wages. But these strikes all too frequently escaped us; we failed to foresee them although great discontent prevailed. These strikes drew masses with them which we did not have in our movements at other times.

Our united front tactics must be orientated to the most active unorganised elements, and not to the reformist cadres who serve as strike-breakers. This is all the more necessary as our trade unions frequently lagged behind the movements and certain of our cadres showed a defeatist mood. Comrade **Monmousseau** shows this by means of a brief self-criticism of the most recent strikes, especially of the miners' strike. He endorses the statements of Comrade **Vassiliev** regarding the strike in the Northern district, and in particular regarding the undisciplined action of Comrade **Declercq**.

The cause of our failures is the bad composition of the trade unions, which are based only on the upper strata of the workers. The workers have suffered sufficient defeats, and we must carry through a speedy reorganisation. For this purpose we must in the first place enter the factory committees, and in the second place make an extensive use of open self-criticism. Comrade **Monmousseau** concludes with a call to make preparations for a First of May of the Masses.

The Congress thereupon elects its political commission.

Comrade **Jacquemotte** conveys to the Congress the greetings of the Communist Party of Belgium.

(To be continued).

## AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

### The Consolidation of the Communist Parties and the Fight against the Right Deviations.

By D. P. (Moscow).

The German Social-Democrats are pronouncedly disappointed in Brandler and his group. A few months ago the "Armoured-Cruiser Social-Democrats" believed confidently that they would succeed with the aid of the Brandler group in introducing the poison of dissension into the German Communist Party. For a time it seemed as though these expectations were not wholly devoid of a serious basis. Brandler and Thalheimer succeeded in collecting a considerable number of leaders with high-sounding names under their banner. This group, which for years had preached the greatest caution in the fight against the Social-Democrats and had acted up to the famous slogan of "Ever slowly ahead!", adopted tactics of the most violently aggressive character in the fight against the Communist International and the Communist Party of Germany. In the latter it met with some support in the form of a group of conciliators, who, while declaring that they had nothing in common with the Right wing, in reality supported their policy.

Particular hopes were attached by the Social-Democrats to the trade-union connections of the Brandlerites. They reckoned that the Brandler group would succeed in weakening the Communist influence in the trade unions and in consolidating the waning influence of the Social-Democratic trade union bureaucrats.

It turned out, however, that the Social-Democrats had been thoroughly mistaken in their calculations. The factory-council elections which recently took place in various parts of Germany.

are a drastic proof of the fact that the Party has **grown considerably stronger** since it was purged of the Brandlerites. Its influence has noticeably augmented. It deals the Social-Democratic reformists the heaviest blows in gaining a footing in the most important works, and unites under its influence both the workers organised in trade unions and the unorganised masses, which, under the leadership of the Communist Party and under the influence of an accentuated class-struggle, are waging a courageous fight against the offensive of the capitalists and of their Social-Democratic flunkies. Now the "Vorwärts" (of March 31st) is greatly disappointed and declares that the workers have no more faith in "honest Henry" (Brandler).

The disappointment of the "Vorwärts" is easy to comprehend and altogether justified. For us, however, the German factory-council elections are of much greater political significance. They are a mass-test of the tactics of the Communist International and the C. P. G. They show that the purging of the Communist parties of Social-Democratic evils were a necessity from the standpoint of the objective conditions of development of the class-struggle and that it was rendered possible thanks to the Bolshevik consolidation of the most important Communist sections, the C. P. G. in particular.

In the general crisis of capitalism the decay of the Second International became apparent and also created the necessary presumptions for the organisation of an international fighting-organisation of the workers such as the Communist International. The entire ten-year history of the C. I. is one long embittered fight not only against the Social-Democrats but also against all varieties of opportunism in the Comintern itself. In each successive aggravation of the crisis, at each new turn in the development of the world revolution, the weak points of the young Communist parties and that Social-Democratic infection become apparent, the elimination of which is one of the main presumptions of a victorious revolutionary struggle. At the same time, the aggravation of the crisis reveals the underlying reasons of the movement and arouses new creative forces. Such are the dynamics of the consolidation of the Communist Party.

Already during the revolutionary crisis of 1923, the Right Brandler group became clearly outlined. The C. P. G. was strong enough to remove this reformist group under the guidance of the Communist International. It is obvious, however, that if the Brandlerites had initiated such a campaign against the C. P. G. in 1923 as they did at the close of 1928, the result would have been a lengthy crisis, nay possibly even a split in the C. P. G. It is characteristic of the present stage of development that the assault of the Brandler group has not only been warded off but that the Party has gained in strength after purging its ranks of the agents of reformism.

The factory-council elections constitute the second test of the accuracy of the directives followed by the C. P. G. The first trial was made within the ranks of the Party itself. Even to-day good-natured conciliators are to be found who speak of a "decay of the C. I. sections", of "reproof instead of conviction", of "exaggerated organisational inferences", and the like. What was the real state of affairs in Germany? The Brandler group responded to the resolutions of the VI. World Congress of the C. I. with an organised rebellion and immediately adopted a policy of dissension. With lightning speed, this group abandoned the basis of the October revolution and of the Comintern and declared itself to be the inheritor and executor of the glorious traditions of the Left Social-Democratic groups of the 1910—1914 period.

This rebellion on the part of an openly opportunist group was opposed by the entire C. P. G., save for a small group of conciliators. Even in the days following on the 26th of August, 1928, when the Rights and the conciliators had succeeded in forcing a false resolution on the C. C., the Party, represented by its best and most prominent fighting organisations, succeeded in adopting a correct attitude in favour of the C. C. of the C. P. G., with Comrade Thälmann at its head, as opposed to the Right and conciliatory factions.

Even the "inheritors" of the glorious traditions of the German Social-Democrats — Brandler and Thalheimer — find it difficult to fathom the significance of the attitude adopted by the Party after August 26th. They may go as far as they

will in maintaining that the attitude of the majority of the C. P. G. was manufactured with the aid of the "apparatus", but they are not in a position to explain the irrefutable fact that, just after the C. C. had committed a tactical error under the pressure of the Right conciliators, the Party managed to react to this error in a correct and Bolshevik sense and that **without even awaiting the resolution of the C. I.**

The first test of the correctness of the C. I. tactics has already shown that the Party has grown and that it is able to repulse all reformist attacks, to strengthen its ranks against all deviations, and to increase its influence on the broad masses of workers. This subsequent test has already proved that, as things stand at present, the achievements recorded in the fight against the Right deviations are an outcome of the connection between an objective factor — the aggravation of the contradictions undermining capitalist stabilisation — and a subjective one — the qualitative growth of the Communist Party.

Disappointed in its "honest Henry", the "Vorwärts" is directing its attention to the alleged "self-laceration" in the ranks of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. With real delight the "Vorwärts" (of March 29th) tells its readers that police are on guard in front of the premises of the Red Labour Unions for the purpose of "defending the property of the lawful proprietors" (the emphasis being that of the "Vorwärts" itself). The "Vorwärts" then proceeds to declare that a split is inevitable and that the skeleton of a new oppositional party has already been formed for the purpose of initiating the fight "against Moscow".

The fight of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia perhaps yet more convincingly shows the reality and seriousness of the Right danger against which the VI. Congress of the C. I. has opened fire. In contradistinction to a whole series of other sections of the C. I., and in particular to the C. P. G., the C. P. Cz., formed by a split in the Social-Democratic Party of that country, has never been obliged to wage any struggle of the masses in which the vanguard of the working class might have been steeled and the openly opportunist elements eliminated.

The Bolshevisation of the C. P. Cz. ensued at an unusually slow rate. The Czechoslovakian question was discussed in detail by a special commission of the VI. Congress of the C. I., which set up the slogan of a development "from opportunist lethargy to Bolshevik activity". This slogan became the lever for the mobilisation of all the militant forces of the Communist Party. It appeared that the Bolshevik elements were in no favourable position. The lack of revolutionary traditions and customs was augmented by the fact that the entire trade-union apparatus was in the hands of the Right (Hais) group and the Party apparatus in those of the conciliators (Jilek, Bölen). Even if the Communist elements of the C. P. Cz. had desired to adopt "exaggerated organisational inferences" and had attempted to substitute "reproof for conviction", they would not have been in a position to do so. They were forced by circumstances to fight exclusively with mental weapons.

And what was the outcome of this mental struggle? An answer to this question is furnished by the Party Congress of the C. P. Cz., which took place in February 1929. On this occasion neither the Right group nor the conciliators were able to record a single vote, which proves that the patient and untiring work of the Communist International with a view to the Bolshevisation of the C. P. Cz. had contributed to the creation of a Bolshevik nucleus, even if it had not borne any outwardly tangible fruits.

The existence of this Bolshevik nucleus on the one hand and the accelerated rate of development of the class struggle on the other, caused the political and mental bankruptcy not only of the openly Right elements supporting Hais and Šykora, but also of the conciliatory middle group under the leadership of Jilek and Bölen.

We already know how the Right group reacted to the resolutions of the V. Party Congress. That Hais and his group seized possession of the premises, the property, and the funds of the Party, is recorded with praise not only by the "Vorwärts" but also by the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, police, and tribunals. It is no mere coincidence that the selisame bourgeoisie, which has persecuted the Communist Party and the Red Labour Unions in every conceivable way with a view to forcing the

into a state of illegality, should have sponsored the coup organised by Hais. The conciliators meanwhile, support the police-protected disrupters and violators by directing their activity against the Party Congress and the C. C. elected by it.

The Right group relies on the police, while the conciliators concoct the appeals of writers and deputies; the overwhelming majority of Party and trade-union members, however, stand by the Party.

The tactics adopted by Hais and his accomplices show how mature, nay more than mature, the necessity was of purging the Party and of the Red Labour Unions of such openly counter-revolutionary elements. It is easy to imagine in what position the C. P. Cz. and the Red Labour Unions would have found themselves in the eventuality of an immediate revolutionary upheaval or of an imperialist war, if they had had within their ranks, and even at their head, such "Communists" as are to-day opposing the convocation of the Party Congress and prefer to rely on the State, as being "above the classes".

The greatest merit of the VI. Congress of the C. I. lies in the fact that it furnished a detailed analysis of the third period and revealed the opportunist dangers threatening the Communist Parties which are now called upon to fight with particular energy and tenacity for the purpose of developing wholesale class-struggles and of turning the imperialist intervention in the Soviet Union into a civil war in the capitalist countries. In this connection it must not be forgotten that the tactical directives formulated with such clarity by the VI. Congress had already been suggested in all their details by the 9th Plenum, whose resolutions on the one hand formed the starting-point for the development of the directives of the Communist Party in its economic struggles and on the other hand entailed an immediate tactical readjustment in the C. P. of Great Britain and the C. P. of France.

The new tactical directives can therefore be estimated on the basis of the experience not only of the last six months but of the entire last year. The French Chamber elections in May 1928 constituted the first test of the new tactics of the C. P. F. Although the entire bourgeoisie of France, including the Socialist Party, had united and although not only the Right group but also the conciliators within the ranks of the C. P. F. had opposed the new tactics, the Party succeeded in polling more votes at the 1928 elections than at those of 1924, when it had concluded various arrangements with the Socialist Party. It is true, that the Party has forfeited certain mandates. But the small number of deputies who fought their way to Parliament in spite of all obstacles placed in the path of the C. P., is undoubtedly of incomparably more political value than the great number of mandates which resulted for the Party at the elections of 1924.

At the last Party Congress of the C. P. F., Comrade Doriot, who had stood at the head of the conciliators after the 9th Plenum and after the VI. Congress, declared that if his suggestions, which represented a deviation from the electoral class tactics, had been accepted, the result would have been a weakening of the Party and of its internal consolidation.

This is putting it far too mildly. If the C. P. F. had really gone the way prescribed by Comrade Doriot, it would have been in danger of absolute degeneration. Also in regard to France we may see that the new tactics were necessitated by the shifting of class-relations on the basis of the aggravated contradictions of the present period, but that their success is an outcome of the experiences of the Communist Party in its struggle against deviations from its proper directives.

These three examples, referring respectively to the Parties of Germany, Czechoslovakia, and France, afford a general picture of the qualitative growth of the Communist Parties, show the character of the struggle against the Right deviations, and reveal the true aspect of the Right danger. The fight is in full progress. In this fight the sections of the Communist International fulfill the main directives of Leninism, since they develop into the vanguard of the working class, absorb its best representatives, connect them most intimately with themselves, and prepare for the resolute, ruthless, and decisive fight against capitalism.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### The Development of Agriculture and the Tax Alleviations for the Middle Peasantry.

Theses on the Report given by Comrade Kalinin at the XVI. National Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. Confirmed by the Polit-Bureau of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

#### I.

1. The restoration period led to the result that the poor and middle peasantry appropriated not only the land allotted to them, but also the greater part of the land of the former landowners, the State lands ceded to them, and those kulak estates taken from the kulaks. Despite the advancing differentiation of the village, the middle peasant has established himself as the central figure of agriculture. At the same time the poor and middle peasantry have been provided to an ever increasing extent with the means of production; their cultural level has been raised. From year to year the supply of draught animals for the peasant farms has improved. To-day the peasant farms possess more agricultural machinery than before the war. The co-operation organisations embracing several villages extend their field of work over about one third of the total area of land, those whose work is confined to one village affect about one fifth of the total area. The area cultivated on the multiple course system has increased to 10 million hectares. Sorted seed will be sown in 1929 on about one tenth of the total grain growing area. A number of technical plants, the cultivation of which belonged to the privileges of the landowner before the war (the beetroot for instance), are now being steadily cultivated in the fields of the peasantry, and the cultivation of technical raw materials exceeds the pre-war level by over 60 per cent. The industrialisation of agriculture is spreading to one branch of production after another (industries working up oil, flax, potatoes, vegetables, fruit, animal products, etc.). The provision of agricultural machinery in 1928-29 is 2½ times greater than before the war. For the first time chemical fertilisers are being used for technical plants in the fields of our peasantry. The agricultural co-operatives embrace more than one third of all peasant farms.

Tractors, which were utterly unknown on the peasant farm before the revolution, are now being increasingly employed from year to year (by 1928 the number of tractors at work had risen to 36,000). The number of collective farms increases every year (last year the number was doubled, reaching 37,000 by 1st October 1928), and their work gains steadily in efficiency. The old Soviet farms are being extended and new ones organised (in the current year the area cultivated by the Soviet farms was 1,400,000 hectares).

2. But whilst agriculture as a whole is thus progressing, certain branches of it, especially grain growing, show a distinct retardation in their rates of development. The reason of this reduced speed of agricultural development, and of the extremely small proportion of agricultural produce sold as commodities, is to be sought in the scattered nature of peasant farming (the number of peasant farms increased during the revolution from 16 to 25 million), in its quasi natural economic character, (the proportion of agricultural products coming into the market as commodities is only about half as great, per centually, as before the war), and in the low level of agricultural technics and culture. Whilst the restoration period has made it possible for the small individual farms to make rapid progress, thanks chiefly to the appropriation of the former landowners' estates, and of the State and kulak farms, the completion of the restoration work now enables us to see how limited are the possibilities of development of the small agricultural undertaking, and especially how small the possibility that it will increase its output of market commodities so long as it retains its present size and its present methods of production. That the speed of agricultural development falls far short of that of industry is a fact bound to lead to difficulties in the regulation of both the food and the raw material supplies, the more so when we take into consideration the rapidly growing demand for grain and raw materials.

Hence, persevering and systematic work for the reconstruction of agriculture is an urgent necessity: the establishment

of socialised agricultural large-scale production on a basis of the highest level of technical progress this to be combined with the simultaneous promotion of the development of the small and middle individual peasant farms.

3. The establishment of large scale agricultural production, undoubtedly the most effectual method of overcoming the backwardness of agriculture, can only be achieved in one of two ways: Either by the formation of large capitalist or rich peasant undertakings, or by the formation of socialist agricultural undertakings on a large scale (Soviet farms, combination of small farms in collective undertakings, communes, production co-operatives and societies, etc.) The answer to the question whether the masses of the peasantry are to remain the faithful allies of the working class, or to let themselves be estranged from the workers by the bourgeoisie, depends upon the direction taken by the development of agriculture — whether towards socialism or capitalism, and therefore upon those who will have the leadership of the development of agriculture: the kulaks or the socialist State. The capitalist development of the village signifies, — as shown in the examples afforded by the capitalist countries, that a powerful capitalist class (kulaks) is formed in the village, and that this, by means of the ruthless exploitation of millions of small undertakings, and by means of destroying and absorbing these undertakings, contrives to concentrate in its own hands the bulk of the means of production and the main mass of agricultural production.

The Soviet power opposes to this capitalist method of creating a great individual agricultural undertaking the proletarian method of creating a great socialised undertaking, to be realised by co-operative production, and by collectivising the small and dwarf undertakings, with the aid and guidance of the Soviet power, so that their collective efforts may enable them to join together in larger units, and to rise to a higher level of technics and culture. This path of development, the sole path of emancipation for the millions of the peasant masses from ruin and misery, does not merely mean the restriction of the capitalist elements in the village, but at the same time their **suppression by the great socialised (state and co-operative) undertaking.** Here the Communist Party is guided by Lenin's words on this subject:

"If the peasantry can develop further, then the way of further transition, too, must be firmly secured. But the further transition consists of the gradual joining together of the least advantageous and most backward small individual peasant farms, and their organisation in one socialised large-scale agricultural undertaking."

4. The Soviet power and the Communist Party, in fulfilling the task of accelerating the advance of agriculture, and of establishing socialised large-scale agricultural production, base their measures on the present stage of development of the Soviet country:

a) On the rapid development of industry, and especially on the rapid growth of the production of agricultural machinery;

b) on the systematic regulation of national economy, combining the development of agriculture with the rapid growth of industry;

c) on the nationalisation of the land, which cheapens agricultural production and enables the peasants to expend for purposes of production means which, under conditions of private property in land, they would have to employ for the purchase of land;

d) on the systematic restrictions placed upon the growth of capitalism in the village, by which the poor and middle peasants are freed from the yoke of the kulak, and their economic advance made possible;

e) on the growth of co-operation in production, enabling the small and dwarf undertakings, by means of combination in the process of production, to enjoy those advantages of large-scale production which, in a capitalist state of society, are only open to the big peasants;

f) on the general application of the nationalised credit system and of the state budget for the advancement of agriculture;

g) on the unconditional support afforded the policy of the Party in the sphere of agriculture, by the working class and by the working masses of the village.

Hence, whilst the essential completion of the restoration period has made apparent the limited possibilities of a continued rapid advance of the small farms, at the same time the means

at the disposal of the proletarian State have improved both qualitatively and quantitatively, and these are means which will enable it to utilise the advantages of the Soviet system for accelerating the speed of development of agriculture on the basis of the latest mechanical technics, and for combining the small agricultural undertakings on the basis of collective work.

5. In the land of the Soviets socialised large-scale agriculture does not develop by absorbing, destroying, annihilating, and ruining the small and dwarf undertakings, nor by fighting against these, but by strengthening these units economically, promoting their growth, and raising them to the highest level of technics, culture, and organisation. Socialised large-scale agriculture does not oppose the poor and middle peasant farm as a hostile force, but stands shoulder to shoulder with it, as a helper, as an example showing the advantages of the large-scale undertaking as organiser of support for the small and middle undertakings during their gradual combination in large-scale undertakings. It is on these lines that the Party carries on its practical work in the village: it combines the giving of economic, technical, and agricultural support to the poor, middle, and individual undertakings — arousing thereby more and more the immediate interest of the poor and middle peasantry in the improvement of their own farms — with the firmer establishment and extension of the positions of the State agricultural large-scale undertakings and the collective farms.

The most effectual method of accomplishing the absolutely necessary intensification of agricultural labour productivity being the establishment of socialised large-scale agriculture, the Party and the Soviet power must continue their work uninterruptedly from year to year (in correspondence with the extension of the material basis provided by industry) at the task of furthering the organisation of the growth of the collective undertakings, and must extend to these a steadily growing financial and material support.

At the same time the Party takes into account that the individual poor and middle peasant farms will continue to form the main factor in the growth of agricultural production during the next few years, and that the small undertaking has not yet by any means exhausted its possibilities, nor will it exhaust them for some time to come.

Therefore the Party must strive to overcome the technical, cultural, and organisational backwardness of the poor and middle peasant farm, to increase its yield, and to extend the area of the land it cultivates, and must constantly intensify its efforts in this direction.

It is only in this way — the combination of work for the accomplishment of the most important task, that of organising a large-scale socialist agriculture, with the daily work entailed by the extensive organisational, technical, and economic aid to be given to the individual small and medium peasant farms, and with the task of further restricting the expansion of the big peasant — that the Party can fulfil the task confronting it: that of organiser and leader in the raising of the working productivity of agriculture.

Besides the old forms of collaboration with the main masses of the peasantry by the development and increase of goods traffic between industry and agriculture, and the development of the co-operative forms of commercial intercourse between town and country, new forms of collaboration are now coming to the front, and developing on the basis of a productive connection between the working class and the peasantry.

If the peasantry has held to the working class up to now mainly because it has had faith in the results of the revolutionary work of the latter (extermination of the landowning class and transference of the land to the peasantry), and if this faith is to be maintained and confirmed during the present stage of development, then this can only be done if the Soviet power provides systematic aid to the production efforts of the poor and middle peasantry, enabling these to increase the productivity of agricultural labour.

The most important methods of solving this task, and the most important new forms of collaboration, acquiring greater importance year by year, are:

a) The organisation of new Soviet farms and the improvement of work on the old Soviet farms, making these into great agricultural factories and centres for lending all-round aid to the individual farms of the middle and poor peasantry;

b) The formation of new collective farming undertakings and the expansion of the old, as the highest forms of productive

co-operation, and of the gathering together of the scattered peasant farms in socialised undertakings;

c) The laying down of a broad network of State and co-operative **machine and tractor stations**, as one of the methods for the socialisation of the most important processes of production among the whole mass of individual undertakings;

d) The general development of the productive co-operatives, accompanied by a constant and increasing strengthening of the elements of socialised agricultural enterprise within them;

e) The further development of the **multitudinous contra-stations** for agricultural products, not only as a connecting form of agricultural industrial development, but at the same time as a method for enhancing the productivity of the poor and middle farms;

1) The development of the work being done by the State and co-operative organs for the increased yield per unit of land in the small and dwarf farming undertakings, and for the utilisation of the means and possibilities already existing for enhancing the productivity of the small and middle farms (com-massation, loan centres, seed cleaning centres, repair shops, war on insect and other pests, replacement of unsorted seed by sorted, etc.).

6. In the question of the possibility of the actual introduction of new forms of collaboration, a **decisive rôle is played by the further development of industry**. The Party, in its efforts for the industrialisation of the country, proceeds from the standpoint that in the country of the proletarian dictatorship the development of industry "must create the material basis for a mighty enhancement of the productivity of agricultural labour, in that it thereby induces the small farmers, in view of the example furnished and for their own advantage, to go over to the collective, machine-using large-scale agricultural undertaking". (Lenin, on the agrarian question.)

While in a capitalist state of society industry applies itself, even in its initial stages of development, to supplying foreign markets and the colonies, and in its highest stage of development serves military and imperialist ends, in the Soviet State industry serves the object — and with increasing efficiency with its increasing powers — of promoting the technical and cultural advance of the main mass of the peasant farms, and the creation of a great State and collective agricultural system. The events of the last few years fully confirm this. The main method of accelerating the upward movement of agriculture, and of securing those forms of collaboration corresponding to the new stage of agricultural development, lies in the **further expansion of industry. This is the first premise for the advancement of agriculture itself, for the emancipation of the peasants from poverty, and for the gathering together of the scattered peasant undertakings in one large socialised one.**

This is the general line of the Party in the peasant question at the present stage of socialist construction. This line is laid down entirely on the Leninist methods of the firmer establishment of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and derives authority from the decisions of the 15th Party Congress.

## II.

### The Chief Errors of the Rights in the Peasant Question.

The carrying out of the general line of the Party in the peasant question demands long years of tense exertion of the whole of the forces in the working class, and encounters the difficulties **inherent in the present stage of capitalist encirclement, of technical and economic backwardness of the country, of the numerical preponderance of the petty bourgeois elements in the population, and of the growing resistance of the capitalist elements to the socialist offensive.** Under these conditions the progress of the building up of socialism is inevitably accompanied by certain waverings in the petty bourgeois strata, and among certain strata of the working class. These waverings again find expression among some strata of the Party, which have succumbed to the influence of the petty bourgeois elements, and deviate from the general line of the Party in the direction of an adaptation of the Party policy to bourgeois ideology. This is the source of the vacillations and errors of the Right elements of the Party, and these vacillations are especially **dangerous** under the present circumstances.

The most important of these errors of the Right in the peasant question may be summed up as follows:

1. In spite of the decision of the XV. Party Congress, the representatives of the Right deviation endeavour to hamper the

**development of the Soviet farms and collective agricultural undertakings**, although this development is of decisive importance not only for the future of the Soviet country, since these forms of agriculture will assume dominant positions in it, but for the present situation, since the Soviet State opposes its State and collective forms of large-scale agricultural enterprise to the creation of great agricultural undertakings of the kulak type. The course adopted by the Right in rejecting the organisation of great socialist grain factories and the steadily increasing promotion of collective agricultural undertakings, and in rejecting the systematic and determined re-organisation of agriculture on a large-scale basis, is regarded by the Party as an **actual desertion into the camp of the kulaks, as an actual renunciation of the leading rôle of the working class in the development of agricultural production.** The Party rejects this Right deviation from the Party line with the same decision with which it rejected, some years ago, that Trotskyist distortion of the Party line which headed for the dissolution of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

2. In spite of the undeniable symptoms of growth in agriculture, and of its qualitative progress, the representatives of the Right deviation conceal their opportunist platform in the question of the direction to be pursued by agricultural development behind a lot of talk about the "degradation of agriculture". These outcries from the Right on the "degradation of agriculture" and their anti-Leninist theory of "constant concessions" to the petty bourgeois strata of the village (abandonment of the control exercised by the State organs on the markets, abandonment of the individual taxation of the upper kulak stratum, etc.) represent in actual practice the **ideological reflection of the pressure on the Soviet State of the capitalist elements striving to lead the village into capitalist paths.** The Party decisively rejects the capitulatory standpoint of the Right, for its practical consequence would be the abandonment of the proletarian leadership of the peasantry.

3. Despite the decisions of the XV. Party Congress, the representatives of the Right deviation are striving to substitute the party line of "intensified offensive against the kulaks" by a policy of living peacefully together with the kulak and waiting until the "kulak grows into socialism". In actual practice this means the adoption of a course, on the part of the Right elements, leading to the rejection of that main line of the Party directed towards the abolition of class antagonism. The line of the Right leads to the perpetuation of the exploitation of the poor and middle peasant masses by the kulaks.

Out of this arises the **opportunist denial of the fact of the intensification of the class struggle in the village, and this although Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the proletarian dictatorship does not mean the cessation of class warfare, but its combination in new and often most acute forms, especially in connection with the successful supplanting of the capitalist elements by the socialist under the condition given by the N. E. P.** The Party **decisively rejects the anti-Leninist theory that the kulak will grow into socialism, for this is a theory tending to disarm the working class in the presence of its class enemies, to lull to sleep its revolutionary watchfulness, and to weaken its fighting capacity for overcoming economic difficulties on the general line laid down by the Party.**

4. The representatives of the Right deviation attempt to conceal the rôle and importance of the **independent organisation of the broad masses of the rural poor.** These attempts, or the maintenance of silence with regard to this most important Party task, are directed in actual practice not only against the village poor, but at the same time against the middle peasant, for the organisation of the poor peasantry has for its aim the strengthening of the fulcrums of the Soviet power in the village, the offering of increased resistance to the kulak, and the firmer establishment of the alliance between the village poor and the middle peasantry with the aid of these fulcrums. The Party **decisively rejects these attempts to drag the Party into the opportunist bog of a policy of abandonment as the task of strengthening a free hand to the kulak in his war on the village poor.**

5. The C. C. has mobilised the will and activity of the working class for the realisation of industrialisation at a maximum speed, in conjunction with measures for the economic uplift of the broad masses of the peasantry and the organisation of socialised large-scale agricultural undertakings. In opposition to Lenin's direct reference to the fact that "the sole material basis of socialism can only be the great machine industry, which is capable of reorganising agriculture at the same time", the re-

representatives of the Right deviation are endeavouring to reduce the speed of industrial development.

The Party decidedly rejects this standpoint. **Not capitulation** by a slowing down of the pace of development of industry, but a firmer establishment of collaboration by means of intensified industrialisation, and by means of the rapid development of those branches of industry which serve to provide the means of production for agriculture which is now in process of re-organisation — this is the standpoint of the Party.

These main errors of the Right elements of the Party, as also the tendency to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards these errors, represent at the present juncture that chief danger against which the efforts of the Party must be directed. The Conference is of the opinion that unless this danger is overcome, it is impossible to surmount successfully the difficulties opposing the enhancement and reconstruction of agriculture.

The Party will continue, in the future as in the past, to carry out determinedly the Leninist slogan: sustained by the village poor, firm alliance with the middle peasant, war against the kulak. The Party strides forward on the path pointed out by Lenin, and with that same determination with which it once rejected the Trotskyist renunciation of the alliance with the middle peasantry, it now rejects the course being pursued by the right towards the renunciation of the leading rôle of the working class in the development of agriculture. It is only in this way that the Party can fulfil the tasks set it: the task of establishing more firmly the alliance with the middle peasants and strengthening the leading rôle of the working class in this alliance, the task of creating socialised large-scale agricultural undertakings, and the task of raising the whole mass of poor and middle peasant farms to the highest level of technics, culture, and organisation.

(To be continued.)

## The Contract of the Thousands.

Moscow, April 10th, 1929.

A street-demonstration of several tens of thousands of workers gave the town of Tver a festive appearance. The motive of this demonstration was neither a revolutionary anniversary, nor yet were the masses protesting at the impudent provocation of some imperialist Power. The flags and banners carried with true revolutionary fervour bore inscriptions of a somewhat unusual nature, such as "Down with the Costs of Production!", "We pledge ourselves to reduce the costs of production by 10 per cent. by the 1st of May", "More Discipline in Work!", "We sign the Contract of the Thousands".

The "Contract of the Thousands", the conclusion of which gave rise to this imposing mass-demonstration, is an agreement among the staffs of nine textile works of Tver, Moscow, and Ivano-Vosnessensk, by which 58,000 textile workers engage to realise the plan of output for the current economic year to its full extent. Hardly has Socialist competition begun to bear its first fruits, when the initiative of the ruling working-class enriches the forces of Socialist development by new forms of proletarian mass-activity. The enthusiasm of the masses for Socialist development is no mere matter of sentiment. It is expressed in the balance of production in the form of figures, per cents, and millions of roubles. The magnificent economic plan, on the basis of which the proletariat of the Soviet Union has in the course of a few years doubled and trebled industrial production, not only depends on certain calculations on paper but finds one of its most important factors in the co-operation of the masses, who are conscious of being the masters of the Soviet Union and of its production. The historically significant contract — the first Socialist productive contract of numerous workers — reads as follows:

"The economy of the country is at an important turning-point. After overcoming the difficulties of the civil war, the famine period, the blockade, and the economic decline, we have now advanced from the period of reconstruction to the period of new construction. The country is faced with tremendous tasks referring to the new construction of economy, to the forced industrialisation, and to a thorough Socialist transformation of agriculture.

"The successful execution of these tasks calls for the mobilisation of all forces of the working class on the economic front. What is needed is a persistent and systematic fight for the enhancement of working productivity, the consolidation of working discipline, and the reduction of prime costs.

"In the name of the workers, employees, engineers and technical operatives of the "Treichgornaia Manufaktura" of Moscow (7124 persons), the "Proletarian Manufacture" of Tver (14,208 persons), the "Vagsharov" textile works (5874 persons), the "Perevolotzk" Manufacture (335 persons), the Vishnievolotzk factories (9780 persons), and the Ivanovo-Vosnessensk factories (58,389 workers of both sexes, we, the undersigned representatives of the workers of the said factories, in keeping with the precepts of our teacher Lenin and after the mobilisation of broad working masses for the execution of the tasks of industrialisation facing the Soviet Union, as also in the interest of their successful effectuation, do hereby initiate a Socialist competition among all these factories to take place by the end of the operating-year 1928/29. The object of this competition is the most successful execution of the tasks indicated by the Party and the Government, as laid down in the industrial and financial plans of the factories.

"We conclude an economic-political contract and render a solemn revolutionary oath that we shall fully execute the plans of our enterprises in faithful adherence to our revolutionary proletarian promise.

"So as to render this competition as successful as possible we engage to effect the following tasks:

1. By the international proletarian holiday (May 1st) we shall have brought about such a reduction of the costs of production as will ensure the full execution of the industrial plans. On May 1st we shall for the first time control the realisation of the obligations we have undertaken on the basis of the present agreement.

2. We shall strengthen the working discipline in our factories, put an end to arbitrary absenteeism from work, and energetically combat all neglect of work, all waste of raw materials, and all negligent treatment of the machinery and tools.

3. We shall reduce spoiled goods and machine damages to a minimum.

4. We shall increase the productivity per machine-unit and avoid the unproductive working of machines.

5. We shall see to it that no worker or technical employee absent himself from the production conferences.

6. We shall put through the economically well-founded suggestions of the workers which make for a reduction in the costs of output, including both suggestions made during the competitive discussions and those submitted subsequently.

7. We shall exchange notes on the current status of our operations by means of regular publications in the "Tverskaia Pravda", the "Rabotshi Krai", and the "Rabotshaia Moskva".

"Once more promising to effect all the engagements above enumerated, we pledge ourselves to carry out all measures necessary for the realisation of the tasks set us by the Party and the Government.

"We call on the workers of the whole Soviet Union to follow our example.

"On to new victories! For the general directives of the Party! For the reduction of the costs of production!" (There follow the signatures.)

## The British Trade Union Delegation in Soviet Russia.

From the "Pravda" of 6th April.

The industry of Great Britain is at present in a difficult position. The rapidly developing and technically much better equipped industry of the United States is ousting British capital and British goods from those markets in which British industry felt that it had the hegemony. German industry is likewise on a technically higher level; it is fighting against the pressure of the Dawes Plan and is compelled to export at any price, with the result that it is creating extraordinary difficulties for the normal work of British industry. British industry is technically backward. Its rivals are driving it to the wall and reducing the basis of its development and at the same time are creating incredible difficulties for a technical reorganisation of British industry.

British industry must, however, be reorganised. This reorganisation demands an extension of markets, and consequently necessitates a considerable increase in exports.

British industrial capital does not, of course, cherish the slightest sympathy for the work of political and social construc-

tion proceeding in the Soviet Union. Therefore everything was done at one time to get hold of the markets. Attempts were made to crush us by military intervention. These attempts did not succeed. Attempts were made to starve us out. But this also we survived. They wished to frighten us by breaking off relations. But we were not intimidated. We cannot be broken by force. Our population of 150 millions has shown that it can fight for its own interests, that it knows how to defend itself. Those who wish to have access to our markets must reckon with the fact of the existence of the Soviet system as it is, and must seek the way of compromise with us. The attempt to overcome us by force and to exploit our country like a colony cannot boast of any success up to the present; and all such will be doomed to complete failure also in the future.

The representatives of the Soviet Government, therefore, stated quite clearly:

"The broad economic collaboration of Great Britain with the developing economy of the Soviet Union is possible only on the basis of a renewal of normal diplomatic relations between the two governments."

That is the first necessary prerequisite. The trade delegation must understand that we are prepared to seek an understanding, but that we can only enter into an understanding which is advantageous to the workers in the Soviet Union. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union will not accept a disadvantageous understanding. The good sense and the real interests of the industrialists of Great Britain must bring about a solution advantageous to both sides. What form this solution will take the future will show. Meanwhile, we can say with certainty that we shall not enter into any compromise unless normal diplomatic relations between both countries are first established. It is impossible to discuss those big questions, without which the whole of the broad programme of economic collaboration, of which our government commission spoke, can hardly be carried out, if there exist no relations between the government of the Soviet Union and the government of Great Britain. Normal diplomatic relations are the unconditional necessary premise not only for the settlement of all disputed questions but also for the actual consideration of these questions. This is an indispensable, even if not adequate, condition.

We therefore reckon upon the delegation of the British industry arriving at the fundamental conclusion that the immediate restoration of normal relations between both countries is necessary. If these relations are restored all the other questions can be raised. Without the restoration of these relations, it is impossible even to raise these questions.

## PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

### The Revolt of the French Black Sea Fleet.

Tenth Anniversary of the Revolt.

By Andre Marty (Paris).

The leader of the revolt, Comrade Marty, whom the proletariat has already once wrested from the clutches of his jailers, is again pining behind prison walls on account of his fight against imperialist war.

Contrary to the widely-held view, the "Black Sea Revolt" was not merely an act of mutiny of the crew of the French war-ships, which had been sent to the Black Sea in 1919. It was far more extensive in character, for it included the mutiny of the French troops of occupation in South Ukraine and in the Crimea (February to May 1919), the revolts of the crew of the French war-ships in the Black Sea (April to July 1919), the revolt of the French sailors on the ships outside the Black Sea and in the ports (June to August 1919). As the revolts in the Black Sea however were the most important ones, they gave the name to the whole movement which was roused by French intervention in Russia.

#### The Causes.

The causes of the revolts are not only to be looked for in the conditions of living of the troops and the crews of the ships. As a matter of fact, the soldiers and sailors in the Black Sea and in Russia were very badly fed, very badly housed

and insufficiently clothed in a cold climate, they rarely got enough and rarely received letters; they were therefore longing for demobilisation. Nevertheless their position was more favourable than was that of their comrades in the trenches of the Vardar or in the submarines. The miserable material conditions in which they found themselves, were only favourable preliminary conditions for revolutionary action and, above all, they were of decisive significance in respect of the spirit of their demands.

The two essential causes of the revolts were the resumption of war and the moral influence of the October revolution.

Even in the eyes of the most naive soldiers, the armistice with Bulgaria, with Turkey and soon after that with the Central Powers had one quite simple and clear meaning: the termination of war. But behold! hardly had the transport of the 15th division left Salonica and been disembarked in Odessa on December 18th 1918, than the French troops were already engaged in lively combats of the volunteers against Petljura's troops. The roar of guns and the salvos were heard quite distinctly from the warships which were riding at anchor in the road and cleared for action.

War has then begun once more! The constant skirmishes which followed the landing of the troops simply made on them the impression that, although war had come to an end in France it was here once more resumed. These were the first seeds of discontent which developed more and more.

On the other hand, the soldiers and sailors wanted to know with whom they were actually at war. They succeeded at last in getting into touch with Russian workers. They learnt from pamphlets and newspapers published in French what kind of persons these Bolsheviki are. At the same time they were more or less well informed about the action taken by the revolutionary minority in France. Soldiers returning from the front and above all the lately recruited troops sent as reinforcements, took with them "The Wave", issued by Brisson, a "fighting newspaper" of the socialist minority which appeared weekly, and every single number of which often passed through hundreds of hands. The socialist interventions in the Chamber on December 29th and 30th 1918 (Alexandre Blanc, Cachin, Brisson) and chiefly that on March 24th 1919 (Lafont, Cachin, Mayeras) and in June 1919 (Cachin, Lafont) roused a powerful response. Almost all the soldiers of the army in the Orient belonged to regiments which had been recalled from the French front because of their "evil spirit". Thanks to the afflux of reserves the sailors were extremely irritated against their incapable and absurdly reactionary officers. At first they found the Bolsheviki sympathetic, then they became their friends. Discussions were held everywhere on Bolshevism and on revolution.

The General Staff made every effort to maintain the "morale" among the troops. They spread the most fantastical stories about the Bolsheviki, stories about children who had been eaten by prisoners who had been cut to pieces etc. They were received with mockery. The General Staff went further; propagandists were shot and hanged. Jeanne Labourbe and the other comrades, five of them women, were murdered by French officers in the night of March 1st. This cruel deed taught caution, but action developed more and more.

The French "police" tortures prisoners, for instance Lestchajin, President of the Party Committee of the Bolsheviki. Stojaj; Rear-Admiral Legay bombards Cherson and slaughters more than 100 women and children. These events increase the indignation which prevails. It was a frequent occurrence in Odessa that French soldiers tore off their medals and threw them to the ground in a fury when they witnessed Russian workers being taken to prison.

At the beginning of February, the disintegration of the army reached a serious degree, towards the end of March it had developed so far that even non-commissioned officers were infected with it. Some of them chiefly those in charge of training soldiers, sympathise with the Russian revolution, others are full of indignation against the government which they hold responsible for the disintegration in the army. A single example: Cottin's attempt on Clemenceau's life was greeted with passionate enthusiasm by the soldiers and sailors.

In this way, hatred of warfare and the luminous example of the Russian revolution disintegrated a victorious army in a few weeks.

#### Facts.

In February, the territory of the Ukraine under occupation extended from Tiraspol on the Dniester to the Black Sea. The

is to the territory of Cherson and Nikolaiev. The front forms approximately a curve the centre of which is Odessa. The whole of the Crimea is occupied; the troops are composed of French, Greeks, Poles, Serbs and volunteers. In Sebastopol there is an English division. Bertelot, the General in command, has his quarters in Bucharest and is endeavouring to effect a general mobilisation of Roumania. General d'Anselme holds the command in Odessa.

The revolt developed in three essential phases:

1. **Refusal to march.** A number of battalions refused to advance against the Red Army, the Red Guards and the Red partisans. A few examples: On January 30th one battalion of the 58th Infantry regiment and two battalions of the Alpine regiment left Bender in Bessarabia in order to take possession of Tiraspol which was occupied by the Red Guards. They marched off under vehement protests on the part of the infantry who reproached the artillery with obeying orders.

At the first rattling of the machine gun salvos, the 58th regiment refused to fight and withdrew, carrying the artillery with it. When, after Tiraspol had been taken by other troops, they were again ordered to march into that town, they only did so under the condition that there would be no fighting and that the whole General Staff should be in the first carriage. The machine guns were placed at the doors of the other carriages in order to prevent any treachery on the part of the officers. Later, the regiment was disarmed and sent to Morocco. Events of this kind occurred repeatedly in various places. The French troops, which sometimes succeeded in carrying with them Greek troops and others, refused to advance against the "Reds" and, as for instance on the occasion of the attack on Odessa on April 3rd to mount the guns.

But the time had already come when the soldiers were no longer satisfied with refusing to obey orders. A corps of the 7th regiments of engineers received their officers with gun fire. It could only be persuaded with great difficulty to follow the army which was retreating on Akkerman. On April 5th, Odessa was evacuated. Whole units of troops, surrounded by Greek troops, left the town, singing the "International". The troops arrived in Akkerman in complete dissolution. Officers of high rank and generals left the town in great haste on ships or motor-cars.

2. **The Black Sea Revolt.** The sailors were witnesses of the complete disorder prevailing on the occasion of the evacuation of Odessa on April 5th. Even on board the warships discipline ceased to exist. Complete disintegration had taken place. On almost all the ships, the non-commissioned machine-gun officers made common cause with the crew, many non-commissioned warrant officers remained neutral.

No longer did they stop at the refusal to march, open revolt took place, the General Staff was asked to direct the fleet back to France and this demand was supported by threats. This was the second stage.

On April 16th, at midnight, I was arrested in Galatz (Roumania) together with three other sailors, amongst them Badina, as I was just returning to the torpedo-boat "Protest" of which I was the chief mechanic. I was coming back from a secret meeting. We had come from Odessa a few days ago and had formed the plan of capturing the first ship standing in the offing and taking it back to Odessa. We wanted to find out there in what way it would be possible to persuade a whole section of the Black Sea fleet to return to France. The conspiracy had just been betrayed "in time" by three police agents.

Three days later however, on the evening of April 19th, a revolt broke out on board the dreadnought "France", which was riding at anchor in front of Sebastopol, where shots had been fired on two days (April 16th and 17th) on the Red Army from armoured cruiser after the other for united action. On the next steamer armed with a 37 mm gun and tried to win over one armoured cruiser after the other for united action. On the next day, April 20th — Easter Sunday — the crews of the men-of-war "France" and "Jean Bart" solemnly hoisted the red flag on the mast of the bowsprit, at 8 a. m., whilst they sung the "International".

There was great agitation on all the ships. Meetings of sailors. In the afternoon, at 3 p. m., an imposing demonstration of French sailors in common with Russian workers engaged in the general strike, took place in the main streets of the town.

Enthusiasm beyond all description prevailed. Just at that time, at 3/30 p. m., the Greek sailors and some sailors of the "Jean Bart" opened fire on those taking part in the demonstration in the Norskaja street, by order of the Army Commander, Colonel Trousson. A large number of persons were killed and wounded; among the dead were five workers and a young girl. Almost at the same time, the red flag was hoisted on the mainmast of "France". The effect was an extraordinary one. Unprecedented disorder prevailed everywhere. The troops in the fortress left, the sailors threw the ammunition-boxes and machine-guns into the sea, singing the revolutionary song "Down with war and with the tyrants."

On the next day they demanded that the squadron should depart before April 28th. The war ships left the Black Sea one after the other in order to return to France. "Jean Bart" alone remained for another month at the gates of Constantinople. Revolutionary demonstrations of the crew in the town were an almost daily occurrence.

On April 23rd I was taken on board the "Waldeck-Rousseau", which was threatening Odessa, this town being in the hands of the Soviets. I succeeded in getting into touch with the crew. On April 27th, at 12 o'clock — I had been taken away from the ship by surprise an hour ago in order to be transported into a prison in Constantinople — the crew of the "Waldeck-Rousseau" mutinied and hoisted the red flag. The torpedo-destroyer "Fauconneau" joined in the movement, an ultimatum was put to the Admiral to the effect that they wanted either to return to France immediately or to enter the port of Odessa. The Admiral yielded.

At about the same time the crew of the fire-ship threw their commander overboard.

Similar demonstrations and movements took place on all the warships in the course of the months of April to July. The last ship which mutinied on July 30th in view of Odessa was the "Touarez".

3. **Towards insurrection.** In spite of strict censorship being exercised by the government, the warships which returned to France one after the other brought detailed news of the Russian revolution and of the mutinies. A new phase was then entered upon. It was no longer a case of revolts, attempts were made to bring about insurrection. Almost everywhere, sailors' committees were formed spontaneously which worked more or less secretly and were connected with revolutionary labour groups. The first preparations for insurrection were made.

Agitation developed with particular strength in Toulon. In spite of the condition of siege being declared in that town, the sailors tried to meet in the Sailors' Home and, finding it closed, held a meeting on an open place in the town. Lacaze, Vice-Admiral, was obliged to flee from them. On June 11th, a dreadnought of the name of "Provence" refused to put to sea and to set out to the Black Sea. The following demands were raised: All mutineers of the Black Sea should be set free! An end should be put to intervention with Russia! Immediate demobilisation! — A sailors' committee tried to transform itself into a revolutionary committee by endeavouring to expand with the help of soldiers and dock workers. Mounted gendarmes and cavalry took steps to disperse the demonstrators and, above all, to prevent them storming the naval prison. The sailors, being unarmed, were overpowered.

Scenes of similar vehemence also occurred in Brest and, to a lesser degree, in the other ports. On June 19th, the armed cruiser "Voltaire" refused to leave Bizerta and to sail for the Black Sea. On other warships also, reports received on events in Russia occasioned great demonstrations, not only in France but also in very remote places, for instance in Itea (Greece) where the cruiser "Guichen" was at anchor and on board the cruiser "D'Estrees" in Vladivostok.

The government only succeeded in checking this mighty movement by organising a mass demobilisation and the rapid disarming of numerous men-of-war.

In the meantime, the trials of the mutineers had begun on June 11th in Constantinople and Cattaro against the mutineers of the "Protet" and of the "Waldeck-Rousseau". The response was such, that the first trial had to be postponed to July 4th and that the government, in order to proceed with the other trials, had to wait until demobilisation was sufficiently advanced (September). Many of the accused showed great firmness of character during the trials.

### Characteristic Features of the Revolt.

Two specially characteristic features of the revolt can be clearly distinguished:

1. **The overwhelming majority of the soldiers and sailors was still under democratic influence.** This became particularly evident in the first two phases of the revolt. The sailors and soldiers revolted above all because they were indignant at war being carried on against Russia, although "France was not at war" with that country, war being therefore "against the Constitution". These were the chief arguments which the mutineers used in their defence before the court martial. Some of them also pointed out that the French revolution of 1789 had proclaimed the right to insurrection in cases of infringement of the Constitution.

Only a small number of the leading men possessed real class consciousness. In the measure, however, as the mutiny movement developed, this class consciousness spread further and further among the masses. Many sailors showed so much intrepidity, energy and cold-bloodedness that they would have succeeded in leading the whole fleet into a revolutionary fight had they been inspired by Lenin's lucid theory. Their ideology however was confused, many of them tried to "convince" the officers, they accepted their demobilisation in order later to be arrested as ringleaders on the first occasion which offered itself.

The fact that the sailors joined in the fight inspired the whole nation with intensified acrimony. The crews of the "Protet" and of the "Waldeck-Rousseau" were at a loss whether to return to France or enter the port of Odessa, i. e. join in the revolution. In the period of 20th to 22nd of April, the crew on board the warship "France" was prepared to reply to any attempt to bring colonial troops on board by cannon fire. The crew was in possession of the guns and ammunition; they turned the muzzles of their 305 millimeter guns on an English armoured cruiser which threatened them. Nevertheless they did not comply with the slogan of the Russian workers calling upon them to arm themselves and to fire on Headquarters. On the contrary, a large number of them preached peace, cautioning against "unnecessary deeds of violence", "as the right was on our side".

The third phase is characterised by an undeniable class movement: mass meetings, attempts to proceed in unison with the workers, demonstrations in common with the workers, threats that cannonades would be directed against the authorities, attempts to set free political prisoners etc. This class movement was choked off by demobilisation and long-period furloughs which were followed by numerous arrests.

The Black Sea revolt thus shows ideologically a far-reaching analogy to the military mutinies in Russia in 1905, especially to the rising of the Black Sea fleet in Sebastopol on November 11th.

2. **The revolt of the Black Sea fleet was a mass movement.** Individual refusals to orders occurred very seldom, as it had become clear that individual action was absurd. The agitators, the ringleaders, directed all their efforts towards achieving a collective movement. Neither, with the exception of a single case, that of the armoured cruiser "Diderot", did acts of sabotage occur. It is therefore a gross forgery of facts to represent the mutinies as acts of one person or of several individual persons.

What was lacking, was both a clear ideology and organisation. Almost all the revolutionary soldiers and sailors were under the influence of the socialist minority, whose tendency found expression in the paper "The Wave". This newspaper deviated from Leninism in essential points, but it nevertheless exercised a propelling influence; its slogans were exactly followed in the mutiny.

On the other hand, no real organisation existed; this could of course only have been illegal. Revolutionary groups existed, it is true, on the individual warships, but they had no general plan of action, there was no harmonious guidance and no connection between the separate groups. On the "Waldeck-Rousseau" alone an organisation existed which included over the half of the crew and had been formed with a view to economic demands. This was the "Brotherhood of the Mariners" from whose midst a secret committee had arisen. This also explains how it came about that the revolt broke out on the said cruiser only four days after I had been confined there.

This absence of organisation and of connection between the revolutionary elements of the fleet made it possible for the government to shatter easily a movement of such extent.

### The Consequences.

1. **French imperialism was forced to relax the grasp with which it was throttling the October revolution.** It could not set its own troops against the Russian revolution and had to resort to mercenaries, the Wrangels, Denikins and their gang. Only in this way was it in a position to continue its work in favour of international capitalism. These White Guard troops, however, were by no means a match for the Red Army.

This then is a decisive result of the Black Sea revolt: in this way the workers and peasants of France gave very active support to the October revolution. They rendered an extremely valuable service to their brothers who were engaged in a mortal combat for power, in that they disabled the powerful military apparatus of France.

2. **The Black Sea revolt made the October revolution known among broad strata of the French population.**

The court martials of the army and navy passed sentences of many hundreds of years imprisonment for mutiny. As early as at the end of 1919, a group of ex-sailors formed a "Committee for the Defence of the Sailors" in Paris, which engineered a powerful campaign of agitation. From 1922 onwards, the Communist Party took the lead in this campaign and imparted to it so much impetus that the government was finally compelled to release one mutineer after the other from prison (Since the Summer of 1923.)

3. **The Black Sea revolt was a concrete example proving that it is possible to check an imperialist war or at least to delay it.** In France, where anti-militarism is extremely popular among broad strata of the workers and peasants, the revolt was a concrete example of how it is possible to conduct the various currents of anti-militarism into one revolutionary channel. The workers and peasants can learn from it how it is possible, by combining mass movements with the activity of mobilised soldiers, to prevent an offensive war against the Soviet Union and, in certain circumstances, to turn it into civil war against the bourgeoisie of their own country.

4. **The revolt of the Black Sea fleet created a really revolutionary movement in the French navy.**

The eleven demonstrations which took place in 1925 in the Mediterranean fleet against the Morocco war, the revolts of July 15th and 16th and on August 8th 1927 in the military prison of Toulon, in which many sailors were imprisoned on account of their political attitude — these and other events bear witness to the fact that the revolutionary spirit, the spirit of Kronstadt is living and will continue to live in the hearts of the young proletarian sailors.

Jeanne Labourbe and the other proletarian heroes who fell in Odessa and Sebastopol, did not sacrifice their lives in vain.

## Ten Years Ago: The Bavarian Soviet Republic.

By Werner Hirsch (Berlin).

Ten years have passed since the days of the first workers' republic on German ground, the **Bavarian Soviet Republic**. The history of this Soviet Republic and the heroism of **Eugen Levine** and of the other fighters who stood and fell with him, has become an imperishable part of the German workers' heroic traditions, which lead from the Munich Soviet Republic by way of the Red Army of the Ruhr and the Red Guards of the Westphalian land in 1920 and the March rising of 1921 to the Hamburg barricades of 1923. In such centres of revolutionary activity which have become deeply engraven in the class-consciousness of the German proletariat, there lives and thrives the tradition of proletarian revolution as pledge of the future victory of the German proletariat.

The history of the Bavarian Soviet Republic is at the same time the history of the treachery of the **Bavarian Right-Socialists**, of the foolish revolutionary romanticism of anarchist and centrist elements, of the heroic and far-sighted struggle of the Munich Communists, and of the unrestricted and bestial White Terror of the bourgeoisie and of Noske's soldiery, who after the fall of the Soviet regime wreaked sanguinary vengeance on the workers for the few weeks during which the latter had been freed of their fetters.

The Bavarian Soviet Republic came into being on April 7th through a theatrical coup of the Right-Socialists. Driven to bay by the growing revolutionisation of the masses, which assumed a more and more threatening aspect in Munich for the bourgeoisie and the Right-Socialists after the murder of Kurt Eisner, the Social Democrats sought for a means of employing the methods of Noske for the purpose of subjecting the Bavarian workers and crippling the further progress of the revolutionary movement. But they lacked a military force strong enough to effect the desired massacre among the Munich proletariat. Recourse to Noske's guards, who had put down the proletarian movement in Bremen, Hamburg, the Ruhr district, and Brunswick, was impracticable in southern Germany in view of the general dislike of the "Prussians". Thus the Right-Socialists endeavoured to force the workers into a blind alley, so as to create the necessary presumptions for a regime of the counter-revolution and of Noske's terrorism.

Anarchist romanticists of the revolution such as Landauer and Mühsam, and doubtful leaders of the Independent Socialist Party, such as Toller, allowed themselves to be provoked by the Right-Socialists into proclaiming a sham Soviet Republic. One day this Soviet Republic came into being, not as a result of proletarian struggles and not as the outcome of a victorious rising of the working class, triumphing over the bourgeoisie and the democratic republic, but as the result of an "understanding" among the Right-Socialists, the I. S. P., and the anarchists. This was the sham Soviet Republic of April 7th.

The Munich Communists under the lead of Eugen Leviné did not for a moment hesitate in their attitude towards this artificial formation. With a bitter and pitiless criticism they tore to shreds the wealth of phrases of the "Soviet-Republicans" and revealed the real character of the provocative tactics of the Right-Socialists, who required the appearance of a proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of detracting and confusing the attention of the radicalised workers and at the same time creating the requisite presumptions for their counter-revolutionary agitation against the proletariat. But at the same time the Communists did not for a moment forget to see to the real mobilisation of the proletarian forces and the creation of serious strongholds of the working class, by gaining a firm footing in the works and initiating the arming of the workers and the formation of revolutionary workers' corps.

On the 13th of April, 1919, the counter-revolutionary putsch of the Republican guards set in. The deposed Hoffmann Government of the Right-Socialists attempted to attack the Munich proletariat from outside. This coup of the counter-revolutionary Right-Socialists was directed not so much against the sham Soviet Republic, which was a Soviet Republic only in name, as against the real positions of the Munich workers. The White troops arrested some members of the so-called Soviet Government and abducted Mühsam from Munich, but their main attack was directed against the Party premises of the Communists, which formed a stronghold of the armed workers.

Now the Munich workers responded with a counter-attack. The White troops were defeated in an open fight and driven out of Munich. The proletariat, who had received the doubtful gift of a bloodlessly founded "Soviet Government" at the hands of men like Toller and Landauer, Niekisch and Schnepfenhorst on April 7th, now conquered under the leadership of Rudolf Eglhofer, a Communist sailor and the later commander-in-chief of the Red Army, that proletarian power which alone could form the foundation of a real Soviet Government.

On April 14th the Communists assumed authority. In the new Soviet Government there were no more representatives of the Majority-Socialists (Schnepfenhorst, a member of the first Soviet Government, having placed himself at the disposal of the Social-Democratic counter-revolutionaries in the capacity of their Minister of War), but the former leaders of the I. S. P., Toller and Klingelhöfer, also took part in the new Soviet government, the revolutionary defence of which they did not cease to hinder throughout the duration of the Soviet Republic. Nevertheless, the Government of this Second Soviet Republic, which was dominated by Communists, introduced a number of measures of a revolutionary character for the purpose of destroying the old political and economic apparatus and clearing the way for the construction of the proletarian state and of Socialism.

The counter-revolutionaries, led by Right-Socialists like Schnepfenhorst, did not content themselves with their defeat of April 13th but made feverish preparations for the purpose of destroying the Soviet Republic in its later form and subjugating

the Munich proletariat by means of White Terror. There was no lie and no calumny beneath the dignity of the White Guards in their agitation against the revolutionary elements. The members of the new Soviet Government were designated as "aliens" who allegedly desired to deprive the workers of the achievements of the revolution.

Thus the White-Guard ring closed around Munich. Noske's corps, whose way was smoothed by means of anti-Communist agitation, came nearer and nearer.

With true heroism the Munich proletariat defended their liberty against the overwhelming power of the counter-revolutionary army. But the immaturity of the revolutionary movement and of the Communist Party of the whole of Germany, and in particular the opportunist policy carried on by the latter under the lead of Paul Levi, deprived the Munich revolution of all aid on the part of the workers of the rest of Germany, which alone could have saved the Bavarian Soviet Republic. The lack of revolutionary determination which characterised the policy of the C. P. G. at that time, found expression in this failure to fulfil the most elementary duties of proletarian solidarity in relation to the Soviet Republic.

After the breakdown of the Munich Republic, Paul Levi, at that time chairman of the Party, added an opportunist theory to his opportunist practices. In his subsequent criticism of the Munich Communists, he desired to nail down the Party to a principle which would have represented a breach with all traditions of Marxism and of the proletarian revolution. In an article in the "Internationale" of August 4th, 1919, he wrote as follows:

"If the masses proceed to actions which are revolutionary only in appearance while in reality they merely lead to relapses, it is our duty to warn and to criticise as our Munich comrades did. But if the masses nevertheless proceed to act, there is no manner of obligation for us to place ourselves at their head, when we know that there is disaster ahead."

Starting from this admirable theory, Levi went on to criticise the action of the Munich Communists in taking over the power after the counter-revolutionary coup of April 13th. The policy of capitulation and cowardice, of a retreat from danger and an abandonment of the fighting workers merely because there was not a hundred-percent guarantee of victory, this un-revolutionary and uncommunist policy of Levi was certainly in direct contradiction to the manner in which the Munich Communists had acted under Eugen Leviné. They understood that the revolutionary Party, the vanguard of the proletariat, must never remain in the wake of the fighting masses but must always place itself at their head and share their fate. They had defended the achievements of the Munich working class. They had staked their lives. And even though the final downfall of Soviet Bavaria was not to be prevented, they managed to render the episode of the Bavarian Soviet Republic a heroic and stimulating example for the entire German proletariat and a source of strength for the proletarian revolution.

The Social Democrats and the bourgeoisie, who had provoked the Munich workers into an untenable position by means of the criminal manoeuvre of the first sham Soviet Republic, celebrated regular orgies of White terrorism after the defeat of the Munich proletariat. On May 1st, 1919, the White troops conquered the town. Drumhead court-martials were instituted to facilitate the work of the bestial victors. Prisoners were tortured and shot out of hand. 457 victims of the White mercenaries, 186 prisoners who were shot on drumhead sentences, 184 who were simply murdered, 53 defenceless Russian prisoners shot at Gräfelfing, and 21 Catholic workers who had been mistaken for "Spartacists" — these were the gruesome statistics of the White Terror in Munich.

Rudolf Eglhofer, the head of the Red Army, was tortured to death in a cellar. Eugen Leviné was condemned by a tribunal of the Social-Democratic Hoffmann Government and shot. This leader of the Munich Communists fell on June 5th with a cheer for the world revolution on his lips. One of the best members of the Communist International, he remained faithful unto his last gasp to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

In regard to the dead heroes of Red Munich we may repeat the words which Karl Marx pronounced with reference to the heroic fighters of the Paris Commune: "They are enshrined in the great heart of the working class!"

## TEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

### Speech by Comrade Molotov

delivered at the Festive Assembly of the E. C. C. I. on the 4th of March, 1929.

Comrades! In Moscow, the Red Metropolis, the Communist International was founded ten years ago. This creation of the Comintern had been preceded by a heroic revolutionary fight of the workers of various countries against capitalism and against the imperialist war, by the self sacrificing fight of the revolutionary groups and organisations of workers who in a number of countries were preparing the resurrection of the revolutionary proletarian International in the face of the defection in favour of the bourgeoisie by the Social-Democratic parties of all countries in the worst years of the imperialist war.

Since the beginning of the imperialist world-war, the Second International had practically collapsed. The imperialist war destroyed the Second International as an international organisation. All that remained of it was separate Social-Democratic parties, each of which had espoused the cause of "its" respective bourgeoisie and was defending "its" bourgeois fatherland. The moment the first imperialist world-war put the questions of an international proletarian revolution to the issue, the Second International with its reformist leaders suffered a complete breakdown and practically ceased to exist. The revolutionary proletarians of the world were faced with the problem of the creation of a new international proletarian organisation. The breakdown of the Second International raised the question of the foundation of a Third International, a Communist International, for the purpose of an implacable fight of the workers against capitalism and against the Social Democrats, who had turned into an immediate prop of the capitalist system.

The creation of the Third International was particularly necessary, seeing that the imperialist world-war had just confronted the working class most drastically with the problems of an international proletarian struggle. The epoch of imperialism is characterised by an ever greater inclusion of individual countries in the capitalist system of economy. The fight against capitalism in the individual countries thus became more and more combined with a fight against the capitalist world-system as a whole. Nor can it well be otherwise, now that the fight of the workers in the capitalist countries has encountered the fight for power, the fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system. For the success of this fight it is particularly necessary that the revolutionary workers be united in an international fighting organisation of the proletariat. After the breakdown of the Second International, which even prior to the war had ceased to be a guarantee of the necessary international unity of the workers' fight against capitalism, the creation of the Third International therefore naturally became the most essential requirement of the international revolutionary proletariat. It was only when the Communist International took the lead in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of proletarian rule, that a really powerful international organisation of the revolutionary proletariat and of the oppressed nations of all the world could be said to exist.

In the creation of the Communist International our Party naturally played an especially important rôle. From the very beginning of the imperialist war, our Bolshevik Party had formed a proper estimate of the situation which had arisen in the Second International and had advocated the formation of a new revolutionary proletarian International. In its resolution of November 1st, 1914, the C. C. of our Party spoke of nothing less than the breakdown of the Second International and of the new tasks arising therefrom for the revolutionary proletariat. At that time Lenin wrote as follows: "The Second International is dead; it has been vanquished by opportunism. Down with Opportunism! Long live the Third International, purged not only of the renegades but also of opportunism." Immediately afterwards our Party took an active part in the first attempts at the creation of a new international proletarian organisation. At Zimmerwald in 1915 and at Kienthal in 1916, our Party figured in the first ranks of the consistent internationalists and the actual proletarian revolutionaries. These were the earliest attempts at the creation of a Communist International. The revolution in Russia established favourable conditions for its organisation. In April 1917, the first legal Party Conference of our Party at Leningrad established that it was "the task of

our Party, operating in a country in which revolution has set in earlier than elsewhere, to take the initiative in the creation of the Third International, which will finally sever all connection with the "patriots" and also decidedly oppose the half-hearted policy of the "Centrists". The Conference called upon the C. C. to proceed immediately to the foundation of the Third International. It was, however, only after the victory of proletarian dictatorship that the preparatory work for the creation of the Communist International could be completed. Exactly ten years ago, on March 4th, 1919, the Communist International was founded.

The extraordinary share of the Bolshevik Party in the creation of the Communist International is based on its entire history and on the whole course of revolutionary events in the country. It may be explained in the first place by the fact that it was our Party which all along and to the very end was faithful to the theories of Marxism and whose rectitude was confirmed by the experiences of many decades of the revolutionary proletarian struggle throughout the world. Whereas the Second International long before the war included in its ranks the revisionists of Marxism, our Party waged an embittered fight against all revisionists of the teachings of Marx and Engels. Since the imperialist war, the Second International has definitely departed from Marxism, whereas our Party has not allowed itself to be deterred from its fight for the union of all Communists under the flag of Marx. The entire theoretic work of the leader of our Party, V. I. Lenin, is a development of the fundamental teachings of Marx. Leninism is nothing but the Marxism of the period of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. Under this theoretic banner our Party has developed and grown, and the banner of Marxism and Leninism has become the banner of the Communist International. The rôle of the C. P. S. U. in the creation of the Comintern, moreover, is connected with the fight of the Party against opportunism which the Bolsheviks have been victoriously waging since their very inception. Within the ranks of the Russian Social Democrats, the Bolsheviks for a great number of years carried on an embittered fight against the Russian variety of opportunism, known as Menshevism. At that time the Mensheviks were proud of transmitting to Russia the experience of the international Socialist movement, but in reality they were representatives of the opportunism of the Second International within the ranks of the Russian Social Democrats. The Bolsheviks not only waged a systematic ideological fight against the opportunists in the Social Democratic Party of Russia. After the defeat of the first revolution and prior to the preparations for fresh revolutionary struggles, the Bolsheviks finally separated from the Mensheviks by purging their Party of this variety of social-reformists.

The history of the revolutionary struggle has fully and exhaustively proved that this step was a necessary presumption for the establishment of the leading rôle of the revolutionary elements of the proletariat within the labour movement of our country. This fact was bound to be of tremendous importance at the time of the creation of the international organisation of proletarian revolutionaries, at the time of the formation of the Communist International, which could naturally only be created if it was to be irreconcilably opposed to all and every sort of reformism. In connection with the question of the rôle played by the C. P. S. U. in the creation of the Comintern, we must also point to that extraordinary revolutionary experience of our workers, which they acquired not only during the two revolutions of 1917 but also during the earlier revolution of 1905. In no other country in the world was there at that time a similar variety in the development of the class struggle and such overwhelming revolutionary events as in our country. Both in the period of the revolutionary fights and in the period of reaction, the working class of our country had grown in strength and numbers as an organiser of the masses and as a revolutionary force preparing for victory. The variety in the forms of the struggle and the special connection between internal and international events, which were of particular importance in the period of 1917, trained our workers in a spirit of revolutionary internationalism and raised both the working class and its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party, to the place they occupied in the formation of the Third International. Finally, the particular rôle of the C. P. S. U. in the creation of the Comintern may be explained from the fact that our Party was the leader of the first victorious proletarian dictatorship in the epoch of the international Socialist revolution. After the victory of the October revolution, a powerful foundation was laid for

re organisation and development of the forces of the Communist International. Organised in 1919, the Communist International rested on the basis of the victorious proletarian dictatorship and in doing so was provided with a powerful foundation for the future development of the cause of the international proletarian revolution. The Party which had placed itself at the head of the proletariat and which had overthrown the power of the bourgeoisie, was bound to play an extremely prominent rôle in the entire international Communist movement, which was advancing under the banner of a victorious proletarian world-dictatorship.

The last Congress of the Communist International adopted a programme, the importance of which lies in the fact that it submits the problems of the fight for proletarian world-dictatorship in their entirety before the international proletariat. The programme of the Comintern devotes special attention to the experiences of our revolution and the experiences of the first Socialist state. These experiences possess tremendous significance for the fight for proletarian world-dictatorship. It must not be forgotten, however, that in the case of a victory of the proletariat in one or more advanced capitalist countries the Soviet Union would come to figure as a backward country which could undoubtedly learn much in regard to Socialist construction of the proletarians of the countries in question. It is only on the basis of constantly growing experience in regard to the international fight for Communism that the victory of the proletarian world-dictatorship can be ensured.

The ten-year existence of the Communist International coincides with the growth of new presumptions for new revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat. The growing crises of Capitalism finds utterance in the growth of the international contradictions within the capitalist system and in the growth of conflicts between the imperialist countries and the colonies, not to mention that pronounced antagonism which exists between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, the first Socialist state. No attempts at consolidating stabilisation will be of avail in consolidating the capitalist order of things. The stabilisation of Capitalism is connected with the further increase in the exploitation of the workers, with an unbearable pressure on the working class, with increased oppression of the colonies and of the other countries dependent on the imperialist Powers. The inability of the capitalists to stem the growth of unemployment and the deterioration in the conditions of life of the broad proletarian masses, together with the violation of the colonial peoples and of the working masses in town and country alike, must needs lead to a growth of the revolutionary sentiments in the working class and among the broad masses of workers in general. In spite of all the support rendered by the Social Democrats and the reformist trade unions to the bourgeoisie, the imperialists are not only unable to find a way out of their differences but are also proceeding to new aggravations of international conflicts, to a fight for the markets and a re-distribution of the world, i. e. to new imperialist wars. The feverish growth of armaments and the new military-political combinations among the bourgeois Governments remind us daily of the preparation for fresh imperialist wars and fresh attacks on the Soviet Union. Under such circumstances, the recent great strikes of the workers, who in some cases have gone to the length of regular attacks on capital, are portents of an imminent new revolutionary advance in the international labour movement. The events in the Ruhr and in Lodz, which comprised hundreds of thousands of workers, the strikes in the great industrial centres of Germany, France, and Czechoslovakia, and the growing revolutionary movement in India, which is constantly assuming a more militant, anti-imperialist character, in particular in the Indian industrial centres, all point to the fact that elements of a new and powerful revolutionary development are preparing in the international labour movement.

Under such circumstances the fight for the Bolshevik directives of the Communist International is of quite particular importance. The VI. Congress of the Comintern pointed out that, under present conditions the main question within the Comintern must be the question of the fight against opportunism, the fight against the Right deviations and against the conciliators in connection therewith, whose presence within the ranks of the Party shows the vitality of Social-Democratic influence even within the organisations of the Comintern. Under the conditions of a preparation for a new revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement, this instruction of the VI. Congress possesses quite particular importance. The fight against

opportunism and against the Right deviations in the Communist Parties must at present be considered one of the main presumptions for the guarantee of the leading rôle of the Communist Party in the developing workers' movement. The Communist International has waged and continues to wage the fight against the opportunists who conceal themselves behind Left phrases. This may be sufficiently well seen by the history of the fight against the Trotskyist elements in the Communist Parties. Under present circumstances, particular importance attaches to the fight against the openly opportunist elements and to their elimination from the Communist ranks.

The history of the Bolshevik Party shows that but for a systematic and very embittered struggle against opportunism there would be neither a Bolshevik Party nor would there have been a victorious October revolution. Therefore the Communist International must continue in future to afford vigorous support to the Communist Parties in their efforts on behalf of Bolshevik directives and in their fight against all and every deviation from the general directives of the Comintern. The fight against Capitalism is an impossibility if not accompanied by an implacable fight against social-reformism. The fight against the Social-Democrats is impossible without a systematic fight against the Social-Democratic tendencies in the Communist Parties themselves. All attempts at a revival of opportunism within the ranks of the Communist Party and the Communist International must and will meet with ruthless opposition. This may be seen throughout the ten years' history of the Comintern, which was constructed as a truly Leninist International. Under existing circumstances it is more important than ever to remember that in the coming struggle the Communist Parties will be doing their duty if only they prove themselves organisations of truly revolutionary elements, unflinching in their fight against the bourgeoisie and against opportunism and steadfast and fearless in the most difficult situations engendered by revolutionary battles and risings. Therefore there must be no room for opportunism in the ranks of the Communist International. Therefore the Communist International has been waging the most irreconcilable fight against the Right elements and against all tendencies towards conciliation in their favour and will continue to do so. Under the banner of Leninism the Comintern has marched to victory and will do so in future too.

Long live the Leninist Communist International! Long live world-Communism! (Applause).

## OBITUARY

### Gh. M. Vasilescu-Vasia.

By R.

The Roumanian labour movement has suffered a severe loss by the death, which took place on the 18th of March in Bucharest, of our Comrade Gh. M. Vasilescu-Vasia, one of the most eminent and devoted leaders of the Roumanian proletariat. Comrade Vasia was only 37 years of age. He had contracted consumption in the vile prisons of the Roumanian bourgeoisie and his illness became worse under the regime of white terror.

Comrade Vasia entered the Labour movement as a young worker at the age of 15 and remained for twenty years one of its brave and self-sacrificing champions. Before the war he was one of the leaders of the Roumanian socialist working youth and played a leading part in the organisation of the employees. Along with Comrade Bujor he was a member of the editorial staff of the organ of the Socialist Party.

Before the war Comrade Vasia was a supporter of revolutionary syndicalism. After the war he immediately became a supporter of the Communist International. He fought among the first for the founding of the C. P. of Roumania. He took part in the foundation Congress of the Party in the year 1921, when the Averescu government had all delegates to the Congress arrested. He was one of the accused in the celebrated trial of the 300 in Dealul-Spire. He was editor of the central organ of the C. P. of Roumania, "Socialism", up to the spring of 1924, when this paper was suppressed by the Bratianu government. Comrade Vasia then caused the "Lupta Comunistă" (Communist Struggle) to appear, which was likewise suppressed. Comrade Vasia was himself arrested. After his release he became a member of the Bucharest District Party Committee and in the autumn of 1924 attended the third Party Congress as delegate.

Comrade Vasia was the founder of the Red Aid in Roumania, of which he was the first secretary. He played an important rôle in the legal trade union movement, and after 1925 was permanent editor of the Central organ of the unitary trade unions "Viata Muncitoare" (Workers' Life). He was repeatedly secretary of the Bucharest unitary trade unions and a permanent member of the central committee of the employees' union.

Ten thousand workers, bearing red flags and singing the "Internationale", accompanied the coffin of their beloved leader through the streets of Bucharest to the cemetery. This was the first time since the general strike of 1920 that the proletariat of Bucharest demonstrated under the red flag. The police attacked the funeral procession right at the commencement, but the crowd repelled the attack and marched through the main streets to the cemetery.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Intensified Capitalist Offensive in Germany.

By Helene Overlach (Berlin).

The intensified attack of German capital upon the proletariat is characterised not only by the wage-cut offensive but also in a considerable degree by the measures in the factories for the speeding up of work with the help of the most brutal hustler methods until the workers are completely exhausted, constant substitution of unskilled youths for qualified workers and the increasing of the proportion of female labour.

A clear light is thrown upon the intensified offensive of big capital by the report of the meeting of the artificial silk firm **J. Bemberg (Barmen)**, which to-day employs about 6000 workers, most of them women. The chairman of the board of directors, **Benrath**, states in the business report that the mills' sales of artificial-silk yarn have increased by 25 per cent, and that the general turnover figure shows an increase from about 41 million marks to about 51 millions. Apart from immense writings off, tremendous investment in fresh plant and other concealed profits, a profit of no less than 4.5 million marks is shown, which means an increase of considerably more than a million marks over last year's profit. The dividend amounts to 14 per cent.

The chairman of the board of directors stated that experts declare that there is a noticeable general increase in the use of artificial silk. The preliminary condition for a lasting, really "profitable" participation of the mill in this development is enhancement of production of the highest possible quality together with most intensive rationalisation of all processes of manufacture. The Bemberg Co. must continue the rationalisation of its mills.

In consequence of these statements it was resolved to increase the capital by 12 million marks, chiefly for the purpose of further rationalising the mill. The subsidiary mill at **Rittershausen** (at present employing 1100 hands) is to be developed for experimental purposes in the introduction of new methods of rationalisation. The main output will be effected with the greatest possible rationalisation by the principal mill at **Oehde**, which is already regarded as a pattern of the most modern rationalisation.

The execution of the speeding up plans was not long delayed. At the Oehde mill a big department was newly set going without any fresh hands being taken on. Within 24 hours an increase of 30 per cent. was brought about in the output of the respective operatives.

At the Rittershausen mill, mentioned above, 500 men were discharged; the remainder were transferred to the chief mill until the conversion into an experimental mill with the most modern machines has been carried out.

The workers are driven by the most incredible methods to increase their output; for instance, they are forbidden to talk in the mill, in various departments there is a system of premiums, whereby the girls are induced to slave in order to earn 3 to 5 marks extra a week. At the same time a sharp control and a rigorous system of fines for faulty work makes the premiums at least illusory, while the object of getting extra output without extra pay is accomplished. In the spinning mill the output is forced up so high that the workers cannot knock off for breakfast, but have to gulp down their bread while working.

To counter-balance the "Rote Wuppentaler Fäden", a Proletarian nucleus paper, the firm published up to last January a factory paper called the "Wuppentaler Späne". The firm is already endeavouring once more to kindle war enthusiasm among the working women. For instance, the following appears in a factory article under the title of "On the Threshold of a New Era":

"Was the nation ever so united and closely knit as it was in the first year of the war? Did not every difference of possession, education and status disappear at that time? When the war broke out all so-called class differences ceased. The real hero of the war was the silent man in the trenches. Anybody who lived through the great war on reflecting on the times when there was nothing but a brotherly nation of comrades, must be ashamed of many a woman evoked through political passion, which appears to injure the memory of our glorious Dead."

That is the ideologic preparation for the new war against the Soviet Union!

The firm is also organising in its dye shop gymnastic games "to make our young people fit".

Apart from this big mill, which employs so many girls, there are practical indications at many other big works of a new offensive of capital.

At the **Vereinigte Glanzstoffwerke**, whose chief mill is at **Oberbruch**, 700 workers have been dismissed as a result of intensified rationalisation, while production has been increased since the beginning of the year by 200,000 kilograms.

An operative looks after 3 or 4 machines instead of one, whereby he must keep his eye on no fewer than 8640 threads.

Formerly, a girl in the thread mill had to look after only a machine, 120 spindles, whereas to-day she has to take care of 2 machines, 480 spindles, four times the work she used to have.

The Christian and Social-Democratic shop stewards have supported this system of exploitation: the C.P. of Germany is working most strenuously and persistently to gain influence at this huge mill, which is so remote from all towns.

The majority of the hands are young girls, practically children, undeveloped youngsters of 14 to 15 years of age. They are collected in the morning in the villages and conveyed to the mill in the firms motor lorries, and immediately after knocking-off time they are driven home again. Their eyes are dimmed, and as they leave the mill they are dull and completely exhausted and present a pitiable spectacle. Young people in bloom of youth already destroyed!

At the artificial-silk mills the hands of the workers are eaten by acids, they suffer with their eyes, and, in consequence of breathing the pesteriferous air epidemics are inevitable. We have seen many workers with festering boils on their faces and bodies, many speak hoarsely, their lungs are corroded with poison.

And for this murderous work they get starvation wages! The youngest of the girls get 8 to 12 marks a week.

At the firm of **Hoffmann and Wolters, Barmen-Rittershausen**, the number of spools has been raised from 1500 to 2500 in the elastic-band carding shop.

At the firm of **Harvester at Neuss, Rheinland**, the girls went on strike, because the machines were speeded up. The fight collapsed through the treachery of the reformists and the lack of solidarity on the part of the workers in the other departments.

The new button-holing and button-sewing machines, which are to-day looked after by a single person, eliminate the work of 36 women.

At the **Chemnitz factory** a sewing machine has been introduced to enable one girl to do the work formerly done by 15 girls. The doctors declare that the girls working on these machines will ruin their health completely in 18 months.

The tendency to dismiss men and to take on young girls is still observable. This is shown by the labour market report in **Wuppertal**. There are about 12,000 men looking for work and only about 2,600 women.

The influence of the C.P. of Germany among these working women is still increasing slowly. The whole organisation is not sufficiently aware of the tremendous political significance of this work. We must put forth our best efforts in order to lead the working women in a successful fight against the new brutal measures of exploitation resorted to by the employers.