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**Speech of Comrade Litvinov****at the VI. Meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission.**

Mr. President!

1. Much as I should like to be able to comply with the desire expressed by yourself yesterday as to the utmost brevity of speeches on the agenda, I find myself obliged to crave your tolerance beforehand if I should fail quite to fulfil your desire.

2. The question we have to consider here is not simply an agenda — it is no mere matter of technicalities, not merely the convenience of placing one point on the agenda before or after another that we have to consider — it is a matter in which the profoundest principles are involved. By its treatment of this question the Commission will show whether it is ready to proceed at this, its VIth session, to the effective solution of the problem of disarmament, whether this session is to be a step forward or to remain as fruitless as the others have been, or consist like them in the mere marking of time.

3. These remarks of mine would be superfluous if I were convinced that in inviting us to place first on the agenda the

consideration of the Soviet draft convention for the reduction of armaments our President really intended the Commission to base all its further work on disarmament upon this draft. I imagine I should scarcely be doing him justice were I to attribute to him intentions which he would doubtless consider quite heretical. Indeed such an assumption is contradicted by the numerous statements of the President, both in his speeches here in the Commission and in his written reply to me on the 20th of December last, as to the necessity for the continuation of the work of the Commission "along the path already mapped out by it". In the accepted terminology of the Commission, the meaning of which is now thoroughly understood by all, this signifies the practical exclusion of any new draft conventions, including also that presented by the Soviet delegation, in favour of the draft initiated by the Commission and already through its first, or to be precise, the first half of its first reading, it is therefore no wonder that in his speech of yesterday

President proposed first of all the consideration of the question as to whether the Soviet draft convention comes within the framework of the 1927 draft Convention. Pursuing this line of thought it is obvious that, should this question be answered in the negative, the President considers it inevitable that the Soviet draft convention be rejected *in toto*, without consideration of its contents. I consider myself therefore entitled to presume that the aim of the proposed agenda is not the consideration of the Soviet draft convention in itself, but the purely formal consideration of the question as to whether the Commission should, generally speaking, occupy itself with this draft, or whether it should brush it aside in order to turn to the discussion of the less important points of the 1927 draft, the second reading of which, as the President stated yesterday, is still an impossibility. I should be only too glad if members of the Commission prove me to have been a false prophet by refuting my inferences. If, however, these had been erroneous our President would not have included certain other points in the agenda — and that quite definitely and in no tentative fashion — which are also to be found in their entirety in the Soviet draft convention. I venture by the way to mention that almost all of the questions in Count Bernstorff's memorandum of the 8th of April could also be solved by the Soviet draft convention, and, moreover, in the spirit of the memorandum itself. Any other proposals by delegates, previously made or about to be made, could equally be placed within the framework of the Soviet draft and be considered simultaneously with it, for the Soviet draft convention is sufficiently comprehensive about disarmament, and in any case has a greater scope than that of 1927.

4. I feel sure that it is quite clear to all delegates that the draft convention of 1927 and that of the Soviet delegation are mutually exclusive and cannot be discussed simultaneously. It should moreover be added that while the Soviet draft is based upon perfectly definite principles which would make it possible to solve the question and the degree of disarmament even now, the other draft only affords an opportunity for discussion on technical questions, and should it even be finally accepted opens no prospects for the solution of the fundamental question of disarmament and its degree. Most important of all, however, is the elimination by the Soviet draft convention of those obstacles which, two years ago, proved a stumbling-block to the 1927 convention which has hitherto been impossible to overcome.

5. Permit me to remind you, gentlemen, that the 1927 draft convention has remained in an embryo state over several sessions. At the third session the completion of its first reading was postponed owing to the differences of opinion it aroused. At the IVth session it was found impossible to continue work on it on account of the persistence of these differences. At the Vth session the delegate for France, corroborated by the delegate for Great Britain, stated that there was a possibility of arriving at an agreement with regard to these differences, outside the sphere of the Commission, and the Commission decided once more to postpone its work on the draft until this desirable consummation should have taken place. Over a year has elapsed since then but the President has not yet been able to tell us anything at all consoling as to the present state of the controversies evoked by this draft convention. As far as we are permitted to know, not only have these differences not been softened but they have actually become still more acute and rendered still more complicated by new questions. While France and Great Britain may have arrived through negotiations, at a solution satisfactory to their respective interests, new differences have arisen to take the place of those settled — this time between the Anglo-French compromise and the points of view of the United States and Italy. As far as we can tell negotiations for the settlement of these differences have not even yet begun.

6. I referred to the above facts in my letters to the President of the Preparatory Commission on the 20th of August and 6th of December last. I was not a little surprised to see from his reply that in his opinion the Commission could only succeed in its work along the lines already mapped out. I can but envy the optimism of the President if he can consider the work so far achieved by the Commission as successful, for it seems to me that even the most confirmed optimists will cease to look to the League of Nations for disarmament, if its Preparatory Commission carries on in the future with the success that has so far marked its efforts.

7. But even if we are to believe that the next few months will produce such "fortunate" circumstances as might enable Great Britain and France to enter into negotiations with the United States and, sooner or later, bring them to a favourable conclusion, what guarantees have we that an agreement thus arrived at will be acceptable to other states, not participating in these negotiations? I recollect that the honourable representative for Italy declared at the last session in connection with a communication regarding the negotiations then beginning between Great Britain and France that his government would by no means consider itself bound by an agreement arrived at without its participation; and other states represented in the Commission are also entitled to express their opinion on the agreement. Moreover, so far differences have been discussed with regard to only one point in the draft convention (true a most important one), and there are many differences of opinion (with regard to other points), to which the variations suggested after its first reading eloquently testify. If all these differences are to be subjected to the same lengthy procedure, the sessions of the Preparatory Commission will be running into three figures and the path it has taken will lead to anywhere but a successful issue.

8. It must now be obvious to all that the persistent failure of the Preparatory Commission are attributable to the path it has hitherto pursued and the method on which its work has been founded. The fundamental defect of this method consists in the fact that instead of establishing a coefficient for the reduction of armaments which would be equitable and obligatory for all countries, it provides for individual fixation of armaments to be applied to each individual country, with all its specific political, geographic, strategic, economic and other features despite the obvious necessity for general international recognition of individual estimates of the requirements of each state.

9. The results of the questionnaire circulated by the League of Nations in 1921—22 with regard to the requirements of national safety were extremely instructive on this point, almost every state asseverating that its national requirements prevented a reduction of its armed forces. All countries were found to be in a special position and there were some which actually claimed the existence of special obligations, frequently self-imposed, in a state of affairs when all countries are found to be one way or another in a special position, owing to individual causes, the need for seeking some criterion which should be independent of subjective factors, cause no detriment to any state and refrain from attempting to solve the insoluble problem of arriving at a general agreement for the alteration of existing relative forces becomes obvious. It is only the Soviet draft convention with its proposal for the proportional reduction of all armed forces and the deviations in favour of the smaller states only, that furnishes such a criterion.

10. The acceptance of the Soviet proposal for the proportional reduction of all armed forces and categories of armaments would, as already mentioned by me formerly, have removed those differences between sea-powers which are at present blocking the work of the Preparatory Commission and obviate similar if not still more acute differences otherwise sure to arise in connection with the problems of land and air forces also.

11. To turn to another point: the work of the Commission along the lines which we are invited to pursue in the future does not convince the Soviet delegation that it is necessarily aimed at any reduction whatsoever of existing armaments. The Soviet delegation would consider therefore the introduction of clarity as to the general aims of the Preparatory Commission with regard to disarmament extremely apposite. Doubts on this point have been suggested both by the recent declaration of prominent statesmen and the persistent use in the Preparatory Commission of the dual and equivocal phrase "limitation and of reduction of armaments", and the proposed postponement of fixing disarmament figures until the disarmament conference itself. The term "limitation of armaments" does not signify the compulsory establishment of such limits which shall be lower than existing armaments but admits of such which would not differ from now-existing armaments or even, by exceeding them, would leave room for the increase of armies, navies and war budgets. Such limitation would mean not the diminution of armaments but their preservation or even increase, and would in no way differ from attempted agreements made before the war, such

the one time proposal for the establishment of a naval holiday between Great Britain and Germany, and similar others. Such agreements have of course nothing in common with the task which the Soviet delegation would like to see the Preparatory Commission set itself and would in no wise answer the aspirations of the people of all countries towards the naval or at least the diminution of the threats of war. If authors and advocates of the Commission's draft convention in their task to agreements of this sort it is easy to understand the opposition with which the Soviet draft convention is met, differing as this convention does from that of the Commission, first and foremost in its provision for the immediate consideration of a coefficient for the reduction of armaments — in other words for the effective preparation for considerable disarmament in the very near future.

12. Such are the principal considerations which move the Soviet delegation to appeal once more to the Commission to revise the methods of its work, the defects of which must be obvious to all and to enter the path recommended by the Soviet delegation. So far the only objections to this path in the Commission has been that it is new. The Soviet delegation does not, however, expect to meet here in the Commission with a conservatism of thought which condemns everything new as unworthy of attention. I foresee here a formal reference from someone to the sacramental phrase contained in the resolution used at the Vth session as to the necessity for going on in the path already mapped out. But I think you, gentlemen, will not be in the right of any delegation to raise the question of the revision of decisions formerly passed by the Commission, especially when this is done after the lapse of a year and in the light of new facts and circumstances. Even at the IVth session, eighteen months ago we characterised the "path mapped out" by the Commission as a blind-alley. Nothing happened between the IVth and Vth sessions to cause us to qualify this opinion. At the Vth session, however, certain delegates fancied that they saw a light and the Commission decided that there might be a way out of the blind-alley. The ensuing year has proved this light to have been a mere will-o'-the-wisp and the fog has become thicker than ever. It is therefore permissible to enquire whether it is worth while to persist further in the same direction, to go on wasting time and labour in trying to find a way out of the blind-alley, and whether it would not be once more reasonable and economical to attempt to study a new path suggested by us, which is at least free from these obstacles which have encumbered the work of the Commission for two years. You are entitled to say that the Soviet delegation is also unable to guarantee an unimpeded movement along the path it suggests. In reply to this I would say that the only obstacle in this regard can be the reluctance on the part of other governments to carry out disarmament and that if this reluctance exists any work of the Commission must be a doomed failure. The Soviet draft convention, however, assesses the advantage that by proposing the same degree of disarmament to almost all states it makes it difficult, nay impossible, for any Government to refuse to disarm on the plea of detriment caused by disarmament to the specific interests of a country.

13. The President in stating yesterday the necessity for elevating the work of the Commission referred to the increasing impatience of workers organisations demanding the speedy realisation of disarmament. If the President considers this movement to be a powerful factor in the matter of disarmament the Soviet delegation would be the first to agree with him. This movement will, however, admittedly gain in strength if the Commission employs such methods as will help to expose hypocrisy and baselessness of the references of any Government to pretended national interests, said to prevent its countenance of disarmament in the same measure as agreed upon by other states.

14. Finally the demand of the Soviet delegation for the revision of the methods of the Commission and for consideration

of actual questions of disarmament finds an added and fresh justification in those events which have taken during the last twelve months, that is in the interval of time which has elapsed since the Vth session. I am thinking of the increased threats of war for one thing. We referred to this as long ago as the IVth session of the Commission, but these threats were not perhaps then so pronounced and so apparent to all as they are now. They are by no means the invention of the Soviet delegation. I don't want to lengthen my speech and tax your attention but I could if desired quote any amount of recent pronouncements by responsible statesmen, outside the Soviet Union, by members of parliament and senators and give numerous extracts from the press, testifying to the growth of alarm during the last twelve months. This fact alone would suffice to stimulate our efforts for the speediest possible realisation of disarmament. On the other hand a new and favourable situation for disarmament has been created during this year by the increase of that security to which the League of Nations and the Preparatory Commission has always attributed such great importance. The Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy has become a fact. Owing to the initiative and special efforts of the Soviet Government this pact has already come into force in the relations between eight states and precisely in that part of Europe which was considered to be under the greatest menace of war. The Kellogg Pact, it is true, has not yet become compulsory between all its participants on account of its non-ratification by one state, but this obstacle is certain to be removed or overcome somehow or other in the near future. I am by no means inclined to over-estimate the value as guarantees of peace of international agreements in general or the Kellogg Pact in particular. I cannot ignore the numerous infringements of international agreements during the past but am nevertheless unable to approve of the repeated attempts of certain statesmen to minimise the importance of the Kellogg Pact as compared with similar international agreements, the more that such attempts are inspired by aims which have nothing in common with the preservation of peace and aspirations for disarmament. Indeed it is to be feared that these attempts are made with a view to creating extenuating circumstances for possible infringement of the pact for the outlawry of war, or to weaken its importance as a starting point for the demand for disarmament. I fail to see why the Kellogg Pact for the outlawry of war should be less binding for all its participants and present less guarantee of security than for instance the Locarno agreements, the so-called guarantee treaties, recommended by the League of Nations, or any other international agreements. The Preparatory Disarmament Commission, considering as it does safety guarantees as essential for the realisation of disarmament, should draw the proper conclusion from this. As for the Soviet delegation it has already considered and still considers general and complete disarmament to be the most effective guarantee of peace in the present conditions. The draft convention for such complete disarmament was unfortunately rejected by the Preparatory Commission, and the Soviet delegation can only advance it again at the international Disarmament Conference, if ever convoked. At the same time the delegation advances a draft convention for proportional and progressive reduction of all armaments, which would immediately diminish the menace of war to a considerable extent and might become a stage for further disarmament. It is this draft convention that I recommend to the attention of the Vth session of the Preparatory Commission, supporting the proposal for its being placed first on the agenda but not merely for its rejection on former grounds, out of fear of its novelty and devotion to the old paths, even when these are erroneous, but for its detailed study and the consideration of its contents. I am profoundly convinced that nothing but the acceptance of such a proposal can lead the Commission out of its difficulties, recompense it for time and work spent in vain and bring about recognition that the Preparatory Commission has at last really taken up the question of disarmament.

# Declaration of the Delegation of the Soviet Union on the Rejection of the Soviet Draft by the Preparatory Commission.

## To the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference.

The circumstance that the preparatory commission has today adopted a resolution which puts an end to the discussion, which had scarcely begun, of the Draft of the Soviet Union regarding partial reduction of armaments, prevents the other delegations from clearly expressing their opinion on the fundamental question of disarmament, the delegation of the Soviet Union is therefore compelled to submit the following declaration:

1. The delegation of the Soviet Union commenced its work in the Preparatory Commission about eighteen months ago at the IV. meeting. This meeting did not deal with questions which are immediately connected with disarmament. The discussion of a draft of a commission on general and complete disarmament, which was brought in by the delegation of the Soviet Union was postponed to the V. meeting.

2. The V. meeting appeared to wish to introduce the discussion of the above-mentioned draft of an agreement; a considerable number of delegations expressed their standpoint on this question, but already at the discussion on the main question, whether complete disarmament is desirable or not, the draft of the Soviet Union was rejected en bloc. No other concrete argument was brought against it than the statement that the maintenance of troops is necessary in order to prevent civil wars and popular revolts and that the statutes of the League of Nations and the mandates under its control did not permit it to deal with the question of general disarmament.

3. The delegation of the Soviet Union thereupon submitted a new draft of an agreement, this time dealing with partial disarmament. The proposal of the delegation of the Soviet Union on the necessity of its draft being submitted at once for discussion was rejected, although in similar cases proposals which had been made to the Preparatory Commission by other delegations had been subjected to immediate discussion. The V. meeting decided, without justification, to postpone the discussion of the draft of the Soviet Union to the VI. meeting, although the agenda of the V. meeting contained no other question regarding disarmament.

4. In spite of the demand of the delegation of the Soviet Union, no definite term was fixed for the convocation of the next meeting and the matter was left in the hands of the chairman of the Commission to decide. It was decided that this convocation should depend upon the awaited result of certain negotiations proceeding between two States. Five months elapsed. Thereupon I sent a letter to the chairman of the Preparatory Commission, asking him what were the reasons which delayed the convocation of the VI. meeting. I repeated the same question four months later, for the Commission has still not yet been called, although the above-mentioned negotiations, upon which the convocation of the Commission had been made dependent, had already been concluded.

5. It was not until 13 months after the V. meeting that the Commission was summoned by the chairman to a VI. meeting. The draft of the Soviet Union for an agreement on partial reduction of armaments was discussed at three sessions. This discussion was participated in all by seven delegates, some of whom spoke in favour of a prolongation of the discussion of the draft; those who spoke against it did not bring forward any concrete arguments either against the main principles of the draft or against the draft as a whole. The delegation of the Soviet Union proposes to the delegations present that they express their opinion in regard to the questions without the solution of which no programme of a reduction of armaments can be laid down. Attempts were undertaken on the part of certain delegates to justify the refusal to put these questions to a vote. For this purpose they referred to the statutes of the League of Nations and the incompetency of the commission. Although after the raising of this question by the delegates the Bureau of the Commission had already expressed its opinion that the questions put by the delegation of the Soviet

Union are fully and entirely in harmony with the mandate of the Commission and with the character of its work, no vote was taken, in which the opinion of the delegations and the governments found expression, with the result that the sessions in which the draft of the Soviet Union was discussed were simply wasted. That is not all. The whole of the IV. V. and half of the VI. meeting at which the delegation of the Soviet Union was present, were quite fruitless; at these meetings no productive decisions were adopted which would have been capable of permitting us to take a step in the direction of solving the question of disarmament. This could not be otherwise because the two drafts of the Soviet Union and in general proposals of the delegation of the Soviet Union had been rejected, and the Commission had no other draft before it which would have enabled it to carry on its work in any way in a useful manner. The draft of the agreement which had been drawn up at the III. meeting of the commission, aroused by its vagueness and its lack of any objective criterion of disarmament such differences of opinion that the interested governments did not succeed in removing them after more than two and a half years, and it seems that these differences will not disappear in the near future.

6. In its declarations of 30th November, 1927, at the IV. meeting and on 19th of March, 1928, at the V. meeting the delegation of the Soviet Union gave a full estimation of the work achieved by the commission up to those dates. The whole of the present work of the Commission can be characterised in the same manner. This estimate fully justifies the pessimism and the mistrust with which the government of the Soviet Union received the invitation of the League of Nations to participate in the Preparatory Commission. The delegation of the Soviet Union is unfortunately compelled to record, on the basis of its experience of its work in the Preparatory Commission, that this pessimism and this mistrust must extend also to the work which the Commission contemplates undertaking. The delegation of the Soviet Union is more than ever convinced that the course which the Preparatory Commission has adopted as well as its methods are incapable of leading to the solution of the question confronting it. For two years the Commission has been making time on the same spot and is unable to proceed forward in the way which it has itself indicated owing to the hindrances which it encounters, and it will avoid or overcome these hindrances only to encounter fresh obstacles. The delegation of the Soviet Union is convinced that the Preparatory Commission if it proceeds forwards along this path, will not be in a position to prepare the material necessary for the disarmament conference, and that the material which it perhaps could be proposed to it will not permit the Conference to adopt any decisions. The only result of the activity of the Preparatory Commission will consist solely in postponing the question of disarmament indefinitely or preparing for the failure of the Disarmament Conference. This activity, however, has yet another negative importance which it conceals from the mass of people who are demanding disarmament — a policy of the governments which are represented in this commission, which in the majority of cases consists in not permitting any reduction of existing armaments. The Preparatory Commission is a source of certain which conceals the refusal of the governments to reduce their armaments; it therefore assumes responsibility for the rejective attitude of the governments in the matter of disarmament.

7. The ascertainment of the above-mentioned facts is bound to induce the delegation of the Soviet Union to refuse to take off any participation in the work of the Preparatory Commission. If it nevertheless decides to remain in the Commission it does so because it is guided by those same considerations which have caused the Government of the Soviet Union to send a delegation to the Preparatory Disarmament Commission in spite of the negative attitude of the Soviet Government towards the League of Nations, and before all in order

nobody should have the right to ascribe the failure and the witnesslessness of the labours of the Preparatory Commission and the Disarmament Commission itself to the absence and non-participation of the representatives of the Soviet Government. The public opinion of the whole world must know that the Soviet Government has done, is doing and will do everything that lies in its power in order to contribute to the success of the cause of disarmament. Public opinion must and will know that the delegation of the Soviet Union, beginning from the first day of its participation in the Preparatory Commission, played a very active role in that it made concrete and perfectly practicable proposals, criticised all arguments brought against disarmament and exposed all those who, under various pretexts with the aid of sophisms, frustrated the progress of disarmament. The delegation of the Soviet Union will continue to pursue this task and will at the same time take fully into account the absolute lack of seriousness and the futility of the work with which the Commission fills its sessions and meetings so long as it pays no heed to the concrete proposals brought forward by the delegation of the Soviet Union. The delegation of the Soviet Union, by remaining in the Preparatory Commission, will not allow any opportunity to pass in which its intervention and activity could in any way promote the cause of disarmament. It remains in the Preparatory Commission in the hope that the other governments which are represented and it will finally be compelled, under the pressure of public opinion and in particular in view of the demands of the workers' organisations, to agree, if not to complete disarmament, then at least to a considerable reduction of armaments and that the representatives of these governments in the Preparatory Commission will be inevitably compelled to come back to these same proposals of the Soviet Union which they have now rejected on behalf of their governments.

Geneva, 19th April, 1929.

The Chairman of the Delegation of the Union of Socialist  
Soviet Republics.  
(signed) M. Litvinov.

## POLITICS

### Before the British General Election.

The Parties in the Election and the Preparation of a New Left Bloc.

By R. Palme Dutt.

The Budget of Churchill does not yet throw much light on the Conservative election programme, although it contains a few obvious minor items to win favour at the elections, in particular the slight concession to the farmers on taxation and the remission of the tea duty. In general, the speech of Churchill represented an attempt to paint the economic position of England as one of growing prosperity in the five years of Conservative Government — a picture so obviously at variance with the known facts of continued decline, and especially of relative decline to the world advance, that his attempt could win little conviction or enthusiasm even from his Conservative hearers.

The real Conservative programme for the election, however, remains still to be announced in Baldwin's forthcoming speech. The programmes of Labour and Liberal parties also await final issue.

The Labour Party has put forward its general programme in the document "Labour and the Nation" adopted at the Birmingham Conference last year, and marking the extreme point of development of the Labour Party to a party of capitalist reconstruction pure and simple. This document, however, is a voluminous and vague collection of some sixty or seventy items, mostly of the familiar Fabian type of State aid for capitalist reorganisation. The actual issues for the election have still to be announced. So far, the Labour Party has kept mainly to the safe ground of opposition to the Baldwin Government and its legislation. Its principal positive proposal so far consists of the very modest project of the "surtax", or a slight increase of taxation on incomes from investments over £ 500 a year, to yield

some £ 60—80 millions a year, partly to go towards repayment of the National Debt, and partly for small increases of payments in respect of social legislation. On this tiny basis (representing the climbdown even from the "Capital Levy" proposals of previous years) is attempted to be built up in the capitalist press loud cries of "confiscation" and "socialism" as issues of the election.

The Liberal Party has come earlier into the field, by adding to its previous "Liberalism and Industrial Policy" reports (representing schemes of capitalist reorganisation under State control, on lines essentially similar to the Labour policy), the new "We Can Conquer Unemployment" programme, advocating a loan of £ 200 millions for reconstructions of roads, canals, telephones etc., to absorb about half the present unemployed during two years. By the tactics of this "bold" programme ("bold" in contrast to the hesitations, apathy and indefiniteness of the other two capitalist parties), the Liberal Party has for the time being won for itself a commanding position out of all proportion to its numbers in the present election campaign and discussion. The Liberal election programme as a whole has still to be issued.

A more detailed examination of the respective party programmes must consequently await their definite issue, since only the Communist Party has so far issued its election programme in clear form. In the meantime it will be of value to examine something of the electoral position and prospects of the parties.

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Four parties are entering into the election — the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, the Labour Party and the Communist Party. Of these, the first three are governmental parties, contesting all or nearly all the seats, and hoping either to form a government or (in the case of the Liberal Party) to enter into a governmental combination. The Communist Party fights for the first time as an independent party against all three; its fight is still a pioneering fight, and, owing to the shackling electoral conditions, it is only able to contest a small number of seats; the significance of its fight lies in relation to the development of the class struggle outside, and not in any important immediate bearing on the direct parliamentary results.

The last General Election in 1924 showed the following result:

	Members	Votes
Conservative . . . . .	415	7,838,225
Labour . . . . .	151	5,487,620
Liberal . . . . .	42	2,925,142

In addition, one Communist was elected, and six "independent" members, mostly Conservative.

It is here necessary to note an important point of the British electoral system, which has its bearing on possible future results. It will be seen that the number of seats in Parliament bears no proportion to the votes recorded, and that the Conservative Government holds an overwhelming majority of over two to one on an actual minority of votes. This is directly due to the character of the electoral system, which is notoriously undemocratic and weighted in favour of the governing party. Voting is by single constituencies, the candidate with the highest vote being declared elected; and there is no second ballot, alternative vote or other device to secure a more correct representation. In consequence, each Conservative member represents some 19,000 votes; each Labour member, 37,000; each Liberal, 80,000. On a basis of proportional representation the seats in Parliament would be: Conservative, 295; Labour, 202; Liberal, 110. This is necessary to bear in mind in estimating the relative strength of the parties, since the present appearances exaggerate both the weakness of the Liberals and the strength of the Conservatives. A relatively small turnover of votes may produce a very considerable change in parliamentary representation.

The Labour Party, it may be noted, strenuously opposes any democratic reform of this confessedly undemocratic system, since it hopes in the future to become the principal governing party and enjoy the fruits of the corrupt system itself.

Since 1924, the current has moved strongly against the Conservative Government in favour of the Labour Party, and also of the Liberals. In the four and a half years since 1924 there

have been 63 contested by-elections. These have resulted in a net loss of 15 seats to the Conservatives, and a net gain of 11 to the Labour Party, 2 to the Liberals and 2 to the "independents".

The votes recorded show:

Conservatives . . . . .	630,680 votes
Labour . . . . .	567,914
Liberals . . . . .	447,834

A comparison of these votes with those recorded at the General Election shows that the Conservatives have fallen from 48% of the aggregate vote to 38.2%; the Labour Party has slightly risen from 34% to 34.5%; the Liberals have made an extraordinary recovery from 18% to 27.3%. This amazing result, in view of the strength and bitterness of the working class opposition to the Baldwin Government, is a powerful revelation and condemnation of the whole Labour Party leadership and the consequences of its policy. By their weakness and failure to voice the working class opposition, and by their continuous concession and capitulation to liberal policy and politics, they have directly assisted to raise up again the Liberal Party from its collapse, and have enabled the Liberal Party to reap the gains which would normally have fallen to them.

The strength of the current against the Conservative Government has gained enormously in the last few months preceding the General Election. With the near approach of the election, and the actual issue of a Labour Government, which still appears as an objective to a large body of workers, the Labour Party has again begun to advance rapidly, and the Liberal Party, until the Lloyd George "pledge" came to save it, was weakening. In the nine by-elections since the beginning of 1929, the results show:

Labour . . . . .	92,828 votes
Conservatives . . . . .	78,331
Liberals . . . . .	58,068

Even here, however, it is noticeable that in the five most recent by-elections in March (the so-called "miniature General Election" owing to their all falling within a week), since the Lloyd George electioneering pledge, which was made on March 1st, the Liberal vote has exceeded the Labour vote — 39,172 against 37,927. The figures are affected by the fact that one seat was not contested by Labour; but the aggregates for the constituencies fought compared with 1924 show:

	March, 1929	1924	
Conservatives . . . . .	47,184	72,551	minus 25,000
Liberals . . . . .	39,172	28,713	plus 10,000
Labour . . . . .	37,927	33,025	plus 4,800

Once again, the weakness of the Labour Party leadership is enabling Lloyd George to endeavour to seize the position as the leader of the fight against Baldwin and against unemployment, and actually to win a certain measure of ground from them.

The electoral prospects thus show the extreme probability of the defeat of the Conservatives (unless the mutual cancelling of Liberal and Labour candidates can still preserve them a small majority on a still heavier minority vote), but the equal probability that the gains from this defeat will not go to make a Labour majority, but will be divided between the Labour Party and the Liberals, resulting in no party having an absolute majority.

\* \* \*

The question consequently arises: — in the event of no party having an absolute majority, what will be the position, and what will be the government formed? It is clear that this question is of governing importance in the election, and determines the real political position of each party. But it is precisely to this question that no party is willing to give a clear answer, since each party is fighting in the election for its own hand. Nevertheless, it is obvious that this question goes to the root of the immediate political situation, and is manifestly occupying the attention of the leaders of all three parties.

It is obvious that in this situation one form or another of Coalition Government is inevitable, either by direct combination

or by a Minority Government working on an agreed programme. It is also clear that in the present situation (short of a regrouping within parties, or a war or other crisis leading to the future), only two forms of coalition are immediately in question — a Conservative-Liberal Coalition or a Liberal-Labour Coalition. Both these phases may develop under given conditions in the near future; but all immediate indications point to the likelihood of some form of Liberal-Labour Coalition.

In the analysis of the general economic and political situation in a previous article\*) it has already been noted that the whole trend of the situation, and of bourgeois policy, points to the probability of some form of Left Bloc Government to replace the Baldwin Government. Even a Labour Government on a basis of an absolute Labour majority would in reality bear the character; the Labour Government would tend to look for Liberal support against its own "left" opposition. The growing practical identity of the Labour and Liberal programmes also points in this direction.

The principal obstacle lies in the strong opposition of a mass of the workers in the Labour Party to any form of coalition which would certainly produce a crisis within the Labour Party. The Labour Party has been built up in the country on the principle of "independence" of the Liberal and Conservative Parties; and it has not been possible yet at a Labour Conference for any spokesman openly to advocate coalition, although in other quarters (especially in the capitalist press) many individual leaders have given expressions in this direction. The leaders of the Labour Party have consequently to walk with extreme care at present. Nevertheless there have not been lacking indications of the direction in which their thoughts are moving. The professions of independence are still made in public; but they already bear a weakening character and leave obvious loopholes. At a recent conference of a large trade union with leftward sympathies in the membership (the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers), a resolution was moved against any alliance with a capitalist party either before or after the election: the officials succeeded in securing that the resolution was not voted on, but instead the "previous question" was carried. On these suggestions of possible future coalition, the Daily Herald declared in a recent editorial (2. 4. 29):

"To waste time discussing possible alignments of parties after the election serves only to encourage opponents. Harping on hypothetical contingencies which may not, and given the right will, need not, arise, is ill preparation for the greatest political struggle in this country's history".

It will be seen that there is here no longer any denial, but only an insistence on the untimeliness of openly discussing the question at the present stage.

In the same way MacDonalld at the beginning of this year wrote:

"What shall we build in 1929? ... If the commission which we get is not absolute, but we are in a minority, shall we accept it? If our majority is small, shall we accept it? ... The questions upon hypothetical possibilities which have been put and the opinions offered upon them, by no means exhaust the probabilities which 1929 will present to us, and which we must face in forming or declining to form a government.

"To them all there is but one answer ... We shall courageously and firmly make use of whatever opportunity is given to us."

Wait, he continues, till after the election:

"Then, with full knowledge in its possession, with all the roads that are open in front of it, the Party must consider what is best to be done in the interests of the people it represents" (J. R. MacDonalld in "Forward" 5. 1. 29).

It is not difficult to read between the lines of these and similar declarations the preparations of the future Left Bloc Government on the part of the leaders of the Labour Party no less than of the Liberal Party. It is this situation which offers the strongest field to the independent fight of the Communist Party.

\*) See Inprecorr. No 18, April 12, 1929.

## The Millionaire American Cabinet.

By A. G. Richman.

**Herbert Hoover**, the most open advocate of big business and aggressive imperialism that has ever been President of the U. S., is a business man, and was elected to give the country a "business government".

Trustification, rationalisation, bureaucratisation of the Government and imperialist penetration of foreign countries are now proceeding on a scale never before seen for magnitude and acceleration. The terribly exploited Negroes and the rest of the proletariat and poor farmers will feel the lash of finance capitalism far more than ever.

The cruiser expansion, great bank and industrial mergers, the "good-will" trip, the role of the U. S. in Mexico, etc. are evidences of increasing preparedness for the coming world imperialist conflict.

Hoover is the first millionaire to be President in his own name. This imperialist flunkey so openly admits the dictatorship of Wall St. that he surrounds himself with other millionaires. Of the 10 secretaries in his cabinet, 6 are millionaires, and the others have fortunes that run into the hundreds of thousands. Of the assistant-secretaries, a number are also millionaires.

**Andrew W. Mellon**, who holds over as secretary of the treasurer, is the fourth richest man in the country, and the one who openly runs the government in the name of Wall St. Hoover is only his glorified office-boy.

Mellon's great interests, the Aluminum trust, Gulf Oil, Pittsburg Coal, etc., etc. have received the full benefit of his encumbrance. Of the \$ 350,000 million he has refunded to great corporations through tax refunds, a goodly portion went to his group of corporations. He is the largest owner of liquor in the country, and is the "enforcer" of the prohibition laws. His record is so malodorous that Hoover feared to submit his name to the Senate together with those of the other secretaries for endorsement. There was no danger of its being rejected, but all concerned were afraid of distasteful publicity — and it would have been quite distasteful for Mellon.

It was Mellon who settled the question of who should succeed Coolidge, when in June, 1928, he announced it would be Hoover. The Teapot Dome oil scandal is in large part a monument to Mellon, as is also the election of his henchman, Vane, from Pennsylvania, whom even the U. S. Senate feared to accept.

The next worthy is **Henry L. Stimson**, secretary of state, millionaire corporation lawyer and professional politician. He has as fine an imperialist record as any man in the country. Recently dictator in the Philippines, he was arbiter in the Nicaraguan "elections", ex-partner of Elihu Root (of World Court renown), secretary of war under Taft, when he sent warships to "influence" the course of events in Honduras, Nicaragua, etc.

Just before leaving the Philippines, he used U. S. troops to break the strike of 3000 half-starved longshoremen at Cebu. Stimson will continue Kellogg's policies — which is a euphemistic way of saying, Wall St. imperialist policies. His appointment was urged by Root, Hughes and Taft, employees of Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon and Co.

**Charles F. Adams**, scion of a revolutionary war (18th century) family, is the new secretary of the navy. His qualifications are that he is amateur skipper of a yacht that won the 1920 international races — and that he is director in half a dozen banks, plus a number of railroads, textile, gas companies, and of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., the monopoly of which has just merged with Radio Corporation of America in order to more effectively beat the new British monopoly. The American combine now controls 13 of the 20 trans-Atlantic cables.

The secretary of commerce is **Robert P. Lamont**, director of the Chicago Daily News, International Harvester trust, Chrysler auto company (third biggest in the U. S.), American Radiator Co., Armour meat trust, First National Bank of Chicago, and 3 steel companies and a mail order house. He is also a member of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the chief bosses' association in the country.

It was as head of the American Steel Foundries that he secured from the U. S. Supreme Court one of the most drastic injunctions against picketing ever handed down against labour — an injunction that has served as a precedent since then in many

strikes. This fellow is a henchman of the Chicago gangster politician, State Senator Dineen.

The secretary of war, **James Good**, millionaire and former Congressman, went into law practice in 1923 as soon as he left Congress, handling electric power mergers for the Insull trust. His first legal fee was \$ 10,000 from the Alabama Power Co., which was fighting Ford for the valuable government Muscle Shoals power plant. He also got large fees from the Alien Property Custodian's Office, whose head was Thomas Miller, a leading Teapot Dome grafter, now in prison. As secretary of war Good will have direct charge of the Muscle Shoals plant, and what a tool of the power trust he will be is obvious from his past record.

**James J. Davis** remains secretary of labour. He is millionaire president of a Pittsburg bank, and is also a member of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Union. His membership in this reactionary union endears him to the hearts of Green, Woll and other A. F. of L. bureaucrats. He is a flunkey of Mellon, and as such is stated to become governor of the latter's feudal barony, Pennsylvania.

The attorney general in the new cabinet is **William Mitchell**, arch-reactionary corporation lawyer, who succeeds some of the most crooked grafters in the history of American governmental corruption. His father was chief justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court, and a notorious railroad corporation attorney.

Mitchell was a "soldier" — who never participated in any battle except breaking a strike of St. Paul streetcar men. Some of his chief duties will be in connection with "enforcing" the anti-trust laws, in which Wall St. can rely upon him fully. Prohibition enforcement is another of his functions, for he was appointed, although a Democrat, because of his "dry" sympathies. Mellon will help him interpret and enforce the prohibition law.

**Arthur Hyde** is now secretary of agriculture. He is as malodorous a tool of finance capitalism as was his predecessor, Jardine. As governor of Missouri he served faithfully the fertilizer and other trusts battenning upon the farmers. His farming experience was gained as president of a Kansas City insurance company foreclosing mortgages upon bankrupt farmers.

Practically the most important question before the special session of Congress is the agricultural crisis. Last year, for the fifth successive year, 2 million persons left the farms, as a result of the crisis. Large numbers of farmers voted for Hoover on his promises of farm relief. A few weeks ago, the "progressive" senator Brookhart announced that Hoover and he agreed on a farm programme that would satisfy the farmers. Now Hoover states that he has no programme, and his friend, Hyde, makes a circus play by calling upon Morgan, Rockefeller, Young, Schwab, Ford, etc. to attend the meetings of the Senate Agricultural Committee and help it "solve" the farm problem. This failed because the latter knew better than to appear. This question is insoluble under capitalism without the expropriation of further large numbers of farmers and the enslavement to finance capital of the rest.

The new secretary of the interior, **Ray L. Wilbur**, came to that office, hailed as a close personal friend of Hoover. In the press he was referred to as the president of Leland Stanford University, but in financial circles he is known as a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation. One of his first official acts was to increase the robbery of the Indians on government reservations. He announced a policy of "weaning" or "hardening off" the Indians. In plain English this means putting them into trade schools, breaking up their tribes, and banishing them from the valuable oil lands the Rockefeller and Mellons want.

**Walter Brown**, postmaster general, has been a lawyer, politician and professional philanthropist for many years. He is one of the leading politicians in his state, Ohio, and was undoubtedly chosen for the cabinet by Hoover because the latter got to know him from his work as assistant secretary of commerce. He will be a willing tool of finance capital in its drives against the labour movement and the Communists.

The speeding up in the attacks upon the workers is shown by two recent events. Hoover's latest strikebreaking act was to smash the strike of 4000 railway workers by legal pronouncement on the morning of the strike (Mar. 30). The fact, that the yellow union leaders were willing to cooperate, in no way detracts from Hoover's leading role in this. The workers had been induced by the company to buy houses where they worked and were then transferred to distant yards. Upon the bosses' request, Hoover did his stuff.

On the same day, he had ex-governor Allen of Kansas appointed to the U.S. Senate. Allen achieved "fame" as the sponsor of the infamous anti-strike and compulsory arbitration law, as a result of which he nearly became vice-president instead of Coolidge, who edged into the presidency as an alleged breaker of the Boston police strike. Allen will probably be an able leader in the campaign against the workers which the Senate will evolve.

All in all the prospects are that a very pleasant time will be had by all the imperialists, as a result of the endeavours of the all-imperialist, all-millionaire cabinet of Mellon and Hoover.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Indictment against the Leaders of the Indian Workers.

By A. Jones (London).

The indictment against the arrested Indian leaders has finally reached us; it is called the **Complaint of the King and Emperor**. The devoted servants of His Majesty have put all their mind and energy in the framing up of the charges against the victims of their raids. They have succeeded in producing a document worthy of the pen of the authors of the famous Zinoviev Letter.

All the arrested leaders, who belong to different trade unions, to workers and peasants parties, and to other militant organisations of oppressed Indians are lumped together and described, on the one hand as illegal conspirators, and on the other, as members of the Communist International. The Communist International itself is described as a Soviet organisation aiming at the establishment of the dictatorship of the Russian Soviet rulers all over the world. All the organisations to which the arrested leaders belong, including the League against Imperialism, are referred to as sections and instruments of the Communist International.

The authors of the King's Complaint themselves know perfectly well that the charges manufactured by them are nothing else but a string of lies and slanders. The workers and peasants parties have never belonged, and do not belong, to the Communist International. It is sufficient to read only the resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern for convincing proof that the C. I. is in principle against parties and organisations based upon two classes. The trade unions of India, including the militant unions, cannot belong to the C. I. for the simple reason that no unions are affiliated to that body. The Indian unions are not even affiliated to the Red International of Trade Unions. As to the League against Imperialism, even a child knows that its chairman is a prominent member of the Second International and his name is James Maxton. Many well-known Second International men, and men belonging to no political party who are opposed to the principles of the C. I., are active in the League against Imperialism. As regards the Communist International, even the late Curzon never dared to describe it in such a way as his pupils do in remote India. The C. I. is known to the world as the stalwart fighter for all exploited and oppressed, and only brazen forgers can dare to ascribe to the C. I. imperialist aims. It is also sufficiently well-known that the C. I. can in no way be confused and mixed up with the Union of Soviet Republics. The authors of the King's Complaint also know, of course, that the Soviet system was born in the struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, and that one of the first acts of the Soviet power was to establish full freedom and full self-determination to the point of separation for all nationalities who had suffered under the yoke of Tsardom. Since then the Union of Soviet Republics has always fought and is today fighting for the cause of the oppressed.

A significant feature of this affair is that the British press has not dared to publish the Complaint of the King. Not only are the British imperialists ashamed to reveal to the workers in the Metropolis their infamous "masterpiece", but they do not dare to try their prisoners in any of the important industrial cities in India itself. They have chosen Meerut as the place for the trial. Why Meerut? The reason given is that about a year ago a conference of workers and peasants' parties was held

there. (By the way, Nehru senior participated in that conference; why was not he arrested?). But other, bigger and more important workers and peasants' conferences have taken place in more prominent industrial centres of India. Further, the majority of those arrested have participated openly in the great struggles of the workers in Calcutta and in Bombay, especially in the latter. Why have these cities been avoided as the place for the trial? It is as clear as daylight that this small obscure town of Meerut has been chosen because it is situated in the United Provinces where persons are tried without juries, and where there is no pretence even of bourgeois imperialist justice. If, on the other hand, the trial were to be held in Calcutta or Bombay, or in any other industrial centre, it would unmask the lies and calumnies contained in the indictment against the prisoners. Even the British imperialists would hesitate to come forward in the city of Bombay with the charge of conspiracy against men who acted openly and who had the full confidence of the workers and peasants. They know too well that in such circumstances the trial would be transformed into great mass demonstrations against the forgers and against the authors of the frame-up. To avoid this, the imperialists in India prefer to defy their own laws in order to get their enemies into the noose.

The King's Complaint means not only the rope for 31 honest and courageous fighters, but it also means fetters for the workers and peasants parties, for militant trade unions, and for the awakening national revolutionary movement in India. The object of the coming trial in the obscure little of Meerut is to justify the new emergency laws which are directed against any form of active militant trade union organisation and all national revolutionary activities. In these circumstances, the workers all over the world, and first and foremost, the workers of Great Britain, are called upon to see that this foul conspiracy of the Anglo-Indian Government is not allowed to materialise. This outrageous document — the Complaint of the King and Emperor — must be made known to every worker throughout the world. In the coming general election in Great Britain, every candidate, and especially the Labour Imperialists, who call themselves "pacifists and internationalists" (see Snowden's recent speech), must be asked what stand he or she takes to the outrageous attack upon the Indian working class organisations and their leaders. The workers of Great Britain, having had the experience of the Zinoviev Letter, will not allow themselves to be deceived by more lies and slanders about the Communists, or the leaders of the Indian workers who have been arrested, being responsible for the bomb throwing in the Indian Legislative Assembly. This obvious provocation was aimed solely at strengthening the "arguments" of the indictment against the 31 arrested leaders.

In spite of all the efforts of the British Imperialists, the Communist International exists today in all parts of the world and is fighting for the cause of the workers and oppressed peoples. Its programme, its strategy and its tactics are very well-known. The C. I. has never favoured individual terrorism. As to the workers and peasants parties in India, which do not belong to the C. I., their programme and activities are well known not only to the workers and peasants, but also to the authors of the frame-up, and to describe them as bomb-throwers and conspirators is the deepest calumny. Individual terrorism is in no way part of the tactics of the Workers and Peasants Party. The very fact that the King's Complaint does not refer to any terroristic plots or activities is sufficient proof that the authors of the second Zinoviev Letter do not dare to come out with such arguments even before a judge whom they themselves, defying both law and tradition, have carefully selected. The stunts of the "Daily Mail" and the "Morning Post" concerning the throwing of the bomb in the Legislative Assembly are meant to poison the minds of the people and to prepare them for the sentence against the Indian leaders upon which agreement has obviously already been reached by the Anglo-Indian Government even before this farce of a trial takes place.

The indictment against the 31 leaders is based solely upon the "discovery of a conspiracy against the sovereignty of the king." The truth of the matter is that the agents of the British imperialists have themselves framed up a conspiracy against the awakening liberation movement in India. This foul and shameless conspiracy against the Indian workers and peasants must be unmasked, and the workers throughout the world, and especially the British workers, must leave no stone unturned not only to expose, but to defeat the machinations of the imperialists in India.

# MAY DAY

## Appeal of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. for First of May.

Against War! Against Capitalist Rationalisation! For the Independence of the Colonial Nations! Defend the U. S. S. R.  
To the Men and Women Workers Throughout the World!

**Comrades!**

The international proletariat this year celebrates the **May First Labour Day** in a situation of an **extreme intensification of the class struggle** and unprecedented reaction in capitalist countries.

The millions-strong divisions of the proletariat in all parts of the earth are coming out once more in the open struggle for their vital demands. A mighty wave of workers' strikes has rolled all over the earth — from North France through Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, far beyond the confines of Europe, to North and South America, Australia, to the East in India and China. The working class has obviously recovered from the defeats forced upon it by the bourgeoisie with the help of the reformists and is replying to the attack of the class of exploiters by a **counter-attack**. In these struggles — in Lodz and in the Ruhr, in Halluin, in Bombay and in Shanghai — under the leadership of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. the workers' ranks are closing in more and more against the triple alliance of the capitalists, their State apparatus and the reformists of the camp of the **Second and Amsterdam Internationals**. Ever new proletarian masses are freeing themselves from the influence of the reformists and are rallying under the banners of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement. The class struggles are becoming more and more ruthless and stubborn. Each action of the workers in taking up the struggle for their demands strikes serious blows at capitalist "stabilisation", breaks the fragile edifice of "peace in industry", so carefully erected by the collaborationists of all shades and tendencies, into fragments, and is a threat to the military plans of warring capitalism.

It is precisely because of this that the bourgeoisie in each strike, in each dispute, mobilises all its forces in order to force defeat upon the fighting workers, to throw them back; it is precisely because of this that it is exerting such unprecedented efforts in order to bridle the working masses who have roused themselves to new class activity. The capitalists no longer content themselves with bringing pressure to bear on the economic rights of the working class which were won by decades of struggle. With the help of the social-democrats and the Amsterdam International the world bourgeoisie has succeeded in abolishing practically everywhere the **eight-hour working day**, in carrying out **rationalisation**, which has greatly worsened the position of the working masses in greatly lowering wages, in increasing the exploitation of the toilers to an unheard of extent, in cutting down labour protection to the minimum, in lowering all social expenditures, in increasing the millions-strong unemployed army to a colossal extent. With the assistance of these same social-democrats and reformist trade union bureaucrats the bourgeoisie are attempting to smash the labour organisations, to expel all the revolutionary elements from them, to narrow down the right of combination, to deprive the workers of the "right to the street". The reformist leaders — the Grassmanns, Urchs, Husemanns, Citrines & Co., are throwing the best revolutionary workers out of the trade unions, are expelling whole organisations, are splitting the trade union movement. The social-democratic ministers and the police-presidents in Germany prohibit street demonstrations of the workers, threaten to ban the Communist Parties and other workers' organisations, order the police to fire at the columns of demonstrating workers.

**Comrades!**

The bourgeoisie and the reformists are attacking the militant day of international solidarity, the **May First Labour Day**. The social-democratic parties and reformist trade unions call upon

the workers to forget their traditional **May First** actions. **Men and women workers! Give them their answer! Women workers!** In the huge strike struggles you marched and fought shoulder to shoulder with the men. Women workers! On **May First** demonstrate your proletarian solidarity and the unity of your class interests together with the entire proletariat! Identify yourselves with the workers' columns! Demonstrate under the revolutionary banners and the slogans of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. against the fratricidal wars, against fascism. A **complete general strike on May Day!** Show on **May First**, by powerful militant action, under the red banners of the proletarian revolution, that the workers' ranks have not been shaken by the threats of the exploiters and their hirelings. The millions-strong columns of the proletarians at the **May First** demonstrations must prove the unconquerable will of the working class to fight against the attack of capital, against the social-traitors, against the splitters of the revolutionary front, against the renegades and strikebreakers, against the cruel consequences of capitalist rationalisation, for the seven-hour working day, for wage increases, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

On **May First** the international proletariat must demonstrate against the danger of war which was never so imminent as it is at the present time. The capitalists are feverishly arming themselves behind the screen of the Kellogg Pact and various peace agreements; unprecedented powerful weapons of destruction are being built. The entire industry of the capitalist countries is being prepared in order that at any moment it be put onto war lines. The danger of war between the imperialist countries and the threat of an attack of the capitalists on the first proletarian republic, the U. S. S. R., is becoming more and more urgent. The role of the imperialist League of Nations is becoming clearer and clearer — the role of an instrument for preparations for war. The treacherousness of the social-imperialists in the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, who build warships whilst they talk of "permanent peace", is becoming plainer and plainer. The rejection of the Soviet proposals for complete disarmament, the intensification of the contradictions between the imperialist giants, the instigation of war in **Afghanistan**, the suppression by fire and sword of the oppressed and exploited masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the spread of fascism, the unprecedented growth of armaments — all these are signposts on the path towards a **new world war**. Only the revolutionary proletariat is in a position to detain the hands of the war instigators, only the revolutionary class struggle is an effective means of struggle against the danger of a new bloody war. The working masses must prove by powerful demonstrations on **May First** that they are vigilantly following up the preparations of the bourgeoisie for war, that at any moment they are prepared to come out in defence of the U. S. S. R., the country of constructive Socialism, that they will transform the imperialist war into the civil war!

The imperialists are massacring the enslaved peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. The Negro uprising in Equatorial Africa was drowned in blood. The number of killed and tortured workers during the uprising on the plantations in Colombia is counted in hundreds. Thousands have fallen from the hands of the English murderers in India. The victims of the imperialists and the counter-revolution in China are inestimable.

On **May First** the International proletariat voices its indignant protest against the brutal massacres of the imperialist plunderers.

Demonstrate against war, in support of the U. S. S. R., and against imperialist oppression and for the independence of the

colonial nations. Remember that the Amsterdam International is closely linked up with the imperialist League of Nations. Drive the traitors to the workers' cause out of your ranks. Take the struggle into your own hands. Form independent organs of militant leadership. Come out in the decisive struggle against the capitalists and their supporters with a united strongly-welded front. Down with the Amsterdam International — the agency of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class!

**Long live the United Revolutionary Trade Union International!**

**Long Live the implacable class struggle of the exploited against the exploiters!**

**Long Live May First, the militant day of International Proletarian Solidarity!**

**Long Live the Victory of the Proletarian Revolution throughout the world!**

Moscow, April 12, 1929.

Executive Bureau,  
Red International of Labour  
Unions.

## **Appeal of the E. C. of the Young Communist International for First of May.**

To the Working and Peasant Youth of all Countries!

To the Working Youth of the Oppressed Peoples of the Colonies!

The international proletariat is celebrating for the fortieth time the First of May as an international day of fight at a time when the rise of a powerful revolutionary wave is revealed in gigantic class struggles. The fighting tradition of the First of May knows of heroic examples of the courageous fight of the working youth. True to this tradition, the revolutionary youth of all countries will, on the First of May, occupy the most advanced fighting positions.

The rationalisation and intensification of work, which have enormously intensified the exploitation of the working class in all countries, weighs most heavily upon the youth. At the conveyors in the gigantic factories as well as in the workshops of the handworkers, they are most ruthlessly exploited. They are affected by unemployment unalleviated by any unemployment benefit. It is also the working youth who are most shamefully betrayed by the reformist party and trade union bureaucrats. They attempt to keep them back from the struggles, to render them completely silent in the trade unions, and expel their best representatives.

The policy of rationalisation and of oppression carried on by the bourgeoisie and their reformist lackeys are today only a part of the policy of war and armaments of the imperialists who are ever more deliberately and systematically adapting industry for war purposes. In addition to the enormous development of technical warfare, the armies, navies and airfleets have increased enormously in the ten years since the world war. By compulsory labour, compulsory and voluntary military training, suppression of revolutionary youth organisations and violent fascisation of the youth, it is intended to militarise the whole population. The war preparations are being directed more and more openly against the bulwark of the revolutionary workers and toiling masses of all countries, against the Soviet Union.

In this situation, which is pregnant with war, the II. International and the Socialist youth International have no other advice to give to the working class in the fight against war than to send petitions to the League of Nations, this institution of the imperialist robbers for cloaking and at the same time systematically preparing for war. The social-imperialists, who are actively participating in the war preparations in all countries, thereby wish to prove to their imperialist masters that they are still able to deceive the masses. The S. Y. I., in its May Day appeal, conceals the real meaning of this manoeuvre by a shameful incitement against the Soviet Union. On the first of May the working youth must give a fitting reply to the boasts of these best pace-makers of war, that they have now better succeeded in harnessing the working youth to their chariot, by marching under the slogans which the Comintern and the Y. C. I. have already issued for the great day of fight against imperialist war.

In the colonies, before all in India, China and South America, the struggle of the oppressed peoples is developing ever more powerfully, and in its front ranks there stand the Youth. Against the measures of suppression of the imperialists,

which are becoming ever more ruthless and brutal, the international young proletariat demonstrates on the First of May for the defence of the revolutionary fight of the oppressed peoples.

Whilst thus in all countries on the First of May the proletariat is engaged in hard struggles for the most elementary demands, the Russian workers and peasants are pursuing the path of building up Socialism. The demands of the working youth are realised in the Soviet Union. Along with the whole working class and the peasantry in the Soviet Union there will demonstrate the red soldiers as the best protectors of the homeland of all toilers. The march of the millions of the emancipated Russian proletariat is the most inspiring example, and is at the same time a summons to the international youth proletariat.

Young workers and peasants, young toilers of all colours, races and nations, close your ranks in powerful demonstrations on the first of May. Let the first of May be an effective forerunner of the world embracing anti-war action on the 1st of August!

**Fight against imperialist war and for its conversion into civil war!**

**Defend the Soviet Union!**

**Support the oppressed colonial peoples!**

**Down with the social democracy, the confederate of the bourgeoisie in the preparations for imperialist war!**

**Fight against the militarisation of the youth!**

**Disintegration of the military youth formations of the imperialists and fascists!**

**For the six-hour day for young people under 18 years!**

**For 4 weeks annual holiday with pay!**

**Regulation of the working conditions of the youth by tariff agreements!**

**Equal Pay for equal work!**

**Fight against fascist and militarist endeavours of the employers in the factory schools!**

**Organisation of the young workers in the trade unions and strengthening of the red trade union opposition in the reformist trade unions against the policy of expulsions on the part of the reformists!**

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

## The Fight for the First of May in Berlin.

By Werner Hirsch (Berlin).

The Berlin workers have already for some months past been oppressed by the regime of Herr Zörgiebel, the social democratic President of the Berlin police, who by a police order has robbed the workers of the right to the street, has deprived the Berlin proletariat of the right of assembly and demonstration. Zörgiebel maintained this prohibition of demonstrations, which met with the enthusiastic approval of the whole of the bourgeois and social democratic press, also on the 1st of January, the day on which the Berlin workers every year gather together at the graves of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, as well as other victims of the revolution of 1919, to do honour to the fallen proletarian heroes. Already at that time there set in the first mass storm of proletarian indignation against Zörgiebel's prohibition of demonstrations.

About two months later, on the 19th of March, the "Rote Fahne" published the news that the Police President of Berlin was planning to uphold the prohibition of demonstrations also on the first of May, and that the reformist trade union bureaucracy at the head of the Berlin trade unions, acting in accordance with this plan, had already made arrangements for indoor meetings only.

Following this scarcely a day passed on which there were held dozens of factory and workshop meetings at which the workers discussed the question of the first of May and adopted decisions protesting against Police President Zörgiebel and expressing their determination to hold the first of May demonstrations. On the 26th of March the workers in one of the largest Berlin metal works, A. E. G. Turbine seized the initiative to weld the movement against the prohibition of demonstrations more firmly together and thereby to impart it more strength. At a factory meeting of the free trade union workers a resolution was unanimously adopted which appealed to all the workers in the factories to form special May Committees and at the same time issued the following slogan: "Complete cessation of work on the First of May! Not a man shall take part in the indoor meetings of the reformist bureaucrats! Every man to the revolutionary mass demonstration on the First of May!"

On the 29th of March the members of the pipelayers' branch of the German metal workers' union of Berlin, at a meeting attended by over 2000 members, unanimously decided to reject the slogan of the trade union bureaucracy and to demonstrate on the 1st of May. In the first week in April crowded meetings of the Berlin railway and street car workers dealt with the question of the demonstration prohibition, and also decided to cease work on the 1st of May. The "Rote Fahne" and the Communist Party concentrated all its forces on mobilising the masses for the 1st of May march and against the prohibition of demonstrations.

What plans are under consideration regarding the 1st of May march of the Berlin workers are revealed by a communication which appeared in the Communist press, according to which the Police President has already commenced negotiations regarding the eventual calling up of the East Prussian defensive police as well as of Reichswehr formations for the purpose of suppressing demonstrations on the 1st of May.

On the 12th of April the "Rote Fahne" published the May Day appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, which with its slogan: "in spite of all prohibitions!", replied in plain revolutionary language to the plan of the social democratic police president of Berlin. This appeal called forth a perfect howl of rage in the bourgeois press. There immediately followed the news that the police president of Berlin had already commenced criminal proceedings against the "Rote Fahne" for having printed this May appeal.

In the meantime the social democracy was not idle. It is true the indignation among the members of the social democratic party on account of the prohibition of demonstrations on 1st of May increased enormously. Many thousands of social democratic workers took part in the decisions of nearly all the Berlin big factories, and hundreds of middle and smaller undertakings, in favour of the fighting demonstration on the 1st of May. The social democratic party and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, however, did not let this deter them from continuing

their fight against the May demonstration. In the appeal of the Amsterdam Trade union International it is stated:

"Therefore, we call upon the members of trade unions in all countries to hold impressive demonstrations on this 1st of May".

The "Vorwärts" falsified this sentence by reporting the May manifesto of the I. F. T. U. as being a report from Amsterdam and printing the decisive passage as follows:

"For this reason the International Federation of Trade Unions calls upon the workers of all countries to hold impressive meetings on the 1st of May!"

The National Executive of the German General Federation of Trade unions issued, along with the General Employees' Union (AFA) a May appeal containing the following sentence:

"Demonstrate in a dignified manner! Here and there prohibitions of public processions exist. Respect prohibitions, no matter what your attitude towards them may be."

And the Berlin local committee of the General Federation of Trade unions published a communication in the bourgeois press in which we read:

"... it must be expressly stated that the trade unions never had the intention to hold demonstration processions or open air meetings. They only had the intention of holding indoor meetings for each separate organisation".

With this confession, therefore, the Berlin reformists acknowledge quite openly that they had long ago prepared the plan, along with their Party comrade Zörgiebel, to prevent the May demonstration of the proletariat.

In the middle of April there met together for the first time the elected representatives of nearly 200,000 Berlin workers, in order to discuss together with representatives of the C. P. of Germany the necessary organisational preparations for the 1st of May demonstration. At this meeting a Central May Committee consisting of 60 members, among them being 40 representatives of the big factories, was unanimously elected; and it was decided at the same time to set up district May committees in all the districts of Greater Berlin. The movement, which in its first phase of development had been a protest storm against Zörgiebel's prohibition and mainly a fight for its suspension, has long since, under the influence and the leadership of the Communist Party, developed to a higher revolutionary stage: it is no longer a question of the abolition of the demonstration-prohibition, but is already a question of organising mass demonstrations on the 1st of May in spite of Zörgiebel's prohibition. The May Committees of the factories and districts and the Central May Committee are already today strong and firmly-rooted organs of the proletarian united front among the working population of Berlin.

The movement, which is led under the slogan of "streets free on the 1st of May!", must, if the social democratic police president does not abandon his plan at the last moment, lead to a trial of strength which is of decisive importance for the whole political development in Germany. It is a question of an attack by the united front of the police presidency, the social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy on the Berlin workers on the 1st of May, an attempt to prepare the way for the general offensive of reaction against the German proletariat. The notorious Grzesinski decree of the Prussian Minister of the Interior, in which he announced his intention to prohibit the C. P. of Germany and the Red Front Fighter's League, shows with all clearness the importance the social democracy and the bourgeoisie attach to Zörgiebel's fight against the Berlin workers.

The social democratic press, and in particular the "Vorwärts", does not hesitate to publish the most reckless calumnies against the C. P. G. "The C. P. of Germany needs corpses! It wants shooting to take place on the 1st of May!" wrote the "Vorwärts" of 20th of April.

How lying this incitement of the social democratic central organ is and what little success it can lead to is shown by the Left social democratic "Sächsische Volksblatt" of Zwickau. On the 19th of April, under the title: "The 1st of May, Berlin's day of death" it wrote:

"all preparations have been made to shoot down workers who disobey a police order of the police president Zörgiebel."

The same paper goes on to say:

"The 'Vorwärts' will afterwards be able to write a lot about the responsibility of the Communists for the murder of workers: but the plain and simple man only sees, on the one hand, the workers shot down by the police, and on the other hand he remembers that even Herr v. Jagow was unable to suppress the May demonstrations."

In this attitude of a social democratic paper there is revealed the consciousness that the elementary movement of the workers of Berlin for the first of May demonstration has become an affair of the whole German proletariat and of what effects it can have on the further disintegration of the social democracy.

One thing is already certain: On the 1st of May Berlin will be the scene of mass demonstrations by the workers, who will thereby bear witness to the will to fight of the German proletariat, its revolutionary militant spirit and the deeply rooted influence of the Communist Party of Germany among the broadest proletarian masses.

## May First in Great Britain.

By John.

The coming May Day has its own significance for the British workers — it is not only the day of many great battles of the workers all over the world since 1886, but it is also the anniversary of May Day, 1926, that which opened up a new leaf in the history of the British working class movement.

The Labour Party is very anxious to destroy May Day, with its message of working class struggle, and is especially anxious to obliterate all memory of that May First when the British workers pitted their strength against the combined forces of the Government and the employers and declared a General Strike. The Labour Party is driven on the one hand by fear of the Conservatives putting the blame upon it for the General Strike, and on the other hand, by their fear of the workers who know perfectly well who is responsible for the betrayal of this great battle.

Since 1927, the Labour Party, under the guidance and inspiration of Herbert Morrison, has waged a persistent campaign against the May First demonstration. This year, anxious for the votes of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, they will double their efforts to prevent the workers from participating in the May Day demonstrations and will do everything possible to avoid this day being transformed into a day of struggle against war preparations and against the capitalist offensive.

In these circumstances, May First this year will objectively become not only a day of struggle against the open forces of the ruling class, but also against the leaders of the Labour Party and the bureaucrats of the trade unions, who have become the open allies of the bourgeoisie, and their most loyal and most devoted pillars among the workers. This is the situation not only in Great Britain, but in all capitalist countries. The German Social Democrats of the Coalition Government are preparing guns against the May Day demonstrations. The Polish section of the II. International (the Polish Socialist Party) is organising its armed gangs to repeat the bloodshed of 1928, and so on.

This year May First will be celebrated in Great Britain at a time when all the bourgeois parties, including the Labour Party, are making the greatest efforts to divert the workers from their immediate needs and to keep them interested in sham issues and stage struggles (the present budget controversy is an excellent case in point). While these sham fights are being staged inside and outside Parliament, the Communist Party, the only Party which represents the interests of the working class, is raising its banner against all three parties of capitalism, and organising and mobilising the workers for the struggles looming ahead.

May First is the traditional day of struggle against imperialist wars. The present general election is an important chain in the preparation for new imperialist wars and for armed intervention against the first Workers' Republic. The Communist Party will bend all its efforts into transforming the May Day celebrations into an attack upon the organisers of war, who are covering up their war preparations with pacifist phrases.

In spite of the sabotage of the Labour Party, in spite of sham "left" wingers who in the hour of trial desert to the camp of the enemy, the militant workers of Britain, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will celebrate this day commemorated to the great battles of the workers. Last year A. J. Cook left Nottingham to participate in the May First demonstration in London, which was directed not only against the open bourgeois parties, but against the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucrats. He was censured for this by Citrine. This year, A. J. Cook will be in one camp with Citrine, Thomas and MacDonald; he is already occupied with glorifying the Prince of Wales and slandering the militant workers. But the workers who once believed in Cook will follow the lead of the Communist Party, seeing in the betrayal of Cook only a further proof of the necessity of creating a new Communist Party.

## The Struggle for the Streets on May Day in Russia.

To demonstrate in Tsarist Russia, especially on May Day, meant to come immediately into collision with the military, police and juridical apparatus of Tsarism. On that day, the streets looked as a rule a military camp. The police, gendarmes and troops were in full military readiness.

But the Russian workers did not shrink from any sacrifices in order to come out into the streets, to take possession of them for a little while and to set their will to fight against the will of Tsarism and the bourgeoisie.

The first open May Day demonstration was organised to get into the streets, how to "squeeze" through the barbed wire entanglement erected by the police and the troops, how to meet en masse? This question was solved in various ways at various times and in various places. Life itself offered in the respect enormous opportunities for the ingenuity and ready will of the workers.

The first open May Day demonstration was organised in Warsaw in 1899. The police had taken the necessary measures to prevent the workers reaching the centre of the town, but nevertheless several thousand demonstrators broke through the cordon and invaded the boulevards. The demonstration was surrounded by a close cordon of police. The crowd broke through the cordon twice, but it was finally surrounded by cossacks and dispersed.

In 1900 the railwaymen in Kharkov left work, raised the Red Banner, came out into the street and marched to the other end of the town, to join the workers of a locomotive works. The police barred the way to the demonstrators, but they changed their route, induced on the way workers of another factory to down tools and continued their march. Cossacks appeared on the scene and arrested about 400 people. Just then the workers of the locomotive works downed tools and came out into the street. Red shirts were converted into banners. Again the cossacks appeared on the scene, arrested 200 people and dispersed the demonstration.

In 1901 there was a collision between demonstrators and police in Tiflis. Twenty four demonstrators were injured, 40 were arrested. Subsequently, the demonstrators were taken to a place where they received a heavy sentence — exile to Siberia and imprisonment. In Saratov the arrested demonstrators were arrested and sentenced to exile to Siberia. Over 600 people were arrested in the course of a few days in other Russian towns.

But the most important incident — politically — of the May Day celebrations in 1901 was the collision which took place in the Obukhov works in Petersburg. Here the administration dismissed a group of workers who had not turned up in the factory on May Day. The workers solidarised with their dismissed comrades and demanded that they should be reinstated. There was a collision with the police and the troops. Thirty seven workers were tried for resistance to the authorities and for "an open attack on the armed detachments of the police and troops", as stated in the indictment. The chief defendant, Gavrilov, was sentenced to penal servitude for six years; another worker, Yermakov, was sentenced to five years penal servitude and the majority were sentenced to service in disciplinary battalions and to various terms of imprisonment. Of the 37 only 8 were acquitted.

In 1904, the May Day celebrations assumed enormous dimensions. This meant that the police repression was also much stronger. In Warsaw the cossacks shot at the demonstrators without a warning. Thirty people were killed and 100 were wounded.

On the whole, the "mildest" means of struggle during the demonstrations were blows with naked swords and police batons.

In 1901, 55 demonstrators arrested in Vilna were flogged by order of the governor von Wahl. A few days later, a worker, Hirsch Leckert wounded von Wahl by a revolver shot. Leckert was hanged.

In its struggle against May Day celebrations the Government tried even to make use of Jewish pogroms. The first pogrom was organised by the police and Black Hundred in Nikoiev in 1899. The second big pogrom was organised by the terrorist gang in Kishinev in 1903. By this means the Government wanted to achieve two aims: 1. to make the population believe that the revolutionary movement was the handiwork of the Jews. A prominent Black Hundred journalist, Krushevan, declared openly that "the Kishinev pogrom was a reply to the Jewish revolutionary movement". 2. The government expected that for fear of Jewish pogroms the revolutionists would refrain from celebrating May Day. In 1903 the police declared quite openly that the reply to the May Day celebrations will be Jewish pogroms.

But the dirty, sanguinary speculation of the police with the Jewish question failed, the proletariat drew the attention of the whole country to fundamental social-political questions. It mobilised against Tsarism tens of millions of workers and fought autocracy in 1905 with unheard of energy and on an unprecedented scale.

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

(Conclusion.)

18. The anti-militarist character of the May celebrations renders it imperatively necessary that our slogans be spread among the soldiers and sailors of the capitalist armies, navies and air fleets. The bourgeoisie erects a high wall between the workers and soldiers. We must cause our cry of proletarian solidarity to be heard over this wall. The soldiers of the capitalist armies, the workers and peasants in khaki are compelled to play the part of executioners of the insurgent colonial peoples. The bourgeoisie is drilling and equipping its armies for the coming imperialist wars and for a counter-revolutionary campaign against the Soviet Union. We, however, call upon the soldiers in the capitalist armies actively to support the revolutionary movement of the colonies, to fraternise with the rebels against imperialism, and to prepare for the only just war — the war against the bourgeoisie.

There is only one army in the whole world which is not defending the interests of the oppressors but of the oppressed, which is holding aloft the red banner of international fraternisation of the workers. This army is the Red Army of the Soviet Union.

Preparation for the Red May festival means increased work in the army and spreading of the slogan: "Up with the Red Army, the shield of the oppressed and the sword of the rebels!"

19. The revolutionary Youth is called upon to play a prominent part in the approaching May Day celebrations. In all the capitalist countries the militarisation of the Youth is part and parcel of the preparations for war. By their propaganda of the political neutrality of the youth organisations, by preventing the Youth from participating actively in the trade unions the social democracy is co-operating in the plans and intentions of the organisers of fresh imperialist wars.

The advance-guard of the revolutionary Youth has already many times fought in the front ranks of the proletariat. At the May demonstrations of 1916 the revolutionary Youth of Berlin held a place of honour.

The whole situation of the present-day struggle demands of the Youth that on the 1st May, simultaneously with their demands (six-hour working day, four weeks holiday, regulation of working conditions by tariff agreements etc.), they also raise the flag of general fight against war and the danger of war, and take active part in the May celebrations of 1929.

20. The active fight against war and the danger of war demands that the working women be drawn into the preparations for the May festival and also into the May demonstrations. The working and peasant women have not yet forgotten the horrors of the first imperialist war. They know and realise that the devastations wrought by the new wars will far surpass those of the years 1914—1918. They are called upon to take active part, shoulder to shoulder with the whole of the working class, in the fight against war and war-danger and to ensure the success of the May Day celebrations.

21. The war-danger threatens in the first place the land of the victorious proletarian dictatorship. The growth and the development of socialist constructive work in the U.S.S.R. is shaping the rotting capitalist stabilisation. The greater the advance of socialist construction in the land of the Soviets, the more bitter is the hatred of the capitalist world. This hatred is intensified by the fact that the capitalist world, which is incapable of solving the growing contradiction between increasing production and the restricted markets for goods, wishes to convert the land of the Soviets into a colony.

In the preparation for the counter-revolutionary campaign against the Soviet Union social democracy is playing a leading role. It is the chief supplier of the lying reports regarding the Soviet Union which are aimed at destroying the sympathies of the working class for the land of the Soviets, the homeland of all toilers.

The victorious October Revolution has made the defence of the U. S. S. R. the most important slogan of the Red May festival.

The defence of the Soviet Union means the fight against Social democracy, which is actively participating in the mobilisation and organisation of the anti-Soviet front.

22. Capitalist stabilisation was achieved by bloody suppression of the working class and serious depression of their standard of living. Intensification of the working day, wage cuts, greatest exertion of labour power — these are the three foundations of the rotten and shaky capitalist stabilisation. Upon this basis the class struggles are becoming more acute and the working class is going over from the defensive to the counter-attack, to the offensive. Supported by its apparatus and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, social democracy is making the greatest efforts in order to ensure a successful capitalist offensive.

Since the year 1889 the First of May has been a day of fight against capitalist exploitation, a day of fight for the economic demands of the workers. The first of May 1929 must be the day of the broadest united front of all proletarians against predatory capitalist rationalisation, against the treacherous social democracy. The Social democracy is supporting and defending the predatory capitalist stabilisation with the same eagerness and the same shamelessness with which it conducted the defence of the imperialist fatherland during the imperialist war.

The economic struggles are exposing the reformist bureaucrats as a band of paid agents of the bourgeoisie. Since the beginning of the imperialist war the social democracy is more and more merging into the bourgeois apparatus. The social democrats commenced their career as Ministers and officials of national defence, as recruiting agents, and are now clinging firmly with teeth and claws to their jobs and income from the apparatus of the bourgeois post-war State. In all spheres of active defence of the bourgeois Power, and in particular as gendarmes and police officials, they are displaying the greatest zeal.

Already before the beginning of the imperialist war the trade union bureaucracy learnt to fulfil its function as agent of capital in the working class, in return for which it received large and small presents from the grateful employers. In the post-war period, in the general crisis of capitalism and in face of the developing socialist revolution, the social democrats and trade union bureaucrats are becoming firm supporters of the shaken capitalist system. They are not only fulfilling functions as officials, but they sit as advisers on the boards of syndicates and trusts, take active part in the organisation of lockouts and the actions against wages and other achievements of the working class.

In order to be able to carry out this task perfectly they are working indefatigably to obtain undivided control of the trade unions and to work with their help in the interest of finance capital. Along this path, however, the reformists are

encountering ever increasing obstacles. As a result of capitalist rationalisation and social democratic treachery the differentiation in the working class is being accentuated and the radicalisation process of the working masses accelerated. In the fight against the masses, who are going more and more to the Left, no means, not even open fascist fighting methods, are too base for the social reformists. Supported by the upper strata of the working class they split the trade unions, declare crusades against communists and revolutionary minded workers, in the effort to convert the trade unions into instruments of capitalist rationalisation.

At the same time new strata of unorganised workers are being drawn into the economic struggles by the intensified class war. The fights in the Ruhr district (Germany) and in Lodz (Poland) have convincingly shown that the unorganised workers have honestly fulfilled their class duties in the fight against the bourgeoisie. To draw the unorganised workers into all forms of the class struggle and to induce them to take active part in the approaching May celebrations, are urgent tasks of the moment. The proletarian united front can be realised only from below in the fight against the social democratic leaders and the trade union bureaucracy.

The May celebration is a demonstration of the will power of the working class. Against the disruptors of the labour movement, against the confederates and lackeys of capital, for the offensive of the working class — these are the slogans of the May struggle.

The May festival was born in the fight for the eight-hour day. The eve of the first of May 1929 has witnessed a first-class funeral of the celebrated Washington agreement on the eight-hour day, which for ten years was praised in the highest tones by the social reformists. The prolongation of the working day is becoming more and more the openly confessed programme, not only of the fascists, but also of the social reformists. (German bill on the ten-hour day, joint memorandum of the General Council and Mond in Great Britain etc.) In the land of the Soviets, however, where the working class, supported by the poor peasants and in alliance with the main mass of the peasantry, is overcoming all obstacles and building up socialism, we see the systematic introduction of the seven-hour day.

The red May festival of 1929 will be observed in the capitalist countries, as well as in the whole colonial world, under the sign of the fight for the eight-hour day. The Communist International therefore issues the following slogans:

Long live the seven-hour day!

Long live the six-hour day for the youths!

23. The whole of the past year was marked by increasing armaments, by open and secret war treaties (Anglo-French, Polish-Roumanian treaties etc.), by increasing fascism and growing pressure upon the working conditions of the proletariat. The war preparations and war treaties prove convincingly that imperialist war is ripening and approaching at a rapid rate. In the present situation an active and determined fight against imperialist war is the most important task of the international proletariat. The red May celebrations this year must be a signal for courageous and determined fight against imperialist war, and preparation for international Red Day against imperialism.

The growth of fascism is closely and immediately linked up on the one hand with preparation for fresh wars and on the other hand with the intensification of class antagonisms. Fascist methods are being more and more applied, not only in the open fascist countries as Italy, Poland and Yugoslavia, but also in the so-called "democratic" countries, in the fight against the labour movement in general and against its revolutionary advance-guard in particular. The funeral of Marshal Foch in France was used as an occasion for a powerful fascist wave, the plainest expression of which is the furious campaign of the Poincaré government against the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party. In Czechoslovakia fascism is expressed in the systematic attempts of the Czechoslovakian government to force the Communist mass party into illegality. Also in Austria and Germany fascism is more and more raising its head.

The offensive against the working conditions of the proletariat is a feature common to all capitalist States. Wage cuts, prolongation of working hours, ruthless exploitation of labour power, these are the fruits of capitalist rationalisation and

industrial peace which are lauded and realised by the social democrats of the whole world.

Among all the slogans of the red First of May 1929 the slogans of the fight against war and fascism, against the offensive of capital and for the offensive of the working class, for the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies and for the land of the proletarian dictatorship, must occupy the first place.

24. Before the first of May 1929 we see bitter struggles in India. Under the leadership of the working class the million masses of the Indian people are rising for the fight against predatory British imperialism, against the landowners and usurers, against the native bourgeoisie. The government of the British Empire is endeavouring to stifle this great revolutionary movement in blood. In this it is supported, on the one hand, by the social reformists at home, who are working to the best of their ability at disarming and weakening the Indian movement, and, on the other hand, by the treacherous national bourgeoisie, which is ready, in alliance with British imperialism, to throttle the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants.

Nevertheless, in spite of all measures of fraud and oppression, the Indian revolution is growing and developing. The Indian working class well remembers the unexpected collapse of the revolutionary movement of the post-war time (1922). The workers and peasants of India know that this collapse was not the result of a defeat of the revolutionary forces in the fight against British imperialism, but was the result of the base treachery of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders of the revolutionary movement. The Indian workers and peasants are also aware of the great experiences of the Chinese revolution, which in the days of the Canton revolt climbed up to a higher stage — the stage of fight for the Soviets. In the totality of these great lessons lies the explanation of the fact that the working class of India is demonstrating under the slogans: Victory of the red flag! Up with the Soviets!

The First of May developed as a festive day of international solidarity. The First of May 1929 must be characterised by a closer union between the workers in the capitalist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. The slogan: "Long live independent, emancipated India! Long live Soviet India!", must be the most important slogan of the May demonstrations of 1929.

The great revolutionary struggle in India will result in strengthening the revolutionary fight in all countries of the East, and in the first place in China. In the last two years the Kuomintang traitors, who have allied themselves with the landowners and foreign imperialists for a bloody campaign against the workers' and peasants' revolution, have been boasting that they have thereby once and for all put an end to the revolutionary movement and taken in hand "the building up of the State under the slogan: "unification of the country". The events in China are splendid proof of the impotence of the triple Alliance of the Kuomintang, the landowners and the imperialists to solve those fundamental tasks which have been raised by the great revolutionary movement of 1925, 1926 and 1927. The revolutionary funeral chant of which was sung by the hangmen of the Chinese revolution, is beginning to revive. We are witnessing the first symptoms of the awakening and the renewed development of the revolutionary fight in China.

In Africa the inhuman exploitation and physical annihilation of the native population has led to a powerful revolt of the slaves in the Congo area. Without arms and without organisation, they are conducting a heroic struggle against the French and Belgian oppressors. In North Africa French imperialism is making a fresh advance, the object of which is to "pacify", i. e. fully to enslave the Arab tribes. Also in Egypt and Syria the revolutionary movement is beginning to grow.

25. In this year the proletarian advance-guard will have overcome a whole number of barbed wire entanglements with the bourgeoisie has set up in order to prevent its celebrating the May festivals. Not only in the fascist but also in the so-called democratic countries the bourgeoisie and social democracy are leaving no stone unturned in order to prevent the workers from filling the streets on the First of May.

After the May celebrations in 1926, which in Great Britain played a prominent part in mobilising the working masses for the general strike, the British reformists are eagerly working to replace the street demonstrations by meetings in club premises. The German social democracy is making the great

possible efforts to prevent street demonstrations in general and the May demonstrations in particular. The French reformists are eagerly meeting the wishes of the French bourgeoisie, which is barring the streets of Paris to the May demonstrators.

In these circumstances and in this situation the task of organising the May demonstrations of this year is synonymous with organising the fight for the streets.

The social democrats, as the faithful servants of the capitalists, are anxious that capitalist stabilisation, which brings nothing but poverty and misery to the workers, shall not sustain any injury even on the first of May. They are calling upon the workers not to demonstrate on the streets nor to cease work, but to confine themselves to meetings in the evening in closed premises.

The attitude of the social democracy on the first of May 1929 is a continuation of the attitude on the first of May 1915, with the only difference that, during the war the social democratic parties defended their "native countries" in a mutual war, whilst the social democracy of the whole world is today defending capitalist rationalisation in a solid international front.

The fight against the strike is the main slogan of the bourgeoisie and their social democratic confederates. Strikes are being fought with the aid of draconic laws, with the aid of propaganda of industrial peace and with the aid of secret agreements between the trade union bureaucracy and the employers' unions. Strikes are being declared to be illegal; lockouts, however, are becoming the most legal means of capitalist stabilisation. The red May festival is destined to be a demonstration of struggle to use the right of the working class, the strike, the most tried weapon of the class struggle.

The fight for the right to the streets and to strike is immediately connected with the preparation of the May strike.

26. The measures of the bourgeoisie and of the social democracy against the red May day festival of 1929 are a constituent part of the capitalist system of rationalisation on the one hand, and of the preparation for new imperialist wars on the other. In view of this fact the May celebrations this year must not only take the form of a demonstration against imperialist wars, against the capitalist offensive, against imperialist plundering, but must also be an instrument for mobilising the working masses for organised and systematic fight against war and for preparation for International Red Day.

The decision on International Red Day was made by the VI. World Congress of the Communist International on the basis of the analysis of the present period of development of the world revolution. This analysis reveals to us the aggravation of all contradictions, the approach of armed conflicts, increasing preparations for fresh wars. It is therefore the urgent task of the Communist advance-guard of the working class to make serious preparations for Red Day. In these preparations the May festival must play a mobilising and organising role. The fight against imperialist war means, in the first place, all round preparation of the working class and of the toiling masses to convert imperialist war into civil war. The chief task of International Red Day consists in mobilising in the whole world against war. The May celebrations of 1929, therefore, must be the starting point for the organisation of International Red Day.

27. On the background of the ever intensifying crisis of capitalism there are being revealed with special clearness the factors which are formulated in the previously quoted draft by Lenin:

a) Acceleration of development; b) sharpening of contradictions; c) the coming to light of these contradictions; d) collapse of everything that is rotten.

The intensification of the contradictions of the whole capitalist system and the going over of the proletariat from the defensive to the offensive, has however shown the weak points within the sections of the C. I. In its historical development the Communist International steered its forces not only in the fight against the bourgeoisie and social democracy, but also in the fight against Right and "Left" deviations from the correct Communist line. The VI. Congress of the C. I. declared that

"within the Communist Parties at the present time — upon the basis of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and in direct connection with the social democratic influence — the chief line of deviations runs to the Right of the correct Communist line."

The events following the VI. Congress have fully confirmed the correctness of the general line of the C. I. In the present period of increasing contradictions and determined light under the slogan of class against class, there has been revealed in the ranks of some sections of the C. I. the existence of opportunist rotteness. But under the leadership of the Communist International, of the general staff of the world revolution, the battle-steered Communist Parties are successfully purging their ranks of every opportunist evil and are conducting an irreconcilable fight against the conciliators in the ranks of the Comintern.

As a result of this struggle the Communist Parties have become strengthened, their fighting capacity has increased. They are now better than ever capable of placing themselves at the head of the approaching struggles and preparing for the conversion of imperialist war, as well of counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, into civil war, into war under the flags of the proletarian world dictatorship, of world Communism.

The C. P. S. U., the chief section of the Communist International, is holding firmly and unshakably to the carrying out of its line of the industrialisation of the country and the socialist transformation of the village, and at the same time overcoming successfully the enormous difficulties arising from the capitalist encirclement, the technical and economic backwardness of the country, the numerical preponderance of the petty-bourgeois population and the growing resistance of the capitalist elements against the socialist advance. The difficulties against which the socialist advance has to fight lead to certain vacillations in its petty bourgeois strata, as well as in some sections of the proletariat — a fact which finds expression in vacillations and mistakes on the part of the Right elements of the Party.

In the fight against all and every deviations, as well as against the conciliators, in the fight against Right errors, which are particularly dangerous in the present difficult transition stage, the C. P. S. U. is steeling and closing its ranks for the victorious realisation of the programme of socialist construction. The Communist International is holding a review of its forces, is weighing the defeats and successes against each other and can now declare to the working class of the whole world and also to all the oppressed that it has not only succeeded in discovering the rotteness in its ranks but also in eradicating it.

28. The social democracy, which has trodden under foot the red flag, has also desecrated the May Day flag. In July of this year it will be forty years since the II. International declared the First of May to be a festive day of the international proletariat.

The social democracy has been working for years to deprive the May festival of its content and to annihilate its revolutionary spirit. The fight of the social democracy against the May festival is a part of its fight against the working class, a part of its treachery. It has replaced international solidarity by organising and preparing for fresh imperialist wars and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land in which Socialism is being built up. It has replaced the class struggle by collaboration with the exploiters in their campaign against the working class. The organisers of lockouts, the builders of armed cruisers are directing their whole forces against the First of May, this living reminder of their treachery, of the hypocrisy and breach of faith of social democracy.

But the May festival lives. Its flag is in sure hands. The organiser of the May struggle today is the Communist International, the Communist world Party, which embodies the will to victory of the proletariat. The Communist International calls upon the workers and the toilers of all countries to rally under its flags for a courageous fight for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for world Communism. On the first of May the Communist International summons the workers and toilers of the whole world to close their ranks, for the union of the working class with the toiling peasantry, for the union of the proletariat with the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies in the life and death struggle against the oppressors and betrayers, against all enemies of the working class and of the toilers.

Long live the First of May, the day of fight, the day of mobilisation of the forces of the socialist revolution against world imperialism!

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### The Situation in the Soviet Union.

(From the Report delivered at the Soviet Congress of the Moscow District.)

By A. I. Rykov.

At the Soviet Congress of the Moscow District, Comrade Rykov made the report for the Soviet Government. The first part of this report deals with the international situation, the second treats of the internal position in the Soviet Union. We here reproduce this second part of the speech of Comrade Rykov.

From our international position it follows that in the last two years, as throughout the whole period of the October Revolution, we have been forced to carry on the construction of the Socialist order of society by our own strength and means.

If during the first few years after the October Revolution the possibility of the organisation of a Socialist economy in our country was very seriously doubted, and if at the point of transition between the various periods of reconstruction these doubts recurred from time to time, we can now, not only on the basis of theoretical considerations, but also on the strength of actual experience, most emphatically maintain that we have all that "is wanted and suffices" for the organisation of a Socialist order of society and that, by preserving and consolidating the bloc of peasants and workers under the leadership of the proletariat, we shall be able to carry through the construction of Socialism to a victorious close. The experience of the last few years proves what substantial possibilities we have at our disposal for the growth of the socialised section of our economy and therefore for Socialist construction in general. In the development of our big socialised industries we have in numerous cases been able to attain greater results in practice than was provided for in our plans.

#### The Achievements of Systematic Economy and the Five-Year Plan.

The experience of the last few years likewise shows that in spite of our extremely bad organisation, in spite of the numerous shortcomings of our work, in spite of the tremendous bureaucratic abuses and of our preposterous technical and cultural backwardness, we have yet been able to attain an unprecedented rate of economic development. This experience entitles us to set ourselves yet greater tasks of construction and to attain incomparably greater results than hitherto in the organisation of our systematic socialist economy. The tangible programme which prescribes the main paths of our further advance, is the Five-Year Plan for the development of our national economy.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the intrinsic value of the fact that we have been in a position to establish a Five-Year Plan. It was only in 1925 that we first set up the figures for a one-year economic plan (and set them up badly at that); since then we have occupied ourselves energetically with the expansion and completion of the work connected with our schedule, which work resulted in various systems of annual figures of control and in several drafts of five-years plans. If we take this fact into consideration we must recognise that the present five-year plan for the development of economy represents a tremendous advance in our systematic economic work.

Our struggle for the Plan must not be taken to mean simply a desire for a good statistical table or for a scientific work in regard to economic subjects. The penetration of the "Plan" principle into our economy is a characteristic question of our struggle altogether. The fight for planned economy, for the better organisation of economy, for the growth of the socialised section thereof, for the most efficient and most efficacious influence on individual enterprises by the socialised section — the fight for such an exploitation of experience and such a disposition in regard to economic forces, as would enable us to see very far ahead what lies in store for us and to secure our maximum of achievements not only for to-day but also for to-morrow — such a fight is not a task to be settled all at once. That we should now possess a Five-Year Plan

is undoubtedly a decided step forward. We had a plan before this, it is true. We had the plan of electrification confirmed by the Soviet Congress, which in the opinion of Lenin was as important as a second Party programme. In comparison with the plan of electrification, the Five-Year Plan possesses no fundamental directives in the sense of a technical readaptation of our entire economy. But it compares favourably with the plan of electrification inasmuch as it is a more tangible and more practical plan in regard to its contents. While the plan of electrification spoke of the approximate length of time (10 to 15 years) requisite for the realisation of a definite programme, we have now before us a draft-plan comprehending our entire economy and providing for a fixed (five-year) period of realisation.

With a view to characterising this plan I may quote some figures regarding the projected rate of development and those changes which will take place in the eventuality of a realisation of the Five-Year Plan.

Industrial output is to rise in five years by 115 per cent. according to the original form of the project and by 145 per cent. according to the most optimistic version. The total output of agriculture is to advance accordingly by 42 or 54 per cent., respectively. Capital investments in industry have been provided for to the extent of from 11,000 to 14,000 million roubles and in agriculture to the extent of from 22,800 to 24,000 million roubles (including the investments of the individual producers, the investments from the State budget amounting to 5,500 millions).

These are very substantial figures. If we read them for the first time, we involuntarily ask ourselves whether they have not been put rather too high and whether we shall ever be able to cope with such a programme. In the current year we are investing in industry some 2,000 million roubles (including electrification and other tasks). If the capital investment in industry were merely to remain at the same level from year to year, we should nevertheless have during the five-year period an investment of 10,000 million roubles. The figures projected in our five-year plan are in my opinion by no means particularly high, nor do I personally think that the main difficulty will be encountered in the realisation of the five-year plan in this direction. The changes which these capital investments entail, meanwhile, are quite remarkably great.

Besides the sum provided for investment purposes, the five-year plan is based on important qualitative factors. The productivity of work in industry is to be increased by 95 or by 110 per cent., according to the two versions of the plan; the costs of production being reduced accordingly by 30 or 35 per cent. and the fuel-consumption per unit of output by 30 per cent.

Are these qualitative alterations possible? I believe the volume of capital investments justifies these figures. The possibility of a realisation of these qualitative factors depends on that new equipment of our economy which results from the tremendous investments envisaged.

What does the five-year plan mean for all our workers and peasants in the direction of an advance in their prosperity?

Every worker and every peasant may be sure that his standard-of-living will be raised. Wages are to rise by 56 per cent., the income of the agricultural population by 46.1 per cent. This will of course only ensue if all workers and peasants really effect the economic work prescribed. Every worker, every poor or middle peasant, must know that if he desires such an advancement of his welfare and such achievements in his fight against poverty, backwardness, misery, and ignorance, he must also attain by his work no less definite successes in the increase in working productivity, in the improvement of the quality of work, in the collective comprehension of the farms, and in the organisation of the co-operative enterprises. And this plan must be made accessible to the broad working masses. We must interest the many millions of workers and peasants of our country in its successful realisation.

#### The Five-Year Plan, the Present Difficulties, and the Grain Problem.

In what do the great difficulties of the plan consist? According to the findings of the November plenum of the C. C., they lie in the fact that "the extremely low level of agriculture, especially as regards grain, embodies the danger of a rift between the Socialist cities and the petty-bourgeois rural districts, thus endangering the main presumption of the Socialist adap-

tation of our entire national economy." The present year, the first year of the five-year period covered by the plan, is faced with great difficulties and critical phenomena.

"The grain problem, the great lack of black metals and building materials, the dearth of commodities in general and the problem of reserves, an acute relapse in exportation and consequently also in importation, and finally the problem of currency stabilisation — such (according to the establishments of the relative resolution passed by the November plenum) are the most essential sectors of the economic front which call for particular attention."

It is not for me to enter into a discussion of all these questions of the present business position of our economy. The most important among them is the grain and foodstuffs question, which I shall only treat from the standpoint of the difficulties in the alimentation of the population and the introduction of food cards.

Why should both the Soviet Government and the local Soviets have had recourse at the present moment to such an expedient as the introduction of food cards? We were obliged to have recourse thereto, because in the case of a lack of any commodity the Soviet Government must in the first place consider the interests of the workers, both industrial and agricultural. The food cards are the outcome of a necessity which has arisen by reason of the insufficient development of agriculture in general and grain cultivation in particular. In case there should not be enough products available for all, the food cards are intended to safeguard the interests of the working population. This year both the Moscow Soviets and the local Soviets must start from the standpoint that there are still likely to be difficulties in alimentation. I say this in view of the possibility of complaints being voiced at this meeting in regard to the insufficient supply of bread in some district or other. To this sort of complaint I should answer, as I have answered all along, by declaring that this year we cannot yet give every one bread in unlimited quantities. This is not because we do not understand how to procure the grain from the rural districts, but simply because too little grain is being produced there.

Last year the curve of industrial production rose constantly — sometimes in excess of the preliminary estimates — while grain production developed at a slower rate. The total output of agriculture rose by 5.4 per cent. in the year 1926/27, relapsed by 1.1 per cent. in 1927/28, and will this year have to rise by rather more than 4 per cent. This growth, however, is mainly occasioned by the intensive development of the technically cultivated areas, the extent of which surpassed that of pre-war times by 50 per cent. The crops of the most important technically cultivated field products, it is true, have either not yet reached their pre-war level (flax, sugar-beet) or else exceed it only by very little (cotton). However, if we regard the grain cultivation, it will appear that the entire grain output in 1913 figured at 81.6 million tons, that of 1926 at 74.5 million tons, that of 1927 at 78.3 million tons, and that of 1928 at 73.6 million tons. The grain crops are thus fluctuating around the same figure; the position in this respect has been unchanged for a number of years, whereas the population now amounts to 154 millions as against 140 millions in 1913, the progress of the poor peasant class meanwhile enhancing the demands of the rural districts and decreasing the quantities of grain on the market.

These difficulties increase in view of certain other factors of an elementary nature, as for instance the loss of the last crops in Ukraina and North Caucasia. As a result of these circumstances, the total harvest has decreased by about 200 million poods, which means that otherwise about 10 million more poods of grain would have been available on the market.

Such elementary happenings contribute to complicate the process which for years past has been observable in agriculture. It therefore appears to me that the crucial point in the realisation of the five-year plan lies in the solution of that task which had the main attention of the November plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., the task of a general incentive for the advancement of agriculture. This must be clearly understood not only from the standpoint of establishing an equal balance in the development of certain branches of economy, of extending the normal circulation of goods between town and country, and of providing industry with raw materials, but also from the standpoint of furnishing the mainstay of industrialisation in the country, the working class, with foodstuffs. The successful

solution of the task of enlarging the sources of grain and other foodstuffs is the most elementary presumption for the speedy realisation of the plan of industrialisation.

### New Energy in Agriculture.

The plan provides for a substantial exportation of grain at the close of the five-year period. This, again, presupposes progress in agriculture such as can only be attained in the case of a gigantic technical adaption of our backward agriculture.

The peculiarity of the five-year plan of agriculture lies in the fact that the solution of the problem is sought from the standpoint of a connection between agriculture and industry. The most important thing required by agriculture for the purpose of advancing the output of the soil is means of traction. Without industry the possibility of increasing the volume of traction at the disposal of agriculture can depend solely on the natural augmentation of draught-cattle. Such an increase has physiological limits which cannot be overstepped. What can industry do for agriculture in this respect? It can introduce machinery, mainly tractors, a mechanical means of traction. A tractor is a form of traction which does not depend on natural conditions of increase but solely on the efficiency of our industry. Mechanical traction renders it possible to surmount the restricting limits of the natural increase in draught-cattle.

Often, very often, we speak of industry being the leading element in our economy. In the five-year plan this general term "leading element" is analytically divided into such tangible elements as can be individually treated. In each case it is possible to establish quite exactly what great advantages and what possibilities for development lie for agriculture in the great engineering industry. Without this basis, without the penetration of this new form of energy into agriculture, the problem of reconstruction cannot be solved. So far we have not yet a single properly working tractor factory, our backwardness in this respect being altogether unparallelled. Therefore the rate of development we have adopted is by no means particularly rapid from the standpoint of the present state of affairs and from the standpoint of the terrible backwardness which prevails in our economy. If we rely merely on the natural increase in our head of horses, the necessary growth of agricultural productivity will not only not be realised in one, but probably not even in many, five-year periods.

### Collective Farms, Soviet Estates, and Individual Farms.

The wholesale penetration of the new sources of energy into our agriculture, the broad use of tractors, and other complicated machinery, the transfer from mediaeval methods of work to a scientifically organised agriculture — all this presumes an increase in the units of production. It is thus quite comprehensible if the five-year plan has devoted much attention to the construction of Soviet estates and collective farms. The rate at which Soviet estates and collective farms are to be created has been put pretty high, but even at the close of the five-year period the individual farms will still represent more than 60 per cent. of the total output of marketable grain and about 90 per cent. of the actual total of grain production. The 40 per cent. of marketable grain which we shall then be receiving from the Soviet estates and collective farms, will nevertheless provide such a possibility of influencing all agriculture and will play such an organising rôle in the rural districts that the entire proportion of forces and the entire working conditions and relations both in the villages and between the towns and villages respectively, will have to be radically changed. This, however, will only be the case at the close of the five-year period. The next few years, meanwhile, will be the most difficult in regard to the backwardness of the agricultural basis.

It is therefore quite obvious what an enormous importance attaches now and will continue to attach to the general incentive for an increase also in the individual output of goods, by the promotion of the individual farms of the small and middle peasants. While keeping a straight course towards collective farming and contributing to the active promotion of the development of the Socialist elements in agriculture, we must not lose sight of the fact that with a view to overcoming the present difficulties we must make sure that all steps we take in the direction of introducing new technical aids into agriculture, of supplying means of production (machinery, seedcorn, fertilisers) and agronomic aid, and of extending the area under cultivation, will be gladly welcomed by a peasantry, especially a poor and

middle peasantry, which is economically interested in such measures. It is only by such a combination of our aid for the peasantry with our fight for the extension of the socialised section of agriculture, that we can secure the economic interest of the individual producer — the peasant farmer — and can hope to consolidate the alliance between the working class and the main mass of the peasantry, thereby enhancing the possibility of a speedy industrialisation of the country, a speedy transformation of agriculture on the basis of collective wholesale production, and a successful offensive against the kulaks, the capitalist elements in agriculture. With a view to improving the position on the agricultural front, the Government has taken a whole number of measures, raising the grain prices last autumn, and issuing a law in regard to the increase in the production of the soil and a new agricultural tax law.

What index-figures are at present available with reference to the state of agriculture and the state of the seed-crops? The Central Statistical Office has calculated that in comparison with last year the autumn sowings have decreased by about 3 per cent.; in regions where the harvest is below the average this relapse is yet far greater. Thus the area under cultivation on individual farms in North Caucasia has decreased by almost 15 per cent. and in Ukraina by more than 11 per cent. The collective farms and Soviet estates in these regions show a substantial growth of their areas under cultivation (in North Caucasia by 150 per cent. and in Ukraina by 46 per cent.). This growth, however, could not make up for the recession in the cultivation on the individual farms. The average total recession was 16.6 per cent. in North Caucasia and 10.4 per cent. in Ukraina. The lack of fodder in consequence of the bad harvest led in these districts to a considerable decrease in the head of cattle.

The prospectes for next year will depend on the success we shall be able to attain in the spring campaign. For the spring seed-campaign the Government has this year provided 40 million poods of seed-corn, i. e. about 10 million poods more than last year. A very great increase is noticeable in the provision of agricultural machinery for the rural districts. All those serious difficulties which we are experiencing at present must be overcome in a very short time, seeing that they impair the entire circulation of goods and the entire economy of the country. It is therefore comprehensible that the forthcoming spring seed-campaign will have a very energetic character.

The gravity of the questions in connection with the present economic situation may by no means lead us to neglect the less momentarily urgent tasks of a socialisation of agricultural production.

This attitude in the development of agriculture, of which I have already had occasion to speak, combines the five-year plan with the alteration of the social conditions and proportions in the rural districts. If we compare the problem of to-day with that which prevailed a few years ago, we shall immediately see the tremendous difference. The main difference lies in the fact that the questions of enlarging the productive units in agriculture and of introducing the methods of collective agricultural cultivation were then discussed without any particular experience in that direction. Such things had then not yet been tried; they were not even approved of by the peasantry and did not yet attract such wide circles of peasants as now organise themselves for the purpose of collective farming. During the last two years the problem of enlarging the productive units on the basis of socialisation was transferred from the region of theory and resolutions to that of wholesale practice, with a participation not of single individuals but of hundreds of thousands. Relying on experience and on the growing importance of the new forms of energy, the Planned economic commission is planning such an enlarging of the socialised section as will enable us to exercise a far greater transforming influence on economics, on the social and class conditions and on the daily life of our extremely backward rural districts.

#### On the Light and Heavy Industries and the Quality of Work.

The above characteristics of the prospectes of agricultural development, the need of agriculture in the way of mechanical traction such as is requisite for the lasting improvement and transformation of peasant economy, goes to prove that the policy of industrialisation we have carried out is necessary and indispensable. I shall not attempt here to deal with all the big and complicated questions, which are involved in the development of industry. I shall merely mention the question of light

and heavy industries, which at one time gave rise to considerable misgivings. It is now being solved in such wise that the development of the heavy industries (or to speak more precisely, the industry producing means of production) is carried on at a quicker rate than the development of the light industries. The reconstruction of our entire economy must find its expression in a tremendous augmentation of the volume of the best possible means of production, which will help to enhance the productivity of collective socialised work. The means of production, however, whether intended for agriculture or for the big or smaller industries, are mainly made of metal.

In our country there is, however, a great lack of cast iron the result being that we have not been able to produce the adequate number of machines and tools for all branches of industry, for socialised and for individual work. Without a solution of the cast-iron problem there can be no question of industrialisation. Cast-iron is the universal raw material for industrialisation and for the enhancement of the productivity of work.

When I visited the factories during the Soviet election campaign at Moscow and heard the presidium of the Moscow Soviet criticised for what I admit was an inadequate provision of commodities on the part of municipal economy, I openly declared that such a criticism was not always justified. For the inadequate growth of the budget of the Moscow Soviet it is not Comrade Uchanov (chairman of the Moscow Soviet Ed.) but I who am to blame.

Comrade Uchanov and other comrades of the Moscow Soviet have often told me that the budget of the Moscow Soviet is inadequate and that electors have drawn attention to various shortcomings, which it would cost too much to set right. It is however, not in view of its too small budget that the Moscow Soviet cannot defray these expenses. These long discussions ended in my suggesting to the Government that the budget of the Moscow Soviet be still slightly cut down. In visiting the most recent election-meetings, I have had frequent occasion to hear both non-party and Communist workers in the Moscow Soviet criticise the fact that the hospitals are badly served, that there are few doctors, few teachers, few dwellings, that in the one case the drains, in another the water-supply, and in yet another the means of communication are worthless.

We must naturally give the workers good drains and taps and means of communication. But if we are to do this in any proportion to requirements, it will be of no use raising the budget of the Moscow Soviet by a few million chervonets. For the purpose of constructing a water-supply system or of carrying out a drainage system we require pipes, while for laying tramway lines we need rails. And this material, these pipes and rails and things, our factories still produce in an altogether inadequate degree.

The workers who criticise the Moscow Soviet are right if they point to what is generally wanted, but they are wrong if they think the matter can be righted by the allotment of money for the immediate satisfaction of certain desires. To build a water-supply system, to build drains or a tramway system or dwellings, or what not, we require cast iron, both for the construction of rails, tubes, girders, etc., and for the production of machinery with which to furnish all factories and economy in general. But we have neither the cast iron nor a sufficient number of factories. The enhancement of the prosperity of the masses, and the improvement of public services (as of the services of the Moscow municipal economy) thus depend not merely on money but also on our material sources. Their limitations also limit the growth of the municipal economy, the welfare of the working class and that of the peasantry. There is only one way of enlarging the material resources and that is the forced development of industry, the construction of new factories and the growth of agricultural output.

Our mistake in regard to the question of industrialisation lies in the fact that we have hitherto not understood the way of making this problem so comprehensible to every worker and every peasant that all may know that the improvement in their standard-of-living, their victory over poverty and ignorance can but be derived from one thing only, namely, industrialisation. It is on the success we achieve in this direction that the prosperity of the entire population depends.

If in the question of grain and the other problems of the rural districts we have succeeded in carrying out such measures as the raising of the price level, the new agricultural law on the increase of output, and the like, the most important Govern-

ment decision in regard to industry of late, apart from the confirmation of the control figures and the distribution of the capital investments among the various branches of economy, has been the law regarding the consolidation of working discipline.

This question has been sufficiently enlarged upon. I should only wish to point out that its solution is connected with the question of prime costs. It is a well known fact that the reduction of the costs of output by 7 per cent. must according to the annual plan yield some 700 million roubles for the construction of new factories and works.

If we are to be enabled, therefore, to make pipes for the drainage of our cities and rails for our tramways, we must provide the money by a reduction in the costs of production. This dependence is sometimes lost sight of, improvements being demanded in municipal management without corresponding demands being put forward in regard to the increase in the productivity of work. The one without the other is impossible. The reduction in the costs of output must yield about 700 million roubles. In the direction of working discipline and organisation, a considerable number of shortcomings are to be recorded of late. Cases have been reported of working discipline not only not having increased but having sunk considerably, entailing a regression in productivity. There have been instances of rowdysm in the factories, the wilful damaging of machinery, and the like. Therefore the Government has been induced to issue a special law in this regard. Besides a series of other circumstances, the fact must be taken into consideration that the working class is being augmented by elements from the villages and from the petty-bourgeois circles in the towns, individuals who have not been through the school of work and who have not been trained in working discipline and class-consciousness in the factories and works. These workers from the villages often consider their work in the factories a temporary matter; they hope "to save money and take it back to the country". That is the background of the negligence and lack of discipline which it is our duty to overcome at any price.

#### The Reorganisation of the Administration and the Cadres.

Finally, I should like to say a few words as to bureaucracy and as to the improvement of the activity of our apparatus. I have briefly sketched those prospects which are prescribed by the five-year plan. From this characterisation you could see what the next five years are to bring in the organisation of things — if I may express it so — the organisation of the processes of production in the country, the organisation of agricultural output, the creation of new giant works of the type of the Dnieprostroy Combine, the Rostov agricultural-machinery works, the Stalingrad tractor-works, the factories of Telbes and Magnitogorsk, and the like. There must be great changes in technics, tremendous alterations of the forces of production. It would be a great mistake to believe that all these tremendous changes in economy can be effected without organisational changes and without influence on that system of organisation in our staffs and those methods of work which we at present employ.

The termination of the regional division of our country and the establishment of the five-year plan, the execution of which occasions great alterations in the economic geography of the country — all this creates a situation in which the old administrative methods prove unsuitable. And even if we consider only the one fact, viz. the way in which we have solved gigantic problems in industry and in the organisation of industrial combines in the last few years, it will be apparent that the demands of economic life no longer suit into the frame of the present Governmental administrative apparatus.

We are forced to have recourse to other methods. Thus the question of the development of our chemical industry called forth the organisation of an institution like the present Committee for Chemicalisation. To settle the question of exploiting the Dnieprostroy current, again, we convoked a special council of 150 experts. The five-year plan raises all the questions of technics, science, and technical reconstruction onto a higher level. The process of affairs is now very often such that somewhere — in the Supreme Economic Council, or in the trusts, or in the sections of the Systematic Economy organs, technical questions are solved, the problem then passing on to those who understand less about it; these quarters discuss and study the questions at issue for an interminable time and then pass them on to others for decision. Sometimes the matter in question is

carried to the very highest authorities, so that I have had to occupy myself with such questions as determining the efficiency of a certain apparatus, deciding the number of cylinders for certain automobiles, and the like.

Our organisation is such that we who are versed in matters of social politics and class warfare, in regard to the proportional strength of the classes in economy, in regard to economic politics, and in the principles of the organisation of Socialist society, are called upon to decide questions such as whether automobiles are to be constructed with four or with six cylinders.

The changes in the realm of organisation must lie not only in the promotion of all representatives of science and technics but also in a far more drastic decentralisation of administration than has obtained hitherto.

When the five-year plan was established, a certain concentration of the administration in a centralised sense was requisite, so as to ascertain what was most necessary from the standpoint of the general interests of the Union and on what the money at our disposal should in the first line be expended. Now that we have the five-year plan, we must reserve to the central organs the general right of disposition in regard to the guidance of economy under the plan system, of the operative rights and duties they must be relieved to the greatest possible extent. The termination of the regional division of the Union will greatly facilitate the administration of the country and enable us to pass over to a broader and more elastic system, to a certain decentralisation of our administration.

One of the ticklish points of the five-year plan is the question of human material. We are experiencing extraordinary difficulty in supplying the work of industrialisation and construction with the requisite cadres of technicians and experts. In five years our industry requires 25,000 new experts, whom we are not in a position to supply. Among the difficult problems of the five-year plan, the significance of this problem must not be under-estimated.

This question of cadres, of the training of experts and qualified workers, is an organic part of the plan of industrialisation. To build a metallurgical factory we need people to plan it, to erect it, to put it into operation, and to conduct it. And I must admit that this side of the problem has not received the amount of attention which is its due. There is much to be desired in regard to the cadres of qualified workers. In connection with the construction of a great enterprise, which is to be put into operation in three years' time, I recently had occasion to put the following question: "Now you know the intended dimensions of this enterprise, the number of workers it will require, and what qualifications will be expected of them. Can you also tell me where you are going to take these workers from and who will be responsible for furnishing them with the necessary qualifications?" To this fairly simple question I received no answer.

We have workers' faculties, technical schools, and numerous institutions of various kinds. But all is so dispersed and so little in keeping with requirements that great damage may be expected to result if matters are not soon improved in this respect. In one of our newly-erected factories we made the experiment of having one shift composed of workers procured from Germany and another composed of Russian workers operating the same machines. In the German shift the machinery worked all right; in the Russian shift something invariably happened to interrupt the even flow of work. If we project the construction of a great metallurgical factory, to be put into operation in three or four years' time, we have time enough to prepare the necessary qualified workers and to provide them with practical experience in the existing metal-works. The question of the cadres of qualified workers will naturally be easier to solve than the question of the technical experts; it only requires that degree of attention which is its due.

The difficulty of realising the five-year plan, which is altogether comprehensible in the early stages of the construction of a new order of society, is a difficulty that can be overcome and that will be overcome if all the problems of our economic development and our State administration are at the same time the problems which all our workers have at heart. The successful execution of the five-year plan presumes the recruiting of the broadest masses of workers and peasants for the discussion and solution of the big problems at issue. We constantly start from the fact that our State is founded on the alliance between workers and peasants under the leadership and

hegemony of the revolutionary working class. If, starting from this alliance and from the relation of class forces, we inquire whether in this new period of development of our economy the presumptions for a strengthening of this alliance will grow, we must declare quite categorically that a proper solution of the tasks of the five-year plan will enable us to extend and consolidate these presumptions to such a degree as was never witnessed before.

Think of the main stages in the relations between the working class and the peasantry. The first stage was that of the war-alliance, the second stage was on the basis of the introduction of the new economic policy, the first step towards the reconstruction of economy on those lines which were already treated prior to the war. The period in which we are at present must supply the working class with the instruments of a yet greater and better political and economic leadership by means of industrialisation; it must provide it with such possibilities of a really material assistance as will enable the alliance between the working class and the great mass of the peasantry to grow and strengthen. (Vociferous applause.)

## 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 Political Bureau of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

### III.

Practical measures for strengthening the new forms of alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and for lessening the taxation of the middle peasants.

1. The Conference draws the special attention of the Party to the necessity of strenuous and persevering work for the execution of the decree of the C. E. C. in regard to increasing the yield of the soil. Of special importance is the carrying out of the following measures within the periods and to the extent stated in the decree, ensuring an increased yield from our soil of at least 30 to 35 per cent before the expiration of the five-year term.

a) Shortening of the terms fixed by the governments of the Republics for the re-ordering of the irrational distribution of land, and for the carrying out in particular of the simplest forms of this preliminary to the clearing of the soil, thereby removing those essential disadvantages entailed by: too great distances between fields and the farm to which they belong; various fields belonging to one farm but divided from one another and lying in different parts of the village district, etc.;

b) replacement of less productive and impure seed, for all the most important plants cultivated, by improved and sorted seed, within five years;

c) the provision, within the next two or three years, of all the machinery required by agriculture for cleaning and sorting every kind of grain, and the organisation of the general compulsory cleaning and sorting of seed, and destruction of weeds;

d) the furtherance of the production of means for the extermination of pests, within the next two or three years, to an extent fully meeting the requirements of agriculture; the organisation of a mass campaign against pests;

e) the development of a network of hiring centres and repair shops on a scale ensuring the uninterrupted utilisation of the existing agricultural machinery; the masses of the poor and middle peasant farms to be given the possibility of making use of complicated machinery;

f) the mass dissemination of the simplest agrarian measures, as stated in the decree of the C. E. C. of the Soviet Union on "measures for increasing the yield of the soil";

g) the spread of agricultural knowledge and the augmentation of the aid given to the peasantry by scientifically trained experts (agronomists).

2. The Conference fully confirms the fundamental principles of the law on agricultural taxation, which exempts the economically weak farms (35% of all farms) entirely from taxation, and grants considerable privileges to the collective farms, at the same time imposing on the most expressly kulak undertakings (4 to 5% of all farms) 30 to 40% of the total sum to be raised. The Conference fully confirms the measures taken by the C. C. of the Party for the alleviation of the taxation of the middle peasantry;

the Conference here takes as a basis the standpoint that these measures, taken in conjunction with the raising of the grain prices already effected, ought to secure the interest of the middle peasants in the carrying out of such measures as are calculated to raise the cultural and technical level of their farms. The Conference fully confirms, in particular, the reduction of the revenues from the agricultural tax by at least 50 million roubles; the exemption from any taxation whatever, for the next two years, of areas newly brought into cultivation by the poor and middle peasantry; tax abatements for those poor and middle peasants who carry out the measures laid down in the decree for increasing the yield of the soil; the categorical prohibition of the application of the paragraphs referring to individual taxation to the middle peasant farms; the establishment of standards of profitability for tillage, live stock rearing, and pasture, and of a scale of progressive taxation extending over three years; taxation remissions for peasant farms supporting many persons; abatements for farms working on the multiple course system; at the same time complete maintenance of the system of individual taxation of the richest section of the kulak farms (2 to 3% of all farms in the whole Soviet Union).

The Conference calls upon all Party and Soviet workers, when engaged in the practical application of taxation, to adhere strictly to the revolutionary law and to prevent any deviations from the valid legal regulation which tend to worsen the position of the taxpayer. Special attention must be paid to the question of the rules of guidance to be adopted in the application of the agricultural single tax by all local Party and Soviet organs, for every infringement of revolutionary law in this sphere is peculiarly detrimental from the viewpoint of the strengthening of the confidence felt by the peasantry in the Soviet power, and of the firmer establishment of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

3. In spite of a number of Party decisions, and especially in spite of the decisions of the 14th Party Congress, work towards gathering the peasantry together in production co-operatives has not yet been accorded due attention in the activities of the agricultural co-operative movement. In this connection the activities of the agricultural co-operative system cannot be designated as satisfactory; it is not satisfactory either along the line of furtherance and organisation of the growth of the great collective agricultural undertakings, or along the line of agronomical and technical aid to the individual farms of the poor and middle peasantry.

The Conference calls upon all Communists working in the agricultural co-operative system to intensify their efforts for the fulfilment of the directives issued by the 15th Party Congress, by means of the following measures: a) the inclusion of increasing numbers of poor and middle peasantry in the co-operative organisations; b) more energetic intensification of work on the basis of trading activities, and of effort for the actual combination in production co-operatives of the peasant farms; c) untiring efforts to combine the simple co-operative production associations in great collective undertakings; d) promotion of the development of undertakings working up agricultural products, for which purpose the participation of the means of the rural population itself is to be brought about to a wide extent; e) maximum development of self-activity, initiative, and self-criticism among the co-operating population.

The system of supply contracts ("contraction"), as applied to the work of the agricultural co-operatives, must become one of the leading methods for the promotion of production, and for the improvement and reconstruction of agriculture, by means of the inclusion in the contracts of the needful minimum of simple agronomical measures, which are made obligatory for the farms entering into contracts: Security of the necessary agronomic aid for the farms taking part in the agreement; detailed discussion of the supply contracts at the peasants' meetings; furnishing of the contracting parties with agricultural machinery, seed, artificial fertilisers, and credit.

4. The Conference fully confirms the decision of the Plenum of the C. C. on the organisation of new Soviet farms on a scale guaranteeing the production of at least 1,646,200 tons of grain for the market by 1932; at the same time the Conference confirms the practical measures taken for the execution of these tasks. The Conference, which considers the task thus set to be the minimum, instructs the C. C. of the Party to seek for further land available for grain-growing, in order that by the end of the five-year term

10 to 12 million hectares will be secured to the grain trust as reserve for the further development of Soviet farms.

The Conference places on record that the work done for the expansion and improvement of the old Soviet farms has been inadequate, and approves the decisions of the Pol. Bureau on the reports sent in by the State Agricultural Syndicate of the Sugar Trust and by the association of Ukrainian Soviet farms; these decisions advocated the strengthening of the old Soviet farms; the Conference commissions the Party organisations to ensure the complete execution of these decisions.

5. The Conference, which fully confirms the measures taken by the C. C. for the material and financial support of the collective farming movement, emphasises that the vitality of the collective farming movement finds proof in the fact that the collective farms are growing on the basis of self activity, initiative arising from below, from the peasant masses themselves, and that the advantages of large-scale enterprise are already being shown in the collectives (on the collective farms the harvest yield is greater than on the middle peasant farms; the proportion of products reaching the market is considerably higher than in the individual undertakings; the multiple course system and the better cultivation of the soil are becoming increasingly common). The Conference points out as an especially important feature of the collective movement of late the tendency on the part of not only of the poor peasant strata of the village to join in collective farms, but at the same time of the middle peasants, who combine their machinery and live stock in collective undertakings. The main defect of the collective farming movement in its present stage of development is the circumstance that its organisational range and the strength of its technical basis are noticeably far behind the impetus and needs of the movement from below.

Therefore, the Conference draws the special attention of the Party organisations to the necessity of:

a) securing for the collectives increasing supplies of complicated machines, especially tractors;

b) Reinforcing the activities towards the socialisation of the process of production in co-operatives for the joint cultivation of the land, whereby every possible financial, material, and organisational aid is to be given for promoting the transition of these co-operatives into higher forms of the co-operative movement (communes, "artels").

c) Giving all-round support to the initiative towards the transition of those villages and communities to joint land cultivation, for which purpose mass supply contracts are to be employed for the sowing of sorted seed over large areas, and for securing machinery and tractor stations and gangs, these being an extremely important factor in the present period. At the same time all measures are to be taken for overcoming the resistance of the Kulak and for gradually forming collective farms on this basis.

d) The utmost possible promotion of the advancing progress of enlarging the old collective farms by the admission of new members, and by the organisation of branch associations of the collective farms as production and organisation centres of the collective farms in the corresponding districts.

e) The special promotion and efficient support of the great collective farms, which are able to supply a maximum of market commodities and are already working at the highest point of up-to-date technics and agronomical science.

f) In addition to the above the Party organisations must bear in mind that the success of the collective farming movement is ensured by the consciousness, the activity, the training, and the initiative of the members of the collective farms. Therefore, a determined reinforcement of general political and cultural work is necessary in the collectives. The most conscious members of the collective farms, those most devoted to the cause of socialism, must join the ranks of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, in order that the importance of the Party in the village sections of the farming collectives may grow in proportion to the increasing activities of the collective farming movement.

The Conference draws the special attention of the C. C. to the necessity of effecting a radical improvement in the formation of cadres of specialists and organisers for the Soviet and collective farms, and of securing the development of the scientific work

and investigations of the problems of organisation and rationalisation, and of soil cultivation on a technical basis. The Conference fully confirms the extension of the programme of production of the tractor factory in course of erection at Stalingrad (40,000 tractors yearly instead of the 20,000 originally planned) for the purpose of the technicalisation of the collective and Soviet farms, and draws the special attention of the C. C. to the necessity of beginning with the building of a new tractor factory in the coming year, and of promoting the production of other machines in accordance with the present day level of technics and the requirements of production on a large scale ("Combine" machines and other implements attached to the tractors, row sowing machines, etc.).

The Conference, in accordance with the tasks incumbent on the Party for the strengthening and development of new forms of the close alliance between the working class and the peasantry, calls upon the Soviet farms and the agricultural collectives to extend the all-round aid given to the poor and middle peasantry (production of sorted seed and breeding cattle, repair and hiring out of agricultural machinery, extermination of pests etc.).

6. In consideration of the fact that in spite of a number of Party decisions the questions incidental to the increased productivity of agriculture have received only inadequate attention from the local Soviet organs, and of the fact that the changes effected in this direction during the seed campaign have proved to be still insufficient, the Conference commissions all Party organisations to:

a) Intensify the work of the local Soviets in the "village production service" — that is, at the Soviet congresses, the report meetings, etc. One criterion of the success of this work on the part of the executive committees of the Soviets for the defence of the interests of the poor and middle peasant masses against exploitation by the kulaks and all other capitalist elements of the village, must be the degree to which they have made themselves the leaders of the promotion of agriculture, the degree to which they have become the organisers of the great socialised agricultural system and of the provision of the means of production for the individual farms of the poor and middle peasantry.

b) The expenditure of the means granted by the Soviet power for agriculture must be as much under public control as the enlargement of existing factories and the building of new are now under the control of the city workers.

c) The activities of the agricultural commissions (sections of the village Soviets in the sub-district and district executive committees) must be stimulated and increased. These commissions must include members of the collective farms, functionaries of the Soviet farms, and peasants farming individual poor and middle peasant farms; the activities of the agricultural sections are to be regulated in accordance to the example furnished by the activities of the production consultations in the industrial undertakings.

d) The work of the land authorities is to be increased and improved. In view of the importance of the new forms of the close alliance with the peasantry for the work of the land authorities, any relic of any description from the days of pre-war limitedness must be eliminated from these bodies, which have confined their efforts to furthering prosperous individual farms. The land authorities must become the organisers of our great socialised agriculture, the leaders of the agronomical revolution of agriculture, and must thereby gather together the millions of the poor and middle peasantry in this revolution, and engage the services of all agronomists and all organisational forces in its cause.

7. The Conference fully confirms the measures taken by the C. C. for strengthening the organisations of the village poor. The Conference, which considers the success gained in this direction to be entirely inadequate, commissions the Party organisations to intensify even more the work for the organisation of the village poor, and to increase their efforts for the gathering together of the village poor into a real support of the working class in the village.

The new period, and the new forms of the close alliance between the working class and the peasantry, call for a considerable strengthening of the relations between the proletarian town and the village, as a means of strengthening the leading rôle of the working class. The tasks set by Lenin in 1923 for the deve-

lopment of the relations between the workers and peasants, and the creation of various forms of community between them, are among the most important duties and tasks of the working class in its struggle for the socialist re-organisation of the village. For this purpose it is unconditionally necessary to further and augment the work of the chief societies, to go forward to the organisation of a number of voluntary associations (Party, trade union, and every description of other works associations), which take up the task of systematically helping the village in its co-operative and socialist advancement. The experience gained by the formation of special workers' societies, working for the increase of the yield of the soil, must receive every support from the Party. The initiative of the workers in sending workers' brigades to the villages to help the poor and middle peasants, to aid the progress of the co-operation of agriculture, and to draw more closely the ties between the poor and middle peasants in their struggle against the Kulak, must be given far-reaching support.

In view of this fact the Conference lays special stress on the development of this method of sending workers' brigades as being one of the most lively forms of contact between the working class and the peasantry, and one strengthening the leading rôle of the working class in the village.

## FASCISM

### Once More the Fascist Plebiscite.

By Carlo Rossi.

The final outcome of the Fascist plebiscite has been made known. The total number of voters on the register was 9,673,049, the number of votes recorded 8,663,412, the number of ayes 8,519,559, that of noes 135,761, and that of invalid votes 8092.

A great Fascist victory, therefore. The Fascist papers write that these results exceeded the hopes and expectations of the Fascist Party. In the international press, too, and in such Italian papers as are not wholly in favour of Fascism, a certain degree of surprise was apparent.

It is here, however, not a question of a political, but rather of a technical problem. All plebiscites have so far turned out in favour of those who initiated them. The Italian Fascists, who have managed to elaborate and perfect their apparatus for the control, persecution, and suppression of every independent movement on the part of the masses, have also succeeded in developing all the customary methods of dictatorship, which serve the purpose of proving that the dictatorship is based on the will of the people.

There were in Italy almost 12 million voters. In spite of the increase in population, this number has been reduced by almost 2½ millions. Seeing that an essential presumption for entry in the voting lists is the payment of membership subscriptions which the law prescribes in favour of the Fascist corporations, all those whom the Fascists have not yet succeeded in throwing into prison were deprived of their votes. Obviously it is here a question of the very poorest class of society, either of unemployed or else of peasants in remote villages. Since these were difficult to control, they were accorded no vote.

The Fascists' greatest care regarded the abstention from voting, which for the broad masses was obviously the safest means of expressing a hostile attitude without incurring any danger. Whereas Mussolini had once declared that the whole election-campaign would consist in his holding a speech and in each provincial prefect doing likewise in his area, matters turned out quite different in practice. All the candidates, the leaders, the sub-leaders, and the subordinate officers of the Fascist Party, the trade unions, and the like, held numerous speeches in the towns, the villages, and everywhere else. Besides this, there was a tremendous press-campaign with illustrated pamphlets, hand-bills, and what not. Never before did Italy experience such an intensive election-campaign, the only thing lacking being — the opponents. The Fascists knew that their opponents remain in hiding, but they also knew that there was opposition on all hands; while they had the appearance of fighting against mere shadows, they were well aware of an intangible but yet invincible enemy in the shape of a general hostility.

Propaganda alone however, could not have ensured the categorically required "success". The Fascists simply declared that an

abstention from voting would be regarded as treason against the existing regime and the country and treated accordingly. The workers and peasants were informed that they would be nounded out of their factories or their farms if on the day following the elections they were not in a position to show their employers the confirmation of their votes with the stamp of the polling station. This control was naturally carried out most religiously by the employers. The same threat had been issued to the clerks and operatives of the State enterprises, of the municipalities, and so on. Any one seeking work must give documentary evidence of having exercised his "right" to vote.

On the premises of the "Unica", a big chocolate factory at Turin, special instructions were issued to the workers to the effect that "any one employed by the "Unica" and not registering his vote, thereby declares himself unworthy to belong to our "family", this being the embellished form in which the workers were given to understand that they would be fired if they did not take part in the plebiscite.

A circular issued by the supreme educational authorities of Piedmont contained the following passage: "The head-masters of the primary schools and of the autonomous schools of the communities must provide me with a list of such teachers as did not take part in the plebiscite." Finally, the public announcement of the podestà (mayor) of a small town read as follows: "I have given instructions that a special list be made of all voters who refrain without cogent reason from making use of their right to vote. I consider this desertion to be an act of hostility towards the existing regime." Every one knows in Italy what such an interpretation means.

For a worker, peasant, or employee it was therefore impossible not to go to the polls. Such a procedure would have meant the risk of dismissal and imprisonment. But what happened when the voter arrived at the polling station? He was handed two forms, which were both white on the outside. On the inside one of them bore the colours of the Italian flag and a handsome "Yes", while the other was white and bore the ugly word "No". With these two forms the voter then stepped into an improvised cell, where he threw the paper he did not need into a box, thereupon folding the other form and handing it to the official in charge of the station. Obviously for reasons of economy, however, the paper employed was very thin, so that the official knew very well whether the form handed to him contained an affirmative or a negative vote. Furthermore, the forms had to be stamped on the outside before being handed to the voter, and it was naturally no difficult matter for the official to stamp them differently, so as to provide an additional mark of identification — another legal way of violating the secrecy of the ballot. Finally, the custom very soon developed of voting openly and making no use of the cells provided for this purpose.

Such are the facts. Is it still necessary to draw the obvious conclusions from them?

In a political sense, the most important fact in connection with these elections was the participation of the clergy. The Pope, the cardinals, and all the great and small dignitaries of the church acted as Fascist agents. The agreement with the Vatican bore its fruits, and the alliance between the Pope and Fascism worked wondrously well. But while the Vatican secured for the Fascists a few thousand votes on the part of its priests, it could not and can never guarantee them the support of the broad masses of the peasantry.

The "Concentration" of the anti-Fascist democratic parties in emigration had issued instructions for an abstention from voting. There is no evidence, however, of this order having been made known in Italy or of its having been obeyed. The Communist Party instructed its members to register negative votes, recommending abstention only in the second place. It distributed thousands of hand-bills and pamphlets. One Fascist daily appearing in southern Italy reported the arrest of several Communists who had distributed hand-bills calling upon the workers not to abstain from voting. The newspaper added that the Communist hand-bills had advocated a negative vote. This report is a proof of the fact that our orders penetrated to the very remotest regions.

The Fascist plebiscite cannot be taken seriously. It is a matter of interest from a political standpoint that Mussolini should have felt the need for such a masquerade. No importance attaches to these eight million votes. It is only the rifles of the Fascist militia that represent a real factor of power.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Party Congress of the Communist Party of France and the Right Danger.

By Pierre Semard (Paris).

The Communist Party of France held its VI Party Congress from March 31st to April 7th in the town-hall of St Denis, a revolutionary bulwark just outside the confines of Paris. The Party Congress took place at a time of increased reprisals and growing preparations for an imperialist war.

The town-hall was literally besieged by tremendous hordes of police and spies. The Party Congress, however, was under the protection of the workers of St. Denis, which rendered the intended provocations by the police abortive.

The composition of the Party Congress was better than ever before. Of 272 delegates (190 with a decisive, and 82 with an advisory, vote) 108 were functionaries of the Party and of the trade unions, but 135 came straight from the works, 124 of these possessing decisive votes. Nevertheless, there were only 37 members of factory nuclei, the number of members of local and street nuclei being 129. This is a sign of deficient organisation in the Party and of its unfavourable social composition. 147 delegates (155 of them with decisive votes) were for the first time attending a national Party Congress.

After the VI World Congress, a preliminary discussion on a broad scale had been initiated in our ranks, but as a result of the too feeble political life of our nuclei it had been carried on more or less over the heads of the members. The great merit of our Party Congress lay in the fact that it cast light on this discussion and removed the confusion prevailing in regard to the great political questions, by establishing the nature and extent of the Right dangers threatening the French section of the Comintern.

Three copious reports furnished a solid foundation for a discussion lasting a whole week. The first report was that of Comrade Frachon on the international situation and the Right dangers, the second that of Comrade Semard on the economic and political position in France and the tasks of the Party, and the third that of Comrade Monmousseau on the struggles of the workers and the factory committees. All these three reports, moreover, represented the collective work of the Party leadership, which likewise meant an advance in the working methods of the latter. The three reports thoroughly investigated our faults and shortcomings and enabled the delegates to indulge in a vigorous self-criticism, such as the C. P. F. has not yet experienced. Such an endeavour to find out the political reasons of the faults committed and of the deviations recorded bears witness to the determination of the great majority of Party functionaries to consolidate the Party.

The platform of the open Right wing was expounded by no more than one comrade, Croset from the district of Orleans, who attempted to make a theory out of out-and-out opportunism, which in no way differs from the attitude of the Social Democrats. This comrade is of opinion that the analysis of the international situation, as furnished by the VI Congress of the C. I., is false, that the stabilisation of capitalism is firm and durable, and that nothing is left to the International but an adaptation to the new construction of capitalism. In France in particular, Comrade Croset is captivated only by the favourable sides of the momentarily good position; he denies the radicalisation of the masses and is opposed to the "united front from below", as established by the VI World Congress, for which he would substitute an agreement with the reformist organisations and with the petty-bourgeoisie, which he considers capable of offering serious "opposition" to the policy of the big capitalists.

Naturally Comrade Croset does not believe in the immediate danger of war, and declares that the commercial treaties of the Soviet Union with the industrialists of the United States and Great Britain are in themselves a sufficient safeguard for the Russian revolution.

Many of the delegates were so vehement in their opposition to this opportunist conception that it was to be feared during the first two days of the assembly that the fight against the Right deviations would be directed solely against the person of Comrade Croset. In the further course of the discussions,

however, it was possible to prove that the Right tendencies in our Party are important movements, partly covert and partly avowed. If the Party Congress managed to get the better of the Brandierist platform of Comrade Croset, it did not thereby defeat the Right tendencies existing in the Party in their entirety. However, it helped to bring them to light, as it did also the conciliatory attitude which had hitherto been concealed behind a merely verbal approval of the resolutions of the VI World Congress.

Comrade Doriot has admitted his mistakes, which lay in his opposition to the "class against class" tactics already at the elections of June 1928, in his distinction between the Right and the Left wing of the Socialists, in his obsolete conception of the committees of action and of a united front with the reformist organisations. This admission forms the close of a long struggle on the part of the Party leadership and the International, which have spared no pains in inducing Comrade Doriot to break the silence which was spoiling the discussions and to make known his "reservations" in regard to the directives of the VI World Congress. This admission must be looked upon as a victory albeit incomplete, of the Party and of the Comintern.

As a matter of fact, Comrade Doriot has merely given a psychological and subjective explanation of his faults. He did not desire to admit their political origin in connection with his false conception of the situation. He showed a certain contempt for the leadership of his Party and of the International, which in his opinion were not in a position to persuade him. He was not sufficiently clear in his characterisation of the "third period", did not sufficiently attack his "silent" friends, and observed a conciliatory attitude in particular in regard to the Nord district. The step forward which he has thus made is insufficient to dispel the confusion created in the Party by his vacillation. The Party Congress was of opinion that Comrade Doriot ought to take still further steps if he is desirous of convincing the Party of his political sincerity.

The Nord district, which thanks to its industrial and strategic importance is the second in significance for the Party, expressed its opposition to the policy of the Party in the course of the discussions. It will be remembered that this district failed to understand the significance of the "tactical changes" embodied in the Open Letter of November 1927. In the preparation of the great textile-workers' strike in the autumn of 1928, this district underestimated the rôle of agent of capitalism played by the entire Social-Democratic Party on that occasion.

In the course of the discussions, the Nord district evinced a great opposition to the public self-criticism and a general tendency to belittle and cloak the Right dangers, an attitude which was tantamount to rendering service to the Right. The Nord delegates attempted to explain the shortcomings of the Right, and some of them even went so far as to condone them, their attacks being directed not against the Right but against the Party leadership, which did not try to conceal its own mistakes but has taken up an inexorable fight for the new directives. Here, too, the confusion was put aside and the discussion must be continued with a participation of the Central Committee in all the district organisations.

Though there is no organised Right wing in our Party, there are yet bulwarks of the adherents of Right tendencies, which have become apparent through dozens of delegates of the lower organisations. Thus there was revealed a dangerous indifference towards the works-nuclei, a wholly reformist bureaucratisation and corruption of numerous trade-union functionaries, even such as are at the head of certain revolutionary industrial unions; negligence towards the unorganised masses struggling against rationalisation and for better wage-conditions outside the limits of our organisation, the danger of election-compromises, a resistance against the employment of united-front tactics from below, a resistance against anti-militarist activity, and the like. Finally, the Party still embraces many "silent" members, pessimists, and adherents devoid of conviction, who restrict themselves to recognising the VI World Congress in words only while carrying on a Right policy in practice. Herein lies the greatest danger. Even among the Party Congress delegates there were such as did not take the opportunity of expressing their opinions.

It must be said that the most important volings, viz. in regard to the resolution on the internal position and the Right danger and in regard to the composition of the Central Committee, do not reflect the exact attitude of the Party Congress

on the internal and international questions discussed and still less the opinion of the entire Party.

Indeed, Croset has numerous adherents in the Party among those who have voted for the theses of the VI World Congress and of the 6th Party Congress of the C. P. F. The leaders of the Nord district, who have voted for these theses and resolutions and have merely made reservations regarding such parts of the self-criticism as concerned themselves, furnish an example of this confusion which continues to obtain and undoubtedly masks political differences of opinion.

The confusion into which the opportunists have always fallen, was characterised by a super-abundance of sentimentality, as also by the personal considerations advanced when the subject of the Central Committee was put to the vote and representing the outcome of "combinations behind the scenes", in which connection certain delegates of the Nord district and certain "Left" members of the Paris district particularly distinguished themselves in attempting to form a systematic bloc of the elements hostile to the Party leaders. The 41 delegates who, while accepting the proposed Central Committee, demanded the inclusion of Comrade Jacob, thereby revealed "reservations" which they would not have ventured to express in political and tactical questions in regard to which there is a difference of opinion.

As a matter of fact, the Party Congress tended to clear up the questions discussed, which will have to be expressed and explained yet more exactly in connection with the realisation of the tasks set by the Party Congress. The big political issues are now more clearly apparent. Without waiting for the development of workers' struggles, as demanded by the Nord district, the Party must at all times unmask the germs of Right tendencies. It now knows that the politically well-founded recognition of the mistakes committed and the abandonment of all reservations which may appear of secondary importance but really conceal far-reaching differences of opinion, are indispensable presumptions in this connection.

This violent conflict is altogether within the bounds of possibility at present. In its theses and resolutions the Party Congress has established a firm political and tactical line of activity, which can be quite safely relied upon. In keeping with the desires expressed by numerous delegates, the Party possesses a far more homogeneous administration. The Central Committee has been thoroughly remodelled. From 83 members it has been reduced to 61, among which number there are only 32 members of the old Committee. It comprises ten comrades working in factories and a greater representation of the Young Communist League, which took an active part in the discussions and formed a firm basis for the transformation of the Party.

The most important "positive" features of the Party Congress were as follows:

1. The majority of the Party has lent adequate expression to the spirit of the resolutions of the VI World Congress and has made a serious endeavour to adapt this spirit to the internal position, which again was subjected to a more far-reaching analysis than was made at any former Party Congress.

2. The Party was enabled to proceed to a great discussion, to show up deep-rooted political differences of opinion, and to carry out this work of unmasking and convincing without shaking its foundations and without any such painful operations as proved necessary at all important discussions in the past. It possesses in itself all the forces necessary for effecting its change of attitude and likewise a fully strengthened political maturity, which is the best guarantee for the future.

3. The Party has undertaken an effective advance with a view to placing in the forefront the practical organisation of the fight against the approaching war in the place of that mere talk of which we have often been the victims. It is governed in its actions by the correct slogan, viz. all possible activity in the works in the interest of creating factory committees, in the interest of the masses, which in their radicalisation are in advance of the development of our Party, for the leadership of more wide-spread workers' struggles, and for recruiting new and sound elements with a view to reforming the inadequate social composition of the Party.

The 6th Party Congress of the C. P. F. will render it possible to undertake decisive steps in the direction of reconstruction and to assist the International in a greater degree than hitherto to exterminate all danger of a relapse into opportunism.

## Resolution of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I on the Czech Question.

Adopted at the Session of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on 15th of April, 1929.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. acknowledges the correctness of the decisions of the V. Party Congress of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, which rendered concrete the line of the VI World Congress of the Communist International and of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. in regard to Czechoslovakian conditions. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. records with satisfaction that the V. Party Congress of the C. P. Cz. has drawn the correct lessons from the defeat of the Czechoslovakian proletariat resulting from the failure of the Red Day. The Party Congress has subjected to an energetic and profound criticism the opportunist mistakes of the former leadership headed by Jilek, and has corrected the line of the Party from the bottom up. For this reason the V. Party Congress of the C. P. Cz. constitutes an extremely important stage upon the path of bolshevisation of the C. P. Cz. and of overcoming the social-democratic remnants which still exist in it.

Just as at the time of the Bubnik crisis, the progressive development of the Party has encountered the resistance of all the Right elements of the Party which in the course of a number of years have hampered as a conservative factor the development of the Party and its fighting capacity. The opportunist Hais-Sykora-Nadvornik group, which had entrenched itself in the International Workers Federation, made use of the textile workers' strike, the first struggle of the Czechoslovakian working class after the failure of the Red Day, in order along with the social-democrats to undermine the strike as strike-breakers, to prepare its defeat in order to compromise the new Party leadership and to saddle it with the responsibility for the defeat. In the course of a number of years this group, against the objections of the Communist Party and the directives of the R. I. L. U. has conducted in the red trade unions an opportunist policy which, in its practical application, could hardly be distinguished from the policy of the reformists. (Renunciation of the strike weapon and the substitution of economic struggles by practical participation in the arbitration system etc.)

After the Party Congress this group of renegades openly pursued the path of splitting the red trade unions; against the will of the overwhelming majority of the workers organised in the red trade unions, and supported by the police, this group thievishly took possession of the premises and the funds of the trade unions and attempted to frustrate the trade union congress which was to ensure the unity of the trade unions. In spite of the fact that all the actions of Hais have clearly shown that he has broken with the R. I. L. U. and with the Communist Party, the R. I. L. U. quite correctly replied to the putsch of Hais by convening the Vienna Conference in which an authoritative delegation of the R. I. L. U. participated. The far-reaching proposals of the R. I. L. U. delegation, the aim of which was to settle the conflict with the Hais group on the basis of proletarian democracy at the next trade union congress, were rejected by Hais and his followers. The renegade group of Hais has by this step, as is stated in the decision of the R. I. L. U., placed itself outside the ranks of the organised, revolutionary proletariat of Czechoslovakia. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. fully and entirely approves the energetic struggle of the C. C. of the C. P. Cz. against Hais and confirms the expulsion of Hais and his followers from the C. P. Cz. and their stigmatisation as agents of the bourgeoisie and malicious strike-breakers.

The liquidatory attack of Hais and of the other Right renegades on the C. P. Cz., the C. I. and the R. I. L. U. not only did not encounter any resistance on the part of such elements as Jilek, Bolen and Neurath, who in the past pretended to conduct the struggle against the "historic Rights", but enjoyed their most active support. These elements, who in the course of the discussion before the Party Congress revealed a conciliatory attitude towards the Rights and thereby developed opportunist views, have recently openly sunk down to liquidatory opinions and are coming forward in a united front against the C. P. Cz. and the E. C. C. I.

The proposal of the E. C. C. I. that a delegation be sent to Moscow in order to settle their differences with the Party in the presence of representatives of the C. C. of the C. P. Cz.

by inner-Party means and upon the basis of proletarian discipline, was rejected by Jilek and his followers. In the newspaper "Svoboda", which is inspired by Jilek, Bolen and Neurath, there was published an unheard-of cynical declaration to the effect that this group is prepared to meet an authoritative commission of the E. C. C. I. on "neutral ground" in order to negotiate with the E. C. C. I. as "equal" partner. Soon afterwards Jilek sent a letter to the E. C. C. I. in which he declared that he refuses to come to Moscow and proposed that the C. I. should send a delegation to Czechoslovakia for the purpose of negotiating with him and his followers. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. rejected this discreditable manoeuvre of the Jilek group, which aimed at deceiving the Czechoslovakian Communist workers and concealing from them the true intentions of Jilek. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. leaves it to all members of the C. P. Cz. to judge for themselves the inadmissible, anti-Party declaration of the Jilek group in "Svoboda", which proves that its authors are pursuing a dangerous path of transition from the positions of the revolutionary class struggle and Communism to the "neutral" camp of all enemies of the Communist movement.

The Presidium reminds all members of the C. P. Cz. that the relations between the C. I. and its sections are not relations between two partners who are negotiating with each other but are based upon the principle of international proletarian discipline. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all the followers of Jilek, Bolen and Neurath who do not wish to break with the Comintern, to sever immediately openly and unequivocally from this group, which in fact is working hand in hand with the open liquidators who have been expelled from the C. P. Cz.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all the members of the C. P. Cz. to rally round their Central Committee which is fighting under the most difficult conditions for the bolshevisation of the Party. The Presidium makes it incumbent upon the C. C. of the Party not to make any fundamental concessions to the Right liquidatory elements in defending the positions of the VI. Congress of the C. I. and of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. At the same time it instructs the C. C. to carry out the consolidation of the Party upon the basis of the decisions of the V. Party Congress and to rally all the elements who are ready to fight against the liquidators and renegades, without regard to their former groupings. The C. C. of the C. P. Cz. and the local Party organisations must adopt all measures in order to mobilise all the Party members for the struggle against the Rights and liquidators. This work will at the same time serve to test the degree of preparation of the local Party organisations for their capacity to mobilise quickly the whole mass of members and sympathisers; it will also test how far all Party members are real Communists, prepared to respond to the first call of their leading organs.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. is prepared to give careful consideration to any communication pointing out possible mistakes of the Party. This is also the duty of the new Central Committee. The C. C. is bound to guarantee the most energetic and broadest self-criticism for the purpose of consolidating the connection between the Party and the working masses. Only such a self-criticism ensures for the Party the most rapid overcoming of the social-democratic traditions and helps the Party to steel itself in a Bolshevik manner. But the Presidium cannot and will not permit that, under the flag of self-criticism, in attack is made on the Bolshevik line of the C. C. of the C. P. Cz. for the unity of the Party.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. states that the anti-Communist action of Hais, which is supported by the Jilek-Bolen-Neurath group, is a part of the process of the defection of the Right opportunist elements (Brandler, Thalheimer) from the organised Communist world movement. The Presidium assures the C. C. of the C. P. Cz. that in its struggle against the Right liquidatory elements it will meet with the most energetic support of the whole Communist International.

Long live the unity of the C. P. Cz.!

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

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

### Conclusion.

#### Session of 5th of April. Morning.

The discussion on the three reports which have been delivered is continued.

Comrade Fronsac (Limoges) demands a homogeneous leadership, which would be able to conduct the struggle against the Right dangers. The Right dangers are very great because the majority of the Party is not convinced of the correctness of the VI. World Congress. He protests against the confusion of documents which have appeared regarding the election tactics.

A peasant from South France complains of the insufficient work of the Party among the peasants. The Party does not know how to get into touch with the most exploited sections. The Comrade however puts forward a false opinion when he demands that the principle of the hegemony of the proletariat over the peasantry must be diluted in our propaganda among the peasants in order to take into account the political rights which have been acquired by the peasants.

A delegate from the district of central France shows the great weakness of political life of the nuclei in his district.

Other comrades likewise emphasise the danger of deviations in the direction of too great consideration for the electorate at the next municipal elections, which could find expression in election combinations with "good socialists".

#### Session of 5th of April. Afternoon.

Comrade Etienne delivers an important report on the anti-militarist Tasks of the Party. He shows the great progress made by the French bourgeoisie in its preparations for imperialist war and civil war (enormous concentration of troops in the big industrial districts). The sports organisations financially supported by the State, bring us nearer to compulsory military training. The recruiting of professional soldiers has surpassed all expectations. The actual strength of the army amounts to 725,000 men as against 590,000 men in 1913. The military power of French imperialism is greater by far than in 1913.

In face of this impressive reality our Party remains passive, as if it had been mastered by pacifism. We have to register a setback in this direction which cannot be obliterated by the anti-militarist talk so freely made use of by us. The chief reason is the disbelief in the nearness of the approaching war. It is important that the factories take over the patronage of bodies of troops at the moment when the struggles of the soldiers in the barracks develop.

Comrade Wetzel protests, in the name of the minority of the Paris district, against the condemnation of their tendency by the International. He maintains that the Party now acknowledges the minority to be in the right, but he puts forth views regarding the united front which approach near to those of the Right.

Several Comrades demand a greater homogeneity of the Party leadership and a completely homogeneous political Bureau.

A Comrade of the Y. C. L. deals with the fight against the Right danger, the mass character of which he emphasises. The declarations of Comrade Doriot justify the struggle which has been conducted against him. The Y. C. L. is not satisfied with the attitude of Comrade Doriot. He has acknowledged his mistakes without saying why he committed them, viz., because he had made great deviations in the analysis of the political and economic situation.

Delegations from big metal factories of St. Denis bring greetings the Congress. Comrade Semard replies to these greetings.

A Comrade from the Atlantic Coast district gives facts regarding the industry in his district, which is entirely occupied with the production of war material.

#### Session of 5th of April. Evening.

There follows the speech of the representative of the E. C. C. I., who is listened to with great attention and lively applause. He expresses his pleasure to be able, in spite of the Police of Poincaré, to convey to the Congress the greetings of the Communist International, which proves that world Communism is a more powerful force than world imperialism, and calls

to mind glorious chapters in French revolutionary history.

The positive side of the discussion is the good general understanding of the spirit of the VI. World Congress and the active participation of factory workers. The Party has been able to find in itself the power to beat the ideology of the Right without painful operations as in the past. This is a symptom of the greater political maturity, and marks a great stride forward, affording the guarantee that it will be also able to overcome its other weaknesses.

But there are also negative sides: Many comrades do not yet know how to draw from the VI. World Congress the logical conclusions which would accord with the present period in France. Reformism has undergone profound changes since the world war. It has become social imperialism and social fascism, an expression of the methods of capitalist rule, which at present is combining bourgeois democracy with fascist violence. The heroes of the II. International are best able to apply this method. All too many comrades of the Party, especially the comrades of the Nord district, have not yet grasped this tremendous change; they are looking into the past instead of into the future for the preparation of the revolutionary violence which alone will be capable of crushing the reactionary violence.

The attitude of Comrade Crozet is a social democratic attitude. The declarations of Comrade Doriot are inadequate. To declare that the C. P. and the C. I. have not succeeded in convincing him means to express lack of confidence in them and even in the revolution. His declarations are of a psychological and not of a political nature. Comrade Doriot must say what his attitude is towards the Party and the International, otherwise we must assume that he is still seized with the Right fever.

#### Session of 6th of April. Morning.

Comrade Lozeray delivers a co-report on the colonial question. He points to the great efforts of the French bourgeoisie to exploit the colonies, as well as to the revolts of the natives resulting from these efforts. The bourgeoisie is employing two methods combined: repressions and corruption. He stigmatises the treachery of the native bourgeoisie and the support given by social democracy to the imperialists. A socialist leader once exclaimed: "Colonisation is for us a duty, a necessity, a right."

A peasant delegate emphasises the importance of the proletarianisation of numerous peasant strata and the rapid development of a mixed, half worker and half peasant, proletariat.

Comrade Rappaport declares that all the presumptions exist for a world war, but that the slogan of the immediate nearness of war must be considered only as a symbol. He demands the "concentration" of all the forces of the Party.

Comrades Raynaud (Member of the Central Committee) delivers a report on social insurance as the bourgeoisie intend to introduce it. He shows that here it is a question of a capitalist pseudo-reform; a piece of corruption at the cost of the working class, to which the reformists agree. He demands that a commission be set up to investigate this very important question.

#### Session of 6th of April. Afternoon.

The Congress adopts greetings to the E. C. C. I., the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. and the C. P. G.

Thereupon Comrade Beron delivered a report on the Alsace-Lorraine question. He shows that masses are bursting through the barriers of the clerical parties, which are splitting up, and exposes the active support afforded by social democracy to imperialism. In spite of the exceptional laws the influence of our Party has greatly increased. But our weaknesses are still great, especially in the trade-union sphere, where our fractions do not function. We must take upon us the absolute leadership of the national movement, in which the petty bourgeoisie is still playing a historical role, which we have to expose. The best means is to gather the workers in the factory committees for the economic struggles, which must be combined with the national movement.

This report is complemented by a Manifesto to the Toilers of Alsace-Lorraine which is read out by Comrade Cachin. It declares that the Party Congress recognises the unconditional right of Alsace-Lorraine to govern itself quite freely, the right to exist independently, up to the complete separation from France. It stresses that only the workers' revolution can free the toilers from imperialism and capitalism and at the same time will be able to give them independence by means of a Soviet Federation.

A comrade submits exact facts showing the dangers of reformism, which is penetrating the revolutionary Trade Union Federation of France by means of pessimistic and bureaucratic Communists.

Comrade Porreye (District Nord) attempts to justify the attitude of his district in the question of the textile workers' strike. The comrades are not against self-criticism, but against the exclusively negative criticism, which does not take into account the general action which has been conducted for a long time by the district and which also does not mention the Party leadership, which has taken part in the work of this district without finding any fault in it. He maintains that the comrades of his district have not underestimated the role of social democracy, but were taken by surprise by the sabotage of the strike by the social democrats. He affirms that the Nord district is determined to fight against the Rights, and that the mistrust of the Party leadership towards this district is entirely unjustified. An end must be put to it. If the Party Congress is of opinion that the district committee is incapable, then a change must be made.

Comrade Perronault (East district) deals with the important question of foreign workers who predominate in this heavy industrial district.

Comrade Villate speaks for the minority of the Paris district, which shows an ultra-Left tendency. He attempts to justify their former standpoint and maintains that his comrades would be more capable of carrying out the reorganisation of the Party than certain comrades who are keeping silent. He reproaches the Party leadership for discrediting the Nord district Committee because it had criticised the Central Committee.

The delegate of the Y. C. L. of the Nord district criticises the attitude of the district committee, whose mistakes result from a wrong estimation of the economic situation and of the role of social democracy.

The chairman reads letters of greeting from the C. P. of Italy and the C. P. of Spain.

#### Session of 6th of April. Evening.

A comrade delivers a report on the organisation of the worker and peasant correspondents. "Humanité" is at present in contact with 12,000 correspondents of whom only a third belong to the Party. We must proceed to the organisation of circles of correspondents according to factories in order to build of our organs, including the factory newspapers.

Comrade Jeanne Bulant reports on the work among women. She shows the increase of women's work in the factories and the role which the working women will have to play in war in the production of war material. Our Party is, however, not yet convinced of the importance of winning the working women, although the latter are in the first ranks of the fighters. The Party comrades even forget to see that women are represented in the factory councils. The comrade demands the support of the Party for the distribution of "The Working Women" which is to appear in future without interruption.

Comrade Doriot submits a declaration in reply to the speech of the representative of the E. C. C. I. and of the article of Comrade Semard in "Humanité". He acknowledges that the Party has not come to him but that he has come to the Party by recognising his political mistakes. He had not expressed any distrust in the C. I. or in the C. P. F., as he has always carried out what the Party had instructed him to do, he had therefore had more confidence in the C. P. and C. I. than in his own theses.

Comrade Doriot is of opinion that he must be allowed to get convinced by the events, as was the case with numerous Bolshevik leaders. If one must be always convinced at once by theses from above, then there would be no possibility of differences of opinion or discussions.

Comrade Doriot declares that he is in complete agreement with the estimation of stabilisation given by Comrade Frachon and refuses to admit that he made a mistake in the estimation of the French economic situation. It seems to him that he has always called upon to acknowledge mistakes which he has committed, and that nobody is satisfied with his declarations. He asks what is the object of this. At any rate he refuses to be put up as a candidate for the Political Bureau.

Comrade Semard then formulates the reply of the Party leadership to the whole discussion. He believes that sufficient questions have been touched upon which must be more thoroughly treated. The differences of opinion with the Nord

district show great political disagreements, which the whole Party, including the Nord district, will have to discuss.

In reply to Comrade Doriot, Comrade Semard states that his estimation of the world situation is insufficient, and the Comrade Doriot must declare that he wishes to fight together with the Party leadership against all manifestations of opportunism. To change one's opinion according to events is insufficient for a Party leader, who has to foresee events in order to proceed organisationally in accordance with them, Comrade Doriot not only had tactical differences of opinion, but he also committed a political mistake in regard to the role of social democracy.

The Party leadership must be based upon far-reaching political unanimity. Comrade Semard, in the name of the Political Commission, then proposes the new Central Commission. This Commission unanimously rejected the appeal of Suzanne Girault for readmission into the Party.

Several comrades then make various declarations. Numerous delegates from the Nord district protest against the distrust evinced by the Party leadership towards their district committee. Comrade Jacob resigns his position as secretary.

The resolution on the international situation and the Right dangers in the C. I. is adopted by all votes against one and one delegate abstaining from voting. 11 Comrades vote for the resolution with a reservation regarding the clause dealing with the Nord district, and six with a reservation regarding a clause dealing with the Paris district.

At the election of the Central committee 171 delegates vote for the list proposed by the Commission, 2 delegates vote against it, 16 delegates vote with reservation regarding Comrade Renaud Jean, 38 delegates vote for Comrade Jacob, 24 delegates were absent or withheld their votes.

The Party Congress sends greetings to the imprisoned comrades and calls upon the workers to fight against repression.

#### Session of 7th of April. Morning.

Comrade Larri reports on organisation. In this sphere the reorganisation of the Party has not yet set in. A dangerous indifference prevails with regard to the factory nuclei; social democratic methods still prevail in our agitation. Our leading committees must become a better reflection of the most exploited strata. The position is favourable for good recruiting work and for the improvement of the quality of our cadres, as the working masses are very militant.

Comrade Desnots reports on the work among the peasantry. The essential features of the present development consist of the fact that the factories are being removed to the open country, that a differentiation is taking place among the various strata of the peasantry, and that the hegemony of big industry over agriculture has become stronger. These facts result in a radicalisation of the peasantry, which up to the present we have not been able to make use of, and which brings with it dangerous illusions among the peasants regarding the power of the small production co-operatives. Comrade Desnots describes in detail the tasks of the Party, especially within the newly established General Federation of Toiling Peasants.

Comrade Pagnereaux reports on the co-operative question. He points to the attempts of the International Co-operative Alliance to exclude the co-operatives of the Soviet Union in order to admit into the Alliance the fascist co-operatives, and stresses the necessity of a close connection between the co-operative and trade union movements, especially on account of the fight of the employers against the consumers' co-operatives by means of the factory co-operatives.

#### Concluding Session, 7th of April Afternoon.

The Session begins with the discussion on the three reports of the morning session. Several peasant delegates complain of neglect of the peasantry by the Party leadership, although the peasantry constitutes half of the population, and reproach it with having sabotaged these questions in the course of the Party Congress.

A comrade from Tunis declares that the Party Congress has committed a grave injustice by having underestimated the colonial question, which is not in accordance with the line of the VI. World Congress, and severely criticises the Colonial Commission of the Party, which failed to make sufficiently clear the difference between the national revolutionary movement and the class movement.

Comrade Semard delivers the report of the Political Commission on the draft theses which was submitted to it and

which it had fundamentally altered. A special commission will formulate the final text, which will be submitted to the Central Committee.

With regard to the question of Alsace-Lorraine Comrade Semard stresses the fact that Comrade Beron spoke yesterday in his own name and not in the name of the Political Bureau, as he did not sufficiently point to the Right dangers in his district.

Finally, Comrade Semard deals with the work of the Party Congress. The Party Congress has cleared up a number of questions by exposing the open and masked opportunist dangers. The strong majority which appeared at the Congress, constitutes together with the Y. C. L. the basis upon which the Party leadership will rely in order to carry out in a correct way the decisions of the Party Congress. The Party leadership will maintain a permanent connection with the Nord and Paris districts, two big industrial districts, in which everything is not quite in order. We desire that all sound elements gather round the new Central Committee for the purpose of reorganising the Party.

The Political theses are then unanimously adopted, one delegate withholding his vote.

Comrade Cachin closes the Party Congress by reading a Manifesto to all the toilers of France, to the workers, peasants, soldiers and the oppressed peoples in the colonies.

## The National Conference of the C. P. of Holland.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

The National Conference of the C. P. of Holland was held from the 30th to 1st of April 1929 at Amsterdam.

The Conference entered into a detailed discussion of

1. the general, national and international situation and the political perspectives in connection with the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern; 2. the Trade union policy of the Party; 3. the tactics in economic struggles; 4. the colonial question.

All resolutions of the Conference were adopted unanimously. The Conference approved the decisions of the World Congress and the political line of the Comintern.

The Party Conference emphasised the necessity for an intensified struggle against the reformists, who also in Holland are becoming organically united with the State and economic organs of the bourgeoisie. To this end it is necessary to bring about a decided turn in the factory work of the Party, which is still weak up to the present.

The Conference stressed the necessity for an independent leadership of the economic struggles by the Communists. The leaders of the trade unions, among them being the leaders of the N. A. S. who have withdrawn from the R. I. L. U., are adopting a completely reformist policy and have expelled the revolutionary oppositional workers from the trade unions.

This trade union opposition must be greatly strengthened: it must collaborate, on the basis of the programme of the R. I. L. U., with the revolutionary organisations of the unemployed and play an active part in the economic struggles.

The Conference approved the decision of the Central Committee to put forward three Indonesian Comrades, the leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia, as candidates in the Parliamentary elections to be held in July of this year.

Both the Conference and the Central Committee regarded the Right danger as the main danger at the present time, especially in a country like Holland, where the influence of petty-bourgeois views is very great and where the colonial and other profits enable the bourgeoisie to breed a relatively strong labour aristocracy.

The carrying out of the Party Conference resolutions will require from the Party the greatest exertion of its forces. It will at the same time furnish a guarantee that the danger of Right deviations will be overcome also in the future.

## TEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

### Tenth Anniversary of the Communist International, War and May Day.

By Tom Bell.

The First Congress of the Communist International which opened in March 1919 is no mere event of the calendar. It was destined to be a meeting of great historical importance, it marked not only the fulfilment of all the pledges of Bolshevism to the international proletariat, it opened a new page in the history of the proletarian class struggle. Henceforward the proletariat were to have a united international party with a real general staff to lead it, the Communist International.

The Communist International was forged in the stress and struggles of a great world war, but it would be a profound mistake to regard the C. I. as a pure product of the war. That is how the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats conceive it. As a matter of fact already the materials were being prepared within the ranks of the Second International. Within the Sections and at the Congresses, elements had been crystallising and hardening for years against the flagrant emasculation of Marxism by pseudo-Marxists and against the pure and simple bourgeois parliamentarism, for example, of the British Labour Party type. The war accelerated this process of differentiation. Under pressure of the war the issue became crystal clear. Either service to the imperialist brigands, i. e. an open abandonment and betrayal of all socialist principles and sacrifice of the proletariat, or service to the international proletariat, i. e. faithfulness to socialism, Marxism and implacable war on the imperialists under the banner of the social revolution.

But not in all countries did the adherents of Marxism capitulate. In a number of countries fragments of the Social Democracy refused to do service to imperialism. It is to the eternal honour of the Bolshevik Party, under Lenin, that they were the one single Party of the International to withstand the shock and immediately to assume leadership of the struggle against the imperialists and for a new International.

When Lenin rose on March 2nd, 1919 at 10 minutes past 5 to open the First Congress of the C. I., this very act vindicated all that the Bolshevik Party stood for. Already in 1914, he had declared the Second International is dead, long live the Third International. Few realised then that within the brief space of 5 years the Third International was to become a fact. But this first Congress could only have a few groups and Parties represented. The objective situation was revolutionary. The imperialist governments had already drawn a "cordon sanitaire" round the Soviets. The civil war was still raging. It was difficult for the Parties to send their representatives across the frontiers blockaded by the imperialist governments. This First Congress could only be a preparatory Congress partly for the foregoing reason, but also for the reason that an ideological struggle had yet to be waged to sort out the time servers who wanted to give lip homage to the new International from the genuine Bolshevik proletarians striving to free themselves from the entanglements of such elements.

The history of the C. I. from March 1919 to March 1929 is a history of 10 years of hard struggle for ideological and organisational consolidation and the foundations of a world programme of revolutionary action, of stern battles, heroic defeats and glorious victories. To have organised sections in 52 countries of the world marching under the ensign of the red banner of the C. I. and its general staff, the E. C. C. I., is a magnificent triumph for the ideas of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party and those who gathered around them 10 years ago.

March 1919 was no mere event of the calendar. It opened a new period in the history of the international proletarian class struggle. Our X. Anniversary does not stop at the rejoicing of a date. That is why our Parties must make of our anniversary and campaign leading up to the First of May a campaign of enlightenment and Bolshevisation of our own ranks and recruitment for new soldiers to the C. I. and preparation for the titanic struggles that lie ahead.

In the resolution of the Bolsheviks to the Berne Conference (March 29th, 1915) we read:

"The present war has an imperialist character, this war is created by the conditions of the epoch where capitalism has attained its highest degree of development, where not only the exportation of commodities but also that of capital have acquired an essential importance, where the trustification of production and the internationalisation of economic life have attained considerable proportions, where the colonial policy has led to the division of nearly the whole surface of the globe, where the forces of production of world capitalism have passed the strict limits of national states, where the objective conditions are ripe for the realisation of socialism."

Is this characterisation true of our present epoch? Yes, a thousand times true. The conditions of capitalism are preparing the way for a war of a more terrible character than the bloody holocaust of 1914-18. The revival of fierce international competition between the imperialists, the rapid technical development, trustification and rationalisation of industry by the more powerful competitors raises again the problem of markets, of territory and colonies. Naturally, side by side with this fierce competition a new armament race has begun. All the imperialist governments are feverishly building their naval and air fleets, mechanising the armies, developing war industries with the most elaborately equipped laboratories. There is no mistaking these symptoms — war is being prepared. It is idle to argue as the "Manchester Guardian" did the other day when polemising against the decision of the I. L. P. Conference to vote against war credits "that war is the outcome of a complex of circumstances which have hitherto been as much outside the control of government as of the government". This is only another way of saying that the inherent contradictions of imperialism will only lead to war.

But to say, as the "Guardian" says, "the governments do not make war" is the purest sophistry. The merest tyro in politics knows that, as in industry, preparations for imperialist war are conducted by a sub-division of labour, the imperialist diplomats are no less important than the admirals and the generals; their ways and tricks are carried out with the same direct secrecy. Indeed the diplomacy of the imperialist Statesmen need above all a screen for their craft, for they have the double job of "conciliating" irreconcilable class elements in society. Such a screen for example, we see in the League of Nations. It is true they are hand put to it at times to maintain the fiction of the League. Their clumsiness and dilatoriness often disgust even the Bourgeois press. The "Manchester Guardian", for example in the aforementioned article, was prompted to say "the League of Nations Disarmament Commission wants stirring up". Undoubtedly, to every right thinking person the League of Nations and its Commissions are already a screaming farce, but with the help of the Labour and Social Democratic reformists, who are unanimous in their praises of the League and its most valiant defenders, the League is still a good blind for the diplomats. Moreover, it remains an excellent screen for all the reformist quackery of the Labour and Socialist parliamentarians, and the petty bourgeois quasi-pacifist humbug which gathers round them.

Yet another branch of the imperialist sub-division of labour for war preparation is the Labour and socialist bureaucracy. The imperialists have good reason to congratulate themselves on the magnificent help they received during the last great war and during the revolutionary post-war period. Without the help of the Social Democracy they could not have saved so much of their system as they did. They have to thank Social Democracy for saving Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Finland, the Social Democrats have proven their worth to the post-war revolutionary wave and the oncoming revolutionary tide; the Social Democrats have proven their worthy to the bourgeoisie in another sphere, viz., as respectable bourgeois parliamentarians and "industrial peace" merchants. The experience of the last ten years has placed beyond the shadow of a doubt the open imperialist role of the Social Democrats and the hangmen's part they will play in the next war.

But within the Social Democracy itself we see also a certain sub-division of labour. As the MacDonalds, Snowdens, and Thomases become more shamefully lackeys and lickspittles of Buckingham Palace and Lombard Street, it becomes more difficult for them to satisfy their pay-masters. They need a smoke-screen to enable them to carry on their infamous role of

treachery to the working class. Such a screen is to be found in the existence and toleration within the ranks of the Labour Party of pseudo-Left organisations and personalities.

Take the example of the Independent Labour Party (I. L. P.) Here is an organisation which continually chatters about "Socialism in our time", "A living wage for all", flirts with the League Against Imperialism and votes no war credits — all to the tune of unadulterated Socialism. It maintains the pretence of being the socialist pioneers and inspirers of the Labour Party. At times it waxes righteous indignation at the behaviour of the parliamentary Labour leaders. But let MacDonald or any of the Labour bureaucracy take it to task and it immediately crumples like a sand castle (the Birmingham conference of the Labour Party).

The typical inaptitude of this party is perhaps best reflected in the debate during this Easter Conference on war credits. A party that really meant business would have told Shinwell, who defied the conference, to go and crawl on his belly to Ramsay MacDonald and ask forgiveness for the double-faced part he (Shinwell) has played with the Labour Party for so long, equally short work would it have made at the comedy enacted by Maxton, that play-boy of the I. L. P. The truth is there is no further reason for the I. L. P. remaining apart from the Labour Party, nor would MacDonald and his henchmen tolerate it, save for the service it renders to the Labour traitors. The I. L. P. is still necessary to enable MacDonald and the Labour ministerialists to get away with their trickery and to carry out their function of disrupting the militant unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism. How much longer the I. L. P. will be tolerated is a matter of expediency only.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern characterised the present period as a period of maturing revolutionary crises. Fascist attacks upon the living standards of the working class, on their organisations and their political rights, also of increasing resistance by the masses of the proletariat and acute class struggle. Symptomatic of this period are the textile strikes of Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, the Ruhr strike in Germany and the strike movement all over the world, particularly India.

A new revolutionary tide is rising in all the centres of imperialism. Masses of proletarians are breaking away from their old moorings, millions are turning their eyes in sympathy towards the proletarian republics of the Soviet Union. The imperialists may congratulate themselves on having corrupted the bureaucracy of the Social Democracy, but the deeper layers of the Social Democratic masses, as well as the millions of the unorganised proletarians, are more and more looking to the Communist Parties for a way out of the morass and swamps they have been led into by the Social Democratic leaders. The future is pregnant with industrial conflicts.

As we are approaching this coming First of May, the historical day for demonstrating international solidarity of Labour against capital, of class against class, it is well to recount the deeds of the imperialists and their Social Democratic lackeys. This First of May, 1929 should be a day of mobilisation against imperialist war, against Social Democracy, against White Terror and Fascism, it should be a day of preparation for International Day against imperialist war (August 1st.). The Communists will remain true to Marx, Lenin and the best traditions of international labour. They will demonstrate on Wednesday, the first day of May for international labour solidarity, for defence of the proletarian republics of the Soviet Union, the citadel of the social revolution, for defence of the oppressed peoples of China, India and the teeming millions of colonial slaves. This first of May will be the culmination of the campaign in honour of the X Anniversary of the Communist International.

**Long live the First of May and World Communism!**

In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will: these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society — the real foundation, on which rise the legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

**Marx: Preface to "Critique of Political Economy".**

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### Abortive Attempt at Disruption by the Finnish Reformists.

By A. J. Sm.

The Finnish union of paper workers held its annual Conference at the beginning of April in Tammerfors. This union is one of the few unions in Finland which hitherto were dominated by the social democrats. At the election of delegates the reformists did everything in order to retain their position. But all in vain; all the proposals of the Left were adopted by a majority of six to eight votes.

On the last day, when the election of the Executive Committee was to have taken place, the leader of the social democrats rose and called upon his supporters to leave the hall. 27 delegates followed him, 40 remained behind and continued the proceedings. In the meantime the revolutionary majority had elected a committee which was to have negotiated with the delegates who had run away from the Congress. Finally the minority returned and declared that they would not take part in the further proceedings. They however reserved to themselves the right to demand the convocation of a second Conference, and for the rest to act as they thought fit. After long negotiations the Committee succeeded in getting the minority to abandon their sabotage, but they nevertheless put forward very exorbitant demands. In order to deprive the reformists of the desired opportunity to disrupt the union, the representatives of the majority were prepared to yield on many points and made the greatest concessions. Of the nine seats in the Executive Committee they gave the recalcitrant minority four, including the post of president of the union: the general secretary belongs to the minority.

This extraordinary compliance and tolerance on the part of the revolutionary wing is, as we see, the exact opposite of that which the reformists practise wherever they have the majority. They use their majority most ruthlessly in order to strengthen their position and do not make the least concession to the minority. The reformists of other countries are not ashamed to defend the dictatorial actions of the reformist minority as if it were something quite a matter of course. A representative of the Swedish brother union who was present openly boasted of it in the social democratic press, and is very proud of the "the firm attitude" of his Finnish comrades. In view of this fact it is very interesting to note what occurred at the Annual Conference of the Swedish paper workers last year. On that occasion the opposition had 108 votes against 128 of the social democrats, although the opposition, as a result of the system of election which favours the small local groups, actually represented the absolute majority of the members.

Nevertheless the two representatives of the opposition were thrown out of the Executive Committee by the majority; the strong opposition fraction was not given a single seat in the executive committee. In spite of this it never occurred to the opposition to sabotage the Conference or to submit conditions to the reformist majority. On that occasion the reformists considered it a matter of course that they should fill all the posts with their supporters; and the whole of their party press howled with joy over the "complete exclusion of the followers of Moscow". A comparison between their behaviour in Sweden and at the Conference of the Finnish union shows once again that the reformists are in favour of majority rule only when they happen to be in the majority.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Latvian Social Democrats as Aiders and Abettors of Fascism.

By Valentin Olberg.

The attempt to outlaw the worker-and-peasant fraction of the Latvian Parliament by means of forged Comintern letters has failed. The reactionaries, however, are continuing their provocatory policy, and in this connection the Social Democrats have done them good service.

A certain Assar called attention in the Social-Democratic press to the Malinovski incident. Malinovski, it will be remembered, figured as a Bolshevik deputy of the Tsarist Duma but subsequently turned out to be an agent provocateur of the political police. "It may be," wrote the Social Democrat Assar "that there is such another among the Left deputies". This sagacious writer bases his "discovery" on the fact that there are just as many Left deputies in the Latvian Parliament as there were in the Duma, viz. six. By such means as these, the Social Democrats are trying to discredit the Workers' and Peasants' Party and to undermine its influence on the working class.

The entire bourgeois press welcomes the provocatory attitude of the Social Democrats. The "Visjaunakais", the organ of the Fascists, reports that "this fact was known long ago." The Social Democrats have provided the Fascists with "material", which the Fascists are not slow to use.

The working class of Latvia indignantly repudiates the provocation of the Social Democrats, rightly appraising their policy, which is directed towards assisting the reactionary Government to prepare a "peaceful transition to Fascism".

The immediate danger of a Fascist upheaval in Latvia is not quite so acute as it was in the autumn of 1928. The Fascists have no reason to attack the bourgeois bloc. Every wish of the Fascist Ministers is fulfilled as it is. With a view to strengthening the position of the reactionary Government, the Fascists are preparing the presidential campaign.

Latvia is one of those Republics in which the constitution provides for an election of the President of the State by the Diet. This is what the Fascists attack. The President, they maintain, is too weak in his relation to the Government; he ought to be elected by the people and have his prerogatives extended. In this way a "strong administrative authority" is to be constructed. This expression was coined by the Tsarist Prime Minister Stolypin and repeated by the present Latvian Prime Minister Zelmis in the Government declaration.

In its fight against reaction, the labour movement may be said to be advancing. This is borne out by statistics. In 1926 there were 53 strikes in Latvia, in 1927 95; and in 1928 179. Almost all these strikes were conducted by the Left. In part it was found possible to carry through the demands of the workers. Gradually, the Left trade unions again came into being. The total of their members is on the increase. The influential Union of Latvian Ex-Service Men, which until recently was a Social Democratic stronghold, has been radicalised and now adheres to the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

The reactionaries are endeavouring by all means at their disposal to destroy the leaders of the anti-Fascist fight. In the Latvian prisons the political prisoners are terribly tortured. On March 31st, a workman was tortured to death in the police prison, the issue of the "Stradnieku Darbs un Maize" (the Workers' and Peasants' organ) which reported on this incident, being confiscated.

Thus the near future is likely to show a further accentuation of the class struggle in Latvia.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Forward! Women Workers!

Prepare for May-Day, the Red World-Festival!

By Clara Zetkin.

The Communist International calls upon the proletarians, the workers of all the world, to make the first of May their day, to make it into a day characteristic of themselves, wherever and in whatever form they assemble, not only as plaintiffs and accusers in opposition to imperialist capitalism and the bourgeois order of society, but also as fighters and victors. On the occasion of this gigantic demonstration of forces for the defeat of the exploiting and enslaving rule of property, the women of the proletariat, the women workers, must not be absent. At the time of the triumph of capitalist rationalisation, they are more than ever the cruelly oppressed victims of the ruling powers of exploitation, both directly in their character as workers and earners and indirectly in the rôle of housewives and mothers. The voice of the Communist International, sounding in their ears with its rousing cry and speaking to their souls with its admonishing appeal, gives expression, in many tongues, to the suffering, the desire, and the hope, but also to the implacable fighting spirit of innumerable millions of women who hate capitalism as their deadliest foe and welcome Communism as their liberator.

With the Red October of 1917, the historical reckoning commenced between the exploited and enslaved classes and nations on the one hand and their exploiters and taskmasters, the imperialists and capitalists, on the other. The ups and downs of this gigantic struggle dominates our times. Since its first great and irreparable defeat at the hands of the heroic Russian proletariat, world capitalism has been fighting with all the means of force and violence at its command for the consolidation and permanent establishment of its rule. It carries to inhuman extremes the exploitation and oppression of its wage-slaves of both sexes and of all those whom it has enslaved in the regions of its greatest development, the colonies and semi-colonial areas. By means of the competitive struggle for the world market and for world hegemony among the individual imperialist states, it entails the possibility of renewed massacres, in comparison with which the horrors of the 1924—1918 period would seem insignificant. Its will to destroy the first workers' state is only too apparent, for the Soviet Union is the feared and hated symbol of proletarian world revolution.

The great historical events intervene roughly but decisively in the destiny of the women workers and their dependents. They influence the conditions in which the women workers live, the onus of trials and sorrows which oppress them, and the anxiety with which they look forward to the future. The women of the working population feel how fatal the rule of the banking and financial magnates, of the trusts and monopolies, is to them and theirs. Even more essential for them than the alleviation of the burning necessities of daily life, is their liberation from this dire bondage. It is the hard facts of daily experience which on the first of May will rally the women of the proletariat around that banner which the various sections of the Communist International hold aloft over the militant, the downtrodden, and the disinherited. It is these facts which in manifold forms dictate in the various countries the demands of the exploited and enslaved masses and before all the great and general international slogans of this year's May demonstrations: fight, never-tiring economic and political fight for the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers, for the extension and consolidation of their power and their rights, for the increase of their defensive and offensive capacity against capitalism. War by all possible means against the imperialist war-menace, war for the national right of self-determination of the nations, and in particular an active support of the social-revolutionary workers' and peasants' movements in the colonies and semi-colonial regions, and a protective alliance with the Soviet Union!

Innumerable women must be induced by these slogans to join their militant brothers in all countries. They have before them an incentive and an example in the women workers of the Soviet Union, who are faithful to their glorious traditions. When in pre-war times the proletariat of Tsarist Russia.

including Russian Poland, could not be impeded by the whips of the Cossacks, by imprisonment, exile, and the gallows from celebrating the first of May with revolutionary demonstrations, women workers figured in their foremost ranks. In the revolutionary lights of the Red October and in the heroic times of the civil war, the blockade, and the imperialist interventions, the Soviet State was cemented and maintained by the blood, the achievements, and the sacrifices of women as well as of men.

Hundreds of thousands of proletarian women, peasant women, and female workers of all kinds will turn out in the Soviet Union on the first of May, not so as to boast with their well-earned laurels of their rights and achievements in the service of Socialist construction, but solemnly and triumphantly to vow to carry on the work they have commenced in the interest of the destruction of capitalism. The tasks are gigantic, and yet more gigantic the difficulties, which the women engaged in the construction of Socialism have taken upon themselves to cope with and which cannot be mastered without their conscious, willing, and efficient aid in all spheres of social life, from the factory and the field to the State organisation of economy, from the village Soviets to the highest Soviet authorities, and from the peasant school to the University. But it is not only as constructors that the women of the realm of proletarian dictatorship will demonstrate on May 1st; they will also appear as fully armed fighters, willing and able to defend their achievement. Through the whirring of the wheels and the clanking of the hammers of the peacefully constructing Soviet Union, we can hear the rattling of sabres from within the confines of the capitalist countries. The lust for conquest on the part of the world-imperialists will, however, also find the women workers ready and armed to defend the sacred soil and the sacred achievements of the proletarian revolution by all means at their disposal and to the last spark of their energy. They are aware that they are called upon to defend the proud fortress of the proletarians and of the exploited workers of the world, which is a living source of strength for the proletarian world revolution.

Faith for faith! The determined international solidarity of the proletarian women, of the women workers in the regions governed by imperialist capitalism, must be on a level with that of their sisters of the Soviet Union. It will find expression on May 1st, the great mobilisation-day for a defensive alliance with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Is not this State of proletarian dictatorship the one and only country in the world in which women can stand upright, freed from the chains of class and sex slavery? Here the legislative acts proclaiming this liberty of woman, gain a creative force by reason of economic, political, and cultural institutions and new social forms of life, which enable woman's rights and woman's liberty to mature into truth and practice. Women workers of all lands, come out in your legions, so as to manifest on the first of May your indomitable will to defend, in the existence and in the prosperity of the Soviet Union, the convincing historical example of the full social and human equality of the female sex, which, at the same time, is the first great attempt to bring down evolutionary Socialism from the airy heights of thought to the arrow basis of social conditions. Truly an unparalleled creative task.

The international community of destiny among the exploited and enslaved workers of the world is felt in defeat as in victory. Impulses sustained by the socialistically constructive Soviet Union could be defeats for the proletariat of the world, just as its victories would be victories for the proletarians of all lands. The bondage or freedom of the female sex is involved in this state of affairs. Within the limits of every imperialist state the armaments and armaments against the Soviet Union must be invented, and that by a persistent and passionate fight on the part of the proletariat, a hand-to-hand struggle against the capitalist forces, including the reformist henchmen of the bourgeois rulers. Woe to the women of the working population who allow themselves to be fooled by reformist illusions into abandoning their duty and their honour, which consists in taking part in this great fight, a fight for food and dwellings and at the same time a fight for the conquest of State power.

The enemies of the young proletarian State, which is determined to realise Socialism undeterred by dangers and discouraged by difficulties, are also the enemies of the liberty and welfare of the women workers and their class. They are the male plutocrats, who by rationalisation have driven the woman worker, the female clerk, and the teacher out into the streets as soon as they were felt to be superfluous, after having de-

prived them, by longer working hours and more intensive work, of their last atom of muscle, nerve, and brain power, which they have transformed into profit for themselves. This is the lot already experienced by many a father of a family among both hand and brain workers. In town and village, the usurious monopolists and trust capitalists plunder the housewives; the State which is dependent on these individuals increases expenditure and misery by taxes and duties; unbearable housing conditions oppress the women; what the wife of the small farmer sows the landlord or the mortgage-creditor is sure to reap. The rich and super-rich leaves the mothers of the working population in pregnancy and childbed without the necessary care, nay, often without sufficient food, neglectful of their duty to care for and foster the coming generation. Not only the mothers but the children too are cast into a state of degrading cultural poverty, for culture is a privilege of them that can pay for it. A handful of big landowners are the masters and usufructors of economy; the bourgeois order of society, and the State with its laws, its institutions, and its armed forces are their instruments for maintaining the exploitation and bondage of the working masses. The power of property treads democratic law under foot; day by day worry and starvation make this fact more apparent to the exploited men and women. The prospective "solution" of the Reparations question will shortly convince them again thereof. For the broad masses, the final outcome of the bargaining and haggling on the part of the sly experts and double-faced statesmen of the imperialist countries concerned will consist in yet heavier taxes, greater exploitation and oppression, and a more imminent war-danger. For both the desire for conquest and the competitive aims of the imperialists in the various capitalist states are bound to increase. This, moreover, is not in contradiction to the much-praised policy of Locarno, the aims of the League of Nations, and the international twaddle about disarmament at Geneva, but rather a logical outcome of those hoaxes, which are meant to lull to sleep the will to fight on the part of the workers. Keep your eyes open, therefore, women of the proletariat, and your fists clenched!

This year's May demonstration on the part of the proletariat in the capitalist states will be under the shadow of increasing economic and political struggles, closely entwined with one another. In these struggles the last steps taken by the ruling bourgeoisie are in the direction of terrorism and Fascism. The reply of the proletariat, both men and women, must be: a fight in spite of everything! A fight to the finish, unto the victory of the proletarian world-revolution. On the first of May this object will unite the working women of the old capitalist countries both with the Socialist builders of the Soviet Union and with their sisters in the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial regions. From the north-west of Africa to the extreme east of Asia, they are the merciless ground victims of imperialist capitalism. By means of old traditions, conceptions, and conventions, the capitalists succeed in turning the sex-bondage of women to their own account, subjecting the women workers to unlimited exploitation and forcing them to submit to working conditions which are devoid of the last remnant of humanity. In Morocco and Egypt, wherever capitalism has made its appearance and set up its rule, the women have proved themselves willing to fight for the rights of their nation, their class, and their sex, and to sacrifice themselves on their behalf. The revolutionary women workers and peasants give us examples of bravery that defies death. A passionate insurrection of the women of the East, of the colonial and semi-colonial countries has commenced. It is fed by hatred of imperialist capitalism and carried forward by enthusiasm for the humane work of the Russian revolution. It releases forces of world revolution. The armies of workers that assemble on May 1st in their demonstration against capitalism, will not forget this fact.

In the summer of 1929 40 years will have passed since the foundation congress of the Second International in Paris passed a solemn resolution for the purpose of a common action every 1st of May. These 40 years comprise a decisive period of social development from capitalism to Communism and thus also a period in the maturing of the social conditions in which the masses of working women rose from the low level of their class and sex slavery to a freer form of humanity on a basis of liberty and equality. Within this period, the women, longing for liberty, experienced the mania of destruction and devastation which characterised the late war and with it the treachery

and miserable failure of the Second International. It destroyed their hopes that it would ever lead them and their class onward to the overthrow of the bourgeois rule and the bourgeois order of society. In addition to this disappointment, came the bitter experience of the reformist policy and of coalition governments. The reformist policy presents the women with stones instead of bread. Are they simply to go on bearing their lot, fooled by the reformist superstition that the ravaging wolf of organised capitalism can ever turn into a mildly grazing lamb? Nevermore! The October victory of the Russian proletariat and its continued existence in the newly-constructed Soviet State are proofs of the maturity of the women workers' class and sex for an emancipating and socially creative revolution.

With their eyes fixed on these great events and on the great object in view, the workers must make their demonstration on May 1st into a real step forward. It must spell extension, enhancement, and accentuation of their fight. The force and the determination of the women, too, must help to make it a step forward towards the international spring-time of proletarian revolution, throwing wide the doors to the Communist order of society. The revolutionary May-demonstrations of the proletariat before the war were the first shafts of the rising sun of revolution. The Red October of 1917 was the promising forerunner of the May day of the proletarian revolution of all the world. Forwards, proletarian women, women workers of the world, forward to meet the Red May day!

## The VI. National Women's Conference of the C. P. of Austria.

By Anna Strömer (Vienna).

On March 24th of this year there was held at Vienna, the sixth National Women's Conference of the Communist Party of Austria. The first task of the Conference was to review what had been done or left undone since the last National Women's Conference in June 1927, to promote and spread the recruiting and training work among the working women and, in addition, to work out the directives for future work among the women, in accordance with the resolutions of the X. Party Conference.

The delegates had to express their opinion on the activity of the Central Women's Section and also to submit their own reports upon their work in the direction of extending to the proletarian women the slogan of the Party: "To the masses!"

The most important subjects discussed at this conference were: How are the working women to be brought systematically into the fight against Fascism and the threatening danger of war; what is the position of the Austrian working women and what tasks arise therefrom for the C. P. of Austria? The armament mania of the imperialists, which would have Austria, too, in the general fighting front against the Soviet Union, the attacks of the Fascists, who support the endeavours in this direction -- call for measures of defence from all workers, including the women. According to the plans of the warmongers, which have already been carried through in France, the women, too, are to be forced into the war-service machine. The subjecting of the women in the munitions factories and other works making war materials to military law, which was attempted in Austria towards the end of the last war, is now to be prepared everywhere and employed ruthlessly. The "soldiers behind the front", the women in the factories, are to be treated in case of "refusal to obey orders" (strike) just the same as are the soldiers at the front.

To mobilise the women against this imminent danger is an urgent task of the Communist Party, and to demonstrate to them the fighting methods to be used against this danger was the special task of the conference. For Fascism, too, is trying to extend its fighting front with women: The women are being compelled to withdraw from the class trade union and join the Fascist trade union, the Home Defence Organisation. By means of factory newspapers it is endeavoured to bring the working girls and women ideologically under the spell of Fascism.

A very interesting and lively debate followed the stirring and significant report on the position of the Austrian working women and the tasks of the C. P. of Austria. At this point the factory women entered with enthusiasm into the discussion. A

woman labourer in the building trade, Comrade Chmelik, reported on the rationalisation and payment methods in the building trade:

"A job which was formerly done by 100 workmen and 6 women labourers is now done by one machine, 12 men and 2 women. While the men are on piece-work and are paid accordingly, the women labourers have also to work on piece-work, but they must be satisfied with a weekly wage, so that the ratio of the wages of the women to those of the men is as 1:3. In addition, the female labourer gets from the man with whom she works 3 to 4 Austrian schillings a week as a tip! (1 Austrian schilling is equal to about 7½ d.) The women labourers have for dinner every day, year in and year out, nothing but a cup of coffee and a little vegetable."

Another working woman, Korczag, an operative in a knit-goods factory related:

"In the year 1919 I used to sew 25 big jackets or 30 little jackets per day; to-day I have to sew 40 to 50 costumes -- jacket and skirt -- per day. And even at this we are too slow for our employers, who ask us whether we come to the factory to sleep and tell us we should be thrown out. This is the customary tone in which we are spoken to throughout the day."

The dreadful work of the out-workers is described by Comrade Schremser:

"To make a little box 49 movements are necessary. The payment for 1000 boxes is S 1.50. A woman working from early morning until late at night at this work and helped by two children is able to earn S 9.— a week."

Another example was mentioned of the "understanding" of a Social-Democratic trade-union leader for the sufferings of the women workers: A woman was ordered to go to a job for S 16 a week, a wage which is no better than the employment dole, at a place which could be reached only after a journey of several hours. Upon her refusing to take the job she was deprived of unemployment benefit for one year. When she complained to the Social-Democratic trade-union secretary, this gentleman said: "Yes, you've ruined the factory at Strebersdorf through your demands, and you must now take whatever comes along."

A domestic servant (Fabian, Graz) informed the conference:

"Our lot is the most miserable of all. It is bitterly hard to be from early morning to late at night at the beck and call of the mistress; especially at a monthly wage of 25 to 30 schillings. The legally prescribed day-out is spent in running errands for the mistress, and on Sundays we are always told to get back in time to prepare supper for the family!"

The directives, which the Communist Party had worked out for the work and the fight of the toiling women and had submitted to the conference for consideration, were adopted enthusiastically.

The report of the Central Women's Section, which was delivered to the conference, proved that in a quiet way a good deal of party work had been accomplished during the past year covered by the report. For the training of comrades, special courses for women had been held and had all been well attended.

The "Arbeiterin" (Working Woman), a monthly paper published by the Communist Party, is steadily gaining popularity among working women, and the wish was expressed that a women's page should appear in the "Rote Fahne" (Red Flag).

Of the membership role of the Party in Vienna 26.9 per cent are women, and a relatively high percentage of them take an active part in the work of the Party. To further train for the fight the female forces already gained and to mobilise auxiliary troops for the decisive battle against capital is now an urgent task, which the C. P. of Austria will fulfil.

### CORRECTION.

In our last week's number the extract from the "Pravda" article on the visit of the representatives of British Industry to Russia, owing to an oversight, appeared under the title: "The British Trade Union Delegation in Soviet Russia." The title course should have read "The British Trade Delegation in Soviet Russia". Ed.