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Conference of the European Communist Parties for Preparation of the International Fighting Day against Imperialist War.

Statement of the West-European Bureau of the Comintern on the Conference.

1. On the 16th of May there was held in Brussels a Conference convened by the West-European Bureau of the Comintern, in which representatives of 13 of the most important Communist Parties of the European capitalist countries, among them being 6 illegal Parties, as well as representatives of the Young Communist International and of the Red International of Labour Unions took part.

2. At the beginning of the Conference a representative of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany delivered an informative report on the May events in Berlin, whereupon the Conference decided to convey by means of an appeal its brotherly greetings of solidarity to the Berlin working class. The Conference further demanded of all Parties that they systematically continue the international campaign of enlightenment regarding the bloody terror of German social-fascism in the May days and further strengthen and extend the solidarity actions of the international proletariat for the struggle of the German workers against the

repressive measures of the German bourgeoisie and of the social-fascists.

3. The chief question engaging the attention of the Conference was the preparation of International Fighting Day against Imperialist War, the holding of which was decided by the VI. World Congress of the Communist International in August last. Already in March of this year a Conference in Berlin, which was attended by 14 European Communist Parties, decided to fix the international fighting day for the 1st of August, 1929.

A. After hearing the reports of all the Parties represented, the Conference recorded that the preparations for 1st of August have everywhere been initiated and that the May demonstrations of the Communist Parties, especially the demonstrations of solidarity following upon the Berlin May events, in many European towns were already characterised by preparations for the International Fighting Day against war.

The Conference pointed to the inadequate extent and the unsystematic character of preparatory work, and considered it necessary that the greatest activity of the Parties be concentrated upon the carrying out of the anti-war campaign and that a complete mobilisation of the whole membership from top to bottom be achieved.

The most important presumption for the successful carrying out of the anti-war campaign is the most ruthless overcoming and extermination of all Right and conciliatory tendencies within the Communist Parties, as well as the passivity which exists in certain sections of the Parties, which in reality is only the expression of the concealed and therefore the more dangerous opportunism, of retreat and capitulation in face of new revolutionary fighting tasks. The success of the action is guaranteed only on condition that the Parties clearly realise the enormous importance of the organisation of this campaign and of the leading role of the Communist advance-guard.

In order to achieve this it is necessary:

To discuss the question of preparation of 1st of August at all Conferences, Party Congresses as well as at all sessions of the leading Party organs (Central Committees, District Committees etc.) for the purpose of a systematic control over the course of the campaign and its leadership.

To conduct an inner-Party discussion of all the questions connected with the campaign, especially in the factory nuclei; to concentrate the best forces of the Party upon the big factory nuclei, especially in the war munition works; systematically to control the work of these nuclei and of the composition of their committees.

B. The basis for the conduct of the anti-war campaign is furnished by the resolution of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International on the Struggle against the Imperialist War, which ought to be made popular not only within the Parties but beyond it in the whole working class, and whose Leninist directives ought to become a keen weapon of the proletariat in the fight against imperialist war. The new practical proposals for the carrying out of the campaign which were made at the Conference, were summed up in instructions to the Parties, of which we mention the following:

In view of the circumstance that the organisation of the imperialist war against the Soviet Union has entered an immediately acute stage, which is clearly revealed by recent events, by the intensified campaign against Moscow on the part of the international bourgeoisie, as well as by the unconditional going over of Germany, under the ideological and organisational leadership of the social democracy, to the anti-Soviet front, the chief aim of the campaign must be to mobilise the broadest masses of workers and all toilers for the defence of the Soviet Union. Connected therewith is the mobilisation of the masses for Communism, against social fascism.

It is necessary, both in the preparation and in the carrying out of the international fighting day, to gather the broadest masses of the workers in the factories and in all proletarian mass organisations into a united front from below and to set up united front organs of these masses. In contradiction to the incitement of the international social democracy regarding a "bloody push" and an "insurrection" of the Communists, the appeal of the Communist Parties for the fighting day on 1st of August is an appeal for political mass demonstrations of the working masses of all countries against the imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. Cessation of work and mass demonstrations on the 1st of August must be the forms employed for the carrying out of this day. The fighting day of 1st of August must be the expression and culmination of a systematic campaign, comprising the broad masses, against the danger of war, and at the same time the starting point for the further mass struggles of the proletariat against the imperialist war and the imperialist system in general.

C. The Parties are confronted with the following tasks in agitation, propaganda and organisation:

Sharpest struggle against social democracy, exposing its role as organisers of the war against the Soviet Union, especially stigmatising the "Left" social democracy. Proof of the most rapid development of social democracy towards social fascism. Proof of the close connection between the terror against the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat and the war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Intensified struggle against fascism, both against factory fascism and against the fascist defence organisations. Demon-

stration of the necessity of a struggle against fascism and for the prevention of the imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

Sharp struggle against the pacifist illusions within the working class and against pacifist propaganda.

Inclusion of the toiling peasant masses and of the nationally suppressed masses into the revolutionary united front in the anti-war campaign.

In the carrying out of the whole campaign special attention must be devoted to the mobilisation of the masses of the unorganised, the unemployed as well as of the toiling emigrants.

Carrying out of a broad recruiting campaign for the Party and for the red trade unions, for the revolutionary trade union opposition and the sympathising organisations.

Mobilisation of all revolutionary mass organisations of the proletariat for the campaign; promotion and extension of the revolutionary points of support in the reformist trade unions; bringing about of resolutions by the oppositional local branch committees, trade councils, locals etc. against the anti-Soviet campaign of the social democrats and of the bourgeoisie; greatest comprehension of and instructions to the red trade unions; extension of the defence organisations of the working class such as Red Front Fighters' League, A. R. A. C. etc., making use of the non-Party mass organisations (International of the Ex-Servicemen, League of the Friends of the Soviet Union etc.) and the creation of such organisations in those countries where they do not as yet exist.

Creation of revolutionary points of support in the war industries and at the centres of traffic (railways, navigation, transport, air transport etc.); extension of the system of revolutionary functionaries in all factories.

Organisation of factory delegate conferences (on a local, district and national scale) for the inclusion of the broadest masses of the toilers into this campaign; election of anti-war committees at these conferences and the central organisation of the same.

Drawing of working women and young workers into the campaign; convening of conferences of working women and young workers and election of their representatives into the anti-war committees.

The Parties must energetically organise collections among the masses and in the factories for the international anti-war fund.

Adaptation of the Parties to the tasks of the struggle against partial and total prohibitions; increased struggle for the streets, for freedom of demonstrations and assemblies. The struggle against the prohibition of the Communist Parties and of all revolutionary organisations must be organised on a broad basis, especially in the factories. In this connection it is important to make use of the experiences of the German Party, especially of its struggle against the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters' League.

For the gradual development and enhancement of the campaign it is necessary, in preparing the anti-war day, to make use of all "jubilees" of the bourgeoisie and of the social democracy, as well as of the proletarian and revolutionary commemoration days, to enlighten the masses and to carry out demonstrations (demonstrations in commemoration of the victims of the Paris Commune on May 26th, of 15th July in Vienna, the day of the conclusion of the Versailles Treaty, of the 14th of July in France etc.).

Systematic elucidation in the press of the Communist Parties of all the questions bound up with the preparation of war against the Soviet Union.

Making use of the Parliamentary tribune for exposing the war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Adaptation of the factory newspapers and of the worker correspondent movement to the revolutionary struggle against War. Preparation of popular mass leaflets on imperialist policy and the war armaments in every country.

D. All these measures must be applied and carried out by the Parties from the central point of view of the struggle for the majority of the proletariat. They must pursue the special aim of exposing the petitions campaign of the II. International and the demonstrations on the 4th of August planned by the various social democratic parties.

The organisational experiences which the Communist Parties will acquire in the process of the extension of the campaign must be the most important presumptions for the systematic development of the illegal work of the Parties during imperialist war.

4. The Conference received a short account of the situation in India and the revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement in India, and resolved to send international fighting greetings to the striking textile workers of Bombay.

5. In conclusion the Conference decided to address the following appeal to all workers and to all members of revolutionary mass organisations to participate in the preparation and carrying out of the 1st of August:

APPEAL OF THE WEST-EUROPEAN BUREAU OF THE C. I. FOR THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

"Workers, members of the trade unions! Do not permit the trade union bureaucracy to convert the organisations created by you into instruments for the support of war! Take part together with us in the struggle against war and its organisers! Take part in the preparation of the anti-war day!

"Young workers of the whole world! Fight under the banners of the Young Communist International in the front ranks against imperialist war and militarism which is threatening you most of all!

"Million masses of the women! Join the red class front against the war!

"Workers, members of the sports organisations! Your place is in our ranks for the fight against war and war danger!

"Workers, members of all mass organisations! You must realise that the hour of war is approaching with lightning rapidity! Do not believe the pacifist liars and social democratic deceivers! Close your ranks under the sign of the revolutionary struggle against war!

"Working peasants of all countries! Set up a powerful workers' and peasants' alliance for the common struggle with the working class against the threatening imperialist war!

"Nationally oppressed toilers of all countries! Oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies! We call upon you to unite all the organisations created by you for the common struggle in the anti-imperialist front under the sign of the anti-war day, organised by the Communist International!"

Brussels, 18th May 1929.

The West-European Bureau of the Communist International.

POLITICS

The Significance of the May Day Events in Berlin.

By R. L. Worrall (London).

The recent brutal repression of the Berlin workers on May Day is highly significant from a revolutionary point of view. The determination of the police to prevent outdoor demonstrations was not a whim or fancy of Zörgiebel, the "socialist" chief of police, nor was it a desire "to prevent the bloodthirsty intentions of communist provocateurs inspired from Moscow". The violence arose from the fact that in Germany a revolutionary situation is fast approaching, and is finding its reflection in unusually harsh repressive measures on the part of the German bourgeoisie.

The ruling class of Germany is finding itself in difficulties, and is seeking to terrorise the workers into submission so that the difficulties may be overcome by more intense exploitation and eventually by war. May Day was taken by the bourgeoisie as a favourable occasion for a trial of strength by means of a prohibition of the usual demonstrations.

The truth of this can be proved by an application of Leninist theory to the present position in Germany. Lenin described the leading signs of a revolutionary situation as follows:

1. "The impossibility of the ruling classes to preserve their domination without a change of form. ... political crisis of the ruling class.

2. The more than usual increase of the needs and misery of the exploited classes.

3. The marked growth of the activity of the masses ... independent historical action."

Let us apply this to the politico-economic position in Germany, taking first the question of the conditions and needs of the workers, the exploited class.

With regard to real wages, without allowing for unemployment, the general level at the beginning of 1929 was slightly below the pre-war level in the case of skilled workers, while for unskilled workers it was somewhat above the pre-war level¹⁾. This however does not give any idea of the increased needs and misery of the workers who are subjected to the strain of far more intense work by the speeding up process of rationalisation. As compared with pre-war the labour of German workers has been intensified by 30 to 40 per cent.²⁾.

Arising partly from rationalisation, and partly from a business decline, there is a vast increase in unemployment. On December 1st, 1928 the number of unemployed in receipt of relief (including emergency relief) was 1,820,000, being at least half a million above that of one year earlier³⁾. This figure does not include unemployed who receive no relief at all (estimated semi-officially at 10%), nor short time workers, nor juveniles who have not yet been able to start work. Varga estimates that at the end of 1928 there were altogether quite three million unemployed.

With regard to hours of work in Germany it is stated that even in 1927 "89% of the workers were working as a general rule more than eight hours a day⁴⁾".

Since 1927 there have been a series of vicious attacks on working class conditions, causing lockouts and strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers, accompanied by police repressions. These attacks have been met by the determined resistance of the German workers, masses of whom have been drawn into active participation in the class struggle, and are thus helping to create a revolutionary situation.

In the textile industry, in 1928, 50,000 workers were thrown on the streets at Munich-Gladbach by a lockout. By the end of 1928 700,000 textile workers were involved in a wage movement. In Saxony and Thuringia a strike of 35,000 textile workers took place early in 1929.

In the iron industry also tremendous struggles have been occurring. In January 1928 50,000 metal workers of central Germany struck for higher wages. In September 1928 the metal workers in the Rhenish-Westphalian district demanded an increase of 15% in wages. After the case had gone to arbitration the award was flouted by the employers who caused a lockout of over 300,000 workers. This lockout lasted till December 2nd, when the timidity of the trade union leaders led to a settlement by further arbitration with a subsequent worsening of the workers' conditions.

At present there are 1700 workers of the Hennigsdorf Steel Works and Rolling Mills on strike, who have been fighting for three months.

In the shipping industry a strike of over 50,000 shipyard workers, dockers and seamen took place in 1928 in Hamburg, Bremen, Emden, Kiel and Lübeck.

In these struggles revolutionary strike committees have played an important part and masses of workers have been drawn into the fight behind the leadership of the Communist Party.

The assuming of open leadership by the Communist Party in the factories has found strong support from the workers. This is shown by the tremendous success of the Communists in the elections to the Works Councils of Germany in March and April of this year. Thus the working class is engaging more and more in political activity, and is bringing the class struggle to the point of a revolutionary situation.

Is the third sign of a revolutionary situation as described by Lenin becoming apparent in Germany? Is the ruling class finding that it can no longer preserve its domination without a change of form, that is, can it no longer govern in the old way?

¹⁾ Varga, International Press Correspondence, Vol. 9, No. 10, p. 167.

²⁾ I. White, International Labour Movement, March 1st, 1929.

³⁾ Varga, International Press Correspondence, Vol. 9, No. 10, p. 166.

⁴⁾ I. White, International Labour Movement, March 1st, 1929.

A Parliamentary crisis earlier in the year brought evidence of the possibility of such a change. In February the former Reichs-Chancellor Wirth for the first time spoke openly of the threat of fascism. Herman Muller, a social democratic Minister, wrote warnings about fascism in the press. Parties in the Reichstag openly advocated fascism. The bourgeois Stahlhelm organisation demanded a change of the Constitution in the direction of a dictatorship. Other sections of the bourgeoisie called for an extension of the powers of the President of the Reichstag. Altogether there⁵⁾ was much talk of a bourgeois dictatorship of one kind or another, and this talk reflected the growing instability of the Parliamentary system, and therefore of the whole bourgeois democratic method of class domination.

However this crisis in the coalition government was overcome for the time by the taking of three Ministers of the Centre Party into the Cabinet, and by a parliamentary compromise on finance involving a large cut in the expenditure on social services (this with the Social Democratic Party the largest party in the government!).

The overcoming of this crisis was the result on the one hand of the menace to the bourgeoisie of working class militancy, and on the other hand of the desire of the German government to maintain good relations with Great Britain and France at all costs in view of the critical stage of the Reparations Conference.

But another crisis has arisen in Germany, of a financial nature, coincident with the deadlock in the Reparations Conference.

The deadlock led to a "flight from the mark" of small investors and tradesmen, whose nervousness about instability of the currency was added to by deliberately alarmist statements in the Nationalist press about the approach of Germany's financial ruin.

On April 26th the exchange rate rose to 20 marks 58 pfennigs to the pound.

As a result of the fall in the value of the mark telegrams from foreign exporters began arriving in Germany saying that goods could only be delivered to Germany if money accompanied the order, or payments were arranged in foreign exchange.

All of this, to quote the Observer, was "reminiscent of German's inflation period".

In addition there has been a weakening of the financial position of the Reichsbank as a result of heavy losses of gold and foreign currency. The Reichsbank has therefore been obliged to raise its discount rate to 7½%. The heavy losses of gold have been partly due to inability to borrow further large sums of money abroad, which in turn has necessitated the issuing of an internal loan of £ 25,000,000 on exceptionally favourable terms in order to remedy the difficult cash position of the Treasury.

At present the exchange rate has returned to a point more favourable to Germany, but this by no means signifies the end of the financial difficulties in which the German bourgeoisie finds itself. We must therefore again ask the question. Is the German bourgeoisie unable to preserve its domination without a change of form, that is to say, is the third sign of a revolutionary situation now present in Germany?

The answer to this question must be no, the German bourgeoisie is still able to govern in the old way, but a political crisis is being held off by means of the help afforded by the bourgeoisie of other imperialist nations. England and America are giving such support to the German ruling class that the latter is able to suppress the workers under the old bourgeois democratic method of government.

Herr Stresemann himself has referred to "the helpful attitude of the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve Bank⁶⁾". This help has of course been given now, as in the past, in order that the German ruling class may not find itself in difficulties with a revolutionary proletariat.

Revolution in Germany is also being held off by the fact that the German ruling class finds other allies in the Social Democrats, who have been doing everything in their power

to prevent strikes and to weaken the militancy of the German worker. They go further than this in actually encouraging the police in their bloody repressions of workers' demonstrations.

For this reason "the capacity of the revolutionary class to effect mass actions sufficiently powerful to break down or undermine the old government" is curtailed, although it is growing every day.

What then are the lessons to be learnt from this analysis of the situation in Germany?

Firstly it is necessary to prevent as far as possible the bourgeoisie of other imperialist nations from giving help to the German bourgeoisie, which is thereby enabled to hold down the German workers, and is also led to join in the united military front against the U. S. S. R. Only by the workers of Great Britain and America creating difficulties for "their own" bourgeoisie can the German ruling class be isolated and finally overthrown. The aim is to create international solidarity of the working class, and to isolate each section of the ruling class so that it may more easily be destroyed.

Secondly, every effort must be made to expose the deceit and treachery of Social Democracy, which serves as a cloak behind which attacks on the working class and preparations for war are constantly being made.

The task of the Communist Party of Great Britain is extremely important in this connection, and trifling difficulties must not be allowed to prevent vigorous attempts to secure mass demonstrations of protest on the part of the British working class. In this way help will be given in creating the objective conditions necessary for insurrection in Germany, which will be called for by the Communist Party at a time favourable to the working class.

The Danish Coalition Government and its Declared Programme.

By A. H. (Copenhagen).

On May 14th the Stauning-Munch Government set forth its programme in the Danish Folketing. The announcement made mention of "disarmament", modernisation of industry, repeal of the law in defence of the freedom of economy and labour and the like.

As is well known, the Danish Social Democrats have changed their programme since the first "Labour Government" in the direction of a pronounced capitalist policy of stabilisation and reconstruction, while at the same time they have advocated not only a Government Coalition in co-operation with the Radicals, which really came about, but also a coalition policy in general with the prospect of a broader coalition including the Agrarians, the preparations for which are to lie in the direction of a "material collaboration of all the parties of the Riksdag". Apart from the consideration of the Agrarian Party and the coalition interests in the widest sense of the word, there are two important factors making for a conciliation of the tactical differences of the Riksdag parties, viz. the resistance of the Landsting (the Upper Chamber with its agrarian-conservative majority) and the pressure exercised by the foreign capitalists and the imperialist governments of the great Powers, especially Great Britain, France and the United States.

Of characteristic interest in this latter connection was an article in the "Temps" of May 17th. Attention is drawn to the geographical position of Denmark, as Great Britain's point of access to the Baltic. In view of the significance of Denmark in the case of a war against the Soviet Union, it is, in the opinion of this leading imperialist and counter-revolutionary newspaper, by no means a matter of indifference to international public opinion that the Ministry at Copenhagen should be pursuing a policy of disarmament. The "Temps" is greatly surprised that the Radicals should consent to take part in such a "revolutionary" policy, but comforts itself with the fact that the resistance of the Upper Chamber will suffice to prevent the realisation of the project of disarmament.

So as "not to disquiet" the Landsting, the Danish Government has already postponed till the autumn the claim for a repeal of the "jail law" against the trade unions. With a reference to "international public opinion" (for which read the pressure of the imperialist Powers) there will next en-

⁵⁾ William Koenen, International Press Correspondence, Vol. 9, No. 13, p. 220.

⁶⁾ Times (London) May 10th, 1929.

the military-political negotiations with the agrarians with a view to an agreement regarding the reorganisation of the Danish army in keeping with the war preparations against the Soviet Union. The Social Democratic leaders have already declared in favour of negotiations with the Agrarians on the basis of a military budget of 37 or 38 millions, whereas the original proposal of disarmament, which served as a platform of the election-demagogues for the purpose of hoodwinking the masses, envisaged a budget of only 17 millions. Messrs. Stauning, Borgbjorg, and Co., the pronounced agents of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism, knew quite well in advance that there could be a question at most of a modernisation and rationalisation of the Danish army in the service of the imperialist plans of attack, but by no means of any serious disarmament.

The Radical-Social Democratic Coalition Government will not draw the line at employing the "jail law" against the strikes which are bound to break out in consequence of rationalisation. Similarly, the reorganisation of the military defences will be carried on, according to the British recipe, under cover of "disarmament". Both these tasks, the continuation of the capitalist offensive and the war-preparations against the Soviet Union, are fully endorsed by the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats of Denmark.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The General Strike of the Bombay Textile Mills.

By A. G. E. (London).

The General Strike which began on the 26th April and which involved about 140,000 Textile mill workers of Bombay, marks the culminating point of a long period of irritation and consequent sporadic sectional struggles on the part of the workers, ably led by the Girni Kamgar Union (The Red Flag Union as it is called by the workers).

For about eight months last year the heroic mill workers conducted a bitter struggle against the millowners. The terms of settlement, to submit the Standardisation Scheme of the employers and the 17 Demands of the workers to a Government Committee of enquiry, was even then not wholly acceptable to the mass of the workers, and the leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union, in reporting the terms of the settlement to mass meetings exhorted the workers to "organise for resistance" when the report of the inquiry would be published. "This is a period of truce, we must utilise this truce to reorganise our forces for battle" was, in effect, the call of the leaders.

Immediately the workers resumed work it was quite clear that the employers did not intend submitting to the demands of the workers. They instituted new schemes of operations piecemeal, cut wages and wholesale dismissals took place. Members of strike committees and leading members of the Girni Kamgar Union were victimised. Several sectional strikes took place and general resentment expressed against the employers.

Meanwhile the Government took a hand in the game of Law making. Strikes; agitators and workers' newspapers are a menace to the peaceful conduct of industry they argued. It means a loss of profits, therefore steps must be taken to stop this.

The Public Safety Bill has now been imposed. It was forced on its first appearance at the Assembly, to be later forced as part of the Statutes by the ruling of the Viceroy of India, the representative of British Imperialism, the "Democratic" custodian of Indian liberty. This Act legalised what had hitherto been simply acted upon; to transport every non-Indian from the shores of India. (It will be recollected that Comrade George Allison was deported without the necessary enactment.)

The Trades Dispute Act was carried in the Assembly, despite the opposition of many trade union organisations, but accepted "in Parts" (which is the way of reformists) by a number of the reformist leaders of Indian Labour. The intention

of this act is to cripple the revolutionary workers organisations and make possible a tame, pliable, trade union machine suitable to the bosses (just as the British T. U. Act will not be repealed but "amended" by the next Labour Government).

On March 2nd, unable to endure further the repression of the owners, 15,000 workers of the Wadia group of Mills struck work. Their grievances were that 6000 workers had been dismissed and others taken in their place and the strikers demanded their reinstatement and also that of the 17 members of the Mill Committees and the recognition of these Committees which have been functioning since the last strike.

About three days prior to the issuing of the Government Committee of inquiry report — the Fawcett Report — a complete round up took place of the leading and active Trade union leaders all over India. They were charged with "Conspiring against the King". The chief leaders of the Girni Kamgar Union were amongst them. Undaunted the workers declared a stoppage in protest and the members of the Girni Kamgar Union immediately elected a complete new group of officials, mainly from their own ranks, and reopened their offices which had been raided by the police.

The "agitators" and "extremists" having been safely put aside, the findings of the Fawcett Committee was discussed at Conferences of the representatives of the Millowners and the Joint Strike Committee.

This farce could not be prolonged as expressed by a statement read out by the new Secretary of the Girni Kamgar Union to the Conference on April 16th. The Statement dealt with the treatment accorded to the Union and its members by certain individual Mills and maintained that until the grievances referred to had been redressed the representatives of the Union on the Joint Committee were not prepared to continue the discussion on the Fawcett Report.

A letter was issued to the press by the Union declaring that a systematic campaign of victimisation and to destroy the Union, intensified since the arrest of the 31, had been carried on by the owners and that if a satisfactory arrangement was not reached by the 24th a General Strike would be called in the Bombay Mills.

On the 23rd a group of Women strikers demonstrating against blacklegs were assaulted by the police and about 17 women were arrested.

At the discussion of the Report Conference on the 24th the representatives of the Girni Kamgar Union informed the Chairman, Mr. Mody, of the Millowners Association, that as "their demand for taking oral evidence of the various witnesses in each case of alleged victimisation had not been met and as there was no response to their demand for the reinstatement of the workers in the Wadia Group of Mills, they would have to reconsider their position".

Mr. Bakhale, the henchman of the reformists, thereupon stated that this did not commit himself or his union — the Bombay Textile Labour Union — and suggested the appointment of a sub-committee to deal with the question of victimisation raised by the Girni Kamgar Union.

At mass meetings on the 25th the workers of Bombay resolved that "as efforts at compromise had failed the union should declare a General Strike in all the Mills in Bombay at 12 noon on Friday the 26th April". A Leaflet was published in Marathi, giving a resolution of the Managing Committee of the Union as follows:

"Whereas the Millowners Association has been carrying on a hostile propaganda against the Union by making it impossible for the Mill Committees to proceed with their work, by sacking such of the workers as take a prominent part in the activities of the Union, by refusing to receive letters of the Union regarding complaints, by not allowing the collection of Union fees, and whereas the Association has offered a determined opposition to all efforts at compromise and has been audacious enough to refuse to hear the evidence of workers and has insisted upon keeping 5000 workers out of employment, this managing committee resolves that workers should go on General Strike at 12 noon on Friday, and refuse to resume work till their grievances are redressed".

On Thursday evening at mass meetings the workers un-animously decided to obey the instructions of the "Red Flag Union" to go on Strike.

Mr. R. R. Bakhale, the General Secretary of the Labour Union issued a leaflet exhorting the workers not to resort to a General Strike, giving the usual reformist reasons that "a strike was a double edged weapon"; and suggesting that the strike is forced on unwilling workers and that they should not "take a leap in the dark".

On April 27th out of 84 Textile Mills the workers of the Mills of Bombay had downed tools, true to the call of the Girni Kamgar Union, the largest Textile Union in Bombay, with a membership of over 70,000. This was the workers reply to the reformist sabotage. (The Bombay Textile Labour Union according to the official Bombay Labour Gazette has a membership which has decreased from over 8000 during the last quarter to a little over 6000.)

A Strike organisation was immediately set up and picketing commenced; a volunteer force of 400 picked mill hands with their Red Badges were posted around the mills. Day by day leaflets giving instructions and bulletins were issued countering the strike breaking leaflets of the reformists and the employers and contradicting the lies of the press concerning the strike.

On May 1st, a huge and spectacular May Day demonstration organised by the Girni Kamgar Union, was broken up by the Police. A vast concourse had assembled and the **Bombay Chronicle** reporting on the meeting said that the "noteworthy aspect of it was that they were perfectly peaceful and disciplined. That a mere handful of "Red Badge" volunteers could so wonderfully manage such a tumultuous gathering of people spoke volumes for the discipline and organisation of these workers". The meeting lasted for about 2 hours. The police forced the demonstrators into three groups and due to the extreme restraint exhibited by the workers a clash was averted. Again that evening a mammoth meeting was held at which the message of International May Day was given.

On the same day the General Member to the Government of Bombay invited the representatives of the Girni Kamgar Union and the Millowners Association to discuss the strike situation. The six demands, on which no compromise would be accepted, and on the acceptance of which depended the resumption of work:

1. That the policy of victimisation which is being pursued by the owners should immediately stop.
2. All workers who are now on strike including the old operatives in the Wadia Mills should be forthwith reinstated.
3. The Mill Committees should be allowed to function without any impediments being brought in their way.
4. The collection of union funds within the mill premises should not be prohibited.
5. That the Millowners Association should give full recognition to the Girni Kamgar Union.
6. That the owners should put a stop to the surreptitious efforts to crush the Labour unions.

Nothing came of this meeting and the strike is still on, the workers battling against tremendous odds but in magnificent spirit. They are fighting against Law and order; the Trades Dispute Act and its application; the treachery of Joshi, Bakhale and others; the fight against the lies of the press, and worst of all the tremendous loss of their late officials, cast into jail. Despite this the workers are being steeled in struggle, their complete emancipation is not far off. Their struggle is a lesson to British workers who are fighting the same boss the same imperialist statesmen, the same reformist leaders. The lessons are being learnt. There is a great need for strengthening the links of the International revolutionary organisation — the Communist Party — the only Party that will lead the workers to complete emancipation.

The Bombay Textile Strike.

Press Statement of the League Against Imperialism.

The Times has once again attacked the League against Imperialism and has found support for its arguments in the article published in the **Industrial News** of the 7th of March by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress.

This article on the New Textile Strike in Bombay states:

"So far as can be judged, the main cause of the present outburst — for that is what it really is — was a lightning strike by some members of the "Girni Kamgar" Union to which the millowners replied by turning them down. So tens of thousands are brought out to force the reinstatement of the few in circumstances which a little judgement could have avoided."

The General Council has been seriously misinformed, both as to the cause of the dispute and the strength of the organisations. The Girni Kamgar (Millworkers') Union has a membership of over 60,000, not, as stated a few hundreds obtained during the past year, while the old union, the Bombay Textile Workers' Union has, according to the statement of the General Council 8,000 only.

The present strike of 150,000 mill workers in Bombay was called by the Millworkers' Union against victimisation in the Wadia group of mills. On the arrest of the leaders of the Millworkers' Union, together with other Indian leaders a lightning strike took place as a protest against this oppression. The Wadia group victimised members of the Union as a result. The reply of the Girni Kamgar (Millworkers') Trade Union, following the example of the British Trade Unionists under similar circumstances was to call the men out. The response was magnificent. Their leaders arrested, their fellow workers victimised, the textile workers in Bombay are fighting for their rights as Trade Unionists and deserve the support of their fellow trade unionists in Britain.

This strike is not an "outburst", it is the consequence of the events of the past year. The Bombay textile workers went on strike for six months, which was so united, that after ten months, the Bombay Textile Workers' Union, led by N. M. Joshi came into the strike, although on April 19th, Joshi stated that "his union was prepared to look on". This strike was against speeding up and in favour of increase of wages and better conditions. The demands of the employers were for reduction of wages — to the extent of 40% for the weavers — speeding up and no alterations in conditions, although before the end of the strike, these demands were considerably modified.

At the end of six months, the strike ended. The workers went back to work on the same basis as before the strike and the Fawcett Committee of Enquiry was set up, to report on the dispute and give recommendations on the points at issue. This Committee reported on the 23rd of March. On the 29th of March all the militant leaders of the cotton unions were arrested together with many others.

The report of this Committee of Enquiry states "that the millowners demand for 7½% reduction in wages was justified but was not prudent, because the successful working of the proposed standardisation scheme might be endangered through lack of co-operation on the part of the Labour leaders". (Daily Herald, 25/3/29.)

Here is seen the reason for the arrests of the militant leaders of the Indian working class. In order to have "peace in industry" to put through wage reductions and rationalisation.

We emphatically state that this present strike is no "outburst", "engineered" from outside, but the reply of the workers to the attacks by the employers and the Government of India on their organisations and standard of life.

We are confident that British Trade Unionists, who have behind them a century long struggle for the right to organise and for the betterment of their working conditions will stand by their fellow workers in India in this struggle.

Appeal of the Brussels Conference of European Communist Parties to the Workers of India.

At an International Conference representing the Communist Parties of thirteen European capitalist countries, a resolution was unanimously passed sending greetings to the workers of India in their heroic struggle against the combined forces of British imperialism, the exploiters at home and the social reformists in the Metropolis and in India.

Not only the advanced workers of Britain, but the working masses of all Europe are following with admiration the stubborn resistance and the magnificent fight which the Indian workers are putting up against the united front of Baldwin and MacDonald, and their allies, the Indian bosses and the Joshis.

The Indian workers no longer have any illusions about the imperialist aims of the British Labour Party, which has its representatives on the Simon Commission, and which was and will be no less ruthless than the Tory Baldwin Government in oppressing the Indian workers. No more treacherous crime has been committed against the Indian workers than the stab in the back by the T. U. C. General Council, which has come out openly on the side of the worst exploiters of Labour, while 150,000 workers in Bombay are fighting on behalf of their victimised fellow workers.

The Conference pledged its full support to the Indian workers in their great fight against imperialist oppression and against capitalist exploitation.

Long live the heroic toilers of India!

Long live free and independent India!

Long live the Indian Soviet Republic!

In the name of the conference: Bell (England), Thälmann (Germany), Dimitrov (Balkans), Thorez (France), Hansen (Scandinavia), Zapototzky (Czechoslovakia).

Brussels, 16th May 1929.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike of the Agricultural Workers in Slovakia.

By Z a m e k (Prague).

The strike of agricultural workers which has broken out in Slovakia is the outcome of a struggle which began as far back as May 1928. The first onset, characterised by partial strikes and partial results, was followed in October last by renewed endeavours aiming at the proclamation of a **general strike** of the agricultural workers, which, however, ended in a retreat on the part of the strikers. This failure, however, did not break the fighting spirit of the workers, all the less so seeing that the economic conditions of the agrarian working class grew worse and worse.

The 16-hour day, the wage-rate of from 7 to 12 crowns a day, the cruel dwelling conditions of the labourers, and the incredibly low rate of payment of this category of workers all went to constitute an unbearable state of affairs, aggravated by the fact that since the year 1925 there have been no collective contracts for the agrarian workers of Slovakia, so that, by means of individual agreements, the employers were in a position to increase the exploitation of the workers yet more cruelly.

The fight of the agricultural labourers is therefore directed in the first place towards the establishment of **collective contracts**. The demands submitted by the Red Trade Union Federation referred primarily to a rise of from 25 to 40 per cent. in all wage payments in money or kind. The struggle also refers to the **eight-hour working day** and to the system of **functionaries**, at the same time emphatically opposing the existing **parity-commissions**, which constitute a kind of court of arbitration and naturally only serve to protect the interests of the employers. Besides these main demands, a whole series

of economic demands have been put forward, referring to **dwelling conditions**, the contributions to **national insurance**, and to the seasonal workers and day labourers.

Here again the Social-Fascists assumed the rôle of strike-breakers in the preliminary stage of the struggle. The Reformist, Agrarian, and Christian-Social trade unions ranged themselves on the side of the employers in a united front against the Red trade unions and some six months ago concluded a collective contract, which not only rendered possible an average diminution of wages by 10 per cent. and failed to fulfil a single demand of the workers, but also entailed the possibility of a dismissal of 10 per cent. of the agricultural workers from the agricultural concerns in case of a strike. Obviously, this collective contract was not recognised or signed by the Red trade unions. The big landowners, however, called upon their workers to join the Reformist trade unions, since the collective contracts could otherwise find no application to them, as, indeed, the wording of the said contracts expressly points out. The object in view was that of including the agricultural workers in the Reformist strike-breaking organisations and thereby preventing the threatening strike. The contracts also render possible a certain rationalisation, seeing that on November 1st 10 per cent. of the agricultural workers can be discharged.

The fight, which was started on May 12th with the utmost vigour by 14,000 workers, is spreading hourly. The energy of the strikers may be seen by the fact that on a large area the **feeding of the cattle and milking of the cows was instantly suspended**. The fight is carried on entirely on the lines of the new strategy. Apart from the central strike committees, there are committees in every community and on every large estate, which are under the guidance of the Red trade unions and of the Communist Party and are composed mainly of unorganised workers.

Upon the outbreak of the strike, the authorities immediately took all possible steps to strangle the strike. A great number of gendarmes was concentrated in the strike area and is kept in constant readiness. At the same time the authorities received instructions from the Government to assist as far as possible in enabling the landowners to recruit strike-breakers. The consequence of this order was the occupation of a number of dairies by the gendarmes, and in several cases collisions ensued with the strikers. Although the utmost energy is developed in recruiting strike-breakers, no particular results have as yet been attained in this respect. Wherever strike-breakers are at work, operations are ultimately suspended, and the number of strikers has already risen to more than 25,000.

The vigour with which the Fascist bourgeoisie endeavours to strangle the strike may be seen by the fact that **numerous strike-pickets and members of the local strike-committees have been arrested**, as various members of the central strike committee were on the very first day of the strike. Employers and officers of constabulary agree in declaring that, if need be, all the functionaries of the strike will be placed under arrest. Seeing that the strikers are not to be intimidated by threats, the employers declare that they will obtain **military aid** to carry on their work and thus force an issue. It is not to be doubted that recourse will indeed be had to the soldiery, though not only to carry on the work and to protect the activities of the strike-breakers, but also, as in the case of certain former strikes, to establish a state of siege throughout the strike area.

On the other hand, the striking agricultural workers are endeavouring to spread the movement to all agricultural labour in the country.

The bourgeois press, led by the Social-Fascist organs, declare the strike to be irregular since it is being carried on mainly by unorganised workers.

The strike-breaking united front of those organisations which are party to the collective contracts, viz. Social-Fascists, Agrarians, and Christian-Socialists, have applied to the public and to the agricultural workers in a common "appeal" which has been published by a great number of bourgeois journals, from the Reformist "**Robotnicke Noviny**" (Workers' Paper) to the "**Slovak**", the organ of the Slovakian Popular Party. This address contains violent attacks on the Communists and revolutionary workers and closes with an appeal to join the strike-breakers:

"We call upon our members to have no part in this strike. If the employers do not comply with the obligations they have incurred in the collective contracts, apply to your organisations. May be the Communists will resort to terrorism in some places. In such cases you must by all means apply to the authorities and organisations."

The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is making strenuous efforts to ensure stabilisation, to put through rationalisation in industry and agriculture, and to prepare for a war against the Soviet Union. Therefore Fascism is spreading like wild fire. In the last few weeks the bourgeoisie has been emphasising the necessity of agrarian, as well as industrial, peace. In keeping with the slogan of the recent Congress of the Agrarian Party ("No need of strikes in agriculture"), the chairman of the Party, ex-Premier Svehla, declares that all the Fascist forces of the rural districts must be mobilised against the united revolutionary front of the industrial proletariat, the revolutionary poor, and the proletariat of the villages. Against this slogan of "No strikes in agriculture" and against the principle of "agrarian peace", the rural districts must now mobilise all their revolutionary forces, not only to fight for the economic demands of the workers but also to fight against Fascism and against the war-preparation of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie.

The struggle of the Slovakian agricultural workers is a proof of the fact that the process of merging of the Czech, the Slovakian, and the Magyar bourgeoisie is accompanied by a radicalisation of the working masses in Slovakia. It proves that in the face of the uniform class-front of the bourgeoisie and the Social-Fascists the class-front of the revolutionary workers of town and country is vigorously developing and is likely to form an obstacle in the path of the bourgeoisie on its way to a Fascist upheaval.

Therein lies its great political importance. Hence the mobilisation of all forces of Fascist reaction with a view to keeping it down.

To the Land and Forest Workers of all Countries!

(Appeal of the International Committee for Propaganda and Action of Revolutionary Land Workers.)

The Agricultural workers of Czechoslovakia are entering upon a difficult phase of struggle to improve their position. On May 14th 7,000 workers in the provinces of Slovakia came out on strike. This strike is the forerunner of a mass movement of the agricultural workers, in the first place of the agricultural workers of Slovakia, Bohemia and Moravia.

The Czechoslovakian workers are fighting for their vital demands: for wage increases, shortened working day and the introduction of social insurance.

Not only the organised agrarians, who knew full well that the workers' struggle was inevitable and began to prepare armed fascist bands, are opposing the fighting workers. The police likewise before the outbreak of the strike carried out a series of raids and arrests. Many secretaries and leading workers of the trade union organisation of agricultural and forestry workers have been arrested. The police terror will undoubtedly still further increase now when the strike has been declared.

The agricultural and forestry workers of all countries, however, should know that the reformist leaders in this struggle turned out to be on the side of the workers' enemies. The reformist leaders as far back as last March concluded an agreement with the agrarian, which gives absolutely nothing to the workers, and which was unanimously turned down by them. Together with the reformists and all the other enemies of the fighting workers there goes hand in hand Hais' liquidatorist group, which not only comes out against the strike, but at the very time of the struggle is attempting to split both the union and the workers.

Comrades! Agricultural and Forestry Workers!

The struggle of the Czechoslovakian workers is also your struggle, their victory is your victory. The position of the agri-

cultural workers in all the capitalist countries has been greatly worsened during recent years. Practically everywhere they are forced to prepare for the struggle in defence of their vital interests. In Poland on May 9 there likewise broke out a big agricultural strike, involving 23 villages. A strike of 2,000 agricultural workers broke out on May 14th in the vineyards of the South of France, and so on.

You, agricultural and forestry workers, should be the first to extend all possible help to your fighting brothers in Czechoslovakia!

Call meetings in solidarity with the striking agricultural workers of Czechoslovakia!

Do not permit any strikebreaking in your country!

Extend material help to the fighters!

Down with the agrarian-capitalist reaction!

Down with the reformists and the liquidators, the assistants of reaction!

Long live the struggle of the Czechoslovakian agricultural workers!

International Committee for Propaganda and Action of Revolutionary Agricultural and Forestry Workers.

To the Land Workers of all Countries.

(Appeal of the Czechoslovakian Union of Agricultural and Forestry Workers.)

The agricultural proletariat of the Czechoslovakian Republic is waging a difficult struggle to improve its living conditions. The working class in Czechoslovakia, just as in all capitalist States, suffers great oppression and is cruelly exploited. The prices of food products in Czechoslovakia are as high as they can be, working hours are terribly long, the social and cultural organisations are the worst possible, whilst Czechoslovakia occupies 14th place with regards to wages amongst the Capitalist States. All this refers to the industrial proletariat. The position of the agricultural proletariat is indescribably worse.

For this reason the agricultural proletariat of Czechoslovakia resolved, after their position had become so unbearable, to get by struggle what they had been deprived of. In Slovakia the agricultural workers have already commenced the struggle. In Bohemia and Moravia tens of thousands of agricultural workers are likewise on the eve of joining the struggle. A new enemy, however, comes out against the working class. Side by side with the reformists, who during a number of years have extended support to the agrarians and capitalists, new assistants for the latter, in the person of the liquidators in the ranks of the revolutionary trade union movement itself, have joined their side. The agricultural proletariat, however, understands full well that the struggle is inevitable, and the more enemies there are opposed to us, the more we must exert our forces, in order to defeat them and achieve victory.

The agricultural proletariat of Czechoslovakia is fighting not only for its own interests. It is simultaneously fighting for the interests of the entire working class. It is fighting against the common enemy of the international proletariat. The Agricultural proletariat of Czechoslovakia addresses our revolutionary fraternal organisations abroad with an appeal to extend their proletarian solidarity, to come to our help morally and materially.

All correspondence, and likewise all contributions should be sent to the following address: Czechoslovakian Agricultural And Forestry Workers' Union, Section of the I. W. F. Praha II, Biskupsky Dvur 7.

Czechoslovakian Union of Agricultural and Forestry Workers.

Chairman: Josef Jonas.

Secretary: Franz Pelcl.

FASCISM

The Fight for the Life of Umberto Terracini.

The reports as to the state of health of Comrade Umberto Terracini make it a matter of duty for us to turn our attention more than ever before to the tragedy of the prisons and convict-islands of Fascist Italy.

The death sentences (v. the case of Michele Della Maggiore) have aroused great bitterness and hatred and have tended to whet the fighting spirit of the proletariat. When it desires to murder its opponents, the Government of Rome thinks it more convenient to do so in the seclusion of the prisons by means of all sorts of tortures and by a system of slow starvation which destroys gradually but inevitably.

The political prisoners who languish in the subterranean prisons and in the Fascist jails, number several thousands. There are, as a matter of fact, some six thousand of them. Entire generations of heroic fighters must lose their lives to an enemy who is all the more ferocious by reason of the obvious inevitableness of his ultimate downfall.

Already last summer we drew the attention of the workers to the slow extermination of our captive comrades by means of solitary confinement. In the meantime the effects of this inhuman regime have continued to grow more and more terrible. They are such that not a single worker can now remain indifferent to them.

The list of prisoners murdered in the Fascist jails grows longer day by day. Battino Gianneschi of Emoli, Torquato Maestrelli of Florence, Gino Andrei of Signa, Stefano Mironcelli (who died in the prison of San Stefano), Ugo Arrighi of Florence, Giovanni Fieschi (who died at Montelupo), Fernando Sbaci (who died in the jail at Sassari), Poli (who died of tuberculosis in the prison-hospital of Pianosa), Gastone Buaciarelli of Sesto Fiorentino, Provera of Turin, the anarchist Aguggini, who died in the jail at Alghero — such are the names of some out of many political prisoners who have been killed by solitary confinement in the Fascist prisons.

Death is certain in the jails and on the convict-islands of the Fascist Government. The penal regime kills its victims. It is on weapons such as these that the Roman Government relies with a view to getting rid of its opponents, of the only opponents it has still to fear, the vanguard of the Italian working class.

Indifference and inactivity on our part are aids for the Italian executioners.

The zeal and energy evinced by the proletariat of all countries in protesting against the dastardly murder of Gastone Sozzi in the Perugia jail and again for the purpose of obtaining the release of the arbitrarily arrested workers after the Milan attempt, must be forthcoming now on the part of the international proletariat to save Umberto Terracini and the other prisoners threatened with annihilation by Mussolini and his jailers.

The instance of Terracini more than any other should serve as a warning to us. By our protests and by the intervention of the international proletariat we ought already to have saved this comrade of ours last year. As it was, Terracini was left to languish at San Stefano, the deadliest of the Italian jails. There his strength decreased from day to day and his state of health declined so far that he is at present in vital danger.

In view of the international protests, the Roman Government announced through its press that "Umberto Terracini was feeling well". True, at that time the unfortunate prisoner was not yet half dead. At present, Umberto Terracini can no longer stand upright; he has not even enough strength to turn over in bed, nor yet to wash his own face. He expectorates blood.

A man of no more than 34, of medium height, who last year weighed barely 49 kilogrammes, is at present so weak that he cannot even support this small weight, which has lessened in the meantime.

In this state of health he is thought to be fit for a journey of hundreds of kilometres, with manacled hands, in a cell-

wagon (very small cells without light or air), being obliged at every more important stage to march in chains with criminals from the station to the local jail.

We do not yet know whether Terracini has arrived at Florence. We do not know whether he was examined by the prison doctor of that place, allegedly the only object of this long journey. All that can be found out with certainty is that by order of the Roman Government all steps are being taken to put an end to him. Nothing can mitigate this awful truth. The murder of Umberto Terracini, which started on the day of his arrest, when he was just about to repair to a hospital, was continued by the solitary confinement of San Stefano and now reaches its culmination in his removal from one prison to another, from one hospital to another, from one brutality to another.

And this fate is shared by innumerable comrades of his. Solitary confinement will undermine the health of the most robust. Day by day we hear reports of comrades falling victims to tuberculosis and thus rapidly approaching their death: Guido Picelli, the former deputy, Lisa Athos of Leghorn, Giovanni Roveda of Turin, Mauro Scoccimarro of Udine, Anita Pusterla of Como, Giorgio Carretto of Turin, Giovanni Cereda of Milan, and Acquarone Sanna, once a member of the Milan town council. This is mentioning only some of the more serious cases.

Above all, however, mention must be made of one other name alongside Umberto Terracini's; that of Guido Sola, the young spinner of Biella, who was condemned to 24 years imprisonment and who, after one year of solitary confinement at San Stefano, was transferred to the tuberculosis hospital for penal cases at Pianosa. All who are brought to Pianosa are brought there to die. At Pianosa there are dozens and dozens of other political prisoners who, like Sola, remained proud and firm in face of the special tribunal which condemned them to a slow death. All our comrades of whom the police and the Fascists wished to get rid were sent to Pianosa to die. Is Guido Sola's fate to be the same as that of his deceased comrades?

In fighting for Umberto Terracini and Guido Sola, the international proletariat will also be fighting for all the other prisoners pining in Fascist prisons. The only thing that can save their threatened lives is their liberation. The fight for an amnesty in Italy is a fight for the lives of thousands of prisoners in the hands of the Fascists.

Join in this fight! Respond to the desperate cry from the jails and convict-islands of Fascist Italy! The proletariat is a force which can everywhere exercise its pressure on the Fascist murderers. Wherever there are representatives of the Italian Government, they are to be considered responsible for the murder of our comrades in the prisons of Mussolini.

The Fascist Murder Regime in the Italian Colonies.

By S. P.

From time to time there appear in the Italian newspapers, and also in foreign newspapers, Fascist reports of "glorious military operations" in Somaliland, Cirenaica or Lybia. The latest reports speak of six collisions which took place in the month of April of this year in the neighbourhood of Tripolis. In these encounters dozens and hundreds of dead are left on the field. Whole caravans and tribes are slaughtered or dispersed. In the skirmishes which took place in April, over 2000 rebels took part on the one side against Fascist troops, regular soldiers, natives, aeroplanes, etc. on the other.

What is the explanation of this constant guerilla warfare in the colonies? The Fascists speak of "renegades" and "rebels", who must be punished. But if the reports are read carefully, it is seen that in general it is a question of neither "rebels" nor "recalcitrants". It is a question of peaceable Arab caravans, out on trading expeditions and attacked by Fascists; it is a question of bands of nomads or of small tribes coming in contact for the first time with the colonial rulers and subjugated by the Fascist "colonisers". And what is the process of this subjugation? The men are slaughtered, their cattle confiscated and their women and children taken prisoners.

It is not mere chance that in all these reports mention is made only of captured women and children. All the bulletins mention with pride that practically all of the male rebels lost

their lives in these collisions. As a matter of fact, the men are slaughtered in cold blood like cattle.

In the same Fascist reports mention is made of "groups of hundreds of rebels", who are surrounded and completely destroyed. In these cases only about 10 or, at most, 20 rifles ever fall into the hands of the "subjugators". Hundreds of "rebels" therefore enter the fight with a total of 20 rifles! No "rebel" ever succeeds in getting away and no "rebel" is ever taken prisoner.

In reality, what we here see is cold-blooded murder and ruthless extermination of the Arab population — a legally countenanced robbery, which Fascism exercises on the Arabs, in the way it has exercised it in Italy on the proletarians, on the Labour Chambers and on the revolutionary organisations.

Fascism does not want to subjugate the Arabs; it wants to exterminate them. The Fascists themselves describe the tactics they used in April against the "rebels": "To watch the movements of the enemy, without attacking immediately, and even to encourage the penetration of recalcitrant groups across the border line of our occupation area, and then to fall upon them and destroy them."

These are the tactics of robbers and brigands. A wandering tribe of the desert, which happens to cross the border of the territory occupied by the Fascists, is immediately converted into "recalcitrants" and "rebels", is attacked and wiped out. If the tribe remains on its own side of the border, a thousand means are employed to decoy it across. Various groups of Arabs have in this manner "fallen into the trap" and been slaughtered. As the Fascist report triumphantly communicates, there is, indeed, no better system!

What is the object of this organised murder, this colonial robbery? To rob the Arabs of their cattle, to harvest their crops and to confiscate their land. For whose benefit? To enrich the big colonisers — princes, merchants and bankers of all kinds. By means of this organised robbery, the property of the natives finds its way into the hands of these business people.

Fascism calls these methods: exploiting the colonies. Only in this manner, only through murder, through robbery of the native population in favour of the capitalists and the bankers, is it possible to mobilise the values contained in the colonies.

The fight of the Arabs against Fascist robbery is justified. It is a part of the proletarian anti-Fascist fight.

The Italian proletarians in the factories and in the fields reach out their hands to the rebels in the colonies as to brothers in arms against Fascism, for proletarian freedom and for the freedom of the colonies.

AGAINST TROTZKYISM

The "Justification" of the Principles of Renegadism.

A Comment on Trotsky's Letter to the Russian Workers.

By E. Yaroslavsky (Moscow).

The articles published in the "Pravda" in March in regard to Trotsky very naturally called forth great indignation among his adherents. But for all their vehement protests the Trotskyites did not succeed in cloaking their ideological decay, which was accelerated by Trotsky's contributions to the reactionary Fascist and bourgeois press. Practically at the same time, articles from his pen appeared in various organs of the most reactionary bourgeoisie, such as the "Daily Express", in standard bourgeois organs, such as the "Neue Freie Presse", in petty-bourgeois publications like "John o'London's Weekly", in the "Left" Trotskyite "Volkswille", in "Contre le Courant", the organ of the Right, while interviews with him appeared in the ultra-reactionary "Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung" and in the Turkish "Ak-sham" and "Jumhuriyet". All these facts show that the entire bourgeois press and the entire press of the renegades of the Comintern were at Trotsky's disposal. The naive juvenile members of the illegal Trotskyist movement

believe these dabblers in politics, these leaders of the illegal movement, who declare that Trotsky was merely making use of the bourgeois press. Even a blind man can see who is being exploited, by whom, and what for.

The Trotskyites started by declaring that it was simply inconceivable that Trotsky should have published his article in a publication like the "Daily Express". In a letter dated March 9th they declared the article published by the paper to be nothing but "a libellous forgery of Chamberlain for the deception of the British proletariat". This would have been a very mild description of the article in question, had it really been faked. But the assertion was all the more pitiable in view of the fact that, as the Trotskyites were subsequently forced to admit, the article in the "Daily Express" was not faked at all but had really been written by Trotsky. What was then the sequel to this assertion? If on March 9th the Trotskyites had asserted the article in the "Daily Express" to be a libellous forgery to deceive the British proletariat, how could they then approve of the publication of such an article by Trotsky when they learnt that this article had actually been supplied by Trotsky himself, just as had his articles in the Fascist "Corriere della Sera", in the "Journal", the organ of the Paris boulevards, and in the most reactionary publications of Europe and America?

They attempted to find a "justification" of the principle underlying this renegade action. In the first place they set out to prove that the bourgeoisie had published these articles for the sake of material advantage. Politically, they affirmed, the bourgeoisie was not interested in the publication of Trotsky's articles, but merely in the 10,000 or 20,000 dollars that could be made thereby. For, they went on to argue, it was not the bourgeoisie that paid Trotsky but Trotsky that was obliged to pay the bourgeoisie half his honorarium for the possibility of seeing his article in print. This Trotsky himself affirms in his letter "To the Russian Workers" in the "Volkswille", the German "Left" organ, whose editor recently joined the Social Democratic Party and in whose columns the German Communists were denounced to Zörgiebel, the blood-hound of the German bourgeoisie. In this appeal Trotsky explains how he managed to induce the bourgeoisie to publish his articles.

"My articles", he writes, "I handed over to an American newspaper agency in Paris. The agent reckoned on a good profit and suggested that I should have half the proceeds. I replied that I should myself not take a penny, but that the agency should engage to place half the proceeds from the publication of my articles as I should direct and that the money should be employed to effect the publication, in Russian and various other languages, of a series of Lenin's works (his speeches, articles, and letters). Similarly, I intended to employ the money for the publication of a large number of important Party documents (protocols of conferences and Party congresses, letters, articles, and the like)."

Knowing, as we do, how Trotsky trimmed his own articles when editing them afresh after the revolution, we can readily imagine what he would make out of Lenin and how he would remodel him in his own sense.

But let us suppose that this is really the case, that the monies received will be used exclusively for the publication of such literature as Trotsky believes he requires for the purpose of gaining new adherents. The fact remains that the bourgeoisie placed half the proceeds of these articles at the disposal of Trotsky and the Trotskyites, which is just what we assert. If in the year 1929 there are people who can affirm that we require the bourgeois press for the purpose of publishing the minutes of our conferences and Party congresses, such naive people can surely only be found in the camp of Trotsky.

Another declaration points to the fact that after the revolution of February and March, 1917, Lenin entered revolutionary Russia in a sealed railway carriage. Thus, in 1929, Trotsky enters bourgeois Europe in the same way. We should hardly have believed it possible, for it is a curious simile and offensive to the memory of Lenin, if we had not read it with our own eyes. In the same appeal "to the Russian Workers" (to tell the truth, no Russian worker ever reads the "Volkswille", which is read by the German petty-bourgeoisie, who are out to libel the German Communists and denounce them to their class enemies) Trotsky writes as follows:

"In the spring of 1917, Lenin, who was shut up in Switzerland as in a cage, "used" the sealed railway-car

of the Hohenzollerns for the purpose of reaching the Russian workers. Enclosed by the Thermidorians in the cage of Constantinople, I use the sealed car of the bourgeois press for the purpose of telling the truth to all the world."

If this were a mere play on words, Trotzky's predilection for which once earned him the sobriquet of "balalaika-man" from Lenin, there would be nothing bad about it. But we all know that in 1917 Lenin came to the land of revolution to organise the indignation and fury of the working class and the peasantry against their class-enemies, the landowners and the bourgeoisie. Lenin, who entered the land of revolution in a sealed railway carriage, lost no time in casting among the working masses the inflammatory ideas of the most revolutionary document of our age, the "April theses", which contained the dynamite to blow up Kerenski's Government and the kindling pathos of revolution. But Trotzky? What did he do in the sealed car of the bourgeois press? To whom did he apply? To what masses did he address his words? What ideas did he diffuse? Whom did he organise and against whom? What he diffused was the poisonous gas of calumny, to serve as a spice to the daily lies of the bourgeois press in regard to the Soviet Union. His articles helped and continue to help in mobilising the public opinion of the bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. They form the public opinion of the bourgeoisie, for it is primarily to the bourgeoisie that they are addressed.

There are "truths" which are worse than any lie. It was with a "truth" such as these that Trotzky approached the public opinion of all the world through the channels of the bourgeois press. We need waste no more words on the clap-trap theories of the Trotzkyites, which aim at implicating Lenin in an ideological participation in their own renegade policy, by proving that Lenin once wrote an article on Marxism (with the permission of the Party) for Granat's encyclopaedia. True, he did write an article in defence of Marxism as a contribution to the encyclopaedia in question, which reproduced the article without a single word of comment, whereas each of the articles supplied by Trotzky to the bourgeois press is made an excuse by the latter for the meanest of attacks on the Soviet Union.

We have already given publication to the utterances with which the bourgeois press accompanies the articles contributed by Trotzky. Thus the "Neue Freie Presse" of April 19th declares that his article appearing in that number is directed against the Bolshevik Government. Possible many will not even read the article itself, but the commentary of the "Neue Freie Presse" is sure to be read by everybody.

Trotzky's interview with the correspondent of the "Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung" is introduced as follows (Essen, March 21st, evening edition):

"Interview with Trotzky. Reception of our Correspondent at the Hotel Toklatlian.

"A Theorist who cannot do without Bourgeois Comforts.

"Six German press representatives staying in Constantinople assembled at noon on March 12th in the vestibule of the hotel. On the stroke of 12 Trotzky's son appeared, a young man of typically Russian appearance. He came to tell us that his father was ready to receive us. M. Trotzky already knew of our presence, since we had sent in a joint visiting card. There were only representatives of the bourgeois press present. M. Trotzky smiled when he was told that no Communists were present. We stood before M. Trotzky in the reception room of his suite. He welcomed each of us with a handshake. He then sat down and declared himself ready to answer any question that should be put to him. He added that he was in favour of absolute frankness on such occasions. We had the impression of listening to agreeable conversation, and all that was wanting to complete the thoroughly bourgeois impression was a dozen of good Burgundy and some easy chairs.

"This man Trotzky has nothing about him of the ideal hero of the proletariat, such as we often find in some of the Soviet deputies."

Such is the impression and characterisation of the bourgeois correspondents, who felt so comfortable in the suite of M. Trotzky. What can we add? They think they know better, and if Trotzky declares to them that he considers Stalin's

attempt to realise a Russian national Communism unfeasible, it is obvious in whose interest he is now speaking.

Trotzky's interpretation of the Russian revolution may be seen from that part of his interviews in which he asserts that the October revolution was of his own making. Thus he affirms that

"the October revolution, his own revolution, was at the same time the first Democratic revolution."

This is more than mere megalomania, it is something altogether incomprehensible.

As among good friends, Trotzky speaks to these representatives of the "Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung" and other bourgeois papers on the possibilities of a political upheaval in Russia, assuring them that "a capitalist Russia could never hope to play the same rôle in Europe which the Tsarist Russia of pre-war times was wont to play". Well, naturally, at such an interview it is not possible to deny the bourgeois correspondents anything. In his own conviction, Trotzky was of course "making use" of the bourgeois press for neither more nor less than the protection and salvation of the Soviet Union. We, however, have never believed that we had any such saviour or protector!

Still bolder is the tone Trotzky employs in his interviews with representatives of the Turkish press. The "Aksham" reports as follows:

"M. Leo Trotzky is a very healthy and jolly man, without the least sign of a sickness liable soon to entail his death. He has, moreover, determined to carry on an energetic fight against Stalin and his adherents who are now in power. If nothing has happened to his personal safety so far, it is, so he declares, because 'they have not dared'. By 'they' he naturally means the Russian authorities.

"From the distance he cries to them, filled with anger but at the same time with great hopes for the future: 'We overthrew Kerenski. We shall succeed in doing the same thing again'.

"Is there any illegal party of your adherents in the Soviet Union at present?" — "Naturally. We have our adherents even in the army."

Another Constantinople paper, the "Jumruriyet" of March 20th, reports in regard to the same interview that Trotzky made the following declaration: "In my opinion Socialism is impossible in a country situated in so isolated a position as Russia is; the way Stalin has chosen, however, is the way of a nationalist Socialism."

Question: How do you intend to work for these aims? Have you any secret organisation in Russia?

Answer: we have even a secret organisation in the Red Army...

This is how M. Trotzky informs and forms the public opinion of Europe and America. And this is how he "defends" the Soviet Union. In regard to the present position of Russia, the bourgeois readers of the "Neue Freie Presse" are told that "the situation of Russia is characterised by an undoubted falling-off in the interest of the masses. The river has returned to its old channel. The centralised machinery of a Directorium is again imposed upon the masses."

What is it to Trotzky and the Trotzkyites that in reality an unprecedented degree of enthusiasm prevails among the millions of workers and peasants, finding utterance in their efforts to raise the agriculture of the Soviet Union and place it on a Socialist basis? What does Socialist emulation mean to them? What the growth of the activity of the masses at the Soviet elections? Trotzky tells the bourgeoisie that the present prop of Soviet authority is not the workers but the officials. "They incline to the opinion that all is being done that is necessary for human happiness, and any one that denies this is an enemy in their eyes. These elements cherish an organic hatred of the Opposition." Whereas, in reality, every one in the Soviet Union knows that the great majority of the Trotzkyites are officials and not workers, the latter having turned their backs on Trotzkyism.

We do not publish these quotations with a view to attacking M. Trotzky, but only so as to show the way this leader of the Trotzkyites has gone and whither he has led

those weak elements who are even now ready to return to the Party but have not got sufficient backbone to give a fitting reply to such renegation. Some openly defend his publications in the reactionary bourgeois press; others (such as Radek and Smilga) mumble something about there naturally being resolutions in the Party as to the incompatibility of contributing to the bourgeois press but that at the same time there are circumstances which might justify such a contribution. These "heroes of reservations" (an expression of Lenin) only help to confound those who desire to find their way back to the Party but are still hesitant of altogether abandoning Trotzky and the Trotzkyites.

None, however, will succeed in checking this process of an abandonment of Trotzkyism on the part of its best elements, of those who within Trotzky's opposition still represented Communism and revolution, those who had succumbed to the deception of Trotzkyism by reason of persuasion and of their own lack of understanding for the Party. A short time ago we published a list of several dozen ex-Trotzkyites who had turned away from Trotzkyism and had submitted a declaration together with a request for readmission to the Party. This was at the time of the Party conference. Only ten days or so have elapsed since then, and already the C. C. C. is again in receipt of several dozen announcements of an abandonment of Trotzkyism.

This naturally does not mean that we have settled with Trotzkyism for good and all. Though it is true (as one of the speakers recently pointed out to the Moscow organisation) that what the bourgeoisie appreciates about Trotzkyism is not so much its ideology as the fact of its opposition to the Soviet State, the practice of undermining the proletarian dictatorship (by an illegal party, an illegal press, an anti-Soviet attitude, etc.), it is nevertheless undeniable that the ideology of Trotzkyism has a certain footing in the Soviet Union.

But never before was the unprincipled character of Trotzkyism so apparent as it is at present. The aim of M. Trotzky's activity abroad is the justification of the principle underlying his renegade policy, but it only serves to increase the decay among the Trotzkyites and to facilitate the fight against them. This is our only reason for paying attention to these publications on the part of Trotzky. It is not our object to carry on a controversy with him; that his articles are not worth, since they lack both a theoretical level and a moral value. No one has done so much towards unmasking Trotzkyism as Trotzky himself. For any one who took part in the Trotzkyist organisation, the adventurist character of Trotzkyism must now be fully obvious.

We know that every such article as this will unloose a storm of "righteous indignation" on the part of our enemies. They cannot but recognise, however, how well Trotzkyism is now characterised by a description which Trotzky himself once applied to the Social Revolutionaries: **Pretentiousness in place of a programme, and adventurous juggling in the place of tactics.**

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Results of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. and of the XVI. National Party Conference of the C. P. S. U.

Comrade Baumann's report at the meeting of Moscow functionaries' of the C. P. S. U.

1. Two Political lines.

At the present time we are passing through an extremely complicated and actually decisive stage in our work towards the building up of socialism. We have entered the period of the socialist reconstruction of our whole national economy. This period demands a rapid tempo of industrialisation, a comprehensive collectivisation of agriculture. The present phase of the fight for socialism immediately confronts us with the task of the final extermination of capitalism, which is still clinging to its position in small production. We have never neglected the task of fighting against the kulak and the Nepman, but at the

present stage of the class war we have arrived at the point requiring us to begin with the destruction of the economic basis of the existence and growth of the capitalist elements. The reorganisation of small production in a socialised large-scale economy means for us the uprooting of capitalism.

As early as the 11th Party Congress, Comrade Lenin showed us that the retreat was ended. He told us that we should advance conjointly with the mass of the peasantry, and that a period would come in which this movement would be accelerated to a pace of which we had never dreamed. And now the era has dawned in which our numerical growth advances to a betterment of quality, and the progress of millions of small peasant farms is accompanied by a transition to socialised large-scale farming.

On this road we encounter many great obstacles. We are still surrounded by capitalist countries; our country is still backward in culture and technics in comparison with these capitalist countries, and our population is still preponderantly peasant. All this signifies further difficulties and complicates the class war.

The Aggravation of the Class Struggle and the Theory that the Kulak will grow into Socialism.

In the Soviet Union the last decisive struggle between socialism and capitalism, for the extermination of the actual roots of capitalism, is being waged. This being the case, it is easily comprehensible, that the resistance of the capitalist elements is increasingly obstinate and violent.

The Rights sneer at the Party for pointing out that the aggravation of the class struggle is unavoidable in the present stage of socialist construction. They give a distorted version of the views of the Party, which is alleged to hold the opinion that the class war is bound to intensify in proportion as we approach socialism, thus attaining its maximum on the threshold of the socialist state of society. It need scarcely be said that this distortion has nothing in common with the views of the Party. The Party, whilst foreseeing acuter crises in the class struggle at certain junctures, is of the opinion that the class war will wane as soon as we have conquered the key positions not only of industry, but of agriculture, and the absolute growth of the capitalists elements in the Soviet Union has therewith ceased. This does not by any means signify that the last remnants of capitalism among us will not offer stubborn resistance or that the international class struggle will cease. On the contrary, the international class struggle will develop into open armed conflicts between the Soviet Union and the imperialist states.

The peaceful existence of a socialist country in the midst of imperialist states cannot last indefinitely. At a certain point the class struggle will find immediate expression in military conflicts, unless the international revolution is victorious.

What are the reasons of the acuter class struggle during our present stage? In the first place the socialist offensive is advancing in our country; the capitalist elements are being supplanted, which naturally arouses their increased resistance. In the second place, the capitalist elements in our country have grown absolutely in the years since the N. E. P. The manoeuvring capacity and the power of the kulak have grown too. The big peasant has established his position more firmly in the years of the N. E. P. He possesses a large number of the means of production and considerable grain reserves. The big peasant is doing his best to prevent the planned regulation of the grain market, to force grain prices upwards, and to deal a severe blow at our planned economy. It is true that the big peasant is not the most important and decisive grain owner. About 5 to 6 per cent. fall to the big peasant. But behind him stand the strata of well-to-do peasantry, who often join forces with the usurious big peasantry. If we calculate the uppermost strata of the peasantry at 10 per cent., we find that the rich and well-to-do peasantry combined control over 30 per cent. of the marketable grain, a very considerable proportion in view of the general limitedness of our grain reserves.

At the same time we must not forget the dual nature of the middle peasant. On the one hand he is a worker, and as such connected with the working class; on the other hand he is an owner, and as such he frequently attaches himself to the usurious peasant elements, and aids these in their attempts to frustrate the planned-economic price policy of the proletarian state. Besides this, it must be remembered that at certain moments waverings in favour of the kulak are observable in some

strata of the middle peasantry. These waverings among the middle peasantry have their counterpart in the working class. During the period of very rapid growth in our industry great numbers of workers have come in from the country to work in our factories; these have not passed through the school of organised struggle against capitalism, the school of proletarian discipline, and they are still insufficiently organised and insufficiently class conscious. The ideology of the kulak finds its way to these by one channel or another. This is particularly conspicuous among the seasonal workers. At the meetings of these workers middle peasants, and even small peasants, may at times be heard voicing the standpoint of the big peasant, opposing the development of the Soviet estates and collective farms, protesting against the offensive against the kulak.

Besides this we have brought to light facts of actual sabotage in our industry, of resistance among certain circles of the technical intelligentsia. The Schachty trial was no isolated phenomenon. At the present moment certain changes are going on among the technical intellectuals. Some of our technicians, still loyal to us during the period of economic restoration, are now, in the present period of increased socialist offensive, beginning to draw away from us and to resist us. It is unnecessary to refer to the upper stratum of bourgeois intellectuals who have been hostile to us from the beginning, and have joined hands with the foreign imperialists. The same attitude is adopted by the usurious elements in the cities, the dealers, the Nepmen. Are they not also attempting to make capital of our difficulties, to profit by our shortage of this or that commodity, by frequently creating an artificial demand, as for instance in the case of Moscow? It is obvious that this is one of the front lines of the class struggle. Finally, the antagonisms between our country and imperialism are becoming more and more acute. This is the most important and dangerous front of our class war — for it is at the same time the struggle for the world revolution. At the present period we may observe a strange form assumed by the struggle of the imperialists against us. The imperialists are not only arming for a military intervention, not only preparing for a blockade, not only hampering the development of our foreign trade; at the same time they are combining with a section of our technical cadres for the purpose of preventing the advancement of the socialist reconstruction of our national economy.

The threads run from the kulak, the Nepman, and the speculator, from the intellectuals hostile to us, and reach across to the imperialists. This is the vast extent of our class war front.

In our country the class struggle is not confined to the direct combating of the kulak, Nepman, and imperialists; it includes the struggle against inertia, backwardness, religious prejudices, against the century-old traditions of the million, of those masses who so frequently, as Comrade Lenin told us, represent the most dangerous power of all, the power which supports the kulak.

In the peasant family itself the class struggle makes itself apparent. The man is in favour of the collective farm, the more backward wife is against it. Here a century-old inertia comes to the aid of the kulak, of the large and small employer hostile to the building up of socialism.

The class struggle is developing into a broad fighting front of many millions.

The present period imposes the greatest responsibility upon our Party. Every member of the Party, every class-conscious worker, must recognise this.

Precisely in this period of acuter class struggle strict organisation and discipline are necessary for the vanguard of our Party, in order to defeat the forces mobilised by capitalism. We must suppress with the utmost consistency and perseverance the slightest deviation from the Bolshevik general line in our ranks. We must oppose determinedly every consideration likely to weaken the fighting will of the proletariat. The Rights maintain that the petty bourgeois vacillations in the working class at the present time are of no importance. In other words: make room for negligence in work, religious prejudices, anti-Semitism, let the ideology of the kulak spread undisturbed. We need not regard these as factors to be taken seriously, or inimical to the victory of socialism. It need not be said that this standpoint is entirely false. We must overcome the petty bourgeois vacillations in the working class in order that we may win over new hundreds of thousands of the proletariat for the struggle against the kulak in the village and the Nepman in the town.

We must oppose to the manoeuvres of the capitalist elements the determined resistance of a further re-inforced socialist offensive. We must keep Lenin's words continually before us, **that the classes can only be abolished by the class war.** The dictatorship of the proletariat is the continuation of the class struggle in new and often intenser forms.

The Rights are trying to veil the class war. They assert that Lenin said nothing about the kulak in his last articles. They do not want to abandon the theory that the kulak will grow into socialism. They regard as true the assertion that the co-operative organisations of the kulaks will range themselves under socialism through the agency of our banking system and the like. They hope that the grandson of the present kulak will evince gratitude for our conduct towards his grandfather. The Rights do not perceive that the kulak can only be overcome by the process of class struggle. The ideas of the Right with regard to the class war are unsound, for they veil the class struggle and deny the inevitability of an aggravation of class warfare at a certain historical stage. They endeavour to seek an explanation of the present greater acuteness of the class struggle in the confines of our planned economic calculations. This explanation coincides exactly with the views which they have expressed on former occasions. The class struggle — they said at that time — will ebb gradually away, and only become acute at points where the Soviet apparatus is weak. As the local Party and Youth organisations improve and establish themselves more firmly in the village, so the cases of persecutions and murders of village correspondents and Soviet functionaries will become and more rare, finally ceasing altogether.

If we ask ourselves the question whether our apparatus has become worse than before, I believe that we can all place on record that on the contrary our Soviet apparatus has improved both in the village and in the town. And it is precisely at the points where the apparatus has established itself most securely and where it adheres strictly to the class line, that we encounter the embittered resistance of the kulak, the fiercest attacks on the Soviet functionaries. Assassinations are not attempted against inferior village correspondents, but against the most competent; not against the useless leaders of the Soviet organs, but against the most capable, against those putting into practice a definite class line opposing the kulak.

The aggravation of the class struggle is not to be laid at the door of the planned economic calculations, nor has it been brought about by the worsening of the Soviet apparatus, but by the development of the socialist offensive against the capitalist elements and by the resistance of the latter.

The New Forms of Alliance, and the Theory of Constant Concessions.

"The supreme principle of the dictatorship", said Lenin, "is the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, enabling the proletariat to acquire the leading rôle, and to retain state power."

We need an alliance between working class and peasantry, but not any alliance. We do not need an alliance which would perpetuate the classes. Such an alliance would not mean the building up of the socialist state of society, but the facilitation of the return to capitalism. Any reformist could vote for an alliance of this kind. What we need is an alliance which is not an object in itself, but forms a medium towards the building up of the socialist order. The Rights are of the opinion that the alliance amounts to a series of constant concessions to the peasantry. We are told: keep your eye on the middle peasant, and if he shows signs of wavering, then liquidate these waverings by making him immediate concessions. The Right opposition propagate the alliance as an object in itself, an alliance which would perpetuate small scale commerce in commodities, the foundation of the growth of the capitalist elements.

The Rights calumniate the Party by accusing it of conducting a policy of "military and feudal exploitation of the peasantry", a policy of "tributes". They are of the opinion that the existing difference in the prices of industrial goods and agricultural products, resulting in the receipt by the state of a kind of additional tax, is nothing more than a "military and feudal exploitation of the peasant". It is a well known fact that the Party is carrying on an energetic fight for the reduction of the disparity in prices and has set itself the task of liquidating it as speedily as possible. The fact of this fight does not appear to satisfy the Rights. The whole outcry about the "tribute policy" veils the demand for the immediate

liquidation of the disparity between the prices of industrial and agricultural products, and calls for this liquidation today.

It is self-evident that we cannot sweep away this disparity today. To do so would be to deprive industry of an enormous sum and to retard the tempo of industrial development. This again would in the long run be **contrary to the interests of the peasants themselves**. As has already been observed, the accusation that the Party is pursuing a policy of military and feudal exploitation conceals the desire to retard the speed of industrialisation.

The Rights under-estimate the **new forms of the alliance** between the working class and the peasantry. In the first phase of the New Economic Policy the alliance was based chiefly on the stimulation of the circulation of commodities. The supplying of the village with articles of daily use was a point of great importance. Today we are somewhat further than the stage at which the alliance presented itself to the imagination in the form of peasants bringing their grain to the town, and bales of stuff rolling to meet them. Today the village is being supplied to an ever increasing extent with agricultural machinery and metal goods. The provisioning with machinery is becoming one of the new forms of the alliance between working class and peasantry, for the tractor, the sowing machine, etc., promote the increased productivity of agricultural labour.

In the same way the Soviet estates, the large-scale agricultural undertakings, the live-stock breeding centres, the selected seed and all the up-to-date methods of land cultivation, represent at the same time levers for the socialist re-organisation of agriculture. An effectual method for the socialist re-organisation of the individual peasant farms is collectivisation, co-operation. Besides this, the contracts for the purchase of future harvests are growing in importance. These enable the relations between town and country to be more systematically planned and help the proletarian state and the co-operatives to obtain a grasp at first hand of agricultural production. The Soviet estates, the collective farms, the supplying of agricultural machinery, the contracts for the purchase of future harvests, all these are new forms of the alliance, new means for strengthening the bond between the working class and the decisive masses of the peasantry.

The slogan of the collective farms, issued by the 15th Party Congress, evoked a vast movement not only among the masses of the poor peasantry, but among the middle peasants. The collective farms have grown to a prodigious extent since the 15th Party Congress. The principles laid down by the 15th Party Conference have proved entirely right.

At the same time the Rights try to throw ridicule upon the new forms. They often ask quite openly: What are these new forms? Has the alliance been changed from the form laid down by Comrade Lenin? They regard the alliance as something rigid, and do not grasp that it assumes fresh forms at different stages. The first stage of the new economic policy was mainly a period of the alliance between working class and peasantry on the basis of the circulation of goods. To-day this no longer suffices. In the present period of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, of acuter struggle between socialist and capitalist paths of development of small scale production, the struggle for the socialisation of this branch of enomy assumes more and more the importance of a production alliance between the proletariat and the decisive masses of the peasantry.

In 1923 Comrade Lenin pointed out that the working class must set the pace for the entry of socialist ideas into the village. At the same time Comrade Lenin told us that pure and strict communist ideas should not be introduced into the village at once. "So long" he declared, "as we have no material basis for communism in the village, this is harmful, we may even say destructive, for communism". Comrade Lenin's standpoint was perfectly right. It draws the general historical outline, showing that the working class is to be the bearer of communist ideas to the village. At the same time Comrade Lenin reminds us that we must approach the peasants cautiously. In 1918-19 we experienced a period in which the peasants turned away from the communes which had been created by force. This lesson was taught us by the masses of the peasants. But as early as 1919 Comrade Lenin cherished the dream that the decisive masses of the peasantry would have been in favour of the communes, had we had at that time over 100,000

tractors, fuel, and trained workers at our disposal. This again perfectly true. The 15th Party Congress undoubtedly acted perfectly correctly in imposing **fresh tasks and duties on the working class in view of the mechanisation of agriculture**. The 15th Party Congress stressed the necessity of carrying the idea of collectivisation into the village.

In the present situation, comprehensive propaganda on the part of the workers for collectivism, and the all-round development of collective undertakings, are decisive factors in the political activities of the Party and the working class in the village. The writings of Comrade Lenin are not to be given that scholastic interpretation put upon them by the comrades who have landed today in the Right deviation; Lenin's writings are not to be tinkered into advocating a policy postponing into the distant future the communist re-organisation of our country. It was Comrade Lenin who asserted: 10-20 years of correct reciprocal relations with the peasants... and we may hope to be unconquerable. He did not by any means measure historical epochs in centuries. He regarded every year of revolutionary struggle, every year of social construction, as a great advance, and set fresh tasks in agreement with this advance.

The representatives of the Right deviation, besides under-estimating the new forms of the alliance and the development of collective economy, **over-estimate** the possibilities of the individual small peasant farm. They set up the growth of the individual small farm over against the development of the Soviet estates forgetting however that the growth of a weaker strata is only possible by means of organisation of productive co-operative lines, by means of the creation of large-scale agricultural undertakings and the socialisation of agriculture.

The theory of constant concession, the under-estimation of the new forms of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, the stake set on the individual farm — all this weakens the proletariat in its struggle against the capitalist elements in agriculture, depreciates the rôle played by the working class, and leads to the replacement of the alliance between the proletariat and the poor and middle peasants against the big peasantry, by an alliance with the kulaks, peaceful co-habitation with the capitalist elements.

Such a policy as this of course spells harm to the Party and to the working class.

(To be concluded)

Resolution of the Enlarged C. C. of the C. P. of the C. P. of Switzerland on the Situation in the Communist International.

1. The session of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Switzerland, augmented by the representatives of the district Party committees, declares its unreserved agreement with the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International. The Enlarged Central Committee declares that the activity of the Executive Committee of the Comintern is fully and entirely in accordance with the decisions of the VI. World Congress. In particular the C. C. of the C. P. of Switzerland declares its agreement with the struggle which the Executive Committee of the Comintern has been conducting against the liquidators (Brandler, Thalheimer, Hais) and against those groups who are adopting a conciliatory attitude towards these renegades (Meyer, Ewert, Humbert-Droz, Serra). The C. C. approves the expulsion of the Brandler group in Germany and of the Hais group in Czechoslovakia from the ranks of the Comintern. The session of the Enlarged C. C. declares its agreement with the line of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany and of the C. C. of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. The session of the Enlarged C. C. further declares its solidarity with the decisions of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. and its last Party Conference. It welcomes the determined struggle which the C. P. S. U. is conducting against the Right and conciliatory deviations.

The session of the Enlarged C. C. states that in the present period (third post-war period) of increased antagonism of intensified class struggle, the danger of the Right deviation from the line of the VI. World Congress is the most and danger.

The session of the Enlarged C. C. rejects decisively the standpoint of the liquidators and of the conciliators who support them, that the capitalist stabilisation in the present period is a "strong and firm one". On the contrary, the VI. World Congress emphasised quite correctly that

"the division of world economy into a capitalist and socialist section, the shrinkage of markets, the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies are intensifying to the utmost all the antagonisms of capitalism, which is developing upon the new basis which has arisen since the war. The development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation is in this way inevitably leading to a conversion of the present "stabilisation period" into a period of tremendous catastrophes".

The programme of the Comintern also states, that "the experience of the post-war period proves that the stabilisation of capitalism, which has been achieved by means of crushing the working class and by the systematic deterioration of its standard of living, can only be a partial, temporary and rotten stabilisation".

2. The underestimation by all the Right groups of the war danger and the danger of an imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union is a result of the opportunist estimation of the third post-war period. Like the social democrats, the liquidators deny that the war of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union constitutes the main political tendency of the present epoch of world revolution. The conciliators, who relegate the danger of war against the Soviet Union to a second place and who place the danger of a war between the imperialists in the forefront, come very near to these renegades of Communism. The VI. World Congress, however, characterises the present third post-war period as an era of the ripening of

"tremendous warlike collisions, of war of intervention against the Soviet Union, of the intervention in China carried on by all means. In those places were the imperialists are confronted by an object of exploitation and at the same time a revolutionary movement which is undermining the rule of the capitalist principles, the formation of imperialist blocs is most probable. Therefore we see, in addition to the bloc of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union, a general military, counter-revolutionary intervention against the Chinese Revolution".

A further result of the opportunist estimation of the capitalist stabilisation process is the denial by all Right groupings of the radicalisation process among the toiling masses. In contradiction to the decisions of the VI. World Congress, they reject the perspective set up by the Congress, that the proletariat is faced with great struggles. The VI. World Congress declares in this respect:

"This third period, in which the contradictions between the growth of the productive forces and the narrowing of the markets has become especially acute, inevitably leads to a new phase of wars between the imperialist States, of wars against the Soviet Union, of national emancipation wars against imperialism, of interventions of imperialism, of gigantic class struggles.

"The development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation, rationalisation, the growth of unemployment, the increasing pressure upon the working class, the ruin of the petty-bourgeoisie etc., inevitably accentuate the class struggle and enlarge its basis. The general process of radicalisation of the working class in the European countries is advancing.

"If at the beginning of the stabilisation period and the general offensive of capital tremendous defensive struggles took place, the new phase is likewise manifesting itself by powerful phenomena of mass struggles, before all by a strike-wave in a number of countries (Germany, France, Czechoslovakia etc.). The insurrection of the Vienna proletariat, the demonstrations on the occasion of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, the movement for the Soviet Union."

3. The standpoint of the liquidators and conciliators who are approaching them, is the expression of their complete disbelief in the forces of the working class. This is shown most

glaringly in their attitude to the question of the united front, which they consider as an alliance with the leaders of social democracy; in the erroneous opportunist estimation of social democracy as a "workers' Party which is representing workers' interests"; in the fetishism of legality both in regard to the capitalist State and the reformist trade union apparatus; in the underestimation of the enormous importance of the problem of drawing the unorganised into the economic struggles under the leadership of the Communist Party; in the opposition to the establishment of united front organs from below (fighting committees, strike committees, committees of action etc.) which is tantamount to a complete capitulation in face of the reformists and to an abandonment of the leading role of the Communist Party.

4. The session of the Enlarged C. C. of the C. P. of Switzerland states that the line of the C. C. after the VI. World Congress did not correspond to the line of this Congress, and therefore was an erroneous and opportunist one. This erroneous and opportunist line has found expression both in the practical policy of the Party in Switzerland (see resolution on the Canton elections in Basle and Zurich) and in the attitude of the C. C. to the struggle of the Comintern against the Right dangers, especially in the C. P. of Germany.

The session of the Enlarged C. C. decisively rejects the letter of Comrade Wieser of 23rd November 1928, which was approved by the Central proper, and also the decision of this same Central of the same date on the question of the inner-Party struggles in the C. P. of Germany. The session of the Enlarged C. C. considers both the letter of Comrade Wieser and the decision of the Central proper as a political support of the Rights in Germany and in the Comintern. The session of the Enlarged C. C. most decisively rejects the political support which the Central proper has accorded to the conciliatory standpoint of Comrade Humbert-Droz on 23rd November 1928.

The session of the Enlarged C. C. fully and entirely agrees with the letter from the Presidium of the Comintern to the C. C. of the C. P. of Switzerland, and considers the decision of the C. C. of 15th December on the German question as a diplomatic evasion of a clear attitude to the struggle of the Comintern against the liquidators and conciliators.

The session of the Enlarged C. C. considers it the most important inner-Party task to carry out, by means of a public Party discussion, a thorough revision of the erroneous political line of the C. C., both in regard to the Party policy in Switzerland and to the struggle of the Comintern against the Right danger, on the basis of the decisions of the VI. World Congress.

5. The session of the Enlarged C. C. states that already in the first steps which have been taken in revising the erroneous opportunist line, relapses have been made into this line. It calls upon the whole Party membership to see to it that the line of the VI. World Congress and the decisions of the present session of the Enlarged C. C. are really carried out in the practical activity of the Party.

Decision of the International Control Commission of the C. I. in the Matter of A. Schumski and K. Maximovitch.

On the decision of the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. a commission, consisting of members of the I. C. C. and of the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U., was formed in order to investigate the question of the connection of Comrades A. Schumski and K. Maximovitch with the anti-Communist Vassilkov-Turjanski group which left the C. P. of Western Ukraine at the beginning of 1928 and is at present active on behalf of Polish fascism. This Vassilkov-Turjanski group counted among its ideological leaders Schumski and Maximovitch, whose nationalist deviations have been condemned both by the C. C. of the C. P. of West-Ukraine and the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. (already in September 1927).

The Commission of the I. C. C. and of the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. heard Schumski and Maximovitch and demanded

of them that they unreservedly secede from the Vassilkov-Turjanski group and condemn this anti-Communist group.

Schumski and Maximovitch signed in April a declaration in which they condemn the Vassilkov-Turjanski group, but the Commission of the I.C.C. and of the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. could not recognise this declaration as satisfactory. Nothing is said in this declaration as to the correctness of the line of the C.C. of the C.P. of Ukraine in the national question, which line was laid down in a decision of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. of September 1927, which the Vassilkov-Turjanski group opposed. It is true, these comrades have made the statement in a (likewise completely inadequate) declaration of 18th March 1929 that they do not represent any other standpoint than that laid down by the C.P. of the Ukraine.

Schumski and Maximovitch state in this declaration that "during the last two years there have been raised against them severe and unmerited accusations of a nationalist deviation". The Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., in its decision of September 1927, declares on this question:

"The views on the national question, which are hostile to the proletariat, met with response on the part of several members of the C.P. of the Ukraine (Schumski, Hviljevoji), and in addition to this were formulated in the C.P. of the Ukraine as a nationalist deviation."

The correctness of this estimation of the attitude of Schumski on the national question has been confirmed by Schumski and Maximovitch themselves in the Commission of the I.C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., where they actually defended the nationalist, anti-communist Vassilkov-Turjanski group and where they accused the C.P. of Poland and the members of the C.P. of West-Ukraine who adhere to the platform of the Comintern, of splitting the C.P. of West-Ukraine.

Schumski and Maximovitch make the untrue statement that the Commission of the I.C.C. and of the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. acknowledged that they have not deviated and are not deviating from the line of the C.P. of the Ukraine, and thereby cancel the decision of the Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. of September 1927. As a matter of fact, however, the Commission only took note of the declaration of Schumski and Maximovitch that at present they are not deviating from the line of the C.P. of the Ukraine.

By the fact that Schumski did not unreservedly secede from the Vassilkov-Turjanski group and did not condemn it, and that he submitted as a condition the demand that the accusation of nationalist deviation made against him be withdrawn he has only confirmed that even now he is not free from this deviation. In general Schumski did not show in the session of the Commission of the I.C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. the sincerity and readiness to confess his own errors which is required by the Party.

Because Comrade Schumski refused to condemn unreservedly the anti-Communist Vassilkov-Turjanski group, the Commission of the I.C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. has resolved to give him a sharp reprimand and a serious warning.

With regard to Comrade Maximovitch, it has become clear during the work of the Commission that Comrade Maximovitch condemns the Vassilkov-Turjanski group with reservations, and on the other hand maintains political connection with it. In view of this fact the Commission proposes the expulsion of Maximovitch from the Comintern, as he maintains connections with an anti-Communist group which is working for Polish fascism.

In order to show the "double bookkeeping" of Schumski and Maximovitch, the Commission decided to publish their declaration of April 1929.

The I.C.C., in its session of 29th April 1929, confirmed the decision of the Commission of the I.C.C. and the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. in the matter of Schumski-Maximovitch.

Signed: Secretary of the I.C.C.:
Z. Angaretis

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Trade Union Movement in Finland Threatened.

Social-democratic Politicians have Commenced Splitting.
By N. Wallari (Helsingfors).

On 10th of May the VIII. congress of the Finnish Trade Union Confederation, which comprises all the organised workers of Finland numbering over 90,000, was opened. At the most important questions that were decided at the congress had been brought to forefront already during the campaign for delegates in local trade union organisations. The rank and file of the unions divided into two definite camps. On one side were the social-democrats, who wanted to merge all the trade unions as their party organs, on the other side stood the big majority that stuck to the idea that the trade unions must be maintained as the fighting organs of the whole working class.

The real meaning of the stand of the social-democrats was class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the political tutelage of the social-democratic party over the trade unions. The left-wing workers fought for class-struggle and working-class democracy in the trade union movement. It was on these principles that the delegates were elected to the congress. As a result of the ballot left-wingers got 109 and social-democrats 28 of the 137 delegates. All the strongest trade union federations were captured by left-wingers by large majorities. The social-democrats won only the weakest organisations.

The case of the Textile workers federation is a fine example of the methods applied by the social-democrats. In that federation they got 4 delegates and the left-wingers 2. This result was a surprise to all organised workers, for it was well known to all that during the last few years the left-wingers had grown from a minority to a majority, for which reason the social-democratic executive committee of the federation had already postponed the congress of the federation for two years. A complaint was made to the Confederation and it was charged that the ballot of the Textile workers federation had been falsified. An investigation was made and in the case of the Ilmakoski branch it was found that this branch reported to the executive committee of the federation that 76 had voted for social-democratic delegates, although the total membership of the branch was only 43. If it had not been for this forgery the left-wingers would have had all the delegates of the textile workers federation. The rectification of this case would have increased the left-wing delegation to the congress of the Confederation to 113 and reduced that of the social-democrats to only 24. Although a number of similar cases in the same federation was brought to light all the credentials of its social-democratic delegates were accepted for the sake of peace. By so doing the majority manifested rather too much tolerance.

Discussion on the reports of the executive committee lasted more than three days, and sometimes feeling ran quite high. The social-democrats did all in their power to convert the congress into their political forum. But the most critical questions were those of international relations. The Finnish Trade Union Confederation, as is known, is not affiliated to either of the trade union internationals. The social-democrats are striving for affiliation with the Amsterdam international, while the left-wingers stand for a united trade union international that should comprise all the trade union organisations the world over. As a mutual agreement signed by the Trade Union Confederations of Norway, the Soviet Union and Finland at Copenhagen in February 1928 aims at international unity, the left-wingers have fought for its ratification. The social-democratic minority, however, declared on many occasions that it would withdraw from the trade unions in the event of the said agreement being ratified. This would have led to a split in the trade union movement, which the bourgeoisie has been striving by all means to provoke. Almost all over the country the rank and file pronounced in favour of ratification of the agreement; the social democrats, however, stigmatized the agreement as a political one, thereby trying to draw the attention of the state police to it. The debate on

The question was exceedingly heated. Finally the following resolution was carried almost unanimously:

"The congress of the confederation recognises the great significance of the Copenhagen agreement for uniting the trade union movement and for bringing about co-operation between the Trade Union Confederations in Norway, the Soviet Union and Finland. The congress is therefore in favour of ratification of the agreement, but in view of the internal situation in Finnish trade union movement at present time, congress postpones ratification. If later on a possibility arises for ratification of the agreement, the executive committee of the Confederation can again raise the question."

One might ask, why the agreement was not ratified although a big majority stood for it. The explanation is very simple. The organised workers of Finland are very practical. They could not tolerate splitting the movement for the sake of the agreement. Moreover: the Swedish trade union leaders threatened to sever all relations with the Finnish Confederation, and these relations are very important for the Finnish movement, the congress yielded in face of the threatened split and breaking off of relations with Scandinavia.

Although the minority was to some extent satisfied, it took the first step towards an open split by rejecting all the offers of participation in the executive committee made by the majority. The social-democrats were offered the post of chairman, which they had previously held, but even this was rejected. The social democrats thereby practically declare their intention to split the Finnish trade union movement, although they have done it formally. They are now watching for a favourable opportunity. In their splitting-plans the social-democrats are relying upon the whiteguards and state police, to whom they look for assistance in order to annihilate the traditions.

XVI. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE C. P. S. U.

Result and the Next Tasks of the Struggle against Bureaucracy.

Resolution on Comrade Yakovlev's Report.
(Passed unanimously.)

I.

Improvement of the Personal of the Soviet apparatus.

1. In order to improve the personnel of the Soviet apparatus, the National Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection proposes to take measures, in agreement with the trade unions and under the control of the workers, peasants, and employees, for purging the Soviet apparatus of those corrupt elements who distort the purport of the Soviet laws, approach the kulak and the Nepman, cloak the struggle against procrastination, conduct themselves arrogantly and bureaucratically towards the most urgent interests of the workers, commit embezzlements, carry on sabotage, and are lax in their duties. In view of the fact that the Soviet Government appreciates and furthers all honourable and conscientious co-workers, the chief criterion upon which the purging is based is to be performance, not merely origin. Proletarian birth and membership of the C. P. must certainly form no guarantee against dismissal. In 1929 the purging process is to be begun mainly among those authorities and officials directly in contact with the working masses. (Land authorities, courts of justice, organs of the financial secretariat and of the People's Commissariat for Labour, etc.)

Persons who in the opinion of the Commission may still improve are to be transferred to inferior positions, whilst for those who have been declared to have forfeited (either temporarily, or, in the case of especially grave offences, permanently) their right to occupation in the Soviet apparatus, appointments with other authorities or to other posts are categorically prohibited. A list of these persons is to be published in the press for the information of the public.

2. The Conference expressly emphasises that the persons discharged from the Soviet apparatus in the purging process

must be replaced by fresh cadres of co-workers from the works and factories, and from the midst of the subordinate Soviet functionaries.

Since in numerous cases the main causes of the insufficient and unsuccessful recruitment of new forces of late years have been resistance within the apparatus itself, deficient attentiveness on the part of the Party and Soviet organs in the question of training such forces, inadequate support afforded them by the heads of authoritative bodies, and their too slight contact with the works and factories from which they have come, and further the fact that choice has frequently been made of persons not possessing the capacities required by the work of state administration, persons with suitable qualities not being available in some backward districts, the Conference resolves as follows:

a) It is the duty of the **communist nuclei and local committees** in the Soviet authorities to superintend the engagement and further activities of the newly recruited workers, to give them every support, and to oppose energetically the bureaucratic elements in the Party who resist the recruitment of new co-workers from the ranks of the masses, and throw obstacles in the way of their progress.

b) It is proposed to the Party, Soviet, economic, and trade union organs to organise the recruiting and training of new cadres in accordance with the tasks awaiting them, whereby the new workers already in the apparatus must be given the opportunity of extending their theoretical and practical knowledge.

c) The heads of authorities and public offices are to be made **personally responsible** for the provision of favourable working conditions for the activities of the workers newly engaged in the apparatus subordinate to them.

d) It is proposed that the Party and trade Union organs maintain constant contact between the new co-workers and the works and factories where these have previously worked. The factory councils are to be entrusted with this task, in the large scale undertakings the corresponding departments.

e) It is the duty of the Party, Soviet, and trade union organs to ensure that the persons proposed for work in the Soviet apparatus are actually able and willing to combat bureaucracy. Care must be taken that the broad masses take an active part in the election of these (candidates to be set up in workers' meetings, etc.). At such an election the description of work for which the candidate is proposed must be kept clearly in view. The final decision on the suitability of the person concerned for work with this or that authority lies in the hands of the head of the body or undertaking in question.

f) It is the duty of the Party and Soviet organs in the industrial districts to help the agricultural districts, organisationally and politically, to gather together fresh cadres of responsible collaborators from among the workers of their undertakings, and for this purpose to send their functionaries to the rural districts as permanent co-workers. The fundamental basis of aid of this kind is the participation of the state and co-operative organs in the promotion of the agriculture of the other districts, for instance the participation of the workers' co-operatives in the activities of the agricultural co-operatives, both in collecting supplies of agricultural products and in developing the corresponding branches of agriculture, the participation of the flax industry in the development of the districts growing flax, etc.

g) In order to ensure the complete and suitable utilisation of the young students completing their studies in the colleges of the Soviet Union, these are no longer to receive positions through the labour exchanges, but **under the superintendence and guidance of the Labour Commissariat, through the agency of the corresponding authorities**, at whose disposal all students attending the higher educational institutions must be immediately placed after finishing their studies, enabling these authorities to distribute the new forces systematically, in accordance with the needs of the various sections of the economic and cultural fronts.

3. It is the duty of the Soviet organs to test the composition of the apparatus systematically and to organise the choice of collaborators on the basis of the corresponding lines laid down by the C. C.

4. Experience has proved that those communists who do not continue to educate themselves and are not prepared to

extend their knowledge of state administration by serious study, and who work negligently, without penetrating the essence of the work entrusted to them, are in many cases exploited by clever saboteurs and active opponents, who use them for their own ends, employing them at the same time as a cloak.

Such communists, whilst believing that they are taking the lead, are in reality covering with their signatures alien ideas and proposals from pseudo-communists, extremely damaging to the cause of the building up of socialism. The next important task is to ascertain the extent to which the economic cadres grow; in how far communists are becoming the actual leaders, the actual administrators of the fields of work allotted to them and showing themselves capable of drawing suitable co-workers around them and controlling their work; in how far communists acquire expert knowledge of their special sphere of economic work, and in how far the decisions of the C. C. with reference to measures for increasing the cadres of communist economists, and for increasing their theoretical and practical knowledge (continuation schools, provision of technical literature, visits abroad, periodical leave for one or two months for purpose of specialisation, avoidance of frequent change of posts on the part of leading economists, etc.) are being carried out.

Such a control as this will facilitate the selection of conscientious communist economists and statesmen, fully conscious of their responsibility.

With respect to those communists whom the control has shown to be unsuited for state work, the present custom of sending workers from one authority to another, from one district to another, must be done away with. This method prevents the apparatus from being improved, and also prevents such communists from returning to their own profession.

II.

The adaption of the administrative system to the system of economy, and to the demands of socialist construction.

The tasks set the Soviet Union in the sphere of forced industrialisation and of the socialist re-organisation of agriculture, demand a systematic re-adaption of the whole state administrative apparatus to the needs of our economy and the tasks of building up socialism. The conference therefore resolves that:

1. The undeniable increase of the cadres demonstrating their capabilities in practical work, the regional redivisioning of the Soviet Union now almost completed, the experience acquired in national economy, the drawing up of a Five-Year Plan of national economy — all this make possible further measures towards the decentralisation of the administrative functions, a lessening of the burden thrown on the central organs of the Union and the Republics, not only in respect of extensive detail work, but in respect of certain operative functions, and a real improvement on the work of planned economy, securing the timely projection of practicable plans, and the combination of individual and public initiative and the self-activity of the masses with firm discipline in the execution of the plans and instructions of the central organs.

The systematic re-organisation of the apparatus must take the direction of a decentralisation of the operative functions, accompanied by a simultaneous centralisation of planned economic activities and guidance in decisive questions, by means of the creation of conditions guaranteeing both the timely drawing up of plans and their complete execution.

It is on this basis that the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the Soviet Union must devote special critical attention to the scheme of tasks and the system of reciprocal relations between the People's Commissariats of the Union, between the Commissariats of the Federal Republics and the Union, between the People's Commissariats and the regulating organs, between the central and the regional organs, and between the economic planning and the administrative organs.

2. In the work of improving the administrative system in industry and in the transport service the following aims must be kept in view:

a) The conversion of the Supreme National Economic Council and of the people's Commissariat for traffic service into

organs of not only that planned economic guidance which they have hitherto chiefly represented, but at the same time into organs actually effecting the application of the achievements of American, European, and Soviet Russian science and technics.

b) Heightened economic initiative in the works and factories, accompanied by greater activity on the part of the trusts with respect to the technical reconstruction of the undertakings and with a view to the amalgamation of those undertakings contained in the trust which are most closely related to one another.

c) The most exhaustive possible utilisation by industry of its own resources.

d) The realisation of the principle of the Party regarding the placing of the management of undertakings in the hands of individual persons, accompanied by the simultaneous and consistent development of the production consultations and provisional control commissions, whose practical proposals, in so far as these are approved and accepted by the works management, are to be put into practice without procrastination. The following principles laid down by Comrade Lenin must determine the system of works management:

"The more determinedly we must stand for a firm and relentless power, for the dictatorship of individual persons for certain processes of work and for purely executive functions exercised at certain moments, the more multifarious must be the forms and methods of control from below, in order to prevent any possibility of a distortion of the Soviet power, and in order to return again and again unwearingly to the task of uprooting the weeds of bureaucracy." (Lenin. "The next tasks of the Soviet government.")

e) The timely and complete equipment of our industry building both technically and economically.

f) The permanent retention of the heads of industrial undertakings in their positions and the cessation of conditions under which economists are frequently transferred from one work to another, rendering their training and the improvement of their technical knowledge much more difficult.

3. The improvement and rationalisation of the apparatus for the distribution of goods must proceed from the standpoint of the possibility and necessity of a further determined reduction of expense in the circulation of commodities.

In consideration of the fact that the monopoly possessed by the commercial apparatus with regard to numerous commodities, being exaggeratedly centralised in its regulating and acting organs, conjures up the danger of bureaucratic excesses in some parts of the apparatus, it is necessary to undertake the rationalisation of the apparatus for the circulation of goods from the point of view of a possible decentralisation of the operative functions, accompanied by the simultaneous maintenance and improvement of the centralised management, in respect to planned financial and business procedure. A greater mobility of the commercial apparatus is another necessity as also the actual reduction of the number of intermediate links in the intercourse between the manufacturers and the consumers of industrial goods, between the producers of agricultural raw materials and their consumers, and a better grasp on the part of the industrial and commercial apparatus of the actual demand, better service of the consumers, both by means of an enlargement of the network of small trading organs and by the technical improvement of their work.

4. The improvement of our system of financing and granting credits to national economy, of taxation, of the methods of settlement of accounts between the economic, co-operative and credit institutions by means of non-cash transfers; lessening of the number of intermediate settlement of accounts among the separate branches of industry, between industry and the co-operatives, etc.; increasingly wider application of the experience gained in non-cash business transactions for the payment of large sums by the population to the state, municipal, and public organisations.

5. Our apparatus must appropriate and apply the achievements of administrative technics as rapidly as possible: Mechanisation of book-keeping in all large economic undertakings (here positive results have already been attained in transport

service, in the 1st wool trust, in the textile syndicate of the Soviet Union, in the undertakings of the electric trust, etc.)) uniformity in book-keeping, conduct of business, and statistics; improvements in the structure of undertakings by means of a sharp dividing line between the functions of their separate parts, liquidation of superfluous intermediaries, introduction of the system of responsibility (especially of the method requiring that a person receiving an order is to report immediately to the person or organ from whom he has received it, and further that the person executing the order has to sign all the reports and documents which he has prepared, without consideration of the authority for which these documents are intended); the accelerated introduction of simplified book-keeping; extension of the old scientific and rationalisation bureaux and organisation of new ones; application of the experience gained in the founding of special rationalisation offices affiliated to the Soviet authorities; the training of experts in rationalisation, etc.

All these improvements are not objects in themselves, but are intended to bring about a simplification of the apparatus, enabling the masses to participate actively in the work of leadership.

6. Unless scientific methods of rationalisation are widely applied in every branch of production, planned economy, and administration, it will be extremely difficult for us to accomplish the tasks set us.

In view of the complicatedness, difficulty, and growing responsibility of planned economic activities during the reconstruction period, the scientific character and the all round scientific substantiation of our system of planned economics must be established by all available means. Here the State Planning Commission, in drawing up its economic plans, must refer to the latest achievements of international economics and technics and to the scientific research institutions and organisations of the Soviet Union, the work of which last must accord in character and time of accomplishment with the tasks of planned economy. The experience gained by the Workers' and Peasants' inspection and by the Supreme National Economic Council in the field of scientific rationalisation, have shown the vast possibilities of increased production and reduced cost prices opened out by the application of scientifically proved methods of rationalisation. The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, and all other leading economic organs, must greatly extend the scientific basis of their activities. For this purpose we need in particular: A network of rationalisation groups, bureaux, and institutions; the assistance of more foreign experts; the publication of more technical literature; the training of experts in rationalisation; extended technical education, etc. The Conference emphasises that the rationalisation of the apparatus must be the duty and constant function of all authorities, and not only of the organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The responsibility for the accomplishment of this task rests mainly upon the heads and collaborators of the authorities and their public organisations.

7. An intenser struggle for the saving regime, for the lessening of unproductive expenditure, both by adapting the administrative system to the needs of the growing socialist economy and by applying really up-to-date methods of administrative technics. The Conference in this connection holds the standpoint that one of the most important prerequisites for the realisation of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction, and with this of the accelerated tempo of the development of the Soviet Union as compared with that of the capitalist countries, is the continued, energetic, and unwearying effort for the reduction of expenses in commerce, industry, and administration.

The Conference draws the attention of all economic organs, and of the organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, to the fact that the struggle for the regime of saving must not by any means consist solely in retrenchment in the apparatus. It demands at the same time a maximum of effort for the actual rationalisation of production, for the complete utilisation and mobilisation of the existing institutions, for the increased useful effect of the capital invested, reduction of prime costs, an organisation of industry and transport service so efficient that the accumulation of unnecessary reserves, with the likelihood that these reserves become dead capital, is rendered impossible (in the transport services for instance, where the utilisation of the rolling stock, engines and carriages, is extremely small, a degree of utilisation must be attained at least approximately comparable with that of America, Germany, and

Japan, where the locomotives of the passenger trains are actually kept running for fourteen hours daily, as compared with 6½ to 9 hours in the Soviet Union. This would make it possible to save many millions of roubles.)

8. The results of the regional redivisioning of the Union must be studied from the viewpoint of a rapprochement between the state apparatus and the masses of workers and working peasants.

In so far as the districts remain the centres for the execution of the directives of the Party and the Soviet government, the main weight of the work for the improvement of the state apparatus falls upon their shoulders.

In this connection the structure of the district apparatus must be revised on lines ensuring that the largest possible number of tested communists, organisers, and experts, are placed at the disposal of the district centres.

The work of improving the structure of the apparatus must include the devotion of special attention to the organs of social insurance, of public health, of justice, of the co-operatives, of the labour exchanges, etc., these forming part of the immediate service of the broad masses. The structure and the working methods must be such that the workers are guaranteed the satisfaction of their needs with the utmost possible promptness and absence of friction.

9. In accordance with the instruction given on several occasions by Comrade Lenin, as early as next year two to three trusts, five to ten sub districts, and ten to fifteen districts, must be subordinated as model undertakings to the special superintendence of the Peasants' and Workers' Inspection. The Conference recommends that the Central Committee actually selects for this purpose, within the next two months, these models of Soviet work and places at their disposal the best, most tried and tested, and most conscientious organisers and leaders. The best results thus attained must then serve as a general example.

10. In so far as the accomplishment of the economic, political, and cultural tasks facing the Soviet Union requires the immediate participation of the masses of the workers, it is necessary that the most varying forms of initiative and self-activity on the part of the workers should be tested and promoted to an ever increasing extent (extension of the socialist competition introduced, on the initiative of the workers, both in the field of work for the improvement of building, of production, and of the reduction of cost prices, and in the field of work for the improvement and simplification of the system and structure of administration, of sending squads of workers to the rural districts, of the utilisation of workers' inventions, etc.) The achievements gained must be published in the press, in order that the whole Soviet Union be kept informed on the activities of the best organs, and on the work of the most competent, skilful, and conscientious co-workers, and of those most devoted to the cause of socialism. Prizes must be given for all valuable proposals towards the reduction of the costs of production, and towards the simplification and cheapening of the apparatus.

III.

The Organisation of Mass Control.

The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, as one of the most powerful levers in the hands of the Party and the Soviet Union in their struggle for the real improvement of the whole apparatus, can only fulfil the tasks set it if it works untiringly and with ever increasing intensity for the participation of the real broad masses of the workers in the struggle against bureaucracy; if it steadily extends its activities as organiser of the workers and peasants carrying out the control over the activities of the state apparatus; if it becomes more and more an organisation aiding the non-party elements to control the actions of the members of the Party; and if the non-Party workers and peasants learn with its aid to make full use of the rights granted them by the Soviet republics. Every other form of the "struggle against bureaucracy", if it fails to derive its support from the initiative and self-activity of the working class and seeks to replace the control of the workers and peasants by the work of only this or that apparatus, however conscientious, cannot achieve any real results towards the actual improvement and thorough re-organisation of the state apparatus.

The Conference therefore resolves as follows:

1. The C. C. C. of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection is recommended to continue in unwearied effort to induce the participation of the workers in the activities of the Inspection, **making use thereby of the experience already gained, and of the new methods proposed by the workers themselves** (sections of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, participation of the trade unions and especially of the production conferences, provisional workers' control commissions and economic consultations of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, worker delegates to the complaints office and to the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, recruitment of worker correspondents, consultations on disputes in undertakings or authorities with the participation of the workers and employees, formation of groups in support of the measures agreed upon by the works councils and local committees, unexpected inspections of Soviet institutions by workers, recruitment of volunteers, of young communists, examination of complaints on bureaucracy by workers attending workers' meetings, etc.).

2. It is proposed to the local Party organs and Soviets that sections of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection should be affiliated to all Soviets in the cities, villages, and larger village communities. In the village Soviets these sections should be chiefly composed of agricultural workers and small peasants (poor peasantry).

3. In view of the fact that instructions often given on the selection of the really best workers for the duties of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection are being inadequately carried out, and as a means of fulfilling Lenin's directions on the concentration of the best "that exists in our social system" in the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, it is proposed to the C. C. that it undertake during the next three months, under its own superintendence, a special mobilisation of co-workers for the regional and district organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. At the same time the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection must intensify its efforts for the recruitment of really capable workers who are ready to take up the struggle against bureaucracy; must induce these to take up the work permanently, and must form cadres of them for the other organs.

IV.

The Tasks of the Struggle against Bureaucracy in the Party and the Party Apparatus.

The Conference draws the attention of the whole Party, and of all Party members, to the necessity of a most determined, ruthless, and obstinate fight against the elements of bureaucracy within the Party itself, within the Party apparatus, elements arising out of the interweaving of Party and Soviet apparatus brought about by the employment of numerous members of the Party in administrative activities, and out of the influence exercised by bourgeois intellectuals and officials on the Party through the communists employed in the state apparatus. In the interests of the struggle against the elements of bureaucracy within the Party and the Party apparatus, which elements hinder the struggle against bureaucracy in the Soviet apparatus, the Conference resolves:

1. The Central Committee must continue **retrenchments in the paid Party apparatus**, and induce the Party functionaries to undertake honorary positions and to collaborate directly with the apparatus of the Party leadership. These measures must be carried through consistently, especially in the working centres.

2. The Control Commissions must devote special attention to combating any violation of inner Party democracy, and must call relentlessly to account any Party organs or persons attempting to prevent the realisation of the principles of inner Party democracy (restriction on free speech or voting at meetings, employment at elections of limitations not contained in the statutes, concealed or open violation of the Party members' right to vote with regard to the recalling of some secretary of the Party bureaus or Party committees).

3. The leadership, by the Party organs, of the Soviet, trade union, and co-operative organisations, and of the Young Communist organisations, must be improved all round; the replacement of the proletarian public by commands from above, and by petty tutelage on the part of the Party committees, is to be energetically combated. Since the Soviets, the trade

unions, and the co-operatives form the decisive apparatus maintaining contact between the Party and the broad working masses, the Party organisations must do their utmost to improve their work, must fight energetically against the violation of democracy in the trade unions, Soviets, and co-operatives, and especially against any violation of the principle of electing the leading organs, and must at the same time, with the aid of the fractions, organise re-elections enabling those bureaucratic elements who have lost all class instinct, all contact with the masses, to be removed from the leading body of the organisations concerned.

In spite of the immense amount of work which the Party has performed for increasing the activity of the masses and animating the Soviets, the development of the Soviets, trade unions, and co-operatives, as actually collective organs, is still extremely insufficient. The replacement of these organs by corresponding authorities (president of the Soviet, in villages frequently only the chairman or secretary of the Soviet, the committee or chairman of the co-operative, the trade union committee) is still very common, especially in the villages. Therefore, the main task of the Party, with respect to the Soviet trade unions and co-operatives, is to organise the activities of these bodies in such a manner that the actual participation of the working masses in the administration of the state is secured, and with this the strengthening of the leading rôle of the working class.

4. All persons completing their studies in the communist academies must work practically in the districts for at least two years. This practical work must be made a preliminary condition of employment in the upper departments of the state and Party apparatus.

5. The Soviet nuclei must become active fighters for the improvement of the state apparatus and the abolition of every symptom of bureaucracy, and must for this purpose gather together the Party members engaged in the state apparatus on the basis of the struggle to be made against the disruptive influence exercised by the bureaucratic elements on the Party members. The Conference proposes to the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection that they convene a special conference of Soviet nuclei, in order to consult upon the experiences gained in this line of work and to work out practical measures for future intensified effort.

Since the 15th Party Congress the Party has indubitably achieved success towards fulfilling the task set — intensified self-criticism from below. The practical experience won in the struggle against bureaucracy has shown us that the slogan issued by the Party, of self-criticism "without respect of persons", of criticism from below upwards and from above downwards, is the decisive method of fighting against bureaucracy, for the improvement of the apparatus and for the purging of the apparatus from the elements seeking contact with the big-peasant, the capitalist elements of the rural districts. The Conference, stressing the importance of such forms of self-criticism as that of the present socialist competition in the works and factories, suggested by the workers themselves, draws the attention of all Party organisations to the fact that the further development of control from top to bottom, of self-criticism, and of the deepening and concentration of self-criticism in the fundamental questions of public life, especially of the economic and cultural life of the country, offer the certain guarantee of the success of the Party and the Soviets in the struggle against bureaucracy.

Note.

We are not publishing the resolutions on the General Party Purging in the C. P. S. U., the Development of Agriculture and the Tax Alleviations for the Middle Peasantry, and the Five-Year Plan for the Development of Economy, as finally adopted by the 16th National Conference of the C. P. S. U., as apart from some minor amendments, these resolutions are the same as the respective theses submitted to the conference, which have already appeared in the following numbers of the *Inprecorr*: On the general Party purging, Nos. 18 and 19; on the development of agriculture and the tax alleviations, Nos. 19 and 20; on the five-year plan for the development of national economy, No. 21.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Plan of Socialist Construction in Action.

38 Machine Construction Works. Another Tractor Plant. Another Automobile Factory.

The Supreme Economic Council of the U. S. S. R. has ratified the plan of capital investment in the engineering industry for the fiscal year of 1929—30. The extent of construction will considerably surpass the outline of the five year plan and compared with the preceding year it will mark an increase of 150%, i. e. the capital investment will be 380 million roubles instead of 150 million in 1928—29.

Expenditures on reconstruction and expansion of existing factories and plants will amount to 240 million roubles. Investments in new construction will amount to 144 million roubles. Foundations will be laid for 38 new factories — 24 general machine construction works, 5 plants for the production of agricultural machines, 6 tool and hardware factories and 3 shipbuilding yards.

Among the new factories and works there will be several giant plants. Among these will be the automobile factory in Nizhni-Novgorod which will cost 64,600,000 roubles.

It is particularly worth mentioning the construction of another tractor factory in the Urals which will cost 63 million roubles and the plan to build another automobile factory especially for the production of tractor lorries.

The value of the 38 plants will be 666,500,000 roubles.

On the Road to Socialist Transformation of the Villages.

The system of concluding government contracts with peasants concerning their crops which has until recently been applied only to certain raw material agricultural products, has lately become widely in vogue in all branches of agriculture.

This year all cotton and beet crops have been contracted and also a considerable part of the flax, oil seeds and various other technical crops.

Contracts on grain crops have for the first time been tried last year when 4,752,000 hectares of spring and winter crops were contracted.

Contracts are concluded by the State through the agricultural co-operatives with whole villages or large groups of peasants which undertake to deliver to the State the marketable part of their crops on certain definite conditions. At the same time the contracts make it obligatory for the peasants to introduce certain modern forms of agriculture. They have to clean the seeds, introduce better methods of cultivation of land, they have to use selected seeds on a large scale and in many cases, if contracts are made for many years, entire districts are rearranged, proper crop rotations are introduced and social cultivation and harvesting is organised.

The benefit of the contract system is greatly appreciated by the peasants as experience shows them that the selected seeds provided by the state are giving good results. In 1928 the agricultural co-operatives have covered an area of one million hectares with selected seeds by means of the contract system. The farms using selected seeds had a yield 50% better than the others.

As a result the contract system is constantly widening its influence. This year about 15 million hectares have been contracted which will bring about one-third of the marketable grain to the State. Towards the end of May 11,500,000 hectares of the spring crop had already been contracted of which about 6,000,000 hectares is wheat.

More than 2½ million hectares of choice crops alone have been contracted. This together with the contracted winter crops (400,000 hectares) will give a minimum of 16 million cwts. of choice grain. It can be definitely forecast that the great object undertaken by the government to replace the ordinary seeds used by the peasants by selected seeds will be accomplished before the term.

The contract system hastens the development of agriculture and its reorganisation on a higher technical level. This is borne out by the rapid increase in the areas cultivating cotton, sugar beets, etc., in the cultivation of which the contract system has been applied in the course of several years. This is also borne out by the fact that almost the entire population engaged in the cultivation of these crops is organised in co-operatives and that the application of modern methods is making swift headway.

Petty agriculture thus gives way to co-operative farming and the sale of farm products in advance in accordance with the plans of the government.

Soviet Union has one of the most Powerful Radio Stations.

One of the most powerful radio stations of Europe (75 kwts. in the antenna) has been completed in one of the Leningrad factories. It was built for the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions. The station will be located not far from Moscow.

Health Resorts for Workers in the U. S. S. R.

One of the chief proletarian gains as a result of the October Revolution is the opportunity to go to health resorts and sanatoriums. The network of sanatoriums and health resorts in the U. S. S. R. is constantly widening. This year over 750,000 workers of the country will take cures and have their recreation in health resorts, sanatoriums and rest homes.

23 rest homes are already functioning in Moscow suburbs located in the best mansions of the former princes and bankers.

Where else have Workers such Access to Higher Education?

By a decision of the Soviet government the six-hour day and other privileges have been granted to factory workers attending preparatory schools.

Workers and employees entering universities or evening or day preparatory schools receive a months' salary on leaving the factories or offices. This is sufficient to maintain them for the period until they are finally accepted as students.

New Railway Lines and New Factories.

The Council of Peoples' Commissars has sanctioned for the current year the construction of a new railway line in Siberia to the Kuznetsk-Asinovsk coal mines. The construction of this railway line is closely connected with the construction of the Kuznetsk engineering works (the biggest in Siberia) which is now proceeding.

Simultaneously a beginning will be made with the construction of the **Ufa-Orenburg railway line**. This line will cut through the magnificent corn region of South Ural and will thereby draw this district into the economic development of the country.

The first technical cloth (cloth used for machinery) factory in the U. S. S. R. has been put up in Leningrad. The output of the factory satisfies the home demand for this cloth which was hitherto imported from abroad.

A new works which turns out accumulator-batteries has been constructed in Moscow. It is the only works of this kind in the U. S. S. R. and the best of this kind in Europe.

Potash deposits were discovered recently in Solikamsk region. A beginning has been made with their exploitation, and a second big shaft is being erected. German experts are participating in the work.

Moscow is the richer for a new big enterprise — a bread factory which, together with the Leningrad bread factory, is the biggest enterprise of this kind in the world. The output of the factory is up to 200,000 kilo of bread in 24 hours, i. e. a big enough supply for 500,000 people. Owing to such a gigantic scale of production, the cost of production will be two to three times lower than in the ordinary bakeries, and the expenditure of labour power per unit of production 5—6 times smaller.

Leave in the U. S. S. R.

The Peoples' Labour Commissariat has introduced substantial addenda concerning the yearly leave to which, as everyone knows, all workers and employees (without exception) are entitled in the U.S.S.R. Instead of the former weeks (minimum two weeks for all and 4 weeks for people employed in work requiring considerable physical exertion), the leave period will now consist of 12 and 24 working days plus the corresponding Sundays. Thus workers will not lose the holidays which happen during their leave and the special rest days (except Sundays).

The yearly leave for young workers employed in industries injurious to health has been prolonged to 6 weeks.

Workers employed in bakeries have the right to a month's leave. Hitherto they had only a fortnight's leave.

Workers' Sport.

International Contests in the U.S.S.R. — Chess Tournament with 20,000 Participants. — To Moscow on Motor-cycles.

A number of international sport contests will take place in the U.S.S.R. in the course of the coming months. Workers' football teams are expected from Latvia, Austria, Sweden, Esthonia, Turkey, France and Finland; light athletes from France, Austria, Esthonia, Finland, Sweden and Norway; cyclists from Austria, Germany, France and Finland; swimmers from Austria, Norway, Germany and France, and tennis players from France and Austria.

At the invitation of various foreign workers' sport organisations, groups of U.S.S.R. sportsmen will visit a number of West European countries. Football teams will go to Finland, Latvia, Sweden and Austria, cyclists to Latvia, Finland and Austria; swimmers to Norway, Germany and Austria; boxers to Finland and Esthonia; light athletes to Finland, Esthonia, France, Germany, Norway, Austria, Switzerland and Sweden.

The monster chess tournament of the working youth of Moscow organised by the Editorial Board of the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" has come to an end, 20,772 chess players between the age of 14 and 24 participated in the tournament which proceeded according to the olympic system.

A group of working class motor cyclists in East Prussia is getting ready for the long distance ride Tilsit-Riga-Moscow (over 2,000 kilometres).

The Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Red Sport International in Kharkov.

The V. Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Red Sport International will take place in Kharkov (Ukrainian S.S.R.) from May 31st to June 2nd. The agenda will be as follows:

1. Workers' sport organisations and their participation in the industrial struggles of the working class.
2. Our tactic in regard to the secessionist actions of the reformists.
3. Questions of sport technique.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Joint Swindle of the Labour Party and Miners' Executive.

By F. Roberts (London).

The Labour Party now stands exposed not only as the accomplice of the Eight Hours Act the purpose of which was to starve and crush the miners, but has revealed itself as a party of swindlers. The aims and the methods of the MacDonald party, which still has the arrogance to pose as a Labour party, is seen in the two documents published in the "Miner" of May 18th.

The first document is a letter signed by Mr. Lindsay, the Secretary of the Parliamentary Labour Party. This document is not published in full, many omissions being signified by dots. On the question of miners' hours, the following lines appear in black and white:

"The suggestion was made that it (the Bill of the Labour Government) should provide for 7 and a half hours bank to bank."

This means that the Labour Party does not even promise to re-establish the seven hour day for the miners.

The Executive of the Miners Federation, which agreed to this suggestion of a seven and a half hour day, felt, on second thoughts, that this "promise", if made public, would alienate thousands of workers from the Labour Party. To save the

situation, the Cooks and the Smiths decided to ask the Labour Party to give such an interpretation, which while not committing the Labour Party to anything definite, would help them to throw dust in the eyes of the miners.

The Labour Party swindlers showed themselves capable of producing such an interpretation. The interpretation reads:

"Undoubtedly it was agreed that in the first Session of the Labour Government a Bill would be introduced to reduce the working hours of the miner. All that is outstanding is the decision as to the form that Bill should take — whether, for instance, it should be a simple repeal of the Tory Government's Act, or whether it should provide for seven hours bank to bank."

Every miner will understand that the Labour Party does not even commit itself to introduce a bill to provide for the re-establishment of the seven-hour day. This burning question remains "outstanding".

Now, why is the Labour Party afraid to commit itself? Are they not used to break their word? The answer is simple. They hope that the Labour vote will be delivered to them by the trade union executives. In formulating their policy they do not want to "discredit" themselves in the eyes of their masters. This is the real meaning of the correspondence published in the "Miner" of May 18th.

PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

Ten Years after the Fall of the Soviet Republic of Latvia.

22nd of May 1919 — 22nd of May 1929.

By Valentin Olberg.

Ten years ago the rule of the working class in Latvia came to an end. The bourgeoisie celebrated its restoration to power.

The overthrow of the Soviet Republic was due wholly and solely to the intervention of imperialism. The proletarian dictatorship enjoyed the support of the vast majority of the population. This was particularly clear when the two classes had only themselves to rely on.

The German occupation troops were withdrawn. The bourgeoisie proclaimed a democratic republic (November 18th, 1918). One month later, however, the proletariat proclaimed a Soviet Republic, and very soon the bourgeois dictatorship had to give way to the dictatorship of the workers. The Latvian Red army routed the bands of the White Guardists. Libau alone remained in the hands of the bourgeois Government. At this point the Government rallied its forces and finally got the long looked-for help of international imperialism.

The world war was hardly at an end when the two imperialist coalitions joined in a fight against the workers' republic. The common class interests had done away with all enmity. As is plainly to be seen from the telegram of Lieutenant Colonel Bürkner, chief of the general staff of the VIII. army to the German Government, December 27th, 1918, the British had requested the remnant of the German troops to leave a striking force in Latvia to hold the Bolsheviks in check and to prevent them from passing beyond the positions they were holding.

The leader of the German army of occupation was the Social Democrat August Winnig. His answer ran: although it is unusual to compel a government to occupy a foreign State, but in this case, it is our own wish, too, as it is a question of protecting German blood.

Rosa Luxemburg mentioned this at the inaugural congress of the C. P. G. and accused Ebert, Scheidemann and consorts of handing German troops over to a foreign power, an act which is punishable even under bourgeois law.

With the co-operation of the German army and the navy of the Entente the Latvian bourgeoisie brought about the fall of the Soviet power.

Latvia is chiefly an agricultural country. More than 65 per cent. of the population are engaged in farming. The most important task of the bourgeoisie was to wrest the peasants from the alliance with working class, or, at least, to keep them neutral. For this purpose the land reform was worked out in September 1920.

Before the war			
the landed proprietors owned	3,161,005 hectares	48 per cent	
the peasants owned	2,586,796	" 40 "	" "
the State owned	658,007	" 10 "	" "
the Church owned	70,772	" 1 "	" "
others owned	93,550	" 1 "	" "

Nearly half of the land therefore belonged to a few hundred landowners, while hundreds of thousand of peasants owned no land at all. On the basis of the law of 1920 3,710,413 hectares were confiscated and registered in the State funds. From these funds — and the reform is not completely executed — 1,621,000 hectares have been distributed up to the present. The rest of the land (woods, marshes, waste lands and State holdings) remains the property of the State.

In consequence of the land reform, the social structure of the country has changed. Up to the present 65,000 new farms have been created. Prior to the war 60 per cent. of the peasants had no land, but to-day this percentage has sunk to 40.

In reality, only big peasants and men who took part in the "war of freedom" were given land. The position of most of the new farmers is by no means brilliant. Without money they can do nothing. However, as a rule the benefit of loans and tariff protection goes to agriculture. In this regard several things have been accomplished. For instance, in comparison with 1913 the area under cultivation has been increased by 8.2 per cent. The restoration of stocks of cattle is proceeding slowly and at different rates for different categories:

Livestock in Latvia

	1913	1927
Horses	320,000	369,000
Cattle	912,000	966,000
Sheep	966,000	1,127,000
Pigs	557,000	534,000

Another job has been accomplished by the Latvian bourgeoisie, namely, the stabilisation of the currency. The currency was established: 1 gold franc (Lat) equals \$ 0.19 or 0.2903 grammes of gold. The assets of the State Bank exceed 1,900 million Lats, i. e. 1000 Lats per capita of the population. Foreign debts are relatively slight, for they amount to only 44 Lats per capita of the population.

The items of the budget are interesting. The Latvian budget for the year 1928/29 totals 164,110,000 Lats. This sum is a constant one for the Latvian budget. The chief revenues are direct taxes. Customs duties net for the bourgeoisie 41 millions, excise 17 millions, the liquor monopoly 28 millions. This makes 86 million Lats or 53 per cent. of the whole budget.

Direct taxation brings in 16 millions, but the Latvian bourgeoisie, just like its confreres in West European countries, knows full well how to shift this burden onto the shoulders of the toiling masses.

Before the war Latvia was an important centre of industry. At present, pre-war production and pre-war labour employment have not yet been reached. The figure for present production is only 35 per cent. of the pre-war total and workers employed only 60,000 against 113,000 before the war. A workman earns 3 to 4 Lats a day, a workwoman 1.6 to 2.4 Lats, youth of 14 to 18 only 0.8 to 1.2 Lats. This means 94 per cent. of pre-war wages. Foodstuffs are, however, all 30 per cent. dearer than they were in 1913. The cause of the price inflation is tariff protection. Potato flour, sugar and wheat flour have prices of 50 to 100 per cent. imposed on them. "It is not necessary to produce figures in order to prove how much dearer things are in this country" — this is from the Fascist atlas".

Rationalisation is increasing unemployment, which, according to the data of the Social-Democratic trade-union leader *Ischnja*, exceeds 20,000. The number of unemployed is growing rapidly:

1924	3,800
1925	7,900
1926	7,500
1927	11,600
1928	15,000

After the illegal demonstration of August 22nd, 1928, fresh impetus was given to the Labour movement. The parliamentary elections brought 18 per cent. of all votes to the lists of the left wing. Radicalisation has made great progress. Constantly growing masses of the working people are beginning to recognise that the democratic republic is a veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party stands steady and unshakeably at its post. It is the historic leader of the Latvian working class.

In the year 1919 it excluded the Mensheviks, who afterwards opened a shop for themselves. The Social-Democratic Party in Latvia, is, therefore, a new organisation, while the C. P. can look back over several years of activity.

The foreign policy of Latvia is a mere continuation of the home policy. Armaments are directed not only against the enemy abroad but also against the enemy at home. The military estimate swallows up 39,372,000 Lats. Expenditure for military purposes accounts for 24 per cent. of the total budget. In addition to the standing army there are the Fascist organisations "Aizsargi", which are designed chiefly to combat Communism. In the approaching war Latvia will serve as a good base for the British Navy.

The relations with the Soviet Union are based on the treaty of peace of 1920. In this treaty the R. S. F. S. R. of that time was the first State to accord de jure recognition to Latvia. It was only after this recognition that recognition was accorded by the Entente. In July, 1927, the Social-Democratic Government concluded the commercial treaty with the Soviet Union. The treaty served the purpose of an economic rapprochement between the two States. The bourgeois press never gets tired of the campaign it carries on against the commercial treaty. All economic organisations, however, must acknowledge its significance.

On February 9th, 1929, Latvia signed the Litinov protocol concerning the acceleration of the coming into force of the Kellogg Pact. A further rapprochement has not come to pass. Latvia is following in the wake of Poland and preparing, as a confederate of Poland, for the war between Capitalism and Socialism.

Ten years have passed since the capture of Riga. Latvia has always had the help of the imperialists. But in spite of this help it has never accomplished anything. The Latvian bourgeoisie is constantly driven to resort to Fascist methods.

The Latvian proletariat is learning its lesson in a succession of hard fights. Its strength is growing. The second Soviet Republic of Latvia is already seen in prospect.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Role of the Proletarian Women in the May Fights in Germany.

By Lene Overlach (Berlin).

Already before the 1st of May the working women in the factories this year displayed a keen interest in the decisive question: "Shall we let the machines remain idle on the 1st of May?" — "Will the 1st of May be observed?" The majority of women employed at the factories decided to abstain from work. In one of the largest metal factories in Berlin, although the whole staff did not cease work, the women's department was at a complete standstill on the 1st of May.

One of the most striking features of the demonstration processions was the great number of women participating in them. It is reported from Langenbielau, a place in Silesia, for example, that more women than men appeared at the demonstration.

The Berlin working women and housewives played a leading role in the demonstrations and the fights with the police. We give a few examples reported by the functionaries.

In *Schöneberg*, a district of Berlin, the workers had gathered in the neighbourhood of the market square. Suddenly, four young working women appeared in the middle of the street and started singing the "Internationale". A procession was immediately formed. When the police drove up in motor lorries, the first ranks did not waver. Two working women were arrested; the procession was dispersed by means of baton charges. Now the indifferent women in the market place joined in the fray. They bombarded the police with everything they could lay their hands on: oranges, apples, cabbages etc. The stall-holders permitted this in spite of the loss it meant to them.

In *Mariendorf* the women were also at the head of the procession. The police were at first at a loss what to do. They retreated in order to get reinforcements and to occupy the bridges. Here a procession was broken up. It was the women marching at the head of the procession who received the first blows from the truncheons. The demonstrators made their way

singly over the bridges and then gathered together again in Tempelhof, another district of Berlin. Here a young working woman jumped up in the street and called out: "Come out in the streets! Demonstrate!" Arrests were again carried out. But the young working woman, standing beside the police lieutenant, again called out: "Long live the 1st of May!" — "Long live the Communist Party!" This group of demonstrators forced its way to Potsdamer Platz.

In the centre of the town the women formed a firm phalanx in the demonstration procession. Suddenly there was unfurled a big banner, bearing the slogan: "We women demand equal pay for equal work!" When the police came up there was a fierce struggle for this banner, but it was rapidly rolled up and hidden under the cloak of a working woman.

In Wedding and Neukölln, where the fiercest fighting took place, the proletarian women played the most important role.

The women took active part in building barricades.

In Köpenick the demonstrating women called to the police: "Shoot if you have the courage to!" Here the police did not venture to shoot.

At the Alexander Platz a young working woman was beaten insensible by blows from the police batons and then dragged to a patrol wagon. Here she was again beaten. In spite of this the working woman held up her clenched fist. Blows from the police batons were again rained down upon her; blood ran from mouth and nose and she again lost consciousness.

In the police hospital she made propaganda among the old police officials and told them they were only misguided proletarians. She was then threatened by a police officer who said: "We ought to have killed you, you whore! Shut your mouth at once, or I will kill you!"

Forty women were locked up in a stable. The indifferent women wept, but the class-conscious women made propaganda. They called out: "Down with the security police! Long live the Communist Party of Germany!" and sang the Internationale. From all the police barracks there was heard the revolutionary songs of the arrested.

Many women who were not taking part in the demonstrations were wounded, seven women were killed by bullets.

The women of the C. P. of German and of the Red Women and Girls League visited the wounded in the hospitals. A revolutionary mood prevailed in all the hospitals where the wounded lay.

In these days of fight the Red Women and Girls League of course entirely fulfilled its revolutionary duty.

On the 2nd of May it was the working women in three tobacco factories in Berlin who first entered spontaneously on a protest strike. They were followed by the shoe factories, where also about 90 per cent. of the employees are women. The women throughout the country took part in the protest movement. Thus a well-attended shop meeting of the women of the safety razor department of the firm of Henckels in Solingen unanimously adopted a resolution protesting most energetically "against the bloody and brutal action of the social fascist Zörgiebel and his lackeys against the revolutionary Berlin proletariat".

In Chemnitz, the women delegates in the firm of Marshel, which employs 200 working women, succeeded in bringing the staff out on strike.

The revolutionary behaviour of the working women in the May days has furnished the proletariat with practical proof of the important role of the women in all revolutionary struggles. The exemplary courage, the revolutionary élan of the proletarian women has served to shake the petty-bourgeois, backward view, still prevailing in the proletariat, that the women have a minor role to play in the revolution.

The strong participation of the women in the May demonstrations and struggles is a new and striking proof of the rapid radicalisation of the masses of working women. It is evidence of the profound revolutionising process taking place in the working class, which is now seizing hold of the politically most backward strata, the masses of women.

The 1st of May is a glorious page in the history of the fights of the female-proletariat.

Strike of Laundry Women in Boulogne sur Seine.

By Marie Bréant, Paris.

The successful strike of the laundry women of Arcueil Cachan, near Paris, in the autumn of 1928 was bound to have its effect upon the women doing the same work in Boulogne sur-Seine, which is also in the neighborhood of Paris. Boulogne is the centre for large steam laundries, employing thousands of women. The most important steam laundries of Boulogne are those of Bernod, Francque, Gruel and Simon, which also employ about 1800 working women.

The revolutionary trade union has for a long time been carrying on an agitation campaign among the working women of Boulogne, especially in the big concerns, as the women of the smaller concerns had already shown fighting spirit. For this reason a certain amount of precaution was desirable, though this had the effect of delaying the outbreak of a strike movement. But the fermentation grew daily, as the list of demands of the laundry women, which had been presented to the employers' organisation, had remained unanswered since the end of January, namely over two months. At the meeting organised by the trade union the women announced their desire to fight, and a meeting finally voted in favour of a strike. This meeting of women delegates of the big laundries was prepared by the women themselves at the request of the trade union without any leaflets or placards and only by oral propaganda.

Their demands were as follows: General wage increase of 50 centimes per hour, 30 francs per week for those working on a weekly wage and increases from 10 to 25 centimes a piece for linen paid for at piece rates.

As soon as the strike was resolved upon, placards announcing the strike were posted up throughout the town. But they were immediately torn down by the police. The first meeting of the strikers was held in the town-hall assembly room and there were hardly 200 laundry women present. The mass of police posted at the entrances to the assembly room behaved in the most provoking manner. Women were taken to the police station, and the trade union functionaries had to clear the doors of the assembly room in order to prevent further unpleasant incidents.

The strikers resolved to send delegations to the employers. The police arrested one workman and one workwoman entering into a discussion with an employer. The arrest of these two, who possessed great influence over their workmates, soon became known to the laundry women in general and caused great dissatisfaction and indignation. A number of those women who had still remained at work, joined the strikers. At the afternoon meeting there were no fewer than 700 workers and workwomen present. Groups were formed for the purpose of bringing out the women who had not gone on strike. The work of these groups was very successful. At 6 o'clock in the morning they started out on their job, and when the next meeting took place at 9 o'clock the number of strikers had swollen to 2000, 1500 of whom took part in the meetings.

The strike took place at a time when the employers were most in need of labour. In order to defeat the movement and to prevent the women from participating in the strike, the firm of Bernod accorded its people an increase of 25 to 30 centimes per hour, but the women were not willing to depart from their demand for a wage increase of 50 centimes per hour.

When the strike had lasted four days, the firm was obliged to negotiate not only with the delegation from the workwomen but also with the representatives of the revolutionary trade union. The proprietors of the Bernod, Gruel, Francque, and Simon laundries made various proposals, but the trade union would not budge. Finally, the employers were forced to come to terms with all demands.

This speedy victory surprised even the working women themselves, who had not quite understood how favourable a situation was for them. The trade union gained more than 400 fresh members.

Just as in Arcueil, where the trade union was strengthened by the strike, in Boulogne the trade union is zealously continuing its work of organisation. In these endeavours it is being assisted by the best elements in the ranks of the working women, who came into prominence in the course of the strike movement.