

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 21

3rd May 1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliesstach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

R. Campbell: The Communist Party of Great Britain and the General Election.

Politics.

K. Leski: Increasing Preparations for War on the Soviet Union.

R. Schüller: The Political Crisis in Austria.

Raoul: The Crisis of the Machado Dictatorship in Cuba.

Labour Movement.

A. Benier: The Strike Movement in France.

Kasper: Heroic Struggle of the Workers of the Steel and Rolling Mills in Berlin-Hennigsdorf.

Against Colonial Oppression.

The Terror of British Imperialism in India. (Resolution of the League Against Imperialism.)

To the Rescue of the Indian Victims of British Imperialist Terror!

Full Text of Indictment against Leaders of Indian Workers.

The White Terror.

Wilhelm Pick: The Real Culprits are not yet Brought to Book.

Against Imperialist War.

Chief Indications of Contemporary Militarism.

Ten Years of the Comintern.

Boshkovitch: The Tenth Anniversary of the C. P. of Yugoslavia.

XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U.

Opening of the National Conference.

The Five Year Plan for the Development of Economy.

The "Pravda" on the Opening of the XVI. Conf. of the C. P. S. U.

May Day.

Il. Vardin: Lenin and the Celebration of May Day.

Vaughan Mise: The Negro and May Day.

In the International.

Fiercest Fight against the Liquidatory Splitters for Increasing the Fighting Capacity of the Party (Resolution of the C. C. of C. P. Cz.).

Fight against Right Danger.

Resolution of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. Regarding the Expulsion of Joseph Hais and Others from the R. I. L. U.

The Balkans.

The Resolutions of the VIII. Party Conference of the Balkan Communist. I.

Trade Union Movement.

Letter of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat to the Philippine Labour Congress.

A Trade Union Programme of Action for Negro Workers.

In the Camp of our Enemies.

G. Zinoviev: German Social Democracy's Preparations for the Threatening War.

J. B.: Vandervelde at the Holy Sepulchre.

Our Martyrs.

Comrade Johann Fonagy.

The Peasant Movement.

M. Strahovenko: The Agricultural Labourer's Unions are a Bridge between the Proletariat and the Working Peasantry.

The Communist Party of Great Britain and the General Election.

By J. R. Campbell (London).

For the first time in its history the Communist Party of Great Britain will enter a General Election under its own revolutionary banner, with its own revolutionary programme in opposition to the three capitalist parties, Liberal, Labour and Conservative. The Party appreciates the heavy struggle which lies in front of it. The two open capitalist parties have millions of pounds and a powerful press at their disposal. The Labour Party still retains the allegiance of millions of workers who in spite of its complete surrender to capitalism while in opposition are still of opinion that it should be given an opportunity of becoming the Government; the whole strength of trade union discipline has been perverted to Labour Party purposes, and in no country in the world are parliamentary illusions so strong. (That these illusions were weakened by the General Strike is true, but they are still relatively speaking very strong.)

The principal issue of the Election from the point of view of the three capitalist parties hinges around the economic crisis and its solution. In slightly different ways the three parties of capitalism are putting forward programmes for the State stimulation of rationalisation as a means of solving the economic crisis. There is so little fundamental difference between the parties that the Conservative Party has just put into operation a measure of rating relief for the large capitalists which had previously, in its essentials (if not in quite the same form), been advocated by both the Labour and the Liberal parties, while the Liberal and Labour parties are frantically quarrelling over the question as to which party first suggested the measures for the State stimulation of rationalisation which are to be found in the programmes of both. The Communist Party will therefore be the only party in the election explaining to the workers the

meaning of the capitalist rationalisation offensive, seeking to mobilise the workers for a counter offensive, and linking up the immediate struggle of the workers against rationalisation with our ultimate goal of the revolutionary seizure of power and the setting up of a **Workers Government**.

All three capitalist parties will have much to say about the Empire. Each will strive to conceal the real character of the Empire as a machine for the brutal repression of the colonial peoples and will strive to represent it as a Federation of self-governing nations, or at least a structure which is in the process of development towards such a Federation. All of them will expressly repudiate the charges made by their opponents that they are in any way against the Empire. The strangling of Egyptian nationalism, the attempt to suppress the working class movement in India by the most brutal methods — those things will be concealed from the electorate by the three capitalist parties of Empire. Only the Communist Party will show the workers of Britain the importance of forming a united front with the genuinely revolutionary movement in the colonies for a joint struggle against the brutal imperialism which is suppressing the workers in the Metropolis no less than the colonial peoples. The Communist Party will champion the right of the colonies to **complete independence**, and as a proof of its intention to achieve this will run two candidates against the Labour members of the **Indian Commission** and will strive to get the workers in other constituencies represented by the members of the Commission to put up candidates against them.

The great issue of the Election, i. e. the question of the coming **imperialist war**, will not be mentioned by any of the capitalist parties. If the Communist Party was not appearing in the Election as an independent force this question would not be discussed at all. The Party will be able, however, to put before the electorate the proof that the capitalist class is preparing war, that the programme of all three parties consists in supporting the capitalist policy which renders war inevitable, and will describe to the workers all the methods of struggle which must be employed to prevent war coming or to change the imperialist war into a civil war should it come in spite of our efforts to prevent it.

In **twenty-six** different districts our Party will put forward its independent candidates against the candidates of the three capitalist parties and will make an effort to increase the number. The British electoral system is designed, however, to aid wealthy parties, because it is a regulation that no party can put forward a candidate unless it places a deposit of £ 150 per candidate with the local authorities. This naturally diminishes the number of candidates that a proletarian party can put forward. The Party will, however, in a number of additional districts put forward candidates and seek to raise the £ 150. If it is unable to do so it will continue to keep its candidate before the workers even if his name is not on the official voting list, and will expose the fraudulent electoral system constructed in the interests of capitalism.

The Party will go into the Election with the slogan of **class against class**. It will show that the fundamental political division is between the capitalist parties, which stand for the perpetuation of the dictatorship of capitalism, and the workers and the Communist Party, which stands for a workers' dictatorship which holds down those classes hostile to working class emancipation until the realisation of the complete social order eliminates classes altogether. The Party will therefore expose the electoral struggle of the three capitalist parties as a sham fight between parties all of which stand for capitalist rationalisation, empire and war, all of which are in a tacit coalition against the workers and the colonial peoples.

It follows that the Communist Party cannot advise the workers in those districts which are not being contested by Communists to vote for any of the candidates adhering to the programme of any of the capitalist parties. Where Labour candidates are prepared to abandon the capitalist programme of their party and declare their willingness to support a series of elementary working-class demands, the Communists will be prepared to advise support, but in no other case.

The Party will of course link up its electoral struggle against capitalist rationalisation, against the empire and against war and for the revolutionary Workers' Government with the struggle to win the leadership of the workers in the economic struggles which are pending. It will by its electoral struggle recruit new members for the Party and open the way to the leadership of the British working class.

POLITICS

Increasing Preparations for War of the Soviet Union.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

Behind the curtain of the Kellogg-Pact and the Litvinov Protocol, Great Britain, France, and their capitalist satellites (headed by the Poland of Pilsudski) are undisturbedly continuing their preparations for war on the Soviet Union. The preparatory "Disarmament" Commission now sitting at Geneva does not disturb Poland in the least in arming itself to the teeth with the help of its imperialist patrons.

An insight into the extent of the Polish armaments may be gained from a few figures shortly published by the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" in regard to the war transports arriving at the port of Danzig in the course of a single week.

On March 20th, the Swedish ship "Libau" entered the harbour of Danzig with a cargo of explosives. On March 21st, the big British ship "Farnham" brought 192 tons of cordite from Philadelphia. Furthermore, the Polish freight-ship "Wilga" which is constantly plying between Danzig and the French naval harbour of Cherbourg, unloaded a great lot of war material of all sorts at Danzig.

In the coming month, the Polish navy is to be enriched by three new fighting units, built in France, viz. the submarine "Lynx" and "Wolf" and the torpedo-chaser "Storm". In the course of May, another submarine, the "Zbik", is to be launched at Caen, and in the autumn the torpedo-chaser "Wind" will be completed. Besides this, three new mine-layers are being constructed for Poland at Caen, Nantes, and Havre, respectively.

A number of facts clearly show that the anti-Soviet bloc of the imperialists is concentrating special attention on the northern wing of the prospective war-front.

In this respect much may be gathered from an interview of the Polish deputy Arciszewski with a Latvian journalist at Riga. M. Arciszewski made no effort to hide his thoughts in calling upon the Latvian Government (the same Latvian Government which joined Poland in signing the Moscow Protocol with the Soviet Union) to accentuate its attitude towards Russia.

There are also various characteristic facts in Baltic regions which point towards preparations for a war against the Soviet Union.

Quite recently, Lord Londonderry, a member of the Conservative Government of Great Britain as President of the Board of Public Works, inspected the Polish port of Gdynia. He was accompanied by Captain Casalet, a Conservative member of the House of Commons. Since there is no question of Great Britain having undertaken to carry out public works at Gdynia and since, shortly before his arrival at Gdynia Lord Londonderry had had a "lengthy interview" with Pilsudski, there can be no doubt that the object of his visit to the Polish naval harbour was that of investigating whether the latter would furnish a suitable basis for the British fleet in the eventuality of a war against the Soviet Union.

In the Diet of Danzig there are at present energetic debates in connection with the interpellation by the German National Party regarding a Polish secret memorandum, said to aim at the subjection of the Danzig Free State under the Polish Republic. Poland denies the existence of any such secret memorandum. In the Diet, the Communist deputy Raschke very rightly pointed out that the Polish bourgeoisie is hand in glove with the German bourgeoisie in striving to make Danzig into a military basis in the case of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

For it was only with the object of turning the Danzig harbour into a naval harbour in the case of a war against the Soviet Union, that the notorious French general Le Rond was appointed chairman of the Supreme Board of the Danzig Shipyards. It is an open secret that by order of his General Staff General Le Rond is working, in Poland, Roumania, the Baltic States, and even Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, at the organisation of a common front against the Soviet Union, at the unification of the armies of these various countries, and at the preparation of a common plan of operations. The fact, too, that Le Rond has been placed at the head of the Danzig shipyards, the greatest enterprise of the Free State, belonging

a far greater degree to France, Great Britain, and Poland than to Danzig itself, points to a further subjection of Danzig to the control of the international imperialists and to its further exploitation for the purposes of a coming war.

We know what difficulties the "neutrality" of Danzig caused Poland after the defeat of Pilsudski at Kiev in 1920. General Le Rond's mission is intended to obviate a repetition of such difficulties. For in the coming war against the Soviet Union, Danzig, together with Gdynia, is to serve as the base of operations for the Franco-Anglo-Polish fleet and as the main link in the connection between the Polish army and the arsenals of France and Great Britain.

The realisation of this task is facilitated by the fact that in the present Coalition Senate of Danzig serious tendencies are apparent towards an understanding with Poland. The Social Democrats of Danzig are among the leaders of international reformism, who aspire under the veil of pacifism to destroy the Soviet Union with the aid of international capital.

Just as Poland appears destined to become the rallying ground of the imperialist Powers, Danzig seems fated to serve as the connecting link between these Powers and Poland.

The Political Crisis in Austria.

By Richard Schüller (Vienna).

The great political crisis in Austria still continues. The government crisis is only the expression of the tremendous intensification of the class antagonisms. For that which is taking place in Austria is not only a crisis of the government but a crisis of democracy, of Parliamentarism in general. And the question at stake is, whether or not fascism will be victorious in Austria.

Seipel's resignation meant nothing else but a threat with the fascist dictatorship. Confronted with the difficulties of the increasing class antagonisms and the rising wave of struggles on the part of the proletariat, and faced with the threatening economic crisis, the Seipel bloc, supported by its fascist Heimwehr, decided to make a determined step. The social democratic party was to be compelled to abandon its sham opposition and to line up in the united front with the bourgeois bloc in order to allow the latter to carry out its fascist policy more energetically. And the first thing to be abolished is the tenants' protection, which alone has preserved the impoverished Austrian proletariat from sinking to the standard of living of colonial coolies. It sufficed to threaten with the sword of the Heimwehr in order to obtain from the social democratic party what was desired. The social democratic party, however, did not need to be "compelled"; it proved eager to take part in the carrying out of the Seipel programme.

Thus, as a result of secret negotiations, a monstrous pact was concluded between the social democracy and the fascist-bourgeois bloc. It was decided to abolish the tenants' protection, or that is what the details of the new rent law agreed upon by the social democracy and the bourgeois bloc actually amount to.

With this shameful betrayal the bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism is complete and the last of those achievements of the Austrian workers, of which Austro-Marxism was so proud, is one away with. The social democracy has discarded all revolutionary phrases and gone over openly to the position of shameful co-operation with the fascist bourgeois bloc.

The excitement and indignation of the Austrian workers at the betrayal of the tenants' protection is enormous, and is increasing from day to day. The wave of struggles which has been observable among the Austrian workers for some months has thereby received a great impetus. The broadest masses of the working class now see that the fight against fascism and the bourgeois bloc, against social democratic treachery, are questions which concern their daily bread. The anti-fascist fighting movement has increased tremendously in the last few months. The workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have not only on numerous occasions put the fascist hands to flight, but have themselves gone over to the attack. This has happened in Mödling, in Liesing, in Köflach, in Innsbruck, in Graz and many other places.

What is most important however is, that it has proved possible, against the will and against the resistance of the social democratic party, to set up a powerful anti-fascist united front of the masses. This united front is embodied in the anti-fascist defensive and fighting committees in the factories and localities.

There already exist numerous such committees. On the 21st of April there was held in St. Pölten a national anti-fascist Congress which united broad masses in the fighting united front against the bourgeois bloc government and fascism, for tenants' protection and against the treachery of social democracy. Of the 165 delegates present, 69 were social democratic workers, 23 non-Party and 78 Communists.

The bourgeois bloc government and the social democracy recognise that the danger threatening them from the side of the fighting masses under the leadership of the Communist Party is growing. While the social democracy is inciting against the anti-fascist committees, the government has instituted proceedings against them on account of conspiracy and high treason.

The anti-Fascist National Congress called upon the workers to demonstrate with the Communist Party on the 1st of May. For the Communist Party is more and more becoming the rallying point of all elements who are really determined to fight fascism; and the influence of the Party is steadily increasing among the workers. Times have greatly changed in this respect. The energetic pursuit of the sharp and independent line of the X. Party Congress against fascism and social democracy has greatly increased the prestige of the C. P. of Austria among the masses.

Thus the 1st of May in Austria is a day of fighting demonstration in the truest sense of the word. The slogans of the Communist Party of Austria for the 1st of May are characteristic of the acute situation of the class struggle and the offensive fighting line of the Party: Save the tenants' protection by proletarian mass action! Down with social democratic treachery! Down with the bourgeois-bloc government! For work and bread! Death to fascism! Arming of the proletariat! For the workers' and peasants' government!

The Crisis of the Machado Dictatorship in Cuba.

By Raoul.

The latest news to hand from Cuba permit of the inference that the dictatorship of General Machado, the unscrupulous agent of certain Wallstreet interests, is rapidly approaching a serious crisis.

General Machado is an insignificant personage without even the minimum qualities necessary for such an instrument of the United States in Latin America. In his youth he was a cattle-thief; and in his later life he never abstained entirely from the practices of his early years.

He came into power through a former compromise with the United States, which found in him an absolutely willing executor of their orders and instructions.

Since he has been President of the Cuban "Republic", he has made all kinds of assaults not only on the Constitution and its democratic principles but also on individuals, especially workers, who were bold enough to protest against his grotesque tyranny. A great number of proletarian heroes have been victimised by this rule of terror. One of the most recent was Julio Antonio Mella.

The working class of Cuba has offered brave resistance to this offensive but the absence of a strong Communist Party, firmly rooted in the masses, the Social-Democratic and Anarcho-Syndicalistic traditions (engaged in a process of dissolution though they are), and the enormous power and corrupting influence of imperialism have facilitated the work of the exploiters.

Machado, who has "reformed" the Constitution to his end, desires to remain in power for another six years. It is questionable, however, whether he will succeed in putting this object through. Every day matters get more complicated, and the political foundations on which he relies threaten to fail him.

According to reports of the United States Legation at Havana, Cuban exports to the United States in 1928 valued 202 million dollars, while its imports from the United States stood at 128 million dollars. These figures mark the lowest ebb of foreign trade since 1913.

The following statistics show the development in the volume of trade between Cuba and the United States in ten years, according to United States Government figures. In this connection it may be remarked that these figures differ not inconsiderably

from the official returns of the Cuban Government, which has forbidden the publication of the American figures in the official newspapers (the only newspapers that appear at all in Cuba).

The United States

	Purchased Goods in Cuba for:	Sold Goods to Cuba for:	Export Surplus in Favour of Cuba:
	(Expressed in Millions of Dollars)		
1918	278	227	51
1919	418	278	140
1920	721	515	201
1921	230	187	43
1922	267	127	140
1923	376	192	184
1924	261	199	162

Under the Regime of General Machado:

1925	261	198	62
1926	250	160	90
1927	256	155	101
1928	202	128	74

Sugar is sold in New York at 17½ cents (1.69 at Havana), which represents a falling-off of 52 points in comparison with the same figure for the preceding year and of 25 points compared with the price attained two months ago. At a total of 4.5 million tons of sugar, this falling-off in price represents a loss of 50 million dollars. The resulting situation may well be imagined.

All the enterprises of the sugar industry are at present in the hands of the raw-sugar cartel, which is controlled by the National City Bank of New York. The outwardly independent companies are in reality only dependencies of a single financial institute, the National City Bank.

The entire petty-bourgeoisie of Cuba, exploited and disorganised in their political utterances, appear to be preparing at the present moment for a fight against the dictatorship of General Machado, Machado, who relies exclusively on foreign capital, has disappointed the hopes and expectations of the entire country.

Thanks to Machado, the Cuban peasants, doomed to extinction by the weight of foreign capital, have been deprived of the last semblance of political liberty still remaining to them. By the orders of the dictator their organisations were dissolved and they are only waiting to seize the next opportunity to give utterance to their hostile attitude towards the dictator.

Machado's term of office lapses on May 20th. He is doing his utmost to be re-elected, but there is every indication that his new term of administration will from the very beginning be far more turbulent than the dictator himself confidently prophesies.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike Movement in France.

By A. Bénier (Paris).

The growing price-appreciation and the exaggerated physical demands made on the workers as a result of the general introduction of new methods of over-production, are accelerating the radicalisation of the masses in France. Almost in all parts of the country and in all branches of industry strike movements break out in connection for higher wage demands. In January there were 75 such conflicts with 68,000 workers; in February 57,000 strikers were involved in 49 conflicts, while in March the "Humanité" received notice of 160 conflicts with an aggregate number of wellnigh 50,000 strikers. The lines most affected were metallurgy and building, the former in view of the rapid advance of rationalisation and the latter in connection with the seasonal resumption of work. In March there were 40 small conflicts in the metal industries and 60 in building; these fights were in general isolated but they extended to all the workers of the enterprises concerned and were almost invariably conducted by the revolutionary trade unions, though nearly all of them were insufficiently prepared by our functionaries.

Added to this, we have some serious set-backs to report late. The great strike of the textile workers in the **Halluin** district, which lasted for more than seven months, terminated in the unconditional resumption of work by 12,000 workers. This was the outcome of the open treachery of the Christian leaders who without the consent of the workers negotiated with the employers as to the resumption of work and stopped paying relief to their members, thus causing a general demoralisation. In **Bordeaux** the dock-workers of the South-West also returned to work after 65 days' strike without having put through their demands. In the **Paris** district various small movements in the mechanical lines and the action of part of the chauffeurs likewise ended in defeat.

In all these cases the following shortcomings were apparent: 1. An underestimation of the possibilities for the reformist leaders to effect manoeuvres of which the workers have not been warned in advance. 2. Insufficient organisation of resistance of the masses to the police, since there are far too many strikers who content themselves with remaining at home instead of assembling in great numbers before the factory gates. 3. Insufficient perseverance on the part of groups of workers, who once they recognise the inexorability of the employers, prefer to quit the enterprise and to seek employment elsewhere (no such difficult matter in view of the lack of workers in industry). So that after a few days' time there is a "strike without strikers", the remaining small cadres being unable to continue the struggle.

But these defeats have not shaken the confidence of the workers in the revolutionary trade unions, for during the conflicts numerous additional members were gained. Above all, they do not diminish the offensive energy of the masses as appears from the significance of the most recent movements.

On April 3rd, 1600 textile workers went on strike at **Lavelanet** in southern France, on the grounds that their employers were unwilling to renew a contract providing for a wage-increase of 4.80 a day.

On the same day roughly 1000 workers of both sexes (mainly female workers, who are terribly exploited), employed in making tins for preserved food at **Concarneau** in Brittany, quitted their works, arranged demonstrations in the streets and had repeated fights with the police, who arrested and condemned dozens of them.

Above all, however, mention should be made of the great fight which was started on April 16th by the textile workers of the **Roanne** district. This is one of the first fights which was seriously prepared by our Comrades.

In 30 communities, scattered over the **Loire** and **Rhone** departments and very poorly supplied with means of communication, there are some 25,000 workers of the cotton industry, 60 per cent. of them women. The revolutionary district trade union has 1600 members; the reformists have barely 200 or 300, but rely on the power of the corruption practised by the big Socialist municipalities such as **Roanne** and **Cours**. The main demands are a wage-increase of 50 centimes per hour and a paid leave for female workers lately confined.

The workers of this district fought some splendid fights in the past. Their last strike was in 1924, when they succeeded in effecting the formation of an equally proportioned committee of workers and employers, which resolved on numerous important wage-increases but soon deteriorated into a reformist organisation. Early in 1927, the employers profited by the advance of unemployment for the purpose of attempting to force a wage-reduction by 15 per cent. The treason of the reformists, committed for the sake of the stabilisation of the franc demanded by **Jouhaux**, caused the workers to agree to a wage-reduction of 8 per cent. Finally, a movement, which, it must be admitted, was badly conducted by our comrades, led in the summer of 1928 to the organisation of a membership vote, in which the Communists made the mistake of joining and which as a result of Socialist machinations declared against a fight.

This time our Comrades have endeavoured to follow the instructions of the R. I. L. U. regarding a systematic preparation from below and a conduct of the strike on a large scale. Within two weeks the revolutionary trade union organised 37 works assemblies and three central assemblies, which were attended by more than 50 per cent. of the workers. The democratically elected delegates chosen by these meetings held a works-congress on March 27th, attended by 74 members of the revolutionary trade union, two members of the reformist trade union, and 1

unorganised workers. An action and organisation committee was formed, comprising 23 members and embodying members of all directions represented at the congress.

The agitational campaign continued to employ the same methods, the chief objects in view being the comprehension of the unorganised workers. Seeing that the employers' reply was a haughty refusal to enter into discussions on the grounds that they alone were "called upon to judge of the question of possible wage-improvements", a second works-congress met on April 7th. It comprised 23 delegates, who decided in favour of a general strike. This ensued on April 16th, comprising 50 per cent. of the workers at Roanne and from 75 to 100 per cent. of those in the smaller places.

In spite of this better preparation, some organisational shortcomings continue to obtain, such as the inadequate formation, before the movement, of the works' and local strike-committees, their insufficient connection with the central strike committee, the poor organisation of the mass strike-pickets, the necessity of which many of the workers still fail to appreciate. The Communist nuclei and fraction assemblies were not very well attended. But there too our comrades managed to arouse the masses. The reformists are likely to employ the same tactics as on the occasion of the miners' strike in the basin of the Gard; they will follow the movement in inactivity until they remark the slightest weakness in the strikers' front, when they will proceed to betray the strike. As was the case at Concarneau, the tactics observed by the employers are as follows: They declare that they will not negotiate with the "Communist agitators", but only with the workers themselves without any representatives of the trade unions. By public posters, they declare their intention of not discussing the question of a wage-appreciation unless the workers continue their work.

Heroic Struggle of the Workers of the Steel and Rolling Mills in Berlin-Hennigsdorf.

By Kasper (Berlin).

1700 workers employed in the Steel Works and Rolling Mills in Hennigsdorf near Berlin, an undertaking belonging to the A. E. G. Concern, have been on strike for over three months against a wage cut of 10 to 30 per cent. The fight began on January 23 last when a department, comprising 308 men, downed tools because, after futile negotiations by the works management, the above wage cut was simply dictated. In order to enforce this wage cut the works management, a day or two later, locked out the whole of the staff.

At the commencement of the struggle the staff was divided into strikers and locked-out, into free trade union organised, christian-socialist organised, and unorganised workers. About fifteen per cent. of the whole staff is organised in the free trade union. In order to set up a united fighting front the revolutionary opposition, on the second day of the struggle, organised the election of a united Strike Committee in which both the organised and unorganised workers are duly represented. This measure was unanimously supported by the whole of the staff. Already in the first week of the struggle the wives of the strikers and also the youth were mobilised, and they elected their representatives to the Strike Committee. By this means the women, who otherwise are often a retarding element in labour struggles, were accorded an active place in the fighting front. Those of the locked out workers who were not entitled to strike pay or other relief submitted demands to the municipal authorities for relief. The social democratic burgomaster, however, not only rejected this demand, but called out the police against the strikers and imposed a stage of emergency.

The united revolutionary Strike Committee, in close connection with the fighting workers, have for fourteen weeks frustrated all attempts at sabotage on the part of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, the Christian union and the Stahlhelm, repelled all the attacks of the works management and the social democratic burgomaster and thwarted all attempts of the foremen, acting on behalf of the works management, to obtain strike-breakers.

The workers, in spite of the meagreness of the relief received by them, have offered united and determined resistance to the combined pressure of the reformist bureaucracy, the em-

ployers and the State power. A number of workers have pawned their clothing and furniture; many workers do not even possess shoes in order to be able to do picket duty — the unorganised workers were supported only by the Workers International Relief, which provided them with a warm dinner every day and supplied them with bread — mothers have had to look on and see their four or five children eating only dry potatoes, and in spite of this they did not allow their husbands to act as strike-breakers. The trade-union organised members of the Strike Committee have been expelled by the bureaucracy from the German Metal-workers Union and, as a result of denunciations by the social democratic trade union leaders, an action for breach of peace has been brought against the Strike Committee.

In the fourteenth week of the struggle the reformist trade union bureaucracy went over to open strike-breaking and declared the strike to be at an end, although the workers had by six votes rejected a base compromise and decided to continue the fight.

But all these efforts to force the workers to capitulate have been of no avail; the front remains firm and unshaken. The workers have realised the necessity for and the leading role played by revolutionary Strike Committees as united front organs capable of fighting determinedly against the reformist trade union bureaucracy, the employers, and the organs of the State. During the struggle the factory nucleus has increased from seventeen comrades to over fifty; a local group of the Workers International Relief, numbering 200 members, and a group of the Young Spartacus League have been formed. The number of readers of the Communist organ "Volksecho" has increased by 70. About the same number of workers have, in spite of the treachery of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, joined the Metal Workers Union in order to strengthen the Opposition.

This struggle constitutes an instructive and heroic example in the history of the whole Labour movement.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Terror of British Imperialism in India.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism held in Amsterdam on April 13th. and 14th. 1929 under the chairmanship of James Maxton, M. P., special attention was paid to the present situation in India where the British Government are attempting, by a series of repressive legislative measures and acts of terror and oppression, to crush the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants, the youth movement and the movement for national independence generally. S. Saklatvala, M. P. gave a detailed account of the various measures such as the Trade Union Dispute Bill and the so-called Public Safety Bill which have been passed by the Government notwithstanding the fact that they were rejected by the Indian Legislative Assembly and were put into force by the dictatorial powers of the Viceroy as the agent of British Imperialism in India.

It was decided to take international action, in order to give active support to the Indian movement, and the following resolution was unanimously passed; and it was further decided that India should be placed in the forefront of the international activities of the League as well as of the deliberations of the World Congress, which will take place from July 20th. to 31st. 1929.

RESOLUTION ON INDIA.

Passed at the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism held at Amsterdam on April 13th & 14th, 1929.

British Imperialism is making desperate efforts to stem the rising tide of the struggle for the independence of India. Repression is accompanied by adroit proposals designed to disintegrate the ranks of the national revolutionary movement.

The workers of Bombay are shot down and bludgeoned in hundreds, meetings of strikers and demonstrations of workers, peasants and students are broken up, the leaders of the militant trade unions have been arrested wholesale and held in

Indian jails, the streets of Bombay were recently patrolled with troops, tanks and machine-guns, military officers and magistrates are notified to hold themselves in readiness for immediate mobilisation against the working class.

At the same time, the Fawcett Committee appointed by the Government at the end of the Bombay strike last October is urging the millowners to give up their claims for a wage reduction, but on condition that the workers choose docile Trade Union leaders, and virtually cease to follow those, now cast into jail, under whose militant leadership the owners were compelled to abate their claims.

Not content with this the Government of India, alarmed by the indomitable spirit of the workers who of their own initiative have carried on a protracted struggle and have sustained and stimulated their leaders, is now forging new weapons of oppression.

By the Trades Disputes Act the Government of India aims at smashing the militant trades unions, at splitting the workers' movement, at paralysing the effort of the exploited proletariat of India to improve their lot and at perpetuating an infantile death rate which is the highest known in the world. These terrible conditions in India serve also as a weapon against the British workers. Low wages in India drag down British workers' earnings especially in the mining, steel and textile industries.

At the same time, the Viceroy of India promises a Labour Commission in order to remedy the grievances of the workers. "We ourselves", said the wolves, "will guard this helpless flock when once those interfering watch-dogs are removed."

By the Public Safety Bill the Viceroy of India confers upon himself the power to deport without trial British subjects who may be suspected of "subversive propaganda", in order to secure the safety of those other British subjects who spend their time exploiting the masses of India.

The decision of the Indian Nationalists not to debate the Public Safety Bill is met by what appears as the staging of a "bomb outrage" (reported in the Continental papers as mere fire-works) which bears all the characteristics of a provocation engineered by the British Secret Service utilising for this purpose misguided fighters for the independence of India. This incident has certainly had no other effect than to provide a further pretext for the death-dealing hand of the Government and to serve as a handle to intimidate the Nationalist leaders into a surrender to the dictates of the British Crown.

If proof were needed of the futility of parliamentary action against the might of Imperialism, of the contempt felt by the British Government towards the Indian Legislature, of the hypocrisy of the repeated promises of self-government, of the fact that the utmost the Nationalist President can do within the rules and limits of the Legislative Assembly is overridden by the despotic action of the Viceroy, it would be found in the celerity with which this functionary assumed the garb of autocracy and required the attendance of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly in order that he might proclaim to them his ordinance for bringing into immediate force the Public Safety Bill and thus completing the humiliation of the Indian Legislature.

Faced with the possibility of a determined revolutionary struggle amongst the 300 millions of mankind whom they deprive of freedom and independence, the Government of India, the representative of British Imperialism, will use both force and fraud to maintain its hold on this valuable field of exploitation for British capital.

And while the British Government are engaged in the hypocrisy of discussing disarmament proposals at Geneva, they are carrying on feverish war preparations in India, and through the Butler Commission are converting the States ruled by the Indian princes into military strongholds, for the purpose, on the one hand, of crushing the movement for independence of the Indian masses, and on the other, of furthering British Imperialist plans of aggression directed mainly against the Soviet Union, British policy in Afghanistan and the disturbances provoked and organised among the tribes of the North West Frontier Province are but preludes to the war that is being planned by British Imperialism.

Against such tyranny and aggression, the fighters against Imperialism all over the world must redouble their efforts to help the Indian masses in their struggle for independence.

Everywhere, in every country, in the workshops and the fields, the cruelties and barbarous methods of exploitation of

British Imperialism in India must be made known, and the help of all the struggling working masses of mankind must be directed to their brethren in India. Especially amongst the workers of Britain and the British Dominions must help be sought. All movements to India of munitions and armed forces must be hindered by strikes, by open opposition and organised resistance. To the troops themselves must be explained the hideous task that is set them of shooting down unarmed Indian workers and peasants to save the profits of the British capitalists.

The Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism calls on all adherents not to lose time but immediately to redouble their efforts, to collect money, to mobilise their forces, to do everything in their power to free the fighters for independence from the tyranny now raging over India.

To the Rescue of the Indian Victims of British Imperialist Terror!

The Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism has issued the following Appeal to all Affiliated, Associated and Sympathising Organisations of the League Against Imperialism.

Friends and Comrades:

The International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism has just received from the **President of the All-India Trade Union Congress and General Secretary of the All-India National Congress**, which are both affiliated and associated organisations of the League Against Imperialism, an urgent appeal to take immediate international action against the reign of terror which the British Government has initiated against the workers and peasants of India and against the mass movement for national independence.

We have received authentic material with regard to the recent arrests of 31 prominent trade union and political leaders from all parts of India who have been rendering active service to the masses of India in their struggle for national and social emancipation.

The majority of those who have been cast into prison are leading members of the **Workers' and Peasants' Party**, one is an ex-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, eight are members of the All-India Congress Committee, and two of them are English comrades who have been rendering signal service to the trade union and political organisation of the Indian masses.

Hundreds of house searches have been undertaken by the police including Labour offices and offices of the **Youth Leagues**.

The arrested leaders were handled brutally. They were taken handcuffed on long railway journeys lasting several days.

This wave of terror aims at the complete destruction of the **Workers' & Peasants' Parties**, at crippling the trade union movement and bringing it under the complete control of the Government and its Labour agents, at crushing the rising youth movement and the general mass movement for the national independence of India.

The trial of the arrested leaders is to take place at **Meerut** in Northern India. It is necessary to point out to our international organisations the significance of the choice of this particular city for the trial. The so-called "conspiracy" for the overthrow of the imperialist Government is admitted to have been widespread and most of the arrested came from Calcutta, Bombay and Lahore while only one was from Meerut. But the trial will nevertheless take place at Meerut because in that city the accused will not have the right of claiming a trial by jury except in the case of the two English comrades who as "European British subjects" alone have that right. They will be absolutely at the mercy of the judicial agents of the Government who will exercise their arbitrary will against the accused. The most brutal and savage sentences are sure to be passed and appeals against these sentences can only go to the High Court at Allahabad which is notorious in all India as the most vindictive "Court of Justice" in the case of so-called political "offenders".

The League Against Imperialism has already issued an urgent appeal to all anti-imperialist organisations and to a

ade unions to record their protest against British imperialist error and to help the cause of the Indian workers and peasants by contributing financial help for the defence of the arrested and for relief to their families.

The International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism, in response to the urgent appeal received from India, once more calls upon all affiliated, associated and sympathising organisations of the League as well as all organisations and individuals interested in the emancipation of the colonial peoples, to lose no time in coming to the rescue of the Indian victims of British imperialist terror.

We call upon them to take the following steps without loss of time:

1. To organise meetings and demonstrations to protest against British despotism in India and to express solidarity with the Indian masses.

2. To collect funds for the defence of the prisoners and to submit the same as quickly as possible to the International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism, Messrs. Münzenberg, P. and Chattopadhyaya, Secretaries, Berlin S. W. 48, Friedrichstraße 24.

3. To send telegrams to the British Trade Union Congress protesting energetically against the acts of terror and repression directed against the Indian working class and to send messages of solidarity and encouragement to the All-India Trade Union Congress (cable address: Tradunic Bombay) and the Workers' and Peasants' Party, 2 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. To make sure that these messages reach their destination and are not suppressed by the British Government copies should be forwarded to the International Secretariat of the League.

We especially call upon all trade union and workers' organisations in the imperialist and the colonial countries to give effect to the above appeal and thereby demonstrate to the workers and peasants of India that they do not stand alone and isolated in their heroic struggle.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM
Willi Münzenberg, V. Chattopadhyaya
Secretaries.

Full Text of Indictment against Leaders of Indian Workers.

**Complaint of King Emperor
Versus**

1. Philipp Spratt; 2. Benjamin Francis Bradley; 3. Ajodhya Prasad, son of Ram Prasad; 4. Shaukat Usmani, son of Ghulam Shauddin; 5. Puran Chand Joshi; 6. Gauri Shanker; 7. L. R. Adam; 8. Dr. V. N. Mukharji, son of Dr. Harish Chandra Mukharji; 9. Ch. Dharamvir Singh, M. L. C. (Vice President, Workers' & Peasants' Party); 10. Dharani Goswami, son of Usmani Mohan; 11. Shib Nath Banarji, son of Dwarka Nath; 12. Muzaffar Ahmad, son of Mansur Ali Sarkar; 13. Gopal Das, son of Brindaban; 14. Shamsul Huda; 15. Kishori Lal Das, son of late Nanda Lal; 16. Gopendra Chakravarty, son of Harendra Lal; 17. Radha Mittra, son of Bipin Behari; 18. Sripad Amrit Dange; 19. Sachchidanand Vishnu Ghate; 20. S. H. Chawalla; 21. Dhondi Raj Thengdi, son of Gunwant alias Arba Thengdi; 22. Keshav Nilkant Ioglekar; 23. Shantaram Savaram Mirajkar; 24. Raghunath Shivram Nimbkar; 25. Gangadhar Moreswar Adhikari; 26. Motiram Gajanan Desai; 27. Arun Atmaram Aive; 28. Gobind Ramchandra Kasle; 29. Sohan Singh Josh, son of Lal Singh Jat; 30. M. A. Majid alias Abdul Majid, son of Mir Faiz Bakhsh; 31. Kedar Nath Seghal, son of Jag Mal.

The complaint of Mr. R. A. Harton, Officer on Special Duty under the Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, sheweth:

1. That there exists in Russia an organisation called the Communist International. The aim of this organisation is, by means of armed revolution, to overthrow all the existing Governments of Government throughout the world and to replace them by Soviet Republics subordinate to, and controlled by, the central Soviet administration in Moscow.

2. That the said Communist International carries on its work and propaganda through various committees, branches, and organisations, controlled by the subject to itself, e. g. the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.), and various sub-committees of the same, including a sub-committee concerned with Eastern and Colonial affairs (Colonial Bureau); the Communist Party of Great Britain (C. P. G. B.), which is a section of the Communist International; the Red International of Labour Unions (R. I. L. U.), the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, the League Against Imperialism, the Young Communist League (Y. C. L.) and various other bodies.

3. That the ultimate objective of the said Communist International is the complete paralysis and overthrow of existing Governments in every country (including India), by means of a general strike and armed uprising. It has outlined a programme or plan of campaign which should be followed for the achievement of this ultimate objective. Among the methods so ordained are:

a) The incitement of antagonism between Capital and Labour.

b) The creation of Workers' & Peasants' Parties, Youth Leagues, Unions, etc., ostensibly for the benefit of the members thereof, but in fact for the purpose of propaganda: the domination of such parties by Communists pledged to support the aims of the Communist International, and the unification of such bodies under one control subservient to the Communist International.

c) The introduction of fractions or nuclei of such Communists with illegal objects as aforesaid into existing Trade Unions, Nationalist bodies and political and other organisations, with the object of capturing the same or obtaining their support in the interests of the Communist International.

d) The encouragement of strikes, hartals, and agitation.

e) Propaganda by speeches, literature, newspapers, the celebration of anniversaries connected with the Russian Revolution, etc. etc.

f) The utilisation and encouragement of any movements hostile to the Government.

4. That in the year 1921 the said Communist International determined to establish a branch organisation in British India, and the accused Sripad Amrit Dange, Shaukat Usmani and Muzaffar Ahmed entered into a conspiracy with certain other persons to establish such branch organisations with a view to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India.

5. That thereafter various persons, including the accused Philip Spratt and Benjamin Francis Bradley were sent to India by the Communist International through the medium of one of its branches or organisations, and with the object of furthering the aims of the Communist International.

6. That the accused named in this complaint reside at different centres throughout British India. They have conspired with each other, and with other persons known or unknown within or without British India, to deprive the King Emperor of the sovereignty of British India, and for such purpose to use the methods and carry out the programme and plan of campaign outlined and ordained by the Communist International, and in fact they used such methods and carried out such plan of campaign with the assistance of, and financial support from, the Communist International.

7. That the accused have met and conspired together as aforesaid at various places within and without British India, and amongst other at Meerut, and in pursuance of such conspiracy as aforesaid, the accused formed a Workers' and Peasants' Party at Meerut and there held a Conference thereof.

8. That the above named accused have committed an offence under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code and within the jurisdiction of this Court.

It is, therefore, prayed that the Court will enquire into the above named offence.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Real Culprits are not yet Brought to Book.

By Wilhelm Pieck (Berlin).

"Public Prosecutor: 'Had you taken any steps at this discussion to secure a better conduct of the investigation?'"

"Landsberg: 'I took no steps.'"

It would seem to be an irony of fate that almost exactly ten years after the court-martial proceedings against the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg the case should have been heard again before a civil court in Berlin at the instigation of the Supreme Court of Prosecution, which are naturally not over-anxious to recall those murders to the memory of the working class. The Supreme Court of Prosecution, however, obviously thought that the intervening ten years had so far effaced the traces of the murderers and of their mild treatment at the hands of the authorities, that an attempt could be made for the rehabilitation of the culprits and their accomplices.

In the weekly "Das Tagebuch", which inclines to the Left, an article appeared in March 1928, which once again established that Public Prosecutor Jorns, who had been entrusted with the preliminary investigation against the murderers, favoured the latter by the manner of his cross-examination, veiled their guilt, and assisted them to escape. Seeing that in the meantime Jorns had been advanced to the dignity of Chief Public Prosecutor by the Republican Government in reward of his activity and is in this capacity exercising a notorious rôle in the so-called "high-treason trials" (in which connection the article in question was written), the Supreme Court of Prosecution, was induced to protect its "colleague" and to bring action for calumny against Bornstein, the responsible editor of the publication, whose counsel was Dr. Paul Levi. Herr Jorns appeared as a witness and was admitted as an "accessory plaintiff". At the trial, however, the weight of the evidence produced so transformed the individual rôles, that even the Court of Prosecution repeatedly addressed the "witness" as an accused.

Greatly as the composition of the court and its audience differed from the court-martial proceedings of 1919, there was a certain parallelism between the two proceedings. Two of the murderers, Liepmann and Runge, were present and sought to exonerate themselves. Liepmann has in the meantime become a barrister at a Potsdam court and was addressed as "dear colleague" even by the Chairman. The court, the plaintiffs and the defendants, moreover, anxiously avoided the establishment of the real culprits in the murder. The Chairman did his best speedily to remedy all situations which might have proved awkward for the real culprits and to help Jorns out of his plight, while keeping the basis of discussions and the treatment of the evidence within as narrow limits as possible. But under the weight of circumstances the one day set aside for the trial was lengthened into many days. The "plaintiff, the Public Prosecutor, and the "accessory plaintiff" Jorns could not reveal the true culprits or their protection of the murderers, if only for the reason that this would have been tantamount to an admission of the crime of which Jorns was accused. The "officially" accused and his counsel ought to have established this fact, but they too consciously avoided doing so and, by concentrating their attack on Jorns, became parties to the veiling of the murder and the protection of the murderers. It was merely certain bits of evidence which made it possible to guess at the actual culprits, and that only momentarily.

The revolutionary working class has long since established that the true culprits were the Social-Democratic leaders, men like Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, Landsberg, and Heine. In those months following on the November revolution, their infamous agitation against Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg prepared the way for the assassination of these two prominent Communists; in their capacity as members of a "popularly elected" Government, they sanctioned the open incitement to murder and refrained from taking any steps against the murderous bandits;

they made no attempt to deny the rumours of a Government reward for the murderers; they brought the bands of assassins to Berlin, established their head-quarters at the Eden Hotel, and openly encouraged them in the "Vorwärts". And when the assassination had been committed, they permitted all things possible to be done in favour of the murderers and helped to camouflage their acts, doing nothing to impede the measures initiated by Government organs in protection of the murderers.

Bornstein and his counsel, Paul Levi, are fully aware of this, Levi himself having said as much in the columns of the "Rote Fahne". In court, however, they refrained from putting forward this evidence and from accusing Noske, Landsberg, Ebert, and the others. Was not Noske the personal friend and ally of Captain Pabst, the organiser of the gangs of murderers? Did not Heine openly reproach the members of the Executive Council members of Workers deputies with refusing to step on the force of an investigation? Had not Landsberg to answer in answer to a question put to him by the Public Prosecutor (and not by Levi), that in his capacity as Minister of Justice he had done nothing to secure a proper investigation, not even when informed of the protection afforded the murderers? Bornstein and Levi, however, were just as inactive in failing to establish this fact in court.

The true culprits have not yet been brought to book, with the exception of Jorns, a tool of the then Social-Democratic Government. This task has been left for the working class to fulfil. The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg must be brought into court a third time, but it will be into a revolutionary court that it will be brought. Not till then will there be triumph and all the culprits be called upon to answer for their guilt. But the present trial has served to bring to the minds of the workers the foul murder of two of their very best leaders. At the same time, the veil has, after all, been slightly drawn which on the occasion of the first trial was purposely drawn over the murder and the main culprits.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Chief Indications of Contemporary Militarism.

The imperialists who are preparing for another world slaughter, are continuing to arm themselves. All the talk about disarmament is only meant to deceive the mass of the workers. This talk pursues the sole aim of lulling the working class into security in order to allow the bourgeoisie to prepare itself quietly and thoroughly for the new war. We will give below only the main data which characterise the contemporary militarism. These dry figures and facts are a convincing testimony of the reality disguised by the lying talk of the imperialists about disarmament.

1. Land Armies.

Numerical strength of peace time armies (in thousands)				
States	1913/14	1923	1928/29 Total	Relations of army to 1,000 habitants
France	546	732	725*)	17.2
Great Britain . .	516	329	385	8.5
Italy	264	248	390**)	9.6
United States . .	226	372	439	3.7
Japan	275	236	206	3.5
Total	1,827	1,917	2,145	—

*) Including the gendarmerie, the colonial troops and mercenaries.

***) Including the gendarmerie and the colonial troops

Thus, the official numerical strength of the peace time land armies of the above mentioned five great Powers has increased by 300 thousand compared with 1913/14.

Taking into consideration that the military service period has been curtailed, the training capacity of these armies for the accumulation of fully trained reserves is considerably bigger than in the pre-war period.

The reserve of the population which has received military training constitutes by 1929 over 20 million for the above mentioned 5 great Powers, whereas in 1914, this reserve for the same powers amounted to 7—8 millions. Thus, the reserve of the population with military training has increased more than 1½ times.

In 1914 these 5 Powers were able to put into the field, at the mobilisation, war time armies of a total numerical strength about 5.5 million, whereas in 1929 they are prepared to put to the field, at the mobilisation, armies about 9 million strong, i.e. nearly twice as big as in 1914.

A characteristic peculiarity of the armies of the contemporary imperialist states is the extension of the army cadres by professional soldiers. The bourgeoisie which has no confidence in the mass of the workers and peasants from whose midst the armies are drawn, is endeavouring to secure permanent influence in the army by cementing the latter with professional soldiers drawn from the midst of representatives of its own class and with declassed elements. As generally known, in Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria the armies consist of volunteers with a long period of military service. This army system in peace time makes the armies of these States a thoroughly reliable instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the workers of its own countries as well as of the colonies. The countries whose army system is based on compulsory military service, have been lengthening their cadres in the last year by professional soldiers.

Thus, in 1913, professionals (officers and long term non-commissioned officers and rank and file soldiers) in the French army constituted 34% of the general numerical strength of the army. By 1929, the professionals constituted already 45.5%, and by 1931 they will constitute 51% of the total strength of the army.

In the Polish army there were in 1922, 240 professionals and 1,000 ranks and file soldiers, and in 1929 already 265.

With regard to the military training of the population, various kinds of fascist-bourgeois military leagues and various military organisations outside the army are playing a considerable role. In France there are, for instance, 1,200 thousand members in military sport organisations, half of which are subsidised by the government. The subsidies in the War Ministry alone constituted in 1926 6 mln. francs, and in 1929 this amount was raised to 22 mln. francs. Apart from this, 66 mln. francs were granted for 1929 in the budgets of the Ministry of Pensions and Public Instruction.

In Great Britain the organs for military training outside the army are "The Officers' Training Corps" attached to the secondary and higher educational establishments which train every year about 40,000 people, and the "Cadet Corps" attached to elementary and some secondary schools as well as to various enterprises which train every year over 100 thousand people. Both these organisations are maintained from State funds. Apart from these "corps" there is a whole series of military-social organisations.

In Italy there is the fascist militia (over 300 thousands strong) which is drawn from specially selected fascist elements and which has an excellent military organisation.

All these voluntary military organisations contribute a great deal to the military training of the population, and are also a reliable support for the existing bourgeois regime. During mobilisation and war they will be an auxiliary organisation for the upkeep of "law and order" in the country and will replenish the army with reliable elements, from the bourgeois viewpoint.

The States which are preparing for an attack on the U.S.S.R. are just as busy with regard to military preparedness. The table we give below shows the numerical strength of the armies of these States.

Numerical strength of the peace time land armies (in thousands).

States	1923	1928-29 Total	Relation of land army men to 1,000 inhabitants
Finland	30	33	10
Estonia	12	13	12
Latvia	20	20	11
Lithuania	20	20	9
Poland	265	300	10
Rumania	153	198	11
Total	500	584	10.5
U. S. S. R.	703	562	3.8

The fully trained reserve of all the Western border States constitutes 4.5—5.0 mln. These human resources are sufficient for the mobilisation of a 3—4 million war time army operating against the U. S. S. R., and for its replenishment during 2—3 years of war.

In order to keep alive military knowledge and habits, nearly all the States call up the reserves every year. Poland alone has called up in the last 5—6 years for military training about 1.25 mln. reservists.

With regard to the military training of the population of the Western border States, the military-fascist leagues play a very important role. The table below gives their numerical strength (in thousands):

States	1923	1925	1928—29
Finland	120	100	105
Estonia	10	20	27
Latvia	15	25	40
Poland	150	300	about 1000
Total	395	450	about 1200

This table shows the exceedingly rapid growth of military leagues in Fascist Poland and Latvia.

One can by no means judge the growth and stand of the contemporary militarism only by the numerical strength of the peace time and war time armies. Side by side with the numerical strength of the armies we must take into account the modern machines of annihilation and destruction with which the contemporary armies are replete.

In 1914, all the belligerent European armies entered the war with only 24 carriage machine guns per division (or 2 machine guns per battalion). In 1929 the war time divisions have in France — 172 such machine guns, in Great Britain — 192, in the United States — 155 and in Poland — 128. In 1914, not one of the armies had hand machine guns. At present, however, the war time division has at its disposal in France — 340 hand machine guns, in Great Britain — 350, in the United States — 790 and in Poland 340. Thus, we see that the armies are scores of times better provided with machine guns now than before. Consequently, the shooting capacity of the contemporary armies has increased, compared with 1914, at least 2½—3 times.

Moreover, the contemporary infantry is provided with infantry arms (small calibre cannon, mortars), from 18 to 27 per infantry division. In the beginning of the world war the armies were not provided with such arms.

Tanks have developed enormously. Owing to their technical improvement (a 5—6 times greater speed compared with the end of the world war), they are becoming more and more a necessary adjuncts of the contemporary armies. For instance, throughout the world war the French industry produced only 3200 tanks, whereas in 1929 the French peace time army is already provided with 1938 tanks.

Chemical means of struggle, in spite of the hypocritical conditional renunciation on the part of several bourgeois governments of their application in future wars, are being more and more developed with regard to their virulence and spreading capacity. Apart from gas balloons, chemical shells and air bombs, contemporary technique makes possible the pouring out and pulverisation of poisonous chemicals from airplanes. For instance, the airplane pulverisation apparatuses make it possible to infect with 300 litres of poisonous chemicals an area 800 meters long and 30 meters wide. Chemical means are becoming a terrible weapon of struggle in future wars.

Artillery has also reached a considerable stage of perfection in the post-war period. The range of field artillery has increased at least 30% (that of the heavy artillery considerably more). "The efficacy" of the shell has grown. Moreover the armies of the imperialist States are much better provided with artillery now than before. For instance, in France an infantry division had in 1914, 60 field guns, including corps-artillery, and 84 in 1929; for Great Britain the corresponding figures are 76 and 84. In the economically powerful United States there are 120 field guns to the division. Moreover, all the armies have a numerous artillery reserve at the disposal of the commander in chief, which hardly existed at all in the beginning of the world war.

Thus, we see that with regard to technique, the contemporary armies are superior to the armies of 1914. The contemporary mechanised armies on the theatre of the future wars will be much more destructive than in 1914—18. The intensity of the destructive effect of the armies in the field has increased. Qualitatively and quantitatively the means of struggle have become more deadly. The future world war for which the imperialist States are preparing so stubbornly and systematically, will exact from the working humanity even more human and material victims than the first terrible world war 1914—18¹⁾ if the revolutionary working class and the toiling masses do not prevent in time or stop the terrible new slaughter.

2. The Air Fleet.

Aviation technique is rapidly improving from year to year as shown by the following table:

Quality	1198	1928—29
Average speed of a scout per km.-hour .	130	190—200
Average practical radius of action (in km.):		
of a light bomber	300	450—600
of a scout	300	350—400
of a destroyer	175	250—300
Carrying capacity of a light bomber (in kg.)	150	450
Maximum weight of a fougasse bomb (in kg.)	1000	2000
Maximum shooting capacity of an aero-machine gun (shots per minute) .	1000	1600
Percentage of hits during bomb throwing from a height of 1500 meters . . .	14—15	50—60
Percentage of hits when shooting at terra firma targets from a machine gun. about 10		up to 75

Means for the pulverisation of poisonous chemicals from an airplane were not yet discovered at the end of the world war. But at present, owing to its speed, an airplane can infect considerable areas at the front as well as in the rear of the enemy (political centres, important factories and works etc.).

In connection with these achievements in the sphere of aero-technique, every imperialist State is endeavouring to prepare itself for maximum utilisation of "air possibilities" in the future war, and is increasing its air fleets.

The number of army and naval airplanes on service.

States	1914	1923	1918—29	1930—32 (supposed number)
France	138	1,350	1,650	2,000—2,500
Great Britain about . .	150	385	850	1,000—1,200
United States about . .	20	420	950	1,200—1,300
Italy about	40	250	600	1,000—1,200
Japan	—	250	475	600—800
Total of 5 great Powers About	350	2,655	4,525	5,800—7,000
Western border States (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Po- land, Roumania . . .		260	640	

¹⁾ In the world war, 1914—18, the number of killed and of those who succumbed to their wounds was about 9 million; the number of cripples about 3.5 mln., of wounded about 19 mln. The direct military expenditure of the two chief belligerent States constituted 250,000 mill. dol., their national wealth amounting to 567,000 mill. and their average yearly national revenue to 57,500 mill. dol.

This table shows that by 1928—29 the air fleets have grown 10—12 times compared with 1914, and show a tendency to rapid further growth.

In the first stage of the war the above mentioned 5 great Powers can mobilise up to 13—15 thousand service airplanes.

This quantitative and qualitative growth of the air fleet makes it a formidable weapon for attack in future wars. Henceforth all the most important towns, railway junctions, big factories and works situated within the action-radius of the air craft, become easy objects of an air attack. By improving the technique of the air fleet, the imperialist bourgeoisie is extending enormously its possibilities of destruction in future wars. "Aviation together with chemistry is extending enormously the areas of the destructive effect of war . . . The terrors of the last war are feeble harvest-lightning compared with the lightning of the coming war."

3. The Navy.

Classes of ships	Great Britain 1923/1929	U. S. A. 1923/1928	Japan 1923/1928	France 1923, 1928	Italy 1923/1928
Ships of the line	18 16	20 18	6 6	9 9	9 9
Cruisers of the line	4 4	— —	4 4	— —	— —
Cruisers	48 55	33 32	25 35	14 16	15 18
Air craft carriers	4 8	— 3	— 4	— 1	— —
Flotilla leaders .	16 17	316 309	71 114	101 ¹⁾ 52 ¹⁾	119 ¹⁾ 133 ¹⁾
Torpedo boats .	186 150	— —	— —	— —	— —
Submarines . . .	61 55	100 121	40 65	47 44	43 66

We see that the numerical growth of the navies takes place with respect to cruisers, air craft carriers and submarines. In the last years we do not witness in some countries a numerical growth with regard to some classes of ships, this certainly does not mean that there is no growth of naval forces. Obsolete ships are scrapped and are replaced by new quite modern war ships. The following table is an illustration of this:

Attributes of ships of the line built at different periods.

Quality	1890—1900	1906—10	1916—20	1921—25
Displacement (tons)	13,000	18,000	29,000	35,000
Machinery-power (h.p.)	12,000	24,700	58,000	45,000
Speed (in knots)	17	21	25	23
Maximum calibre of artillery (in cm.)	30.5	30.5	38.1	40.6
Weight of a broad-side (in tons)	1.1	4.0	7.0	9.0
	under	under		
Cost (in mln. £)	1	3	—	7
Number of crew.	700	800	1,100	1,400

Attributes of cruisers of the line (according to period of construction).

Quality	1907—10	1911—15	1916—20
Displacement (in tons)	18,000	27,000	45,000
Machinery (in h.p.)	44,800	75,700	157,000
Speed (in knots)	20	28.5	32
Maximum calibre of artillery (in cm.)	30.5	34.3	38.1
Number of crew.	780	1,020	1,480
Cost (in thous. £)	900	2,087.5	6,025

Considerable improvements have also taken place with regard to other classes of ships. Thus, although the number of ships of certain classes has been reduced by some naval powers, the fighting strength of the navies is certainly increasing because obsolete ships are scrapped and replaced by ships of a modern type.

There has been lately considerable rivalry between the United States and Great Britain with regard to naval construction. This is particularly evident in the construction of cruisers of the so-called Washington type, with a displacement of about 10,000 tons.

¹⁾ Tonnage in 1923 38,317, and in 1928 42,791.

²⁾ Tonnage in 1923 45,708, and in 1928 64,229.

The Construction of New Cruisers. (Number of ships.)

Date of completion	Great Britain	U. S. A.	Japan
1929	4	2	2
1930	3	6	2
1931	3	5	2
1932	3	5	?
1933	3	5	?
Total	16	23	?

It is characteristic that the United States confirmed the new ship building programme (15 cruisers) the day after the ratification of the Kellogg Pact. This is the best proof of the importance which the imperialists attach to their peaceful diplomatic acts. Pacts about renunciation of war as means of national policy are signed in all solemnity, and the next day they begin to build powerful warships for the conduct of war.

4. Military Expenditure.

The upkeep of millions strong armies which have to be provided with the most modern technical means of struggle, the creation of numerous air fleets and powerful navies demand enormous expenditure which becomes a burden for the working class and the whole working population.

Military Budgets (in mil. dol.).

States	1923-24	1927	Total	1928 in % to the whole state expenditure	Number of dol. per head of popula- tion
France	300	300	346	21.1	8.7
Great Britain	690	578	561	15.0	11.5
U. S. A.	580	685	653	18.4	5.7
Italy	136	203	254	23.8	6.3
Japan	187	229	235	27.8	3.9
Germany	109	169	168	8.3	2.7
Total of 6 great powers	2002	2164	2216	—	6.1
Western border States	168	—	190	from 12.3 to 41.3%	6.8

This table contains only expenditure with regard to the official military budgets. Apart from this expenditure, considerable sums are spent for war preparations in the budgets of other departments (ways of communications, trade and industry etc.).

These figures show that hundreds of millions of dollars are spent for the preparation of another slaughter. This is a heavy burden on the shoulders of the whole working population.

For instance, in Great Britain military expenditure per head of population (including children and invalids) amounts to 11.5 dollars per head of working population.

Militarism is growing from year to year. The imperialists are increasing their armies and are strengthening them by means of destructive machinery of the most modern type. Laboratories and science institutes continue to elaborate even more "modern", more "ideal" weapons for the wholesale destruction of human beings and material values created by decades of persevering creative human labour.

The imperialists, in their hunt for bigger profits, redistribution of the world and new markets, and in their desire to destroy their competitors, are preparing to bring into the field, at a moment convenient to them, millions strong armies provided with all the means of destruction. Europe and the world's lines of communication run the danger of being drowned in floods of human blood.

"All that is created now in the human society — in the sphere of economics, politics, science and art — recedes before the gigantic task of preventing at any price another war and of saving thereby mankind from degeneration and perdition. This can be done only by the workers under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

"...The struggle against militarism cannot be put off till war has actually broken out, for it will be then too late. War against war must be carried on now, immediately, from day to day."

TEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

The Tenth Anniversary of the C. P. of Yugoslavia.

By Boshkovitch.

Ten years ago, on April 10th, 1919, the first Party Congress for the uniting of the C. P. of Yugoslavia took place in Belgrade. The Party Congress was attended by delegates of all the social-democratic organisations of Yugoslavia. The event was characterised by the decisive fight against the right-wing social democrats, "Against Ministerialism for the Revolutionary Class struggle"; the gathering was almost unanimously in favour of uniting on the platform of the Communist International and for affiliation to the international. The Party was called the "Socialist Workers Party (of the Communists) of Yugoslavia". The social patriots were driven out of the Party.

The general revolutionary fermentation, which was at that time in progress throughout Central Europe, helped the Party to become a mass organisation within a short time. The arising of Soviet power in Hungary and in Bavaria, the prisoners of war from the former Austro-Hungarian army returning from the Soviet Union, the advance of the Red Army upon Warsaw, the occupying of the factories by the metal workers in Italy, exercised a big influence on the revolutionising process of the worker and peasant masses of Yugoslavia. The country experienced a thoroughly revolutionary phase, characterised by numerous strikes not authorised by executives, by the general strike of railwaymen, the general strike of miners, the peasant revolt in Croatia, the results of the municipal elections, the great number of votes cast for the Communists at the elections for the Constitutional Assembly (59 Communist delegates), and the huge demonstrations organised by the Party as a protest against the contemplated imperialist war on Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary. The growing of our Party struck terror into the hearts of the ruling Pan-Servian bourgeoisie and forced them to resort to White Terror with the object of destroying the Communist movement.

The Pan-Servian bourgeoisie constantly took sharper action against the Party. After the bloody overthrow of the general strike of railway men and of the peasant revolt in Croatia, the Communists were driven with violence out of the Zagreb Municipal Council, and the Belgrade Communist City Council was dissolved.

The constitution of the newly formed Communist Party made itself unpleasantly felt during these events. The Party was full of Social-Democratic traditions. The internal fight in the Party concerning the problem of strategy and tactics became steadily more serious. The more noticeable the class struggle became in town and country, the more sharply these opportunistic elements proceeded against the Bolshevik conversion of the Communist Party. The II. Party Congress (June, 1920 Vukovar) was characterised by the decisive fight against the right wing and the Centre; it ended in a complete defeat. Since that time the Party has been called the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

In response to the resolutions of the II. Party Congress of the C. P. Yu. the right wing and Centre issued a manifesto against the executive of the C. P. Yu., declaring themselves to be propagators and heirs of the glorious traditions of Social Democracy of pre-war times. The first plenary meeting of the executive after publication of this manifesto condemned all the members of the right wing and Centre who had signed the manifesto and resolved to expel them.

In November, 1920, the Government took advantage of the general strike of miners to launch a further decisive attack against the C. P. Yu. On November 29th, 1920, it issued a special decree (Obznana), on the basis of which all Communist and trade-union organisations were dissolved, all Communist newspapers suppressed and the printing-works, book shops and workers clubs handed over to the Social Democrats. At this fateful moment the Party was incapable of fulfilling the tasks of the vanguard, namely, to rally the worker and peasant masses for an open fight to overthrow the Pan-Servian black-hundred regime. Between the C. P. Yu. and the masses there appeared

a gap, and the isolated Communist vanguard of Yugoslavia had to suffer the severe blows of the White Terror.

In June, 1921, after the murder of the Minister of Police, the Protection of the Realm Act was issued, under which the C. P. Yu. was outlawed and the Communists driven out of their remaining legal offices in parliament and city councils.

In the course of the years 1923 and 1924 there arose in the ideologic fight concerning Bolshevisation important differences of opinion in relation to the national question, the peasant question, the question of the tasks of the trade-union movement and the organisation questions of the C. P. Yu. These differences of opinion found expression at the III. Party Congress of the C. P. Yu. (January, 1924, Belgrade.)

After the III. Party Congress (May, 1926), after the Party had elaborated the proper Communist line, this fight was converted into fruitless fraction disputes between right wing and "left wing". This fraction fight continually disturbed the unity of the Party and weakened its striking force. Furthermore, both the right wing and the "left wing" have in recent years committed rightward and opportunist mistakes. For this reason the E. C. C. I. resolved to address to all members of the C. P. Yu. an open letter, requesting them to start from below an ideologic fight against the deviations of both right wing and "left wing" and to put an end to the fractional conflict which was hampering the development of the C. P. Yu.

What are the results of this ideologic fight? This question was answered by the IV. Party Congress of the C. P. Yu., held at the end of last year. At this Party Congress not a single vote was cast either for the right wing or the "left wing". The Party Congress showed that the tedious, trying work for the Bolshevising of the C. P. Yu. had produced a sound Bolshevistic nucleus out of Labour elements. It showed that the Party was extending its influence among the broad masses of the toilers. These successes at the present stage of the fight were qualified by the objective factor: the accentuation of the contradictions on both the class front and the national front in Yugoslavia; and by the subjective factor: the qualitative growth of the C. P. Yu.

In June, 1928, the Party succeeded in leading the majority of the railway workers in a general strike; under the leadership of the Party Zagreb proletarians fought at the barricades; with the active participation of the Party the street demonstrations were held on December 1st, 1928, on the 10th anniversary of the creation of Yugoslavia. All this goes to show that the Party has recently had undoubted successes.

Both the executive of the Party and the local sections replied to the proclamation of the dictatorship with numerous illegal leaflets and manifestos. The Party is at present weak and the work of its organisation suffers through a number of deficiencies, but the Party can, nevertheless, play a leading role in the present fight, wherein the passivity and treachery of the present leaders of the national movement and the peasant movement will become obvious to the broad masses.

In the next decade the C. P. Yu., together with other Communist Parties of the Balkans, will lead the broad masses of workers, peasants and toiling oppressed nations to a decisive victory, to power for the workers and peasants and to the creation of the Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; but that this struggle has nowadays reached a stage of development in which the exploited and oppressed — the proletariat — cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling — the bourgeoisie — without, at the same time and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinctions and class struggles.

F. Engels: Preface to "Communist Manifesto".

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

Opening of the National Conference.

Moscow, 24th April 1929.

The 16th conference of the C. P. of the Soviet Union was opened yesterday by comrade Kalinin. The agenda contains the following items: The five year plan of the national economic system; the development of agriculture and tax alleviations for the middle-peasants; the results of the struggle against bureaucracy and the future tasks of this struggle.

49 comrades were elected into the presidium including Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Kuibichev, Rudzutak, Bukharin, Krupskaya, Orionikidse, Kagenovitch, Tomsh and others. The appearance of Comrade Stalin in the presidium produced storms of applause.

Comrades Rykov and Kshishanovski delivered reports on the five year plan of economy of the Soviet Union.

In his report Comrade Rykov declared inter alia, the following:

The plan is of enormous historical importance. It shows the masses how far the situation of the workers, the poor and middle peasants will improve during the course of these five years and what important regroupings on the economic field and what changes will take place in the relation of the class forces. If the five year plan is carried out then the following alterations will take place from the point of view of the competition of soviet economy with that of the bourgeois States. With regard to the production of pig iron the Soviet Union will stand behind only Germany and the United States, in the production of coal the Soviet Union will take fourth place. On the basis of figures Comrade Rykov then showed the enormous means which were to be invested in industry and declared that in accordance with the five year plan the average annual rate of development would be 20% as compared with 7% in the capitalist countries, which represented the highest rate.

The speed provided for in the five year plan was possible of execution as was indicated by the industrial investments in the current year which amounted to 2000 million roubles. It should be considered that new industrial undertakings are now commencing work after having been built during the last three years. The five year plan would carry out a technical revolution in a number of branches of industry and agriculture would be raised to a new and higher technical basis. Apart from the Stalingrad works a new great tractor factory was being built. At the close of the five year period the socialist sector of agriculture would be 40% and the individual sector 60% of the whole of agricultural production. Therefore the decision of the November plenary session concerning the promotion of the poor and middle peasant farms would remain in force. The five year plan will be carried out if all the forces of the working class and of the toiling peasantry are mobilised. It opens up brilliant prospects for the development of the Soviet Union and will be an instrument of the still closer alliance of the Party with the working class.

Moscow, 24th April 1929.

Comrade Kshishanovski declared in his report to the party conference, inter alia, the following:

The five year plan is in accordance with the directions of the 15th party congress and represents a splendid example of the advantages of the socialist economic system. The plan is based upon strictly scientific principles and is a result of our economic experience, and for this reason its success is certain. The main lines of the plan are the continuation of the rate of industrialisation, the increasing socialisation of agriculture, the leading role of the metal, combustible and chemical industries and the development of engineering. 78% of capital investments go to heavy and 22% to light industry. Engineering will be trebled whilst the production of agricultural machinery will be increased fourfold.

The Plan gives a new basis to the whole economic system of the country and represents a most important factor for the abolition of the antagonism between town and country. During the course of 5 years the generation of electrical power would increase from 5000 million to 22,000 million Kilowatt hours. Metallurgical production would be increased to 10 million tons, the production of chemical fertilisers from 175,000 to 9 million tons. This latter factor plus the fact that production of agricultural machinery would be increased fourfold shows that industry is becoming a decisive factor in the development of agriculture, and that the development of the latter is directly dependent upon the development of the former.

The plan also provides for a 35% reduction in the cost of production and an increase of the productivity of labour by 110% at the end of the period. In the last three years of the plan the people's income would develop by 10% per year. No single capitalist country has known such a development. Apart from the Dneprostroi a number of electro-industrial combinations were being built which would develop into a united system of economic districts.

With regard to transport, the conclusion of the five year period would see 17,000 kilometres of new railway track in use. The construction of the Turkestan-Siberia railway will be terminated. The building of the Volga-Don canal is being carried on energetically. An automobile factory with an annual production of 100,000 automobiles, is being built.

The territorial basis of the industrialisation is Leningrad, the central industrial district and the southern mining district. The five year plan also provides for a considerable industrial development of the eastern districts and of the national territories. Thanks to the new capital investments the industrial significance of the Urals would considerably increase. At the conclusion of the 5 year period unemployment would have considerably decreased and the total number of unemployed would not be greater than 50,000. The total production of the socialist sector of the national economic system would increase from 80% to 92% in industry and from 2% to 16% in agriculture.

The first condition for the carrying out of the 5 year plan is the determination and unity of the Party ranks. Every deviation would inevitably reflect itself in the activity of the working masses and seriously interfere with the overcoming of the inevitable difficulties. The second important condition is the reorganisation and the improvement of the Soviet apparatus and its adaptation to the new tasks such as the mobilisation of all the forces of the Soviet Union. It will be necessary to mobilise all the forces of the working class and all the services of technicians and scientists in order to carry out the 5 year plan. The 5 year plan is striking blows right and left and a factor mobilising the forces and the will of the Party and the working class to carry out the tasks of socialist construction.

The third report on the five year plan was made by Comrade Kuibichev:

The question of the rate of our development is one of the most important questions of the five year plan. The whole situation following upon the October Revolution demands a speedy economic development of the Soviet Union. In a comparatively short space of time the capitalist countries must be overtaken and surpassed. In the last few years the annual development of the Soviet Union was 20%, whereas the highest annual development in the United States of America was 8%. This is the result of the advantages of the Soviet system over the capitalist system. These advantages result from the nationalisation of the land, the principle of a systematic plan and the fact that the creative energies of the working class are mobilised. In the question of the rate of the development, differences have occurred, however, in this fundamental question the Bolsheviks can agree to no concessions.

A most important factor of the five year plan is that the development of the productive forces is guaranteed and at the same time the socialist elements will squeeze out the capitalist elements more and more. It would be incorrect to assume that the development of the socialist elements in the village will go smoothly, on the contrary, it will produce an intensification of the class-struggle. The dying classes do not want to surrender. The greater progress socialism makes in town and country, the fiercer will grow the class-struggle.

The Party must carry out a decisive struggle against the right-wing deviation and against the defeatist elements within its own ranks. A united and determined Party will lead the working class to the successful carrying out of the five year plan and this will mean the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the consolidation of socialism all over the world.

The Debate on the Reports on the Five Year Plan.

During the course of the discussion the speakers all declared that the five year plan represented a considerable step forward on the field of the reconstruction of the national economic system upon a higher technical basis in accordance with the vital interests of the whole country. The speakers declared that it was necessary first to overcome the right-wing deviation in order to carry out the five year plan.

The representative of Siberia Comrade Eiche sketched a picture of the speedy industrial development of Siberia and pointed out that the tasks which the five year plan put in Siberia could only be carried out with the mobilisation of all forces. He declared that as far as the grain purchase is concerned an alteration had occurred in Siberia thanks to new methods which had showed very favourable results.

Comrade Oshwinzev, the representative of the Urals declared that the five year plan opened up splendid prospects for the exploitation of the natural resources of the Urals. He welcomed the fact that the five year plan paid increased attention to the industrialisation of the eastern districts and pointed to the possibility of solving new industrial problems in the Urals.

Comrade Tchubar (Ukraine) pointed out that the five year plan presented the Ukraine with great tasks in respect to the extension of the smelting industry. The production of the Don basin would be doubled. The building of the Dneprostroi would have to be continued with all possible energy as also the building of overland power stations. Special attention would also have to be paid to the question of intensifying the agriculture of the steppe district of the Ukraine which was of considerable importance as a grain market. The five year plan demanded another rate and other methods of work and meant a strengthening of the offensive against the capitalist elements as well as the inevitable increase of the resistance of these elements. Only the unity and the determination of the Party ranks would be successful in carrying out the five year plan and in overcoming all deviations.

Moscow, 25th April 1929.

During the course of the discussion of the five year plan the speakers approved of the plan and unanimously pointed out that the most important condition for the successful carrying out of the plan was the overcoming of the right-wing danger.

Comrade Schatzkin pointed out that the five year plan could only be carried out if all the forces of the workers were mobilised. In addition, the work in the labour unions would have to be reorganised and the "trade union" tendencies abolished. The realisation of the five year plan depended upon the unification of the Party upon the basis of the general policy. It is not sufficient to be content with unanimous decisions against the right-wing danger. Only by a mobilisation of the broadest Party masses in the struggle against the falsification of the class line of the Party, in particular in the village, only by systematically exposing the concrete expressions of the right-wing deviation, can the difficulties in the path of the carrying out of the five year plan be overcome.

A number of speakers dealt with practical questions of the carrying out of the five year plan in the districts from which they were delegated. All of them pointed out that the difficulties in the path of the carrying out of the plan could only be overcome with iron discipline and determination in the Party.

Comrade Larin dealt with a few deficiencies of the plan and declared that, for instance, the plan gave no answer as to the question of what social changes would have occurred in the population of the Soviet Union by the end of the five year period.

Comrade Lomov dealt with a series of questions arising from the development of the Don Basin. He also dealt with the difficult conditions of life in the workers settlements in the Don Basin.

The speakers stressed in particular that the carrying out of the five year plan would demand the training of numerous engineers and technicians and that foreign aid would also be necessary.

Moscow, 25th April 1929.

30 representatives of local organisations have already spoken in the discussion of the five year plan at the Party conference.

Comrade Kadatzki (Leningrad) declared: The five year plan rightly gives Leningrad a great amount of its space, for Leningrad is one of the greatest bases of industrialisation. Apart from great achievements on the field of engineering, Leningrad has succeeded for the first time in producing independently aluminium. A factory for the production of aluminium must be built and above all the energy basis of Leningrad's industry must be extended, for the present sources of electrical energy are insufficient. The Leningrad Party organisation realises that the five year plan can only be carried out with the greatest possible unity and determination.

Comrade Krinitzki (Moscow): Two conditions are necessary for the carrying out of the plan, the mobilisation of the broadest masses of the workers for the tasks of socialist constructive work and a merciless struggle against all deviations from the general line of the Party, and in particular against the right-wing danger. The second condition has already been fulfilled in the decisions of the C. C. of the Party. The whole of the Party must be mobilised upon the basis of these decisions in order that the necessary resistance is offered to the right-wing deviation. The task of mobilising the masses is closely connected with the social-cultural work. This work is not dealt with sufficiently in the five year plan. The five year plan must contain a radical solution of all the problems of cultural reconstruction and open up considerable material sources for this work.

Comrade Skrypnik (Ukraine): The five year plan is not only of importance for the Soviet Union, but for the whole Communist International. The most important parts of the plan must be made known as widely as possible amongst the world proletariat in order that they may convince themselves objectively that the proletariat of the Soviet Union is working for the building up of socialism. In conclusion Comrade Skrypnik also demands the strengthening of the material basis of the cultural work.

Comrade Yakovleva (Commissariat of People's Education) also deals with the same question in her speech. She declares that all means won by economies should be devoted to this work.

Comrade Kossarev (Y. C. L.) devoted his speech to the question of the technical training of the youth. The greater the number of young workers turned out by the factory and the technical high schools etc., the better for the industrialisation.

Comrade Klaudia Nikolaieva (North Caucasus) declared in her speech that the right-wingers had a line of their own which they wished to oppose to the line of the Party. The period of reconstruction demanded new methods to solve the task of the alliance of town and country. The right-wingers were in favour of the old methods which were applied at the beginning of the N. E. P. They were attempting to drag the Party back. The carrying out of the five year plan was only possible in a struggle against the right-wing deviation and against all deviations, against all opportunist tendencies. The Party must maintain iron discipline and unity upon the basis of the correct Leninist theory and the correct political line.

The morning session closed with a speech of Comrade Riasanov who pointed out the necessity of paying more attention to the cultural work in the five year plan, in particular it was very important that a section of highly qualified organisers for the economic system should be trained.

Moscow, 25th April 1929.

The discussion closing on the five year plan was concluded this evening. In accordance with an agreement made by the speakers Comrade Krshishanovski made the closing speech. The conference then unanimously adopted the theses presented by the plenary session of the Central Committee upon the five year development plan for the national economic system.

The Five Year Plan for the Development of Economy.

Draft of Theses in Connection with the Reports of Comrades Rykov, Kshishanovski, and Kuibishev for the XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U., Confirmed by the Political Bureau of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

I.

1. After hearing the reports on the five-year plan for the national economic development of the Soviet Union, the XVI National Conference established that the achievements provided by the five-year plan with regard to the general growth of economy would figure as follows:

a) Whereas the total sum of capital investments in the five-year period from 1923/24 to 1927/28 amounted to 26,500 millions, the volume of capital investments between 1928/29 and 1932/33 (the economic year always being reckoned from October 1st to September 30th) has been put at 64,400 millions. While in the past five years the industrial investments figured at 4,400 millions roubles, they have been estimated for the next five years at 16,400 millions. The corresponding sums for agricultural purposes in the two five-year periods are 15,000 millions and 23,200 millions, respectively, those for transports 2,700 millions and 10,000 millions, and those for electrification 900 millions and 3,100 millions.

b) Thanks to these investments, the sum total of the basic fortune of the country will rise from 70,000 millions in 1927/28 to 128,000 millions in 1932/33, i. e. by 82 per cent. The basic fortune of all industry advances from 9,200 to 23,100 million roubles, that of electrification from 1,000 to 5,000 millions, i. e. to the fivefold, that of railway-transport from 10,000 to 17,000 millions, or by 70 per cent., and that of agriculture from 28,700 to 38,900 million roubles, i. e. by 35 per cent.

c) The gigantic advance of capital investments is accompanied by a corresponding growth of output throughout industry. It will advance from 18,300 millions in 1927/28 to 43,200 millions in 1932/33, which will be more than three times the pre-war production. In agriculture there will be a corresponding rise from 16,600 to 25,800 million roubles, or to more than one and a half times the pre-war output. The output of the railways will advance from 88,000 to 163,000 million ton-kilometres. The output of the entire national economy will be raised from 24,400 million to 49,700 million roubles.

d) In keeping with the general idea of the industrialisation of the country, the consolidation of the militant forces of the Union, and its independence from capitalist countries, the capital-investments in industry are devoted primarily to such industrial branches as manufacture means of production. 78 per cent. of all capital investments will be employed to this end. In consequence the output of these branches of industry will grow far more rapidly. Whereas the entire production of industry covered by the five-year plan will rise to 280 per cent. of its present extent, the total output of that section of industry which is employed in producing the means of production will increase to 330 per cent. of its present value.

As regards electrification, the plan provides for the construction of 42 new long-distance centres (including the water-power works of Dneprostroy and Svirstroy, the pete-fuel power works in the Vishera region, and the power works in the Moscow coal district and the Denez basin). This tremendous building activity is to raise the output of power from 5,000 to 22,000 million kilowatt-hours by the close of the five-year period.

The development of metallurgy is to be promoted by the construction of new and powerful metallurgical works (at Magnitogorsk, Telbes, Dneprovsk, Krivoy Rog, and other places). The construction of new, and the reconstruction of existing works will entail an increase in the annual output of cast iron from 3.5 million to 10 million tons by the close of 1932/33.

In the hard-coal industry a great activity is planned both in the Denez basin and in the Ural district, the Kusnetzki basin and the Moscow coal region, the annual output being increased from 35 million tons in the year 1927/28 to 75 million tons in 1932/33.

The reconstruction of old and construction of new engineering works (e. g. of automobile works and tractor works at Stalinrad and in the Ural district, of heavy engineering works at Erdlovsk, of a factory for agricultural machinery at Rostov, of various tool factories) will render possible an increase of the machine-industry to three and a half times and of the production of agricultural machinery in particular to four times its present extent.

In the chemical industry the construction of chemical works is envisaged (at Beresniakov, in Moscow, in the Donez basin, etc.), calculated to raise the output of chemical fertilisers more than 8 million tons in 1932/33 as against no more than 5,000 tons in 1927/28.

e) The fact that the projected rate of development of Soviet economy is materially greater than the rate of development in any capitalist country, will cause the rôle played by the Soviet Union in world production to change considerably even within the next five years. In cast iron production the Soviet Union will advance from sixth to third place (immediately after Germany and the United States), while in the output of hard coal it will move from fifth place to fourth (after the United States, Great Britain, and Germany).

2. The Conference has established that the general growth of the economy according to the five-year plan will assume the direction of a decided growth of the socialised section of the economy in town and country at the cost of the capitalist elements, as may be seen by the following indications:

a) The structure of the basic fortune changes as follows (in percentage proportion to the total at the end of each respective year):

Socialised Sections:	1927/28	1932/33
State Section	51.0	63.6
Co-operatives	1.7	5.3
Private Section	47.3	31.1

b) Accordingly, the proportion of the socialised section in the entire production increases as follows:

	1927/28	1932/33
In Industry	80 per cent.	92 per cent.
In Agriculture	2 per cent.	16 per cent.
In Retail Trade	75 per cent.	91 per cent.

A material change is brought about by the building programme of the socialised section in agriculture (Soviet estates and collective farms). The growth of the area under cultivation of the socialised section of agriculture will reach 27 million hectares (18 per cent. of the entire cultivated area) by the close of the five-year period, securing 16 per cent. of the total output and 43 per cent. of the grain output. The individual section of agriculture will cease to increase in view of the projected inclusion of 21 million persons in the socialised section. In 1932 the soviet estates will have an output of 28 million centals of grain and the collective farms an output of 39 million centals, making together more than 400 million poods of grain for commercial purposes as the yield of the socialised section.

c) The most important index figures for the growth of the co-operatives may be seen by the following computation:

	1927/28	1932/33
1. Share of Collective Farms in Total Output	1.0 per cent.	11.8 per cent.
2. Share of Co-operative Small Industries in Output of all Small Industries	19.4 per cent.	53.8 per cent.
3. Co-operative Share in Retail Trade	60.2 per cent.	78.9 per cent.
4. Number of Agricultural Productive Co-operatives	9.5 millions	23.58 millions
5. Head of Population Covered by Co-operatives in the Cities	8.7 millions	16.5 millions
6. Ditto in the Country	13.9 millions	31.8 millions

This very material strengthening of the Socialist elements throughout the national economy in the production and in the circulation of goods with elaboration of the system of machine and tractor stations and a liberal practice of contracts of supply, which is reckoned to cover 85 per cent. of the grain cultivation by the close of the five-year period, represents a consolidation of the leading rôle of the workers and provides a new form of alliance between town and country, leading to a wholesale transformation in agriculture on the basis of more perfected technics and of a collective system.

3. The Conference has further established:

a) That, calculated on the basis of unchanged prices, the national income will grow from 24,400 million roubles in 1927/28 to 49,700 millions in 1932/33, which means an increase by 103 per cent. This represents a yearly increase of more than 12 per cent., a rate surpassing the growth of the national income in pre-war Russia by more than fourfold and also considerably excelling the growth in any capitalist country.

b) The social structure of the national income is primarily characterised by the increase in real wages of the industrial workers, which by the end of the five-year period is to amount to 71 per cent., the percentage share of the income of the entire working class in proportion to the aggregate national income figuring at 37, instead of 32.1, per cent. The income of the entire agricultural population will have grown by the end of the five-years by 67 per cent. The relative share of this income in the entire national income will in view of the rapid growth of industry recede from 49.8 to 42.5 per cent.

c) The increase in the State budget (net) is characterised by the fact that the total sum of the year's budgets in the new period will amount to 51,000 million roubles, as against 19,000 millions in the past five-years (an increase by 166.7 per cent.). The budget for the year 1932/33 will absorb 30.9 per cent. of the national income, as against 25.9 per cent. in 1928/29. This growth of the budget will render possible not only a consolidation of the defensive resources of the country but also a fourfold (393 per cent.) increase of the sums employed for the financing of national economy and threefold (276 per cent.) increase of the social and cultural expenditure.

d) The five-year plan provides for a pronounced growth both of the reserves of goods and of the reserves of currency.

II.

The plan fully guarantees:

a) The maximum development of the output of means of production as the basic presumption for the industrialisation of the country.

b) A decided strengthening of the Socialist section in town and country at the cost of the capitalist elements in economy, the recruiting of the millions of the peasantry for the Socialist work, and an all-round assistance of the poor and middle individual farms in their fight against exploitation by the kulaks.

c) The elimination of the extreme backwardness of agriculture in comparison to industry and, in general, a solution of the grain problem.

d) A considerable improvement in the material and cultural standard-of-living of the working class and of the working masses in the country.

e) The consolidation of the leading rôle of the working class on the basis of the development of new forms of alliance with the main mass of the peasantry.

f) The cultural and economic advance of the national republics and of the backward districts and provinces.

g) The consolidation of the economic and political positions of the proletarian dictatorship in its fight against the enemies of the working class at home and abroad.

h) A pronounced consolidation of the defensive forces of the country.

i) A great step forwards towards the realisation of the Party's object of catching up and outdistancing the advanced capitalist countries in a technical and economic direction.

In view of the above and of the previous indications regarding the five-year plan, the Conference resolves to approve the five-year plan of the State Economic Plan Commission, which

has been confirmed by the Council of Peoples Commissaries of the Soviet Union, as a plan in keeping with the directives of the XV. Party Congress.

III.

The realisation of the five-year plan, which represents a programme of the developed Socialist offensive, is connected with the task of overcoming tremendous difficulties both of an internal and of an external nature. These difficulties arise from the entire character of the plan itself, as conditioned by the technical and economic backwardness of the country, from the complicated nature of the task of reconstructing many millions of dispersed and split-up farms on the basis of collective activity, and finally from the capitalist encirclement of our country. They are augmented by the accentuation of the class struggle and by the resistance of the capitalist elements, which are being inevitably ousted by the growing offensive of the Socialist proletariat.

The task of overcoming these difficulties is only feasible in the case of a pronounced improvement of the quality of work and of working discipline in all branches of economy. Reduction of the prime costs of industrial output by 35 per cent. in five years; reduction of the costs of building by 50 per cent., enhancement of the productivity of work in industry by 110 per cent., enhancement of the productivity of the soil by 35 per cent., enlargement of the area under cultivation by 22 per cent., unconditional execution of the programme of developing the Soviet estates and collective farms, decided opposition to all sloth and negligence in production, consolidation of working discipline, Socialist rationalisation of output, provision of industry and agriculture with the necessary cadres of leaders and education of new cadres of Red specialists from among the working class, finally development of such function in the economic system as tend to regulate planned economy — such are the elementary and indispensable presumptions of a general economic nature for the mastery of all difficulties in the realisation of the five-year plan.

The Conference considers it necessary to point out that the mastery of these difficulties and the realisation of the five-year plan are only possible on the basis of a tremendous increase in the activity and organisation of the working masses in general and of the working class in particular both in Socialist construction and in the administration of economy on the strength of an all-round development of Socialist competition and a powerful use of self-criticism on the part of the millions in regard to the bureaucratic abuses in the State apparatus.

The difficulties of the period of Socialist reconstruction, particularly in view of an accentuation of the class struggle, inevitably call forth vacillations among the petty-bourgeois sections of the population. These vacillations are likewise reflected in certain sections of the working class and even inside the Party. They are an utterance of the influence of petty-bourgeois elements and are expressed in deviations from the general directives of the Party in certain main questions, especially with reference to the rate of Socialist industrialisation, the development of the Socialist offensive against the kulaks and against the capitalist elements in general, and the consolidation of Socialist forms of economy in the rural districts.

In this connection the Right deviation is under existing circumstances the greatest danger inside the Party. It is the embodiment of a direct renunciation of the Leninist positions under the attack of the class enemies. Only an unscrupulous opposition to all vacillations in the pursuance of the general Bolshevik directives — the realisation of which stands for the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry — with a further consolidation of the leading rôle of the working class, can ensure the solution of the tasks of Socialist construction contained in the five-year plan.

The Conference is firmly convinced that the Party will deal not only the deviation to the Right but also all conciliatory tendencies in regard to deviations from Leninist directives an annihilating blow.

At the head of the working masses, the Party marches confidently onward on the path of the Socialist reconstruction of all economy and under the guidance of the working class mobilises the broad masses of toilers for the task of overcoming all difficulties and of realising the five-year plan of economic construction.

The „Pravda“ on the Opening of the XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 24th April 1929.

The press is devoting special articles to the plenary session of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union which has just closed and to the Party conference which has just opened. The „Pravda“ points out that the plenary session demonstrated the tremendous consolidation and the bolshevisation of the Party ranks. Apart from isolated exceptions the members of the Central Committee and of the Central Commission were completely unanimous upon all questions. The decisions of the Political Bureau, which were unanimously ratified by the plenary session and then presented to the Party conference for examination, also showed the unanimity of the opinions of the Party leadership. The convening of the plenary session and of the Party conference coincided with the urgent necessity of drawing a balance of the phenomena which had shown themselves both nationally and internationally. The decisions worked out by the Political Bureau of the C. C., as well as a series of decisions adopted by local Party organisations concerning the struggle against the right-wingers and the conciliators, offered sufficient guarantee that the right wing danger, whose representatives had fallen into a panic in face of the difficulties of the socialist constructive work and who doubted the capacities of the working class, is now exposed.

The roots of the right-wing danger were closely connected with the specific peculiarities of the internal and the external international situation. The right-wingers put themselves against the peculiarities of the development of the present stage of the international proletarian struggle. The lack of understanding for the intensification and the development of the inner contradictions in the capitalist camp with its temporary and shaky stabilisation, as pointed out by the sixth Congress of the Communist International, the underestimation of the inner forces of the revolution, caused the right-wingers to degenerate to the standpoint of the social democracy in the questions of international politics, particularly with regard to the question of the stabilisation of capitalism, and to the glossing over of the revolutionary characteristics of the „third period“.

For home affairs the five year plan represented the fundamental programme of the Party and of the working class for the socialist reconstruction of the national economic system. The questions of the five year plan could not be solved without clarity concerning the mechanism of the class-struggle at home. It is no accident that around the five year plan a struggle of the Party was being fought against deviations from the general line of the Party. The attempts of the right-wingers to conceal their real attitude to the five year plan and their rhetorical declarations concerning the acceptability of the plan only stressed the correct characterisation of the nature of all opportunism, as made by Lenin, who pointed out the efforts of opportunists to avoid any direct and open solution of questions and to get out of the situation with excuses. The right-wingers buried the fundamental principles of the five year plan, which was a plan for the speedy industrialisation of the country, with their excuses which aimed at laying the main weight in the next two or three years upon agricultural questions without any connection with the main tasks of the industrialisation of the country. The right-wingers are attempting to gloss over the necessity of the struggle against the Kulaks, they were propagating the idea, long ago rejected by the Party, of the peaceful development of the Kulaks into socialism, and similar liberal humbug. By their opposition to the measures of the Party with regard to the grain purchase campaign, they supported objectively the efforts of the Kulaks to undermine the grain purchase campaign. By opposing the new forms of the productive alliance of the town and the village and by placing the needs of the consumers in the villages in the foreground and by seeking to shake the system of unifying the prices of the most important agricultural products, the right-wingers placed themselves on the standpoint of unchaining the elements in favour of market relations. The solution of the questions of socialist reconstruction is quite impossible unless the right wing deviation is thoroughly overcome. The main danger of the right-wing deviation lay in the fact that in words it was

agreement with the decisions of the Party, but violated these decisions in deeds. Therefore the Party would have to expose the real attitude of the right-wingers energetically and demand that they subordinate themselves unconditionally to the decisions of the majority. The Party would never permit a system of opportunist opinions to replace the iron dictatorship of the proletariat and Leninism.

MAY DAY

Lenin and the Celebration of May Day.

By Il. Vardin.

In an article dedicated to the significance of the political strike of the workers of Rostov in 1902, Lenin said:

"In events of this kind we are eye-witnesses of a real armed uprising of the people against the autocracy which is maturing not merely as an idea in the minds and programmes of revolutionists, but as the inevitable and natural next step of the movement itself as a result of growing indignation, increased experience and greater courage of the masses."

For Lenin not only the formation of some demand or other, not only a declaration of some opinion or other was important, for him the militancy of the masses was of exclusive importance. He regarded a political demonstration from the point of view of the militancy of the movement, from the point of view of the growing experience, courage and determination of the masses. He knew that the decisive element is in the final analysis the militancy, daring and practical revolutionary preparation of the masses.

A year later, Lenin wrote:

"We must try to pronounce the reply of labour on the streets, to express our demands through demonstrations, openly demonstrate the numbers and strength of the workers, their consciousness and determination. Let the coming May Day be together with the general declaration of our proletarian demands also a special and definite reply to the manifesto of February 26."

The manifesto in question was that issued by the Tsarist government with the promises of reform. In opposition to that manifesto, Lenin urged a demonstration of the determination of the proletarian masses. Lenin believed only in the power of the masses.

The celebration of May Day was for Lenin a means for the militant training of the masses. He regarded the celebration of May Day from the point of view of an active revolutionist and not from the point of view of a law abiding democratic chatter-box, a reformist philistine. Lenin's opinion of the significance of May Day was infinitely far from the views of the moderate, decent, docile and peaceful leaders of international reformism.

* * *

The five year period — 1906—1911 — was a period of almost complete depression of the mass revolutionary movement in Russia. But beginning with 1912, the proletariat was again entering the arena, again freeing itself from under the autocratic yoke and coming out in the open. That May Day was a most important political factor. Here is Lenin's evaluation of that first May Day demonstration of the proletariat since the triumph of reaction:

"The revolutionary movement of the proletariat in Russia has entered a higher phase. Whereas in 1905 it began with mass strikes and the priest Gapon, in 1912, in spite of the demolition of our Party organisations by the police, the movement begins with mass strikes and the unfurling of the republican banner. The nuclei and scattered groups of workers have done their deed in defiance of the hardest and most difficult conditions. The proletariat has created its May Day Committees and has entered the struggle with

a revolutionary platform worthy of the class whose mission it is to free humanity from wage slavery... The imposing May Day strike of the Russian proletariat and the street demonstrations, revolutionary proclamations and revolutionary speeches addressed to great multitudes of workers connected with it have clearly shown that Russia has entered a phase of revolutionary revival."

The year 1905 began with the Gapon movement when the workers headed by Priest Gapon marched to the Royal Palace. The 1912 movement began with the "unfurling of the Republican Banner" by the workers. That was in the words of Lenin a colossal step forward.

But more than that. The reaction had smashed the Party organisations, yet the workers themselves displayed their revolutionary initiative and creative power. They grouped themselves around the scattered Party nuclei and groups, created their May Day committees and carried on a political campaign of first rate importance. The revolutionary movement of the proletariat which had entered a higher phase, spurned the proposals of the Menshevist liquidators to put forward partial demands as the chief demands. It adopted the viewpoint that "we must strike the centre, assail the source of the evil, destroy the entire system, the entire Tsarist order of Russia."

What is a political mass strike, a political mass demonstration, from the point of view of the development of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat? Lenin said:

"The Russian Revolution has for the first time given wide dimension to this proletarian method of agitation, rousing, consolidation and attraction of the masses for the struggle... the most backward sections of workers and peasants come into direct or indirect contact with the strikers. Hundreds of thousands of revolutionary agitators whose influence is infinitely increasing by the fact that they are inseparably bound up with the masses and mingling with the rank and file appear on the scene."

* * *

What lessons can we draw to-day from what was said by Lenin?

1. In a political demonstration of a truly revolutionary content, the most important thing attained is: a growth of the proletarian masses, a strengthening of their militancy and determination. The masses learn of their own experience in the struggle. **Class comes out against class**, the political meaning of this at the present time is — **Communism comes out against the fascist and social-democratic alliance**.

2. In a political strike and demonstration, the "proletarian method of agitation, rousing, consolidation and attraction of the masses for the struggle" is of foremost significance. The bearers of revolutionary ideas, revolutionary will and determination, the bearers of revolutionary hatred towards capitalism, are "hundreds of thousands of revolutionary agitators" coming from the ranks of the proletariat. Their influence is invincible, as the bourgeoisie is not in a position to separate hundreds of thousands of people from their class.

3. The bourgeoisie often destroys the apparatus of the proletarian party and even drives it underground. But if the Party has maintained itself politically, if it advocates slogans in harmony with the historical tasks of the class, the masses themselves will display their creative power and initiative, they themselves will substitute for the "normal" apparatus their militant organisations such as the May Day committees of 1912 in Russia. In one way or another the proletariat will bring out its last reply to capitalism on the streets, e. g., the place where in all historical epochs the fundamental problem of every class, the problem of power, has in the final analysis always been and will be settled.

The position taken by Lenin on the question of May Day in pre-revolutionary Russia holds good to-day in all countries where the proletariat, together with the other toilers, are fighting for power. The revolutionists of Europe and America, Asia and Africa, will convert May Day in 1929 into a powerful instrument of militant mobilisation and militant training of the toilers. They will not on that great day stoop down to the reformist partial slogans. On the contrary, they will "strike the centre, assail the source of the evil, destroy the entire system" of capitalism.

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The Negro and May Day.

By Vaughan Mise.

The intensified exploitation and oppression of the working class of the world enlarges the scope and significance of May Day. Long hours, low wages, unemployment, as well as other forms of rationalisation and white terror, are factors which make it possible to mobilise our forces for a mass demonstration against the system responsible for these conditions.

In America today are present the objective circumstances of a political, economic, and social nature which give the possibility of drawing large numbers of Negroes into the struggle of the American working class, thus strengthening and solidifying its ranks. The Negro proletariat and peasantry are the most ruthlessly exploited section of the American working class. Deplorable conditions, and long hours of work, accompanied by meagre wages force them to live in wretched hovels.

In Southern river towns one finds them living in the lowest sections close to the water, with poor sanitary conditions — often none at all. Malaria and other virulent diseases are common. In many instances their homes are inundated in time of floods. During such occasions their exploitation and oppression is intensified. Their families receive little or no relief from the American Red Cross (a bourgeois relief organisation) or other similar societies. Last year when Mr. Hoover, now president of the United States, was head of the Mississippi Flood Relief the Negroes were hoarded together like animals in tents, throughout the inundated districts, receiving scanty food and apparel, and little or no medical attention. They were forced to work on the cranes and clear away debris at the point of the bayonet. Hundreds died from famine and disease. In the present Mississippi River flood their lot is the same as it was in all previous years, forced labour, and not allowed to leave the inundated regions.

The recent lynching of two Negro tenant farmers in Arkansas because they asked for wages due them gives a very small picture of the economic, social, and political conditions of the farmers prevalent in the South. In this same state in 1919 developed the Arkansas race riots from the peonage system under which Negro farmers lived and which still exist in the greater part of the South. When they sought legal advice in order to demand a just settlement of their account by the landlords, they were accused of conspiring to murder the whites. Race riots ensued in which hundreds of Negroes were killed. Throughout the South the tenant farmers are bound to the soil living under semi-feudal conditions worse than slavery. In many instances the farmers and their whole families must work on the landholders' plantations in order to eke out a mere existence.

The position of the Negro working women and children is extremely deplorable. Without protection by social legislation they are forced to work long hours on the plantations, receiving in many cases only fifty cents a day. In some instances Negro women have been held on plantations as peons, and forced to submit to the brutal lust of the plantation owners, foremen, and others. In the southern industries their lot is no better. They invariably receive less wages than the white women workers and labour under the most distressing conditions. In the state of Oklahoma children as young as five years work all day in the cotton fields.

In the northern industrial centres their lot is about the same. Here we find unemployment, hunger, and starvation wages, which are only a few of the results of capitalist rationalisation. Negro men and women workers in scanty apparel can be seen sleeping in empty boxes, on the platform and wharves, along the river fronts in Philadelphia.

The treatment accorded Negro workers in other parts of the imperialist world is analogous. In the West Indies Islands and particularly Haiti, which is under the domination of the United States imperialism the natives are virtual slaves. The recent lifting of the ban on the sending of Haitian workers to Cuban plantations results in the probable importation of twenty thousand labour under long hours, receiving mere pittance as wages. In Australia the natives have been practically exterminated. Likewise in Africa millions of natives have been killed outright. The African natives have repeatedly risen against their oppressors in an attempt to throw off the yoke of imperialism, but their rebellions were always drowned in blood. Here as elsewhere working women and children suffer most. The native

women must raise crops (by primitive agricultural methods) not only for themselves and children, but also for their husbands, whose earnings are not sufficient to maintain even the native standard of living. Children of both sexes under 14 years of age work as indentured slaves, and are punished by flogging. They are paid starvation wages which they never receive, because they are forced to make their purchases from the company stores which charge exorbitant prices.

The question of colour is a factor which plays an important role in the economic exploitation of these people. It has been utilised by the bourgeoisie to divide the ranks of the workers, and has led to race prejudice and white chauvinism. The disfranchisement and social oppression can be traced to the same roots, economic exploitation.

These objective conditions of the black toiling masses enhance the opportunities of the Communist Parties for work among them. The struggles of these masses in Africa, America, the world over are links in the chain of the world revolutionary struggle. The role of the Communist Parties is to draw these oppressed masses into the world revolutionary movement, thus giving guidance, inspiration and impetus to their struggles. On the first of May the black and white toiling masses of the world must unite their forces in a mass demonstration against world imperialism.

FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT DANGER

Resolution of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. Regarding the Expulsion of Joseph Hais and Others from the R. I. L. U.

Adopted at the Session of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. of 16th April 1929.

After the adoption of the report of Comrade Losovski on the Vienna Conference and after taking note of the proposals which have been submitted by the Commission to the Hais group, the answer of Hais, Nadvornik and consorts of March 31st, the decisions of eight sections of the International Workers' Federation (I. A. V.), viz. the metal workers, glass workers, agricultural workers, leather and shoe workers, railwaymen, miners, textile workers and building workers, the report on the activity of the Hais group during the last textile workers' struggle and the provocative ultimatum which Hais had submitted to all sections, and after a thorough examination of the situation which has arisen in the revolutionary trade union movement of Czechoslovakia, the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. declares as follows:

1. Joseph Hais, Halik, Nadvornik, Sikora and Arno Hais organised a systematic sabotage of the decisions of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress, disregarded the directives of the Executive Bureau, violated the elementary rights of proletarian democracy laid down by the R. I. L. U. Congresses, and established a bureaucratic and absolute rule which is impermissible in the revolutionary trade union movement.

2. Sikora, Nadvornik and other liquidators systematically sabotaged and throttled the strike movement and acted like open strike-breakers during the recent textile workers' strike, which attitude was bound to bring about the defeat of this strike.

3. Hais, Halik, Nadvornik and Sikora, against the wish of the overwhelming majority of the members and under the protection of the bourgeois State, postponed the I. A. V. Congress, which was fixed for March 31st, by means of unworthy manoeuvres and by the expulsion of executive members who did not agree with them.

4. Hais, Halik, Nadvornik and Sikora, contrary to the most elementary rules which are binding for all revolutionary organisations, resorted to and are resorting to the bourgeois State and its police organs in order to seek protection from the justified discontent and indignation of the workers, instead of leaving the decision of the questions in dispute to the

highest organ of the revolutionary international trade union movement, the Red International of Labour Unions.

5. Hais, Halik, Nadvornik and Sikora rejected the proposal of the responsible commission of the R.I.L.U., which aimed at arriving at a settlement of all questions on the basis of proletarian democracy and to leave it to the masses of members of the I.A.Y. to decide the question which of the contending parties is worthy to stand at the head of the revolutionary trade union movement of Czechoslovakia and what must be the political line of the I.A.Y.

6. Hais, Halik, Nadvornik and Sikora refused to support the striking and unemployed members in order to exert pressure upon the decisions of the sections, although it is generally known that the funds in the hands of the Central Committee belong, not to the trade union bureaucrats, but to the members.

7. Hais, Halik, Nadvornik and Sikora mask their unheard-of proceedings in the ranks of the R.I.L.U. by hypocritical phrases about their fidelity to the R.I.L.U. and their submission to the decisions of the R.I.L.U. Congresses, the sole object of which manoeuvre is to deceive the revolutionary workers of Czechoslovakia and the whole revolutionary trade union movement.

In view of the circumstance that all these actions are aimed at disorganising the revolutionary trade union movement of Czechoslovakia, disarming ideologically and organisationally the fighting Czechoslovakian proletariat and weakening its fighting power in face of the united front of the capitalists and reformists, in view of the fact that this whole group bears an outspokenly reformist character, that its ideology and practice is in glaring contradiction to the decisions of the IV. R.I.L.U. Congress and all traditions of the international revolutionary trade union movement, and that only the enemies of the Red International of Labour Unions and friends of Amsterdam can conduct such a policy as that conducted by the Hais group, the Executive Bureau decides to expel the instigators and organisers of the split in the revolutionary trade union movement of Czechoslovakia Josef Hais, Halik, Nadvornik, Sikora and Arno Hais, from the ranks of the Red International of Labour Unions.

THE BALKANS

The Resolutions of the VIII. Party Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation.

A short time ago the Balkan Communist Federation held its VIII. Conference. The conference was participated in by the Yugoslavian, Bulgarian, Roumanian and Greek Parties, as well as by the recently founded Albanian Communist group.

After a thorough discussion of the situation in the Balkans and the common tasks of the Communist Parties of the Balkans the VIII. Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation unanimously adopted three resolutions, each of which we shall publish in turn. The first resolution reads:

The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Balkan Communist Federation.

I.

The general political situation in the Balkans at the present moment as well as the situation in the various Balkan countries can be correctly characterised only from the point of view of the preparation of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, conducted by international imperialism with Great Britain at the head. In view of the strategical importance of the Balkans and the importance of the Balkan peoples as cannon-fodder, British imperialism is persistently working to establish a Balkan united front and to include it in the general anti-Soviet front. The new Franco-British agreement will facilitate and accelerate the solution of this task. The Balkan States, which are under the pressure of Anglo-French capital and in spite of the resistance

of Italian imperialism, to come to an understanding under conditions which will be dictated to them by their powerful "protectors".

The Franco-British agreement, which is mitigating the inter-Balkan conflicts, pushing into the background the local Balkan wars and at the present moment reducing the acuteness of the Italo-Yugoslavian crisis, produces at the same time in the Balkans the acute danger of a war against the Soviet Union. The all-round preparations for war against the Soviet Union will influence the general inner and international policy of the Balkan governments: placed under imperialist control this policy will be conducted with greater rapidity in this direction.

It is therefore the chief task of the Communist Parties of the Balkans in the period that lies ahead to mobilise the broad working masses against the war danger, to organise and conduct a mass struggle against the planned anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. This task is to be carried out in the sense of the theses on the fight against war adopted by the VI. Congress of the Comintern. The Balkan Communist Federation must make it its special and chief task to support effectively the various Communist Parties of the Balkans in the carrying out of this their chief task and to ensure their close co-operation among themselves as well as with the Parties of the neighbouring countries (Hungary, Turkey, Soviet Ukraine, Poland, Italy etc.).

The Balkan Communist Federation draws the special attention of the Communist Parties of the Balkans to the decisions of the VI. World Congress regarding the carrying out of the International Day for the Fight against War. The increased danger of war in the Balkans imposes upon them the special duty of exerting all their forces for the all-round preparation and energetic carrying out of the international demonstration against war. This demonstration must express in a clear and impressive manner the firm will of the working masses in the Balkans to defend the Soviet Union with all means and to convert the imperialist war into civil war. The Communist Parties in the Balkans must in this connection overcome all difficulties which arise from their illegal or semi-legal position and must not shrink from any threats of fascism and any raging white terror.

II.

The advance of international imperialism in the Balkans, which has become particularly apparent since the imperialist States adopted the definite aim of crushing the Soviet Union by armed force, more and more converts the Balkans into a semi-colony of imperialism. International finance capital is taking advantage of the crisis which the Balkan countries are undergoing as a result of their economic backwardness, their financial and economic devastation after the war and their unbearable indebtedness, in order to seize the natural riches and chief sources of existence of the Balkan peoples. Ever greater portions of the coal mines and oil wells, of the forests, of the means of traffic and of the great industrial undertakings are getting under the control of foreign capitalists; ever greater portions of the incomes of the Balkan workers and peasants are being applied for redeeming the war and reparations debts, for the payment of high interests on the new slave loan — in the form of super-profits which the foreign capitalists are drawing from their banking, commercial, industrial and other concessions, all of which bear a colonial character. The Balkans are being rapidly converted into an appendage of the capitalist economy of the imperialist States, into a purveyor of agricultural products and raw material for their industries, and the Balkan peoples are being converted into an object of cruel imperialist exploitation, plundering and oppression.

The struggle against advancing imperialism which is threatening the economic and political independence of the Balkan peoples, is inseparably connected with the struggle against the war against the Soviet Union which is being prepared.

The Communist Parties of the Balkan must devote special attention to this struggle. The common front of the workers and toiling peasants in the Balkan countries, as well as on an inter-Balkan scale, must be established for the successful conduct of this struggle. The Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics in the Balkans is the slogan under which the struggle against imperialism will be conducted.

Since the violent suppression of the real trade unions in China, they exist secretly, and poverty among the workers and peasants is far worse than before the betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang. Each competing imperialist power in a divided China extracts the greatest amount of loot at the expense of the toiling masses, with the aid of the Kuomintang. This results in factional civil wars, dismemberment, and keeps China a semi-colonial country.

Because of its strategic position the Philippines is of great importance in this universal rivalry. Each imperialist country is definitely preparing for war while camouflaging their intentions by hypocritical phrases about peace. This hostility can be measured by concrete facts: 1. failure of the Naval Armament Conference at Geneva; 2. the recent exposure of the secret Anglo-French Naval and Military Alliance; 3. the passing of the United States Cruiser Bill (which is the reply to the Anglo-French Pact); 4. the construction of England's £10,000,000 naval and air base at Singapore; 5. the strengthening of the fortifications at Pearl Harbour and the Panama by U.S.A., and the Philippine Islands is a veritable base of the next world war which will be centred in the Pacific.

The Pan-Pacific T.U.S. would be negligent in its duty if it did not draw attention of the Congress to this growing war danger against the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic. The greatest danger to the international working class movement is the constantly threatening danger of war against the U.S.S.R. The British imperialists never tire in their unending conspiracy to involve Soviet Russia in war. However, these intrigues, practised upon every border of the Soviet Union and in every country, has been met successfully by the diplomats of the workers and peasants.

Briefly, this is the situation arising out of the present international rivalry which threatens to involve the workers and peasants in another world war. The offensive against the trade unions and the P.P.T.U.S., which is the only organisation rallying the millions of trade unionists in the Pacific area, is directly conditioned by this world situation, for not only does the capitalist class try to obtain a favoured position in the world market by forcing the workers to slave longer hours for less wages, but this offensive is also to prevent organised labour developing a fight against the imperialist war danger.

What is the situation in the Philippines today? As in China, we see the bourgeois politicians of the Nationalist and the Democratic Parties betraying the struggle of national independence, and accepting the formula of Colonel Stimson: "political independence can only follow economic development". Translated into actual practice this means giving up the struggle for national independence, slavishly accepting the colonial status and inviting greater imperialist exploitation. This is actually the position of the followers of Senator Manuel Quezon, who said recently:

"The United States are in the Philippines, not for the purpose of exploiting the Filipinos, but to help or develop our country for our own benefit, and for the purpose of establishing here a free self-governing community... If the United States really meant to adopt the policy of exploiting the Filipinos, there would be no power that would stop her from doing it."

It is for the delegates now to judge whether this "economic development" preferred by Quezon and the national bourgeoisie carries with it exploitation. Your Congress is confronted with an increasing number of propertyless peasants, impossibility of meeting their debts due to exacting money-lenders, tradesmen and landowners, imprisonment of protesting workers and peasants, evictions of the peasants from their land, strikes against curiously low standards of living, unemployment, etc. These facts furnish the answer to Senator Quezon, and the Congress will derive the correct conclusion.

As in India, China, Indonesia, etc., the workers and peasants are the real custodians of the struggle for a higher standard of living and national independence, and all who refuse to accept this fact are only seeking to use the workers and peasants for their own personal interests.

In order that the C.O.F. (Congress Obrero de Filipinas), in co-operation with the Confederation of Peasants and Farm labourers, can remedy the existing low standards of living, and keep up the struggle for national independence, your Congress

must recognise all weaknesses and adopt measures to repair organisational defects. Out of a population of 12,000,000 there are approximately 3 million wage earners, peasants and workers. Only a small fraction of these are organised into their respective organisations, but a good beginning has been made although the organised workers are divided into more than 100 different unions.

The delegates should settle first that only the C.O.F. is recognised as the national centre for the Philippine trade union movement. Proceeding from this basis the Congress must lay down a policy for the E.C. of the C.O.F. The most important tasks are: 1. to strengthen the existing unions by helping to organise the unorganised; 2. to obtain affiliation from trade unions still unconnected with the C.O.F.; 3. the C.O.F. E.C. to organise the workers in unorganised industries into industrial unions and assist them until they function properly; 4. to work in co-operation with the officials of the affiliated unions for the establishment of shop or factory committees in the various industries; 5. where small unions exist in one industry to work in co-operation with the officials of affiliated unions and assist in reorganising them into industrial unions; 6. to carry on a campaign for industrial unionism within those unions not affiliated to the C.O.F.; 7. to prepare special campaigns for bringing the women and the youth into the trade unions and to draw them into the daily work of the unions; 8. to establish a constitution and rules for the C.O.F.; 9. to establish educational classes for trade unionists, and 10. to issue small pamphlets explaining the class struggle and the benefits of trade unionism.

The E.C. should be instructed to draft a national programme of immediate demands embodying, a) the eight-hour day, b) minimum wage, c) limitation of child and woman labour, d) social insurance including unemployment benefits and a period of rest with full pay for women before and after childbirth, etc.

The C.O.F. must not be forgetful of its duty towards the peasantry which constitutes the bulk of the Filipino wage earners. The organised workers must support the peasant demands for lower rents, higher wages and shorter hours on the plantations, etc., help them to fight against evictions and the exactions of the landlords and traders. In this way a real workers' and peasants' alliance can be built up.

Although you have correctly estimated the need for international unity by affiliating to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, there is great need for an educational campaign among the workers and peasants, explaining the objects of the P.P.T.U.S. and the real meaning of international unity. This should be carried on simultaneously with an intensive struggle against the danger of imperialist war and especially the danger of war upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the only workers' and peasants' republic.

Finally, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat congratulates the C.O.F. in its sincere attempts to improve the existing conditions in the Philippines. The achievement of the united front between the Filipino and Chinese workers during the recent disputes is of the greatest value. The small gains during the slipper and timber workers' strikes are directly attributable to this united front tactic. If made stronger, it will help to cement the bond of lasting unity between the Chinese and Filipino workers both in the Islands and on the continent of Asia, and which will constitute a big step towards international unity.

Comrades: as one of our affiliated organisations, the Secretariat offers to Congress delegates the above suggestions which we hope will serve as a guide to your decisions. We feel sure that this Congress will prove one of the most important and constructive ever held in the history of your organisation.

With best wishes and comradely greetings,

We remain,

Fraternally yours,

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Shanghai, 7th April, 1929.

A Trade Union Programme of Action for Negro Workers.

issued by the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the R.I.L.U.

The Negro toiling masses are subjected both to capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression — they suffer both as members of the working class and of an oppressed race. In this country the one or the other form of oppression predominates.

In the U.S.A. the Negro toilers are mercilessly exploited, in the cotton plantations and in the mines, factories and workshops of the Southern and Northern States. They are being deprived of full civil rights, and are forced to live in overcrowded houses, in restricted sections of the cities. They are a helpless victim of racial prejudice and antagonism fanned by the bourgeoisie, they are subjected to lynch-law and mob rule, and do not get even the kind of "justice" which is being meted out to their white brother toilers.

The low standard of living of Negro workers is made use of by the capitalists to reduce the wages of the white workers. The misleaders of Labour, the heads of the reformist and reactionary trade union organisations are refusing to organise Negro workers and thereby are helping the capitalist masters to drive a wedge between the white and coloured proletarians. This anti-Negro attitude of the reactionary labour leaders helps to split the ranks of labour, allows the employers to carry out their policy of "divide and rule", frustrates the efforts of the working class to emancipate itself from the yoke of capitalism, and dims the class-consciousness of the white workers as well as of the Negro workers driving the latter into the arms of the church and petty-bourgeois nationalistic societies, such as *carveism* and the like.

The Negro toilers as well as the white workers in the industrial countries must bear in mind that only united in the ranks of the general labour movement can they achieve their freedom. As to the Negro workers, their fight for emancipation from race oppression is clearly in the main a fight against capitalist exploitation. In this fight for emancipation attention should be paid to the **Negro peasantry** of the Southern States of U.S.A.; Agitation should be carried on among them against capitalism and racial oppression connecting this agitation with the economic demands of the Negro farmers.

In a somewhat different aspect is the position of the Negro toilers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In **Africa** the majority of the Negro population is still living a primitive tribal life. Here the imperialist invader by expropriating the communal lands, by heavy taxation and by all kinds of oppressive legislation is forcing the natives to supply cheap labour for the farms, mines and other industrial undertakings of the capitalists. This process of proletarianisation whilst breaking up the old tribal life, at the same time subjects the natives to a miserable existence under conditions which are hardly distinguished from plain slavery.

In order to safeguard the domination of the handful of white masters, the huge masses of the toilers in these colonial and semi-colonial countries are artificially divided into several social classes subject to different laws. We have in **South Africa**, for instance, the natives, the most degraded caste, then come the so-called coloured races and above them the "poor whites". The common class interests are being obscured by this colour differentiation and instead of organising a united front against their common class enemy the workers are fighting each other, strengthening in such a way the position of the capitalist class. The struggle of the Negro workers for liberation is inextricably bound up with the wider struggle of the international proletariat and the Negro workers must line up in the revolutionary class organisations the world over, by organising their forces for joint struggle. In order to help the establishment of such a united front between the Negro toilers and their fellow workers, in order to liberate the Negro workers from the influence of reactionary nationalistic petty-bourgeois ideologies and draw the minto the lines of the international revolutionary class movement, the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the R.I.L.U. issues and calls upon the Negro workers to rally to the following **Programme of organisation and action**:

1. **Equal pay for equal work:** Negro workers as a rule are working at lower wages than white workers. In South Africa

the wages of native workers are from 4 to 5 times lower than the wages of European workers in most fields of work; in America the constant lowering of the wages of Negro workers, the employment of Negro workers only upon their acceptance of lower wages than the white workers, not only means the lowering of their own standards of living, but the standards of other workers as well; in the West Indies, in Cuba, on the sugar plantations, etc., Negro workers toil for a few cents per day. In order to raise the standards of living and subsistence of Negro workers it is necessary to struggle for equal pay for equal work, regardless of race, colour or sex. At the same time the Negro workers together with all other workers must wage a common fight for higher wages, raising the general standard of living of all the workers.

2. **An eight-hour day:** In most industries and at all kinds of work, the Negro workers toil from 10 to 12, and in some parts of the world even 16 hours per day. One of the main tasks of the Negro workers must be to obtain an 8-hour day and ultimately together with the rest of the working class a 7 and a 6-hour day.

3. **Forced labour:** Close to the struggle for an 8-hour day is the question of Forced Labour. In many parts of the world Negro workers are forced to toil, in some cases, for no wages at all, "for community improvements". In the **West-Indies**, at point of the bayonet of U.S. marines, native workers have been forced to build and upkeep roads. They have been driven from Haiti into Cuba to work on the sugar plantations; in **South Africa** forced labour takes the form of contract labour, natives being conscripted and recruited in Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa) and transported long distances to work in the mines of South Africa; they must live in compounds and cattle pens. This system is legalised through the so-called "Mozambique Treaty", which exists between Portugal and the South African Government. In French Equatorial Africa the system of forced labour is so brutal — that it resulted almost in the complete annihilation of the native population. In the U.S.A. forced labour does not exist in the same form, but in the Southern part of the U.S.A. many agricultural workers work under a system of peonage; in some States of the South of the U.S.A. Negro convict are forced to work in the coal mines and on plantations. It is against this system of camouflaged slavery that we have to wage an incessant fight. We must do away with the "Mozambique Treaty", with peonage, forced and convict labour, "Corvée Labour", contract labour or under whatever other name this modern slavery is being disguised.

4. **Labour legislation (insurance, etc.):** As one of the means of raising the living standard of the workers we must demand the adoption and enforcement of insurance laws that provide for the care, at the expense of the employers, of all workers in case of unemployment, accidents, sickness and also the paying of old age, pensions and death benefits.

5. **Protection of women and youth:** The I.T.U.C.N.W. demands adequate protection for women and young workers, equal wages, equal benefits and proper working conditions. Vacations for expectant mothers before and after confinement, with full pay and leave periods during the working day after returning to work for nursing the babies.

6. **Freedom of trade unions:** We fight for the right to strike, for the right to organise in trade unions, for the right of free speech, wherever these rights do not exist.

7. **Against class collaboration:** We must wage a militant fight against government coercion, compulsory arbitration, company unions; against all reformist class collaboration.

8. **Against racial barriers in trade unions:** The first requisite for a victorious struggle is a hundred percent organisation of all Negro workers in trade unions. We must therefore conduct a relentless fight against racial bars in some of the existing white unions, the opening of the unions to all workers regardless of race and colour.

9. **Special unions of Negro workers:** Where special bars are not removed and where white unions refuse to admit Negro workers, special unions of Negro workers must be organised. Also, in white unions where Negroes are admitted but are treated as second class members with unequal rights and privileges, special unions must be organised.

10. **Against white terrorism:** We must carry on a resolute fight against terrorism in all its forms — against lynchings, police and soldier terrorism, against the assassination of trade union leaders and social workers, against their arrest and deportation.

11. Housing and social conditions: The housing and social conditions of Negro workers in the industrial centres are among the worst in the world. We must demand that adequate attention be paid to the protection of the health and well-being of the Negro workers and their families and that better houses and social surroundings be provided for.

12. Agricultural workers: Worst of all is the condition of Negro Agricultural Workers. Agricultural workers must be organised into trade unions which must fight for the special demands of agricultural workers including shorter hours social legislation, protection for women and children and the workers, etc. etc.

13. Against the confiscation of peasant and communal lands, against poll and hut taxes, against per capita tax, etc. A special problem is the land question and particularly the agrarian policy of the South African Government. The confiscation of the land of the natives and its reservation for white settlers in different parts of Africa and confiscation in the West Indies tends to create a landless peasantry which is forced to seek work on the white farms and in the cities. The position is yet more aggravated by the policy of levying hut and poll taxes, making the competition for work more acute and the level of wages lower still, and bringing about a worsening of conditions in general. We must therefore fight against confiscation of native land and for the restitution of all land confiscated in the past to the native communities, as well as for the abolition of all special taxes and laws which result in the driving of the peasants from the land.

14. Universal education: To reduce the amount of illiteracy among the Negro workers and their families and to raise their cultural standards, free universal primary and secondary education for the children of the workers and special courses for adult workers must be provided for. At the same time we must demand the abolition of racial segregation in educational system.

15. Civil rights: As a basic task for agitational and organisational activities as the first step in our main struggle against imperialism, it is necessary to achieve the abolition of all racial discriminations, abolition of "Pass Laws", and all other laws and regulations abrogating the rights of the Negro workers, and to achieve universal suffrage, freedom of speech, freedom of workers' press. All "Colour Bar" and caste systems existing in South Africa and the West Indies which tend to split the ranks of the workers must be abolished wherever they exist.

16. Self-determination of Negroes: In South Africa, in the West Indies, and in the Southern part of the U. S. A., the trade unions of the Negro workers must become the central organs and transform the economic struggles of the Negro workers into political struggles, into a combined economic and political struggle for power and self-determination.

17. Fighting the influence of the church and of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and movements: We must combat the influence of the church, of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies and movements. The church by offering to the Negro worker and peasant for the miseries they are enduring in this world compensation in heaven, are befogging the minds of the Negro workers and peasants, making them a helpless prey to capitalism and imperialism. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and movements, such as Garveyism, etc., detract the Negro workers from their fight hand in hand with the international working class, for their emancipation from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism.

18. The war danger: The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers directs the attention of the Negro workers of the world to preparations for the next world war, which are now being made by the imperialists, on the one hand against the Soviet Union — the fatherland of workers and oppressed peoples, at the same time, it goes without saying, that the imperialists are in armament races for a war amongst themselves for a re-division of the colonial and semi-colonial spheres of influence. This not only means unheard of economic burdens upon the backs of Negro workers but also the terrible destruction of the lives of Negro soldiers recruited from among the workers and peasants. To understand what Negro workers must pay in the next war one only has to recall the last war with the consequent killing of hundreds of thousands of black troops who were fighting in the armies of the imperialists. The black troops had nothing to gain by fighting for the imperialists, and after the war was over, Negroes not only suffered most terrible oppression in the imperialist countries and colonies but whole colonies of Negro people were placed in virtual enslavement. At the present

moment the imperialists are training "black armies" for the next war, and are utilising black troops to suppress the struggles of workers (in France) and against the Chinese workers in China (by Great Britain).

The Negro workers of the world must struggle against the menacing war danger; they must mobilise their forces against the imperialists using black troops against the workers.

We must rally to the support of our fellow workers!
We must defend the Soviet Union!

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

German Social Democracy's Preparations for the Threatening War.

By G. Zinoviev.

The ordinary Party Congress of German Social Democracy will be held in Magdeburg in May. The most important question at this party congress will be the problem of German armaments. In reality, this title will serve to cover a discussion of the famous question of the "defence of native country" in civil wars and also the question of the present foreign policy of the bourgeois German Republic of to-day. For the purpose of working up theses on this question the Central Committee of German Social Democracy has set up a programme commission. The chairman is the notorious Dittmann; Breitscheid, Stampfer, Ströbel, Crispian and a number of other well-known leaders of the S. P. G. are members. This commission recently published its project, which was accepted almost enthusiastically by the whole of the German bourgeoisie.

In the first place: what do the theses of the programme commission omit to treat of? There is not a word in them about the Soviet Union, about the peace policy of the Soviet Union, nor, you may be sure, about the disarmament proposals made by Litvinov. One of the best-known members of the programme commission of the S. P. G., Stampfer, brings forward in an article, as commentary on the theses, evidence of the necessity of increased armaments for Germany, pointing out that the "statutes of the League of Nations require that under such circumstances Germany should take part in sanctions" and "employ military force—naturally against the Soviet Union" (*Vorwärts*, Nr. 612.) And under such circumstances the S. P. G. now publishes in connection with the programme a document on the questions of war, armaments and the foreign policy of the German Republic, without a single reference to the existence of the Soviet State.

This silence is all that the German and the world bourgeoisie require. For the present this suffices...

"The S. P. G. rejects war as a political instrument. It demands peaceful solutions of all international conflicts by means of obligatory courts of arbitration, democratisation of the League of Nations and its development into an effective instrument of peace" — that is the first solemn point of theses, but that alone enables us to recognise that, at the very best, we have to do with a bourgeois-pacifist "Labour" party.

What is the meaning of the first sentence of the above thesis? It will be seen that Social Democracy only "rejects" war as an instrument of policy. With the same result the gentlemen might also say that they "reject" the capitalist system of production, the system of squeezing surplus value out of the workers, that they "reject" the class struggle.

War is inevitable under capitalism — and particularly of that phase of capitalism known as imperialism. Only combat and devoted support of the first proletarian State, as represented by the Soviet Union, only the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries can prevent a fresh imperialist war. That is how the Communists put the question.

In response to this attitude the social-democratic leadership pretend to be simple and say: If you yourself say that war is inevitable, why do you fight against the inevitable, and why do you call upon us to fight against the unavoidable? A social-democratic "leader" actually gave this answer recently to the Communists in the "left-wing" "*Leipziger Volkszeitung*". Hypocritical buffoons! They pretend not to understand what we say, inevitable, if the working class does not prepare for the proletarian revolution and carry it through.

Karl Kautsky hastens to compose a whole commentary on the above theses. In the recently published brochure "The Military Question and Social Democracy" he writes:

"Where Democracy is established social democracy therefore rejects every recourse to weapons in the class struggle. In the same way it rejects this solution in every conflict between two States, since arrangements exist to render it possible to settle all differences by means of arbitration. In view of these circumstances, social democracy declares the starting of civil war, as also of war between States, to be a crime."

— Where Democracy has been achieved! ... According to Kautsky, this "Democracy" has naturally been achieved in England, Germany and France. For it was just the Anglo-French imperialists, who, by your leave, created "those institutions", which Kautsky serves so obsequiously. But it was just English Democracy which hardly a year ago crushed the Chinese revolution by force of arms.

Mr. Kautsky regards every recourse to force of arms in the class struggle as criminal, if bourgeois democracy happens to prevail in the State in question (Kautsky is clearly speaking of bourgeois democracy, as proletarian democracy exists in the Soviet Union only.) What a pity that Mr. Kautsky did not promptly advise his party comrade, Mr. Noske, not to appeal to arms in the class struggle. If he had only done so, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg might still be living.

"German Social Democracy is determined, in accordance with the resolutions of the Brussels Congress of the Labour and Socialist International of August, 1928, to bring the greatest pressure to bear, and even revolutionary means, upon any government which refuses to submit to a court of arbitration and resorts to war."

This also appears in the theses of the programme commission.

To which court of arbitration? Apparently that of the League of Nations. Before its consummation or afterwards is not clear? Apparently beforehand, for the esteemed Social Democrats do not mention any other "institution of the court of arbitration". In his commentary on these theses Mr. Kautsky gives further particulars:

"It is also the right and duty of the working people to rise against a government which refuses to submit a conflict with another government to the League of Nations, or some other court of arbitration, and desires to settle it by force of arms."

For the present, there is no other "court of arbitration" mentioned by name by Mr. Kautsky. What does this actually amount to? If by any chance Pilsudski's Poland or the Roumania of the Boyars (or the two together) decide to attack the Soviet Union, occupy a portion of its territory and then declare themselves ready to submit to the judgment of the court of arbitration of the imperialistic League of Nations, according to the theses of the S. P. G. and to Mr. Kautsky's commentary, the Soviet Union will be under obligation to declare itself in agreement. If, however, the proletarian State decides to undertake its own defence with arms, Kautsky & Co. will call upon the workers to rise against the Soviet Government.

"It is the historic mission of the German Republic to be the champion of international disarmament" — so the theses state. It was probably for this reason that, as soon as it got into power, German Social Democracy hastened to vote the credits for the armoured cruiser. German social democracy is, you will understand, in favour of the "principle of disarmament"! But "for the time being" it is fighting against the "one-sided disarmament" of its bourgeoisie, and the theses state:

"The S. P. G. does not recognise a German Republic which is under obligation to comply with the prescribed armament regulations without regard to their political and military objects."

What the wily German bourgeoisie thinks is expressed blatantly by the servile social democrat: We, the humiliated sons of the "German Republic" (of the bourgeois republic, worthy Social Democrats!), take into account the prescribed obligations which only "so far limit" our armament...

Mr. Kautsky gives the following explanations of these points in his theses:

"After the conclusion of the world war, the conquered nations had forced upon them by the conquerors a one-sided disarmament which left them short of the minimum neces-

sary to secure the defence of the respective countries. Even in this defenceless condition, the German nation has managed to maintain a position among the nations of the world."

That — Germany is at present a bourgeois country is not mentioned by so much as a word. That the foreign bourgeoisie, which treated the German bourgeoisie so badly nevertheless guaranteed the latter the military forces to defeat the German workers, to shoot the Spartacus people, to drown several proletarian revolts in workers' blood, is also passed over in silence. The German bourgeoisie sighs that it is insufficiently armed. Following the example of "their" bourgeoisie, the worthy Social Democrats likewise heave a sigh.

"As long as these dangers exist and as long as they cannot be removed by socialist governments, at least, in the most important countries, the German Republic is compelled to maintain a defence force for the protection of the right of self-determination of her people."

This is from the third thesis of the programme commission. The German Republic! It is obviously a question of the present day German Republic, i. e. of the bourgeois German Republic, otherwise, it would have been necessary to express clearly that it is a question of the future Socialist republic. In regard to the other countries it is openly stated that "Socialist" governments must be created there. We therefore arrive at the following: as long as socialist governments are not created in the other most important countries of the whole world, German social democracy will stand in its own country for the defence of the bourgeois fatherland. From the point of view of the working class the contrary must be said: If the German bourgeois Republic converts itself into a socialist Soviet Republic, the socialist governments of every other country will regard the interests of Soviet Germany as their own interests.

After the "principle" portion of the theses there follow ten practical "demands", which are quite acceptable to the German bourgeoisie and would be quite in place in any moderate programme of any moderate liberal or bourgeois republican party. They demand: control by parliament of all treaties of the army administration; legal regulations to secure non-party recruiting. The most radical of these ten demands is that for the prohibition of the employment of military forces in conflicts between capital and labour. But quite recently notorious social chauvinists brought forward these demands in France as soon as they saw that the soldiers were beginning to fraternise with the miners on strike. The social patriots take the view that the police and "volunteer" bands suffice for the present. After the ten practical demands of bourgeois republicanism there follows the thesis, which blames the military authorities for preparing to use gases and bacteria in the threatening war. "The Social-Democratic Party of Germany", so runs this thesis, "stigmatises this barbaric intention and demands the re-establishment of international law in the sense of humanity." The "military men" will, of course, be duly guided by this pious wish!

And, finally, comes the last thesis, which demands "moral disarmament!"

Mr. Stampfer relates that in the programme commission several projects were brought forward. A "most interesting discussion" arose. Finally, the majority voted in favour of the plan which we have criticised above. But not a single one of the projects brought forward had anything to say — Stampfer assures us — against the defence of the present-day German Fatherland, against the arming of the German bourgeois Republic.

Such are the considerations which occur to the leaders of German Social Democracy to-day, before the war has commenced. It can well be imagined what baseness the people will be capable of when war actually breaks out.

The position of Germany is rather an unusual one, say the worthy social democrats. That is a fact. But how should the leaders of a real workers' party regard this unusual position?

A proletarian party would take the following view:

The imperialist bourgeoisie of our country brought unspeakable misery upon our homeland during the years 1914 to 1918. Imperialist Germany suffered a defeat in the world war. The predatory victor States took advantage of the opportunity to rob the conquered countries and to weaken their competitors, the German capitalists. The imperialists of the Entente forbade the German bourgeoisie to maintain a big army and a big navy, and left it with a striking force only sufficient to keep down the workers of the country. German imperialism, which

is again raising its head, is now bringing up the question of legalising these military forces, the question of reconstructing a big army, naturally under the leadership of bourgeois officers, under the banner of the new "blossoming" imperialism. For this purpose the German bourgeoisie would like to exploit the feelings of hatred which have rightly accumulated in the German nation against the foreign conquerors and turn to account the patriotism of the conquered country. The German bourgeoisie naturally does not dare to think of calling upon Germany to start a revolutionary war against foreign imperialism. It only desires once more and to a greater degree to enter the ranks of the imperialist States and to gain a certain "equality" with the big imperialist robbers. A workers' party cannot sit with folded arms in the face of such a crime. As Lenin taught, the workers' party must advocate the disarming of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the workers. A German workers' party would have the full support of the Soviet Union and of its Red Army, for the time being, the only army of international Socialism. The German workers' party knows that a proletarian revolution alone can save the German Fatherland from new imperialist war. The creation of a new bourgeois army would undoubtedly mean fresh wars for Germany. One of the most important political objects of the creation of a new bourgeois army in Germany, from a historic point of view, may be participation in a campaign against the Soviet Union. The German workers' party sounds the alarm in face of this danger. The German workers' party now declares that it will endeavour to convert a fresh war against the Soviet Union into a war against the German bourgeoisie, against the ruling classes. That would be the only answer worthy of the German working class. But the present-day leaders of German social democracy are as far removed from such an answer as they are from the stars.

The Rights, for instance, the Brandler group in Germany, will not comprehend the new role of present-day social democracy. The chief journal of the German Rights, "Gegen den Strom" (Against the Current), for instance, says:

"Every child knows that the disgraceful conduct of the reformists, particularly during the war, during the revolutionary period and afterwards, was so monstrous that it can hardly be surpassed. It is therefore wrong now to speak of a "change" having taken place (in the attitude of the reformists). It appears to us that these alleged changes in the attitude of the reformists, at least, as far as Germany is concerned, are invented to provide at least the appearance of a justification for the new tactics." ("Gegen den Strom", No. 3.)

In the fight against the "boundless exaggerations" in characterising the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders the same article says:

"It is true that the reformists follow an officially-State and, therefore, a non-proletarian policy. This, however, by no means precludes them from leading big strikes and fights within the bounds of their bourgeois State policy."

The reformists "lead big fights and strikes"! Aye, they lead them. A fine example — the general strike in England. The reformists of the general council "led" it and... led it to a victory for the bourgeoisie. But why look so far! The reformists "led" the recent fight in the Ruhr District! And where they "led" it is well known...

"Every child" knows that during the last war the reformists behaved particularly villainously. And their villainous actions of that time can not be surpassed now! That sounds "radical". But is it true? No!

The reformists entered the war in 1914 with the Basle Manifesto on their shoulders, and with the solemn oath to respond to the imperialist war with revolution. They are now entering the war not with the Basle Manifesto but with the theses of the Dittmann commission and with Paul Boncour's law. Is there any difference here? Yes!

In the world war it was a question of war between two groups of imperialists. In a war at the present time it might be a question of war between the united imperialists and the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie is already "training" the social democrats expressly against the State of Proletarian Dictatorship. Is there any difference here? Yes! "Every child" can see it.

For this reason the VI. Congress of the Comintern was quite right in its estimate of present-day social democracy. The attempts to "correct" the Comintern in this question in particular will lead to no good.

Vandervelde at the Holy Sepulchre

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Ladies who have passed their prime and in their younger days enjoyed life to the full and had a gay old time on occasion, generally become pious and devout. Such is the case with the venerable leader of the II. International M. Vandervelde. Ex-Minister to his majesty, the King of the Belgians, war agitator and defender of counter-revolutionary conspirators, whom we find at the silent meeting of the Holy Sepulchre. It drew him — and so he, "a free thinker, gentile, socialist", could not resist the invitation of the Zionist organisation to view the Land of Israel. And now M. Vandervelde has written an account of a pilgrimage in a book bearing the somewhat bizarre title: "The Land of Israel, A Marxist in Palestine*")."

A Marxist? Right in the preface M. Vandervelde sees to it that no false significance is placed upon his Marxism:

"I do not know whether there are still many people who interpret historical materialism as do Paul Lafargue or the Bolsheviks... Those who still hold to this crude conception of Marxism can only be advised to cure themselves of it by means of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a journey to Jewish Palestine." (Page 10.)

It is necessary to gain inspiration from the Holy Ghost in order to be cured of a "crude" conception of Marxism.

Then one understands, for instance, that the Marxist description of a land of Easter feelings, reminiscences of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, must begin with the manna in the desert and the Land of Canaan; the voyage of exploration itself, with a visit to the Holy Sepulchre, the wailing place of the Jews and then — Jesuit monasteries. Then, interlarded with bible quotations and innumerable banal anecdotes, one must pass on to eulogies of the Zionist colonies; finishing up with sentimental soliloquies on the heroism of the Jews.

"who are adopting a new life with the object of building a national home which shall, in the first place, form a centre from which the Jewish idea shall radiate into the whole world". (Page 212.)

The contents of the work correspond to the strictly Marxist construction of this book, designed to cure bad Marxists. The facts and figures given in the book have been taken from Zionist leaflets and propaganda brochures. Vandervelde does not share the dry, mummified conception of Marxism (P. 214), which, for instance, a thorough study of the material demands, derived as it is from different sources. He imbibes as sacred truth everything his Zionist friends set before him and relate to him; he admits that he went to Palestine "with a prejudice in favour of Zionism". (Page 195.) He fills pages with inveiglements taken from Zionist brochures, with well-trimmed tables meant for superficial newspaper readers and with fulsome praise of things of no importance. When one discovers that in spite of the magnificence of the Jewish national home there are living in the whole of Palestine no more than 150,000 Children of Israel, though 12 years have passed since the Balfour Declaration was made (the Jewish population of the single city of Warsaw is two or three times as large; that of New York eight times as large!), that of these 150,000 only about 30,000 are engaged in agriculture, while — as Vandervelde himself is obliged to admit — in the Soviet Union twice as many were provided at one stroke with land and set up in colonies; when one further reads that Vandervelde himself does not regard the "possibility of creating a Jewish majority in Palestine as either existing or desirable" (pages 120-121), that there can, therefore, be no question of a solution of the Jewish national question by means of Zionism, one cannot help thinking "Much Ado about Nothing".

But the purpose of this pious trip appears to be rather more serious than the satisfying of the desire to do penance on the part of a "Marxist" grown old in the betrayal of the workers. The journey was made immediately before the Congress of the Labour and Socialist International in Brussels, and the colonial question was on the agenda of this congress. On this occasion not only were the British mandate for Palestine and the Balfour

*) "Le pays d'Israel, un marxiste en Palaestine", par Emile Vandervelde, Les Editions Rieder, Paris, 262 pages.

Declaration approved but an international pro-zionist committee was formed with Vandervelde, Leon Blum, Henderson, Renaudel, and Bernstein among its members. The II. International is searching feverishly for excuses to justify the pro-imperialist and pro-colonial attitude of its sections, and especially the British, French and Belgian sections. In this regard, the "civilising" role played by the imperialists in the "backward" countries is to constitute the chief argument. Zionism and its activity in Palestine appears to the gentlemen to be a good example, and the Zionist bourgeoisie and the Zionist reformists very gladly collect the material required by M. Vandervelde.

And the rest is done by silence. For a volume twice as large as that in which the Socialist leader expatiates on every piece of Zionist tripe and dwells, en bon marxiste, on the interrelation of dairy farms and market gardens in the microscopically small Zionist settlements could be filled with the things which M. Vandervelde did not see and had no desire to see. He, however, devotes a few words, borrowed from his non-Marxist but social-imperialist friend Wedgwood, to a description of the Arabian population, which numbers in Palestine alone almost 700,000 and in the whole territory several millions. Vandervelde has nothing to say about an expropriation of land from Arabian peasants, in which his socialist friends, devoted exclusively to idealism, heroism and communism, have taken part with enthusiasm (yes, Vandervelde constantly emphasises astutely the "communist" settlements, the "communist" ideology of his Zionist friends, in contrast to the "Bolshevists", who, here, of course, as everywhere else, are only a disturbing minority, who are quite rightly chased out, etc. A remarkable paradox: anti-communist Bolshevists). Vandervelde's socialist heart is left equally cold by the circumstance that the whole of the population of Palestine lacks the most elementary "democratic rights", not to mention socialist rights, that the population is permanently impoverished by taxation and exploitation, that thousands of Jewish emigrants and emigrant families have been obliged to leave the country again completely ruined by their Zionist adventure, that revolutionary workers are persecuted and maltreated cruelly and that in this regard the Zionists play the part of spies, informers and agents provocateurs, that under the pretext of spreading the Hebrew language (to which Vandervelde devotes a whole chapter) a terrible Fascism is developing, which bludgeons the workers, that class antagonisms are becoming aggravated, that the cleavage between exploiter and exploited is leading to ever fiercer conflicts.

Things of this kind are neither seen nor heard of when one dines with Jewish financiers, as Vandervelde admits he did (Page 30), is the guest of the imperialist French High Commissioner in Syria and travels the country in sleeping cars and saloon automobiles. If however, these are the new methods of present-day and non "crude" Marxist investigation, then — to borrow the biblical pathos from M. Vandervelde — Woe to these Marxists!

OUR MARTYRS

Johann Fonagy

After Comrades Ivanusk and Vasia the murderous regime in the prison of Dolina has demanded a third victim: on the 1st of April Comrade Johann Fonagy died in the military hospital of Campina.

Comrade Fonagy was one of the best leaders of the revolutionary Labour movement and of the Communist Party of Roumania. He worked for eleven years in Czechoslovakia, Austria and finally in Roumania as an ever-devoted, courageous and determined fighter. In Roumania he was leader of the legal communist organisation and afterwards leader of the Unitary trade unions. In Transylvania he organised the Red Aid.

While in prison he was always the first in all actions and hunger-strikes against the cruel prison regime, and indefatigably organised Marxist-Leninist cultural work behind the walls of the prison.

Comrade Fonagy was only 28 years of age. The prison regime undermined his strength and in addition his health was particularly ruined as a result of the wounds he sustained "while trying to escape" from Sibiu. He endured cruel tortures and fi-

nally died of lung trouble after 14 days of terrible suffering and continual haemorrhage of the lungs.

All the workers' papers of Roumania have, in agreement with the local committees of the workers and peasants' bloc and with the trade union council of the Unitary trade unions of Bucharest, decided to organise a "Fonagy press campaign" from the 15th of April to the 15th of May.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

The Agricultural Labourer's Unions are a Bridge between the Proletariat and the Working Peasantry.

By M. Strahovenko.

Already on the eve of the October Revolution Vladimir Ilyitch laid stress on the necessity of organising agricultural labourers' unions. He said:

"The foremost detachment of the Russian proletariat — the industrial workers' unions — is in duty bound to come to the assistance of its brothers, the agricultural labourers."

... "It is just the most experienced, developed and class conscious representatives of the proletariat who can and must issue a call to the agricultural labourers and must draw them into the ranks of the organised proletariat, into trade union ranks." (Lenin, Vol. XIV, Part 1, p. 287.)

In his speech at the agricultural labourers' congress in Leningrad, Lenin pointed out that the agricultural labourers' unions are called upon to play an important role in the reorganisation of the countryside on a socialist basis. And in fact, the agricultural labourers' union of the U.S.S.R. which has about 500,000 members, has become a prop and pillar of the Party and the Soviet government in the countryside.

From its very inception the Communist International paid considerable attention to the problem of the organisation of the agricultural proletariat. This question loomed big already at the II Congress and the IV Congress studied very carefully the problem of the organisation of the agricultural proletariat.

We take the following statement from the "Programme of Action of the Comintern with respect to work in the countryside" adopted by the IV Congress of the Comintern.

"In all countries where an agricultural proletariat (in the true sense of the word) exists, it is destined to become an important factor in the revolutionary movement of the countryside. Unlike the social-democrats who attack the struggling agricultural proletariat from the rear, the Communist Party supports, organises and intensifies every kind of struggle of this proletariat for the improvement of its economic, social and political position."

Finally, at the VI Congress of the Comintern the question of the role of the agricultural proletariat in the revolutionary movement was fully reflected in the Programme of the Communist International which was then adopted.

In regard to the peasantry, the task of the Communist Parties consists in bringing over to their side all the exploited and working sections of the rural population with the support of the agricultural proletariat.

"The achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes also that the proletariat acquires leadership of wide sections of the toiling masses. To accomplish this the Communist Party must extend its influence over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the intelligentsia, and over the so-called "small man", i. e. the petty bourgeois strata generally. It is particularly important that work be carried on for the purpose of extending the Party's influence over the peasantry. The Communist Party must secure for itself the wholehearted support of that stratum of the rural population that stands closest to the proletariat, i. e. the agricultural labourers and the rural poor. To this end the agricultural labourers must be organised in separate organisations; all possible support must be given them in their struggles against the rural bourgeoisie and strenuous work must be carried on among the small allotment farmers and small peasants."

With respect to its numerical strength, the agricultural proletariat is certainly not a negligible quantity. According to the preliminary figures of the International Agrarian Institute (Moscow), there are 150 million agricultural proletarians throughout the world. Most of them are concentrated in Europe — about 27 million. And yet, even in countries where the industrial proletariat is well organised, the organisation of the agricultural proletariat is very inadequate. The percentage of organised agricultural labourers in the individual countries fluctuates between 1 and 5.

During the high tide of the revolutionary movement the agricultural labourers flocked into the trade union organisations. Some unions had hundreds of thousands of members in their ranks. For instance, the German agricultural labourers' union had on July 1st, 1920, 780,000 members, the Italian — 345,635, the British unions — 180,000 generally speaking at the time of the first conference of the reformist international agricultural labourers' federation this organisation had 2,103,835 members, whereas at present it has only 342,000. Thus the membership of the federation has decreased almost 6 times.

It goes without saying that the reformists are impeding in every possible way the consolidation and development of the agricultural labourers' unions. They fully realise that the organised agricultural labourers can play a very important role with regard to the revolutionisation of the countryside.

The agricultural labourers' union in the countryside is the bridge between the proletariat and the working peasantry.

It is not in the interests of the reformists who have associated themselves with the bourgeoisie and the State which is protecting the capitalist interests to contribute to the development of the revolutionary agrarian movement. It is not in their interest to create a proletarian nucleus in the countryside capable of leading the revolutionary agrarian movement of the pauperised peasantry.

At present, when the labour movement is reviving, when class struggles are rapidly developing, the reformists are afraid that the revolutionary influence of the proletariat will spread from the towns to the countryside. This is precisely one of the reasons which make the reformists impede the growth of the trade union organisations of the agricultural proletariat.

But on the strength of the general revival of the labour movement, the rural giant — the agricultural proletariat is awakening. We had in the last year a series of big struggles between the agricultural proletariat and the agrarian capitalists. Suffice it to mention the strike in Slovakia in which several thousand men were involved and which led to sanguinary collisions with the gendarmerie, the actions of the agricultural labourers on the banana plantations of Colombia in which about 40 thousand agricultural labourers and peasants were involved who resisted the troops and seized towns, and finally, the Lodz strike which found an echo in the Polish villages where big actions of agricultural labourers took place simultaneously in a number of districts with the support of the peasantry.

Unfortunately, we cannot boast of a proper understanding of the importance of work among agricultural labourers, even on the part of the Communist Parties. Suffice it to point out that in France with its more than 3 million agricultural labourers, the unitarian trade union has only 7½ to 8 thousand members. This is an insignificant percentage. And yet, in France where agriculture plays such an important role, an organised agricultural proletariat could be a reliable ally of the Party in the countryside.

The problem of the organisation of the unorganised is just now particularly important with regard to the agricultural labourers. One should bear in mind that about 2—3 percent of agricultural proletarians are organised in the reformist unions. Millions of agricultural labourers are unorganised. In this respect the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement have an enormous field of activity. There is no doubt

whatever that the forthcoming industrial struggles will shake up the millions of the rural proletariat. We must get ready for this. We must show more initiative in the organisation of the rural masses. A definite change must take place in this direction. The IV Congress of the R.I.L.U. issued concrete directions for the organisation of the agricultural proletariat, but these directions are not being put into practice with the necessary speed.

Special importance attaches to work in the colonial countries where the proportional weight of the agricultural proletariat — in view of the general numerical weakness of the industrial proletariat — is particularly great and where this proletariat will have to play a very important role in the revolutionary agrarian movement. If we only take India, we see that according to official figures relating to 1921 the agricultural proletariat amounted to 22 million. During these years the pauperisation of the countryside and the growth of the agricultural proletariat at the expense of the ruined peasantry continued owing to the policy of the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie. To organise these millions means to create a bulwark in the struggle against British imperialism, in the struggle of the industrial proletariat for its emancipation. One must of course bear in mind that in the colonial countries where a considerable portion of the foreign capital is concentrated in agriculture, the agricultural enterprises of a big-capital type, the struggle of the agricultural proletariat is at the same time a struggle against imperialism. The immediate organisation of the agricultural proletariat is dictated by the entire contemporary international situation. The feverish preparations of the imperialists for another war in which the agricultural proletariat will be utilised as cannon fodder, as a force through which imperialism will endeavour to bring pressure to bear on the revolutionary movement — the industrial towns, bring insistently to our notice the problem of the organisation of the unorganised proletarians of the countryside.

The organised rural proletariat will be a reliable bulwark in the process of the establishment of proletarian influence among the working peasantry and in the efforts to draw it into the general struggle against imperialism.

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