

# - INTERNATIONAL -

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## The Bloody First of May in Berlin.

By H. Kurella (Berlin).

"Fights such as Berlin has not seen since 1919." — "Street battles with armoured cars." — "Bloody collisions from early in the morning until late into the night." — "Barricade fighting in Wedding and Neukölln." — "Police brutalities." — "9 dead, 120 wounded, 1000 arrests." That is how even the bourgeois press reports. And the conclusions? Incitement against the revolutionary workers is still further increased.

Zörgiebel wanted the peace of the graveyard on the 1st of May. Open air demonstrations are forbidden, the workers are advised to remain at home, the police will take "drastic action". The Bourgeoisie set Zörgiebel a difficult task: not to allow the Berlin workers to appear on the streets on the 1st of May, on the very day when this demonstration of the international working class was being celebrated for the 40th time. The bourgeoisie commissioned him to carry out a trial of strength; and for this purpose placed at his disposal all its means of power and unrestricted authority for its employment. Zörgiebel employed all the means, including armoured cars, with which the bourgeoisie had entrusted him. What did he accomplish with it all?

The Berlin working class did not give in. Already in the morning hours thousands and tens of thousands of workers gathered everywhere in the districts at the rallying points fixed by the May Day Committee. They encountered a tremendous force of police, mounted and on foot, an enormous number of armoured cars and patrol waggons, equipped with all the most modern weapons, and criminal police with police dogs. But in spite

of this, demonstration-processions are formed everywhere. The police, who already in the forenoon had made use of their fire-arms, attack the processions with the most ruthless brutality, forcing the masses back. But again and again the masses rally together, while the police proceed ever more brutally in order to disperse the crowds who are being continually reinforced by fresh arrivals. Killed and wounded are reported in Neukölln, in the Centre and in Wedding. Although the police resort to the most extreme measures and are able to drive the masses hither and thither, nevertheless they still encounter fierce resistance. Instead of the crowds being intimidated and driven back to their own miserable quarters, they are continually reinforced.

The centre of the town with the two main gathering points for the demonstrators, Alexander Platz and Potsdamer Platz, is "cut off" by the main forces of the police. The most important streets leading from the proletarian districts and suburbs are barred by ten cordons of police. Nevertheless at various places the demonstrators from the outlying districts manage to break through the chain of police, as was the case at the Hackesche Markt. The police rush reserves to these spots and make use of their fire-arms. At Hackesche Markt there are four wounded, including two severely wounded.

The workers do not succeed in concentrating all their forces from the outer districts in order to break through to the two central demonstration places. Nevertheless thousands gather at these two places; the police hold up the traffic for a time and clear the streets in the most brutal manner. In spite of this the

two places of demonstration are again and again filled with crowds of demonstrators. This continual dispersal and reassembling of the workers lasts from 11 a. m. until 2 p. m., when the police make use of the fire-hydrants.

In the evening hours, in the proletarian districts, above all in Neukölln and Wedding, the masses are still on the streets. In order to defend themselves against the raging fury of the police who, as even the bourgeois press reports, are completely beside themselves and fire thousands of shots, barricades are erected. Many of these barricades are defended for hours. The police employ armoured cars, sweep the barricades with fire from machine guns. The police make no distinction between those who have responded to the appeal of the Communist Party, and social democrats or simple passers by. Anyone who ventures to look out of window is immediately shot. A social democrat, a functionary of the Reichsbanner, is in this way killed by a bullet in the head.

What is the net result? The threats of the social democratic police president have been of no avail. The assurance of the "Vorwärts" that the "unorganised", although they vote for the Communists, will not follow their slogans, has again proved a piece of self-deception on the part of deceivers. The furious incitement against the "hand of Moscow", by means of which the social democrats sought to induce the German workers to refrain from following the call to demonstrate which was decided on in Paris 40 years ago, has proved a miserable failure. Not thousands, not tens of thousands, but far more than a hundred thousand workers have appeared on the streets of Berlin, such working masses as the C. P. has rarely succeeded in mobilising, although the workers knew with what opponent they had to deal.

Thanks to Zörgiebel, there has taken place in Berlin, under the rule of the social-democratic police, the bloodiest May Day that has been witnessed since the international proletariat decided to celebrate the 1st of May as its own day. Today the bourgeoisie, and with it its social democratic police hirelings, are triumphing. Have they cause for triumph? The Berlin working class, and in fact the whole German working class, is filled with the greatest bitterness, which has already found expression in a number of protest strikes which have broken out in several factories, not only in Berlin but in the Ruhr district and in Hamburg.

\* \* \*

Berlin, 3rd May 1929.

In consequence of the intense provocation offered by the Berlin police who raced round the streets armed with revolvers, clubs, hand and rifle grenades etc., and attacked the workers without any reason, fierce fighting again occurred at two points of the town where severe fighting occurred on the first of May, in Neukölln and Wedding. Towards evening yesterday the police cleared the streets around the Hermann Platz in Neukölln using their batons violently. They did this on several occasions and enraged the workers so by their brutality that after dark fierce street fighting occurred to an even greater extent than on the 1st May. The police fired blindly into the ranks of the workers who showed themselves on the streets and directed fire upon the dwellings of the workers. The workers defended themselves and built a barricade in the Handjery Strasse which they manned and defended against the police attacks for several hours. The police used armoured cars and swept the streets with machine gun fire. Five workers were seriously injured. In Wedding too, once again in the Koesliner Strasse bloody collisions occurred. Here too the police fired repeatedly at the windows and balconies of the workers dwellings, using searchlights and flares in order to light up the street. Here too the workers set up barricades and defended themselves against their heavily armed attackers with the greatest heroism. The police used armoured cars and machine-guns here also, cordoned off the whole neighbourhood and arrested everyone who fell into their hands. The indignation and anger of the Berlin workers is steadily rising and the bloody events of the 1st and 2nd May have been passionately discussed in the factories.

Last night a delegate conference of the large Berlin factories took place and numerous delegates reported upon the indignation of the workers in the factories and demanded a political mass-strike of the Berlin workers. A roar of indignation went through the conference when it was reported that on Thursday evening also blood had been shed in Neukölln and Wedding. After listening to a speech by comrade Heckert the conference decided to put forward the following demands: Election of

revolutionary committees of action in all factories in order to organise the strike, abolition of the police terror and the demonstration prohibition, withdrawal of the police from the working class quarters and the withdrawal of the armed flying columns from the streets of Berlin, immediate dismissal of Zoergiebel.

In Halle also a great delegate conference took place. The conference listened with the greatest indignation to the report of the police brutalities in Berlin and decided to declare a 24 hour strike on Saturday with the same demands as the Berlin workers.

In Chemnitz the C. P. held a mass protest demonstration in which 25,000 workers took part. After listening to a speech by Max Hoelz who described the brutalities of the police, a procession was formed through the streets of the town. The police tried to break up the procession and a fierce fight took place which lasted for over half an hour. The police attacked with the greatest brutality but were continually repulsed by the workers. Numerous arrests were made. In Leipzig many protest demonstrations took place in the factories. In the evening a mass protest demonstration took place in which the slogan of the Party for a political general strike as a protest against the bloody dictatorship of Zoergiebel was enthusiastically adopted.

The official organ of the Communist Party in Berlin, the "Rote Fahne" was suppressed yesterday for a period of three weeks on the ground that its articles had supported the German Communist Party in its efforts to overthrow the State. The last number of the "Rote Fahne" appeared this morning.

Berlin, 3rd May 1929 (Evening).

The bourgeois "Frankfurter Zeitung" was obliged to write the following in its yesterday's issue:

"At Hermann Platz in Neukölln we were able to see for ourselves that the police attacked the passers by without warning and without requesting them to pass along. The police organised a sort of hunt. The same occurred in other parts of the town, for instance in the Alexander Platz. Although one can understand that the police who are being held in a constant state of preparedness for action and who are faced with a cunning and intangible enemy, are inclined to be nervous, and when a series of errors are accounted for by this natural nervousness, still there remains a great deal which must be sharply criticised."

The nationalist "Nachtausgabe", an organ very friendly toward the police, reports under the heading, "Four people shot dead in Neukölln":

"The shootings in Neukölln this afternoon have cost four people their lives. (to-day, Friday). In the first floor of a house in the Hermann Strasse two women who were cleaning up were hit by bullets and killed instantly. At another house in the same street a woman who was standing on the balcony on the third floor was struck by a bullet and killed instantly. At the corner of the Nogat and Hermann Strassen a man tried to cross the road in order to get to his work. In the middle of the roadway he collapsed mortally wounded by bullets. Strong posts occupied all corners and marched along the pavements, their carbines ready to shoot at any moment at open windows etc., in order to nip any attempt at attack in the bud. Three women who ventured onto their balconies despite the warnings of the police, paid for their temerity with their lives."

The bourgeois press reports that "The Prussian authorities are considering whether it will not be necessary to suppress a number of communist organisations". In the meantime the Red Front Fighters League has been prohibited in Prussia, Bavaria and Hamburg. The whole of the bourgeois press, including the Berlin "Vorwärts" is conducting a furious anti-communist and anti-soviet campaign, and action against "Moscow" is demanded.

The German Communist Party has issued an appeal to the working men and women of Berlin which contains, inter alia, the following: "The bourgeoisie and their police socialists want to provoke you to take up a murderous battle, they want to provoke you to armed insurrection. The murderous plans have been prepared in cold blood for months previously. They wanted to entice you before the barrels of their machine-guns in order to be able to mow down hundreds of the best workers and thus drown the Berlin revolutionary movement in blood. The revolutionary proletariat will however, not let itself be provoked. The revolutionary proletariat will choose the moment for an armed insurrection which it considers favourable, and in this moment they will take up arms to repay the police murderers".

# Appeal of the West-European Bureau of the Communist International in Connection with the Berlin Events.

## To the Proletarians of Europe!

Comrades,

For several days workers' blood has been flowing in Berlin. The social democratic police president Zörgiebel caused the May demonstrations to be fired upon. He attacked in the basest and most provocative manner the best working class districts of Berlin, Wedding and Neukölln, which ever since the founding of the C.P. of Germany have been strongholds of Communist influence. For several days the police bands bestially mishandled the working population, fired upon the houses for no reason whatever, swept the streets with fire from armoured cars, fired from their carbines at the wives and mothers of workers on the balconies of their houses, hunted harmless pedestrians and subjected them to the most brutal ill-treatment. All the achievements of war technic: armoured cars, aeroplanes, search-lights were employed in order to restore "law and order" in the insurgent districts.

This is how the devilish social democracy revenged itself on the workers of Berlin for the losses it sustained at the recent factory council elections. This is how it wreaked vengeance on the workers for their firm revolutionary will to give to the demonstrations on the 1st of May a proletarian fighting character.

All attempts of the social democracy to check the growth of Communist influence by the wholesale expulsion of Communists from the trade unions, by driving the workers out of the factories in collusion with the employers, by delivering their families over to hunger and misery, proved in vain. All this was of no avail to break the fighting spirit of the German working class which had been steered in the fire of revolution of the years of 1918/19. Thereupon the social democracy, supported by the police apparatus of the bourgeois class State, of which it is a constituent part, decided to settle accounts with the advance-guard of the German proletariat, the workers of red Berlin, with the aid of open civil war, to set all the means of bloody terror in action in order to vanquish the "spectre" of approaching revolution.

Dozen of dead, hundreds of wounded, thousands ill-treated and mutilated by truncheons, that is the bloody balance of the sacrifices made by the heroic Berlin proletariat in the May days. The German revolution of the year 1848 against the monarchy demanded fewer victims than the self-sacrificing struggle of the Berlin workers for street demonstrations on May 1st under the government of the social democratic Reichs-Chancellor Müller.

Just as in the Noske times the hands of the social democracy are stained with proletarian blood which it cannot wash away. And just as the blood of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and the fifteen thousand workers and sailors tortured to death or shot down by Noske, so this blood which has just been shed deepens still more the abyss between the social democracy and those remnants of the workers who, owing to their inertia, are still under its influence; and it makes this abyss unbridgeable. This circumstance confronts the German Communist Party with the most urgent problem of winning the majority of the working class. It is cementing still more firmly together the revolutionary will of the proletariat; it serves as a fresh stimulus to the swing to the Left of the workers of all countries, at the head of which there marches the working class of Germany. The blood shed in the May days eloquently proclaims to millions of workers the part which the social democracy is playing in suppressing every revolutionary movement, in preparing for new imperialist wars before all against the Soviet Union; the part it is playing in carrying out capitalist rationalisation, which is creating from the blood and sweat of the workers fresh riches for a handful of parasites — this blood says more than dozens of the plainest speeches and most brilliant articles in which social democracy has been exposed hitherto. This blood encourages all workers in all countries to fling their social-democratic party membership books in Zörgiebel's face and to take their place among those against whom Zörgiebel is now directing his machine guns and hand grenades.

The glorious fight of the Berlin proletariat fills a fresh page of the international revolutionary labour movement. Unarmed and tenaciously the Berlin proletariat defended itself for some days in the streets against the superior and excellently armed class enemy. It has not vanquished this enemy, but neither has it been vanquished by it; it has retired for the time being, because it had no weapons in its hands, in order to conduct the fight to a victorious end. But this fight, which has not yet been concluded, has placed upon the agenda of the whole international Labour movement the question of the growth of the economic fights in the last few months into the political fight against the bourgeois State as a whole. By its action, the Berlin proletariat has reminded the social democratic hangmen that the times of barricade-fighting in Europe are not yet past; that if in Europe there is not to be observed at present such a collapse of capitalism as was the case in 1918/19, nevertheless the increasing revolutionary activity of the working class, the growing influence of the Communist Party can in the near future bring about an immediately revolutionary situation in such advanced capitalist countries as Germany. A pre-condition for the ripening of such an immediately revolutionary situation is the capturing of the decisive strata of the working class by the Communist Party.

The German proletariat made the struggle for open demonstration of the 1st of May an occasion for action. Behind this struggle, however, lay the idea of militant international solidarity which on the 4th of August 1914 was trodden under-foot in the dirt and blood of war by the international social democracy. On the 1st of May, 1929, and the days following it the German proletariat took revenge for the 4th of August of the German social democracy. It has shown the ruling class that a repetition of the situation as it existed in 1914 in the Labour movement is impossible in the future; that the bourgeoisie, in the event of a declaration of war, will encounter a proletariat which is ready for fight; that the Communist Parties have not fought in vain in the years which followed the termination of the world war of 1914/18, to win the masses; that the proletariat at the decisive moment will use the whole weight of its influence in order energetically to convert imperialist war into civil war.

On the barricades in Wedding and in Neukölln there was raised the banner of militant revolutionary internationalism, which shall be a signal for the fight of the working class and the toilers of other countries for International Red Day against War on the 1st of August. The Berlin proletariat has given the signal for such an action for international Red Day. The preparations for this day do not consist merely in circulars, letters of instruction, appeals and articles. These preparations consist in the organised and prepared fight of the working class against fascism and capitalist rationalisation, for which the German proletariat has given an example. International Red Day on 1st of August is not an ordinary demonstration. It will be the turning point in the international Labour movement for the going over of the proletariat to the counter-attack on the international front against world capital. This day of fight against war must co-ordinate the separate skirmishes of the working class into a general counter-offensive. The May action of the Berlin proletariat is the first outpost fight in this general proletarian attack; but this fight must be and is being already supported by the most important fighting contingents of the international working class. The Berlin workers shed their blood for the international solidarity of the workers. They must not be left alone in this fight. In the name of the brotherhood and the solidarity of the toilers, the workers of all countries must be brought into movement. If the case of Sacco and Vanzetti mobilised the toilers of all countries, then the blood bath which the German social democracy carried out among the Berlin workers on the instructions of the German capitalists must be the starting point for the mobilisation of the proletariat masses on a not less but on a greater scale than on the occasion of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

### Proletarians of Europe!

The world bourgeoisie is singing the praises of Zörgiebel. It is lining up in a united front with Zörgiebel. You workers, you suppressed of all countries — form an iron phalanx round the Berlin proletariat! Support by mass meetings, by public demonstrations and, where possible, by political strikes the action of the Berlin proletariat! Capture the streets in your countries for the working class on the 1st of August! Appropriate all the political and war-technical experiences of the fights of the Berlin proletariat, of the fighting methods of the police, in order to have a greater capacity for manoeuvring in your action on 1st of August! Link up your support of the Berlin proletariat with the daily demands of the broadest proletarian masses, with the most immediate questions of the daily struggle!

**On to the streets, proletarians!** Show by your solidarity actions with the Berlin proletarians that you will not allow anybody to use the workers as targets for the bullets of the police. Let the bourgeoisie know that a thousand new fighters will rise up in the place of every fallen worker. Rise as one man against fascism, which is arming itself again!

**Against imperialist war and in the first place against the attack on the Soviet Union!**

**Against international social democracy, the murderer of workers!**

**Up with the international solidarity of the workers!**

Brüssels, May 5th 1929.

West-European Bureau  
of the Communist International.

## POLITICS

### Election Manifesto of the C. P. of Great Britain.

To the Workers of Great Britain.

#### Issues of the Election.

Three parties are appealing to you in the name of the nation at the General Election. They call themselves Tories, Liberals and Labour. But they all defend capitalist rationalisation — the drive to rebuild capitalist Britain by forcing you to work longer hours, under speeding up conditions, for lower wages. They all support the policy of holding down India, Egypt, Ireland and the other colonies by brute force. They all do their best to pile up armaments in preparation for the new Imperialist War, while pouring out volumes of pacifist phrases.

The Communist Party is the only party which appeals to you in the name of your class — the exploited workers of Great Britain. It believes in the capacity and power of the working class to seize power from the capitalist class. It takes the lead in the workers' rising tide of struggle against capitalist rationalisation, and alone calls the workers to the fight against war preparations and the defence of the Soviet Union. It alone fights to expose the defence of the Soviet Union. It alone fights to expose the hideous oppression of the colonies by British Imperialism.

**All three Parties are defending Capitalist Dictatorship, under the cover of Parliamentary Democracy. The Communist Party fights for the Dictatorship of the Working Class, for the purpose of establishing real Workers' Democracy.**

#### The Record of the Tory Government.

The workers know the record of the Tory Government. It joined hands with the coal-owners to drive the miners into poverty and misery, and its 8-hours Act threw scores of thousands on the streets. It led the capitalist class against the General Strike, which it defeated with the help of the treacherous trade union and Labour Party leaders, and helped the capitalists to follow up their victory by depriving the workers of trade union rights through the Trades Disputes Act. Through the Blanesburgh Unemployment Act and its control of the Labour Exchanges, it has starved the unemployed, particularly the young workers. Its De-Rating Act cripples social services to present £ 24,000,000 to the landlords and factory owners.

The Tory Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia, hampering trade which was developing, and increasing the peril

of war against the first workers' state. Never before have the **Union Jack and the brutal, plundering imperialism it represents been to such a degree the object of hatred and terror of all the oppressed.** This applies particularly to India where a new wave of ferocious legal repression and military violence has been launched to crush the national fight for independence, the Indian workers' fight against coolie conditions, and the peasantry's fight against rack-renting and crushing taxation. At this moment 31 of the best Indian trade unionists, leaders of the heroic six months' strike of the Bombay cotton operatives, are jailed on the trumpety charge of "levying war on the King". In China, British forces have been used to defend the privileges of the foreign exploiters and the power of the feudal landlords against the workers and peasants. In Egypt, British warships and troops have been used to destroy parliamentary government.

#### The Labour Party — Baldwin's Ally.

The Labour Party pretends to be the opponent of the Tory Party. It promises you a paradise of class collaboration. **But the actual facts are that, in every one of the attacks on the workers and colonial peoples, the Labour Party has actively co-operated with the Tories and Liberals.** This was the policy pursued during the war, when it entered the capitalist Coalition in order to prevent the working class ending the war by rising in revolt. During the months preceding the General Strike, the Labour Party opposed any preparations by the workers, in face of the open organisation of the O. M. S., Special Constabulary, etc.

The General Strike of 1926 in defence of living conditions for the miners and the cause of class solidarity, was the biggest event in British working class history. It raised the question of who should rule in Great Britain — the capitalist class or the working class. The capitalists were led by the Tory Government, which was determined to defeat the workers. The workers entrusted their cause to the General Council which, in close collaboration with the Labour Party, succeeded in carrying through Baldwin's programme by betraying, first the General Strike, and then the stupendous seven months struggle of the miners which followed. But the lessons learnt by the workers during 1926, the year in which class struggle in Britain reached its highest point, have not been forgotten.

#### Rebuilding Capitalism.

The capitalists' victory in the General Strike was followed by a tremendous drive for rationalisation. This drive was prompted by the decay of British basic industry, by the shifting of world financial domination to the United States, by the growing revolt of the British colonies and the increasing independence of the Dominions. Capitalist rationalisation in Britain is to serve as the basis of an attempt to stabilise and rebuild declining British capitalism at the expense of the workers. **And the Tory, Liberal and Labour parties have all pledged themselves to carry out this policy under some centralised government control.**

The Labour Party's programme of rebuilding capitalism is the natural consequence of its policy of co-operation with the Tories during the last five years. It prevented mass action against the Trade Union Bill and the break with Russia. It supported the Blanesburgh Report and intervention in China. It participated in the Simon Commission and approves of the repressive measures taken against India. It supports the notorious "industrial peace" campaign, aimed at preventing strikes, at a time when the capitalists are cutting the workers' standard of living on every side.

**On all essential issues, where the safety of capitalist rule in Gt. Britain is menaced, the Labour Party sides with the Tories and Liberals against the Workers.**

#### For a Revolutionary Workers' Government.

The Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties are using the General Election to strengthen the workers' illusions about Parliament as a means of achieving emancipation. The Communist Party takes part in the General Election to combat these illusions and to show the workers that only a resolute struggle to smash the power of the capitalists can bring about emancipation.

The three capitalist parties proclaim that they stand for the Empire, and are co-operating in preparation for world-wide wars against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the one hand, and against the British Empire's imperialist rival, the

United States, on the other. The Communist Party calls the workers to action to smash the world prison house of nations known as the British Empire, reminding them of Marx' famous message that "a nation which oppresses others can never be free itself". The Communist Party fights the preparations for new imperialist wars by unmasking the war plans, by fighting the agents of capitalism in the workers' midst, and by mobilising the workers in day to day struggles against the capitalists and their agents, so that when a new imperialist war breaks out, the working class will be prepared to defeat the war-makers' government and establish a Workers' Republic.

The Communist Party enters the election campaign with the aim of the Workers' Revolution and a Revolutionary Workers' Government inscribed on its banner.

**A Revolutionary Workers' Government in Britain would nationalise the land, mines, railways, large factories, shipyards, banks, foreign trade, etc. without compensation, except for small investors, Trade Unions and Co-operatives. It would run industry on up-to-date lines through self-supporting state trusts, with workers' control through all-inclusive factory committees. It would establish a Central Economic Council, under complete control of the workers, with full authority to co-ordinate all branches of national economic life and to eliminate the anarchy and waste of capitalism. It would make preparations for introducing the 6-Hour Day, for which British Industry is fully ripe, while ensuring the 7-Hour Day and the 40-Hour Week as transitional measures. It would commit all local authority into the hands of local Councils of Workers' Delegates, elected in the factories and trade unions and would organise its own revolutionary armed forces and militia to which only workers would be admitted. It would immediately grant complete independence, including the right of separation, to the colonies, and would give every possible political and economic assistance to them. It would establish Britain as a Workers' Socialist Republic, federated with the Union of Soviet, Socialist Republics.**

This programme of Socialist Revolution is totally different from the capitalist programmes of the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties, but the class cleavage is just as sharp on the question of the workers' daily struggles to improve their living conditions because such struggles draw the workers directly into the greater struggle for a Revolutionary Workers' Government. Therefore, the three capitalist parties all do their utmost to defeat such struggles, while the Communist Party takes the lead in them, placing amongst its immediate demands, the following:

#### Economic and Social Demands.

1. Immediate restoration of the 7-Hour Day to the miners, no over-time and a guaranteed week.
2. Full maintenance for the unemployed.
3. Enactment of the 7-Hour Day for all industries, with 6 hours for young workers and dangerous trades.
4. Repudiation of the National Debt, with compensation for small investors, trade unions and Co-operatives only.
5. Abolition of the workers' contributions to National Insurance.
6. Requisitioning and rationing of empty houses.
7. Free meals for all school children.
8. Full economic equality for women and men, including equal pay for equal work.

#### General political demands:

9. Abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords: payment of election expenses.
10. Full political rights for soldiers, sailors and airmen, and prohibition of their use in strikes.
11. Repeal of the Trade Union Act of 1927, and restoration of complete freedom of strikes and picketing.
12. Repeal of the Seditious and other penal laws against the workers, and of the Emergency Powers' Act.

#### Foreign policy.

13. Immediate opening of full diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia (exchange of Ambassadors), and granting of a State guaranteed loan and credit facilities.
14. Recognition of complete independence for India and all other colonies (including the right of separation) and withdrawal of British troops.
15. Repudiation of the Versailles Treaty and support of the Soviet Disarmament Proposals.

#### A Mass Communist Party.

The Communist Party, in pursuance of its independent policy, is putting up its candidates in a number of constituencies against those of all three capitalist parties. In other constituencies where no Communist candidate is in the field, and where the Labour candidate refuses to pledge himself to a programme of fighting working class demands, the Communist Party advises the workers not to cast a vote for any of the capitalist candidates, Tory, Liberal or Labour.

**It calls on the workers to strengthen the forces of their class, their bulwark against capitalist oppression and imperialist war, by building a mass Communist Party.**

The Communist Party, entering the General Election as the enemy of capitalist society and the Party of the Workers' Revolution, inscribes on its banner the watchwords:

**Down with British imperialism!**

**Against the peril of a new war!**

**Against the three capitalist parties!**

**Class against class!**

**For a revolutionary Workers' Government!**

The Communist Party of Gt. Britain.

## The Indian Revolution and the English General Election.

By K. Page Arnot (London).

The great events which are now taking place in India show that India is nearing revolution. The governing class of Britain and India is well aware of this: and their tactics are determined by their chief strategical need. When Napoleon Buonaparte, a man skilled in the art of war, knew that he had to fight both the Prussians and the British, he attacked the latter, in order to overwhelm Wellington's troops before Blucher's Prussian reserves could arrive. In the same way, though on the infinitely more complete and difficult field of class war, the Imperial strategy in India is to strike hard at the proletariat before the more slowly moving reserves of peasant masses can come up to their aid. Their tactics are the usual combination of fraud and force — force to the uttermost and fraud as much as may be needed. Thus, while the 31 leaders of the Trade Unions and the Workers' and Peasants' Party are arrested, the Fawcett Committee of Arbitration appointed at the close of the Bombay strike last October recommends the owners to drop the claims for a wage reduction provided the workers choose tame trade union leaders in place of the militant leaders whom the Government has obligingly "removed" out of the way. More, the Viceroy, while he smashes the workers' trade unions with the Trades Disputes Bill, offers at the same time a Labour Commission "to remedy grievances", whose fraudulent character is proclaimed even to the dullest by the announcement of Mr. J. H. Whitley as Chairman.

But all these frauds, from the Simon Commission downwards, are never allowed to modify the rule of Imperialist violence which is brought to the fore to crush the slightest sign of resistance. When the National Reformists showed a certain reluctance to discuss the Public Safety Act, on the very day that Mr. Patel is about to take up an oppositional stand to the Government, and curiously enough just before he speaks, a bomb (not a death-dealing bomb, but a harmless bomb) is thrown, pistols are fired (but in the air) and proclamations (in the name of a hitherto unknown "republican army") are found. Two days later, the Viceroy in the truculent manner of a Stuart despot, "requires" the attendance of the miserable shadow of a parliament: warns them that their chatter is responsible for the bomb, and tells them that the Public Safety Ordinance is that day ordained by him. The bomb was very useful to the British Government (nearly as useful as the forged "Zinoviev" Letter). The Indian Secret Service is now investigating who put it there. Well, the Indian Secret Service ought to know.

Against British Imperialism, with its policy of divide and conquer, its strategy of singling out the proletariat for a deadly blow before the peasant reserves come up, its tactics of force and fraud, the Indian masses are taking up the struggle guided by the proletariat, whose only party can be the Communist Party

of India, now in the pangs of creation. Through partial and immediate demands serving to unite the forces, the struggle for **Independence** is carried on, and this **independence** can have no lesser meaning than the defeat of the Imperialists and the setting up of the **Federal Soviet Republics**. Under this is the banner of their fight.

How can the workers of Britain help in this fight? And also, why must the workers of Britain help? This second question is a question to be asked since it is so often wrongly answered.

The **General Election** takes place this month: and only unimportant questions will be discussed. For on everything of real importance to Imperialism the three parties are already agreed, on Rationalisation, on Foreign Policy and War, on the Empire and India. They may make a show of differences, but the Labour Party will neither fight rationalisation (on the contrary) nor will it vote against war credits, nor will it withdraw the armed forces that hold down the masses of India. Not only is there unanimity amongst the three bourgeois parties on all fundamental points, but also these fundamental points are all part of a united whole, the whole development of imperialism. Out of rationalisation, comes the need to expand the market in India; comes also the inter-imperialist rivalry and the drive to war: out of the drive to war comes the preparation of India as a military base, especially against the Soviet Union. This it is which compels all three bourgeois parties, on all these points, to present a united front. Above all in India, where the danger to Imperialism is greatest, the front is unbroken. Labour men urging with Tories in their steadfastness to Imperialist policy.

This also compels us in Britain to realise that our Trade Union fight is to be linked up with the fight of the Indian Masses not on some vague (and therefore weak) notion of solidarity in general: but on a basis of an understanding of the Indian struggle, above all of an understanding that the two fights are one fight; that the trade union fight against Mondism and Mondists and the fight for the independence of India are part and parcel of one another. Once this is understood, it reinforces the simpler reason for combination, namely that the masses of India and of Britain have a common enemy. But that enemy is concentrated, organised and surrounded by allies and henchmen of every kind. Not only the three bourgeois parties in Britain but also the princes and landlords of India, the merchants, the moneylenders, the reformist trade union leaders are all together: and with them too as the struggle of the proletariat and peasantry develops will be found the National Reformists. Once this is realised, every British worker will realise that the combination of the Birkenheads, Baldwins, Simons, MacDonalds, Purcells, Gandhis and Joshis can only be smashed by a combination of the British workers with the workers and peasants of India.

## Communist Election Advance in Switzerland.

By M. Bodemann (Basle).

During the last few weeks the parliamentary elections have taken place in two of the cantons of Switzerland. The result of these elections is of great significance for the Communist Party. The chief issue was the **enhanced antagonism between capital and labour** and the **very noticeable intensification of the fight between the Communist Party and Social Democracy**. This intensification has made itself specially felt in political matters through March 24th, the day of the Red Rally. The prohibition of the Red Rally, the concentration of troops and police forces against the workers showed all too clearly that the Swiss ruling class is about to liquidate the bourgeois democracy, which up to the present has appeared to be a suitable instrument for the exploitation and suppression of the toilers, and to employ in its place the fighting means and methods of Fascism.

Naturally, this aggravation in the political fight is merely the result of the intensification of contradictions in matters of economic policy. The ruling class is trying systematically to recapture the positions won by the workers. It is also making every effort to raise the rates of profit by increasing the pressure on the workers. Increase of labour productivity by means of rationalisation and an ingenious system of piece work, abolition of the eight-hour day, a customs policy, which is extremely burdensome to the workers, such are the important facts affect-

ing the standard of living of the workers. Through this pressure upon the workers in conjunction with a favourable commercial situation Swiss industrialists and bankers, as also the State enterprises, netted **tremendous surpluses** during the business year 1928. The profits thus squeezed out of Labour are the largest achieved since the termination of the world war.

These facts naturally promote the process of radicalisation in the working class. This appears from a number of small trade-union movements, from the dissatisfaction with the **Social-Democratic leadership** and, particularly, from a movement of greater extent which has been going on for some time in the metal industry. Even in fights put up by the workers for small economic advantages, the bourgeoisie resorts to **Fascist weapons**: prohibition of public demonstrations of strikers, prohibition of picketing, deportation of foreigners participating in strikes, arresting of strike leaders, such are the measures which the capitalists employ through the intermediary of the "democratic" State against the workers at present on strike in French Switzerland.

The pressure from the bourgeoisie upon Labour is accompanied by a tendency on the part of the **Social-Democratic leadership to become bourgeois in character**. Although the executive may in a certain way try by means of radical phrases to disguise its real nature, in all questions relating to the most important political and economic rights of the workers its completely **counter-revolutionary attitude** has become clear. The whole policy of the Social-Democratic leaders tends more and more apparently towards collaboration with the bourgeois State, with the employers, with the League of Nations, etc. For this reason it is doing away with all the democratic rights of trade-union members, and when the members resist this policy **the trade unions are shattered and split**. At the same time the Social-Democratic leadership is fighting more savagely against the Communist Party.

It was under these circumstances that the elections took place in Zürich and Basle. In Zürich the Social-Democrats availed themselves of every possible means of discrediting the Communist Party and of representing it in the election fight as an insignificant sect. Their election campaign was arranged in accordance. The remarkable feature of the Social-Democratic election campaign was a wilder agitation against the Soviet Union on the basis of faked photographs, forged letters and false reports. However, the workers have already taken to heart the first lesson from the Social-Democratic policy. The Social-Democratic majority on the Zürich Council, which has existed for one year now, has already made it adequately clear to the workers that the Social-Democratic leaders pursue a thoroughly bourgeois policy, that they quite as readily make use of a police force under the control of Social Democrats to bludgeon the workers as did the former bourgeois majority. The election result in Zürich was the result of this attitude, for, although the participation of the voters was less than a year ago the Social-Democrats suffered in Zürich a loss of nearly 5000 votes, while the Communist Party gained several hundred votes. In view of the reduced participation in the election, Social-Democrats maintained a number of seats they occupied, while the Communist Party added two to the four they previously had.

The election fight in Basle was carried on with an acrimony unprecedented in Switzerland. The openly bourgeois parties formed themselves into a bloc in order to maintain the small majority they had previously had. Furthermore, the work of the agitation was distributed among the bourgeois parties. The so-called radicals for instance, turned their attention, in particular, to clerks, civil servants, etc., who form 15 per cent of the population. They also succeeded in winning over a portion of these electors, who had previously voted for the Social-Democratic Party. The national bloc was able to maintain its majority and to gain one seat.

The Communist Party concentrated its election attack upon the Social-Democratic leaders. By means of most important facts it showed that the Social-Democratic leaders were hand in glove with the bourgeoisie. Social-Democracy had at its disposal large sums of money furnished through the reformist trade-union executive. The whole trade-union apparatus and the trade-union newspapers were put at the service of reformist propaganda. They wanted to capture the citadel of the Communist Party of Switzerland. And after all the measures against the revolutionary workers of Basle this was a question of prestige for the reformist leaders of the trade unions and of Social Democracy. The Basle Social Democrats tried to hide their

counter-revolutionary policy by means of a radical programme; they tried to engage in the fight under the flag of Lenin.

But all that was of no avail. The Communist Party, which had at its disposal not a franc for the election campaign beyond the sum which the workers collected for it during the campaign, carried on the election campaign against the ruling class and its allies with exemplary steadfastness. Its election slogan was: "Class against class!" The bloc formed by the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democrats, on the one hand, and the bloc of the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party, on the other hand, was the basis of its election campaign.

The reformists suffered a severe defeat. The Communist Party was able to show successes. In 1923 the Communist Party polled 3200 votes, while the Social-Democrats polled 8600. This time the Communist Party polled 5600 votes and the Social-Democrats 7000. In all the Labour constituencies the Communist Party was the **strongest party**, and everywhere it destroyed the Social-Democratic majority. Six years ago the S. P. disposed of 45 seats out of the total of 130 parliamentary seats, while the Communist Party had 16 seats. To-day the S. P. has only 34 seats, while the C. P. obtains 26 seats.

The results of the elections in Zürich and Basle clearly show the process of clarification among the workers. They strengthen the confidence in the Communist Party. The Party must reinforce this confidence by means of a clear policy of firm principles. It will then be possible for it to achieve election successes not only in the three chief towns of Switzerland but also to wield decisive influence at the head of the workers in the approaching economic and political fights.

## The Result of the Elections in Denmark.

By A. J. Smolan.

On April 24th the Danish parliamentary elections ended with a defeat for the two parties of the right, a result which was only to be expected as in the municipal elections held in March the Social Democrats netted 70,000 new voters. The figures for the parliamentary elections were as follows:

	1926	1929
Social-Democrats . . . . .	497,106	592,970
Radicals . . . . .	150,931	151,530
Conservatives . . . . .	275,793	233,899
Peasant Party . . . . .	378,139	491,849
Right State Party . . . . .	17,463	25,849
Schleswig Party . . . . .	10,422	9,755
Communists . . . . .	5,678	3,641

The Social-Democrats have therefore gained 95,000 new voters and 8 seats, but they are still further from an absolute majority than their party comrades in Austria are or than the Social-Democrats in Sweden were prior to the election in 1928. The bourgeoisie therefore has no cause for disquiet, and would not have even if the Social-Democrats really intended to use a parliamentary majority for the purpose of introducing socialism.

In spite of their very unfavourable situation, the bourgeois parties have done very well, for the total number of votes cast for them is only 10,000 lower than it was three years ago, if one lumps together all the bourgeois votes cast, which is only right so long as there remains the shadow of a distinction between them and the "Labour" party of the Social-Democrats. The Peasants' Party, which bears the official responsibility for the policy of the last years, has even been able to increase its total of votes by a further 23,000 and thereby showed that it still has the peasant masses behind it. The extreme left of the bourgeois parties, the Radicals, has maintained its former strength, and the Social-Democrats cannot take office without them, for they are dependent upon the support of their 15 seats in all questions of importance.

The Conservatives have lost 40,000 votes, partly to the Peasant Party and partly to the Social-Democrats, but this will probably be only a temporary loss. As a matter of fact, the Conservatives were exposed to a far greater extent to the fire of the opposition than was the responsible government party, because they advocated increased armaments, a demand which

naturally met with stiff resistance from the peaceable Danes. They were dubbed the party of the militarists and war-mongers, and in this particular sphere the Social-Democrats developed with the help of their extensive press and their organisation, which is greatly superior to that of their opponents, a propaganda which was as clever as it was unscrupulous and peridious, which doubtlessly contributed most to their success. They published gruesome pictures of the world war, and by means of newspapers and huge election placards they announced that everybody who was desirous of protecting his country and his town from a devastating gas attack should vote for the Social-Democrats. "On the one hand, Conservatism and Militarism; on the other hand, Social-Democracy, Peace and Disarmament"; that was their most striking and most frequently used slogan.

Unfortunately, the electorate has a very short memory; otherwise, it would have remembered that the Social Democrats were always in favour of the defence of the country and that their last government in the year 1926 did nothing at all to eliminate militarism and the danger of war. The Social Democrats had a very advantageous position as opposition party, because they could point out, especially in the towns, the anti-Labour policy of the Peasant Government, but at the next elections they will lose this advantage, for in the meanwhile they will have given the masses an object lesson during their period of office of how slight the distinction really is between them and the bourgeois parties.

The situation of the Social Democrats was favourable in every regard, and in consequence it appears singular at the first glance that the Communists were unable to maintain the total of votes they gained at the last election. The causes of this regression are manifold. The C. P. of Denmark is not nearly so strong as the brother parties of the other Scandinavian countries, it has not the same traditions and has had no striking success in parliament, a circumstance which is undoubtedly of great psychological significance. In this country the lists of the Labour parties are not combined, as they are in Sweden, and voters therefore fear that in supporting the Communists they would be wasting votes. In order not to run this risk at least tens of thousands of workers voted for the Social Democrats, although they were thoroughly dissatisfied with them. This fear was much more intensive at the last election than at the previous one, when, after two and a half years of "Labour Government", there was no special enthusiasm for its retention, while at the last election it was desirable at any price to defeat the Peasant Government, which had made a considerable cut in the social benefits. Again, as in 1924, every single seat was valuable, and the Social Democrats never wearied of emphasising this fact; they said that every vote cast for the Communists was wasted and diminished the prospect of success.

That the total of votes cast for the Communists would have been much greater but for this consideration is beyond all doubt, and the enthusiasm of the masses for Social Democracy is not so great as it would appear to be from the result. At the trade-union meetings in particular dissatisfaction with the collaboration policy of the reformists is pronounced, and it has often happened that in spite of their paucity of numbers the Communists have won over the majority at big mass meetings.

This was the case especially in the autumn of 1925, when the "Labour Government", in order to prevent a general strike and to break the strike of the transport workers, prepared to declare a state of emergency and the dissolution of the trade unions. Through their attitude at that time they considerably weakened the trade-union movement, for on account of the defeat the Workingmen's Union withdrew from the Trade-Union Federation, while the Communists stood for the upholding of unity. As the union in question and the federation were both under reformist influence, it was a matter of Social Democrats opposing Social Democrats, and, if at that time it had come to a dissolution of parliament, they would have got off badly, for it is probable that their party would have been split.

The result of this year's election will almost surely mark the zenith of Social-Democrats success, for their second experiment in governing, which will certainly be of considerable duration, is bound to compromise and expose them in the eyes of the broad masses of the workers.

## The Mexican Revolution and the Peasants.

By M. D. R.

The reports of the bourgeois press concerning the most recent reactionary armed revolt in Mexico confined themselves to a presentation of that side of the movement which interests the bourgeoisie: the government of Portes Gil is in command of the situation; with the help of Yankee imperialism it has defeated the rebels; the complete victory of the government is a fait accompli.

The real circumstances of the event are, however, not so simple. The victory over the rebels was not only the victory of the government. The bourgeois reports make no mention at all of the extremely important role played by the organised workers and peasants, especially in the defeat of the movement at Vera Cruz. The same applies to the work done by the Communist Party in the State of Vera Cruz, under whose leadership the peasants fought against the reactionary revolt.

General Aguirre, the leader of the insurgents in Vera Cruz, summoned Comrade Guzman, the leader of the armed groups and at the same leader of the peasant movement and mayor of Villa Cardel, a town lying about an hour's railway journey from Vera Cruz, and asked him whether "he could rely on him and his troops" in his reactionary adventure. Guzman, who had no doubt as to the political significance of this offer, replied that he was obliged to call together his subordinates in his organisation before he could give a definite answer.

Aguirre trusted him and assented. Guzman called up his troops, but for a purpose quite contrary to that supposed by Aguirre. The first person to become practically aware of this fact was the military commander of Villa Cardel, who belonged to Aguirre's party and who, as soon as he recognised how untenable his position was — his troops were numerically weaker than the armed peasants — tried to withdraw to Vera Cruz and join Aguirre but was completely defeated by the armed peasants who had occupied the neighbouring railway station. He lost his life in this fight along with several soldiers; the rest of the troops were either taken prisoners or scattered.

Guzman, whose troops had in the meanwhile increased to 1200 armed men, destroyed the telegraphic and telephonic communication with Vera Cruz and cut the railway line, after fulfilling the request of his party colleagues in the districts west and north of Vera Cruz for a description of the events. In consequence of these communications another troop of 800 armed peasants was gathered to the south of Jalapa under the leadership of Comrade Carlon and advanced westward into the territory occupied by the rebels. Comrade Echegaray cut the only railway line still unoccupied, as well as the telegraphic and telephonic communications and with his troops he threatened the only remaining approach to the harbour of Vera Cruz, which was otherwise completely cut off from the hinterland. In San Andres Tuxtla Comrade Manuel Axamar at the head of the armed peasants attacked the mutinous government troops and drove them back to Vera Cruz.

Aguirre, completely isolated, tried to recruit the workers, but Communist propaganda had already broadcast its report of the reactionary character of his attack. Aguirre finally released the prisoners of Vera Cruz jail and formed a battalion out of them.

In the meanwhile, the united troops under the leadership of Comrade Carlon marched to Jalapa, the troops under Comrade Galvan advanced on Huatusco and the troops under Guzman approached Vera Cruz. At the same time, our comrades in the harbour of Vera Cruz, with whom Guzman had kept in touch, set in circulation the report that thousands of armed peasants were advancing upon Vera Cruz. Although this was only partly true, it sufficed to throw Aguirre into confusion and prepared the way for the bold stroke of Lieutenant Cervantes, who, with a portion of the garrison, revolted against Aguirre. Cervantes took possession of nearly all the arms and practically all of the ammunition, and Aguirre retreated to the south in the direction of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The next morning Comrade Guzman arrived at the head of 1200 peasants, who fraternised with the dock labourers and the soldiers, who had risen against reactionary Aguirre. The peasant troops under their own leaders and

under the red flags of the peasant organisations of the Communist Party of Mexico took possession of the district and organised a public safety service. It was only late in the evening of the same day that the first of the government mounted troops entered the town.

Such was the actual course of events. And what conclusions may we draw from them? what lessons for our movement? What inferences and what perspectives?

Before we begin, we must contemplate the attitude of the so-called neutral sectors, the pacifist bourgeoisie.

One of the biggest capitalist dailies in Mexico published in a leading article under the promising heading: "Let us prevent the river from breaking down the banks":

"Hardly 48 hours have passed since the beginning of the movement and we know that it is causing the government difficulty to keep in hand the great masses of workers and peasants who wanted to fight for the government. And if we wish to avoid the necessity of making use of this flood of energy and preparedness, this mighty flood, which nevertheless constitutes a real danger, we must not become weak but must be energetic and candid, and in this manner condemn the present movement and leave no stone unturned in support of the present government. Otherwise we run the risk of getting a military government."

What is the meaning of that? To which social force and to which mighty flood, which however, constitutes a real danger, does this big bourgeois paper refer? To the worker and peasant masses, to the Mexican proletariat, against which the commercial and agrarian bourgeoisie — and in whose name does the paper speak — does not hesitate to raise its hand, while at the same time it stretches out its hand to the petty-bourgeois government, that instrument of imperialism at the moment its class interests are threatened. Nonetheless, it reckons with the downfall of this particular government, to which it offered its support, for it stated: "We run the danger of getting a military government."

This means that the reactionary bourgeoisie, as also the petty bourgeoisie, and the Liberal Democrats, clearly understand — just as the workers and peasants have begun to understand — that a gulf divides the interests of the two classes and that they act accordingly. It will become more and more difficult for Calles, Portes Gil and Ortiz Rubio to deceive the worker and peasant masses of Mexico, who for their part fully comprehend that they must proceed alone and without tutelage, in regard to the true facts.

The conclusions drawn from the events of Vera Cruz, as described above, speak for themselves. The workers and peasants of Vera Cruz have furnished an excellent lesson and have thereby gained experience, which the workers and peasants of other countries would do well to keep before their eyes for the immediate future.

The Communist Party of Mexico has shown what it can do on a national scale when the objective circumstances are favourable. Vera Cruz, as also Jalapa, Huatusco and other districts, fell before the moral and armed pressure of the worker masses, who fought under their own leaders and under red flags and under the ideologic and practical influence of our party.

Our comrades of Vera Cruz have fully earned the title of soldiers of the Communist International, for they organised the peasants, mobilised them and led them into the fight and, on the other hand, internally demoralised and damaged the enemy. That is an achievement, a lesson and an experience for the future. This work must be extended and perfected, so that the worker and peasant masses may gather the fruits thereof in the near future and not leave them to our enemies, who call themselves socialists or Labour Party members, but are really reformists allied to the bourgeoisie.

Lenin quite rightly said that there can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory. The Mexican proletariat must keep this thought of our master before their eyes, convert the Leninist theory into practice, set up their cadre of theoretic and practical leaders for the approaching fight which it will have to carry on in the near future.

Let the river overflow its banks! Let the hysterical bourgeoisie tremble before the proletarian flood!

The Mexican proletariat will fulfil its historic duty, it will wrench the political and economic power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie.



## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### To the Aid of the Bombay Textile Workers.

To the Workers of the Whole World.

To the Workers of India.

A general strike of textile workers has been declared in Bombay. Out of 150,000 textile workers, men and women, 100,000 came out on strike immediately. The vanguard of the Indian proletariat — the Bombay textile workers — have once more commenced the struggle after having, but six months ago, ended the heroic six-months strike, during which they suffered hunger and all possible deprivations.

The textile proletariat of Bombay, having from bitter experience learned the treachery of the reformist leaders, have turned from them. The influence of Joshi, Bakhale and other reformists, amongst the textile workers of Bombay, has been brought to nil. The membership of the reformist union, which formerly had 8,000 members, is decreasing from day to day. The Bombay textile workers have chosen for themselves new revolutionary leaders. The revolutionary trade union established by them during the course of a few months has already embraced more than 65,000 workers.

The British imperialists and the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie have taken alarm at the incredibly rapid growth of the revolutionary trade union movement and hurried to arrest and hide in prison 31 revolutionary leaders, including the most prominent leaders of the revolutionary textile workers' union of Bombay. At the same time by nominating a special Fawcett Commission to "investigate" the situation in the textile industry, the Anglo-Indian-Government hoped to calm the workers and with the help of the reformists to organise the collaboration of labour with capital.

Neither in the one nor in the other, however, did the exploiters succeed. Neither repressions set on foot with regard to the revolutionary leaders nor the persuasions of the reformists as to the necessity for collaboration between classes, withheld the textile workers of Bombay from a new strike. The Fawcett Commission, which published a hypocritical report, in reality justifying the demands of the capitalists for wage cuts, proved to the workers that they have nothing to expect from the "non-class" commissions of the Anglo-Indian-Government.

The heroic proletariat of Bombay has once more thrown itself into the struggle against capital. It has brought forward from its midst new leaders in the place of the revolutionary leaders thrown into prison. These new leaders should take into account all the mistakes committed during last year's strike; must give a decisive setback to the reformists, who will attempt to join the strike in order to betray it: must once and for all expose the treachery of all these Joshis, Bakhales, and others, who have made an agreement with the employers and the government to wage a joint struggle against the revolutionary wing of the Indian trade union movement. Only by waging a most decisive struggle both against the employers and against the reformists will the young labour leaders succeed in bringing the Bombay proletariat to victory.

The struggle of the Bombay textile workers, will of course, not remain without assistance from other divisions of the Indian proletariat, in Bombay itself and in other industrial centres of India. This heroic struggle cannot but kindle the warm sympathy of the workers in all countries who know that the vanguard of the Indian proletariat — the Bombay textile workers — are fighting for their vital demands, are fighting against native and foreign capital, are fighting for the independence of India.

The Working Class of the World. — To the aid of the Bombay Textile Workers!

Long Live the Heroic Proletariat of Bombay!

Long Live the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of India!

Executive Bureau  
Red International of Labour Unions.

Moscow, April 27, 1929.

### The Simon Commission's Royal Reception.

By A. Jones (London).

The Government planned to give the members of the Simon Commission a royal reception on their arrival in London. Their special saloon arrived at the royal platform, and among those waiting to meet them were the representative of the King, the Prime Minister Baldwin in person and notable leaders of all three capitalist parties, and high Indian functionaries. But this beautiful idyll which was to demonstrate the unity of all parties as far as the Empire (and India in particular) is concerned, was marred by a demonstration of a different kind. Outside the station (for they were not allowed to enter the sacred precincts of the royal platform) were gathered a small but significant band of representatives of the oppressed Indian masses and of the militant workers of Britain. But in order not to spoil the idyllic scene which was being enacted inside the station itself, the police drove off the streets any Indian they could find, captured the black flags that were being carried by the demonstrators, and tried to obliterate any signs of discontent by the time the members of the commission emerged. But even then, according to report, Sir John Simon was escorted to his house by an armed guard of 150 police.

This counter-demonstration against the Simon Commission, though we could wish it had been larger, is nevertheless of the greatest significance, and what is more, a portent for the future. While all three capitalist parties (among which the Labour Party is the most vociferous) are manifesting their united front in defence of the Empire, the Communist Party, the only party of the workers, is making a frontal attack against the consolidated reaction. They have already put two candidates in the field against the Labour members of the Commission, in order to reveal to the workers the chauvinist imperialist policy of the capitalist Labour Party.

All three parties intend to keep India out of the election. In a statement to the press on landing at Folkestone, Sir John Simon declared:

"I know I am expressing the view of my colleagues when I say that we most earnestly trust that India will be kept entirely outside all party controversy. We have worked together in this spirit and will ourselves do everything possible to preserve this to the end. Much will be heard of Indian affairs in the next Parliament, but we trust that nothing will be heard of them during our domestic discussions of the next six weeks."

Thus, while India is bleeding, while 150,000 textile workers are already out on strike, while 31 of her best trade union and revolutionary political leaders are awaiting trial, while hundreds of millions of workers and peasants are living under inhuman conditions, our Tory, Liberal and Labour imperialists "trust that nothing will be heard of them during our domestic discussions of the next six weeks". But, make no mistake about it, the voice of India will be heard during the next six weeks. The Communist Party will break through this conspiracy of silence. Wherever it can, it will put up its candidates against the members of the Simon Commission. Throughout the length and breadth of the country it will issue its challenge against the oppressors and executioners of the Indian masses. It will expose the hypocrisy of the labour imperialists who continue to pose as pacifists, internationalists and socialists.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues are making the greatest mistake of their lives. Apart from the activities of the British Communists, India is today speaking for itself. India has become the arena of great class struggles. Neither the sweet soothing words of the members of the Simon Commission, nor the bullets of the British forces will succeed in crushing this movement.

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it (shame). Call shame if you like. I am stating facts. I am interested in missionary work in India, and have done much work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say that we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular." Sir William Johnson-Hicks.

## The Government of India's Plot Exposed by the General Strike in Bombay.

The announcement of a new general strike in Bombay demonstrates the failure of the Government of India to crush the working class movement by their arrest of five weeks ago of 31 strike leaders on a charge of conspiring to "deprive the King of his sovereignty over India". Nor is this the only effect of the strike. For it not only signally exposes the Government frame-up, as it is called in America, against the strike leaders, but also brings to nought the real conspiracy, the conspiracy hatched against India in White Hall and in Delhi.

From the text of the indictment against the 31 labour leaders it is clear that the intention of the Government of India is to trump up a charge which is apparently to extend over some 7 or more years against the strike leaders in order to remove them from participation in the rapidly growing movement of the terribly exploited working class and peasant masses of India. For the action of the masses has already begun to make the capitalists anxious for their profits.

But the security of capital in the textile industry is not the only object of this conspiracy charge. It had a series of other objects:

Firstly, it was designed by these wholesale arrests and allegations to frighten the Legislative Assembly, this sham parliament which meets at Delhi, elected by 2% of the population of India, into passing a Public Safety Bill which strengthens the death dealing hand of the Government and a Trades Disputes Bill, whose purpose is to smash the Labour trade union movement.

Secondly, it was designed that the speeches of the prosecution in this trial should appear immediately before the British general election in order that under the cry of the "Empire in Danger", "Red plot in India", etc. etc., the electorate might once more be stampeded into voting for the Baldwin Government. The Zinoviev Letter forgery worked well enough in 1924. An exact repetition however would not be so successful, but in this altered form of a frame-up conspiracy charge, it will be used to the full by the Conservative Party. While the Labour Party, whose leaders Mr. Snowden and Mr. Thomas have been excelling the most fervent conservatives in their noisy protestations of loyalty to imperialism, will be stricken dumb lest they should be suspected of sympathy with Bolshevism.

Thus, while evidence is being accumulated, witnesses assembled, agent provocateurs being scattered throughout the movement and even throughout the jails; while the prisoners are being held without bail in the deadly heat of the prison at Meerut, the imperialists have by their own actions and by the evidence of their own statements in the bourgeois press, accumulated evidence of a much more effective kind against themselves as the authors of the real plot against the Indian masses, and against the British working class.

In Bombay itself the course of events is sufficiently clear. After the heroic textile mill strike of April to October last year — after the strike had ended with capitulation of the leaders and the workers remaining undefeated, the Fawcett Committee was appointed to arbitrate on the claims of the mill owners and the strikers. While the Fawcett Committee was preparing the report the spirit of the workers was so militant, so inspiring that the leaders of the unions spoke again and again of a general strike to take place in the spring to enforce the demands of the workers. Under pressure of this contingency the Fawcett Committee issued a report of a very cunning character. The matter was carefully staged so that the strike leaders were arrested 3 days before the publication of the report — apparently in the hope that the removal of all the officers of the militant unions would enable the working class to be duped by the apparently favourable demands of the report. Distinctly on the side of the workers, as the bourgeois Bombay "Chronicle" brazenly states they were first, to grant a majority of the workers' demands and secondly, to say that while the mill owners' claim for a 7½% cut in wages was justified, it should nevertheless be not pressed." Paragraph 239 of the report says: „On the whole we are of the opinion that the weight of argument

is in favour of the proposed wage-cuts being justifiable, but we think there is an over-riding consideration against the mill owners pressing the proposal any further".

What is this "over-riding consideration"? It is that the rationalisation of the industry (here taking the form of certain standardisation proposals) cannot be carried through without the co-operation of the trade union leaders. And this announcement was immediately followed by Mr. Bakhale that he and those like him (he is a notorious reformist) would do their bit to carry through rationalisation and to prevent needless strikes in the future. Here we have the explanation in a nutshell.

The strike was initiated by the militant trade union leaders, who in the course of the strike starting from a scratch, enrolled 65,000 mill workers in the Girhikamgar union. Only through the weakness of the strike leaders, Mr. Bakhale and those of his kidney, (who had lost all influence with the workers owing to their sabotage of the Sassoon mill strike in January 1928 and also through their wholehearted support of British imperialism), were introduced into the strike committee. By their presence there they so weakened the fight as to bring about the partial capitulation of October last. Now they are prepared to work hand in glove with the employers in the opportunity that was to be given, so it was thought, by the removal of the militant strike leaders.

The workers of Bombay have falsified the hopes of British capitalism. No sooner were their leaders arrested, the unions closed down by the police raid than it re-started its activities and new officers were re-elected. What is more the new office bearers are all of them actual workers. This single fact marks for the first time an enormous step forward in the development of the revolutionary proletarian movement in India. And the first act of this new leading committee of the textile union has been to call the general strike, to destroy the laboriously and cunningly constructed plans of the capitalists and to renew the fight not only for better conditions, but for the emancipation of their class and of all the toilers of India from British influence.

## The Meerut Case.

By M. Ali.

British imperialism is faced with an acute crisis in India. As long as the chief factor of antagonism was the Indian bourgeoisie, the usual imperialist manoeuvres could ease the situation. But the rapid revolutionisation of the working class has brought it to grips with an antagonism which is fundamental and does not permit a solution within the framework of imperialist domination in India. In the course of one year (1928—29) the working class has taken long strides on the road of its development as an independent revolutionary force. In this period there have been unparalleled numbers of strikes characterised by their long duration and fights between the strikers and government armed forces. The economic struggle of the workers is developing into a political struggle. There have been numerous political mass demonstrations of the workers in some of which they adopted the slogans of "Long live the Soviet Republics of India", "Long live the Indian revolution", "All power to the masses", etc. In addition to that the workers have gone on purely political strikes as they have done on the arrest of the leaders in the Meerut case.

British imperialism, alarmed at the growth of the labour movement, has resolved to crush it. In addition to shooting the workers during strikes, provoking armed conflicts between the strikers and the strike breakers and then converting the conflict into religious riots, it has passed public safety bills (made into law by an ordinance of the Viceroy) and Trades Disputes Bill with the object respectively of isolating the Indian workers and making general sympathetic and political strikes illegal. The last step in this direction is the arrest of all the prominent leaders of the workers who have been taken to Meerut to be tried for the offence of "waging war against the King Emperor."

Although in all capitalist countries the justice meted out to the working class is the justice of the capitalist class in India it is still worse. The trial there is only a farce and the law is so flexible as nobody can escape its clutches whom the government wants to shut up in the four walls of the rightful Indian

jails. The section 121 A of the Indian penal code under which the arrests have been made, brings under its jurisdiction not only the persons who have really "waged war against the King Emperor to deprive him of the Sovereignty of India", but any persons who can be alleged to have intentions to do that. The police is always sure of such intentions on the part of those whose liberty is thought undesirable by them and are past masters in indicating these intentions by false documents, by arresting their own agents masquerading as revolutionaries and putting forth their concessions as proofs of such intentions, by using methods of torture against the accused and by bringing in false witnesses trained for this purpose.

In 1924 some letters were produced which were alleged to have been written by Roy and some of the accused to each other. The whole case was based on these letters and some articles from the press supposed to have been written by some of the accused, including Roy. One of the chief objects in producing these letters, the majority of which were fabricated by the police was to point out that the accused were connected with the revolutionary organisations outside India and as such were working on behalf of a foreign organisation as its agents. It is with this purpose that the Communists in India and elsewhere are called by the capitalist press and the police as "Bolshevik agents". The object of giving such a name is to attract the sympathies of the bourgeois politicians and the police succeed to a great extent in this object. A prominent Swarajist politician of Madras, when told at the time of the Cawnpore arrests that the Anglo-Indian government was repressing the working class movement as was shown by the arrests of the communists, remarked: "These people are being arrested not because they are communists, but because they are Bolshevik agents." The judge at Cawnpore also stated that the accusation against the arrested people was not that they were communists, but that they were conspiring to deprive His Majesty of the sovereignty of India. Of course all this is meant to mislead the arrested persons who for the sake of defence might be obliged to say "Yes, we are communists, but as such we have not done anything and do not intend to do anything with the object of depriving the king of his sovereignty of India." The bourgeois lawyers who take up the defence of the accused, also help the government on this point. The lawyer at Cawnpore said that there was no proof that such an organisation as the Communist International existed in the world, and further that the accused did not believe in violence as a political method, etc.

The farce of trial which was prepared and played at Cawnpore is going to be rehearsed on a greater scale at Meerut. Tons of what is called by the ignorant police as "communist literature" including some books written by Miss Mayo Ghandi, MacDonald, etc., have been seized. Documents will be prepared for the occasion in addition to the already existing forged "Roy letter". The arrested persons include some who have nothing to do with communism at all. The throwing of bombs in the Legislative Assembly at such an opportune time cannot but lead one to the conclusion that some kind of provocation must have been at the back of the whole affair.

It is not a mere chance that the trial is going to synchronise with the General Election in England. The British Tories want to utilise the "conspiracy" as an item of their election campaign. They want to create an impression that in the face of great danger existing to the Empire Britain needs a strong imperialistic government.

The present conditions in India are very different from those in 1924. The majority of the persons are vitally and actively connected with the rapidly growing labour movement. The workers have taken up the challenge of the government first by striking for a few days as a protest, and now in Bombay they have gone on a general strike which by the way, may have other causes as well. It is not a few labour leaders who are on trial at Meerut, it is the whole working class movement which stands by them. The Bombay comrades, for example, have got 100,000 workers at the back of their cause. The police, judges and the bourgeois lawyers will not therefore be able to confuse the conscious comrades and isolate them from the workers' cause in their statements and defence as was partially successfully done at Cawnpore.

## The Conflict between the Nationalists and the Social Democrats in Indonesia.

By M u s s o.

Left nationalism, which is strongly represented by the revolutionary national party of Indonesia and the Sarekat Islam, has in the last period experienced more and more strained relations with the social democracy. At the present time, when the national organisations are gaining an ever more firmer foothold among the population, the yellow socialists are doing everything in their power to get the nationalists under their influence. But in Indonesia, where the imperialists proceed very aggressively against any efforts towards the liberation of the colony, the chances of the social democrats to gain influence among the masses are very poor.

The left nationalist organisations are pursuing the policy of non-co-operation. They refused to have any contact or relations with the ruling class, and they are also boycotting all existing organs of the government, such as the district council, the municipal council, the Volksraad etc.

The Dutch imperialists, in their attempt to buy off the nationalists and to weaken the spirit of non-co-operation, have always enjoyed the full support of their lackeys, the yellow socialists.

The government, in order to get the nationalists over to its side, introduced in the Volksraad a "reform" in the shape of the so-called "native majority". By this reform the natives have the majority of the seats and the composition of the membership is now 30 natives, 25 Dutch and 5 other Eastern peoples, (Chinese, Arab, British-Indians etc.). But the election is carried out in such a way that the government can always ensure a majority. The chairman is a Dutchman appointed by the crown.

But in spite of this concession, the nationalists are still sceptical regarding the sincerity of this reform and are still hostile to the government.

In order further to demonstrate the sympathetic policy of the government towards the nationalists, the Governor General De Graeff, in his speech at the opening of the Volksraad at the beginning of 1928, declared that he was not opposed to the nationalists but only to the Communists. The social democrats came forward as the loyal servants of the government and stated that the new governor is a splendid man, the right man in the right place, and that the appointment of the new governor is a guarantee that a new era is dawning in Indonesia and therefore the nationalists must no longer doubt the generosity of Jonkheer de Graeff.

This manoeuvre of the governor and the social democrats considerably shook the position of moderate nationalists like Dr. Sutomo, who was always wavering between the right and left tendencies. The government afterwards appointed Dr. Sutomo as member of the Volksraad, whereupon that nationalist spontaneously came down on the Right side of the fence and accepted the appointment without reservation and without the consent of his party. But subsequently, owing to the protest of the members of the "Study Club", of which Dr. Sutomo was the leader, the appointment was rejected, the reason given being that he was exceedingly occupied with his private business.

The Left nationalists, however, regarded the policy of the social democrats in trying to bring the nationalists into the Volksraad as a treacherous act entirely contrary to the principle of the Left nationalists. The conflict went so far that a native social democratic leader resigned from the leadership of the Batavian section of the Indonesian social democratic party. The *Sin Po* of May 29th, 1928, wrote as follows regarding this incident:

"One of the results of the strained relations between the social democracy and the nationalists of Indonesia is that Y. Manoppo, the first social democratic leader and the chairman of the Batavian district, of the Indonesian social democratic party, has resigned from the party and joined the Nationalist Party of Indonesia."

As a matter of fact the Brussels Congress of the II. International aggravated the bad relations between the social democratic leaders and the Indonesian nationalists by its decision on the colonial question, according to which Indonesia cannot obtain complete freedom, but on the contrary must remain a semi-independent country, a Dutch protectorate. This decision roused the animosity of the Left nationalists, and articles appeared condemning international social democracy as the agent of imperialism. Also Hatta, the leader of the nationalist organisation in Holland, wrote an article, which was published in the organ of the Left nationalists of Indonesia, the "Soeloeh Indonesia Moeda", of October 1928 and was also reprinted in the organ of the Indonesian social democratic party "Het Indische Volk" of October 20th, 1928, in which he fiercely attacked the treacherous decisions of the II. International regarding the colonial problem and also the treacherous policy of the Dutch social democrats concerning the freedom of Indonesia. The article concluded with the following words:

"The policy of the international social democracy is in contradiction to our aim: **'immediate freedom of Indonesia from Holland'**! The national movement of Indonesia must be doubly careful not to fall into the trap of the social democrats. We can and wish to co-operate, but only with those who really support our ultimate aim — a free Indonesia! The Brussels Congress has furnished us with the lesson that we must strengthen our belief in our own means and power. Our policy of self-help is obviously right."

The social democrats of Indonesia did not remain idle in face of the attacks and reproaches of the nationalists. Stokvis, the leader of the I. S. D. P., attempted to parry the blow of the nationalists by writing very indignantly in his organ "Het Indische Volk" of October 20th, 1928, and declared that the nationalists were hot-headed in attacking the social democrats in such a manner. Finally he naively asked:

"What other white people have given to Indonesia anything that is directly better and more useful than what the Brussels Congress has proposed? What, for example, has the highly-praised League against Imperialism, which is an instrument of Moscow, done for Indonesia, except loudly to proclaim its good intentions. The League does nothing beyond agitating and demonstrating; it is dying."

To the above question the nationalists made the following reply, which was printed in the "Soeloeh Indonesia Moeda" of October:

"Stokvis' accusation that the League is a Moscow machination and that it does nothing beyond agitating and demonstrating, is entirely untrue. The League is still a young organisation, having existed little more than a year. We are sure that the League is not an organisation which confines itself to loud and noisy demonstrations. That the League has become a real anti-imperialist body is shown by its activity everywhere. Anyone wishing to know further about the League should read the article, written by its secretary Willy Münzenberg in the Anti-Imperialist Review, No. 1, entitled "from demonstration to organisation".

The Left Indonesian nationalists, therefore, perceived the treacherous role of the social democrats from the fact that most of them slander and insult the League against Imperialism. The Left social democrats Fimmen and Smith in Holland deserted the Dutch section of the League and likewise made great efforts to win over the nationalists.

The really treacherous character of international social democracy is becoming clearer every day, and not only the Communists but also the nationalists of Indonesia, who have exposed the treacherous role of international social democracy, are the enemies of the yellow International.

"The real pressure must be made more oppressive by making men conscious of the pressure, and the disgrace more disgraceful by publishing it.

**Karl Marx: A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right.**

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Fight of the Australian Workers against Arbitration.

By S. Carpenter (Sydney).

March, 30, 1929.

"An event unprecedented in the history of the Australian Labour Movement", is the general characterisation by both the labour and capitalist press to the occurrences in Sydney on March 27th.

On the evening of March 27th, 1929, nearly twenty five thousand trade unionists gathered at the Sydney Trades Hall for the organised demonstration of the **Timber Workers** who are in the eighth week of a bitter struggle against the decree of the capitalist Arbitration Court which ordered them to work 48 instead of 44 hours a week, under general wage cuts and worsened working conditions. The same Judge (Lukin) who issued this decree, also ordered a secret ballot to be held among the striking Timber Workers as to whether they were willing to accept the longer hours and lower wages or not.

This 'secret ballot' was ordered by Judge Lukin under the recent **Anti-Trade Union Law**, known at the **Arbitration Amending Act**, or more popularly as the 'Bruce Leg-Iron Law'. This law was intended to deprive the Trade Unions of their militancy and class character, and to deliver the entire trade union machinery into the hands of the capitalist Arbitration Courts. Its main and immediate purpose was to rob the Australian working class of the **Right to Strike**.

This Mussolinian 'secret ballot' was the first to be decreed under the new Anti-Trade Union Law. This in itself makes it historical. (The same Judge Lukin, by the way, had imposed upon the Timber Workers' Union a fine of £ 1000, for 'doing something in the nature of a strike'...)

What was the answer of the Timber Workers to the 'secret ballot'? Very simple and direct:

As the 3,000 striking Timber Workers of the Sydney area gathered at the Trades Hall on the evening of March 27th, they threw their 'secret ballots' into kerosene soaked sacks, which were then gathered and burned publicly on the street. This unforgettable scene was witnessed by 25,000 workers, who sang the Red Flag and the Internationale as the flames of the Arbitration Court ballots shot into the night sky. Then the mass of workers formed into a most imposing demonstration through the main streets of Sydney — on to Hyde Park. When they arrived there, the effigy of Judge Lukin was burned, again under the strains of the Red Flag and 'Solidarity Forever'. At the Place where the effigy was burned there was then held a mass meeting with the leaders of the Sydney Labour Council and of the Timber Workers Council of Action as the speakers.

This event is, as we have already pointed out, acknowledged on all sides to be unprecedented in the history of the Australian Labour Movement. It was not merely a spectacular demonstration of workers. It was an event of the greatest political significance. It was the organised expression of indignation against the capitalist Arbitration Courts which the workers of this country have been fed on for over a quarter of a century. It was an open and most direct challenge to the organised general offensive of Australian capitalism and to the attacks of the capitalist State and all its tools and agencies. It was the death-knell to the capitalist-reformist dope of 'Constitutionalism' and submissive observance of capitalist 'law and order'...

It is interesting to hear the echo of this historical event in the enemy press:

"The demonstrators betrayed the community; they betrayed sane unionism... The strange part of the whole affair is that these men have shewn themselves more obedient to the whip of their own officials than they would have shown

themselves to their employers or the government of the country..."

(Sydney Sun, Editorial, 28. 3. 29.)

and the tory Sydney Morning Herald wrote the next day:

"Riotous scenes unprecedented in Australian trade union history, were witnessed in the city last night, when the striking timber workers, led by the Communists, held a street procession and demonstration as a protest against the Lukin Award"...

It should be noted that the burning of the ballots was carried out despite repeated warnings and threats by the government and police authorities. It was this that made the Sydney Morning Herald exclaim that the plan to burn the ballots and the effigy of the judge, was "an open challenge not only to the Arbitration Court, but to the Federal Government". (S. M. Herald, March 23, 1929.)

The Australian working class is living through a critical period. It is learning its first real lessons of the class struggle. Hitherto the Australian working class has been fed by Reformism on many illusions about 'peaceful development into socialism', 'peace in industry', etc., Now the workers are beginning to open their eyes. They are forced to do this by objective circumstances created by the general capitalist offensive which began about eighteen months ago. This offensive was opened in the Transport industry. It began last year with a minor dispute of Ships' Cooks. It was later extended by the Shipowners to the Waterside Workers, who were badly defeated through faulty organisation and lack of a clear policy and programme of action. Then came the Timber Workers, who for over 8 weeks now, are really fighting the battle of the whole working class. So far, the response of the rest of the movement in aid of the Timber Workers has been exemplary. Both moral and financial aid have so far come forth in a splendid manner. The participation of 25,000 workers in the timber workers demonstration is indicative of the mood of the workers.

The Miners are also under the gunfire of the employers. Twelve thousand miners of the northern coalfields of N. S. W. have been locked out because they refused to accept lower wages (by one shilling per ton, or, 12½% cut).

The Metal and Clothing workers are also under attack.

The employers are now demanding a drastic cut of the general Basic Wage by 25%, from £ 4-5 / to £ 3-8 / .. Child endowment, which is an integral factor in the present basic wage, is to be abolished. Workers Compensation is to be brutally reduced to the detriment of all workers.

Such are the main features of the general capitalist offensive launched by Australian capitalism.

And in the midst of all this, the employers and the heads of the capitalist State possess the cynicism to convene 'industrial peace' conferences. And Australian Reformism possesses the shamelessness to sit with the bosses in secret Mond-peace conferences, while the workers outside are fighting. But Australian Reformism received a nasty slap in the face when the militant section of the trade union movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party, caused the 'industrial peace' farce to be exposed and abandoned (The 'Industrial Peace Conference' held in Sydney in February was broken up by the action of the Left Wing of the N. S. W. Labour Council, which forced the withdrawal of the Sydney delegates from the Conference).

Thus, with the burning of the Arbitration ballots, many of the paralysing illusions under which the Australian working class has been labouring, have gone up in smoke. The fire which consumed these ballots promises to purge a large section of the organised workers of this country from the poison of 'constitutionalism', 'arbitration', and similar reformist piffle.

This was an 'unprecedented' event... But now the Australian workers have a 'precedent' ...

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

### The Five-Year Plan of Development of the National Economy of the Soviet Union.

By A. I. Rykov.

Full Text of the Report delivered at the XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U.

#### I. The Importance of the Five-Year Plan.

This day is one of enormous historical importance in the advance of the construction of the socialist order of society, for the National Conference is given the opportunity of discussing the Five-Year Plan of development of our national economy.

We accomplished extremely intensive and fruitful economic and cultural work in former years, but three or four years ago we had not even "control figures", that is, not even a one-year plan of economy consistent in its main features.

A few years ago we had not even a definite annual budget; we drew up our budget from quarter to quarter. Today we have the possibility of discussing the plan for the building up of socialism for full five years ahead. Strictly speaking, this working out of a Five-Year Plan brings us for the first time actually to a profounder grasp of planned economy work. Hitherto the general standpoint laid down in the electrification plan confirmed by the VIII. Soviet Congress has prevailed among us; we have had annual pre-estimates for economic work, and at times we have drawn up plans for several years for some branches of industry. All this work has, however, suffered particularly from the fact that we have not been able to concentrate our work accurately and rapidly enough. Each year affects the next year, and we have often been deprived of the possibility of really obtaining a grasp of this next year. Each year of development has brought with it considerable regroupings of the comparative economic and class forces, but we have not been able to tackle these shifting conditions from an exactly calculated and permanent standpoint; we have not been able to estimate their importance properly, and to utilise them most effectually for the organisation of the new society. Thanks to the Five-Year Plan, this drawback has been removed.

In order to characterise the importance of the Five-Year Plan, I draw your special attention to the rôle which it will play with regard to the organisation of the masses for the tasks of socialist construction. The organisation of the new order of society is at the same time the organisation of the working class, and of the masses of poor and middle peasantry, for their conscious and immediate active participation in the building up of a classless socialist society. The better the broad masses of the peasants and workers are organised, the more successful will be the advance of socialist construction, and the more rapid will be our progress on the road to industrialisation, on the road to the transformation of our country into a socialist country. The Five-Year Plan is of immense importance from the point of view of organising the working class and the poor and middle peasant masses, of showing concretely and plainly what the working class, what the peasant masses, will have attained as a result of their exertions in two or three years time. The Five-Year Plan, thanks to its concrete and time-table like character — the results of work in each year are fixed — is an excellent instrument for mobilising the broadest masses of the people for the organisation of the new state of society.

At the time when we discussed the electrification plan, Lenin insisted that this plan should be brought forward in a popular manner, comprehensible to the broad masses, as he regarded it as a powerful lever for the mobilisation of the broadest masses of the people. The Five-Year Plan offers much greater possibilities for such a mobilisation than the electrification plan, which, despite its unexampled merits, had the defect that the new perspectives which it opened out for the socialist transformation of society on the basis of electrification were not laid

within the fixed time limits of certain periods. The Five-Year Plan gives everyone who has made himself familiar with it the possibility of explaining with sufficient exactitude, at any public meeting, how far the work of building up Socialism will have progressed in five years, how the position of the working class and peasantry will have improved, and how far, in these five years, the struggle for the abolition of the last remnants of capitalist conditions will have advanced, and what success it will have attained.

These achievements may, however, be greater or lesser in proportion to the extent to which the productivity of labour increases, to the amount of skill employed in organising scientific and technical forces and in solving the vast revolutionary technical tasks; to the extent to which we are successful in organising the struggle in the rural districts for the increased yield of the soil, etc.; in a word, the degree of these achievements will depend on the growth of the qualitative features of the work.

These are all questions which are not dealt with in the plan as general theoretical directives, but are clad in the definite statistical form of dependence on work accomplished, on qualitative changes, and on that which the workers and peasants will receive in the direction of progress in industry and agriculture, in the direction of improvements in their material and cultural position.

Every essential element of the Five-Year Plan must deeply penetrate the consciousness of every worker, every peasant, in order that everyone of them becomes conscious of the connection between his exertions and the results of his exertions, and that with a plainness equal to that of the peasant who represents the matter to his own mind in a calculation: I shall cultivate such and such a piece of land, improve my farm in such and such a manner, work at such and such a degree of productivity, and earn such and such an income. The working class, as master and organiser of the new state of society, can and must study and consider, on the basis of this Five-Year Plan, to what extent the development and improvement of this gigantic economy will advance during the next five years, and utilise these calculations for the most comprehensive organisation of the proletariat and the poor and middle peasant masses of our country.

## II. The Fundamental Elements of the Five-Year Plan.

Comrades, in the time allotted me I cannot adduce even the most important figures. They have been given in the theses of the C. C. which have been distributed among you. I merely draw your attention to the fact that if we realise the tasks set by the Five-Year Plan, the result will be a considerable shifting of conditions from the standpoint of our competition with the bourgeois states in regard to rate of development, and the level of the productive forces of the Soviet Union will raise it to a much higher position in the order of precedence of the various countries. In the production of cast iron, one of the most decisive indications of the industrial development of an economy, we occupy the sixth place at the present time. By the end of the five years we shall occupy the third place, with only the United States and Germany ahead of us. In the course of these five years our coal output will advance from the fifth to the fourth place; we shall have only the United States, England, and Germany in front of us.

This enormous success in the accomplishment of the historical task set us — the catching up with and outstripping of the countries most advanced in technics and economy — is founded on a vast increase in the amount of capital invested in national economy. We are providing, for instance, for the investment in the next five years of 16,500 million roubles in the industries controlled by planned economy, as compared with 4,400 million roubles during the last five years. At the same time the basic capital of the whole national economy, and especially of its socialist sector, will increase enormously. By the end of the five years the basic capital of industry will be 25,800 million roubles as compared with 8,600 millions today. The basic capital of the electrification will grow from 930 millions to 5,000 millions, that of the railway service from 10,800 millions to 18,200 millions, and the basic capital of agriculture from 28,700 to 38,900 millions. At the present time the basic capital of industry and electrification is equal to one-third of that of agriculture. By the end of the five years these proportions will be greatly changed, and the basic capital of industry and electrification

will be only slightly less (31,000 millions) than that of agriculture (38,900 millions).

The production of the whole of our national economy will increase correspondingly. It will more than double. Industrial production in particular will grow, increasing to 2½ times the present. The Five-Year Plan, therefore, does not merely provide for the growth of the productive forces of national economy, but for advancement in the direction of the conversion of our country from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian country.

These material changes are accompanied by essential social changes, expressed in particular in the fact that the proportional share of the basic capital of the socialist sector in industry and agriculture will increase from 52.7 per cent. to 68.9 per cent.

These, then are, the general features exemplifying the unprecedented importance of that programme submitted by the State Planning Commission in two forms, the so-called initial form and the optimal form. These two forms have been drawn up by the State Planning Commission in agreement with the Government, in order that the prerequisites for the execution of the Five-Year Plan may be more exactly calculated, and a decision come to as to our ability to secure these prerequisites. In discussing the Five-Year Plan in the Council of the People's Commissariats, we arrived unanimously at the conclusion that we should not confirm both forms, but only one, namely the form envisaging the greatest achievements.

And this was not all; we even found it necessary to extend this optimal form a little further still, both with respect to agriculture and to some separate branches of industry. In the sphere of agriculture we are faced by the following situation: in some of the Eastern districts the area under cultivation is still considerably smaller — often by 15 per cent. and even more — than before the war. The Five-Year Plan provided for a rate of extension of the cultivated area which for some regions would have scarcely meant the regaining of the pre-war level by 1932/33. When this question was being discussed in the government, we came to the conclusion that it is possible, and therefore at the same time necessary, to adopt a more rapid pace in the extension of the area under cultivation, and we therefore increased the planned task correspondingly. The second essential correction refers to the growth of the state grain growing estates.

We placed on record that an augmentation of the grain production plan is both possible and necessary for the Soviet estates of the grain trust. Besides this we decided, in view of the present greatly retarded growth of agricultural production, to increase substantially the production of artificial fertilisers and agricultural machinery for the first few years of the Five-Year Plan. In particular, we considered it necessary to increase the production of such fertilisers as phosphorite at once in the economic year 1929/30, to 500,000 tons. Again, we have widened the scope of the tasks of electrification, especially in the Nishni-Novgorod district. One reason for this is that Nishni-Novgorod has been chosen as the locality for the erection of the gigantic motor car factory, the building of which will be commenced as soon as the plans are ready.

Further, we have extended the tasks of fuel production. It is one of the characteristic features of the Five-Year Plan that it is founded on an intensive rationalisation of fuel consumption, on a rationalisation which reduces the consumption of fuel per unit of production by 30 per cent. But even this does not guarantee the stability of our fuel balance. We have therefore considered it necessary to enlarge the programme of fuel production, especially in the Kusnetsky basin, and besides this to promote energetically the exploitation of local sources of fuel. The fuel supply of our Union depends substantially on the Donetz and Kusnetsky districts, situated, as you know, at a great distance from such industrial centres as Leningrad or the Central industrial District. The transport of fuel over great distances is expensive. Therefore the question of the exploitation of local fuel sources, with the aid of electrification, is of the utmost importance, especially for such districts as the Central Industrial District. Although great success is already to be recorded in the exploitation of local fuel supplies, the draft of the Five-Year Plan submitted by the Planning Commission assumed that the amount of fuel transported from the Donetz

basin to the Central Industrial District will have to be doubled. This induced us to resolve upon a better exploitation of the Moscow coal district, and upon peat production on a large scale. We gave instructions that the yearly output of coal in the Moscow district is to be increased fivefold in the next five years, the production of peat tripled. We feared that if these measures are not taken, the tremendous increase in the transport of coal will cause great expenditure for the laying of new railway lines connecting the industrial districts with the fuel deposits of the South. This is one of the most important of the decisions by which the original scope of the Five-Year Plan has been extended.

I shall not recount the other numerous supplements or corrections made in the Plan, for instance with reference to the enlargement of the naphtha plan, the extended field of scientific research work, etc. I need only observe that these corrections do not represent any essential alteration in the draft of the Five-year Plan drawn up by the State Planning Commission. The fundamental standpoint, and the fundamental relations between the various elements of the plan, have remained the same as proposed by the State Planning Commission.

Is this rapid pace of development of our national economy, exceeding anything we have witnessed in the development of other countries, possible and real? In the capitalist countries a seven to ten per cent. increase of industrial production annually is regarded as an exceedingly rapid tempo. According to the Five-year Plan, on the other hand, the annual increase of production in the industries controlled by planned economy, that is, of the industry representing the decisive factor in the development of the whole economic system, reaches a level of about 26 per cent. The rate of the increase of capital investment in the planned industries grows yearly by 26, by 25, by 15, by 12, by 9 per cent. In 1932/33 the annual capital investments will be two and a half times as great as in 1927/28.

I believe that we are capable of maintaining such a speed. This year we are already investing about 2000 millions in industry and electrification. Even if we assume that we invest from year to year only as much as this year, in five years this will amount to 10 million roubles. But our economy is becoming stronger year by year, and consequently each year brings increased possibilities for raising fresh means for capital investment. Many of us were mistaken in supposing that with the transition from the so-called restoration period to the reconstruction period the rate of development of our economy, and especially of industry, would fall off greatly. During the restoration period the work of extending production consisted of the utilisation of existing machinery and factories, and was not concerned with serious investments of capital; consequently, in the years in which the forces of the restoration process were still effective, the output of our industry increased by 30 and 40 per cent., and even beyond this. As soon, however, as the process of industrial development had reached the stage at which all the existing factories were fully utilised, then the further development of industry was only possible by means of the erection of new works and factories, and the radical reorganisation of the existing ones.

When we had reached this turning point, many of us were of the opinion that we should not only not be able to stride forward with such Seven League boots as before, but should indeed scarcely be able to guarantee a twenty per cent. annual growth. Many of us reckoned at that time with 10 to 12 per cent. And yet our industry shows a yearly increase of 20 per cent. for the last two years. I believe that the coming years will bring not lesser, but greater possibilities in this direction.

We must take into account that we have built many new works and factories this and last year, or have re-equipped these, and that these new factories and equipments will be set going to a great extent this year, and to an even greater extent next year. At the same time the possibilities for the much more rapid pace of building activities, and a much more rapid circulation of capital are increasing. Everyone knows that our building activities have hitherto suffered from a great number of errors, deficiencies, and omissions. Still it cannot be denied that today we are building more cheaply and efficiently than we have done hitherto. This provides the first premise for the acceleration of the circulation of capital, and is of enormous importance. In the Five-Year we have built on the possibility of erecting such gigantic iron works as those of Magnitogorsk and Telbes within three years. Such a pace for building work is not slower than that in Europe, but we are justified, with the aid of the

extensive experience gained in the building of works and factories, in putting such demands on our economic organs. The Five-year Plan assumes an acceleration of the rate of building activities permitting, for instance, a long-distance steam power station to be completed in two building periods. Given an efficient organisation of the building work, and the utilisation of the latest achievements of technique, this is possible and feasible.

The Five-Year Plan not only places great demands on all our economic organisations with respect to the quality of the work done, but requires at the same time a doubling of labour productivity. This of course does not mean that the intensity of labour, that is, the amount of human labour expended, is to be doubled. The intensified productivity of labour is based in the main on those enormous investments of capital which we are making for the reconstruction of industry and the rationalisation of the whole system of production. It would, however, be wrong to suppose that the new machines, under the present conditions of working discipline, can bring such an increase in the productivity of labour. It is only when the latest law issued by the Government on the firmer establishment of working discipline has been put into practice, only when the shortcomings shown of late in this direction — high proportion of unjustifiable absence from work, etc. — are rapidly overcome, that the coefficients of the increase of labour productivity, as projected in the Five-Year Plan, can be attained, and with this the projected rate of extended production.

The Plan provides for a 70 per cent. increase in the real wages of the workers. It must, however, be clearly grasped that this rise is directly dependent on the execution of the whole Plan, and especially on such an important link in the chain of the Plan as the increase of the productivity of labour. The working class is master in the Soviet State; our State is a workers' State, the power is a proletarian power, and the whole cause of the improvement of the material and cultural position of the working class, of the non-owning strata of the peasantry, and of the whole of the working population, is in the hands of the working class and of the poor and middle peasantry. When the participation of these broad masses is ensured, then a greater productivity of labour, a better organisation of labour, and the improvement of other qualitative elements, are bound to be secured.

Great changes must take place in the five years comprised by this Plan. The share taken by industry in our national economy will be greater than ever. The participation of industry in the production of the country, the prices remaining unaltered, will increase from 32.7 per cent. in 1927/28 to 38.2 per cent. in 1932/33. Its participation in basic capital will increase from 14 per cent. in 1927/28 to 22.8 per cent. in 1932/33, totalling with electrification an advance from 15.4 per cent. to 21.1 per cent.

This means at the same time extensive shiftings in the comparative class forces of the country. The working class will achieve a different preponderance accordingly. The Five-Year Plan envisages an increase in the number of workers in the census industry, counting 2,750,000 in 1927/28, to 3,631,000 by the end of the five years. The total number of wage workers in the country will increase from 11,350,000 persons in 1927/28 to 15,427,000 in 1932/33.

As part of the growth of industry thus indicated, and of the general advance of national economy, the Five-Year Plan provides for a considerable reduction of unemployment. I shall not make any statistical statements here on the lessening of unemployment, for I am of the opinion that the calculations with reference to this depend greatly on certain postulates; a reduction of unemployment is however bound to follow the carrying out of the plan.

The realisation of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction is possible only on the basis of a tremendous cultural advance of the working class and of the main masses of the peasant population. The Five-Year Plan provides for the expenditure of great sums for social and cultural advancement. This expenditure will increase from 2,400 millions in 1927/28 to 5,900 million rouble in 1932/33. During the whole of the five years 21,400 million roubles will be spent for social and cultural purposes.

This great expenditure for cultural aims is only the first step towards the development of the cultural revolution. Further work for the organisation of the socialist state of society will

depend more and more on the development of socialist culture, on the ever spreading cultural progress of the broad masses of the people. The cultural advance of the working population of our country is the most important condition for the socialist re-organisation of our state, for the determined combating of the defects in the work of our state apparatus, for the determined combating of bureaucracy, etc.; the most important condition for the reconstruction of our economy. The expenditure for cultural purposes therefore represents an organic constituent of the Five-Year Plan, and of our whole work on the Five-Year Plan.

I do not doubt that we shall be able to carry out the task of redistributing the national income and of securing capital investments in industry and other branches of national economy to the extent laid down in the Five-Year Plan. My sole anxiety with regard to the execution of the Five-Year Plan refers to the numerous questions relating to our technicians and our technical cadres. Shall we be able to utilise with appropriate effectiveness the means provided by the Five-Year Plan? shall we be able with the aid of these means to perform the work demanded by the Five-Year Plan — in other words, shall we be able to solve the question of the organisation of the people, the question of the organisation of the scientific and technical cadres, the qualified workers; shall we be able to exploit to their fullest extent the tremendous possibilities of development afforded by the technique of today? This is the question. The Five-Year Plan represents a mighty force. It is a revolutionary plan, not only in the sense that it expresses a momentous stride forward on the path to the organisation of the socialist state of society, but in the sense that it will bring with it a complete revolution in the application of up-to-date technics. We must introduce entirely new branches of production. Money and building materials are not the only prerequisites for the erection of new undertakings. Workers are needed as well; technical and organisational cadres capable of carrying out the great building programme and of organising the new undertakings and new branches of production.

Therefore, the question of the cadres, that is, the question of the suitable training of workers in the required numbers and of the required quality (from the skilled worker to the highly qualified engineer), cannot be regarded as a secondary "supplement" to the Five-Year Plan, or as any subject of secondary importance.

On the contrary, the problem of the cadres is an indissoluble organic part of the Five-Year Plan; its solution is of paramount importance, and cannot be postponed. Unless this problem is solved, we cannot fulfil the vast national economic tasks set us by a whole number of paragraphs of the Five-Year Plan.

Whilst it is true that we are exerting much effort (and not without success) to adopt West European and American technics, still the next five years must bring an incomparably greater utilisation of foreign scientific and technical achievements. Here we often simply do not know the extent to which foreign technics should be called upon. When our new cadres are able to take up the work (and their training must be accelerated and perfected to the utmost), then we shall of course require fewer foreign specialists (engineers, technicians, etc.). But at the present time, at the beginning of a gigantic revolution in our technics, such measures as the issue of invitations to 100 to 200 foreign specialists cannot solve the problem.

Let us take, for instance, such a branch of production as the manufacture of artificial silk, — this is a branch of industry with good prospects. We dispute about this everlastingly, but we cannot either suggest suitable plans or arrive at proper decisions on the plans. Abroad, however, this branch of industry is developing with extraordinary rapidity, in spite of all the hindrances inherent in the private capitalist system of economy. Here we could develop this branch of industry with incomparably greater rapidity, but we are as helpless as children. With our present cadres we shall scarcely be able to accomplish much. This shows that on this point we have not yet conquered the necessary positions.

One of the unique features of the Five-Year Plan, especially conspicuous when the present draft is compared with all previous ones, is the correct and extremely graphically described perspective of the rise and reconstruction of agriculture. For

agriculture the Five-Year Plan signifies fundamentally the same as the electrification plan signified for our whole national economy. It puts the problem of the socialisation of agriculture (by means of Soviet farms, collective farms, co-operatives), practically, on the basis of a new form of energy measures. I recollect the extraordinary amount of attention bestowed by Lenin on the question of how agriculture could be supplied with electric ploughs. In spite of the newness and uncertainty of this invention, and although the electric plough had not yet been tested by mass experience, Lenin clung tenaciously to it, and hoped to find in it that lever of production-technics which would enable us to tackle practically the task of socialising agriculture. The electric plough did not prove a success. It is possible that the latest inventions in the field of electricity, and their extensive application to agriculture, may open out new and unlooked for perspectives. Under present conditions we must seek the lever for a thorough alteration of the technical-economic level of the village in the solution of the problem of tractive power. It is one of the greatest achievements of the new Five-Year Plan that it points out for the first time the main ways, to the solution of this problem. The replacement of draught animals by motor power means a technical re-organisation of agricultural production itself, and serves at the same time as a basis for profound changes in the social constitution of the village. For the first time we take long strides towards the socialisation of agriculture, towards the re-organisation of the individual peasant farm in the direction of socialism, and are backing up our principles by technical measures rendering our work in the village stable, productive, and thoroughly comprehensible to the peasants. The machinery and tractor centres in particular will have to play an important rôle in promoting the whole agricultural system; they will number among the chief connecting links between the socialised and the individual sectors of agriculture. Besides the provision of tractors and agricultural machines, the increased production of chemical manures will form one of the most important elements of the advancement of agriculture.

In view of this extreme importance of precisely this part of the Five-Year Plan, we have decided to supplement the Stalingrad tractor factory by a second. The realisation of the Five-Year Plan will lead to the organisation of 20 million peasants in collective farms, and to the employment of 10 million agricultural workers on Soviet estates. This is an immense advance in the social structure of the village, a great step towards the organisation of the socialist state of society.

This general course of the Five-Year Plan, aiming at the creation of a new social and technical basis for agricultural production, must not cause us to forget for a moment the importance of the individual poor and middle peasant farms. The advance planned in this sphere of work, prodigious though it may be, will only enable the socialised sector (collective farms and Soviet estates) to supply about 40 per cent. of the total marketed grain at the end of the five years, whilst the remaining 60 per cent. will fall to the individual sector. We cannot assume that the task of socialising agriculture is incompatible with the task of furthering the development of the poor and middle peasant individual farms. On the contrary, the only successful way to solve the whole problem of the promotion and reconstruction of agriculture is to find the right combination of these two tasks.

Therefore the decision of the November Plenum of the C. C., which stressed the necessity of an all-round stimulus to the furtherance of the individual poor and middle peasant farms — accompanied by the all-round restriction of the exploiting tendencies of the kulak and by a continued offensive against him — still remains in full force today. The Party, which lays down beforehand in the Five-Year Plan the main line of socialist reconstruction of agriculture, must adopt every measure — in accordance with the decisions of the November Plenum of the C. C. — by which the provision of the material and technical prerequisites for the advancement and re-organisation of agriculture, in every direction above mentioned, meets with a powerful wave of economic interest on the part of the individual poor and middle peasant farms. The policy of stimulating these farms is the imperative premise of a real and effective utilisation of those milliards of roubles (in the form of machinery, tractors, fertilisers, etc.) which the state is going to sink in socialist industry and in agriculture.



Is the proposed Five-Year Plan perfect in every detail? Has every part of it been sufficiently examined and tested? Up to the present the carrying out of our annual budget and economic plans has invariably revealed a number of defects and errors in them. Every year has brought extensive economic and cultural tasks whose solution could not be ensured by the yearly plans. It need not be said that much of this will be repeated with regard to this Five-Year Plan, which indeed represents the first attempt at such planning. It would, however, be entirely wrong to postpone its examination and confirmation. In general, in essentials, in its main lines, and in the proportional development of the decisively important branches of economy — heavy industry, light industry, agriculture — the plan is right. And it is equally right from the social and class standpoint, for it secures a rapid rate of growth for the socialised sector in our whole national economy, and not only in the cities, but in the country.

The plan has been so thoroughly worked out that it can and must be taken as a basis for the whole of our practical work. Experience and actual practice will show where, what, and how the plan must be improved and supplemented. Its structure is such that these improvements and supplements are made possible, not only by means of regroupings of forces and means, but at the cost of the reserves the accumulation of which the plan itself imperatively demands.

(To be concluded.)

## Telegraphic Report of Proceedings.

Report of Comrade Kalinin on the Progress of Agriculture and Tax Remission for the Middle Peasants.

Moscow, 26th April 1929.

In this morning's session of the party conference Comrade Kalinin made a speech concerning the progress of agriculture and the remission of taxation granted to the middle-peasants. He declared, *inter alia*, the following:

The Party had worked out a wide programme for the development of peasant agriculture on the basis of the Leninist co-operative scheme and upon the basis of the industrialisation of agriculture. The development of the collective farms, the development of the soviet farms, the pre-purchasing of the harvest, the supply of tractors to the villages, the improvement of the technical basis of agriculture and an all-round process of socialisation, these were the ways laid down by the Party for the development of agriculture.

In its work for the improvement of the level of agriculture in the present period, the Party was assisted by the speedy development of industry, by the systematic regulation of the national economic system, by the nationalisation of the land, which reduced the costs of agricultural production, and upon the development of the co-operatives etc. The development of large-scale collective undertakings in the Soviet Union was not taking place at the expense of the small and middle-peasant, as was the case under capitalism. The large-scale collective undertaking was not opposed to the poor and middle-peasants as an enemy, but assisted them and promoted their own unification. The plan of the Party was not a utopian dream, but a practical and scientific possibility of realising what many people considered to be utopian.

The plan of a socialist agriculture was completely guaranteed by great material resources. And these growing material resources placed the problem of the workers and peasants alliance on a new basis. Side by side with the old forms of the alliance of town and country, such as the development of commodity exchange, there now came a new form of this alliance, whose basis was the development of industry.

The more the industry of the Soviet Union developed, the more service it could render to the development of agriculture, to the rise of the main mass of the peasants and the creation of great collective undertakings. The new forms of the alliance were expressed in the Soviet undertakings and collective undertakings, in the extension of the State centres for agricultural machinery

and tractors, with which the villages can then conclude agreements for the collective tilling of the ground, the pre-purchase of the harvest, the increase of the harvest and the increase of the production of the small and middle-peasant farms. This process of the rise of agriculture led inevitably to the intensification of the class-struggle against the Kulaks. The firm class policy of the Party aimed at destroying the influence of the Kulaks upon the poor and the middle-peasantry in order to bring the latter into the path of development towards Socialism. The new decree concerning agricultural taxation, which protects the interests of the middle peasants, was also in accordance with this class policy of the Party and placed the main weight of the taxation upon the kulaks, whilst freeing the poor peasants from all taxation.

The work for the reconstruction of agriculture would have to be continued under the sharpest control of the party organisations. The right-wing deviation tried to hold up the development of the soviet and collective undertakings and preached the theory of the peaceful development of the Kulak into Socialism. The Party decisively rejected this anti-Leninist theory which would lead to the disarmament of the working class, the lulling of its revolutionary watchfulness and the weakening of its fighting capacity. The policy of the right-wingers led to the perpetuation of the Kulak slavery and meant the rejection of the basic line of the party, the abolition of the classes. The right-wingers wished to slow down the development of industry which represented the material basis for the development of agriculture. The Party rejected this standpoint energetically.

The policy of the Party led to the consolidation of the alliance of the workers and peasants, to the strengthening of the industrialisation and to the speedy development of those branches of industry which satisfied the main demands of developing agriculture. These errors of the right-wingers, as well as the conciliant attitude towards them, represented the chief danger at the moment and the chief activity of the Party must be directed towards fighting against them. The struggle against the right-wing danger, however, should not be permitted to weaken the struggle against the Trotzkyists whose left-wing phraseology possessed a certain attraction for youthful and backward persons. The Party was now entering a phase of tremendous constructive work which would demand the exertion of all its forces. This development of the socialist construction served not only the interests of the workers of the Soviet Union, but of the whole world. Every Communist should remember when he carried on his daily work that he was a soldier of the revolution and the advance guard of the world proletariat.

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### The Debate on the Report of Comrade Kalinin.

Moscow, April 26, 1929.

The first speaker to take part in the debate was Comrade Shlichter, who gave a sketch of the socialist reconstruction in the Ukrainian villages. He was followed by Comrade Lominadse, who proposed to consider the experiences of the grain-purchase campaign in the theses; he also proposed a number of amendments with regard to the organisation of the poor peasantry etc. He condemned the errors of the right-wingers and quoted from an article of Ustrialov who approved of the standpoint of the right-wingers. The discussion was continued in the evening.

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Moscow, 27th April, 1929.

In the discussion upon the speech of Comrade Kalinin a number of practical questions dealing with the collectivisation of agriculture were dealt with as also were the anti-Leninist theories of the right-wingers concerning the decay of agriculture and the peaceful development of the Kulaks into Socialism, the diminution of the role of the collective undertakings and of the new form of the alliance of town and country. The attitude of the right-wing in these questions was unanimously exposed. A lively discussion took place concerning the possibility of the entrance of the Kulaks into the collective undertakings. Some delegates declared that under no circumstances whatsoever should the Kulaks be permitted to enter the collective undertakings, whereas other speakers declared that where whole villages were

collectivised it would be desirable to permit the Kulaks to enter the collective undertakings under certain conditions, whereby the Kulak means of production would be socialised and thus all the roots of exploitation removed and any exploitation of the poor peasants by the Kulaks prevented.

Comrade **Liubtchenko** (Ukraine) declared: The best refutation of the talk about the decay of agriculture was the development of industrial crops as a part of agriculture. At the present time no less than 120 sugar factories were at work in the Soviet Union with the raw material provided by peasant agriculture. The speedy extension of industry had created the necessary technical basis for the collectivisation of whole districts. In the soviet undertaking "Shevtchenko" a State machinery and tractor centre was in operation, and by means of voluntary agreements with the peasants of the neighbourhood it was promoting collectivisation on a large scale.

Comrade **Kaminski** (Moscow):

A characteristic of the present period was the willingness not only of the poor peasant, but also of the middle-peasant to enter the collective undertakings. In order to keep pace with the growth of the collectivisation movement the supply of tractors would have to be considerably increased. However, not tractors alone could build the basis for the collectivisation. There were also other and simpler forms of collectivisation. Kulaks should not be permitted to enter small and economically weak collective undertakings, and in any case they showed no desire to join the collective undertakings. Only in such cases where agricultural machinery and tractor centres supply whole villages and it would be difficult to exclude the undertakings of the Kulaks, may the Kulaks be permitted to enter the collective undertakings, but only then under very definite conditions which destroy the basis of exploitation.

Prominent agrarian experts also spoke at the conference, for instance, the member of the agrarian academy **Vavilov** and Professor **Tulaikov**, who described the enthusiasm with which the scientists were working for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. They also pointed out the necessity of creating better conditions for scientific enquiry.

Comrade **Ikramov** (Uzbekistan): The special conditions of the water supply was of fundamental importance. Special attention must also be paid to the problem of the development of cattle breeding.

Comrade **Anzelovitch** (Moscow): declared that the landworkers should be drawn to a greater extent into the collective undertakings because in consequence of the consolidation and the permanent construction of these undertakings the landworker represented a very important support for the Party.

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**Comrade Kalinin's Speech in Reply to Discussion.**

Moscow, April 27, 1929.

In his speech in reply to the discussion Comrade Kalinin declared that the role of the individual peasant farm was but little dealt with in the discussion, whereas, parallel with an all-round process of socialisation and collectivisation, the individual peasant farm should also be promoted, because an enormous amount of grain was in the hands of such undertakings. The question of the possibility of the entrance of the Kulaks into the collective undertakings must be solved with the assistance of the Marxist method. The Kulaks do not as a rule join small and economically weak collectives, and in those cases where they do, then it is only in order to win the upper hand. The kulaks should not be permitted to enter such collectives. The situation was, however, quite different when State machinery and tractor centres collectivised whole villages and districts. Experience had shown that it was not wise to exclude the Kulaks from such collectivisation. Where the collectivisation was carried out on a great scale it was possible to destroy the economic roots of the exploitation of the poor and middle-peasants by the Kulaks.

There were many deficiencies in the practical work for the carrying out of the policy of the Party in the villages. However, great results had been achieved in the collectivisation of agri-

culture and this proved the correctness of the revolutionary Marxist principles upon which the political line of the party was based. With a correct application of the Marxist method under the conditions of concrete reality still greater successes upon the field of the socialist constructive work in agriculture would be achieved.

The conference then unanimously adopted without abstentions, the theses on the path of the rise of agriculture and the tax remissions for the middle-peasants.

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**Report of Comrade Yakovlev on the Fight Against Bureaucracy.**

Moscow, April 28th, 1929.

In his report to the Party Conference concerning the results of the struggle against bureaucracy and its future tasks, Comrade **Yakovlev** declared inter alia the following:

At the present time we are placing the question of the revision of the carrying out of the laws and directions of the central authority by the soviet apparatus in the foreground. Alien elements are finding their way into the Soviet apparatus. In bourgeois countries the State apparatus is in no contradiction to the capitalist order, for there bourgeois officials execute the orders and put into operation the laws of their State. In the Workers State there is yet no absolute guarantee that the soviet apparatus, which still employs old officials and alien class elements, logically carries out all the laws or that it does not falsify the line of the proletarian State in the execution. The revision of the administration of the laws is of particular importance at the present moment when the resistance of the class enemy has increased with the intensification of the socialist offensive, and the Kulaks and the Nepmen seek to utilise their friends who sit in the Soviet apparatus. Whilst examining the class line in the work of the State apparatus, we must also see, on the basis of local experience, how far the Soviet laws are correct and what improvements the demands of everyday life suggest.

The cleaning of the State apparatus is closely connected with the central problem of the revision of the carrying out of the laws. Useless and degenerate officials who are either incapable or unwilling to carry out the class policy of the proletarian State must be removed and replaced by progressive proletarians. The resistance of the alien elements must be broken and the work of the State apparatus must be so improved that it carries out the general line of the Party more successfully. The question of personal responsibility for the work of the apparatus must be raised clearly in reference to those persons who are at the head of the apparatus. Lenin often pointed out that it was not always the Communists who guided the apparatus, but that sometimes the apparatus guided the Communists. The Communists represent 12% of the total mass of State employees and 14% of the mass of employees in the industrial undertakings. These communist nuclei must be prepared to repel the attempts of the class enemy with all possible energy. The apparatus must not only be brought into harmony with the work for the reconstruction of the economic system, but it must also be so improved that it is in a position to assist in the work of collectivisation. A long and difficult struggle against the bureaucracy is before us. Bureaucracy can only then be defeated when millions of the toilers rally in the struggle against it.

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**Debate on the Report of Comrade Yakovlev.**

Moscow, April 29, 1929.

In the debate on the Report of Comrade Yakovlev the speakers declared unanimously that the struggle against the bureaucracy was one of the most important links in the chain of tasks which the Party would have to perform in order to carry out the five-year plan. Representatives of the Soviet economists pointed out the deficiencies in the control work and in particular to the fact that much work was nothing but overlapping, where for instance various institutions carried out the same control independently. A number of the speakers accused the right-wingers of being disinterested in the practical tasks of the

struggle against the bureaucracy in the Soviet apparatus whilst they did not hesitate to accuse the party of suffering from bureaucracy.

Comrade **Zifrinovitch** (Moscow) declared:

With the improvement of the Soviet apparatus the resistance of the class enemy would grow, and in order to overcome this resistance, the broad masses of the workers would have to be mobilised in the struggle against bureaucracy and for the building up of Socialism. Already tens of thousands of the most active workers were being drawn from the ranks. In this connection the socialist competitive scheme was excellent. We had, however, not yet learned to utilise the growing activity of the working masses. Non-party workers must also be drawn into the work of the Soviet apparatus more than hitherto. The Party, the trade unions and the whole Soviet apparatus would have to be overhauled in order better to fit them for the tasks of the class struggle and for the development of the socialist constructive work.

Comrade **Satonsky** (The Ukraine) declared:

The regulator in capitalist countries was competition, in the Soviet Union the regulator could be a public control. The special conditions of the Soviet Union, therefore made the participation of the masses in the control of the work of the Soviet apparatus of tremendous importance. The labour unions were not doing enough in the struggle against bureaucracy. Even the most backward working class strata should be drawn into the work of controlling the Soviet apparatus.

In the morning session the discussion was concluded and, following upon the closing speech of Comrade **Yakovlev**, the conference unanimously adopted the theses of the Central Committee upon the struggle against the bureaucracy.

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#### Closing Session of Conference.

Moscow, April 29, 1929.

To-day the closing session of the 16th Party Conference took place.

Comrade **Yaroslavsky** made a speech concerning the purging of the Party, whereupon the conference unanimously adopted the theses of the Central Committee on this point without discussion.

The conference also adopted an appeal to the workers in connection with the socialist competitive scheme.

In his closing speech Comrade **Kalinin** summed up the results of the conference and declared:

We are so much taken up with the practical work that we sometimes are inclined to forget the greatness of the tasks which the Communist Party is now performing. It is the greatest good fortune for revolutionaries that they are able to discuss and ratify the five-year plan for the socialist constructive work. For many many years the best heads of the revolutionary movement were only able to see the historical perspective of the socialist transformation of society in a general form. The proletariat has made hundreds of thousands of sacrifices in the struggle for socialist reconstruction. And we are now in a position to deal directly with the practical carrying out of this plan. In all other countries thousands of proletarians are still fighting and dying for the right to make a commencement with the work of socialist construction; but we have already created the material basis for the construction of socialist society and for the victory of Communism.

The development of the socialist constructive work is the question of the development of agriculture and the privileges granted the middle-peasants. The development of industry offers us a new basis upon which we are able to enter into new forms of the alliance between the workers and peasants. It is no chance that the questions of the struggle against bureaucracy and of the cleaning of the State apparatus were dealt with by this conference. In order to carry out the work of socialist construction successfully, it is necessary to increase our own qualifications, to strengthen our determination and to mobilise the whole of the Communist forces in the soviet apparatus. The unanimity with

which the decisions were adopted offers a guarantee that they will be put into action with the same unanimity.

The conference was then greeted by representatives of the Tver factories who were the first to enter into the scheme of socialist competition. They pointed out that the first weeks of the competition had already shown excellent results in the increase of the productivity of labour and the decrease of the cost of production.

In connection with the 35th anniversary of the existence of the Moscow organisation its oldest member Comrade **Vladimirsky** retold his reminiscences. The conference then adopted a letter of greetings to the Moscow organisation.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### The Dictatorship in Spain and its Competition in Armaments.

By Gorkin.

It is an indisputable fact that the dictatorship of **Primo de Rivera** is preparing to plunge Spain into the imperialist war on the day appointed by his guardian, Great Britain, or by his mentor and ally, Fascist Italy. The statements recently made by the head of the Spanish Admiralty and by Mr. Kindelan, head of the air force, on the occasion of the passing of the building plans for the navy and the air fleet, show that this problem is the foreground.

As early as last September, the dictator mentioned in a manifesto issued officially for the fifth anniversary of the coup d'Etat the matter of Spain's preparations for the imperialist war. Naturally, Primo clothes this fact in the formula in general use among imperialist governments and speaks of "defence against eventual attack". (One might well ask who would declare a war of aggression upon poor Spain and why.) At that time Primo stated that during the approaching period Spain must devote itself to the task of

"reorganising the elements of the army, the navy, and the air force and co-ordinating them in order to achieve a maximum result with minimum effort... We can count upon moral support, and the material and technical arrangements suffice to guarantee that our realm will shortly be impregnable."

While the ministerial council was working up the plans for the extension of the fleet and of the air force, which are now to be carried out, Primo resolved to import a number of kinds of big guns, machine guns and other armaments which cannot be produced in the Spanish factories.

At the same time, **General Millan Astray**, the founder of the Spanish foreign legion and most intimate friend of the king, began a number of conferences in regard to the military reform, which the dictatorship intended to introduce. With the help of a subvention from Primo de Rivera, Millan spent two years in France, Italy, England and Germany studying military conditions and he now demands the introduction of all modern reforms, so that Spanish imperialism may at any moment be ready to put half a million well equipped men into the field.

In the concert of the imperialist powers, Spain is only a second fiddle, but with its 24 million inhabitants it is an important human reservoir, and its geographic situation is of great strategic importance. For a long time now Spain has been following in foreign policy the line taken by British imperialism. In its Mediterranean policy Great Britain relies on Spain as a support second only to Italy. In this sense there can be no doubt but that the war preparations of the Spanish dictatorship correspond with the directives laid down by Chamberlain. And Austen Chamberlain, or the Minister of the Labour government who will succeed him, will continue at the Foreign Office after the next election the war preparations against the Soviet Union and the inter-imperialist war preparations, and will one day draw Spain into a new world war, if the revolutionary proletariat does not intervene.

But let us revert to the statements of the head of the Spanish admiralty and of Colonel Kindelan.

After a series of destroyers had been completed, this year again the keels have been laid for a new series of eight destroyers. At the shipyards of Cartagena, of which both King Alfonso XIII and Primo de Rivera are share-holders, a further six destroyers, each of 1600 tons, are under construction. Furthermore, the 144 million pesetas allocated to the navy will permit of the building of twelve submarines. And, finally, the Spanish naval harbours are to be provided with modern artillery and the requisite observation and bombing planes.

According to the data given by the head of the air force, the defence of the country calls for 87 observation squadrons, 84 bombing squadrons, 27 squadrons of hydroplanes (for observation and bombing), making a total of 2200 aircraft in war time and 1500 in peace. In order to complete this plan a further 400 million pesetas is required.

It will be seen that the Spanish dictatorship, supported by the good will of British imperialism, is participating in the general competitive war preparations. In order to carry out the armament plans, it will be necessary to increase the taxes squeezed out of the petty bourgeoisie and the great mass of consumers, the proletariat. The rising generation in Spain, which has behind it two decades of Moroccan war, must get ready for a world war. The only means of putting a stop to all these preparations for war is the revolutionary fight against the dictatorship and the monarchy, which will constitute only one stage in the fight against the whole regime.

## The Comintern's Fight against the War Danger.

By Tom Bell.

The VI. World Congress of the Comintern placed the question of the war danger in the centre of its analysis of the international world situation. It declared the war danger constitutes their very crux of the new period. It called upon all sections to combat this danger and to make it the centre of the whole of our Communist activity. The lengthy thesis prepared by the Congress brought together the whole strategy and tactics of Bolshevism in the struggle against imperialist war, in the struggle of the colonial peoples against counter-revolutionary war, and the struggle against the class war par excellence viz. imperialist war on the Soviet Union.

The Congress not only re-stated the general strategical and tactical lines but it did something more. It prepared a lengthy detailed resolution on the methods of carrying on anti-militarist activity amongst the fighting forces in conjunction with the general political activities of the Parties. The Congress laid special stress on the mistake of a number of Parties which still looked upon anti-militarist activity as the business of a few specialists.

In compliance with this latter point the Congress instructed the E. C. C. I. to prepare for the setting aside of one day — **International Red Day** — as a day for mobilising the entire forces of the Comintern and its working class supporters. The general idea of the Red Day is not merely to have meetings and demonstrations but in addition to these, draw in the soldiers, sailors and airmen, bring about fraternisation by means of meetings at the barracks, distribution of literature and in general raise the question of the war danger before the widest sections of the proletariat, and make them feel the real imminence of the war.

It is now decided to make **August 1st** the International Red Day. This date separates the Communist campaign from the quasi-religious-pacifist meetings of the Social Democrats who will have their meetings on Sunday August 4th. All Sections of the C. I. are now busy making preparations for August 1st.

Since the VI. Congress a whole series of activities have been engaged in, of which the war danger has occupied the front of the stage. The Lenin-Liebkecht-Luxemburg memorial campaign made the fight against imperialist war the crux of the campaign. All our press, literature distribution and demonstrations took the war danger as the central issue.

The VI. Congress also decided upon calling an **Anti-Fascist Congress** which linked up the war danger with the fight against Fascism. This Congress met in Berlin on March 9th and was a huge success. Over 230 delegates came from all countries. The importance of this conference must not be confined to the conference itself. Before the meeting numerous meetings, conferences for the election of delegates and demonstrations took place in all the countries represented. Thus the war danger was brought home to a much wider audience than the pure and simple Party meetings. For example, in **Norway** on March 3rd in **Oslo**, a conference took place attended by 103 delegates representing 20,000 workers. In England, France, etc., similar conferences and demonstrations were held, which were equally successful. Side by side with this activity a large congress is being prepared by the **League against Imperialism** in July at which representatives will attend from all parts of the world. The war question will find a prominent place on the agenda.

The VI. Congress was attended by a number of delegates who came from Latin-American countries for the first time. It was decided to establish a **Latin-American Bureau**. During the Bolivian-Paraguay dispute, and when Hoover of the U. S. A. made his diplomatic visit to the Latin-American countries our Bureau was able to mobilise large demonstrations of workers against these imperialist adventures and to raise the war danger before the eyes of thousands of proletarians.

When we come to examine in detail what the respective Parties in the C. I. have done, we are in a big difficulty. The great majority of our parties have to work under illegal conditions which makes reporting very difficult. We are not always able to give exact details of what has been done though we know from certain evidences that considerable activity has been carried out. But we can record the following. When publication was given to the so-called **Franco-Belgian secret pact**, not only did our Parties in **Belgium, France, Holland, England and Germany** publish a joint manifesto, but our press gave considerable prominence to the affair and at our agitational meetings the meaning of the Pact was fully explained.

Similarly, when the **Big Navy Bill** was before the Senate of the U. S. A. our Party carried out a considerable campaign and published joint manifestoes in the names of the American and British Parties.

Our **French Party** continues, true to its tradition, its excellent work amongst the soldiers and in the fleet. On December 4th 1928, Comrade Cachin made a great speech which caused a sensation, and exposed in Parliament the war preparations of the French imperialists and their allies against the Soviet Union. This speech was taken up by our brother Parties.

In **Germany** our comrades continue their fight against the new cruiser building programme of the Social Democrats and take an active part in carrying this campaign into the factory councils and munition shops. During the conference of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom, held early in January this year, a number of our comrades raised the question of the war danger, the expansion of the chemical industries and the huge military preparations now being carried out by the imperialists.

In **Yugoslavia** when King Alexander on January 19th issued his decree instituting the Supreme Court with the Defense of the State our Party caused leaflets to be prepared and distributed. Hundreds of arrests were made.

In **England**, a consistent press campaign is conducted by the Party organs exposing the British intrigues in the Middle East, Afghanistan, India and against the Soviet Union. Special anti-militarist propaganda is conducted by means of leaflets and study circles among troops. The effect of the Party programme of demands for the army and the navy is seen in the attempts of the military and naval lords to introduce minor reforms into the service.

Throughout the **Baltic countries** in the unofficial armies such as the "Asaig" organisations the Communists have to work very cautiously, but considerable activity obtains in these organisations.

In conclusion, the illegal conditions under which our Parties have to work, the increasing offensive of the bourgeoisie against the Communists, the growing increase of the jealous vigilance exercised in watching over the troops is a serious handicap upon our comrades, and makes detailed reporting very difficult. Nevertheless we can say that the injunction of the VI. Congress to all Sections to make the fight against the war danger a living part of the daily life of our Parties is receiving the serious attention of all our Sections.

## Anti-War Conference of the Latin American Trade Unions.

By M. Ch.

Since December 1928 the war danger in Latin America has become strikingly evident. For a time it looked as if it would be impossible to avoid a bloody collision between Bolivia and Paraguay, which in the last resort turned upon the oil territories in Chaco Boreal. On both sides the military forces were mobilised and a commencement was made with the ideological preparation of public opinion. The Liberal Government of Paraguay and the government of the dictator Siles of Bolivia vied with each other in pacifism and accused each other of warlike intentions.

A reinforced propaganda for the national unity of the classes was carried on in the interested countries; the demagogic propaganda did not fail to have influence on the non-class-conscious workers.

The trade union leaders were unprepared for carrying out a consistent line with regard to the fight against the war danger. This failure was in some measure due to the fact that the trade union movement in these two countries is still young and is lacking in experience, and on the other hand was also due to the difficulties of the moment; the conflict took it by surprise.

On December 17, the trade union federation of Paraguay published a manifesto regarding this conflict (the trade union federation is the largest labour organisation of Paraguay, and embraces the seamen's union and the railwaymen's union; it has only an inadequately worked out revolutionary class line).

The appeal of the trade union federation is a model of ideological confusion. In the first part of this appeal the authors, in a chauvinistic outburst, accuse the Bolivian Government of attacking "pacifist" Paraguay. In "proof" of this a number of quotations from the bourgeois press is given. In the second part of the manifesto it is decided:

1. "To protest against the danger of war and against the war itself.

2. To appeal to the workers' and peasants' organisations of Latin-America, to the peoples of America, Europe and other parts of the world, to the progressive parties and to other social organisations, and request them to convene an extraordinary congress or to resort to other pacifist measures in order to prevent an armed conflict... Above all we reckon on the activity of the international organisations as: the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam), the Red International of Labour Unions and the Committee for the Creation of a Latin American Trade Union Confederation."

Another trade union organisation of Paraguay, the anarchistically orientated "Labour Centre", published outside of Paraguay (owing to the censorship prevailing in the country) an appeal which characterised the conflict in its totality as an imperialist conflict, declared the bourgeoisie of both countries to be equally guilty and concluded with an appeal for revolutionary action, without, however, giving any slogans or concrete directives.

Somewhat later, on January 15, in Potosi, the trade union federation of Bolivia adopted a resolution against war, in which the proletariat is called upon to prove its solidarity.

What was the attitude of the Committee for the Creation of the Latin American Trade Union Confederation? Immediately on the outbreak of the conflict the Committee issued its first appeal, which was published in the organ of the Committee, "The Latin-American Worker", of December 15th, in which it represented the conflict as being the result of the struggle between the imperialism of Great Britain and of the United States for the oil wells of Chaco Boreal.

The appeal called upon the workers to be clear in mind as to the real causes of the war danger and to combat the war by their united efforts. In the following number of its organ the Committee gave a detailed analysis of the situation, based upon the experiences of former wars. In various letters which

were addressed to all the trade union organisations of Latin-America the Committee called for active propaganda and for the combating of war.

After examining the proposals of the trade union federation of Paraguay with regard to the convocation of a congress for combating the war danger, the Committee decided to submit the whole question of war danger and the means of combating it to the next Latin-American Trade Union Congress which is to take place on May 15. This question will be dealt with as a special item of the agenda. In order to adopt urgent measures against the danger of war, which appeared to be very acute between Bolivia and Paraguay, the Committee decided to convene a conference of the most important South American countries which would be immediately interested in any conflict.

The Committee displayed remarkable energy in convening this conference. The conference was formally opened on the 25th February in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, in the presence of numerous workers.

There took part in the conference: two delegates from Bolivia, six delegates from Paraguay (three of them from the Trade Union Federation of Paraguay, and three from the "Workers Centre"), a delegate from Peru, two delegates from the trade unions of Argentina, three delegates from the bloc of Workers' Unity in Uruguay and three Brazilian delegates, making in all 21 persons, including the Committee. The conference received numerous messages of greeting from Latin-America and Europe, including messages from the Red International of Labour Unions and the Comintern. The following political tendencies were represented at the conference: social-democrats, anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists and communists.

The conference lasted three days. A resolution was adopted unanimously and a manifesto drawn up. The resolution gives a concise analysis of the wars of the present period. The causes of the conflict between Paraguay and Bolivia are set forth at length. The resolution then presents a comprehensive programme of fight against the danger of war before the outbreak of hostilities, on the outbreak of hostilities and during the period following. The resolution describes the preparations being made for a fresh armed intervention against the Russian revolution. It concludes by declaring that the main position in this case consists in the defence of the Russian revolution and the creation of a united front of the workers.

It is interesting to note in this connection that, owing to the resistance of the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists, the word "Soviet Union" is substituted in all resolutions by the word "Russian revolution". The reason given by the anarchists for this attitude is that it is impossible for them to do anything for the defence of a State, even if it be a proletarian state.

The conference decided to set up a Pan-American Trade Union Committee with its seat in Montevideo for fighting the war danger; the leading body for this Committee was immediately elected. It was decided to found national committees for the fight against the danger of war in all the countries of America. This new organisation will encounter enormous difficulties in developing its activity. Already before the convocation of the conference, but particularly afterwards, the bourgeois press instituted a great campaign of calumny and characterised the conference as a "communist machination", as the "work of Moscow" and raged and fumed against the "Moscow agents". The press of the reformists and anarchists took an active part in this campaign of calumny.

Needless to say, all the attacks of the bourgeoisie and its supporters in the camp of the social democracy and of the anarchists cannot minimise the importance of the conference and its effect upon the Labour movement of Latin-America.

The Labour movement of these countries has for the first time a concrete, precise and unequivocal line for the fight against war. For the first time the spontaneous and isolated movements were brought together under one leadership by means of the national committees. For the first time it has proved possible to bring together organisations representing various views and tendencies into a united front of struggle against the common danger.

We are certain that these first steps to the united front of the Latin-American Labour movement will be followed up by the creation of a strong confederation of the Latin-American trade unions at the Congress convened for the 15th May at Montevideo.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Murder of Comrades Djakovitch and Hekimovitch by the Yugoslavian Government.

Vienna, 29th April 1929.

The Yugoslavian government has committed new murders against the revolutionary working class. The organiser of the Yugoslav Communist Party **Georg Djakovitch** and the secretary of the Yugoslav section of the International Red Aid **Nikolaus Hekimovitch** were taken by the police to the Austrian frontier where they were then "shot down whilst attempting to escape". The two were arrested on the 20th April in Zagreb allegedly in connection with the distribution of prohibited literature. They were held for a time in prison in Zagreb, where according to a fellow prisoner who has since been released, they were both tortured. Djakovitch was seen lying motionless in his cell in a pool of blood. It is therefore possible that he was already dead and dragged to the frontier as a corpse in order to go through the grim comedy of being "shot whilst attempting to escape". The two bodies were left lying on the frontier because, as the police declared, it was so dark that they could not find the bodies. When the police arrested the two comrades, they were well aware that they had got their hands on to leading officials of the working class movement, and at the time the Vienna "Rote Fahne" expressed fears for their lives. In the police prison where the two were first held in Zagreb there are still 600 other revolutionary workers who are threatened with a similar fate.

Comrade **Georg Djakovitch** was born in 1884 in Slav-Brod and was a metal worker by trade. In 1904 he joined the Social Democratic Party and was for many years a trade union official in Bosnia. At the beginning of the world war he was arrested by the Austrians and sentenced to death by a court martial, but in the last moment his sentence was commuted and he was interned. After the war he joined the Communist Party and in 1920 he was elected a member of the Constitutional Assembly. In 1921 after the Communist Party was declared illegal he was interned, but succeeded in escaping abroad. At the last Party Congress of the Yugoslav C. P. he was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Party and at the sixth world congress of the C. I. he was elected a candidate of the E. C.

Comrade **Nikolaus Hekimovitch** was a clerk by profession and joined the Young Communist League in 1920. In the last few years he had served the working class movement as secretary of the Red Aid.

Many a century lay between the mediaeval serf and successful revolt, and though he tried many a time and never lost heart, success was not to be for him. With us it is different. A few years of wearisome struggle against apathy and ignorance; a year or two of growing hope — and then who knows? Perhaps a few months, or perhaps a few days of the open struggle against brute force, with the mask off its face and the sword in its hand, and then we are over the bar.

"Who knows I say? Yet this we know, that ahead of us, with nothing betwixt us except such incidents as are necessary to its development, lies the inevitable social revolution, which will bring about the end of mastery and the triumph of fellowship."

William Morris: "Sign of Change".

## THE BALKANS

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

(Conclusion)

Owing to the influence of the imperialist States the anti-Soviet tendencies of the Balkan governments are increasing, their terrorist policy is more and more winning the approval and support of their great "protectors". The Anglo-French agreement will undoubtedly promote unity in the bourgeois camp and effect the united and coordinated offensive of counter-revolution in the Balkans — both in the individual countries as well in the whole of the Balkans. It will bring about the final transition of Balkan social democracy into the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The achieved relative and very shaky capitalist partial stabilisation is taking place on the basis of a profound general-economic crisis which is disintegrating all the Balkan countries and is leading to an intensification of the class contradictions and of the class struggle both in the towns and on the country. The chronic mass unemployment is a reflection of this crisis. The severe tax screw and the constantly increasing exploitation of the workers and peasants are calling forth the discontent of the masses and accelerating the process of their revolutionisation, which is expressed in the extension and growth of the workers' and peasants' movement in all Balkan countries.

In spite of the extremely unfavourable conditions for economic struggles, the wave of strikes in the Balkans will extend as a result of the unbounded exploitation of labour, the long working day, the rising prices, the miserable wages, the fascist suppression and government terror. The crisis in agriculture, the phenomena accompanying which are the plundering of the working masses, land hunger, the new enslavement of the peasants as a result of the partial agrarian reform, the exorbitant taxation, the terror of the officers, kulaks and of the government in the villages — all these nourish the soil for new and more imposing peasant movements in the whole of the Balkans embracing larger masses. In the process of these movements, strikes and struggles the treachery of the reformists and of the bourgeois leaders of the peasant masses will be exposed; there will be accomplished the welding together of the proletariat, the formation of a bloc of the toiling masses in town and country, and the sympathies of the masses for the Communist Parties will increase.

The tasks which the swing to the Left of the masses and the intensification of the class struggle in connection with the relative and shaky capitalist partial stabilisation in the Balkans confront the Communist Parties of the Balkans and the Balkan Communist Federation are especially important and full of responsibility. All-round preparation, maximum organisation and firm class leadership of the struggle are of the greatest necessity. The situation demands as an essential condition for the victorious fight the rallying together of the masses, trade union unity, the alliance of the workers and peasants —, and all this can be achieved only in the process of fighting, by means of ruthless exposure of the treachery of the social democracy, of the reformist and Right peasant leaders and by means of active participation of the Communists in the fight for the rights of the masses and for their defence. It is the special task of the Balkan Communist Federation to consolidate the inter-Balkan and international solidarity of the workers and peasants and to organise mutual aid and support on an inter-Balkan and international scale.

IV.

National oppression in the conquered and oppressed territories, which is exercised by the ruling bourgeoisie of all Balkan States in various barbaric forms and is accompanied by unbounded exploitation of the oppressed nations, is a source of discontent of the masses, of outbreaks and fights in the Balkans. The national revolutionary movement in the Balkans remains one

of the main streams of the general revolutionary movement. The Communist Parties of the Balkans stand for the right of self-determination of the oppressed nations up to their separation into independent states. Simultaneously with this they set up the slogan of a Balkan Federation as an alliance of the workers' and peasants republics of all Balkan countries including the subjugated territories. With regard to Macedonia, which is divided among Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria, the Communist Parties set up the slogan of "independent and united Macedonia"; in regard to Thrace, which has been divided up among Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria, they set up the slogan: "independent and united Thrace"; in regard to Dobruja: "independent and united Dobruja"; in regard to Bessarabia and Bukovina they set up the slogan of their union with Soviet Moldavia and Soviet Ukraine. The Balkan Communist Federation must formulate concretely for the Communist Parties of the Balkans appropriate slogans for the national self-determination of all oppressed nations in the Balkans and connect these with the general slogan of the Balkan Federation of workers and peasants Republics.

These slogans will, however, remain empty words if the Communist Parties of the Balkans do not accord real support to the oppressed nations in their fight for self-determination, including the right to separation, as well as in the fight against national oppression in general and against the economic exploitation accompanying it in particular.

The Communists are in duty bound to work in the national revolutionary organisations. Their task in these organisations is to fight against the endeavours of the imperialist states and the Balkan Governments to subjugate the national revolutionary movement and convert the national revolutionary organisations into instruments of their policy of conquest. The exposure of the League of Nations, which is an instrument in the hands of the imperialists for misleading the masses, forms a part of this task. The exposure of the so-called "Little Entente" — this tool of imperialism in the Balkans and in the European countries —, as well as the exposure of the idea of the Serbian imperialists of creating by including Bulgaria in present Yugoslavia, a Yugoslavian Federation under the sceptre of the Karaloyevitch dynasty, is an important task of the Communist Parties of the Balkans. The activity of the Communists must be directed towards creating a united front of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations and of the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants in the Balkans, as well as closely linking up the struggle of the oppressed Balkan peoples with the revolutionary struggle of the colonial peoples, with the Chinese and international revolution. The Balkan Communist Federation has the special task of co-ordinating the activity of the Communist Parties of the Balkans in the sphere of the national revolutionary movement, of securing the connection and co-operation of the Communist Parties of the Balkans with the national revolutionary organisations which, as the Macedonian I. M. R. O., the Dobrujan revolutionary organisation, the Thracian revolutionary organisation, the Bessarabian League of Revolutionary Peasants etc., stand for the co-operation of the oppressed nations with the revolutionary proletariat.

The forcible driving out of the national minorities, whereby their property is confiscated and they are economically totally ruined, is one of the most abominable forms of national oppression which is practised by the Balkan bourgeoisie and is even sanctioned by international agreements. The fight against this modern barbarism of the bourgeoisie and of international imperialism, against the robber treaties on the "voluntary" emigration of the national minorities, against the "legal" and arbitrary confiscation of the property of the oppressed nations, for the all-round protection of the millions of refugees etc., forms an essential part of the fight against national oppression in the Balkans.

The national revolution in the Balkans is not concluded. Extensive territories are in the position of conquered provinces, and their populations labour under the yoke of national oppression. Even if the national revolution is, according to its nature, a bourgeois-democratic revolution, nevertheless the Balkan bourgeoisie has proved incapable of solving the national problem in the Balkans. In the epoch of imperialism the fight of the oppressed Balkan peoples for national emancipation is an inseparable part of the international proletarian revolution. The revolutionary fight against national oppression in the Balkans is inseparably bound up with the fight of the workers and the toiling peasants

against capitalist rule; the oppressed Balkan peoples will attain their freedom only as a result of the common victory of the toilers, under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, over the capitalist bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism.

One of the most essential conditions for the victory of the revolution in the Balkans is the linking up of the national revolution with the proletarian and revolutionary struggle of the toiling peasants. This task which history has set the Communist Parties can be solved by them only if regard is had to the peculiarities of the national revolutionary struggle and the struggle of the revolutionary peasantry in the different parts of the Balkans.

Imperialist war will create in the Balkans favourable conditions for unchaining the national revolution in the rear of the ruling bourgeoisie. For the purpose of preventing and rapidly crushing the national revolution the Balkan Governments will resort to extraordinary measures, of which the most important are: the mobilisation of the whole of the enlightened and active part of the oppressed population which is capable of fighting, and its dispersal among the various groups of the army in the whole country, as well as the occupation of the enslaved districts by reliable troops. The inhabitants of many districts (Macedonia, Montenegro, Thrace, Bessarabia, Dobruja and others), who have already taken part in a number of national insurrections and have experience in armed struggles, will in the event of mobilisation desert in masses and take up the armed fight for their national emancipation, favoured by the mountains which cover the greater part of these districts.

The Communist Parties of the Balkans must take this into consideration and issue at the right time the slogan of partisan fights in the above-mentioned districts in order to unchain national revolutionary insurrection; they must do everything necessary in order to unify the national struggle in the various districts and to link it up and co-ordinate it with the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants of all the Balkan countries. The Balkan Communist Federation is faced with the task of establishing connection and co-operation of the various really revolutionary organisations among themselves as well as between them and the Balkan Communist Parties, under the leadership of the latter and of the Balkan Communist Federation.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Commercial Relations of the Co-operative Societies of the Soviet Union with the European Co-operative Societies.

By Otto Schröder.

The co-operative societies of the Soviet Union are given certain tasks within the confines of the foreign-trade monopoly. Within the last two years the activity of the consumers' co-operative federation of the Soviet Union, Zentrosojus, has been considerably extended in the direction of foreign trade. The total turnovers of the Zentrosojus (imports and exports) amounted:

In the business year	1925/6	to about	5.00	million pounds
"	"	1926/7	"	6.75
"	"	1927/8	"	8.5

The co-operative societies of the Soviet Union cannot confine their export and import business to the co-operative societies of capitalist countries. A considerable portion of the turnover of the Zentrosojus is covered, for instance, through tea purchases in countries where the co-operative movement is not well developed (China, Japan, India, Ceylon, Java). Among the articles of export, too, there are many, such as furs, pigs' bristles and horse hair, which could hardly be disposed of by the foreign co-operative societies. For this reason the turnover of the Zentrosojus with the co-operative organisations of the capitalist countries is comparatively slight. In recent years the following turnovers were achieved:

In the business year 1925/6 about 0.2 million pounds

"	"	1926/7	"	1.5	"	"
"	"	1927/8	"	1.15	"	"
"	"	1928/9	"	1.6	"	"

The retrogression in the turnover of the year 1927/28 is mainly due to the fact that a number of big contracts concluded at the end of the year were only partly included in the business year 1927/8.

Commercial relations with the co-operative societies of Great Britain were commenced in the year 1922 and have developed most of all. The tea purchases of the Zentrosojus are effected through the intermediary of the British Co-operative Wholesale society. Other goods, too, such as herrings, cocoa, coffee, spices are bought from the British co-operative societies themselves or through their intermediary. Of the goods, which the Soviet co-operative societies delivered to the British co-operative societies, butter heads the list. Whereas the purchases of the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union from the British co-operative societies amounted in the years 1922 to 1927 to about 2.4 million pounds, the figure for the year 1928 alone is 1.1 million pounds. The British co-operative societies took from the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union during the years 1922 to 1927 about 1.25 million pounds' worth of goods and in the year 1928 0.3 million pounds' worth. From this it will be seen that the commercial transactions of the co-operative societies of Great Britain and the Soviet Union so far amount to about 5 million pounds. In regard to purchases, the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union are usually given credit up to 90 per cent for a period of six to nine months, according to the nature of the goods bought.

Business relations with the co-operative societies of Austria, which began in the year 1923, have also developed comparatively favourably. A mixed Russo-Austrian commercial company "Ratao" was founded with the participation of the co-operative societies. Later on, "Ratao" was further extended, and the co-operative societies held 26 per cent. of the interests, the Creditanstalt, a bank, 24 per cent., and the Soviet Government 50 per cent. During the year 1927/8 "Ratao" delivered about 2,500 pounds' worth of Austrian industrial articles to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, "Ratao" took from the Soviet Union about 500 pounds' worth of foodstuffs, including eggs, poultry, preserves, honey, lentils. The Austrian co-operative societies then set up their own co-operative agency to transact business with the Soviet Union; it is called: *Russisch-Österreichische Export- and Import Ges. m. b. H. "Russe"*. Half of the interests in this company are held by the Austrian wholesale purchasing company and half by the Labour Bank. The reformist co-operative leaders of the Austrian federation carry on special propaganda for the building up of reciprocal commercial relations, their chief motive naturally being the desire to promote these commercial relations in order to help capitalist economy.

With the co-operative societies of Belgium, too, mutual commercial relations have been established. In the year 1927/8 rather large purchases were made from the Belgian co-operative societies, credits of up to two years being granted for this purpose: The commercial relations with co-operative societies of France are at present slight, and the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union are hardly buying anything at all in France.

With the co-operative societies of Germany business relations developed relatively late. The turnovers amounted to

1925	. . .	800	pounds
1926	. . .	45,000	"
1927	. . .	117,900	"
1928	. . .	200,000	" (estimated)

The reformist co-operative society leaders of Germany have made no effort to extend commercial relations with the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union. It was only in the year 1927 that the turnover reached the sum which could be regarded as indicating mutual commercial relations. The turnover is, however, still comparatively small, in view of the fact that the co-operative societies of the central federation achieved a turnover during last business year of more than 50 million pounds. Up to quite recently, for instance, the wholesale purchasing company was still taking Siberian butter through a capitalist middleman, who naturally had a commission on the business. The turnover is to-day achieved almost exclusively through the delivery of articles from the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union, such as butter, eggs and poultry. The agricultural co-operative federation "Selskosojus" participates to a greater extent in the turnover than does the "Zentrosojus".

At the present time the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union cannot purchase from or through the German co-operative organisations, as the reformist co-operative leaders decline to grant any credit, although the German organisations have considerable liquid means owing to the gradual accumulating of business shares, savings deposits, etc. The central federation has not even availed itself of the credits granted to the consumers co-operative societies by the Prussian central co-operative bank. In spite of this, the reformists will not set aside a penny for the purpose of granting credits to the co-operative societies in the Soviet Union for the importation of German goods. Moreover, the reformist co-operative leaders have not yet complied with the demand of the opposition that a special company should be founded to organise the development of mutual commercial relations.

The revolutionary co-operators are desirous that the commercial relations of the co-operative societies of the capitalist countries with the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union should be greatly extended.

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