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What Next?

PROLETARIAN PARTY
LOCAL NEW YORK CITY
307 E. 14th ST.

May-Day and Its Presumable Consequences.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

The fact are known to all: 28 dead and 150 more or less seriously injured men, women, and children of the Berlin working class — such are the victims of the police attack of the Social Democrat Zörgiebel. The last resources of the "Freest Republic on Earth", truncheons and police revolvers, have triumphed magnificently. An examination of the casualties showed that they were all victims of the arms of the police, including the only policeman wounded by a shot. The police proceeded as if they had been in the country of an enemy. The indignation at their cruelty is universal. Even the docile Democratic press refuses to be identified with such proceedings. Only the Social Democrats, led by Stampier's "Vorwärts", defend every action of Zörgiebel's. The reactionaries are content with the Social Democratic "preservers of the peace", merely regretting that the sanguinary first of May was limited to Berlin.

Zörgiebel is known to have "proceeded throughout in collusion with the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the General German Trade-Union Federation". To quote his own words, he "was in constant touch with the leading comrades". Nay, there is an unrefuted rumour to the effect that the reformist trade-union leaders had insisted on a prohibition of the May-day demonstration. This is also in accordance with the accusation of the bourgeois press that the S. P. of Germany, frightened at the Communist successes at the factory council elections, organised the massacre for reasons of rivalry with the C. P. of Germany. Be this as it may, in the Prussian Diet Grzesinski approved all the measures of the police, the Social Democratic chairman of this assembly forcibly ejecting a dozen Communist deputies from the session-hall on account of their protests.

With a view to clear himself and his police of the unfavourable impression aroused by the shooting and truncheoning of defenceless people, among them several foreign and native journalists, Zörgiebel convoked a conference of representatives of the foreign press. To the question, how it was that no policeman had been killed or wounded by "shots fired from the windows", he replied that this fact was merely owing to the agility of his men. He thereupon "disclosed" that Manuilski had been sent from Moscow to Berlin for the purpose of organising the rising. The Social Democrat with the traditional police brain hoped by this impudent assertion to gain the understanding and approbation of the foreign journalists for the violence he had meted out to many non-Communists. Severing made an equally stupid mistake in attempting to evict the correspondent of the "Pravda" for his report on the May-day occurrences. Praise of a sort, it is true, was not withheld from the leaders of the S. P. G. abroad. The "Temps" remarked that the German Social Democrats had acted "with the brutality which is characteristic of the German nature".

This kind of praise, however, is not suited to gaining German friends abroad. This was recognised by Stresemann, who therefore asked Severing to refrain from interfering in foreign affairs.

The May massacre was immediately followed by the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters League. Thus a long-standing intention of the S. P. G. leaders was realised. Years ago Severing boasted that he would prohibit the said league, and Grzesinski now seized the opportunity to get rid of it. On this occasion, too, Severing attempted to procure a backing in the "hostile foreign countries". The Red Front Fighters League was forbidden on the grounds that some of its members had taken part in plain clothes in the May demonstrations of the C. P. G. and that, as a military organisation, it had infringed the enactments of the Versailles Treaty. Again it was the "Temps" for whose praise Severing was fishing; the reply he received, however, was that naturally such military organisation as the Hitler Guard, the Steel Helmet, the "Jungdo", and the rolling commandos of the Reichswehr did not infringe on the Peace Treaty at all.

The offensive carried on by the Social Democratic Ministers for the trial of the "Communist May-day criminals" has not met with the desired effect, "unfortunately", as all men of the Severing stamp will be sure to think. The Communists had in most instances to be acquitted for lack of evidence. This was certainly not the doing of judges who sympathised with the accused, as in 1919 the public prosecutor Jorns did with the Social Democratic Ministers Wolfgang Heine and Landsberg in the trial of the murderers of Liebknecht.

To judge by the jubilation of Künstler, chairman of the Berlin Social Democratic Party, who accused the Government of slackness in its treatment of the Communists when speaking at Cologne and Hamburg, one would think the S. P. G. had won a regular Tannenberg victory over the C. P. G. The latter, it would appear, are absolutely floored. This is how the renegades of the Brandler group also argue. These precious "Communists" and "revolutionaries" really covered themselves with glory before and after the first of May. They furnished the Social Democratic and bourgeois butchers with arguments for their justification of the arbitrary police measures. In issue No. 21 of the publication "Gegen den Strom", Paul Frölich announces that the C. P. G. and the Comintern have the intention of preparing a fresh "putsch" for August 1st. This method is not new.

In the bourgeois press the occurrences of the sanguinary May-day are dealt with far more seriously. There their underlying reasons are disclosed and their probable consequences quite openly discussed. Naturally not with the intention of defending the C. P. G. against the Social Democratic lies or against Social Democratic violence. In bourgeois society they might lead to a feeling of security which would prove dangerous when the rapidly increasing political and economic difficulties cause the class differences to come to a head. The first organ to raise its voice in this connection was the "Frankfurter Zeitung", which drew attention to the fact that

"radical propaganda would entail certain consequences, at a time in which it was not possible to promise the working class any great wage-increases or other material advantages".

The paper reproaches the Social Democrats for their off-hand manner of treating the workers and tells them

"they have better means of calming the masses than the Parties of the Right if only they could see their way to proceeding on somewhat less restricted lines".

This lack of understanding on the part of the Social Democrats is likewise criticised by "Der Deutsche", the organ of the Christian trade unions. In discussing the "heroic deeds" of Zörgiebel's police, this paper finally remarks:

"After all, the proletariat has conquered the street and will never allow itself to be deprived of the right to demonstrate."

The defence of this right, meanwhile is described by the "Left" Social Democrat Kurt Rosenfeld in the following words:

"The Communists were criminal enough to drive innocent people against the carabines and truncheons of the police."

Similarly, the "Communist" Paul Frölich speaks of "the unscrupulous preparation of fresh putsches".

While the "Frankfurter Zeitung" follows up its criticism with no tangible suggestions, the press of the heavy industries, is far less reserved. The "Bergwerks-Zeitung" publishes a very gray forecast of the economic and political future. The following measures are required in the interest of avoiding a catastrophe: Adoption of another system of authority (Fascism?) in view of the bankruptcy of Parliamentaryism; establishment of working conditions for long periods; intensification of work without any increase in wages and its extension by two hours extra daily. For the realisation of these demands, the "Bergwerks-Zeitung" considers the leaders of the S. P. G. to be suitable allies,

"with far more comprehension of the situation than even the Christian trade unions".

The latter are accused of unscrupulous demagoguery and incitement to strike, by which only the Communists can profit. According to the "Bergwerks-Zeitung", Wissell is far better than Brauns, and Severing than von Keudell. The demagogic twaddle of the "Left" S. P. G. is not taken seriously here. In this attitude the bourgeoisie were even encouraged in the Reichstag by Hermann Müller, who declared that formerly there were broad classes that did homage to this fossilised Marxism of the "Left". The Magdeburg Party Congress would show by its resolution just how the S. P. G. stood. After Zörgiebel's sanguinary May-day and the miserable attitude of the "Left", no such proofs are wanted. In the meantime Herr Wissell has again abandoned the miners and railwaymen to two years of unrestricted exploitation.

But what are the problem facing the German bourgeoisie, the S. P. G. and the working class? We shall briefly enumerate them here. The complications at the Paris Reparations Conference furnish a good illustration. From this position the bourgeoisie sought to issue by means of an offensive against the working class and by participation in a war against the Soviet Union, for which it is now preparing. Growing competition, the payment of debts, and armaments are all things that cost much money. This can only be drawn from the marrow of the workers.

For this operation the S. P. G. is indispensable. Hilferding's budget therefore provides for new duties and taxes on mass-consumption and economy in social expenditure, while Wissell's draft of the workers' protection laws envisages the ten-hour day. Unemployment relief is to be restricted and emergency relief abolished. Wissell's apparatus of arbitration must avoid strikes and bind the working masses by long-termed contracts. It is up to the trade-union leaders to get the workers to work more, to work cheaper, and to work for two extra hours daily. Any workers rebelling at such a "march into Socialism" will be dismissed from the unions.

Severing, Grzesinski, and Zörgiebel must continue to drive the workers from the streets and to maintain the peace. The prohibition of the Red Front Fighters League and the sanguinary May-day were merely the beginnings. If the Social Democrats are to remain in the Government, they had to promise the Zentrum the concordat and buy the consent of the Volkspartei to this reactionary step by concessions of a social nature, while at the same time abandoning all resistance to expenditure for armaments.

In spite of all these sacrifices at the cost of the workers, the bourgeoisie are not content with the result. Therefore there is a deficit of two thousand millions in the Treasury. The

employers call categorically for thrift. Saving means getting more out of the workers and giving them less for it. To save the bourgeois apparatus from financial ruin, Hilferding submitted the plan of a loan of 500 millions, which even the spokesmen of the German National Party considered unparalleled in history in its callous deprivation of the poor for the enrichment of the very richest.

The Social Democrats are not only ready to commit this act of piracy; they are even willing to pay the rich for being allowed to do it. On the day on which the loan was passed, the "Bergwerks-Zeitung" declared it to be "the duty of every patriotic German not to subscribe to it". Hilferding, it said, should raise the money by paring the expenses of the social budget. Meanwhile the "Börsen-Zeitung", the organ of the Berlin financial capitalists, declares (on May 24th) that "the Government is snubbing the subscribers to the loan" by making no suggestion as to the restriction of the social budget. This, too, the Social Democrats are willing to do for the sake of retaining their position of authority in the Government.

Such are the prospects after the Social Democratic victory of May 1st. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" is therefore right in its fear of the "social bogey". The bourgeoisie knows that in such a situation the workers would not run away from the Communists, as the Brandlerites proclaimed at all street-corners. The masses are urged towards the C. P. G. by their present position. Therefore both the "German" and the Hugenberg press call for a prohibition of the C. P. G. Severing, the "Dictator of the Coalition with Paragraph 48", is willing to pay this price too for his seat in the Ministry.

Nevertheless, most of the big S. P. G. bugs are bound to lose their well-paid positions in the Government and the municipalities. When they have served their turn they can go. The sleek bourgeoisie has plenty of candidates in its own ranks for well-paid positions and more intelligent people than the "comrades" that have risen to such positions of dignity. But even if the great majority of the professional hoodwinkers of the working class are ousted by their bourgeois colleagues in the Coalition, the Social Democratic Party will remain what it is, the corruptible strumpet of the bourgeoisie.

Under circumstances such as these, the greatest tasks arise for the revolutionary workers. They must recognise the full complication of the position, so as to prepare themselves for the solution of the tasks before them; they must train the entire working masses for the inevitable fight and lead them to victory. There must be no defeatism about the masses. The situation resulting from the events of May-day may be summed up as follows in the words of Marx:

"Proletarian revolutions constantly criticise themselves, interrupt themselves continually in their progress, return to what has apparently been fulfilled so as to commence it afresh, unscrupulously ridicule the incompleteness, weakness, and pitiableness of their first attempts, seem to overcome their opponents only so that they may derive new strength from the earth and confront them again more formidably than ever, and again and again recoil from the vague enormity of their own purpose, until at length the situation is attained from which there is no possibility of turning back and which cries out to them: 'Hic Rhodus, hic salta!'"

From the sanguinary May-day of 1929 the same harvest will spring as once from the massacre on the banks of the Lena in 1912: the victorious Communist revolution.

* * *

Supplement.

After my article had been published in the German edition of the "Inprecorr" I read the article of Comrade R. L. Worrall (London) in No. 26. of the English edition entitled "The Significance of the May Day Events in Berlin". The contents of this article have caused me to write these supplementary words to my own article. A person not sufficiently acquainted with German conditions might assume from Comrade Worrall's article that such a revolutionary situation already exists in Germany that all that is necessary is a certain pressure of the British and American workers upon their respective governments in order to produce a situation in which a successful armed insurrection of the proletariat might be carried out in Germany. In order to support his contentions, Comrade Worrall describes the difficulties of the German bourgeoisie which make

for the speedy development of an acute revolutionary situation, and gives a "quotation" from Lenin, to document his argument.

By the way it must be pointed out that in none of its documents has the German Party spoken of any so immediate acute revolutionary situation. On the contrary, the German Party has pointed out again and again that there is no situation at present for an armed insurrection and that the characteristic signs of such a situation are missing. What the German Party does say is that there is a tendency making for the speedy arrival of a revolutionary situation, and this is correct.

And now with regard to the Lenin "quotation". Comrade Worrall "quotes" the famous passage from Lenin concerning the acute revolutionary situation and uses a shoehorn to force the present situation in Germany into the limits of this quotation. Unfortunately Comrade Worrall does not quote Lenin, he censors him, for he presents Lenin's opinion concerning the acute revolutionary situation as follows:

1. "The impossibility of the ruling classes to preserve their domination without a change of form... political crisis of the ruling class.
2. "The more than usual increase of the needs and misery of the exploited classes.
3. "The marked growth of the activity of the masses... independent historical action."

What Lenin actually does write in his "Left-wing Communism" is to be read in Chapter 9 on "Left-Wing Communism in England" as follows:

"The fundamental law of revolution, confirmed in practice by all revolutions and in particular by the three Russian revolutions of the twentieth century, consists in the following: for revolution it is not sufficient that the exploited and enslaved masses realise the impossibility of living on in the old fashion and demand a change; for revolution it is necessary that the exploiters are unable to live and rule in the old fashion. Only when the 'Understrata' are unwilling to continue living in the old fashion, and the 'Upperstrata' are unable to continue living in the old fashion, can the revolution be victorious. This truth can be also expressed as follows: revolution is impossible without a general national crisis (a crisis affecting both the exploiters and the exploited).

In consequence the revolution requires, first of all, that the majority of the workers (or in any case the majority of the conscious, thinking and politically active workers) have completely realised the necessity for a change and are prepared to risk death in order to bring about that change; secondly, that even the ruling classes experience a governmental crisis which draws the most backward masses into the sphere of politics (a characteristic of every real revolution is the tenfold, even the hundredfold increase of the representatives of the toiling and exploited masses, who up to then were apathetic, capable of taking part in the political struggle), weakens the government and facilitates its overthrow by the revolutionaries."

Here we see something fundamentally different from Comrade Worrall's quotation from Lenin. If this quotation from Lenin, which characterises the essence of a revolutionary situation in which the proletariat can carry out an armed insurrection, is taken as a basis much more is demanded than is actually present in Germany at the moment. The German proletariat is still on the way to such a situation, and many severe struggles (including defeats) will be necessary before it has learned to guarantee on its part the necessary conditions for the final struggle with the bourgeoisie. With regard to the situation of the German bourgeoisie, it must be said that its leading section feels itself still very secure, despite the difficulties of the reparations negotiations. With regard to Comrade Worrall's conclusions:

"But a political crisis is being held off by means of the help afforded by the bourgeoisie of other imperialist nations. England and America are giving such support to the German ruling class that the latter is able to suppress the workers under the old bourgeois democratic method of government",

that is conditionally correct, but by no means to the degree represented by Comrade Worrall and not in the sense that if this assistance were suddenly withdrawn owing to action on the part of the British and American workers, then the

immediate result would be the creation of an objective situation in Germany for an insurrection. It is clear of course that it is the duty of the proletariat of all countries to make their governments the greatest possible difficulties in order to assist the revolution, but when the problem is presented as Comrade Worrall presents it, then this does not serve to clarify the situation, but to awaken illusions which can only result in

disappointments. What must the working masses say about a Party leadership which is not able in a situation such as the one described by Comrade Worrall, to speeden up the revolutionary maturity of the situation in order to make the armed insurrection possible?
insurrection possible?

Fritz Heckert.

The Result of the British General Election.

By R. Palme Dutt.

By the outcome of the British General Election the Labour Party emerges as the strongest single party of British Capitalism. No longer the traditional Conservative or Liberal Parties, but the Labour Party is now the principal representative and responsible party of British Imperialism at the present stage. The fact that the British bourgeoisie has thus now to lean on the Labour Party as its principal prop to maintain it, as its final bulwark of defence against the rising working class tide, is a measure of the decline and instability of Capitalism in Britain, and in turn a factor towards further instability.

The mass movement against the Baldwin Government and policy of reaction, which resulted in the very large turnover of votes against them, has found its immediate expression in the Labour Party as the apparent alternative. But by the logic of events the movement will not be able to stay at this point. For the mass of working class voters in the industrial areas and mining centres, who constitute the backbone of the Labour Party's victory, voting against their immediate visible enemies of the open capitalist parties, and proceeding in many cases in great bodies straight from the factories to the polling booth, the election was an act of class war, a direct assault on wealth and the hated ruling class. For the Labour Party chiefs who have gone to Parliament to "represent" them, the situation is very different; for them the policy is class peace and class co-operation, the defence and maintenance of the capitalist state and imperialism.

From this arises a contradiction which will inevitably work itself out, and eat away the present temporary Labour Party supremacy as surely as the old Liberal supremacy, and all the more rapidly because the present situation of capitalism no longer allows of peace and easy concessions to the workers, but drives to intensified class struggle. We may well hail the industrial armies which have with such overwhelming solitariness voted Labour at the present election; for they represent in the mass the future armies of Bolshevism. The alarm of the bourgeoisie at the results is not alarm at the Labour Party, which they do not fear, but at the mass movement revealed.

The Labour Party is now carried a stage further along its destined path. It is forced ever more to a responsible dominant position, to the positive demonstration of its policy, and to the probable formation of some form of government with capitalist support and in open union with capitalism. As its policy and practice becomes ever more clearly revealed as the policy of Baldwin in a new dress, the resultant wave of revolt in the working class will be even more wide and far-reaching than that following 1924. The Labour Party has still to win its absolute majority to complete exposure; on the basis of this appeal for power it may still advance a stage further at a future election; but it is nearing the end of its tether.

The Communist Party in its first fight has won 50,000 votes. Twenty nine years ago the Labour Party in its first fight won 62,000 votes. The rise and fall of parties in the present epoch is a rapid one, as the fate of the Liberal Party has shown. The idle commentators, capitalist and Labour alike, who are united in laughing at the smallness of the Communist vote, only betray their blindness to the real forces of the situation. The present action of the Communist Party was an advance-guard action, which has correctly laid the foundations of the position that will rapidly develop as the Labour Party is brought ever more fully into the exposure of power.

It should be remembered that the Communist vote, owing to the undemocratic electoral system, is based on only 25 constituencies or 4% of the total. If we were to treat this sample as typical and extend it to the whole country, it would represent a total of 1,200,000 votes; allowance, however, must be made

for the constituencies fought being more favourable than the average constituency; if we estimate them as some two to three times more favourable than the average (an over-estimate) the resultant national strength of Communism in Britain revealed may be placed at half a million, and this is probably not far wrong from what a national ballot would show.

The question now dominating the political situation is the question of the new Government to be formed. The Liberals, although defeated in their attempt to secure any important increase in representation, have achieved their main strategic aim of obtaining the balancing position. In consequence, a parliamentary situation of a balance of parties obtains, corresponding to the parliamentary situation in most European countries, and involving in the same way the two important consequences: 1) the necessity of coalition; 2) increasing instability of parliamentarism.

If an immediate new general election is not held, a coalition government is inevitable (whether openly as coalition, or in the form of a minority government with outside support), and the only question is: What Coalition? Four alternatives are possible:

1) A **Conservative Minority Government**. This will undoubtedly be first attempted by Baldwin on the meeting of Parliament; but its continuance will depend on the support of the Liberals, which is unlikely to be given. The reconstructed Baldwin Government may be expected to fall at once.

2) A **Conservative-Liberal Coalition**. This is theoretically possible; the Liberals have made clear that they are open to bargains on either side; and it is directly advocated by the "Daily Mail" and other organs. It is, however, less likely at the present stage; first, because the Conservatives hope, after a short period of discrediting of the Labour Party as in 1924, to regain their independent majority, and are hostile to any arrangement with Lloyd George; and second, because, even if formed, its majority would be so slight (about 20) as to be precarious.

3) A **Liberal-Labour Coalition**. This is the evident aim to which the Liberal Party, as well as important Labour elements, are working; and it is a likely development at a future stage. But at the present stage, immediately after the election, it is unlikely that the Labour Party, with its increased strength and hopes an independent majority, will be ready to throw away its positions by the discrediting of an open coalition with the Liberal Party. The more likely first form is that of

4) a **Labour Minority Government** with some measure of Liberal support on an agreed programme. The Liberal Party has pledged itself against a repetition of 1924; but these pledges refer to the supporting of a Labour Minority Government without securing guarantees as to programme beforehand. The Liberal Party may well be prepared to support for a period a Labour Minority Government in return for a certain measure of control of programme, and possibly, in particular, electoral reform, such as would enable it to secure representation in proportion to its voting strength. A Labour Minority Government in office on such a basis would be still more completely under a leash to capitalism than in 1924.

The Labour Party openly aims at such a Minority Government maintained in office by capitalist support. The "Daily Herald" on the morrow of the election declares:

"Mr. Baldwin's duty is plain. As some penance for the sufferings he and his colleagues have inflicted upon their fellow countrymen he now has it in his power to perform one signal service, and that is to resign in order that the chosen leader of the people, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, may

meet the House of Commons to take up the work which a capitalist intrigue brought to a temporary end in 1924."

("Daily Herald", 1. June 1929.)

"To take up the work of 1924." That is the motto of the Labour Party at the present stage. To take up, that is to say, the work represented by the Dawes Report, the work of repression in India and Egypt, of increased armaments and war preparations, and of the suppressions of strikes at home. This work the Labour Party now consciously enters upon, as the reward to the workers for their overwhelming vote against Baldwin. Not without reason the City Editor of the arch-reactionary "Morning Post", reporting on the effects of the election and the prospects of a Labour Government in relation to the City and the Stock Exchange, could declare: "No Signs of Panic".

But the repetition of 1924 will take place in a situation a whole stage further advanced than in 1924. The Labour Government will be faced with far heavier tasks of war preparation, imperialist repression in India and the colonies, and capitalist rationalisation at home. The working class has advanced to a new stage. The consequences of 1924 led to Red Friday and the General Strike. The consequences of a Labour Government will extend yet further. The revolutionary nucleus in the working class is now formed and mobilised on the basis of the independent fight. The Communist Party stands clearly before all as the sole alternative leadership to the Labour Party and the reactionary trade union chiefs. The situation that is now opening is a very favourable situation for rapid political development and for revolutionary advance within the working class.

1. June 1929.

POLITICS

The Parliamentary Elections in Belgium.

By J. Jacquemotte (Brussels).

The Belgian Parliamentary elections (for both Chambers) which took place on Sunday, May 26th, had the following outcome as regards the Chamber of Deputies:

The **Catholic Party** increased its votes from 774,739 at the last Chamber, is by no means wholly satisfying to these par-greater participation in the election it was only able to retain 76 of the 78 seats it had occupied. The **Liberal Party**, which had collaborated with the Catholics in the late Government Coalition, was able to raise its total number of votes from 304,750 to 368,980 and the number of its mandates from 23 to 28. The **Social Democratic Belgian Labour Party** secured 807,517 votes in place of 820,693, the number of seats occupied receding from 78 to 70. The **Flemish Front Party** advanced from 83,008 votes to 129,042 and from 6 seats to 12.

The **Communist Party** which was expected to "break of its votes from 34,145 to 43,355, but in view of the injustice of the electoral system in relation to the small parties and of the separationist policy of the **Trotskyites**, who put up lists in five constituencies, one of the two Communist mandates held since 1925 was forfeited. Comrade **Jacquemotte** was re-elected in **Brussels**, while the **Liège** mandate, represented since 1925 by **Van Overstraeten**, who subsequently went over to the Trotsky faction, was lost owing to the split in votes.

The elections of 1929 constitute an undeniable victory on the part of the Clericals and Liberals, a victory rendered possible and prepared by the policy of the Social Democrats. Many thousands of electors, who had voted for the latter in 1925 in the hope that they would wage a fight in defence of the interests of the masses, saw themselves disappointed and flocked back to the bourgeois parties.

But the victory of the Clericals and Liberals, who now occupy 104 out of the total of 187 seats, as against 101 in the last Chamber, is by no means wholly satisfying to these parties, as the capitalist press is obliged to admit.

The **Communist Party**, which was expected to "break down", has on the contrary achieved increased results throughout the country. It put up lists in 21 of the 30 constituencies. In nine constituencies, in which it figured for the first time,

it netted 6,000 votes, while in ten of the twelve constituencies in which it had run in 1925 it increased its votes by 7,000. On the other hand, there was a loss of 4,000 votes to the Communists in the **Charleroi** and **Liège** constituencies, where the **Trotskyites** secured 4,500 of their 7,000 votes. In spite of the split, the Communist Party managed to increase its total number of votes by 24 per cent., while the number of recorded votes rose by less than 10 per cent. The progress of the Communist Party was in districts which were formerly dominated entirely by the Social Democrats, in particular the important mining area of **Borinage**, where the votes for Communism were more than doubled in spite of the terrorism exercised by the Social Democrats. In the **Ghent** constituency the Communists trebled their votes, while at **Antwerp**, **Namur**, and other places they were more than doubled.

It must certainly be admitted that the action of the **Trotskyites**, who placed themselves at the head of the crusade of the bourgeois and Social Democrats against Communism, against the Communist International, and against the Russian revolution, seriously hindered the rally of the working masses round the banner of the Communist Party. Attacked on all sides with unprecedented ferocity, the Communist Party was, nevertheless, able to withstand the united onslaught of all the anti-Communist forces. In **Brussels**, where the Social Democrats lost more than 8,000 votes and two seats, the Trotskyites had difficulty in attaining 500 votes, whereas our Party gained more than 100 votes and was able to maintain its fiercely contested mandate. It is with reluctance that the oppositional press admits that the Party has increased its total of votes by more than 9,000.

The **Flemish nationalist movement** has recorded a great victory. It has increased its total of votes by more than 50 per cent. and doubled the number of seats occupied. The Flemish problem facing the Belgian State is thus highly acute.

Finally, in the territories of **Eupen** and **Malmedy**, which were annexed after the war, the **Autonomist** candidate alone secured more votes than the Clericals, Liberals, and Social Democrats together.

These are undoubtedly factors liable to overshadow the victory of the Clericals and Liberals. Nor is their victory any too certain. It is merely a preliminary to an enforced reactionary policy against the working masses. The capitalist press is already publishing articles on the "difficulties confronting economy" if it desires to hold its own in the direction of international capitalist competition. Reference is already being made to the "vital necessity" of reducing the costs of production by a more energetic adoption of capitalist rationalisation, i. e. a reduction of the "inordinately high wages".

The political coalition of the **Clericals** and **Liberals** has issued from the election stronger than before. The **Social Democrats**, whose Social-Fascist character is more and more apparent, will be the firmest prop of the bourgeoisie in the coming fight of the capitalists against the living-conditions of the workers. They will do their utmost to ensure "industrial peace", so that bourgeois economy may be preserved from all obstacles which might arise from a resistance of the masses to capitalist exploitation, and will not deny the Belgian bourgeoisie their help in its preparations for the next bourgeois war.

The tasks of the **Communist Party of Belgium** are growing in extent and significance. Therefore energy and perseverance must be employed throughout the Party in the realisation of the resolutions of the IVth Party Congress of the C.P.B., which lie in the direction of a transfer of activity to the works, close intercourse with the masses, recruitment of members, and development of the press.

The elections for the provincial representation, which are to take place on June 9th and for which the Party has put up lists in 43 constituencies, should enable the C.P.B. to confirm and develop the successes achieved on May 26th. The preparation of the **International Red Day** against imperialist wars must also be given full prominence. The endeavours of the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats, to bring about the "break-down" of the Communist Party, must find their reply in a consolidation of the Party and in enhanced activity in the continuation of the revolutionary fight.

The Fight for the Amnesty in Italy.

By S.

In his speech held on March 10th, the eve of the "parliamentary elections", Mussolini declared:

"The Special Law Court for the Defence of the State has been created in addition to the ordinary courts in order to suppress any unusually criminal activity against the regime. Contrary to the fables constantly spread by international anti-Fascism, this Law Court has been strict but just. This is proved by the following authentic figures: Of 5046 accused, more than 4000 were acquitted; of the others, 275 were sentenced to imprisonment for less than 10 years, only one to capital punishment, and 230 were set at liberty in the course of one year... For the rest, the regime is disposed not to prolong the Defence of the State Law when it lapses. It is also prepared to shorten the period of the law's validity, provided anti-Fascism resigns itself to the irrevocable accomplished facts."

It is hardly necessary to point out why in 1926 Fascism had to approve the Emergency Laws and create the Special Law Court after having declared in the Florence Program of the year 1921 that "all special courts must be abolished". Fascism could not have existed any longer without resorting to this measure. In view of this, what value can be set upon Mussolini's "pacifist proposals" of March 10th?

As regards the "authentic figures", which Mussolini brings forward as proof of the justice of the law court, the 4000 prisoners who were, according to him, dismissed, were mostly workers or peasants from all parts of Italy, who were arbitrarily arrested on account of their dislike for the regime, and liberated again only after they had been arbitrarily detained in prison for a whole year. These arbitrary arrests will always take place whenever in a factory or in a country district signs of the activity of proletarian organisations are noticed. According to Mussolini's own words, at least 1046 have been condemned by the Fascist Special Law Court.

Of these 1046, as Mussolini states, 275 were condemned to less than ten years imprisonment and only one to death. It is, however, certain that the number of those condemned to death (not to mention the thousands of proletarians who have been murdered during the ten years of Fascism) is greatly in excess of Mussolini's "one". The example of this one, of the heroic **Michele della Maggiore**, proved to Mussolini that such executions arouse still more hatred and recalcitrance.

As Mussolini himself admits, 777 prisoners have been condemned within the last two years by the Special Law Court to sentences in excess of ten years imprisonment. But the greater part of the prisoners, such as **Terracini**, **Sola**, **Gramsci**, **Scoccimarro**, and any others have been condemned to sentences of twenty to thirty years. Fascism intends to exterminate the revolutionary vanguard of the workers. Through the medium of the Special Law Court, jail is devised to do away with the flower of the revolutionary vanguard.

From the subterranean prisons of **Santo Stefano** and **Portolongone**, from the dark cells of **Volterra**, **Montelupo**, **San Gimignano**, **Fossombrone**, **Saluzzo** and **Oneglia**, from the malaria-stricken jails of **Alghero** and **Sassari**, from the sun-roasted prisons of **Palermo** and **Turi** comes the constant cry: The lives of our best comrades are being day by day destroyed.

Gramsci, **Scoccimarro**, **Picelli**, **Azzario**, **Roveda**, **Sanna**, **Tettamanti**, **Anita Pusterla**, **Parodi**, **Carretto**, **Fleccchia**, **Leoni**, **Betti**, **Tarozzi**, **Ravagnan**, **Franceschini** and hundreds of others are ill. But two cases, in particular, prove how silently but infallibly the system of imprisonment operates in disposing of the condemned: the case of **Umberto Terracini**, who was put into the prison hospital in **Florence** because of his serious and disquieting condition, and the case of the young worker **Guido Sola** of **Biella**, who was utterly debilitated after only eighteen months of the twenty four years to which he was sentenced. **Guido Sola** was transferred from **Santo Stefano** to **Pianosa**, the consumption prison, to which prisoners are sent to die.

The international proletariat must render actual help in the fight which the toilers of Italy are carrying on the release of the prisoners. This common fight must result in an amnesty.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Poland's Aspirations to Maritime Importance.

By Nemo.

It was at all times a characteristic desire of the Polish chauvinists, that Poland's frontiers might one day be extended to the sea, so that the white eagle of Poland might flutter from the masts of mercantile or war ships. It may be said that Poland's urge towards the sea is just as old as the Polish desire for independence. The 146 kilometres of coastline allocated to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles fail, however, to satisfy the Polish bourgeoisie, who aspire to the ideal of a Greater Poland, stretching "from sea to sea", i. e. from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This, then, is the main thought underlying Pilsudski's plans with regard to **Ukrainia**, the idea of a "march on Kiev" being intended to carry the borders of Poland as far as **Odessa**.

The dreams of the Polish bourgeoisie were partially fulfilled when, after the October revolution, the question arose in capitalist Europe of erecting a buffer-state against the "Bolshevik danger". The Versailles Treaty redeemed the promise of Wilson and gave Poland "free and unhindered access to the sea" in the form of the Free City of **Danzig**. Over and above this, however, East Prussia was separated from the German Reich by the insertion of the so-called corridor, by which means Poland acquired a coastline of its own.

Although the narrow strip of Polish seacoast could but play an insignificant rôle in connection with a possible attack on the far-reaching land-frontier of the country, Poland adopted extensive measures for the defence of its new coast and for the creation of a powerful strategic naval base on the Baltic. In this connection Poland is induced by two considerations to pay increased attention to the military security of its coast. The antagonism between Poland and Germany in the West and the antagonism between Poland and the Soviet Union in the East are the two serious factors which disturb the peace of mind of the Polish bourgeoisie.

Germany has not yet recognised the Polish corridor nor the separation of **Danzig** from the Reich and has steadfastly refused to sign an "Eastern Locarno". The entire German bourgeoisie and their satellite Social Democracy are merely waiting for a suitable opportunity to effect a "reasonable frontier-regulation in the sense of the status quo", i. e. to oust Poland once more from its position on the Baltic. We need but cast a glance at the memorandum of **Groener** to recognise that the armoured cruisers of the German Social Democrats are intended to play the chief rôle in the "frontier-regulation" in question. There can be no doubt but that the up-to-date German armoured cruisers would not only be in a position to safeguard the Reich's connection with East Prussia but could also occupy the harbour of **Danzig** and completely destroy the Polish naval basis at **Gdynia**. For this reason the indignation of the Poles at **Groener's** memorandum was particularly great and could easily be exploited for the substantiation of further war-preparations.

Even greater, however, than the difference between Poland and Germany is that between Poland and the Soviet Union, which forms part of the general animosity cherished for the Soviet Union by the whole capitalist world. As early as August 1920, when the Red Army appeared before the gates of **Warsaw**, it became apparent that without the aid of France by way of **Danzig** Poland would surely have been lost. This experience was a lesson to the Western Powers, and to-day it is not only France but perhaps yet more Great Britain that is vitally interested in the creation of a strong war-basis on the Baltic. The Franco-Polish military alliance and the Anglo-French naval agreement guarantee a uniform action in the Baltic against the Soviet Union. That Germany, meanwhile, would likewise be willing to place its armoured cruisers at the disposal of a League-of-Nations executive against the Soviet Union, was openly declared in the Reichstag by none other than **Groener** himself.

Strong as Poland is as a military Power, it is weak in regard to its navy. At the close of 1927 the Polish fleet consisted of one cruiser, 15 gunboats, seven torpedo-boats, and three sub-marines, besides which there was also a small river-flotilla

consisting of several motor-boats and four monitors and mainly intended for the fight in the East (on rivers, in swamps, etc.). A naval programme of the year 1924 provided for the further construction of two cruisers, six destroyers, 12 torpedo-boats, and 12 sub-marines.

Small as the Polish fleet may appear at present, the efforts made in the direction of its enlargement should not be underestimated. For the defence of the narrow strip of coast belonging to Poland it is fully sufficient, or will be so when the vessels now under construction are completed. The Polish warships are all fairly new and most of them were constructed in French shipyards. Similarly, the leading members of their crews have been sent to France to be trained. At present, two 1500-ton torpedo-destroyers and two 900-ton sub-marines are under construction in the naval dockyard of Blainville to Polish orders. Two further super-submarines of 125 tons each are being built in the Loire shipyard at Nantes. In combination with the units already in existence, these may constitute a quite respectable fleet in a few years' time, while the absence of any units suitable for use on the high seas is completely compensated for by the alliance with the French and British fleets.

For the protection of the Polish coast and the safeguarding of the transports of troops and ammunition, the Polish fleet should certainly be sufficiently strong in a few years' time, though the absence of all tradition is to be looked upon as a drawback. For this reason Poland attaches particular importance to the development of its only naval harbour at Gdynia, which has already cost more than 50 million zlotys. The uninterrupted development of a powerful military and naval base in the gulf of Danzig points to the fact that the tasks of the Polish fleet will in the first place be limited to the defence of the coast, so that transports of troops and ammunition can be safely effected via Gdynia and Danzig. The open fight against the Red Fleet would in any case be left to the Franco-British naval forces in connection with the armoured cruisers of the Hermann Müller Government.

THE BALKANS

A General Strike of Tobacco-Workers in Bulgaria.

By G. Dimitrov.

There is a general strike of the tobacco-workers in progress in Bulgaria. This strike, which started on May 17th at Haskovo, one of the main centres of the tobacco industry, quickly spread over all the country. 26,000 workers, male and female, are striking for higher wages and as a demonstration against the arbitrary Fascist regime.

This struggle, which is a gigantic one for Bulgarian conditions, is the first general strike there has been in Bulgarian industry since 1923 and is of greatest significance for the entire labour movement and especially for the fight against Fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Bulgarian working class has managed to recover from the serious defeats and sanguinary Fascist programs and massacres of the 1923—25 period. It has rallied its forces, practically overcome opportunist and capitulatory tendencies and fluctuations in its ranks, and terminated its temporary retreat. It has entered into an actively defensive fight against the bestial terrorism of the Fascists and has started a counter-offensive against the offensive of the capitalist rationalisation, and Fascist dictatorship, to which end it is arming itself ideologically, politically, and organisationally.

During the last two years, the Bulgarian workers' and peasants' movement has followed a constantly upward curve. After the great mass-campaign for political amnesty, the recruitment of broad masses for the fight against Fascist dictatorship, the students' demonstrations, the revolutionary demonstrations on May-day, and the commencement of strikes in a number of smaller enterprises, the general strike of the tobacco-workers is the most powerful expression of the revolutionary development of the working masses in Bulgaria.

As an outcome of the accentuated class-differences on the basis of a relative and temporary capitalist stabilisation and

as an expression of the growing radicalisation and mobilisation of the proletarian masses and of the commencement of a counter-offensive on the part of the proletariat, the general strike of the tobacco-workers opens up a new and highly important phase in proletarian class-warfare, in which the industrial proletariat figures in the foremost ranks and on the most decisive sections of the front. It is an undeniable sign of the approach of a new and acutely revolutionary situation.

This development of class-differences and class-struggles at the same time fully confirms the accuracy of the characterisation furnished by the VIth World Congress of the Communist International in regard to the third period of the post-war crisis of capitalism in its application to Bulgaria and constitutes a fatal blow to the opportunistic thesis of the various categories of liquidators and of their aiders and abettors, the conciliators.

The general tobacco-workers' strike is directed against the strongest and best-organised capitalist group of the Bulgarian Fascist bourgeoisie, the trusted tobacco factories and enterprises. It was the powerful tobacco interests in particular that financed and organised the Fascist coup of 1923. Zankov, Volkov, Russev, Kalfov, Liapchev, and the other "heroes" of this coup, the bloodthirsty butchers and murderers of the revolutionary workers and peasants, were paid directly by the tobacco monopoly.

Since June 9th, 1923, the tobacco trust has been the most aggressive of capitalist groups in Bulgaria. The tobacco-workers and tobacco-producers were submitted to a regime of unparalleled exploitation. All that the tobacco-workers had achieved under the lead of their revolutionary tobacco-workers' union in the course of a number of years, was destroyed. For several years the tobacco-capitalists were the unrestricted rulers of their enterprises and factories. They have profited by the Fascist dictatorship and by the sanguinary suppression of the Bulgarian proletariat for the purpose of an unrestricted exploitation both of the tobacco-workers and of the tobacco-producers, of the former by starvation-wages and prolonged working hours and of the latter by the grant of extremely low prices for the raw product. In this way the tobacco-capitalists have succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties in the way of Bulgarian tobacco on foreign markets and tremendously increased the power of their capital.

It is obvious that the struggle of the Bulgarian tobacco-workers will now encounter the united resistance, the hatred, and fury, of the Fascist dictators under the hegemony of the tobacco-capitalists, who will mobilise all possible means of coercion for the purpose of putting down the present strike. The entire bourgeoisie will actively support this sanguinary campaign, seeing that it is a question of the chief Bulgarian industry, representing half the entire exports of the country, and since it is apparent that any success on the part of tobacco-workers would mean an acceleration in the rate of development of the revolutionary mass-movements in the other industries (textiles, metallurgy, mining, timber, etc.) and a serious menace to the Fascist dictatorship. True to their counter-revolutionary rôle and nature, the Social Democrats are helping to prepare the psychological and political campaign of the Fascist dictators against the struggling workers by means of calumnious attacks on the revolutionary leaders of the tobacco-workers' strike.

The tobacco-workers, who in the past have already figured as the champions of the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria, are aware of the existing difficulties and dangers involved in their action. They are standing shoulder to shoulder behind their strike committees and the Independent Trade Unions. As the centre of the Independent Trade Unions reports, the tobacco-workers evince the greatest enthusiasm in spite of the barbarous Fascist terrorism to which they are exposed, the most active, determined, and prominent among them naturally being the Communist workers.

The Bulgarian proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry (among the latter the tobacco-producers in particular) understand that is here a question of a common cause of the working masses in their entirety. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, they therefore do their utmost to support the strikers.

Thus the economic fight of the Bulgarian tobacco-workers is assuming an important political character and great revolutionary significance. It is turning into a fight between one class and another and constitutes a serious step forward in the

fight of the entire working masses against the Fascist dictatorship.

It is difficult to foresee the outcome and ultimate consequences of this great conflict. But there can be no doubt that its revolutionary effects on the further development of the class struggle in Bulgarian will be very considerable. At the same time, it will be an incentive for the development of revolutionary actively and class war in the other Balkan states.

The Independent Union of Tobacco-Workers and the centre of the Independent Trade Unions of Bulgaria have applied to the proletariat of the Balkan peninsula and to the international proletariat for moral and material support. It is a matter of international revolutionary solidarity to answer to this appeal. Immediate and energetic support of the Bulgarian tobacco-workers, will be the best utterance of international proletarian solidarity and the right answer to the Fascist dictatorship on the eve of the sixth anniversary of the inception of its cruel and sanguinary regime in Bulgaria.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Executive Committee of the Communist International in Regard to the Murder of Comrade Dyakovich.

To all Sections of the Comintern.

Comrades, the hangmen of the Zivkovich Government have committed another bloody crime against the workmen and toilers of Yugoslavia. During an "attempt to escape" across the Austrian frontier comrades Dy. Dyakovich and Hechimovich were killed by gendarmes.

It has long been part of the system of the criminal military clique of Yugoslavia to put an end to political prisoners languishing in Yugoslavian jails by bloody and bestial methods. Immediately after the revolution, the military Fascist dictatorship, vassal of foreign imperialists, declared open war on all workmen and peasants and on the suppressed nations in Yugoslavia.

The regime of bloody persecutions, the murder without trial, the bestial slaughters in the jails have become law in Yugoslavia. This regime is driving millions of workers and their families into starvation and misery, and threatens them with a still worse lot as soon as the mean conspiracy of the imperialists against the country of worker dictatorship culminates, for the ruling Servian bourgeoisie will have the audacity to hurl its predatory army against the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who are busy building up their economic life on a socialistic basis.

Comrade Dyakovich (Friedman), one of the finest sons of the Yugoslavian proletariat, a metal-worker, was a valiant fighter in the cause of the proletarian revolution. During the imperialistic war he was condemned to death by hanging, was arrested repeatedly and spent four years in prison after 1919. His devotion to the idea of the proletarian revolution won for him tremendous popularity and respect from the workers of Yugoslavia. As an active and passionate member of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, member of the Politbureau of the C. C. of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, member of the E. C. C. I., Comrade Dyakovich worked illegally in recent years. His activity was bound to rouse the hatred of the bourgeoisie and of the Fascist dictatorship and to draw bitter persecution upon him.

Comrade Hechimovich, who was murdered along with him, was an old and trusted fighter for the party in the illegal work.

The working masses of Yugoslavia and of the other Balkan countries will see in the heroic death of the proletarian fighter Dyakovich an example of determined struggle and passionate devotion to the proletarian cause. Fearless, as was our fallen comrade, they will rally for the attack upon capitalism.

In answer to the low-down murder of Comrade Dyakovich, the workers of Yugoslavia will crowd closer than ever around the C. P. of Yugoslavia, will form a broader and stiffer organisation of resistance and begin to prepare an armed rebellion against the Fascist dictatorship.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

IN THE COLONIES

The National Parties and the Worker's Organisations of Indonesia.

By MUSSO.

The bloody suppression of the insurrection of 1926 and the ruthless persecution and banishment of the Communists, resulted in the dissolution of the revolutionary trade unions and considerably paralysed the activities of the Communists among the working class of Indonesia. Two years have passed since the end of the insurrections, and during this period many attempts have been made to reorganise the shattered apparatus of the revolutionary trade unions, but without success owing to the severity of the savage white terror practised by the Dutch imperialists.

The Dutch imperialists recognise that their victory is only of a temporary character, and therefore, in addition to strengthening their police and military forces, are trying to pacify the exploited workers by means of the social democrats, and also introducing some reforms to improve the position of the workers in general. Their efforts to pacify the workers have not, however, met with much success.

Although the ruthless repressive measures of the Dutch imperialists crushed the trade union movement for the time being, reports which have come to hand during the last year or so go to indicate that in some places the trade unions are reviving and are being organised by the existing national parties. Thus the National Party of Indonesia, led by the intellectuals, succeeded not long ago in attracting the transport workers and the metal workers under their influence.

The Sarekat-Islam, although it has not been so successful in its attempts to reorganise the workers as the National Party of Indonesia, has been able to gather a considerable number of motor drivers under its banner. In its trade union activity, however, the Sarekat-Islam pursues not only a reformist but a class collaboration policy. It is true that up to 1921 the Sarekat-Islam was the only political movement which was giving a revolutionary lead to the trade unions. (The general strike of the sugar workers in 1919 was led by the Sarekat-Islam.) But when the struggle for hegemony arose between the Communist Party and the Sarekat-Islam, the latter's influence and activities among the workers rapidly declined.

Not only the National Party of Indonesia, the Sarekat-Islam and the Social Democrats are busying themselves with reorganising the working class of Indonesia; a non-party group has succeeded in organising the unorganised workers. This group is creating independent organisations the characteristic of which is they eschew politics altogether and confine themselves strictly to the economic field.

This new organisation (Sarekat Kaum Burah Indonesia) is gaining more and more ground not only among the workers of Soerabaya, but also of those of other places. A conflict recently arose among the leaders of this organisation, and one of them attempted to bring it under the leadership of the revolutionary nationalists. This attempt was, however, frustrated and the pro-nationalist leaders were expelled from the leadership of the S. K. B. I.

The Nationalists have undertaken the organisation of the Post, Telegraph and Telephone workers; but only the better paid strata of workers have been organised and the lower grade workers have remained untouched.

It is now evident that the reorganising of the trade unions, although on a small scale, is nearly completed in every Government and capitalist undertaking. The authorities, although they are fully aware of the rapid development of some of the unions, have up to now remained inactive and not done anything to check the further growth of the unions. It may be that the Dutch imperialists are at present inclined to grant the Indonesian workers a certain amount of freedom to organise, or, on the other hand, are adopting a waiting attitude in order to see in what direction the new unions will develop.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Lockout of the Silesian Weavers.

By F. Emrich (Berlin).

The crisis of capitalism is evidenced in its full acuteness in the textile industry. The rapid tempo of rationalisation, the steadily increasing intensity of work, the rise of textile industries in countries hitherto producing but few textile articles, all this has combined to multiply greatly the possibilities of production in the textile industry. The possibilities of finding markets have however not increased correspondingly. The lack of markets causes a great part of the production apparatus to lie permanently idle. In Great Britain, for instance, an average of 28 to 35 per cent of the existing mechanical equipment has not been in use during the last few years, in Austria 10 per cent, in Belgium 8 to 10 per cent, in Czechoslovakia 20 to 25 per cent, in Italy 11 per cent, in Germany 12 per cent.

The falling off of consumption, as compared with before the war, is especially conspicuous in the cotton industry. A few weeks ago the German employers' union of the cotton industry resolved and carried out the closing down of 40 per cent of the total cotton manufacturing plant.

The low wages of the textile workers in all countries, and the attempts being made by capital to thrust all the burdens of the acuter competitive struggle upon the shoulders of the workers, these are the causes of the great textile workers struggles of the last few months. For the German trust bourgeoisie in particular the cheapening of textile goods plays an important part in the struggle for the markets. The value of German textile production rose from 4¹/₂ milliards in 1913 to 8¹/₂ milliards in 1928. Export, which was able to be increased from year to year since 1924, had risen to over 1600 million marks by 1928. Almost one fifth of Germany's total exports are textile goods. The reparation debts demand increased exports. This object is to be obtained by the reduction of real wages and the increased productivity of labour.

The locking out of the weavers of Silesia is the continuation of that systematic offensive which textile capital commenced, in 1928, by locking out 50,000 textile workers in Munich-Gladbach. The struggles in Saxony and Thuringia, and the lockout in the Lausitz, are to be followed by a dictation of wage conditions to the Silesian textile workers for the next two or two and a half years. The tactics of the reformist and Christian trade union leaders have encouraged the textile magnates to advance further and further. The "protection fund" which they have collected already amounts to many millions of marks. Backed up by these fighting funds, and by the hope of the intervention of the arbitrator and the capitulation of the trade union leaders, they expect to attain their aims in Silesia as elsewhere.

What is the cause of the struggle in Silesia?

The employers gave notice of termination of the existing wage agreements on 30th April 1929, and demanded retrenchments in wages for demagogic reasons. The wages of the Silesian men and women weavers are the lowest in the whole of Germany, and that is certainly saying a great deal. They are as follows:

Skilled workers	Men	Women
from 14 to 16 years of age	25.4 pfgs	22.6 pfgs
" 16 " 18 " "	33.8 "	28.2 "
" 18 " 20 " "	45.1 "	31.0 "
over 20 years of age	56.4 "	42.3 "

With additional payment for piecework, for: weavers, shearers, sorters 64.3 pfgs, pattern weavers 63.2 pfgs; for women workers: weavers and line spinners 48.2, warpers and reelers 46.5, piecers 45.7, cop workers and spoolers 44.2 pfgs.

The piece workers can earn up to 12 per cent over and above their wages. Should a higher percentage be earned, the piecework rates are at once whittled down.

The trade unions (the reformist, Christian, and liberal unions) have entered the following demands:

a) Increase of the men's maximum wage from 56.4 pfgs to 66 pfgs; b) increase of the women's maximum wage from 42.3 to 50 pfgs; c) a 30 per cent increase of the piecework rates; d) the piecework rates to be based on the men's

maximum wage, and to be the same for all piece workers; e) piecework earnings up to 30 per cent may not be reduced; f) where the multiple loom service system is introduced, a special tariff is to be agreed upon; g) continuation school scholars are to be paid for the school hours; h) every man and woman worker has nine days holiday yearly.

Many workers cannot reach the standard piecework rate when working piecework. The proverbial wretchedness of the Silesian weavers' lives has undergone no change since the rising eighty years ago.

The average wage of the German textile worker is 76.7 pfgs per hour for skilled men workers, 56.2 pfgs for women workers. If these figures are compared with the wages of the Silesian weavers, the utter wretchedness of wage conditions in the Silesian district becomes apparent.

Both the private negotiations and those of the arbitration boards failed. An award was arrived at only with reference to the general tariff regulating the working hours, holidays, etc., and this represented no improvement as compared with existing conditions. Upon this, on 14th May, the employers announced the general lockout, which was then commenced on 25th May. A leaflet distributed among the textile workers by the textile magnates contains the following passage:

"The lockout coming into force on 25th of this month, as soon as work is finished for the day, is not merely a struggle with regard to wages differences and a protective measure taken by the employers against the wage demands of the trade unions, but is a question involving the existence of the Silesian textile industry . . . In the negotiations with the arbitrator, the employers agreed, in the interests of economic peace, to make certain wage concessions . . . It is, however, impossible for the undertakings to continue to work, and to make their calculations, when they do not know with what wages they have to reckon for a long time in advance."

The employers here declare in so many words that their chief aim is a tariff fixing the present low wage rates definitely for the next two to two and a half years. Doubtless they calculate that these low wages will enable them to gain the markets, by which the hands of the workers are again bound.

The trade union leaders are once more preparing a despicable deception. The committee of the reformist German Textile Workers Union in Landeshut issues a leaflet stating literally:

"We are determined to refuse any worsening of wages. The evil intentions of the employers must be shattered against the resistance of the workers as against a rock."

Not a word upon the forms to be taken by the struggle for the carrying out of the workers' demands. The trade union leaders have done their utmost to prevent any struggle; they have made no move towards mobilising the workers for the realisation of their demands, and have no intention of organising a relentless struggle against the employers. The wage reduction bluff of the employers is being pushed into the foreground by the trade union leaders, in order that on the next occasion they may recommend the acceptance of an arbitration award bringing some miserably small rise in wages. They will then again declare that this award is a success, converting a wage reduction into a wage rise.

The opposition exposed this manoeuvre at the great meetings of the textile workers during the last few days before the lockout. The workers are ready for the struggle. The rationalisation measures and the increased exploitation have aroused great indignation among them.

The piecework rates are being continually reduced. The Silesian Textile Works, for instance, paid 20 marks per 100,000 wett of ticking as recently as two years ago. Today only 8.58 marks are paid. In the fulling mill of an undertaking at Sagan 90 workers finished 800 to 900 pieces per day two years ago. Now 45 workers must accomplish the same work. Everywhere the attempt is being made to introduce the three and four loom system. The firm of Hamburger in Landeshut, whose workers have hitherto had two looms to attend to, is now introducing three and four looms. This system enables the employers to do excellent business, for the weaver working at three looms loses 22 per cent.

Whilst the number of workers employed is being steadily reduced, that of the speeders up is being increased. In the

Rinkel A. G., an undertaking at Landeshut employing 1200 workers, the number of directors has increased from two in 1913 to six in 1928.

Of the locked out workers, about 70 per cent are women. About 50 to 60 per cent are organised in the three unions. The free trade union federation counts by far the greatest number of the organised workers.

The agitation and propaganda of the opposition places the following points in the foreground: 1. Rejection of any interference on the part of arbitration authorities. 2. Maintenance of the old demands. 3. Establishment of a united front in the works and factories. 4. The election of fighting committees without difference of party or trade union, including the unorganised workers.

The meetings of the opposition are being attended by large numbers of the workers. There is every prospect of an extremely obstinate struggle.

The "Mondist" Polikoff Strike in London.

By A. B. Elsbury (London).

The first British Strike of a "Mondist" character i. e. that of the workers against the open association of employers, plus yellow Amsterdam Unions, commenced on May 6th last when 700 clothing workers organised within the newly formed militant **United Clothing Workers' Trade Union** came out on strike on behalf of the "recognition" of their union by their employers, the firm of **Polikoffs, Hackney, London.**

Immediately upon the calling of the strike the reactionary **Tailors' & Garment Workers' Trade Union**, from which the workers had seceded two months previously, came out openly in defence of the employer. The factory was placarded with bills to the effect that the firm could only recognise a union affiliated to the **Trades Union Congress.** The following posters were displayed by the firm in the windows of its factory.

1. Polikoff gladly recognises any Trade Union recognised by the T. U. C.

2. Moscow says. "Form break-away Trade Unions and smash the British Trade Union movement."

3. Strikers! What do you hope to get from this strike except applause from the Red International?

4. Strikers! You have no real grievances. There are 300 still at work. Don't strike for the Red Agitator. (This refers to Comrade **Sam Elsbury**, the Secretary of the U. C. W. T. U.)

5. Strikers! Do not allow yourselves to be made a catspaw for the Communist Party.

Another stated that the strike was:

6. A Communist attempt to destroy the recognised British Trade Union movement which is the only Trade Union the firm will recognise.

All those remaining at work, "blacklegs", were immediately given cards of membership by the T. & G. W. T. U. which not only scoured the country for strike-breakers but launched upon a campaign in the Labour press on behalf of the firm. The "Daily Herald" day by day attacked the strikers alleging, amongst other things, that the new union had refused to work alongside of T. & G. W. U. members in the shop. There were no such members in the factory. **Conley**, the Secretary of the T. & G. W. U., and a number of the **General Council of the Trades Union Congress** requested through the "Daily Herald" that no aid should be given to the Strike Fund whilst **Sullivan**, its London Secretary, issued leaflets declaring the shop was not in dispute.

The events leading up to the strike showed a clear unanimity of purpose between the employer and the yellow unions which was developed clearly during the dispute. Numerous attempts were made by the firm to get the workers to revert to the T. & G. W. U. from which they had seceded along with the great majority of its London members a few previously.

Shop meetings were held by the foremen, and the workers were told that if they continued to remain in the U. C. W. U. the firm had received assurances that **Ernest Bevin**, the Se-

cretary of the **Transport Workers' Union**, would see that no further contracts would be given them for bus and similar uniforms and that, furthermore, members of his union would refuse to transport goods to and from the factory.

Bevin, when written to by the U. C. W. U. refused either to deny or confirm the statement which he characterised as an "impertinence". Nevertheless, the same charges were made in other factories organised by the militant union but failed to break the workers' loyalty. All means having failed in this purpose the employer, as a result of outside pressure, as he himself declared to **Sam Elsbury**, the U. C. W. U. Secretary, withdrew "recognition" of the union. He declared that if he failed in this course the entire employers' federation of the industry would be antagonistic towards him and would even prevent him from obtaining cloth to be used in the factory. He could only recognise a union affiliated to the **Trades Union Congress.**

Elsbury reminded him that he was at one time against any trade union whatsoever. He agreed that such was the case but asserted that, failing this, he would have the next best thing, a T. U. C. union.

It is unquestionable that the entire dispute was provoked by the combination of employers and Mondist Unions in an attempt to cripple the new union at almost its inception. The leading and most militant shop-steward in the firm suddenly acquired sufficient means to disappear from his workmates and his fellow unionists but sent an open letter through the employers to the workers appealing to them not to go on strike. This letter was used unsparingly both by the employers and the T. & G. W. U. in an attempt to divert support from the strike.

Unprepared for the huge odds against them the 700 workers out of the 800 in the factory came out with great enthusiasm for the right to select their own union as against that desired by their employers.

On the morning after they struck the terrific attack upon them in the "Daily Herald" caused them to march en-masse through the city to demand satisfaction from **Mellor** the renegade Communist editor.

Their deputation was given definite assurances that in the future no further attacks would be printed without first having the point of view of the Strike Committee.

On the morning following, this pledge was shamefully broken, and an even worse attack appeared in that journal. At the Strikers' meeting every copy of the paper was collected, over 50 in number, and a public bonfire made of them at the close of the meeting.

Apart from the communist and left-wing press which gave every assistance but is only of a weekly character, the union had to depend for publicity upon a duplicated typewritten "Strike Bulletin" to combat the ever-increasing attacks made upon them. The most subtle of these originated from the yellow union and consisted of attacks on the morale of the weakest section, the cutters, by means of rumours of their jobs being filled by the cutters of other clothing firms which were alleged either to be closing down or reducing their staff.

As an example of the blacklegging tactics employed, the following is an illustration. One of the T. & G. W. U. Shop Stewards, victimised for his work on behalf of that union, was refused any fight on his behalf for re-instatement but was given a message and sent along with a companion cutter to the factory on strike.

Both of these reported, instead, to the Strike Committee but others sent on a similar mission carried out the T. & G. W. U. instructions.

In the meantime a legal attack was made on these cutters by the issue of court proceedings against them for a week's wages declared to be due from them in lieu of them failing to give a week's "notice" of their withdrawal from labour. A hostile judge, upon the first case being tried before him, found for the firm, the employer declaring that the strike had already cost him thousands of pounds. The judges' decision coming on top of the T. & G. W. U. attacks succeeded in making a breach amongst the cutters, a section of whom returned to work. Before the next meeting of the strikers, the Strike Committee frankly put the position before the workers and, as a result, the following resolution was passed on May 23rd.

"This mass meeting accepts the recommendations of the Strike Committee to return to work. We thank the Executive and officials of the Union for their splendid efforts on our behalf in our fight for the elementary right of Trade Union organisation and we hereby declare that complete victory for our just demands has been lost through the sabotage and strike breaking tactics of the officials and Executive of the Tailors' & Garment Workers' Union. We call upon our Executive to approach Trades Union Congress to hold an enquiry into the action of the Tailors' & Garment Workers' Union during the dispute as we declare that they have not only been actively assisting the employers by their action in helping the firm of Polikoff Ltd. in sending blacklegs during the dispute, but have also been guilty of an action that is anti-working class."

A further resolution was passed in which the workers decided to remain loyal to the United Clothing Workers' Trade Union and to pay in their union contributions weekly at an outside office adjoining the factory.

Thus the strike ended. The union has suffered a severe reverse from which it has, however, not suffered to the extent hoped for by its enemies and feared by its friends.

On presenting themselves at work the day following, each worker was compelled to sign new terms of employment at which the last two clauses run as follows.

"6. Union membership to be confined to a Union which is affiliated to or recognised by the T. U. C., and no contributions are to be paid to any other Union.

7. Gross insubordination renders an employee liable to instant dismissal, and membership of non-recognised union shall be regarded as insubordination."

It remains now to examine the causes of the set-back so that the lessons therefrom may be applied in the future. First must be counted the failure of the union to recognise beforehand the unexpected strength of the forces against it. Behind the employer and his association was the entire officialdom of the Trade Union movement with its control of the Labour press and its readiness to supply Trade Unionist "blacklegs".

The machinery for strike defence required to be completely altered from that suited to face an individual employer and his associates to that of attacking the Trade Union "bosses" in their own strongholds. Insufficient use was made of propaganda to enlist the support of the T. U. rank and file of the general unions and particularly of the membership of the T. & G. W. U. in exposing the actions of their leadership.

A basic weakness of the strike was the fact that it had no purely economic demands. The strike was only for "recognition" of the union and, in consequence, limited in its power of raising enthusiasm amongst the general workers and even amongst the backward elements of the strikers. Only the most convinced and class-conscious of trade unionists can be expected to be greatly concerned for "recognition" alone, important as it is.

Lastly, and largely consequent on the foregoing causes, was the shortage of adequate strike-pay for the large number of strikers involved, which had a natural effect in lowering their morale. The new union was not sufficiently strong financially to bear the heavy expense involved each week in this direction and also in conducting effective propaganda amongst other Trade Unionists. The Strike Fund appeals were openly sabotaged by the yellow union leaders with some effect upon the factory gate collections which were such a feature in bringing last year's Rego Strike to a successful conclusion.

It must be added that the leaders of the new union are alive to the defects displayed during the dispute and the membership are rising to the occasion by intensifying their activities on behalf of their organisation. Their loyalty has been increased by the spectacle of the open blacklegging of the yellow union, and this is having its effect within the ranks of the F. & G. W. U. itself.

At least one section of this, in Leeds, refused during the strike to contribute any funds whatsoever to their headquarters whilst blacklegging was in progress.

The dynamic effects of this must become more apparent in the near future.

The Polikoff strike may yet prove one of the greatest disrupting influences not alone to the reactionary Carment Workers Union but also to the bureaucratic T. U. C.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Foreign Political Situation of the Soviet Union.

Full text of the Address held at the V. Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union.

By A. I. Rykov.

I.

Two Tendencies in the Relations of the Capitalist World to the Soviet Union.

Comrades!

The question of the international policy of the government of the Union is the subject of the first part of my report. In my report at the last Congress I pointed out that the international situation of the Soviet Union is characterised by the duality of our relations to the capitalist world. Two conflicting tendencies are observable among the bourgeois governments. One of these tendencies is aggressive, is expressed in a hostile attitude towards the proletarian dictatorship. The second tendency admits, at least under present conditions, the peaceful co-existence of two economic systems, the Soviet system and the capitalist system.

The sessions of the last Congress, the Fourth, in April 1927, coincided precisely with that period in which the tendencies of an aggressive character were particularly conspicuous. I need only remind you that it was shortly after the close of the IV. Congress, that diplomatic relations were broken off between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. If we briefly outline the period of the last Congress and that immediately following it, we find international relations mainly characterised by two phenomena. The first of these phenomena was the extreme tension of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union; the second was the immense uplift of the revolutionary movement. The connection between these two phenomena was naturally not only temporal but substantial. For what has the advance and the possible victory of the revolution in China meant? A prodigious strengthening of the position of revolution all over the world, a weakening of the power of imperialism, and a much more firmly established position for our Union in the midst of its capitalist surroundings.

The tension in the international situation in connection with the rupture between Great Britain and the Soviet Union reached a very high point. This found expression in various other events, as for instance the murder of Comrade Voykov, our representative at Warsaw. Then came the complications in the relations between France and the Soviet Union, complications leading to the demand on the part of the French government that our ambassador in Paris, Rakovsky, should be recalled and replaced by another representative. In December of the same year certain events occurred in Canton, leading to the brutal murder of members of our Soviet Consulate at Canton. At the same time the rising wave of the international revolutionary movement found expression in the Indonesian revolution, and in such happenings as the strike of the British miners, and in the strengthening of the national revolutionary movement in a number of colonial countries.

This upward movement, this expansion of the revolutionary movement in the East, was naturally bound to affect the activities of the British Conservatives in their relations to our Soviet Union. The rupture of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain in March 1927 did not come as a surprise. As early as the March session of the League of Nations in this same year entirely serious and definite plans were put forward in the lobbies by the British, aiming at the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc.

Herewith the tension between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world became the fundamental problem of international relations, around which the whole international situation in the spring of 1927 swung as on axle. The tension culminated in the strained relations between our Union and the Conservative government of Great Britain. The British government strove to concentrate in its hands the leadership of all the forces hostile to the Soviet Union.

A large number of British politicians stated that the collapse of the Soviet Union would greatly facilitate their

actions in the colonial countries. Thus the enmity shown us during this period was not only the open enmity against the class enemy, against the proletarian power and the proletarian state; this enmity was at the same time bound up with the hope that by these means Great Britain's position in the colonial countries might be bettered, the maturing revolutionary movement better coped with.

It is difficult to say what part was played, in this aggressive policy, by the hope and the plan of an armed attack, but certainly the procedure preceding the rupture surpassed in brutality anything hitherto experienced in the history of diplomatic relations. You will all remember that when the raid was made on the "Arcos" the safes were broken open, that in the building in which the "Arcos" had its premises every drawer was broken into, documents carried away, etc. Already before the British government had not shrunk from making use of obviously forged documents, among these the so-called "Zinoviev letter", a crude forgery, which at last proved to be such.

The further policy of the British cabinet — and of those circles of the British Conservatives who were the organisers of the raid — concentrated more and more on the exercise of economic pressure upon our Union. The whole speculation of throwing economic obstacles in our way, of threatening us thereby with complete collapse, and of issuing prophecies anticipating such a collapse, emanated from these circles, and was only intended as a further means of gathering around them those forces ensuring the possibility of such an anti-Soviet movement.

At the present time foreign newspapers are again publishing occasional notices of the same nature, referring to crises, collapses, our bankruptcy, etc. This has however ceased to be dangerous, for when people busy themselves year after year with issuing prophecies which never come true even in one isolated case, in the course of time nobody believes them. This is what has now happened to the seers forecasting our "collapse".

The British government, in taking part in all this, reckoned with assuming the rôle of organiser of all the powers hostile to our Union. What actually happened? As you are aware, even the bourgeois press has now come to the conclusion that it is not we who have suffered defeat, but rather the British government, since no other state has followed its example. In spite of the methods of economic and financial combat which Great Britain has used against us, our trade and our economic relations with the capitalist world continue to develop. This shows that the attempt to organise a united front against us, an attempt which formed the leading event of the whole international situation two years ago, ended in a failure for that period.

The Conservative government of Great Britain broke off relations with us, and began to organise an international bloc against us, carrying on thereby negotiations which, if not actually aiming at war, purposed a blockade. The failure of the British conservatives to create an anti-Soviet bloc and to bring us into a particularly difficult situation has been due, in the first place, to the fact that they omitted to take into account that they were dealing with a state forming with its people a united whole, a state whose innermost character and class basis are such that it cannot alter its policy, not even under the threat of war. The consistency, the strength, and the steadfastness of our foreign policy are the result of the socialist principles upon which the Soviet Union develops, and of the united determination of all the peoples inhabiting our country to defend the achievements of the October revolution.

The failure is further due, in the second place, to the fact that considerable contradictions have accumulated between the bourgeois states themselves, causing these to adopt varying attitudes towards the activities of the British Cabinet for the organisation of a united front against the Soviet Union, and varying standpoints towards the Soviet Union as such.

One has to be extremely simple-minded — more simple-minded than can be pardoned in even an British Conservative — to organise peace on the basis of the Versailles treaty, which provides for the oppression of some nations by others, and then to hope for a united bloc of these same nations, and for the avoidance of antagonisms among them. Such a degree of simple-mindedness as this was bound to condemn the united front against the Soviet Union to a great extent

to failure from the beginning. And apart from this, the antagonisms existing between the bourgeois states are so numerous and profound, both with respect to the essential nature of their interests and to their politics, that even without the conditions of the Versailles treaty it would be impossible for the Conservative government to assemble a united bloc. Therefore it has gradually become a tangible necessity for the British government to beat a retreat.

The formula for this retreat from the positions first adopted was the resolution passed by the League of Nations Council in June 1927. This resolution speaks of the "moral front against communism", and represents a retreat in so far that it gives very feeble expression to the goals aimed at by the British Conservative government. This formula expresses of course aggressive tendencies towards our Union, since our Union is a state in which the Communist Party is in power. But we find in this formula no direct acknowledgment of the necessity of forming an anti-Soviet bloc, no direct declaration in favour of such a bloc, for the fight against communism. The formula reeks of hypocrisy with its references to a "moral front". But everyone knows that the term "moral" has been chosen because the fitting term could not be mentioned.

As to morals, I may say that the moral standpoint of the people who passed this resolution on the attitude to be adopted towards communism and our state, the state organising the communist state of society, does not greatly disturb us. Whilst working with your help for the building up of socialism, we have never reckoned upon the moral sympathies of Churchill, Joynson Hicks, and their party. We have always been fully convinced, on the contrary, that these sympathies were not ours. But we, and you with us, have always counted upon not only the moral support, but upon every other kind of support, from those hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, and oppressed colonial peoples, whose sympathy and aid are of incomparably greater value to us, for the moral support which they afford the Soviet Union are the immediate expression of the interests of hundreds of millions of workers. (Applause.)

On the background formed by the increasing aggressiveness of the capitalist world towards the Soviet Union, a number of phenomena have appeared, illustrating the activities of the organisation of the anti-Soviet front. In France the Senator De Monzie has come forward as the ideologist of the anti-Soviet bloc. It was this same senator who proposed that West European capital should form an organisation of its own for the purpose of forcing the Soviet Union to greater concessions, but made at the same time the reservation that he did not want to have anything to do with politics. For him the organisation of such a bloc would be a "business matter", not politics.

His colleague De Jouvenel deciphered the true meaning of this campaign. A few days after the rupture of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, he published a number of articles in the press, containing inter alia the following passage:

"At last opportunity offers for that unification of Europe of which so much has been spoken but for which nothing has been done. The breaking off of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union creates the necessary conditions. Such a favourable opportunity as this will not be offered us again so soon, if we let this opportunity slip by unused."

What are the tasks which De Jouvenel intends to fulfil with the united aid of Europe? He continues:

"We cannot combat communism and at the same time carry on financial negotiations with the Soviet or maintain with them political relations which have hitherto not led to any concrete results of any kind. Great Britain was the first power to strive to come to an agreement with Russia. But she has also been the first to break off her relations with Russia. It is desirable and necessary to bring about a real unification between Europe and Russia; but the whole of Europe must take part in this unification."

De Jouvenel agitates for the unification of all Europe with the Soviet Union, but naturally understands by this the formation of a European united front dictating its conditions to the Soviet Union. De Jouvenel writes further:

"... The economic restoration of the Soviet Union cannot be the work of France or of Germany, Italy or Great Britain, but only the act of a united Europe; this restoration must be accomplished by the same methods as the restoration of Austria and Hungary, that is, with the aid of the League of Nations, for there is no other method of accomplishing this."

This idea of the participation of the League of Nations as the decisive factor in regulating the relations of the Soviet Union to its capitalist environment is again stressed by De Jouvenel in this article as follows:

"... It is necessary to go further, and to declare with all possible decision that the relations between Europe and Bolshevik Russia must be organised by the League of Nations." This idea has been seized upon by others, and repeated.

It must be mentioned here that these tendencies and this agitation, spreading to other countries, found an echo in a section of the German press, which represented the projects of De Monzie and De Jouvenel as a medium of "self-defence" against the foreign trade monopoly of the Soviet Union, and attempted to give the impression that the matter under discussion was a unification with the Soviet Union, whilst in reality the plans of the above named politicians aimed at opposing the united front of capitalist Europe to the Soviet Union.

In the "Bergwerks-Zeitung", the organ of German heavy industry, an article was published this year by this same De Jouvenel, repeating the proposals and arguments which he had brought upon the tapis at the time of the breach between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. A large number of politicians combined this campaign with the hope of succeeding in forcing us to abandon at least the foreign trade monopoly. The Bolshevik state would then be made accessible to every stock-jobber and imperialist robber. A certain author writes in the Paris newspaper "Pax" (the name of this paper is obviously intended for a joke, since "Pax" means "peace") as follows:

"... It is only the Soviets which would have any reason to fear such an economic bloc, for though on political ground the struggle may still offer them some prospect of success, in the sphere of economy the struggle will become more and difficult for them; this means that they would soon be no longer in a position to offer resistance to the inexorable pressure of reality."

All this shows plainly the energies set in motion by the breach between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, with the object of extending this breach into a bloc against the Soviet Union. Other facts closely bound up with these efforts were for instance the policy of confiscating, through the Banque de France, a consignment of gold sent by us to the United States, and the participation of German bankers in the association of the former creditors of Russia, a participation which was indubitably in obvious flat "moral" (to use the diplomatic mode of expression) contradiction to the Rapallo treaties.

But whilst these hostile tendencies were developing in the international situation, other tendencies were growing at the same time, tendencies towards peaceful constructive work between the Soviets and the bourgeois world. To these tendencies I return more in detail in another part of my report.

Under such circumstances it has been our policy to utilise every available means to overcome and terminate the activity of the forces and tendencies inimical to us, and we have made it our first endeavour to preserve that peace which is the indispensable prerequisite for the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union.

II.

The struggle for peace.

The Soviet government has repeatedly declared that the struggle for peace forms an integral organic constituent of our foreign policy. This struggle is conditioned by the interests of our Union, by its economic development, and by the socialist construction by which the working class of the whole world benefits. In our struggle for peace we are actualising a policy representing the interests of the workers of the whole globe; for it is perfectly self-evident that those who suffer through and during a war are not the manufacturers of arma-

ments, but the workers and peasants forming the armies. This has always furnished our firm fundamental basis for our determined struggle for peace.

The IV. Soviet Congress, held two years ago, gave us the following directive as guide to our fundamental standpoint with regard to our foreign policy:

"The Congress draws the attention of all the peoples of the world to the incontestable fact that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the sole state in the whole world pursuing a direct and open policy of consequent love of peace, in accordance with the interests of the whole of humanity. The Congress expresses its full approval of this peace policy, and commissions the government of the Union to continue steadily to pursue this same policy, and to strive for the attainment and firm establishment of friendly relations to foreign states. The Congress places on record with satisfaction that these endeavours on the part of the Union have found an echo in various states, whereby the development of economic relations with these states has supplied the best proof of the correctness of this policy."

The fulfilment of this main directive of the IV. Congress has been the object of our activities in the sphere of international politics.

At the very moment when the government of the British Conservatives, preparing to break off diplomatic relations, organised the brutal raid on the premises of the Trade Delegation of the Soviet Union in London, and at the very moment when the leaders of British politics were working for an economic and financial blockade of the Union, the Soviet delegation at the International Economic Conference, taking place in Geneva in May 1927, came forward with a programme declaring the possibility of a "peaceful co-existence of two systems of economy, the capitalist and the socialist". This programme of the "peaceful co-existence" of two systems of national economy, as necessary prerequisite for the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union, has been put consistently into practice by the Soviet government in the period between the IV. and V. Soviet Congresses.

Our policy of the struggle for peace has found conspicuous expression, in the period just passed, in the activities of our delegation to the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, in our attitude towards the Kellogg Pact, and in the Moscow Protocol, signed on our initiative between us and the states on our boundaries.

As you know, the League of Nations has been busy with the disarmament question for eight years. Our delegation to the 5th Session distributed among the participants a report showing that the various organs of the League of Nations have held 121 meetings during this time for the discussion of the limitation of armaments, and have passed 11 resolutions. The work of the various organs of the League of Nations on the disarmament question is recorded on 14,000 printed pages (laughter). When I read that armaments are increasing in all countries, I thought: Perhaps it is all this which manures the soil upon which cannon, machine guns, and poisonous gases are springing up? And this is the kind of Commission in which our delegates for the struggle for peace find themselves. I believe that but few of those present will envy them their work in such surroundings (laughter). Up to the present it has not been possible to lessen armaments by one soldier, one gun, one cruiser, or one cartridge. Only 14,000 pages have been written, and the utmost perseverance applied to spoiling enormous quantities of paper (laughter).

As early as 1925 the Soviet Union was invited to take part in the work of the Preparatory Commission. At that time we replied that we did not refuse to treat the disarmament question from any aspect, and were ready to take part in the work of this Commission. We could however only do this on the condition that the Commission performed its work in some place where we could go. We pointed out that we could not take part in the work of a Commission meeting in Switzerland, since our Italian ambassador, Comrade Vorovsky, delegated to the Lausanne Conference with the consent of the Swiss government, was murdered under extraordinary circumstances. We did not wish to send other sons of the October revolution to their death.

The settlement of the conflict brought about between us and Switzerland by the murder of Comrade Vorovsky was

extremely slow of accomplishment, through no fault of ours. This conflict was liquidated in 1927, enabling the Soviet Union to take part, since November/December 1927, in the work of both the International Economic Conference and the preparatory Disarmament Commission.

At the IV. Session, held towards the end of 1927, Comrade Litvinov moved, on behalf of the government of the Soviet Union, **complete and general disarmament**, proposing that:

"The states concluding the treaty acknowledge solemnly that the sole real means of promoting the preservation of peace is the general and complete extermination of all armed forces, and conclude this convention, for which purpose they appoint their plenipotentiaries, who, after an exchange of mandates recognised in a proper and suitable form, agree as follows: On the day on which the present convention comes into force, steps towards complete disarmament are to be commenced, this disarmament to be completed within four years, and carried out in such a manner that the possibility of armed conflicts is limited before the expiration of the first year."

This is the proposal made by us. It was at once cast in our teeth, and is still, that our proposal is not to be taken seriously, that our proposal is one which the bourgeois governments are not able to accept. We replied that any proposal which could be accepted by them without difficulty would not be a proposal of disarmament, but a proposal for increased armaments, since that would at least accord with what is actually going on. And the struggle against all this is precisely our task.

The Soviet government was perfectly aware that the imperialist powers would not entertain this radical and at the same time simplest form of practical realisation of the disarmament question.

Knowing this, still we entered our proposal, for we recognise clearly that the peoples are struggling against war and for disarmament, and will sooner or later set up governments which will do the same (applause). We have not the slightest doubt that the accomplishment of general disarmament will be the result of a long and obstinate struggle, and that it will represent the liquidation of a vast historical period. There can be doubt that such events do not happen entirely without preparation, but are the result of mighty movements and mighty shiftings in the relations of human beings, nations, and states, to one another. And the result will be arrived at the more quickly in proportion to the rapidity, determination, and steadfastness of the struggle.

The government representatives conducting the work of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations, in raising objections to Comrade Litvinov's proposal, could not bring forward a single argument, in the interests of the working class and the nations, against an immediate and general disarmament; here again their tactics naturally found substructure in the class interests of those imperialist groups possessing governmental power in the bourgeois states.

The Soviet delegation, in advancing the demand for simultaneous, complete, and general disarmament, therewith unmasked the imperialist war tendencies of the governments of the capitalist countries, and tore aside the veil hiding the diplomatic secrets of the League of Nations, whose lobbies are actually the centre of those negotiations, those agreements and treaties, whose object is by no means the securing of peace. The Soviet delegation proved that our country, our proletarian state, is carrying on a sincere and consistent struggle for peace.

The millions of the masses of workers in all countries recognised in the Soviet proposals the reflection of their own aims and strivings.

The Preparatory Commission rejected the Soviet proposal of general disarmament, referring thereby to § 8 of the statutes of the League of Nations, as follows:

"The members of the League of Nations recognise that the maintenance of peace demands the reduction of national armaments to the minimum compatible with national security, and with the fulfilment of those international obligations imposed with general application."

The members of the League of Nations regard this paragraph as a prohibition of disarmament. They are obviously of the opinion that even were the matter possible in itself, even if no insuperable obstacles against general disarmament existed,

they must still bow to the "supreme authority" of the letter of the statutes. This purely formal consideration sufficed to cause them to refuse to discuss our proposal for general disarmament.

Despite this, our proposal was echoed widely, not only among the masses of the workers and peasants, but among those elements of the intelligentsia who may be counted to the sincere pacifists.

When our draft for a general plan of disarmament was rejected, we suggested to our delegation that they should make fresh attempts for the practical solution of the disarmament question, and proposed a plan of gradual disarmament, forming the first stage of our plan of complete disarmament.

Our second proposal was as follows:

"The states concluding the treaty recognise that the sole correct method is the progressive limitation of every description of armaments, according to numerical strength and nature, in so far as this method is least detrimental to the interests of the weaker states, economically dependent on the stronger states. The signatory states agree to take as basis the precedently acute principle of the limitation of armaments."

We proposed that the limitation of armaments should be undertaken by a rapid tempo of disarmament in the states possessing great armies and immense technical resources, and a slower tempo in the smaller states, possessing small armies and insignificant technical equipment. This project could not be rejected with the formal substantiation that the statutes of the League of Nations prohibit disarmament. In proposing a partial disarmament, a gradual restriction of armaments, we undertook nothing unallowable from the formal viewpoint, from the viewpoint of the statutes of the League of Nations. The Commission was obliged to discuss this proposal.

At this juncture the tactics of delay set in. The debate on our proposal was postponed again and again for thirteen months. Comrade Litvinov applied twice to the chairman of the Commission, Loudon, energetically pointing out the necessity of convocating the Preparatory Commission to examine our proposal. Not until after thirteen months had elapsed did the Commission meet. Comrade Litvinov returned recently from the last Session of the Preparatory Commission, which has again rejected our proposal, though this time not for reasons to be found in the statutes of the League of Nations. It has been rejected for the reason that allegedly the task of the Preparatory Commission is solely the ascertainment of those objects of armament subject to limitation. Everything else must be submitted to the International Conference.

But we need not believe that it is the work of the International Conference to determine the disarmament standards. Not at all! The International Conference too may not prescribe any definite standards of disarmament, it is only authorised to take cognisance of the declarations made by each state with regard to its security. Each state decides for itself whether it can or can not limit its armaments. And the attempt is being made to represent this occupation as work for the limitation of armaments. (Laughter.)

The laughter which I hear here in the hall proves to me that the Soviet Congress fully understands the diplomatic game being played by the bourgeois governments.

All the talk which we hear from the representatives of the bourgeois governments on disarmament, limitation of armaments, composition of the Commission and of the organs specially called together in this matter, etc., is in reality merely a cloak for the increase of armaments and the preparation of fresh wars. Did not the Preparatory Commission reject even such elementary proposals as those made by our delegation for the prohibition of air attacks on the peaceful population, the prohibition of the manufacture of chemical war products in times of peace, etc.?

The VI. Session of the Preparatory Commission, just concluded, has been remarkable in one respect. It abandoned to a great extent the customary method of juggling with pacifist phrases. At this VI. Session the leading military governments dropped their masks. The Preparatory Commission excluded from the number of war armament objects subject to limitation: trained land troops and reserves in case of mobilisation, non-commissioned officers, cadres of the air fleet, the military air fleet, etc. Hence the Preparatory Commission excluded from

liability to restriction all those elements decisive for the strength of the armies of today. Not only did the Preparatory Commission reject our proposals, but many of the points of their own convention proposals, accepted by former sessions. The draft of the convention has thus been deprived of one of the decisive elements of armed force: the land troop reserves and the second levy. Without this, the draft is a mere scrap of paper.

* * *

Thus ended the present stage of our struggle for peace and disarmament in the Preparatory Commission. If we go back to the beginnings of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, it seems to me that it is the creature of that great campaign carried on in the second half of the last imperialist war, when the peoples who had been called to arms lost their patience in the trenches, and the spark of the revolutionary movement sprang from front to front. At that time the slogan was proclaimed that this war was the last war. This slogan was supported by the then prime minister of Great Britain, Lloyd George, by Milyukov, as also by Kerensky and by a number of politicians in other countries. The idea was to induce the soldiers to remain in the trenches: End the war, win the victory, thereby you free humanity from the danger of fresh wars.

This pacifist fraud was taken up in the statutes of the League of Nations, and has led to that mockery of action which I have pointed out in the work of the Preparatory Commission. I fear that the further we leave the last imperialist war behind, the more its horrors may be forgotten and the more the continuation of this system of fraud may be facilitated. Therefore it seems to me that it is extremely useful, in view of the events which I have just described in the international situation, and of the utter failure of disarmament policy up to the present, to recall the factors which forced convinced imperialists to speak at that time of the last war, and of the abolition of war.

The terrors and horrors suffered by millions of human beings in the great imperialist war forced the imperialists to speak of the cessation of war. I need only mention the most striking figures: 10 million killed or succumbing to their wounds, 20 million wounded, 3.5 million so severely as to be permanently disabled. This was the cost of the war, if we count only the losses at the front, without adding the many who suffered and died in the wake of the poverty and misery carried by the war into the interior of the country. 10 million dead and 20 million wounded! This was the motive of the proclamation that this war was the last. Hence the present shuffling in the Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations. During the four years of the war the eleven warring countries consumed 295 milliard dollars worth out of 567 milliard dollars of national wealth. More than one half of the values accumulated by the eleven richest countries of the world on their territories was lost!

To the expenditure immediately connected with the war must be added the indirect material losses.

The loss of tonnage amounted to one third of the pre-war tonnage, to the value of 7 milliard dollars.

I could adduce many other figures showing what the last imperialist war brought mankind. The next war will demand immeasurably greater sacrifices. The next world war will demand not only 10 million dead, but many dozens of millions, for in every bourgeois country the period following the war has been a period of the greatest progress in the perfection of means for exterminating human beings.

Even representatives of the bourgeoisie, as for instance Lloyd George, recognise the horrors of the coming war. Lloyd George, in an interview of 12th April of this year, declared:

"I wish that science would devote itself to the cause of peaceful progress, for I am convinced that in the case of a new war Europe would be transformed into a heap of ruins. If a whole generation was needed to build Europe up again after the last war, the next war will require centuries of restoration work. Nobody can even imagine what the coming war will be like. Those who speak of the possibility of humanising war deceive themselves. War cannot be humanised."

This is not the declaration of a Bolshevik, but of a genuine bourgeois politician, one of the organisers of the last imperialist

war. He states that after another war centuries will be needed to build Europe up again. The press reports the invention of a device enabling warships and flying machines to be guided from a distance. If we add to this the ingenious inventions for increasing the efficiency of artillery and gas warfare, enabling all life to be destroyed over a vast area in the shortest possible time, we gain an idea of what is really at stake, and of the necessity of mobilising every force for urging forward the discussion and solution of the disarmament questions. 10 million dead and 20 million wounded in the last war, and dozens of millions of dead if a fresh war breaks out; these figures must be hammered into the minds of every worker and peasant. One and all must be made to realise clearly that a fresh war will bring such disaster, destruction, and the death of so many millions of human beings, that many decades will not suffice to make good the devastation.

This is the substantiation of our conviction that the peoples, in the face of such threats as these, will surely form governments who will actually realise disarmament. (Applause.)

(To be concluded.)

Comrade Syrtzov, the New President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the R. S. F. S. R.

Comrade Sergey Ivanovitch Syrtzov was born in 1893 in the village of Slavgorod in the gubernia of Yekaterinoslav. His father was a commercial clerk; his mother came of peasant stock from the village of Slavgorod. At the age of nine Comrade Syrtzov went to the commercial school in Kharkov. He studied there for over a year and then moved with his family to Rostov on Don. In 1912 he terminated his studies at the commercial school and attended the economic faculty of the Polytechnic Institute of St. Petersburg. Here he began to interest himself in public life and joined the legal students' organisations (Funds for mutual aid etc.) and afterwards the illegal ones. At the end of 1913 he entered the Party. As a Party member he performed revolutionary Party work (under the pseudonym "Alexander"). He began with work among the students, and then from 1914 he worked among the workers of the Neva district. He became candidate of the organisation committee of the students' fraction, then member of the Party council of the Neva district, propagandist and member of the propaganda committee attached to the St. Petersburg Committee.

At the end of November 1914 Comrade Syrtzov was arrested among other members of the organisation on the charge of being a member of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks). His case was referred to the gendarmierie administration of the gubernia and came before the Petrograd national military court in April 1915. The court sentenced Comrade Syrtzov to eight months' imprisonment, including the term he served in prison while awaiting trial. As he had been already in prison for nine months while awaiting trial he was immediately released.

At the end of 1915 he again took part in illegal Party work and worked until April 1916 in the Petrograd district as organiser and propagandist. He became a member of the district committee and of the executive committee and representative of the district in the Petersburg Committee and in its Executive Committee.

On the anniversary of the Lena events Comrade Syrtzov was arrested and served six months in prison in Spasskaya, afterwards being banished to Mansurkaya (Irkutsk gubernia).

He remained up to the February revolution. After his return to Petrograd he again began his work in the Petrograd district. At the beginning of April he went to Rostov. There he became a member of the Rostov-Nachitchevan Party Committee and of the Council of workers' and soldiers' deputies. In Rostov he worked as agitator, propagandist, and organiser; he travelled in the province and founded nuclei in the workers' districts.

In Rostov he was delegated to the VI. Party Congress and by the Soviet to the "Democratic Conference". He was chairman of the Rostov Soviet and of the Military-revolutionary Committee.

During the fights against Kaledin he became chairman of the United Military Revolutionary Committee (of Rostov of the Cossaks). After the recapture of Rostov Comrade Syrtzov became again chairman of the Rostov Soviet and of the gubernia economic council.

In Autumn 1918 he went to the front where he served as war commissar of the 12th division. In December he was wounded. As soon as he recovered he returned to the division. Up to 1921 Comrade Syrtzov worked in the Don Committee of the Party and in the gubernia Soviet, as commissar of the information department of the staff at the front, as chairman of the gubernia committee and of the Presidium of the Gubernia Executive Committee.

From 1921 to 1923 he was in the C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union as head of the department for the registration and distribution of the members. Up to 1926 he conducted the agitprop department of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. and was at the same time member of the Presidium of the Communist Academy and editor of the periodical "The Communist Revolution". From February 1926 up till recently Comrade Syrtzov was secretary of the Siberian Committee of the Party.

Comrade Syrtzov was elected candidate of the C. C. at the 13th Party Congress and member of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. at the 14th Party Congress. In addition, Comrade Syrtzov was member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union and of the Central Executive Committee of the R. S. F. S. R. in various legislative periods.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Socialist Competition and the Working Enthusiasm of the Masses.

(Preface to E. Mikulina's Book on "The Socialist Competition of the Masses.")

By J. Stalin.

It can hardly be doubted that at the present moment one of the most important facts, if not indeed the most important, of our work of development lies in the wholesale Socialist competition among millions of workers. The Socialist competition on the part of entire factories and concerns in various parts of our gigantic country; the competition between workers and peasants, and that between collective and Soviet farms; the establishment of this mass-activity in production by means of special agreements on the part of the workers — all these are facts that permit of no doubt as to the great and significant force embodied in the Socialist competition of the masses.

The productivity of the working masses is advancing powerfully.

This must be admitted even by the most embittered sceptics.

"Socialism," says Lenin, "far from killing the spirit of competition, for the first time creates the possibility of a really broad and wholesale application thereof, the possibility of opening up to the masses of workers a field of work in which they can truly live up to their capacity, develop their capabilities, and demonstrate those talents which represent an untapped source of energy among the people and which have been strangled, suppressed, and killed in thousands and millions by capitalism.

"A broad scope of activity, truly suited to the masses, and the possibility of developing initiative and keen competition have now for the first time been opened up. After working for centuries in the interest of others, the workers have at length been enabled to work for themselves.

"Now that the Socialist Government is in power, it is up to us to organise the competition of the masses."

These reflections on the part of Lenin led the 16th National Conference of the C. P. S. U. to address the workers in a special appeal regarding competition. (Published below. Ed.)

Some of our bureaucrat "comrades" believe that competition is merely the latest fad of the Communists and that it will die a natural death when the "season" is over. These bureaucrat "comrades" are, of course, mistaken. In reality competition is the Communist method of Socialist construction on the basis of a maximum output of activity on the part of millions of workers. As a matter of fact, competition is the lever by means of which the working class is called upon to raise the entire economic and cultural life of the country to the level of Socialism.

Other bureaucrat "comrades" again, who are terrified at the powerful wave of competition, endeavour to lead it into artificial channels and thus to repress it, to "centralise" competitive activity, to restrict its extent, and thereby to stifle its most essential element, the initiative of the masses. These intentions on the part of the bureaucrats will by no means be fulfilled. At all events, the Party is taking all necessary steps to counteract them. Socialist competition is no bureaucratic matter. Socialist competition is the outcome of a practical revolutionary self-criticism on the part of the masses, based on the creative initiative of millions of workers. Any one who knowingly or unknowingly hinders this self-criticism and this creative initiative, must be removed as an obstacle to our great cause.

The danger of bureaucracy is tangibly expressed in the fact that it fetters the energy, initiative, and independence of the masses, conceals the tremendous reserves released in the interior of our constructive activity and in the heart of the working class and the peasantry, and prevents these reserves from being exploited in the fight against our class-enemies.

The task of our Socialist competition lies in the direction of breaking these bureaucratic fetters, creating a wide scope for the development of energy and creative initiative among the masses, bringing to the fore the tremendous reserves awakening in the interior of our constructive activity, and hurling them against our class-enemies at home and abroad.

At times Socialist competition is confounded with business competition. That is a great mistake. Socialist and business competition stand for two altogether different conceptions. The principle of the latter is the victory and domination of the one at the cost of the defeat and death of the other, whereas the principle of Socialist competition lies in the friendly support of the weaker by the more advanced for the purpose of attaining a common progress. Business competition tells the stronger to outstrip the weaker so as to establish his own predominance, while Socialist competition tells us that there are some that work badly, others that work well, and yet others that work best and that we must outstrip the best with a view to ensuring a common advance of all. This explains the unprecedented enthusiasm in productive activity, which has seized upon the millions of workers as a result of Socialist competition. Business competition never called forth anything comparable with this enthusiasm on the part of the masses.

Socialist Competition Arouses the Creative Energy and Initiative of the Masses.

(Appeal of the 16th National Conference of the C. P. S. U.)

To the Workers and Toiling Peasants of the Soviet Union!

Comrades! History confronts the workers of our country with gigantic tasks.

In a relatively short historical space of time we must catch up and outstrip the technically and economically advanced capitalist countries by realising the Socialist reconstruction of our entire economy.

We must ensure a rapid growth of industry and at the same time the progress of our agriculture by establishing and constantly developing large socialised farming enterprises (Soviet estates and collective farms) in our rural districts on the basis of advanced technics of agricultural engineering.

We must engender a comprehensive movement of the masses towards cultural progress, eliminating all elements of unnecessary expenditure, waste, and bureaucracy from our State apparatus.

We must continue our offensive against the capitalist elements, ousting them not only from the towns but also from the country districts.

We must absolutely strengthen the fencibility of the Soviet Union in regard to attacks from without.

In the realisation of these tasks we must rely on the firm alliance between workers and active peasants under the guidance of the working class.

With a view to the realisation of these tasks, the Party has confirmed the Five-Year Plan of economic construction, which constitutes the programme of the Party in its liquidation of the economic and cultural backwardness and on its way to Socialism and to the victorious realisation of international revolution.

In the course of the five-year period, 64,000 million roubles are to be invested in the construction of factories, power-works, railways, Soviet farms, collective farms, and schools.

Socialist industry will raise the level of production to three times its pre-war extent. All the factories and mines will introduce the seven-hour day.

The rapid rate of industrialisation in the country and the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture with a simultaneous increased offensive of the proletariat against the capitalist elements in town and country call forth the embittered resistance of our class-enemies.

The kulak and the "Nepman" will not abandon their positions without a struggle. The kulak offers resistance to the Soviet policy in the direction of grain provisioning, and the organisation of collective farms and Soviet estates, attempting by terrorism to intimidate the organisers of the "new village". The kulak and the "Nepman" are assisted by the counter-revolutionary parasites of industry, and the latter again by the bureaucrats among our own authorities and officials. All of them are inspired and supported by foreign capitalists.

In certain circles of the working class and peasantry, the pressure of these alien classes has caused vacillation and has called forth an opportunistic deviation to the Right in the ranks of the Communist Party.

It is only when they have overcome these vacillations in their own ranks and successfully warded off the deviations to the Right that the Party and the proletariat will break down the resistance of their class-enemies and realise the Five-Year Plan of economic construction.

The working-class of our country has already at various stages of its development been confronted with numerous obstacles and difficulties, in the mastery of which the mass-initiative of the working class has played a predominant rôle.

In 1919, when the Soviet Union was surrounded by White bandits and interventionary Powers, at a time of the greatest want and misery, when on the battle-fields of the civil war the blood of hundreds of thousands of the best proletarians and peasants was shed, the starving and needy workers in the hinterland of their own initiative organised "Communist Saturdays" for the purpose of raising the working productivity and providing the fuel and foodstuffs most urgently required for the upkeep of the proletarian State machine. Comrade Lenin at that time spoke of the "Communist Saturdays" as of a "great deed", an "heroic deed", on the part of the workers in the hinterland.

At the IXth Party Congress in 1920, a resolution was passed in regard to the working competition, which Lenin associated intimately with the idea of Socialist reconstruction.

"Every social system (in the age of slavery, or serfdom, or capitalism)" — so says the resolution of the IXth Party Congress — "had its own methods of coercive employment and the education of workers in the interest of an upper class of exploiters.

"The Soviet system is faced with the task of developing — in the interest of the entire nation — its own methods of increasing the productivity and intensity of work on the basis of a socialised economy.

"Alongside the agitatory, ideological influence exercised on the working masses and reprisals employed against notorious slackers, parasites, and other disorganising elements, competition appears as a powerful means to increase the productivity of work.

"In capitalist society competition assumed the character of a business rivalry and led to the exploitation of the one by the other. In a society in which the means of production are nationalised, competition will only tend to enhance the total of the working output without in any way impairing solidarity.

"The competition among factories, districts, departments, workshops, and individual workers must be made the subject of a careful study by the trade-union associations and economic organs."

This resolution of the IXth Party Congress is still absolutely suited and applicable to the present day.

Workers and toiling peasants! To overcome the difficulties of Socialist development, to pursue the offensive against the capitalist elements in town and country, and to realise the programme of the Five-Year Plan, you must organise competition in all branches of construction, in the factories, mines, and offices, on the railways, the Soviet farms, and the collective estates, in the schools and in the hospitals. Organise a competition to reduce initial costs, to increase productivity, to raise the level of discipline, to enlarge the area under cultivation, to enhance the crops, to recruit the peasants for collaboration on the Soviet and collective farms, to simplify the State apparatus and consolidate its connection with the masses, and to improve work in the social and cultural institutions in the interest of the working masses.

The Socialist competition organised this year on the initiative of the Leninist Youth League and the press, is more and more assuming the proportions of a veritable mass-movement. The first measures adopted by the miners of the Donetz Area (Lugansk, Shakhty) in the direction of competition resulted in March in a coal output in excess of the production programme. The textile workers of Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, Tver, and Moscow have concluded a contract for the realisation of the financial and industrial plans of the current economic year. The workers of the Ural Region, at Leningrad, Dniepro-Petrovsk, Moscow, and Rostov have organised hundreds of troops and shifts for especially urgent tasks. Every day the principle of competition spreads to further sections of the working class. The Soviet estates and collective farms of Ukraine have already adopted this principle. At the same time campaigns for enhancing the crops and transforming agriculture on a collective basis have been set on foot in Siberia, Northern Caucasia, and regions on the upper and lower reaches of the Volga.

The readiness to work and sacrifice on the part of the masses is reflected in the voluntary increase of the standards of production, in the performance of voluntary work to make up for holidays, in the constantly increasing suggestions made at the productional discussions, in the boycott of the slackers and idlers, and in the struggle for an enhanced productivity of work.

"Communism may be said to begin wherever the simple workers begin to take a self-sacrificing interest in enhancing the working output, an interest which overcomes all difficulties." (Lenin.)

The rivalry which arouses the creative energy and initiative of the masses must become the permanent means of enlisting the workers in the task of Socialist construction.

Hand in hand with self-criticism within the Communist ranks, competition must become the means of a Socialist training of the working class, and of the new workers in particular who come of peasant or petty-obrgeois stock.

Competition must lead to a transformation of the working methods and forms of our public and State organisations,

especially the trade unions and economic organs, in promoting the comprehensive enlistment of the masses in the task of administering economy and the entire State.

The economic and trade-union organs must do their utmost to incite the competing workers. The names of the most able workers, experts, economists, and agriculturalists, and the names of the best factories, mines, Soviet estates, and collective farms must be known throughout the country.

Steps must be taken "to make the comparison between the economic results of the individual communities the subject of general interest and study and immediately to reward prominent communities (by shorter working hours for a certain period, a rise in wages, or special consideration in the grant of facilities in the direction of art and culture etc.)". (Lenin.)

The press must submit to the judgment of the masses the economic results of the enterprises engaged in competition. Systematically illustrate the course of the contest, and enhance the general interests.

The working class of our country has preserved the heroic traditions of former years. Lenin's idea of an "organisation of competition on a Socialist basis" is being increasingly realised. The principles of a Communist attitude in regard to work are more and more apparent in production.

The troops formed in the enterprises and Soviet organs to deal with particularly urgent work are the inheritors of the very best traditions of the Communist Saturdays. Productional exhibitions, appeals, competitions, and the like, gain in importance in connection with the growing activity of the productional discussions and conferences in the interest of Socialist construction.

A new type of Socialist worker is developing in the Soviet enterprises. The rôle of the working masses and their participation in the administration of the State are constantly increasing.

The constant spread of Socialist competition is a safe guarantee that the Five-Year Plan will be realised on the basis of the general directives of the Party and that, in spite of opportunistic vacillation and influences and in spite of the embittered resistance of our class-enemies, the working class, together with the active masses of the peasantry, will victoriously progress in its construction of the Socialist order of society.

The Five-Year Plan is a plan of the militant workers for the overthrow of the capitalist elements, a plan for the Socialist education of the masses, a plan for the creation of the foundations of a Socialist order of society.

Socialist competition is a powerful means for the incitement and organisation of mass-initiative in the interest of the Five-Year Plan and at the same time for the development of self-criticism from the bottom up.

Competition and the Five-Year Plan are indissolubly linked together. In fulfilling these tasks, the proletariat of the Soviet Union advances on its further offensive against the class-enemies of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Party calls upon all proletarians and all toilers in town and country to rally round the Leninist banner of the C. P. S. U. with redoubled energy in a fight for the industrialisation and socialisation of the country.

Long live Socialist Competition!

Long live Communism!

The 16th National Conference of the C. P. S. U.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

To All Members of the Communist Party of the United States.

An Address by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Dear Comrades: The Executive Committee of the Communist International together with the delegation of the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States has very carefully discussed the situation in the American Communist Party. Having given to all delegates the fullest opportunity for expressing their views and for making proposals, having carefully examined all material presented and having considered the question from all aspects, the Executive Committee of the Communist International deems it necessary to place in all seriousness the situation within the Party before all members of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party, which placed before it the fundamental tasks arising in connection with the accentuation of the inner and outer contradictions of American imperialism in the present period, pointed out the necessity of the Party's converting itself as soon as possible from a numerically small propagandistic organisation into a mass political party of the working class which particularly at the present juncture is indissolubly connected with the intensification of the struggle against the right danger. This Open Letter declared categorically that the fundamental prerequisite for the successful carrying out of these tasks is the cessation of the unprincipled struggle of many years standing.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is compelled to record that at the Convention itself and after it not only was there no appreciable result achieved in the matter of doing away with factionalism, but on the contrary the factional struggle has become still more accentuated. Due to the unprincipled factional struggle the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party failed to produce the results which it should have produced in regard to bolshevisation and the establishment of a healthier condition within the American Communist Party. Many of the most important political questions and tasks confronting the Party were not discussed by the Convention. The errors of the Majority and of the Minority of the Party were not explained at the Convention as they should have been as a matter of Bolshevik self-criticism. The Party was not mobilised for the struggle against the right danger. No consolidation of all forces of the Party for struggle against factionalism was secured at the Convention. On the contrary this Convention, which was composed of the best proletarian elements of the American Communist Party who uphold the line of the Comintern, became an arena for unprincipled maneuvers on the part of the top leaders of the Majority as well as on the part of the leaders of the Minority. The Convention was forced off of the line proposed by the Comintern and was mobilised for purposes of further factional struggle by both groups.

A gross distortion of the line of the Comintern was the theory inoculated into the Convention alleging that organisational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International were in contradiction to its political letter instead of being a necessary guarantee for carrying out the line of the Open Letter to the American Communist Party. A clearly factional distortion of the meaning of the organisational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International were also the efforts to interpret them as handing over the leadership of the Party to the Minority, which was not and is not intended by the Comintern since the fundamental task of the Open Letter and organisational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Sixth Convention was the consolidation of the Party on the basis of the line of the Comintern in the direction of the struggle against the factionalism of both groups. The Minority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States endeavoured to make the Open Letter and organisational proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International an instrument for getting the leadership of the Party

The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential.

Marx: "Capital".

into its own hands. The Executive Committee of the Communist International condemns these attempts of the Minority which show that it factionally distorted the meaning of the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and its organisational proposals and that certain leaders of the Minority have shown themselves unfit to play a role of a uniting factor in the struggle of the Party against factionalism in conformity with the directions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It is the factional leaders of the Majority with Comrade Lovestone at the head that are mainly responsible for making use of the Convention for factional purposes, for misleading honest proletarian Party members who uphold the line of the Comintern, for playing an unprincipled game with the question of the struggle against the Right danger in the Comintern and in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for inadmissible personal hounding of the delegation of the Comintern at the Convention, for the organisation of caucus meetings of the delegates of the Majority in direct contradiction with the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and in spite of verbal acceptance of that letter, for hounding those comrades who departed from the Majority faction and unconditionally accepted the line of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, for a campaign against certain responsible comrades of the Minority who were carrying out the line of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—for all these methods and intrigues which cannot be tolerated in any section of the Comintern and which clearly bear the imprint of petty bourgeois politics.

Both factions of the American Communist Party have been guilty of right errors. Both factions show serious deviations to the right from the general line of the Comintern, which creates the danger of an openly opportunist right deviation crystallizing within the Party.

Since the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International the Majority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party has been committing a series of gross right errors pointed out in the Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. These errors found their expression in overestimating American imperialism and putting the question of inner and outer contradictions in a wrong way, which led to the obscuring of the inner contradictions of American capitalism, in underestimating the swing to the left of the American working class, in underestimating American reformism which led to weakening the struggle against it, in underestimating the right danger in the American Communist Party, in substituting in place of the question of the right opportunist danger only the question of Trotzkyism, in dealing with the question in a manner which led to the right danger.

The Minority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party was committing, in regard to questions dealing with the crisis of American capitalism and the swing of the masses to the left, "left", but in reality right opportunist errors; it dissociated the development of the inner contradictions of American capitalism from its external contradictions and from the general crisis of world capitalism, and in regard to the question of struggle against the war danger it was sliding down to petty bourgeois pacifist slogans ("no new cruisers"—Comrade Bittelman). The Minority of the Central Committee was unable to dissociate itself at the right time from Trotzkyism and did not properly struggle against it. An ideological lever of right errors in the American Communist Party was the so-called theory of "exceptionalism" which found its clearest exponents in the persons of Comrades Pepper and Lovestone whose conception was as follows: There is a crisis of capitalism but not of American capitalism, there is a swing of the masses leftwards but not in America, there is the necessity of accentuating the struggle against reformism but not in the United States, there is a necessity for struggling against the right danger but not in the American Communist Party. And yet the present period, when the process shaking the foundation of capitalist stabilisation is going on, signifies for the United States that it is being ever more closely involved in the general crisis of capitalism. In America too the fundamental contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the growth of productive forces and the lagging behind of markets—is becoming more accentuated. The bourgeoisie is increasing its efforts to find a way out of the growing crisis by means of rationalisation, i. e. by increased exploitation of the working class. The internal class contradictions are growing; the struggle for markets and spheres for investment of capital against other imperialist states

is becoming more accentuated; there is a feverish growth of armaments and the war danger is getting nearer and nearer. With a distinctness unprecedented in history, American capitalism is exhibiting now the effects of the inexorable laws of capitalist development, the laws of the decline and downfall of capitalist society. The general crisis of capitalism is growing more rapidly than it may seem at first glance. This crisis will shake also the foundation of the power of American imperialism.

Under these conditions the theory of "exceptionalism" is a reflection of the pressure of American capitalism and reformism which is endeavouring to create among the mass of workers the impression of absolute firmness and "exceptional" imperialist might of American capital in spite of its growing crisis and to strengthen the tactic of class collaboration in spite of the accentuation of class contradictions. The Executive Committee of the Communist International points out that not only the mistakes of the Majority but also the most important mistakes of the Minority were based on the conception of American "exceptionalism." While it records the political mistakes of both groups as well as the growth of the right danger in the American Communist Party, the Executive Committee of the Communist International regards as a factional exaggeration the claim alleging that the group of the Majority as a whole is a bearer of the right tendency as well as the claim alleging that the Minority group represents the Trotzkyist deviation. There are in the ranks of both groups elements with strong right tendencies which either show themselves openly or are masked by "left" phraseology. Neither of the two groups has carried on a proper struggle against these right tendencies in the ranks of its own faction and the factionalism of both groups has been the great impediment to the development within the Party of the necessary self-criticism and to the political educational of the Party members in the spirit of Bolshevik steadfastness based upon principle. A factional lack of principle which is also an expression of opportunism finds its expression in the fact that both groups were putting the interests of their faction above the interests of the Party. On the strength of this the American Communist Party is confronted now in all sharpness with the question of the danger of the political disintegration of the present leading cadres which threatens to undermine the whole work of the Party. A characteristic manifestation of rotten factional diplomacy in regard to the Communist International is the attitude of the Majority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party on the question of Comrade Pepper's conduct. In spite of repeated decisions of the Comintern on the removal from work in the American Communist Party of Comrade Pepper who repeatedly exhibited opportunistic tendencies, the Majority of the Central Committee violated these decisions of the Comintern, shielding the political errors and gross breaches of discipline which were being committed by Comrade Pepper. The inconsistency and lack of principle in the attitude of the leaders of the Majority of the Central Committee in regard to Comrade Pepper found vivid expression in the fact that the Central Committee of the American Communist Party expelled him from the Party, pointing out that "the political platform of Comrade Pepper is no doubt the real cause of his cowardly disinclination to do his duty and to go and place himself at the disposal of the Comintern" (decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party approved by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee), whereas a few days later in spite of the political characteristic given to Comrade Pepper the Central Committee reinstated him in the ranks of the Party. The Majority as well as the Minority in 1929 was engaged in inadmissible, unprincipled speculation with questions of the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Comintern. If the Minority speculated in the version as if it were the only group in the American Communist Party sharing the attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its struggle against right deviations, the Majority, making use of methods of rotten diplomacy, went to the length of unprincipled maneuvering in regard to this question. This has found expression in the adoption by the Convention at the initiative of Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow and without the least attempt at informing the delegates of the Convention about the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of a resolution which proposed organisational measures in the struggle against the right deviation. And subsequently to the arrival in Moscow the delegation of the Majority in the person of Comrade Gitlow made a declaration which practically disavows this resolution and upholds the slanderous attacks of the right elements on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern draws special attention to attacks entirely unworthy of a Communist, which during the Convention, Comrade Lovestone permitted himself to make on the leadership of the Comintern (Comrade Lovestone's reference to "a running sore" in the apparatus of the Executive Committee of the Communist International). The Executive Committee of the Communist International emphasises that these attacks of Comrade Lovestone represent a repetition of slanderous attacks upon the Comintern made by right opportunists.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International draws special attention to the declaration of May 9th in which Comrades Bedacht, Lovestone and others tried to discredit beforehand the decision of the Comintern by stating that "the Executive Committee of the Communist International wants to destroy the Central Committee and is therefore following a policy of legalising forever the factionalism of the opposition block and is recommending that it carry it on also in future".

The Executive Committee of the Communist International holds that this most factional and entirely impermissible anti-Party declaration of Comrades Bedacht, Lovestone and others represents a direct attempt at preparing a condition necessary for paralysing the decisions of the Comintern and for a split in the Communist Party of America. The same manifest determination to oppose their faction to the Comintern found expression also in a second statement of May 14th submitted by the delegation from the Convention only in more diplomatic form. The assertion of the leaders of the Majority faction concerning their "loyalty" to the Comintern contained in that statement was clearly exposed at the very session of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at which the statement was reported, by the refusal of the majority of the signers unconditionally to carry into effect the decisions contained in this letter. The Executive Committee of the Communist International declares that in case the authors of the declaration refuse unconditionally to submit to the decisions of the Comintern and to actively put them practice, the Executive Committee of the Communist International will be forced to adopt all measures necessary to put a stop to all attempts at splitting the Party, to secure unity in the ranks of the Communist Party of America and to realise the decisions adopted by the Comintern.

In the course of years the Executive Committee of the Communist International had repeatedly demanded the liquidation of factionalism in the Communist Party of America. Thus for example in the resolution of the 5th Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1925 it is stated: "The Executive Committee holds to the opinion that the factional struggle between the two groups must absolutely cease."

In a resolution of the 6th Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1926 on the American question, among other things it is stated: "To enable the American Communist Party to fulfill its historic mission the first prerequisite is complete and unconditional termination of the factional fight within the Communist Party not in words but in deeds."

In its resolution of July 1st 1927 the Executive Committee of the Communist International again reminded the Party that "this demand was not being carried out seriously enough", and that there is still in the Party "an impermissible situation of faction formation" which may lead to "a crisis in the Party".

The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928, while mentioning in its political theses that in the Party there is to be "observed a slackening of the long standing factional struggle," nevertheless found sufficient ground for deciding that "the most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to factional strife — which is not based on any serious controversies on points of principle".

Finally the Executive Committee of the Communist International, with the object of carrying out the decisions of the World Congress and in view of the fact that the inner-Party situation in the United States became anew accentuated, had addressed an open letter to the American Party in December 1928 and demanded from the Convention then pending that it begin at last really to carry out the decisions of the Comintern concerning the liquidation of factionalism. All of this was absolutely of no avail so far. The leaders of the Majority as well as the leaders of the Minority of the Central Committee, who repeatedly gave their verbal pledges to the Exe-

cutive Committee of the Communist International that they will carry out the decisions of the Comintern, have systematically violated the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and their own pledges. Therefore the Executive Committee of the Comintern, approving in the main the work of the delegation of the E. C. C. I. to the Sixth Convention of the American Communist Party, resolves to adopt the following measures:

1. To place the Majority as well as the Minority of the Central Committee under the obligation of dissolving immediately all factions and ceasing all factional work. To call upon all organisations of the American Communist Party to secure the putting into practice of this instruction, not shrinking from the application in regard to factionalism of the most severe disciplinary measures clear up to expulsion from the Party.

2. Comrades Lovestone and Bittelman as the extreme factionalists of the Majority and Minority, to be removed for a time from work in the American Communist Party.

3. To reject the demand of the Minority of the Central Committee in regard to the calling of a special Convention.

4. To recognise as necessary the reorganisation and extension of the Secretariat of the Central Committee on a basis of securing real collective, non-factional activity, and to render to the Central Committee every possible help in the matter of putting an end to all factionalism in the Party.

5. To turn over Comrade Pepper's case to the International Control Commission for consideration.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls upon all members of the Party to get together for the struggle against unprincipled factionalism in the Party, to be able to carry on the struggle against the right danger, for the healing and bolshevisation of the American Communist Party, for the genuine carrying out of inner-Party democracy and proletarian self-criticism. With these objects in view the Party must initiate on a large scale a discussion of the questions concerning the situation within the Party and the political tasks confronting the Party. It is necessary to carry on in all Party and young Communist organisations a thorough enlightenment campaign concerning the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of America, and concerning the present address of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In the course of this enlightenment campaign, while waging a struggle against all opportunists who want to fight the Comintern, while uniting in that struggle all honest and disciplined comrades who are loyal to the Communist movement, the Communist Party must concentrate its attention at the most important questions of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of America—on questions of unemployment, struggle for social insurance, wages, working hours, work in existing trade unions, work for the organisation of new unions, struggle against reformism and struggle against the war danger. The Communist Party of the United States must strengthen its work in regard to recruiting and retaining in its ranks new cadres of workers that are joining the Party, especially of the working youth. It must widen its agitational and organisational work in the big plants in the main branches of industry and among the Negroes and must secure for the Party an independent leading role in the industrial struggles of the working class that are developing, organising in the process of the struggle the unorganised workers.

It is only by relentless struggle against unprincipled factionalism, which is eating into the vitals of the Party, only by consolidating the whole Party for carrying out its fundamental practical tasks on the basis of the line of the Comintern and by more energetic struggle against the right danger that the American Communist Party will become the genuine Bolshevik vanguard of the American proletariat and will be converted into a mass political Party of the American workers in the ranks of which inner-Party democracy is being actually unfolded while at the same time an iron proletarian discipline is strengthened, to which all organisations and each individual member unconditionally submits; in the Majority on the basis of the submission of the Minority to the Majority on the basis of the Party's persual of the line and practical directions of the Comintern. Such a Party will be capable to lead the American proletariat to victorious struggle against capitalism.

With Communist Greetings,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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

Comrade Baumann's Report at the Meeting of Moscow Functionaries' of the C. P. S. U.

(Conclusion.)

The Maintenance of the N. E. P. and the Intensified Struggle against the Capitalist Elements.

At the present stage of socialist construction we have various difficulties to overcome. There is a shortage of some articles, and we have been obliged to introduce bread and sugar cards, in order to put a check on profiteering, and to ensure cheap bread and sugar for the workers. At the same time we are carrying on the struggle for increased supplies of grain from our rural districts, and for this purpose are mobilising the poor and middle peasantry against the kulak who is holding back his grain. We are forcing the big peasants to deliver up their grain at the standard prices fixed by the proletarian state. This method has been extensively applied in the Ural district, where it has enabled the grain to be obtained according to plan. The same methods have been employed in Siberia and Kasakstan, and have again been successful. It is our endeavour, on the one hand, to introduce the saving regime into our grain supply by means of efficient organisation, and on the other hand to remove the difficulties of adequate supply by inducing the big peasants to deliver up more of their crops.

The group of the Right opportunists have adopted an entirely different standpoint. They regard forced measures as impermissible, even with respect to the kulak, and do not conceal their sceptical opinion of the bread cards.

At the same time the Rights advocate, in a veiled form, the raising of the grain prices. They propose that the standard prices be fixed quarterly, having thereby in view the necessity of a rise in price in spring.

It is perfectly clear that the proposals of the Right group actually reflect, in their totality, the strivings of the kulak for free trade, that is, the strivings aiming in the last resort at the free capitalist development of the village. The talk about a return to war communism, and about an abolition of the New Economic Policy, is ridiculous and unfounded, for by now, in the eighth year of the N. E. P., it is obvious to everyone that we must approach socialism along the path of the New Economic Policy. But at the same time we are attacking the capitalist elements. The New Economic Policy has two sides: On the one hand it permits the free circulation of commodities within certain limits, and admits capitalist elements under certain conditions; on the other hand the N. E. P. signifies the state regulation of markets and prices. The capitalist is placed under the control of the proletarian state. We exercise our influence upon the markets both economically (by the development of state and co-operative trade) and administratively. We do not oppose the economic and administrative measures to one another; we do not divide them into separate spheres. We have introduced food cards. This is a kind of organisational and economic measure. At the same time we have banished over one hundred speculators from Moscow. We strive to control the markets, in order to realise that aim set by the proletarian state: the maintenance of the level of real wages, etc. If we ask ourselves from which side the greatest danger threatens the New Economic Policy at the present moment — from the side of a return to war communism or from the side of a disturbance of the state regulation of markets and prices —, it is clear that the danger of a disturbance of state price and market regulation is the more serious. Therefore, we oppose above all those who under-estimate the necessity of the regulation of the markets by the proletarian state.

The Necessity of a Strenuous Pace of Industrialisation.

The next question, in which two lines run in opposite directions — the line of the Party and that of the Right opportunists —, is the question of the pace of industrialisation of our country. The principles which Rights have laid down hitherto clearly show that they favour a slower pace of industrialisation.

There are some comrades who declare themselves outwardly in agreement with the Five-Year Plan, but propose a special Two-Year Plan for overcoming the present immediate difficulties. In other words, the Five-Year Plan gives the general line and serves for purpose of edification, but for practical work we need a special plan. All these proposals show an under-estimation of that slogan issued by Comrade Lenin, the fighting slogan, the slogan: The economically most advanced capitalist countries are to be overtaken and passed. The decisions of the Party are based on the recognition of the fact that the present international and inner situation forces upon us an unavoidable strenuous pace of development, failing which we may suffer defeat at the most important front of the class struggle, both against imperialism and against capitalism which relies on small production in the Soviet Union. It is solely by means of the development of industry, that decisive basis of socialism, that we can secure the rapid re-organisation of our whole national economy on a socialist foundation, and can strengthen the economic independence of our country and its defensive capacity against imperialism. Those comrades who would like to reduce the pace of industrialisation are trying to place limits on the development of heavy industry, and to divert larger means to the support of light industry. This attempt again is obviously part and parcel of their general and absolutely false viewpoint, based on an under-estimation of the production-alliance between the working class and the peasantry at the present period. Metals are as necessary as calico for strengthening the alliance between worker and peasant.

The Bolshevisation of the Communist International and the Right Opportunists.

The differences of opinion between the Party and the Rights are not exhausted by question of inner policy. Differences of opinion also exist with regard to the C. I. in questions of international policy.

The Rights have arrived at a false valuation of the present stabilisation. They lay all possible stress on the technical reconstruction of capitalism, the technical advance of capitalism, but emphasise very inadequately the instability and decomposition of capitalism, the unavoidable growth and aggravation of the inner contradictions of the capitalist system. The under-estimation of the inconstancy of the stabilisation, and the over-estimation of its firmness, may easily lead the Rights directly to Hillerding's social-democratic theory on the recovery of capitalism. Our Party and the C. I., however, proceed from the principle that capitalism, which has arrived at a certain stage of stabilisation, reproduces its antagonisms on a larger scale; for the development of productive forces is accompanied by a corresponding growth of the inner contradictions of capitalism. At the same time the revolutionary wave of the proletarian movement and of the oppressed colonial peoples rises unceasingly. Numerous events which have taken place of late: the successes of the communists in the parliamentary elections, the growing strike movements, the intensified class war of the capitalists on the proletariat by means of lockouts, the conspicuous success of the communists in the trade union movement, and the latest May Day demonstration in Berlin, bear irrefutable witness to the fact that the proletariat of the West is preparing for fresh struggles; that although it has not yet passed forward from defence to attack, it is about to do so; that its fighting powers, its will to fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system, are growing.

The Rights fail to perceive that in the present period of class war in the West, in the period of preparation for fresh struggles, the struggle against social democracy must be conducted quite ruthlessly, and that above all its Left wing must be combated, this being most dangerous of all, as it fosters illusions by which it gains the ear of certain strata of the proletariat, and possesses the capability of adapting itself skilfully to the mentality of the backward workers. The Rights fail to recognise the necessity of intensifying the fight against trade union bureaucracy, the necessity of comprehensive activities among the unorganised strata of the workers.

The Rights under-estimate the necessity of an intensified struggle against the social democratic tendencies in the ranks of our brother parties. The Rights in the C. P. S. U. do not want to place definitely on the agenda the question of the fight against the Right deviation and the conciliatory tendency in

the C. I. And finally, the Rights hinder the struggle for strict Bolshevik discipline in the C. I., and strive to represent the purging of our brother parties from the "social democratic pest" as a disintegrating in the C. I.

The speaker, here proceeded to deal at length with the practical questions of the work of the C. I., showing how the Rights in C. P. S. U. give support, directly and indirectly, to the German conciliators [Ewert and Gerhard], and even to the open opportunists expelled from the C. I.

Trotskyist Variations and the Inner-Party Regime.

And finally the last question, which again shows the great distance which the Rights have placed between themselves and the Party line. This is the question of the inner-Party regime. The representatives of the Right deviation declare that the Party is strengthening bureaucracy. This accusation differs in nothing from the Trotskyist declaration that our Party is becoming bureaucratic; that the secretarial hierarchy in the Party issues its orders, whilst the masses of the Party members have only got to vote as they are told, and so forth. When does the regime of his own party become intolerable for a Bolshevik? It becomes intolerable for him the moment when the line of the Party member leaves the line of the Party, or has already diverged it. At the present time the Party is combating bureaucracy with greater energy than ever before. The Party has issued the slogan of self-criticism; and it is precisely this slogan which is not being applied, at the right time and to the right degree, by those comrades who propound these Trotskyist variations with regard to bureaucracy in the Party. They have distorted this slogan, and by hindering its realisation they are aiding the bureaucratic elements.

The Views of the Right are Incompatible with the General Line of the Party.

I have enumerated the most important differences of opinion between the Party and the representatives of the Right deviation. If we draw the balance, we see plainly that in the Right group we have the bearers of another line, an opportunist line, and that they are striving to oppose this to the general line of the Party. In every decisive question of Party policy the Rights propose their own platform, and seek to put it through secretly, in separate parts.

1. The Party sees in the all-round development of industry the key to the rapid development of our whole national economy; the Right opposition puts its trust in the development and enrichment of the individual undertaking.

2. These comrades fail to recognise the decisive link in the present period, prescribing our line of action. Comrade Lenin demanded of us, as a fundamental slogan, that we learn to carry on trade. This was the decisive slogan in the first phase of the New Economic Policy. Today this suffices no longer. Today we must recognise that the centre of gravity in the struggle between socialism and capitalism has shifted to production. We must pass forward to those slogans of Comrade Lenin which dealt with electrification, the development of industry, the technical reconstruction of the country, and the collectivisation of the peasant farms. At the present juncture we must not only contrive to obtain access to the granaries of the peasant; we must find our way to his fields, and must develop on the soil itself a socialised large-scale production, aided by every achievement of modern technics.

3. These comrades fail to grasp the inevitability of an aggravation of the class struggle in the present period. They seek to attribute the causes of the acuter class struggle to mistakes in our planned economy, and to defects in the Soviet apparatus.

4. Instead of preparing the proletariat in the capitalist countries for the coming struggles, they are actually following in the wake of the "Left" social democrats.

All this leads to a weakening of the will to fight and of the fighting capacity of the proletariat of our country in its campaign for the final extermination of capitalism. It hinders the overcoming of the difficulties of socialist construction, and disturbs the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

At the same time we may observe a fractional struggle of the Right against the line of the Party. The struggle in the Moscow organisation, the attempt to form an unprincipled block with the former Trotskyists, the sabotage of Party decisions, and

the policy of resignations, these are some of the measures being adopted for the purpose of a fractional formation of the Right opposition.

The Rights state that they have brought in no motions at the Conference for fear they would be accused of fractional work. We — they declare — vote for these resolutions, but reserve at the same time our own standpoint. (A voice: How are we to understand that?) Everybody can understand it as he likes. I believe that the following passage from Comrade Lenin's writings gives the clearest answer:

"When we speak of the struggle against opportunism, we must never forget the most characteristic feature of all modern opportunism in each and every sphere: its indefiniteness, its inclination to delinquency. It is in the nature of opportunism to avoid facing a question fairly and squarely; it seeks for equivalent solutions; winds with the slipperiness of an eel between standpoints excluding one another; seeks to be in agreement with this and that, to confine its differences of opinion to small corrections, doubts, harmless wishes, etc."

This is the characterisation of opportunism given over twenty years ago by Comrade Lenin, and which can obviously be applied to our Right opportunists today. (A voice: That hits the nail on the head.) The Plenum of the C. C. of the Party could of course not make use of these opportunist methods, it could not twist and turn, it could not propose petty corrections and advance harmless wishes. The Plenum condemned the views of the Right as incompatible with the general line of the Party. The Plenum condemned the fractional measures of the Right. The Plenum condemned the resignation policy of the Right as a grave violation of Party discipline. (Applause.)

Slanders by the Right, Alleging that the Party is Slipping into Trotskyism.

In the question of the two lines I should like to deal briefly with the accusations that the Party is slipping into Trotskyism. We all know what Trotskyism is. Trotskyism is a deviation directed against the middle peasant, an under-estimation of the necessity of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry. Where and when has our Party passed decisions against an alliance with the middle peasants? Do not the slogans of industrialisation and collectivisation signify, in their historical development, the drawing closer of the bond between the working class and the decisive masses of the peasants? Collectivisation increases the prosperity of the poor peasantry, and the new technics, aided by co-operation, promote with the utmost rapidity, the economic rise of the middle peasant. The slogans of the Party are not directed in the least against the alliance with the middle peasantry. On the contrary, they render this alliance closer than before, and at the same time strengthen the rôle of the working class.

We declare war on the kulak, we declare that we must direct our fire against the Right. In this is seen an external similarity to the Trotskyist opposition. Did the Trotskyists too not demand that the kulak be combated? Did they too not say that the fire should be directed not against the Left, but against the Right? To be sure they said all this before the 14th Party Congress, but in a connection very different from our present one. What were Trotsky, Kamenev, and Zinoviev talking about at that time? They declared that the kulak was attacking; that the petty bourgeois elements were "already flooding the ground floor of the government buildings of the Soviet Union"; that the Thermidor was upon us; that socialism could not be built up in our country. We, on the other hand, held an entirely different standpoint: We are attacking the kulak; the proletariat strikes at the kulak by developing the socialist offensive, strikes at the capitalist elements; but the capitalists increase their resistance. We do not doubt that in spite of these difficulties we shall defeat the kulak; that we shall build up the socialist order, and realise it (Applause).

This is the decisive difference between our Party and Trotskyism. Trotskyism is disbelief in the victory of the working class; Trotskyism is the policy of hopeless, adventure and pretence, together with political romanticism, but in its totality simply petty bourgeois opportunism. Our policy is the firm forward stride of the iron battalions of the proletariat. We see clearly the perspectives of socialist development. Our policy is

the policy leading fresh millions of the masses of the people forward to the final victory. In fighting against the Right deviation and the conciliatory attitude towards it, as the main danger of the present period, we destroy at the same time the last remnants of Trotzkyism.

II. The Five-Year Plan, the Struggle against Bureaucracy, and the Purging of the Party.

The figures of the Five-Year Plan accepted by us, and confirmed by the 16th National Conference of the C. P. S. U., bear witness to the victorious advance of socialism in our country. The Five-Year Plan itself is a mighty document of socialist achievement.

When the Five-Year Plan was being drawn up, a lack of faith in our own powers was observable; a strange theory of the "falling curve" was advanced, the assumption that after the restoration period was ended our industry must of necessity develop at a very slow rate. The bourgeois experts also felt dubious as to the rate prescribed by the plan. The lack of faith and the gloomy predictions of the bourgeois experts have, however, already been confuted by the results attained in 1927/28 and 1929/30.

(The speaker adduces figures showing the vast extent of the development of our economic progress, and then passes on to the problems of agriculture.)

The data at our disposal demonstrate the growth of agriculture and confute the hysterical outcries of the Right, with their allegations of retrogression.

(Comrade Baumann then describes the extremely low productivity of the small scattered peasant farms, which are not in a position to satisfy the rapidly increasing demands of the process of industrialisation. The speaker further points out the necessity for an energetic development of the socialised large-scale agricultural undertakings, of socialised village economy, on the basis of mechanisation. The material foundation for this socialised economy is already being laid. Comrade Baumann points out the paramount importance, already stressed by Comrade Lenin, of electrification as a factor effectuating the re-organisation of the backward peasant farms. Modern technics, and the organisation of agriculture on a scientific basis, lay the foundation of socialisation.)

We have already hiring centres for agricultural machinery and tractors, aiding the surrounding villages in the cultivation of the fields. We have not yet many of these centres, but the first trials being made in this direction are exceedingly important. The idea of the joint cultivation of the fields of several villages was broached by the Moscow organisation as early as 1927, at the 16th Gubernial Conference of the C. P. S. U., and is now being extensively realised in the R. S. F. S. R. and in the Ukraine.

The Conference discussed the question: Is the kulak to be included in the collective measures when the joint cultivation of land is undertaken? To a certain extent too much attention was devoted to this question, for when whole villages take up the collective system, the kulak question is by no means the most urgent one. The factor of decisive importance is rather the organisation of a bloc of agricultural labourers and small and middle peasants, for the purpose of breaking the resistance of the kulak and destroying his influence over certain strata of the masses of the peasantry. When we placed on our agenda the question of the collective cultivation of land, we emphasised at the same time that this is possible only by the class struggle of the decisive peasant masses against the large peasantry, and that this struggle is not obviated by the first steps of a production co-operative association of the peasantry.

The Conference at the same time confirmed the measures for reducing the agricultural taxes by a total of at least 50 million roubles, and approved the measures taken by the government and the Polit-Bureau for the exemption of the small and middle peasant farms from taxation, for the period of two years, on land newly brought into cultivation. The Conference approved the measures establishing stable harvest standards for land cultivation and live-stock breeding for three years, and alleviating taxation for peasants with large families and for peasant farms introducing agricultural improvements. At the same time it approved the individual taxation of the richest section of the large peasantry, to an extent embracing 2 to 3 per cent. of all peasant farms.

The animation of the masses is the decisive prerequisite for the Five-Year Plan, the spring tillage, and the raising of agriculture in general. We must strive energetically for the greater productivity of labour, for the growth of production, and for proletarian discipline; and to this end we must induce the participation of the great masses in the socialist competition, and must stimulate self-criticism.

What does the slogan of socialist competition really signify? It signifies an economic attitude on the part of the proletariat towards production; that the proletariat acts towards production as a careful proprietor acts; that the proletarian worker does not work like a capitalist wage slave, but as a free citizen of the Soviet state, conscious that all wealth is his, and ready to increase and further the prosperity of the country by voluntary communist work.

This imposes tremendous tasks upon the trade unions, and their activities must undergo an all-round stimulation. The participation of the working masses in the work of the Soviets and the trade unions is the sole real means of combating bureaucracy. At the same time the resolution passed by the Conference emphasises the necessity of recognising in collective work the serious personal responsibility of the individual.

The Conference confirmed the theses of the C. C. on the purging of the Party. The fundamental basis of the purging process must be the extent to which the general class tasks are fulfilled: increased labour productivity, development of industrialisation, collectivisation of agriculture, etc. This does not mean that social problems are to be relegated to the background. We must present a determined front to those disruptive elements which bring discredit upon the Party.

III. The Combination of Personal Interest and General Enthusiasm.

We are actually beginning with the realisation of a magnificent scheme of work. At the time when the electrification plan was formulated, Comrade Lenin named it the second programme of our Party. The Five-Year Plan may lay equal claim to forming a constituent of the programme of our Party. We must remember Lenin's words, that our advance towards the socialist order must be backed up by the personal interest of the workers and peasants, and by their enthusiasm. Comrade Lenin told us that we were making a mistake when we attempted to build the road to Communism by the direct method of administrative enactments issued by the proletarian state. Does the Five-Year Plan secure the personal interest of the workers and peasants? I draw your attention to such facts as the 74 per cent. wage increase, the reduction of unemployment, the 67 per cent. increase in the income of the rural population. The Five-Year Plan, which realises in actual practice the general line of Bolshevism, is a plan arousing the personal interest of the workers and peasants. And we must not forget the enthusiasm. At certain stages this or that difficulty will arise, this or that defect become apparent. If we were to listen to the kulak, the speculator, the petty bourgeois, the Philistine, we should not be able to organise the carrying out of the general line of the Party. It is necessary that our Party and the working masses prove their real discipline, their devotion to the cause of the working class. The difficulties before us are great, but they are considerably smaller than those which we had to overcome in war communism, in the civil war, and in times of illegality. Our powers have grown, and we shall overcome the difficulties.

The Moscow organisation proved itself truly bolshevist when it rose up against the petty bourgeois elements who were urging the Party to leave the right path, and when it opposed those leaders who stood irresolute and were about to take the wrong turning. It acted correctly; it acted Bolshevistically. You will recollect Comrade Stalin's observations in his speech at the Plenum of the C. C. There are, he said, two kinds of fishermen. When the storm approaches, the one will let his hands sink into his lap and simply wait and see on what shore he may be cast by the waves; the other hoists the sail, grasps the rudder firmly, and steers his vessel in the direction he wants to go. The Moscow organisation has proved its Bolshevist steadfastness, and will continue to do so in the future. We shall hoist our Bolshevist flag even higher than before, grasp the Bolshevist helm more firmly, unfurl our Bolshevist sail, and land on the coast of Socialism. (Prolonged applause.)

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Silesian Women Textile Workers.

By C. D. (Berlin).

There is much real revolutionary fire among the masses of the women workers, and the sparks may be seen flashing up here, there, and everywhere. This revolutionary spirit is especially conspicuous where large numbers of women are brought together, in the works and factories. After the bloody 1st May in Berlin, it was the undertakings, or departments of undertakings, employing women, which first realised their revolutionary duty to organise protest strikes. And in the German textile industry partial strikes have long been flaring up everywhere among the women workers.

How could it be otherwise? The employers resort to ever more brutal measures in order to secure their profits. In the textile industry the production apparatus has increased its output by amply 30 per cent since 1913, although 12 per cent of the total factory plant are lying idle. But the market has narrowed. It is only by means of price-cutting and unfair competition that the German textile industry can sell its products in the world's markets. To enable their employers to carry on this dumping, the working masses are forced to work under the most disgraceful conditions.

The woman textile workers of Silesia have not regained the pre-war level of real wages. Their wages are the lowest paid in any textile district in the whole of Europe, and at the same time the costs of living are higher in Germany than almost anywhere else. Women's wages are still 25 to 35 per cent lower than men's. The official statistics for 1928 show the average wages of skilled women workers to be 26.98 marks per week, those of unskilled women workers 21.60 marks. The wage per hour is from 22.6 to 42.3 pfennigs, and the earnings of a month frequently fail to reach the sum granted by welfare centres.

The Silesian textile capitalists are striving unceasingly to reduce wage and piece-work rates, and to increase the output without raising wages. In many cases the number of women workers employed was reduced by half in the course of the past year, whilst the output remained the same. Everywhere attempts are being made to introduce the three and four loom system, utterly destructive to the physical and nervous powers.

After the tariff agreements had expired, the trade union leaders could not venture to fly in the face of the fighting spirit obtaining among the workers, and to ignore the workers' demands and accept the worsened conditions demanded by the employers.

The most important demands of the Silesian oppositional women textile workers are: a general wage rise of 15 pfennigs per hour, the raising of the standard piece-work rate to 30 per cent, a minimum of nine days holiday, the securing of the eight-hour day or the actualisation of the forty-five-hour week, and the same wage for the same work.

The reply of the employers has been: the locking out of 60,000 textile workers. Shortly before the general lockout, 10,000 men and women workers were discharged, allegedly on account of "lack of work". But this cleverly calculated move will fail of effect. The locked out workers have little to fear from the unemployed, for these exercise brotherly solidarity.

The Silesian textile workers, more than 60 per cent women, and unorganised to the extent of 50 per cent, have taken up the struggle with great spirit. Their faith in the trade unions has however long since been shaken. Only too often, and as recently as last year, they have been shamefully betrayed by trade union bureaucracy. And twenty two years have passed since the trade unions gathered the unorganised around them by means of aining them in the fight.

The women workers have special reason not to rely upon the "tried leadership" of the trade unions. In the Landeshut district they receive 10 per cent. less wages than the men for precisely the same work, although the Textile Workers Union includes in its programme the demand: "Equal pay for equal work!"

The slogan of the opposition, calling for the formation of joint fighting committees, has found an echo everywhere. The meetings are overfilled. The workers attending them are up to 60 per cent. women, and a splendid fighting spirit is being shown. By the second day of the lockout a committee of women textile workers had already been formed at Langenbielau, in preparation of a conference of working women; in this committee representatives of various sections of the women textile workers take part, as also two housewives and one unemployed as representatives of these categories. Here we see that the whole working class regards the struggle of the women textile workers as its own struggle, and lends it active support. The locked out women textile workers are fighting courageously, borne by the class solidarity of the masses of the women of Germany and of the whole world.

OUR MARTYRS

Guadalupe Rodriguez

By A. V.

The Treasurer of the National Peasants' League of Mexico, Comrade Guadalupe Rodriguez, has been condemned by court-martial to be shot, and the sentence has already been executed.

Comrade Rodriguez, the founder and leader of the Peasants' League and of the Labour Party in the State of Durango, was elected at the end of 1926 to the Central Committee of the National Peasants' League created by a conference of all the peasant organisations of Mexico. In October, 1927, on the occasion of the Tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, he went to the Soviet Union as delegate of the Peasants' League. Comrade Rodriguez, a working peasant, was an upright fighter in the interests of the peasants, who are exploited by their own agricultural capitalists and by the imperialists. He belonged to the Communist Party of Mexico.

When in March of this year the insurrection of the landed proprietors and of the counter-revolutionary generals broke out against the "radical" government and the rebels took the State of Durango, the Peasants' League called upon its members to fight in conjunction with the so-called Workers' and Peasants' Block against the counter-revolution. Comrade Rodriguez went to Durango to organise the revolt of the peasants in the rear of the counter-revolutionary rebels.

He formed a strong division of partisans, which won numerous fights against bands of white guardists, capturing large quantities of munitions. Owing to his determined action, Comrade Rodriguez facilitated the victory for the Government troops. After the counter-revolutionary revolt had been quelled, as a reward he was arrested by the same "revolutionary" Government, which had called upon the peasants to fight against the counter-revolution, against "the attacks of the landed proprietors on account of his "interference". He was accused of cause of his arrest was his denunciation by the landed proprietors on account of his "interference". He was accused of "appropriating arms without permission". It is the first case in the history of the Mexican civil war in which arms captured from the enemy have been designated as "illegally appropriated". Comrade Rodriguez was brought before a court-martial and . . . was shot in spite of his services in the fight against the enemies of the Government.

The cowardly murder of the leader of the peasants by order of a government, which calls itself "revolutionary", clearly shows that this government is the agent of the landed proprietors and imperialists.

Our murdered comrade Rodriguez has, however, not lost his life in vain. This crime will convince the Mexican peasants that only the revolutionary fight of the masses against the landowners and imperialists, as also against all governments, which call themselves revolutionary, but are in reality agents of the agricultural capital of their own country and of foreign capitalists, that only the fight for a workers' and peasants' government, can once and for all liberate the peasantry of Mexico from the yoke of the landowners.