

# - INTERNATIONAL -

# PRESS

# CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 23

17<sup>th</sup> May 1929

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

## CONTENTS

- The Meeting of the Enlarged Berlin-Brandenburg District Party Committee of the C. P. of Germany. The Lessons of the 1st of May.
- Politics.**
- A. Jones: The Labour Party's Election Manifesto.  
J. Berlioz: The Municipal Elections in France.  
K. Leski: The Position in Poland and the Fight of the Polish Workers.
- China.**
- Tang Shin She: The Situation in China.
- Against Colonial Oppression.**
- F. Roberts: The General Council's Message to India.
- The Labour Movement.**
- A. G. Richman: The Southern Textile Strike in the U.S. For the Unity of the Working Class (Appeal of the III. Congress of the Czech. I. W. F.)  
Against the Dissolution of the Revolutionary Organisations of the Toiling Masses and the White Terror in Roumania!
- XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U.**
- Comrade Krshichanovsky's Report on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy.
- A. J. Rykov: The Five-Year Plan of Development of the National Economy of the Soviet Union (Conclusion).  
The Moscow Functionaries of the C. P. S. U. for the Decisions of the XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U.
- The Balkans.**
- B. B...vitch: The New Stage of Fascism in Yugoslavia. The Activity of the Balkan Communist Federation (Resolution of the VIII. Conference of the B. C. F.)  
The Founding of the Communist Party of Albania (Resolution of the VIII. Conference of the B. C. F.)
- In the International.**
- Leslie Morris: Main Tasks of the VI. Congress of the Canadian Party.  
To the Working Class of Brazil! (Appeal of the C. P. of Brazil)
- Against Trotzkyism.**
- E. Yaroslavsky: Trotzkyists Turn Away from Trotzky.
- In the Camp of our Enemies.**
- S. C. Carpenter: Publicans to Lead Australian Labour Party to Socialism.
- First of May.**
- The International Response to the Berlin Events.  
The "Pravda" on the Berlin "Events".

## The Meeting of the Enlarged Berlin-Brandenburg District Party Committee of the C. P. of Germany.

### The Lessons of the 1<sup>st</sup> of May.

Berlin, 12th of May, 1929.

There was held today in Berlin a meeting of the Enlarged Berlin-Brandenburg District Party Committee, the agenda of which was devoted to the lessons of the 1st of May. The report was delivered by Comrade Ulbricht, who declared, inter alia:

The bloody May struggles are the expression of an extraordinary intensification of the class struggle, which corresponds, on the one hand, to the international and inner-political situation of the bourgeoisie (reparations conference, increased war preparations against the Soviet Union, coalition policy, employers' offensive, fascist development) and, on the other hand, to the revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement, of the advance

of the C. P. of Germany. It was the deliberate intention of the German bourgeoisie to shatter the greatest revolutionary centre, Berlin, by a police terror and civil war organised by the Social Democratic Party of Germany. It has not succeeded in this.

The May struggles constitute in their totality a success for the proletariat and the Communist Party.

The main political line of the Party: mass demonstration and political mass strike, was correct. Nevertheless there were decided faults: inadequate ideological and organisational preparation of the mass strike before, during and after the 1st of May; insufficient leadership of the masses by the body of Party functionaries, insufficient activity of the nuclei, before all in the big factories.

As a result of the sharpening of the capitalist contradictions the German bourgeoisie, supported by the reformists, will in the next few weeks and months carry out an intensified offensive on the economic and political field against the working class. In connection therewith the police terror will be intensified in order to destroy the organised force of the working class, by means of prohibition of organisations, suppression of the Communist Press, wholesale arrests etc. in order to weaken the fighting force of the working class. At the same time the bourgeoisie is increasing its offensive against the Soviet Union. This confronts the Party with a number of important tasks which are precisely formulated in the resolution of the district Committee.

Following on the report a leader of the prohibited Red Front Fighters' League spoke in detail on the defensive fight against the suppression of the Red Front Fighters' League and for forming a self-defence force of the proletariat.

The discussion, which lasted for several hours, emphasised and supplemented the report of Comrade Ulbricht and the

resolution which was submitted. Numerous functionaries of the Berlin organisation and leading comrades, including Comrade Pfeiffer, Dahlem, Heinz Neumann, Pieck, took part in the discussion. In the course of the discussion the international connections (Reparations Conference, fight against the Soviet Union, danger of war, which is becoming acute), as well as the inner-political situation, were dealt with. The faults which have been revealed were subjected to self-criticism. The statements of Comrade Deter, who voiced the opinion that it would have been better not to have boycotted the trade union meetings on the 1st of May, were energetically rejected; this, it was argued, would have meant in practice an abandonment of street demonstrations. But it is precisely these demonstrations which have broken through the bourgeois legality and raised the class struggle onto a higher stage.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

The meeting bore witness to the unity of the Berlin Brandenburg organisation and its increased readiness for the coming tasks.

\* \* \*

## The Lessons of the May Fights and the Immediate Tasks of the C. P. of Germany.

### Resolution of the Meeting of the Enlarged Berlin-Brandenburg District Party Committee of the C. P. of Germany.

#### The International Significance of the May Fights.

The District Party Committee entirely approves the political estimate given in the theses of the C. C. on the significance and lessons of the Berlin May fights.

The May fights confirm the general line of the political development in Germany as predicted by the Party. They are the expression of a great intensification of the class antagonisms and of the class struggle — upon the further development of which they will have an extraordinarily accelerating effect —, and the expression of the extraordinary sharpening of the antagonisms between world imperialism and the socialist system, the Soviet Union.

The march of the proletariat on the 1st of May in the capitalist countries took place in an atmosphere of immediate preparation on the part of the imperialists for war against the Soviet Union. The course of the reparations negotiations in Paris, the purpose of which is the firmer alignment of German imperialism in this front, characterises the sharpening of the antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the world proletariat on the one hand and the world bourgeoisie on the other. In all capitalist countries the fight against the proletariat is being conducted by the bourgeoisie more and more from the angle of war preparation against the Soviet Union. In the same way as the aggressiveness of the imperialists against the Soviet Union is increasing, their aggressiveness in suppressing and crushing the working class of their own country is also increasing. The breaking of the revolutionary fighting will of the proletariat, the will to defend the Soviet Union, is one of the most important presumptions for the commencement of the imperialist robber-war against the Soviet Union. For this reason the attempt was made by the bourgeoisie, not only in Berlin, but also in Paris and Warsaw, to prevent revolutionary demonstrations of the proletariat on the 1st of May by the brutal employment of the State apparatus of power, and to crush the Communist Party, the revolutionary leader of the masses. The German bourgeoisie is at present developing an increased activity both in the attempt to crush the working class and in the incitement against the Soviet Union (Protest Note of the German Government against the May demonstrations in the Soviet Union, press incitement against the Soviet Union).

While imperialism is mobilising its forces, the forces of the proletariat are also increasing. The proletariat of the Soviet Union replied to the May fights in Berlin with powerful demonstrations in Leningrad and Moscow, and the proletariat in Vienna, Prague, Copenhagen and New York responded with demonstrations of solidarity. The Berlin May fights are, there-

fore, of international importance. They are at the same time an act of defence of the Soviet Union.

#### The Political Content of the Fights.

The Berlin events constitute a powerful collision of the classes in the sharpest form in the period which, up to the present, has been one of relative stabilisation of capital. For the first time since 1923 there were political strike movements in Germany, solidarity fights, forms of fight common to all (war, barricades). This collision arose, on the one hand, out of the international and inner-political situation of the bourgeoisie, the sharpening of capitalist contradictions as a result of capitalist rationalisation (squeezing of the reparations payments out of the toiling masses, depression of wages and demand of the employers for a lengthening of the working day by two hours, attack on the whole social insurance, demand for new special powers' acts, coalition policy, fascist development, war preparations against the Soviet Union), and, on the other hand, out of the revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement, the radicalisation of the proletariat, the advance of the Communist Party.

The Berlin fights on the 1st of May were determined by the whole of the preceding political development. The development in Berlin since the autumn of 1928 is characterised by the uninterrupted advance of the Communist Party, the victorious carrying out of the red factory council elections, the repulsion of the social democracy, the rebellion of the members and the disintegration within the social democracy. In all the political movements of the past years (campaign against the princes, Reichstag elections in May 1928, Stahlhelm Day, Rallies of the Red Front Fighters' League etc.) Berlin has shown itself to be the greatest revolutionary centre of the German Labour movement.

The political content of the Berlin May fights is characterised, on the one hand, by the revolutionary character of the mass struggles, by the increasing will to fight of the working masses (which found expression in the size of the street demonstrations, in the obstinate resistance to the police and in the carrying out of the political strike movement), and by the solidarity movement in the whole country and, on the other hand, by the armed attack of the bourgeois State power on the workers, by the leading role of the social democracy in organising and commencing civil war against the proletariat.

What is most characteristic in the present movements is the predominatingly political revolutionary character of the fight, and the fact that the working masses are immediately conducting the political fight against the capitalist State power

connection with these revolutionary mass movements (mass demonstrations, political strike movements) the working masses employing the method of revolutionary proletarian defence brigades against the attacks of the police).

The workers in Wedding and in Neukölln acted quite actively in erecting and defending barricades against the police. Any open or concealed repudiation of these fighters is a betrayal of the proletariat.

The fundamental form of the mass movement on the occasion of the Berlin May fights was the holding of demonstrations and political strikes. The weaknesses of the movement were its insufficient extension and the unequal character of the strike movement, due to a number of causes.

Just as at the beginning of the wave of economic struggles, when the workers took up the fight in separate factory demonstrations, factories and localities and it was only in the process of the enhancement of this movement that bigger strike movements were carried out, so also the political mass strike movement is developing at the present time, commencing as local movements in individual factories, which however are necessary and constitute the necessary prerequisite for the extension and deepening of the political mass struggle. That this situation the workers in the most important big factories do not carry out the political strike, is mainly due to the strong pressure of trust capital and its apparatus of reformist functionaries, as well as to the lack of experience of big struggles in the immediate past (this applies especially to the larger part of the Berlin metal workers) and to the weakness of the work of our factory nuclei.

### The Role of the Social Democracy.

Bourgeois democracy, that system of wholesale deception and domination of the masses by parliamentary methods, has suffered bankruptcy as a result of the sharpening of the class antagonisms, and is more and more proving itself to be unable for maintaining and securing the rule of the bourgeoisie. The social democracy as a whole has become an inseparable part of capitalist society. Broad cadres of functionaries of the social democratic party and of the reformist trade unions are firmly bound up with the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The party apparatus of the S. P. of Germany and the apparatus of the reformist trade unions have themselves become a part of the apparatus of suppression, have become propaganda and executive organs of the capitalist State and the working class (war incitement of the S. P. G. against the Soviet Union, propaganda for imperialist military programme, suppression and throttling of strikes, employment of the Reichsbanner for crushing the revolutionary workers, and so forth).

The conversion of a reformist into a social fascist party is accompanied by a social re-stratification of the social democratic masses (forsaking by workers and reaming of petty bourgeois masses into the S. P. G.) The democratic phrases are disappearing from the terminology of the S. P. G. In their place there come fascist phrases, as the authority of the State over the classes" etc. The social democracy is developing into a social-fascist fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie.

In the May fights the social democracy, on behalf of the bourgeoisie, undertook the attempt to provoke the Communist party and the revolutionary working masses; to tempt them to commence a premature armed revolt in order to isolate them from the broad masses of the workers and to defeat them; to inflict a defeat on the whole working class and to render it easier for the bourgeoisie to carry out without any hindrance its policy of employers' offensive, of plundering the masses by taxation and high customs duties, the policy of preparing for war on the Soviet Union.

Hence the systematically thought out preparation of the May blood-bath (banning of demonstrations in Berlin, with a simultaneous raising of the ban in other localities; armed attack on the police on the demonstrating workers, on the 1st of May, on the meeting of the pipelayers, and the proletarian quarters in Neukölln and Wedding; the proclamation of state of siege over these districts and their conversion into scenes of war; murder of workers by fascists; pogrom-incitement of the "Vorwärts" against the Communists etc.).

The liquidators, who in their arguments against the policy of the Party are in entire agreement with the social democracy, have in this situation, in which the proletariat and

its revolutionary party were exposed to the fiercest attacks on the part of the class enemy, proved themselves to be the helpers of the bourgeoisie; they supplied the social democracy with arguments in the fight against the Communist Party and demanded of the Party that it should allow the enemy to prescribe to it the tactics of the fight (the demand of Thalheimer and Urbahns that the workers take part in the meetings of the reformist trade union bureaucracy on the 1st May, which demand was also made by the conciliators — Ernst Meyer's letter —, which would have amounted in practice to the Party's abandoning the organisation of demonstrations; the demand of the Urbahns group for the dissolution of the Schupo and its replacement by a militia, instead of shattering of the capitalist State and its apparatus of power and its replacement by the proletarian State, the dictatorship of the proletariat

### The Successes of the Party in the May Fights.

The Party replied to the terrorist measures of the bourgeoisie, the social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy with the mobilising of the masses for demonstrations in the streets; to the bloody attack of the police, led by the social democracy, on the proletariat, with the proclamation of the political mass strike. The successes which the Party achieved in carrying out this policy, confirmed its correctness.

The task of the Party consisted in mobilising the working masses for the fight against the policy of the bourgeoisie and its social democracy, in conducting the organised fight against the capitalist State power, as it found expression in the street demonstrations, in the breaking through of the legality of the prohibition and in the resistance to the police terror. The measure of the fighting capacity of the working masses was the obstinate resistance to the police terror as well as the carrying out of the political strike and the setting up and strengthening of united front organs (workers' delegate conferences, May Committees). Against the united front of the bourgeoisie, its State apparatus plus social democracy and trade union bureaucracy, the Party set up the united front of the working class. The united front organs for the mobilisation and organisation of the broad masses acquired extraordinary importance in this situation.

The May fights constitute in their totality a great success for the proletariat and the Communist Party. This success consists in that:

1. the masses captured and held the streets,
2. in the resistance to and counter-attack against the police a new and higher stage of the class struggle has been reached for the whole future development;
3. political partial strikes have been carried out in Berlin and in the most important industrial districts for the enforcement of the political demands, and that actions of solidarity could be developed on a broader basis throughout the whole country;
4. the prestige, the authority and the influence of the C. P. of Germany as the only Party of the working class have greatly increased;
5. the social democracy has been exposed more quickly and more thoroughly than ever before in the eyes of the whole proletariat as the party of murderers of workers, of provocations and of police terror;
6. the self-confidence, the power and activity of the working class have grown extraordinarily and new fighting experience has been collected;
7. the formation of the united front of the working class against the Triple alliance of employers, State and reformism has made further progress (setting up of the May Committees in Berlin, holding of delegate conferences attended by 380 delegates from 202 factories comprising 139,000 workers).

The May fights form the starting point for new, greater and more powerful fights and create the most favourable pre-conditions for the greatest advance of the Communist Party.

### The Shortcomings and Weaknesses of the Movement.

In connection with the fights on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of May and their leadership considerable shortcomings and weaknesses have been revealed in the Party. These shortcomings and weaknesses are mainly due to the fact that portions of the Party have not yet sufficiently realised the character of the extraordinary accentuation and intensification of

the class antagonisms and of the class struggle in this period and the necessity of making a change in our tactics.

The Party as a whole did not realise with the necessary clearness that every movement of the proletariat must be organised and led by the Party, and that the struggle of the proletariat on the 1st of May as a revolutionary mass action was of greater political importance than the preceding struggles.

The Party relied still too much on the "traditional" perfectly legal organisation of the May demonstrations of the preceding years. As a result the Party was not everywhere capable of fulfilling its leading and organising role under the changed conditions of the fight on the 1st of May.

The line carried out by the Party of mobilising the masses, the transferring of the main weight to the united front from below, was carried out in a quite insufficient manner in the factories and in the proletarian mass organisations. Fighting committees on the basis of the attitude of the workers were set up only in a small number of the factories. The election of delegates to the leading united front organs, May Committees, delegate conferences etc. did not in the main take place on a broad mass basis in the factory meetings etc.

When it was a question of leading the movement over from the demonstration on the 1st of May to political strike movements, certain Communists in the factories vacillated and committed open opportunist mistakes (retreat before the social democracy, evasion of the question of the political mass struggle). Instead of exerting all the forces in their own factories in order to initiate the strike movement, several comrades believed that they could take refuge in the fact that the railway and street car workers did not carry out the strike. That is an absolutely mechanical and opportunist attitude to the preparation and carrying out of strikes.

These weaknesses gave rise in some parts of the Party and of the working class to the view that unarmed demonstrations are no longer possible, and that demonstrations can be held in the future only if the demonstrators are armed or escorted by an armed defence corps. The employment of such methods against the police terror depends upon the degree of ripeness of the general revolutionary development, in particular of the development of the political mass strike movement and the formation and the influence of proletarian united front organs. The view that the advance-guard can conduct armed fights against the police while the decisive strata of the workers remain at work in the factories is incorrect.

The following special shortcomings were revealed:

a) insufficient ideological and organisational preparation of the political mass strike before, during and after the 1st of May;

b) the lack of a precise, elastic organisational plan, anticipating all possibilities of the fight, of the district committees and administrative district committees;

c) in many factories the nuclei and the red factory councils did not exert to the utmost the fighting force of the workers. Several comrades did not perceive that even if in the present situation it was not yet possible to carry out the political strike in the factory, the presumptions for the carrying out of future political strike movements must be created by the revolutionary mobilisation of the staffs of the works and factories;

d) the lack of organised troops having the task of leading the demonstrating masses, taking over the defence of the speakers and preventing the breaking up of demonstrations by police attacks;

e) insufficient initiative of the Party committees in the organisational preparation of the May demonstrations and inadequate initiative and manoeuvring capacity (prompt decision in a changing situation);

f) faulty carrying out of the Party decisions and insufficient control by the Party bodies;

g) insufficient connection and information of the various districts among themselves and through the central leadership;

h) the agitprop apparatus was not sufficiently adapted to the rapid mass mobilisation and the employment of changed methods of agitation (propagating of revolutionary slogans by the displaying of banners, standards, by shouting slogans in unison, speakers, agitators etc.)

(To be concluded)

## POLITICS

### The Labour Party's Election Manifesto.

By A. Jones (London).

"The Labour Party has emerged from being a party of protest, from being a band of dreamers, from being the pioneers of a better order; it is now a Party with a definite programme for the national needs." (*Glasgow Evening News*, 11. 5. 1929 — organ of I.L.P.)

In all bourgeois "democratic" elections, the main characteristic of the election manifestoes issued by all the bourgeois parties is that they consist of a list of promises to the electors. In this respect, the election manifesto issued by the British Labour Party is a typical bourgeois election document. It contains no analysis of the present situation in Britain, it makes no demands, it has no programme — just a list of promises.

Even within these bourgeois limits, the Labour Party is considerably handicapped, because it is not a free political party, it is a party of capitalist lieutenants. Take, for example, the burning issue of the general election: **unemployment**. The boldest programme, the most lavish promises for the relief of unemployment are made, not by the Labour Party, but by the Liberal Party. The Labour Party do not dare to go so far as the Liberals, for they are speaking not so much to the electors, but to their masters, the ruling classes. When these servants of capitalism have uttered a word, they look towards to see what effect it has had upon the masters to serve. Thus, while we find no word about socialism in the manifesto, there is a declaration that "The Labour Party is neither Bolshevik nor Communist. It is opposed to forcible expropriation, and confiscation as means of establishing the new social order. It believes in ordered progress and in democratic methods." And this is the only declaration of faith made throughout the manifesto.

While every line of the manifesto breathes the bourgeois character of the Labour Party, a striking illustration of its complete dependence upon bourgeois public opinion is to be found in the references to the **Trade Union Act and the Mines and Quarries Act**. These two laws were regarded by the workers at large as a retaliation by the conservatives for the General Strike and the miner's lockout, and there was no doubt in the minds that the Labour Party would not only declare their intention of repealing these two infamous laws, but that this would be the first action of a Labour Government. But in their manifesto the Labour Party do not even mention the word "repeal" and instead of finding this in the forefront of their programme it is mentioned only incidentally: "Among the other measures (our italics) which a Labour Government would enact are the **Factories Bill**, the ratification of the **Washington Eight Hours Convention**, and the **amendment (italics ours) of the Workmen's Compensation Acts and the Trade Union Law.**"

When it comes to a question of **rationalisation**, however, they feel on much safer ground, for here they are speaking directly to their masters. Here the manifesto speaks openly and definitely. It is true, a sentence is thrown in that a Labour majority would nationalise the mines and minerals (of course with compensation, being implied), and this is the only instance throughout the manifesto in which nationalisation is mentioned. With regard to industry generally, "a Labour Government would set to work at once by using export credits and trade facilities and guarantees, to stimulate the depressed export trades of iron, steel, engineering and textile manufactures". Then again it will also, as promised, appoint committees of enquiry into the causes of depression in the cotton and iron and steel industries with a view to their reorganisation." No word even about nationalisation or state control, the one time articles of the "socialist" faith of the Labour Party, but just capitalist reorganisation".

What has the Labour manifesto to say about the question of imperialist exploitation, and in particular, the burning issue of imperialist oppression in India and the awakening of the Indian masses? The only reference to the Empire is the following: "There is a greater market overseas, especially in India and the Crown Colonies, where there are enormous populations with a very low standard of living and vast undeveloped resources."

res." Even the one-time Liberal-Labour demand for self-government within the Empire is omitted, and all that Labour see in the Empire is a market for super-profit!

It is therefore not surprising that even the Tories are what staggered by the extreme moderation of the Labour Party's manifesto. In his speech opening the election campaign at the Albert Hall, Baldwin declared: "So great is the spirit of moderation at the moment in the speeches and literature of the Socialist Party that we all rub our eyes and ask, 'Can it be the same men who preached the fiery propaganda of last election?' It seems to me as though they were men who have forsaken their old gods of Etna and Vesuvius and recommending worship at the shrines of Highgate and Hampstead." (Highgate and Hampstead are typical bourgeois districts in London.) The fact is that the Tories are finding it very difficult to dig out points of controversy with their "opponents". The one time bogey of the capital levy which has been long ago buried by the Labour Party, and even its successor the surtax has been discreetly dropped, which rendered Baldwin to complain in his Albert Hall speech: "The tax is in hiding. He may be detected in the shadows, but he is not in the spotlight."

The same idea is expressed in the comment of the "Daily Telegraph" (10. V. 1929) in connection with Comrade Saklatvala's speech in the House of Commons on May 9, which ridiculed Saklatvala as "horrified by the recent conversion of many Labour men to respectability and the British Empire". "Telegraph" concludes with the remark that "Mr. Saklatvala's denunciation is, of course, honey to the Labour Party in present efforts to appear extremely respectable in its electoral opinions..." We can add, it is not just an appearance of respectability, for respectability is the very soul of the Labour Party.

This manifesto of the Labour Party brings out the role of the I.L.P. in the most striking form. The moderate Liberal character of the manifesto compelled even the I.L.P. to "criticise" it; they could not afford, as the "socialist vanguard" of the Labour Party, to keep silent. We now have before us the I.L.P. "Appeal for Socialism", which begins: "Your National Council calls on you for unstinted service on behalf of the Labour Party candidates". It claims the Labour Party as the challenger of capitalist society, adding that in that claim and in that task to which it (a Labour Government) "will devote its strength, it will receive the whole-hearted support of every member of the Independent Labour Party". Here the I.L.P. has the hypocritical and treacherous role of the I.L.P. in its most naked form. While "criticising" this openly pro-war, pro-rationalisation manifesto, they call upon the workers to join a Labour Government which will carry through this manifesto; in other words, to return to power a government of counter-revolutionary war and reactionary offensive against workers.

## ie Municipal Elections in France.

By J. Berlioz, Paris.

On Sunday, March 5th, the election of municipal councils took place throughout France. With the exception of the Communist Party, it may be said that these elections took place in utter confusion in all parties, and proceeded much more on the basis of unimportant local and personal questions than on a political basis.

In many places various shades of big bourgeois interests were up candidates in opposition to one another, even though considerable endeavours were made to unite the "national lists" in their entirety. The parties of the sham opposition, the Independent Labour Party and the Socialist Party, in most cases formed a group of the Left, but in numerous large towns they too, fought violently against one another in order to ascertain which of the two parties could avail itself of the dissatisfaction of the petty middle classes and of the unenlightened working masses and lead them in tow.

None of these parties had a clear political platform. The Communist Party alone had given its campaign a clear political content: fight against the capitalist rationalisation and its consequences; fight against the national unity and its Social-Democratic lackeys; fight against repression, for a general increase in wages, against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. In all its election literature the Communist Party let it be clearly understood that the capture of the mu-

nicipal administrations would by no means secure the emancipation of the proletariat and that it stands for a workers' and peasants' government supported by Soviets. It left to the other parties all the minor quarrels of a local nature.

The C. P. of France carried on a powerful campaign against all parties and, in particular, against Social Democracy, whose only slogan was: capture the municipalities through the ballot box in order to prepare by this single means the capture of parliament. The foundation of our work was to be the realisation of a united front in industry on the basis of a minimum programme, particularised by the creation of factory and local committees of the workers' and peasants' block. However, in this particular direction the Party had developed very inadequate activity, and in most cases its campaign was carried on in relation to local questions in the old Social-Democratic agitation style. In thousands of municipalities the Party was unable to put up candidates, because it had not suitable men and because the Party was faced with financial and technical difficulties.

Nevertheless, the Communist Party can well be satisfied with the results of the first ballot. These results are very incomplete and do not yet permit a survey, for in Paris only 44 out of 80 members of the municipal council were elected at the first ballot, and in the 772 municipalities with more than 5000 inhabitants, apart from the suburbs of Paris, no fewer than 490 second ballots must be taken. It is, therefore, not possible to do more than sketch the broad outlines, as follows:

1. The Communist Party will easily retain all its positions. In Paris five Communists were elected at the first ballot against only two in the first ballot in the year 1925, and the Party polled 21 per cent. of the votes against 18 per cent. four years ago. In the central districts, where very few workers live, and where the Party did not make much effort, it lost a few hundred votes, but in the working class districts it made good by winning thousand of votes at the cost of the Socialists. For instance, in the 18th, 19th and 20th districts (the last points of resistance of the Paris Commune) the Socialists lost 4600 votes and the Communists won 2430.

In the Red suburbs of Paris the Communist Party retained all its positions: Saint Denis, where the government made a big effort against the Communists, was regained with a big majority at the first ballot; in Clichy the Party won through after a hard fight against the united list, including all parties from the extreme Right to the Socialists.

In many districts the Party won numerous votes, especially in the North, where it has forced its way into various councils of working class towns. In the Social-Democratic stronghold, Lille, the Communist Party won 2000 votes. In Alsace-Lorraine the Party repeatedly wrested the leadership in the national fight from the autonomist clerical petty bourgeois parties. In Strassbourg the C. P. won 3500 votes, in Metz about 1000 votes, etc.

Briefly, it may be said that the Communist Party, in spite of the ruthless campaign directed against it by all the other parties, made progress in all big towns without exception.

2. The so-called "left wing" bourgeois parties have just about retained the positions they held in 1925, at which time they were at the height of their parliamentary success and their popularity. This, too, is a sign of the sullen and deep-rooted discontent which prevails in the broad masses of the population as a consequence of the financial stabilisation, of the burdensome taxes and of the danger of war, which was constantly pointed out by the C. P. These petty bourgeois, middle class and peasant strata, which are always vacillating, tended as a whole towards the Left, but the C. P. has not yet succeeded in destroying their hopes in a "democratic and pacifist" bourgeoisie.

3. The Socialist Party is, without doubt, the one which has suffered the most numerous and damaging defeats. In Paris and the neighbourhood it is distinctly retrogressing; it has lost positions in various big towns; the list of the general secretary, Paul Faure, was beaten at Le Creusot; in the places where its candidates won through at the first ballot, this happened on account of the support of radicals and of the combination lists set up without any principle, as was that of deputy Marquet in Bordeaux, which contained alongside the Social-Democrats pronounced bourgeois elements and "war veterans". The "Populaire" finds consolation for this retrogression in the assertion that "Socialism is penetrating or about to penetrate into a considerable number of rural and urban districts of minor significance", i. e. where it is taking the place of the decadent Radical

Party, whereby it is giving up the very semblance of a class party.

These are, however, only very general observations, such as one may make on a comprehensive series of elections, which is but slightly affected by the great political tendencies. The second ballots are to take place on May 12th. The Communist Party is retaining its candidates everywhere, without making any compromise with anybody. It is possible that its successes will be less numerous, although it is in many cases at the head of the second ballot, for it must expect that a general coalition of all parties, including Social Democracy, will be formed against it. The Minister for Home Affairs, Tardieu, has already proposed in an official communication the formation of an anti-Communist united front of the "parties in favour of order", among which he reckons the Socialist Party.

The bourgeoisie announced that it would destroy Communism at these elections. The results show that constantly growing masses in all the large industrial districts are closely linked up with the Communist Party, in spite of the serious repressive measures employed against them. But this success must not permit the Party to forget the defeat it suffered in Paris on May 1st, when the police dominated the streets with impunity and prevented all demonstrations without any great difficulty. The sympathies of the masses must be exploited by the Communist Party in other spheres of struggle and turned to account organisationally.

## The Position in Poland and the Fight of the Polish Workers.

### The Bloody First of May in Poland.

By K. Leski, Warsaw.

In both town and country of Poland proper as also in the Ukrainian and White Russian territories, May 1st proved to be a big revolutionary fighting day of workers and peasants.

The special significance of this year's May demonstration lies in the fact that in the sense of the new tactics of the Comintern, in the sense of the slogans of our Party, the revolutionary masses demonstrated apart from the social-Fascist and Fascist "Labour parties" at their own gathering points, squares and streets, so that the camp of the revolutionary proletariat was opposed to the whole camp of Fascism. This circumstance required great courage and determination on the part of the masses, the more so, as prior to the 1st of May the Fascist Government and the Fascist parties threatened the workers quite publicly in the factories, through the Press and in all streets with a massacre if they dared to demonstrate along with the Communists.

The revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses on this fighting day can only be appreciated if one takes into account the preparations made by the new Fascist Pilsudski-Switalski Government for the suppression of the fighting day. The wave of Terror began several weeks before the 1st of May. The Government organ, "Glos Pravdy", boasted "that the police had succeeded in putting behind the bars 85 per cent. of the active party functionaries before the 1st of May". As a matter of fact, nearly 3000 workers and peasants were arrested before the 1st of May. Several days before May 1st, the whole of the Press issued the following official notice:

"For May 1st specially strong police troops have been formed for the purpose of nipping the Communist demonstration in the bud. On Monday police manoeuvres were held in Wlochy (a suburb of Warsaw). The police troops, provided with little red flags, represented the demonstrators, and the mounted police led the attack.... In order to accustom the horses to rifle fire blank cartridges were used." The prisons were also not forgotten. The prison guards were reinforced with police and the prison gates were furnished with double iron bars specially for May 1st.

In spite of all this, the fighting spirit of the workers against the Fascist dictatorship was not daunted by the Terror. In Warsaw about 8000 workers demonstrated under the red flags of the Party, and among these workers the largest factories, such as Norblin, Parowoz, were strongly represented. The masses were several times dispersed by the attacks of the police but they rallied again waving their red flags. On the Grzybow Square 5000 workers gathered after several smaller demonstrations had been broken up by the police. Several speeches were given. Very shortly the police attack began. The old revolutionary, Communist Deputy Sypula, who was marching at the head of the masses,

was set upon by a band of Fascists and spies, separated from the crowd, thrown down and bloodily beaten before he could get to his rescue. It was only after a hundred had been wounded (in all there were more than 150 wounded), several severely wounded in the square that the crowd drew. In the narrow streets round about the Paviak prison more than 1000 workers gathered demanding the liberation of political prisoners. The "International" was heard from the prison. The police posted in the prison attacked the defenceless prisoners and ball cartridges were fired.

A tremendous fighting day was put up by the heroic proletarians of Lodz against the Fascists. At the behest of the government, in order not to disquiet foreign creditors, the whole of the Press maintained silence regarding these tremendous demonstrations, in which there were more than 100 wounded.

The Lodz demonstration was a worthy culmination of a huge strike of the Lodz proletariat. On the day before several hundred workers were arrested, but, in spite of this, more than 15,000 workmen and workwomen came on to the streets with the flags of Communists. In Haller Square and Gorny Rynek Communist demonstrations were held at the same time and both of them were attacked by the police. The workers defended themselves, and the heroism of the women workers is worthy of very special mention. On both of these squares there were more than 100 wounded. The crowd withdrew and succeeded in rallying again at another place. Speeches were held at other places. When the crowd marched off again it was headed by Communist Deputy Rosiak. The procession pressed on in the direction of the prison. At Zielony the police again attacked and once more the women vied with the men in the defence against the police.

Big demonstrations also took place in the Basin of the Dombrova. In Vilna thousands of workers demonstrated. Here again the fighting determination of the workers was observable. There were both dead and wounded. Big demonstrations were held in Lemberg and Boryslav, where a lot of people were wounded. The revolutionary peasant deputies Cham and Waniccki (in spite of the fact that the latter was only recently handed over by parliament to the court) took up their positions in the midst of the crowd. Deputy Cham was subsequently assassinated by the Fascists.

Special mention should be made of the demonstrations of the peasants. They demonstrated not only in the villages but went to the towns, in order to take their stand alongside the workers. The town of Lublin was visited by over a thousand peasants, while more than 600 trooped into Rzeszow.

The Yavorovski Party, the so-called revolutionary fraction of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party), gathered together about 6000 people in the Theatre Square in Warsaw, though in the procession there were only 3000 to 4000, including 1500 Fascist militiamen. It is particularly the workers in the munition factories, municipal workers and the like who are directly subjected to the fascist Terror. The song of the Pilsudski legions was sung in the procession, and shouts were heard for Marshal Pilsudski.

The P. P. S. gathered about 3000 workers at three different places in Warsaw. They were so weak that they did not venture to hold a procession. In the centre of the town the P. P. S. did not make any show at all. The Poale Zion Federation mustered about 2000. In Lodz the Yavorovski group was not to be seen at all. The P. P. S. demonstrated together with the Federation and the Poale Zion, the whole mustering about 6000 men.

May 1st was a defeat for Fascism. May 1st clearly proved the indisputable fact that the process of radicalisation and the activity of the worker and peasant masses and of the suppressions are in the ascendant. The demonstrations of the Communist Party surpassed the processions of the Fascist Yavorovski Party and of the P. P. S. both in number and in strength. No matter how the Fascists may augment the Terror the deepened economic crisis, the growing hunger for bread among the peasants and the increasing galling subjugation of the national minorities will form a perpetual source of rising dissatisfaction and fermentation among the masses. It is becoming clearer and clearer to the masses that it is only under the leadership of the Communist Party in armed insurrection that they can overthrow the Fascist dictatorship. The first May was a revolutionary declaration of war by the masses on Fascism, an indication of the approaching big class struggle of the oppressed masses of Poland.



# CHINA

## The Situation in China.

After the "Victory" of Chiang Kai-shek.

By Tang Shin She.

General Chiang Kai-shek is triumphing greatly on account of his "victory" over the Kwangsi generals and the capture of the Wuhan towns, the economic and political centres of the Yangtse area which his rival Feng Yu-Hsiang had long been endeavouring to win for himself. The Kwangsi group is defeated but only so far as Wuhan is concerned. As regards its main centre Canton, however, this is more firmly in its hands than ever, and on the Hunan-Hupeh front it enjoys the support of the Kulitchan-Szechwan generals.

At the present time the "victorious" Generals Chiang Kai-shek is not only far from annihilating the Kwangsi group, but he is also faced by intensified attacks on the part of Feng Yu Hsiang, who at the beginning of the war was paid 300,000 pounds (250,000 pounds was paid to the Shansi General, Yen Shi San) as the price of his neutrality. Chang Hsü Liang, the ruler of Manchuria, has acquired greater independence than ever from the Nanking government. Thus during the fight between the Kwangsi group and Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Hsü Liang declared that he is for peace and against civil war, and will therefore send neither money nor ammunition to either party. In addition, during the war Chiang Kai-shek made many fine promises to numerous leaders of small bodies of troops and gave them great freedom of movement, which is now causing him embarrassment. He has thus arrived in a blind alley. As a result the great war confusion will still continue.

Every fresh war of the Generals is a good speculation for the imperialists. They support their protege in some way or other and thereby receive advantageous concessions. Thus not only the Japanese, English and Americans have had their hands in this last war but, as the "Berliner Tageblatt" points out with particular satisfaction, "German officers have played a great part in Chiang Kai-shek's fight against Wuhan". It is not difficult to guess why the Japanese and the English, although they are friends of the Kwangsi group, at the outbreak of the war helped Chiang Kai-shek. Thus the Japanese have suddenly settled by a treaty the long delayed evacuation of Shantung. (Now, after the end of the war, the promised evacuation has been again postponed on account of alleged fresh disturbances). At the secret negotiations the Japanese of course had all their wishes fulfilled. For example, Tuan She Sui's loan, amounting to several hundred millions, which had not been guaranteed, has now been recognised and guaranteed by the Nanking government. The war was no less welcomed by the Americans "who desire peace and a united China". As the newspapers report, America received the right to set up a network of commercial air-ports in China. Splendid strategic points at the cost of China in anticipation of the coming war in the Pacific! During the war not only did the Japanese and English, who are hated by the Chinese, make a great outcry for warships and troops, but the best friend of Chiang Kai-shek, the dollar imperialism of the United States, suddenly ordered a squadron consisting of six warships to proceed from the Philippines to the Yangtse.

The imperialists, by means of their economic and political privileges, have the opportunity in every war of the generals to intervene and to make use of it for their own purposes. The Chinese generals, however, are never absolute tools of only one of the imperialist powers. Chiang Kai-shek constitutes no exception in this respect. The agents of all the imperialists are represented in the Nanking government. It is only a question of what the imperialists consider to be the cleverest method at the moment.

The military forces of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kwangsi group were almost of equal strength in the last war. The Kwangsi group, however, resorted to the same measures against the petty bourgeoisie as they had employed against the small peasants and the proletariat. This gave the leaders of the "third party", which is supported by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Left leaders of the Kuomintang, the so-called reorganisers of the party, an opportunity to carry on incitement among the petty bourgeoisie against the Kwangsi group and in favour of Chiang Kai-shek. Thus Chiang Kai-shek's slogan against the

Kwangsi group was "purging of the Party from feudalist militarist elements in order to complete the revolution". Thus the petty bourgeoisie was this time the decisive force and acted in favour of Chiang Kai-shek.

As a result of his besieging the meeting place of the last party congress and his unexpected approval of the expulsion of the Left Kuomintang leaders (Wang Ching Wei tendency), Chiang Kai-shek obtained the support in the war of a part of the Rights. Thus the class foundation of Chiang Kai-shek's power has changed. Formerly he relied upon the big bourgeoisie allied with a portion of the petty bourgeoisie; he is now supported by the big bourgeoisie and a portion of the feudal landowners. With regard to Chiang Kai-shek's connection with the big bourgeoisie and the feudal landowners, there are some other generals, as Feng Yu Hsiang, Yen Shin San etc., who are rivalling with him for their favour. The petty bourgeoisie, however, will adopt a hostile attitude to Chiang Kai-shek, a fact which the clever Feng Yu Hsiang will not fail to make use of.

The civil war of one General against another kindled by the imperialists will continue its course without interruption. Only the civil war of the proletariat and the poor peasants will put an end to this war of the generals. Under the leadership of Comrades Chü Teh and Mao Tez Tung in Kwangtung, Fukien, Kiangsi and Hunan, and of Comrade Ho Lung in Hupeh, Hunan and Szechwan, this war against the generals has grown to large proportions recently. It is the task of the international proletariat to support the Chinese proletariat and the poor peasants and to prevent any intervention of the imperialists in China.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The General Council's Message to India.

By F. Roberts (London).

We never expected the General Council to help the heroic Indian strikers. It is true that at the Trades Union Congress in Scarborough the British trade union leaders solemnly pledged themselves to support the workers of the awakening East. But this was long ago. The Scarborough Congress took place immediately after Red Friday. Red Friday was followed by the betrayal of the General Strike and by the starving of the miners, which was organised by the reformist trade union leaders. Since then the General Council has become a Mondist organisation supporting reaction everywhere: in the Metropolis, in the Empire, and all over the world.

It would be particularly idle to expect help from the General Council for the Indian strikers at the present time, with a General Election in full swing and when all the Labour leaders are united in trying to persuade their masters that they are more devoted and less scrupulous defenders of the Empire than even the builders of that famous "commonwealth of nations". We thought, however, that the General Council would have kept silent before the workers, confining themselves to secret negotiations behind the scenes with the exploiters of the Indian workers.

We plead guilty. The General Council has spoken out. It has made a clear announcement on the struggle in India, for which they deserve the full recognition not only of Mond, but of the "Daily Mail" itself.

What is the situation now in India? Tens of thousands of workers are fighting for the reinstatement of victimised strikers. For decades — we say "decades", and not years — it was the sacred tradition of the British trade union movement to fight tooth and nail against any form of victimisation. The Mondists have given up this sacred tradition. Remember the Glading case. But now they have made an important step forward. Hear how the official organ of the General Council ("Industrial News") sneeringly speaks about a courageous struggle of working class solidarity:

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

The General Council does not confine itself to arrogant sneers about the defence of the victimised workers. It goes further and declares:

"The whole affair" (that is the way they refer to the great struggle in India) "is a move in carrying out the drive to the East policy of the Communist International."

The Moscow bogey has become the only one argument of all the reformists in their servile defence of the dominant classes. On its 40th anniversary May First became a Moscow device! The defence of workers victimised for their trade union activities is also a Moscow device!

This is the message of the General Council to the Indian workers. We need make only two observations on the contents of this message:

1. In the present circumstances it is quite superfluous for any reformist trade union organisation to declare that it has nothing to do with a strike movement. This is already perfectly well known all over the world. When there is a lockout, the reformists take part in organising it, but when there is a strike it is either led by the Red trade unions or it is conducted unofficially against the reformist leaders of the trade unions. Such is the present situation. Look at the new proselyte of the Mondists, A. J. Cook. He went to Dawdon, where the miners have been courageously striking for over 10 weeks. Yet in his rich vocabulary he did not find a single word to say against wage reductions, but he found many words to denounce the Reds and to praise Ramsay MacDonald.

2. It is not true that the strike movement in Bombay is part and parcel of the Communist drive to the East. Unfortunately there is not yet a Communist Party in India. This must be created and it will be. The present struggles in India are part and parcel of the great awakening of the East. Neither the editorials of the "Times" and the messages of the "Industrial News", nor the repressions and oppression of the Indian workers will stop this awakening.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Southern Textile Strike in the United States.

By A. G. Richman.

The industrialisation of the South has gone on apace until it is revolutionising that section of the U. S. and affecting tremendously the rest of the country. More than half the coal, oil, textiles, lumber, tobacco, fertilizer, quarry stone, etc. are now mined or manufactured there, most of it in the Southeast. The urbanisation of the rural population is proceeding rapidly, and hundreds of company towns springing up everywhere, with the Du Ponts, Mellons, Dukes, etc. as firmly in control as in the feudal baronies of Pennsylvania.

The open shop is more consolidated there than anywhere else in the country, with the power of the electric power companies, railroads and banks dominant, and the manufacturers, chambers of commerce and press in full accord. Any textile mill owner who might weaken under the attack of the union might find his power (Duke-controlled) suddenly withdrawn, likewise his bank credit, and so on. If he agreed to give in, the chamber of commerce would help him with scabs, with its open-shop funds, with "public opinion", etc.

Of the 1,100,000 textile workers in the U. S., 300,000 are in the South, about half of them in the Piedmont region of southwest North Carolina, northwest South Carolina, and eastern Tennessee, where the Communist National Textile Workers Union (N. T. W. U.) is organising the mill workers.

The most significant event of the past few years in the American labour movement is the striking of about 20,000 of these textile workers in the Piedmont plateau. It came like a thunderclap from the sky, and has roused the interest of the whole country. The illiterate, mountaineer farmers and tenant farmers, native-born Americans of Anglo-Saxon stock, have gone into industry by the hundreds of thousands — into the company-owned towns, non-unionised, terribly exploited.

The revolt of these textile workers, in South Carolina usually spontaneous, in North Carolina organised by the N. T. W. U., is "social dynamite" for the bosses of the country. The immediate cause of most of the strikes was the extension of the speed-up to the breaking point, but in North Carolina the N. T. W. U. developed demands such as re-

cognition of the union, increased wages, less hours, abolition of the speed-up and other forms of rationalisation, reduced rents and company supervision, better living conditions, etc.

The "explosion" began with the spontaneous walkout of March 12th of 2,000 rayon workers in the American Glanzstoff Corporation at Elizabethton, Tennessee, followed in a few days by the strike of 3,500 more at the nearby American Bemberg Corporation plant — both owned by the German-American rayon trust. Injunctions, and the sending in of state militia followed soon, and the A. F. of L. union, the United Textile Workers (U. T. W. U.) which had tried to prevent the Bemberg workers from striking, betrayed the strike. The workers returned with a promise of wage increases, which was not carried out. The cause of the strike, was the introduction of the Bedaux efficiency system, which increased greatly the amount of work per worker, decreased wages, and wore them out with frightful rapidity.

On April 15th, 5,000 workers in the Glanzstoff and Bemberg mills went out on strike again, and at this writing are still out (Apr. 26), despite the attempts of the treacherous U. T. W. U. and the Government conciliators to get them back on the bosses terms.

A week after the first Tennessee strike started, the North Carolina workers began to move, with a strike of 1200 at Ware Shoals, and soon thousands more went out. Many have won their fight for the withdrawal of the speed-up efficiency system, but there are now over 8,000 out, with more going out every day. The N. Y. Times (Apr. 14, 1929) describes the cause of these strikes as follows:

"A man who had been attending 2 or 3 machines was 'stretched' over 4 or 6 and piece work and clocks for measuring brought in. Efficiency went into action and the docile Nordic balked and then quit. For some reason the N. T. W. U. was the first in the field."

The discharge of union members was an important contributory cause.

Woman and child labour make up the majority of the workers. Night work for them is prevalent everywhere, and so is the 72-hour week. The "legal" working week in North Carolina is 60 hours, but a worker asked to "volunteer" to work overtime knows he will be fired if he refuses. For example over one third of the workers in the mill which is the centre of the struggle in North Carolina — the Loray Mills, in Gaston (where 3,000 are striking) — are under 16, many of them working since the ages of 10 and 12. The owners of these mills, Manville-Jenckes Co., which owns mills in 2 cities in the North (Rhode Island) and others in the South, were faced with these demands of the strikers: union recognition, abolition of the stretch-out and loom-clock efficiency system, the 40-hour 5-day week, elimination of piecework, wage increase from the present average of \$8—12 to a minimum of \$20, better houses, lower rents, and modification of the feudal rule in the company town, etc. The answer of the management was the usual one: this means turning the mills over to the workers!

A typical pay envelope of these workers was published in the "Daily Worker":

"Manville-Jenckes Co.	
"Wages due . . . . .	\$6.80
Rent . . . . .	2.00
Coal . . . . .	2.20
Lights . . . . .	—50
Coupons . . . . .	2.00
Balance . . . . .	\$—60"

The coupon books are for purchases at the company store, which is compulsory. Payment is deducted from wages, as are other expenses, but rent is taken off in advance. Often workers go hungry because they have no money and coupon books are unobtainable between Saturday and Tuesday.

The N. Y. Daily News Record, an employers' trade paper, admitted on Apr. 5th that with the Communist union leading it, the strike "promises to be a long-drawn contest". As soon as the union organisers came out into the open (for a time they had had to organise secretly) they issued a leaflet to the state militia, which had been called out by the governor, himself owner of a mill nearby, which stated in part: "Refuse to act against the strikers. Don't be a strikebreaking scab. Fight with your class, the striking workers, against the common enemy." All the five companies of militia were withdrawn, because of the propaganda and fraternisation of the strikers, and deputy



beriffs of the owners (thugs and American Legionaires) were substituted.

The Communist strike leaders, Fred Beal, Ellen Dawson, and others, who had led the strike of 28,000 New Bedford textile strikers and the Passaic strike, go about constantly guarded by armed mountaineers. At a speech in Gastonia, Albert Weisbord, secretary of the N. T. W. U., said, "If a single hair of our organisers is touched, we'll hold Baugh Loray superintendent) and his company personally responsible. We can do as strikers did in Kansas City, where a lynching was started, and the workers formed a defence corps to stop the lynching mob."

The International Labour Defence (I. L. D.) and Workers International Relief (W. I. R.) are doing excellent work in the strike area, defending the strikers and providing them with food and funds. The W. I. R. has brought a number of the strikers North to tour to raise funds, and the Y. C. L. is bringing 3 others to its national convention as fraternal delegates and for relief purposes.

The championing of the interests of the Negro workers, mobilising them into the Union alongside the white workers, where such relations had been anathema before, has done much to combat racial prejudice and show the workers the need for solidarity of all races, and creeds.

The A. F. of L. has been afraid to come into the North and South Carolina strike region, where the N. T. W. U. is leading the strikes, because the workers know it too well. The N. T. W. led strikes in the Gastonia-Charlotte section (where there are 25,000 textile workers) in 1919, 1921 and 1922, and sold out the workers, after collecting organisation fees. A N. Y. Times correspondent from the strike region, in speaking of the strike of 10,000 in this section in 1921, hints at the betrayal of the U. T. W. as follows:

"The announcement of the U. T. W. of a plan to organise the South has been received in the Piedmont section of the Carolinas with a calm (sic), which would have been impossible 10 years ago... when that strike collapsed the U. T. W. withdrew from public activities." (Apr. 21, 1929.)

The A. F. of L. is sabotaging the strike everywhere, and has sent letters to all its locals to refuse to give aid, so as to starve back the strikers under Left wing leadership. The latest act of treachery is the appointment of the worst class-collaborationist and traitor in the entire A. F. of L. leadership, Major George Berry, head of the printers union, as personal representative of the governor of Tennessee to conciliate the strikers, and his enthusiastic acceptance of this job. The government Labour Dept. conciliator there, Charles Wood, who helped the U. T. W. "settle" the Elizabethton strike in March, admits, however, the hopelessness of the situation, from the bosses point of view, and says that indications are that "a settlement is still far away." (Times, Apr. 22, 1929.)

Berry, who was attending a convention of the newspaper owners when appointed, has written to the Glanzstoff and Bemberg companies stating that he is ready to try to settle, meaning to betray, the strike.

The capitalist press has, of course, fought the Communist-led strikes bitterly, although some sections of it admitted that the strikers worked under long hours, speed-ups, etc. They follow the bosses in refusing to discuss the issues at stake, on the excuse that so long as the Communists lead the strike, these cannot be discussed.

As this is being written, the fight goes on. The strike leaders who were arrested, with armed strikers guard the jail to see that no lynching is attempted. The thugs that have taken the places of the National Guard are bayonetting and beating striking pickets, driving them out of the W. I. R. food stores, etc. to provoke violence by the strikers. But despite this, the strike is spreading to cities miles away, more organisers of the N. T. W. U., the W. I. R., I. L. D. and C. P. and Y. C. L. are going there every day, and even should the strikers be starved or beaten back, the Party and the Union will have made a historic beginning in the "Solid South". Locals of the Union and nuclei of the Party and its auxiliaries will be established there openly or secretly, and the organisation of the unorganised will have begun in earnest.

## For the Unity of the Working Class

(Appeal of the III. Congress of the Czech I. W. F.)

To the Revolutionary Proletarians of Czechoslovakia!

Capitalist rationalisation is from day to day increasing the exploitation of the working class in order that the profits of the capitalists shall increase, and at the same time capitalism is launching a general attack upon your political rights.

The reformist trade union organisations are collaborating ever more closely with these violent actions of the capitalists. The reformist trade union organisations are quite openly playing the role of capitalist organs, are paralysing every struggle of the workers and in every movement of the workers are endeavouring to weaken the forces of the workers.

The red trade unions constitute the only organ of the workers' struggles. The red trade unions have the task of leading the workers independently into the struggle for the interests of the workers, against the violent attacks of the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat, against reformism.

The bourgeoisie and the reformists, who fully realise the importance of the red trade unions for the approaching struggles of the working class, have attempted by all means to paralyse and disintegrate the red trade unions, this leader of the working class. They assisted in every way a small handful of renegades who wished to lead the red trade unions away from the path of the class struggle and to collaboration with the reformists, these agents of capitalism. In order to be able to fulfil this task, these renegades employed every means and proceeded to split the red trade unions.

The revolutionary working class, which stood united against the liquidators, conducted for some weeks the struggle for the unity of the red trade unions, the struggle for the revolutionary path of the red trade unions. But the liquidators, who feared the judgment of the workers, refused to have any negotiations with the workers and the R. I. L. U. and did everything in order to frustrate the holding of the I. W. F. Congress which had been convened at an earlier date.

But the workers succeeded in enforcing the holding of the Congress, which was held against the will of the liquidators and splitters.

The III. Congress of the I. W. F. was a Congress of the unity of the red trade unions, which were not destroyed by the putsch of the liquidators. Out of 120 elected delegates 103 elected delegates arrived, who unanimously pronounced themselves against the renegades of the class struggle. This participation of the workers' delegates, this unanimous determination of the overwhelming majority of the members of the I. W. F. who form a really red trade union organisation, show to the whole working class that this Congress has clearly and unequivocally represented the will of the membership of the red trade unions.

The I. W. F. Congress unanimously condemned the liquidators. It placed itself unanimously and enthusiastically on the basis of the R. I. L. U., on the basis of the class struggle of the working class. The I. W. F. Congress declared that it wished to pursue the path of struggle, that the red trade union organisations, which are purged of the liquidators, will lead the working masses into serious struggles against capitalism and reformism, that they will become the real leaders of the workers' struggles and attract the broadest masses of the workers.

That which the liquidators did not achieve, the bourgeoisie wants to achieve by forcible means. The bourgeoisie, which up to now has readily assisted the liquidators, is now proceeding to the direct attack upon the red trade unions, after the liquidators have been swept away by the working class.

On the second day of the Congress proceedings the police, forced their way into the hall and dispersed the Congress, although there was no legal justification for this action, so that the Congress had to conclude its work in another place.

At the same time the capitalist State power is doing everything to prevent the red trade unions, which according to the decisions of the sections congresses and of the I. W. F. Congress itself should be reorganised into industrial unions, from working properly and the statutes of the red industrial unions being confirmed.

This attack upon the red trade unions is an attack upon the whole working class!

Workers, members of the red trade unions!

You who have shown so much revolutionary energy in the struggle against the liquidators, must double your forces, you must mobilise the workers in factory meetings, in the pits and workshops, in order to rouse them in their own interest to defend their only proletarian trade union organisations.

Revolutionary workers of Czechoslovakia!

Reply to this new attack of the bourgeoisie upon the red trade unions, which, purged from the traitors and renegades, are the only organs fighting for your interests, by entering the red trade unions, by strengthening their fighting ranks!

Workers, members of the reformist trade unions!

Protest jointly with us against this capitalist attack upon the workers' rights, which although it is supported by your leaders, is an attack also upon your rights, upon your interests, for it is designed to deprive the whole working class of the champion of the interests of the whole proletariat.

The red trade unions, whose unity has not been undermined even by the betrayal of the liquidators, are repelling this attack with all their energy. Supported by the energy of the workers, they are placing themselves at the head of the struggles of the working class and will pursue the path of struggle.

**Against the unity of capitalist force, of reformism and the betrayal of the liquidators — the unity of the working class!**

**Everything for the organisation of the workers' struggles!**

**Everything for the strengthening of the red trade unions, the only leader of the working masses!**

## **Against the Dissolution of the Revolutionary Organisations of the Toiling Masses and the White Terror in Roumania!**

Appeal of the Balkan Communist Federation.

Workers, Comrades,

On the 10th of May the imperialist Roumanian bourgeoisie celebrates the jubilee of the ten years existence of Greater Roumania. This jubilee means in reality ten years of bloody oppression and plundering of the annexed provinces — Bessarabia, Dobruja, Bukovina etc. —, the murdering of thousands of workers and peasants in these districts and in old Roumania, imprisonment of hundreds and hundreds of revolutionary fighters; it means profound misery, hunger, deprivation and mass unemployment.

As a suitable introduction to this celebration the "democratic" Maniu government is feverishly conducting a campaign against the revolutionary movement of the workers, the peasants and the suppressed nationalities. It prepared its bloody attack already in connection with the Congress of the Unitary trade unions of Roumania, which took place at the beginning of April and which was a powerful expression of the revolutionary consciousness and the will to fight of the Roumanian proletariat, and aroused an enthusiastic response among the masses.

When the workers of Temesvar wished to pay the last honours to their champion Johann Fonagy, who had been tortured to death in the dungeons of Maniu, the "democratic" government caused the workers' club premises in which the corpse was on view, to be encircled by drunken troops who opened fire on the workers and women and children who happened to be there. All the trade union leaders and workers who were in the workers' club were arrested and mishandled and tortured by the Siguranza and military.

But the government was not content with the 300 arrested and many wounded workers. It made use of its own bloody attack as a pretext for suppressing the class trade unions, the workers and peasants bloc and for putting through an exceptional law against the revolutionary movement. With the applause and the collaboration of the Liberal Party, the financial oligarchy and the fascistised Roumanian social democracy, which holds its Parliamentary seats thanks to the favour of the National Zaranists, the National Zaranist gov-

ernment is suppressing the revolutionary workers' clubs and trade union premises, is suppressing the whole press of the revolutionary toilers, is imprisoning the best representatives of the toiling population, is ill-treating and torturing them to death.

The bloody Sunday of Temesvar constitutes the commencement of a large-scale offensive of the Roumanian bourgeoisie. It is a step on the path to fascism which is being consciously and systematically prepared. For the Roumanian bourgeoisie is incapable of annihilating by "normal" democratic means a new upsurge of the labour movement, of breaking the growing resistance of the working class, of stifling the struggle of the poor peasantry for land and liberty. The miners, metal workers, wood workers, forest workers and oil workers are conducting obstinate wage struggles; a broad strike wave is rising. The poor peasants of Old Roumania and Bessarabia are in some places expropriating the big landowners and are rising against their blood-suckers. This powerful movement of the toiling masses is now to be throttled by bloody fascist methods.

Further, it is generally known that according to the plan of the imperialists it is precisely Poland and Roumania which have been chosen to open the attack upon the Soviet Union. The capitalists and the boyars of Roumania are concluding secret agreements with Poland. Entente Generals are going to and fro. Visits of Ministers are following one upon the other. General von Seeckt "pays his respects" to Maniu, on many occasions agreements regarding the supply of arms and munitions is discussed, the press of the bourgeoisie and the social democracy are conducting a furious campaign against the Soviet Union — all these phenomena clearly prove how intensely the Roumanian counter-revolution is preparing the war.

In order to be able to prepare this war of the exploiters without any resistance, the working masses of Roumania, whose sympathy for the Soviet Union and whose preparedness to defend it are increasing are to be decapitated and deprived of their class organisations. For this purpose the government is setting up its own fascist guards, is working hand in glove with social democracy and conducting a furious terror against the revolutionary movement.

The Roumanian proletariat, the poor peasantry and the toilers of the national minorities are fighting determinedly under the leadership of the Communist Party of Roumania against the planned annihilation of the class organisations, against the raging white terror and the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. As a powerful protest against the murderous regime in the prisons, against the furious terror which has been raging for ten years and for a political amnesty, the 800 political prisoners proclaimed a ten days' hunger strike from 1st to the 10th of May.

The Balkan Communist Federation raises its sharpest protest against the persecution of the revolutionary workers, peasants and toilers of the national minorities, and appeals to the proletariat and all toilers in the Balkans and in the whole world to support energetically the heroic struggle of the Roumanian working masses against the bloody campaign of the bourgeoisie.

Workers, Comrades! Conduct a powerful protest campaign in the factories, in meetings and in the press during the "unity celebrations" of the Roumanian imperialist hangmen and exploiters! Protest!

**Against the bloody White Terror and the threatening fascism in Roumania!**

**Against the murderous exceptional regime in Roumania!**

**Against the dissolution of the Unitary trade unions and of the workers' and peasants' bloc!**

**Against the outlawing of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement, of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League of Roumania!**

Raise your voice:

**For the general political, military and agrarian amnesty!**

**For the unrestricted liberty of the class organisations and of the press of the toiling masses of Roumania!**

**Against the imperialist war — for the defence of the Soviet Union!**

April, 1929.

The Balkan Communist Federation.

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

### Comrade Krshichanovsky's Report on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy.

#### The Plan of Extensive Operations.

The coming five years' period differs considerably from the one just past. It signifies a new and decisive turn in the life of the Soviet Union.

On the threshold of a new epoch, in which the reconstruction of our economy has already considerably surpassed the pre-war level, we find ourselves with very special tasks. Their peculiarity lies in the fact that now our qualitative aims have undergone a change, whilst in the five-year period just elapsed the sole object was to raise the general quantitative level as rapidly as possible, in order to set the whole economic machinery running somehow or other. You are aware that it is only with certain reservations that the period just passed can be called a restoration period, since in the midst of the restoration work it became apparent that the former organisation of the economy could not cope with the new needs of a country which is striding forward under the power of the proletariat dictatorship. But it was not until the last few years of the restoration period that the imperative needs of reconstruction forced themselves so clearly into the foreground.

When we say that we must overtake and pass the capitalist countries, it is obvious that we can do this only by resorting to special means, and to special paths, for if we have only the same means as the surrounding countries, then their past development renders them more powerful than we are, and if we only tread the same path that they have trodden, then it is hopeless to think of attaining our end.

Our building up process is a process of struggle for the adaptation of economy to the needs of Socialism in course of construction.

In 1927/28 the income of our national economy exceeded that of 1913 by about 16%. But in two branches of production, iron and grain, we fell far behind 1913. What does this fact denote? It denotes that the old methods no longer suffice either for the advancement of industry or for the development of agriculture. Before the war Russia was extremely backward, especially in metal production, and this was not by accident. Metal production was in the hands of foreign capitalists, and its backwardness helped foreign capital to hold it in the chains of exploitation. Nor could matters be different in agriculture. Agricultural production was in a state of anarchy; it consisted of small and very small peasant farms, and you are already familiar with the fact that in a state of society in which class antagonisms exist, precisely this splitting up condemns the peasant farms to a state of wretched dependency. Now, however, having fairly regained the pre-war level of economy, we are bound to encounter serious misproportions in these two directions. A careful scientific analysis must be the first step towards the radical elimination of these misproportions. The new relative proportions of class forces in our country too must be submitted to a thorough analysis, and for this purpose we must seek allies who will help us to set up, on the political front, the systematic planning of the future as against the anarchy of the past.

In building up our economy we follow the path of the further industrialisation of the country, the further socialisation of economy. The formula of industrialisation brings into the foreground the production of metal, fuel, and chemical products; these, taken together, are what we call heavy industry. The development of machine-building, again, is of decisive importance for the advancement of industry. Therefore we must examine the provision made by this Plan for the progress of heavy industry and the supplying of the workers with machinery. The Plan allots 78 per cent. of the capital to be invested in industry to heavy industry, and only 22 per cent. to light industry. The output of machinery will be tripled, the output of agricultural machines in particular being quadrupled.

In developing the Five-Year Plan we must, in addition to promoting heavy industry and machine building, investigate with special care the extent to which the realisation of the electrification plan will serve to advance a more energetic production, for it is here that we have the most advantageous prerequisite for "catching up with and out-stripping" the leading capitalist countries.

#### The Main Co-efficients of the Plan.

I have not the possibility of dealing with every part of the Plan. I should like, however, to touch upon a few figures, in order to show what factors out of all this ocean of figures must be known by every worker and their realisation made part of his daily life. When I state, for instance, that the Plan provides for an increase in the production of electric energy from 5000 million kilowatt hours to 22,000 million, this characterises the enormous advance in the field of electric energy. This shows us the rate at which we are furthering this extremely important branch of economy.

With respect to the production of iron, the Plan provides for an increase to 10 million tons, thereby raising us to the ranks of the leading industrial countries in this branch of production. The tripling and quadrupling of machine-building activities shows that the next five years' period will witness a great step forwards towards overcoming our dependence on the capitalist world. When I add that 175,000 tons of chemical fertilisers were produced in 1927/28, and this amount is now to be increased to 8 to 9 million tons, we see that we are extensively promoting that most backward branch of our industries, the chemical industry, and are applying its products principally to the most unfavourably situated section of our economy, agriculture. This is a rate which no country in the world has ever attained yet.

The realisation of this programme in industry will be accompanied by a reduction of 35 per cent. in the costs of production, and by a doubling of labour productivity.

In agriculture the area sown is to be increased by 22 per cent., the yielding capacity by no less than 35 per cent. The conjunction of industry and agriculture is already secured to such an extent that we can concentrate our main attention on organisational questions. But the realisation of all the advantages of mechanisation and chemicalisation is only possible if we are successful in including, gradually and systematically, at least 20 millions of poor and middle peasants in the Soviet and collective farms, this signifying the inclusion of 27 million hectares, equivalent to not less than 18 per cent of the total sown area.

In the transport service for instance we shall reduce the costs of production by 25 per cent., and increase transport service work 1.8 times.

Large sums will be expended for building purposes. If we take building activities separately, and estimate them according to 1926/27 prices, we arrive at the result of 37,000 million roubles, not including sums spent on renovations. But building costs are diminishing, and we hope that this cheapening will enable us to limit this item to 25,000 millions. Every per cent. won in cheapening building costs means a saving of 400 million roubles.

#### The Prerequisites for the Realisation of the Plan.

Can this programme be realised; are there any special difficulties in the way? We have devoted the most careful consideration to the question, and have come to the conclusion that we can realise this plan if we utilise the technical achievements of the world, if we free ourselves from the pettyfoggish building methods common to building work in the past. We need fresh cadres of technicians, of workers; we must greatly enlarge the army of building workers: by 126 to 200 per cent. And these must be skilled workers; they must not be peasants from the country with old fashioned home industrial methods, but workers properly trained and familiar with the latest technics.

In order to demonstrate the reality of the Five-Year Plan, let us take the reduction of the costs of production by 35 per cent. We shall attain this 35 per cent. when we so increase the productivity of labour that by the end of the five-years period the total increase in the productivity of labour is about 100 per cent.

This year we have encountered a certain amount of difficulty in reducing the costs of production; but we must not forget that this year has been a peculiarly difficult one for agriculture. In spite of this, during the last three years an increased productivity of labour, to the extent of 14 to 15 per cent., has been actually realised. We have exercised the utmost caution in compiling the figures referring to the increase of labour productivity, taking them from actual life.

Our agriculture extends over a very large country with 25 million peasant farms, and it will take more than two or three years to free these farms from anarchist production. This anarchy of scattered production will adversely affect our agriculture, for a number of years yet. I believe, however, that we can already observe a breach in the old agricultural front, and this convinces us that here too we are advancing, and here too we have already established a military basis for our attack.

In industry we have just now surpassed the level of 1913, and in machine-building to only a very slight degree; nevertheless important progress has been made towards supplying agriculture with machines and tools. In 1924/25 tools to the value of 62 million roubles were supplied to the village; in 1926/27 to the value of 130 million roubles; in 1927/28 149 million roubles. The number of tractors, manufactured by us with such infinite pains, increased during this time from 9000 to 32,000. The production of fertilisers has progressed from its initial germinating stage, with an output of 35,880 tons, to an output of 111 thousand tons.

Our first steps towards progress in our whole economy can be expressed in particularly definite figures. The most general figures characterising economic activity are those showing the national income. What has our national income been during the last three years, and what expression has it found in our calculations? We find that during the last few years our income has increased by 10 per cent. yearly. That is to say, our national income is more than three times greater than the national income of Russia before the war. Here no capitalist country can show anything approaching this.

#### Production of Energy — the decisive Sector.

Our electrification is passing through a peculiar stage at the present time. The output capacity of the electric power stations already at our disposal is very small: 536,000 kilowatts, but we have in course of construction electric works capable of supplying 1½ million kilowatts. We are on the eve of a period in which we shall be able to carry out our whole electrification programme within a very short time, that is, we shall have at our disposal electric power stations with a total output of 1,750,000 kilowatts. 30 works are being built, in accordance with the requirements of the whole electrification plan. Just now demands are heard on all sides that our electrification should be forced, for no one doubts any longer that the fate of our leading industrial centres depends on the execution of the electrification plan. We no longer think of building separate electric power stations, but combine every electric plant with the life of some definite industrial centre, or with some certain industrial or fuel combine. The Dnieprostroy plant, a peculiar combination of electric energy, metallurgy and chemistry, and one which we hope will form a combine with agriculture, can be exploited by us in a manner impossible under the conditions imposed by private economy.

You have heard that one of the old evils in our country is the fact that the most important centres, Moscow and Leningrad, consume fuel brought from long distances. You have heard that the solution of the peat problem, and the exploitation of the coal deposits in the Moscow district, would remove this evil. But this is only possible if we use an electric station in the vicinity of the exploitation of the peat, and if the coal in the Moscow district is exploited by an electro-industrial combine... You see how the plan of electrification, Lenin's plan, is growing before your own eyes into a gigantic plan ensuring a fresh source of energy to the country.

The plan for the re-organisation of agriculture is equally comprehensive. Without tractors, the organisation of the Soviet and collective farms is impossible. But it is not simply a question of the tractor, but of the tractor which is utilised collectively, the tractor which forms a constituent of the mighty socialist sector of our economy.

If we study the agriculture of the over-populated Ukraine we see that agriculture cannot be improved so long as the horse is adhered to as drawing power, for the horse requires far too much fodder, which is impossible to obtain where land is so scarce. Besides this, the splitting up of agriculture into many small farms prevents the adequate utilisation of horse power. In actual practice we have reached a stage at which we can till 400 hectares of land with the tractor. This can only be done when the tractor is part of the system of agricultural organisation. Here the tractor gangs play an important part, and represent a radical solution of the organisational task of the distribution of energy in agriculture. By the end of the next five years' period we shall be able to speak of an agricultural industry.

The data issued by the grain central show that this year's contraction will actually bring in about 4,095,000 tons, a quantity far exceeding the first estimates. The agricultural co-operatives are more and more assuming the form of production co-operatives. Lenin's co-operative and electrification plans are being realised. If we continue to force work in this direction we shall have, for instance, 43 per cent. of the marketable grain in our socialist sector.

The industries working up agricultural products (sugar factories, mills, etc.) have made such progress that their output is now three times that of the 1927/28 output.

Never before has a class or a state set itself tasks of such magnitude. Lenin told us emphatically that only such a class as the proletariat is capable of leading the many millions of small peasant farmers out of the blind alley. No doubt this great re-organisation encounters colossal resistance from the capitalist elements in town and country. But there is not the least doubt that the greater power is on the side of the proletariat, and awakening profound faith in the coming victory.

#### The Work of the Transport Service in the next Five-year Period

The threefold (exactly 180 per cent.) increase in the gross production of industry, the increase of agricultural production by 50 per cent., the intense building activity, all this sets the transport service enormous tasks. By 1928 the railway transport service had already exceeded the limits of the restoration period. We calculate, in accordance with the optimal form of the Plan, that by 1932/33, the amounts of goods transported will increase, in million tons, by 87 per cent., thereby totalling 280 million tons as compared with 132 million tons in 1913. The water transport routes will also receive considerable support; their goods traffic will increase to 78 million tons as compared with 48 million tons in 1913. The transport work of the seaports will increase from 37 million tons in 1913 to 52 million tons. Waggon transport will increase in an even greater proportion, rising to the figure of 1200 million tons.

As early as 1927 our network of railway lines was 18,000 kilometres (31%) longer than in 1913. But if our railway transport has certainly more than exceeded the limits of the restoration period, this cannot be asserted of the other forms of transport. Our river shipping is backward. Our highroads are even worse. These are in a very bad condition, and we are endeavouring to find ways of putting them sufficiently in order to enable them to cope with the great demands of goods traffic.

But whatever we may think about the future work to be done for the furtherance of our transport service, and whatever estimate we may form of its various branches, one point is certain: we must concentrate our work, with all our former energy, upon railway transport; for it is only by means of the re-organisation of our railways, by means of raising the co-efficients of their exploitation, that we shall be able to perform those vast economic tasks laid down in our general Plan.

In the next five-year period we must first solve two leading problems: the connections between Siberia and the Ural and our industrial centres, and the connections between the Donetz basin and the Moscow and Leningrad districts. We are of the opinion that even though Siberian grain may not play a decisive rôle in the next five years, in the future it may help us to overcome the difficulties of provisioning our central consumption districts, whilst Ukrainian grain, the grain from the Northern Caucasus, and in part the grain from the Volga region, can be utilised for export purposes.

The easiest method of connecting the Donetz basin with the central districts is still a debated question. No matter how this question is solved, it is one of the most important national economic tasks which have to be performed.

The new railway projects provide for about 20,000 kilometres of new lines. The estimated cost is about 1,000 million roubles. Another important question is the mechanisation of the railways. First of all, we calculate that the increased efficiency of the present engines will amount on an average to at least 14 per cent. By the end of the five-year period the number of goods trucks of high loading capacity will have reached 20 per cent. of the total goods truck rolling stock, as compared with the present status of 9 per cent.

At the same time we anticipate an increase in transport efficiency by means of two simple measures: automatic loading, and the introduction of the system of automatic or semi-automatic block signalling.

We must reduce the fuel consumption of the railways by at least 13 per cent.

Of great importance for our waterways is the connection between the Volga and the Don. If we have ventured on such an immense task as the connection of Turkestan with Siberia, our next great task may well be the even more important connection between the Volga and the Don. Lenin pointed out that this waterway would form that important transport route enabling the whole economy of the South East to be transformed. The analyses which we have made during the last few years have confirmed the correctness of this observation of Lenin. At the present time we cannot promote the economy of the Volga region as it should be promoted, for the district is poor in fuel. The building of the Volga-Don canal means the opening up of communication between the Volga region and its towns and the Donetz basin.

In round figures, our railway transport service has a minimum expenditure of 8,000 million roubles, whilst its minimum revenues amount to over 11,000 million. Consequently, the expenditure of the railway transport service is covered by its receipts. The deficit arises from the fact that railway transport is carrying out a programme of new construction far in advance of any other branch of the transport service. This proportion of expenditure to income is called the working coefficient, and in the course of the five years it will be reduced from 78 to 63 per cent. The measures taken will within the five-year period reduce the costs of transport, by no less than 25 to 30 per cent.

The air transport service is extremely important. We provide about 100 million roubles for this in our estimate.

With respect to the post and telegraph services, these are developing along lines enabling a staff of 85,000 to 90,000 workers, that is, a staff scarcely increasing in numbers, to achieve an 80 per cent. increase in the productivity of its labour. The endeavours of the post and telegraph service are directed mainly towards satisfying the needs of the village and its leading organs.

We are unfortunately unable to include in this Plan the new tasks imposed by wireless developments. These problems will be tackled in the immediate future.

#### The Most Important Tasks of the Districts.

In the coming five-year period the basis of our industry will continue to lie in the three most important districts: in the Leningrad district, the central industrial district, and the Southern coal district. These together comprise 67 per cent. of our whole industrial basis.

The Leningrad district receives 1,000 million to meet its requirements. In this district the metal industry continues to hold a central position. Those colossal undertakings: the "Krasniy Putilovetz" the "Nevskiy", etc., need for their reconstruction dozens of millions of roubles and this reconstruction is being carried out in accordance with the new requirements of our economy. We strongly advocate the co-operative association of the leading Leningrad works. When several works work together, the difficulties encountered by one undertaking can be smoothed away by the aid of another. The combination of the Leningrad undertakings signifies fresh help rendered by the Leningrad proletariat to the newly developing industrial centres. At the present time Leningrad is engaged in the erection of a great electric plant. It requires a new peat exploiting centre. But this alone will not suffice: provision must

also be made that the peat, when produced, finds wide fuel markets.

The second important point is the central industrial district, or rather the central industrial districts. Here the capital invested totals 3,000 million roubles, of which 60 per cent. fall to heavy industry. As already mentioned, we place great hopes on the coal beds in the neighbourhood of Moscow.

Among our plans are the following: a motor car factory with an output of ten thousand cars; factories for the production of chemical manures. The coal output of the Moscow district is to reach five times that of 1927. Not only the electric power station Bobrikovska must be completed, but an electro-chemical combine must be created.

Of the capital invested, 4,200 million roubles fall to the Ukraine. Here the most prominent place is taken by the development of the Donetz basin. We shall increase the output of the Donetz basin from 27 million tons at the beginning of the five-year period to 53 million tons at the end. In five years we shall have created a new Donetz basin. An idea may be gained of the vast scale of these operations when we remember that we must sink ten to twelve great shafts yearly, besides enlarging and altering old ones. Such alterations and enlargements of old shafts have been undertaken in 50 places. We intend sinking three gigantic pits; the mechanisation of the work must be intensified by 70 per cent.

It must be admitted that the electrification of the Donetz basin has kept us waiting. It is imperative to make up for lost time here. The most important electric plant of the central industrial district will supply us with 3,500 million kilowatt hours by the end of the five-year period. This is more than produced by all the works in pre-war Russia together.

At the same time the Plan provides for certain reserves, which can be distributed among the various districts. The optimal variation of the Plan envisages for the industrial financial plan a reserve of about 1,000 million. The state budget too provides 500 million for this purpose.

#### The Social Cross-section of the Five-Year Plan.

I pass on to the Plan in its relations to social stratification.

How will the main funds be divided between the state and co-operative sector on the one hand and the private sector on the other? At the present time about 50 per cent. falls to each sector. By the end of the five-year period this proportion will have changed, and two thirds of the primary funds will fall to the socialist sector and only one third to the private sector.

The reconstruction of our industry, as laid down by the Plan, differs from the reconstruction of capitalist industry in that it does not calculate upon a reduction in the number of working proletarians, but on an increase. The number of wage workers will increase by 4 million. These will be absorbed in varying proportions by various branches of industry. Whilst the transport service augments the number of workers it employs merely by 5 per cent., the army of the building workers increases by 126 to 200 per cent. The industrial workers, including the building workers, will increase by two million. By the end of the five-year period all industrial workers will have the seven-hour day. This shorter working day will make it possible to employ an additional 300,000 workers. By 1932/33 the number of workers engaged in the census industry alone will be 4,080,000, representing an increase of about 35 per cent. The nominal wage will rise by 47 per cent., the real wage by 71 per cent.

What about unemployment? In five years the population of the Soviet Union will have increased by 18 million; the number of adult workers will have increased by 9 millions. Today we have more than a million unemployed. This difficult question of unemployment will be solved first of all by the re-organisation of agriculture. Other difficult tasks are the struggle against the great fluctuations of staffs, and the housing problem.

With reference to the distribution of national income, the share per head of the population will increase by 60 per cent., the share per head of the proletariat by 90 per cent.

With regard to prices we are aiming at reducing the costs of production by 35 per cent. The prices of agricultural products are to remain stable, this being a necessary incentive to agriculture.



### The Tasks of Cultural Advancement.

A few words on the tasks of cultural advancement. The Five-Year Plan cannot be realised unless we make great progress in educating the necessary cadres. The problem of these cadres, the problem of cultural progress, is of decisive importance.

If we are to cope with our tasks, we must increase the contingent of scholars in our schools by 50 per cent. We have now 15.5 million pupils in our schools, as compared with 8 million before the revolution, and we must add to these by at least 6 millions.

At the present time our large-scale undertakings can scarcely count 800,000 workers whom we may call skilled. At least 700,000 more must be added to these, and the whole mass further trained.

We have, for instance, 20,000 engineers, 20,000 technicians, and 11,000 agronomists, but the execution of our Plan demands 54,000 engineers, 66,000 technicians, and 34,000 agronomists.

In view of these tasks, we have reason to speak of a cultural front. These tasks are so complicated that they demand a really intense struggle.

#### What is necessary for the realisation of the Plan?

The first and main condition for the successful execution of this plan is powerful unity in the ranks of the Party, the mighty iron grasp of the Party realising the proletarian dictatorship.

The second important pre-requisite is the re-organisation of the whole Soviet apparatus. This apparatus, besides being purged, must seek a closer collaboration with the Party leaders than has hitherto been attained. Finally, contact with the broad working masses must be renewed. The correct combination of Party, trade union apparatus, and proletarian public, decides the fate of the Plan.

I believe that we can claim this Plan to be both scientific and connected with economic life. The realisation of the Plan will help us to overcome all the vacillations which have inevitably sprung up in the transition period. This Plan will refute the Trotskyist assertion that the present rate of industrialisation can only be actualised when we regard the peasantry as a colony of industry. The Plan shows that mighty development made possible by the close alliance of proletariat and peasantry.

We believe that the workers will support our efforts to carry out a really systematic regime in our economy; precisely the systematic planning of economy secures the rapid pace of industry.

And to the Rights the Plan will show that their lack of faith is political opportunism.

The realisation of this plan is a powerful weapon against both Right and "Left" deviations. The Plan is a powerful means for creating that oneness of will which Lenin regarded as the decisive guarantee of the success of our economic advancement.

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

By A. I. Rykov.

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

(Conclusion)

### III. The Current Year.

When examining the proposed draft under discussion, we must not forget that the current economic year is the first of the Five, and represents one-fifth of the period covered by the plan. Our work this year is of pre-eminent importance from the standpoint of the influence exercised by this year's degree of economic prosperity on the following years, and from the standpoint of the possibility of carrying out the Five-Year Plan. I shall therefore try to characterise briefly those main factors revealed in the economic work of the current year.

The acutest and most urgent question confronting us today, and emphasised in the decisions of the C. C. is the necessity of promoting the advancement of agriculture to an extent which will remove, within the shortest possible time the acute danger of the increasing disparity in the development of the main branches of national economy — industry and agriculture. We

have always been agreed, and continue to agree, that industry should develop more quickly than agriculture, in the future in the past, since the reversed ratio of the rate of development of industry and agriculture would signify the agrarianisation and not the industrialisation of the country. The essential point of the question is not that agriculture lags behind industry in its development, but that at the present time it is excessively behind. Agriculture has commenced to lose ground in its development to such an extent that the development of industry is endangered. State large-scale industry, even at the transition from the restoration to the reconstruction period, evinces an extremely satisfactory tempo of development of production from year to year: about 20 per cent. annually. This is very good. The total production of agriculture (except fishing, hunting, and forestry), on the other hand, has increased at the following rate, according to the statements of the State Planning Commission:

	In percentages to previous year
1926/27 . . . . .	+ 5.4
1927/28 . . . . .	- 1.1
1928/29 (pre-estimate) . . . . .	+ 4.4

This increase is due to a considerable extent to the development of the cultivation of technical plants. At the present time the area under cultivation for technical plants is 50 per cent. larger than in pre-war times, although the total yield of such plants as flax or sugar beets have not yet regained the pre-war level. Such a development as this of the cultivation of technical plants is an extremely positive fact. We must continue the policy of cultivating technical plants to an increasing extent, but at the same time we must devote more attention to that grain basis whose decay or destruction would indubitably involve at the same time the technical plant growers, the whole of agriculture, and our national economy in its entirety. Our grain production is in a more unfavourable position than our production of technical plants. The most important index figure characterising the status of our grain production is that showing the movement of the grain growing areas. If we reckon 100 as the grain growing area before the war, its development in the last three years has been as follows:

1926/27 . . . . .	92.9
1927/28 . . . . .	94.6
1928/29 . . . . .	92.2

Reckoned per head of the population the present grain growing area yields only 83.8 per cent. in comparison with the pre-war area. The amount of grain harvested shows a similar proportion.

#### Total grain crops (in million tons)

1913 . . . . .	96.6
1925/26 . . . . .	74.5
1926/27 . . . . .	78.2
1927/28 . . . . .	73.6
1928/29 (pre-estimate) . . . . .	73.3

The production of the most important food plants, that of rye and wheat, may be seen from the following data:

#### Area under cultivation and yield of Rye and Wheat

	Rye		Wheat	
1925/26 . . . . .	29.2	23.0	25.5	21.1
1926/27 . . . . .	28.8	23.9	29.9	24.5
Difference in % compared with previous year . . . . .	- 1.4	+ 3.9	+ 17.2	- 13.3
1927/28 . . . . .	28.4	24.4	32.0	21.1
Difference in % compared with previous year . . . . .	- 1.4	+ 1.6	+ 7.0	- 13.3
1928/29 (pre-estimate) . . . . .	26.1	19.6	28.4	19.6
Difference in % compared with previous year . . . . .	- 8.1	- 19.7	- 11.3	- 3.3

This is our position with regard to the cultivation of grain, and it is determinative for a number of phenomena with which all of us are familiar.

The position of agriculture, especially of its grain growing branches, has forced us to promote to the utmost of our power the increased growing of grain. The seed campaign in March did not, however, bring the success for which we had hoped. Instead of the expected increase of autumn sowings, there was a falling off of about 3 per cent. for the whole of the Union the result in part of unfavourable weather conditions. It must

remembered that the characteristic autumn sown plants are rye and wheat, the grains forming the weakest spots in our grain balance. Every delegate at this Party Conference must grasp clearly the extreme importance of the spring seed campaign. In order to cover the deficit of the autumn sowings, and to carry out the plan for extending the cultivated area by 7 per cent., the spring sowings must cover much more than a 7 per cent. increase of the area cultivated. Every fraction which we can gain in the extension of the cultivated area and the increased yield of the soil, either among the masses of the individual poor and middle peasant farms or among the increasingly important collective farms and Soviet estates, is a great gain for us in the present situation.

The existence of grain difficulties may also be concluded from the disparity between the prices at which the grain supply is bought up and the prices of grain in free trade. This price difference is produced by speculation, and this again has a detrimental effect upon the grain supply.

In the most important grain supplying districts we have therefore adopted social methods of influencing those kulak landlords of the village who hold back their grain. The situation of the bread market has obliged us to introduce food cards. The shortage of grain has provided opportunity for speculation, not only in the town, but in the village. Our plan of provisioning, devoting first attention to ensuring supplies to the great industrial centres, brought with it the unrestricted sale of bread in the cities, and this was bound to furnish a source for the further growth of speculation. Such centres as Moscow and Leningrad became centres of this speculation, to the particular detriment of the working class. Therefore, in the interests of frugality in the consumption of bread, in the interests of combating speculation, and in the interests of the working class and the poor of the village, we had recourse to the so-called food cards. These are of course not to be regarded in any way as a blessing. But under the circumstances they are no lesser evil.

The acuteness of the food question will inevitably affect other fields of our economy, unless we can remove the difficulties.

Two important items which stand on the credit side of our account for the current year are the extensive increase — about 20 per cent. — in industrial production, and the successful planning and carrying out of factory building on a scale rarely in advance of that of former years.

A defect in the development of production is the insufficient accomplishment of the task of reducing the prime costs of industrial production. With a programme of 7 per cent. yearly, the costs of production fell by only 2 per cent. in the first half year. This is not successful enough. The productivity of labour has increased by 10 per cent., the programme being 17 per cent.

The revenue side of the budget shows favourable progress. In the first half year the revenues amounted to 48.6 per cent. of the yearly plan — a somewhat higher proportion than that reached in the corresponding period last year. In spite of this, a certain tension exists in the budget, expressing the insufficient rate of reduction of the prime costs in industry.

In order to alleviate this tension, we resorted to increased taxes on vodka and other alcoholic drinks. We have even utilised, or more strictly speaking are about to utilise, the surplus attained by the transport service, a sum amounting to some dozen million roubles. Our transport workers have proposed this vigorously, but it must be done nevertheless. Besides this we have decided to mobilise the resources of industry and transport — this must bring in about 250 million roubles this year. This measure implies the realisation of the surplus raw materials and semi-manufactures which have accumulated in the transport service and in industry, and which represent "dead capital". At the same time the situation calls for a certain pressure on the local budgets and upon the budgets of the separate republics.

These, comrades, are the weak points of our economic position in the first year of the execution of the Five-Year Plan. Despite these difficulties, the plan in its general outlines is sound and must be carried out in the first year of the Five-Year Plan.

Although the execution of the plan encounters serious obstacles, it has hitherto been successful in all essentials so far as regards the development of the decisive factor of our economy — industry. Work in the transport service and in carrying out the state budget has been equally successful. A considerable proportion of the weaknesses of our present economic

situation, bound up with the grain shortage, will disappear if we manage to carry through successfully the spring seed campaign, thereby improving the bread supply of the country for the coming year.

At the same time we must grasp clearly that our task with reference to agriculture is not confined to the extension of the area of cultivation and to the spring seed campaign of this year. The task has a much wider scope than this. The Five-Year Plan provides for the systematic performance of this task year by year, and proceeds from the assumption that by the second half of the five-year period we shall not only be able to cover the home needs of the country, but grain will form an important item of our exports. The difficulties experienced this year have shown us that the execution of this part of the Five-Year Plan, which is of course bound up with the Five-Year Plan as a whole, and is dependent on the development of heavy industry, of the manufacture of agricultural machinery, and of the chemical industry, must be accorded special attention.

#### IV. Changes in the Organisational System of Administration.

When I read the material for the Five-Year Plan, both for the separate districts and for the various departments of economic work, I asked myself whether it would be right to carry out this Five-Year Plan with the aid of the organisational system employed hitherto, and with the present working methods. I think that would hardly be right. Two pre-eminent facts — the drawing up of the Five-Year Plan and the carrying out of the district allocation — are bound to affect our organisational system and our working methods. The local organs have frequently complained of the excessive centralisation of the economic administration, which has at times violated the constitutional rights of the republican or other organs. Up to the present we have committed the error of concentrating the administrative and operative work of a vast state, with a population of over 140 millions and an immense territory, in the hands of a few supreme organs.

After the confirmation of the Five-Year Plan and the formation of district organs, we shall, in my opinion, be able to undertake great alterations in the system of economic administration. Centralisation has developed to excess in the sphere of operative work for the reason that the local organisations, lacking a perspective plan, have naturally been able to expend means for purposes not indispensable from the standpoint of the interests of economy as a whole. I could adduce a number of such instances — even in Moscow: for instance the erection of a leather factory in Moscow, although the leather factories in other districts are not fully occupied, owing to shortage of raw materials. Or for example such efforts as may be observed in almost every town for the establishment of clothing factories of their own. All this involves much expenditure which could be better applied for the building projects which are highly important for the State as a whole. Now we have an exhaustive Five-Year Plan indicating in detail where, when, and what should be built. This makes it possible to diminish the centralisation of the operative control, and to increase the rights of local organs in carrying out those operations laid down in the Five-Year Plan.

The guidance of planned economy, and the general regulation, must continue in the hands of the Centre. They must be improved and extended. Operative work, on the other hand, must to a considerable degree be left to the provinces.

The Five-Year Plan anticipates great shiftings in material values. It anticipates great social and class restratifications, expressed in a great strengthening of socialist elements. It signifies a mighty revolutionary process in the technical reconstruction of our whole economy in town and country. I believe that it would be an error to presume that the whole of this work can be accomplished if the apparatus remains in its present condition, and work on the present methods is continued.

With this I close my report, to which I have endeavoured to give the form of an introduction to the question of the Five-Year Plan for the development of national economy. Comrades Krschischanovsky and Kuybyshev will report in greater detail on the Plan. In conclusion I should like to emphasise once more the thought with which I commenced my address. I am convinced that the Five-Year Plan imposes great tasks, not only on economic work, but on the whole of the work of the Party. This Plan is perfectly capable of execution, from

the standpoint of the mobilisation of those means required for its execution and which are to be found in our own country. And it is equally capable of execution in all other respects, given strenuous effort and the broadest mobilisation of the forces of the proletariat, of the technical cadres, and of the whole Soviet intelligentsia — a mobilisation of the poor and middle peasant masses, and their gathering together under the leadership of the proletariat for the struggle against the kulak.

Our work of construction has always been carried on, and continues to be carried on, under the conditions of class warfare. At the present juncture this is assuming acuter forms. The Five-Year Plan is the Plan of a great class offensive in town and country. At the same time it is a Plan initiating the really socialist re-organisation of the poor and middle peasant farms by means of their collectivisation and their organisation in co-operatives.

The material and organisational assumptions contained in the Plan, and the perspectives opened out before the masses of the workers and peasants by this Plan, must be made the most important factor in the organisation of the workers and peasants against the difficulties which we encounter on our road to socialist society. At the same time this factor must destroy that nervousness, and even panic, which these difficulties sometimes give rise to in the ranks of the working class. The Five-Year Plan, as a result of the brilliant work already accomplished by our Party, opens out a broad perspective for the development of the Soviet Republics and for the development of the struggle of the working class for the socialist state of society. Therefore it must form the basis upon which we unite the whole of the forces of the Party and of the working class and go forward towards the building up of a new and classless socialist society.

## The Moscow Functionaries of the C. P. S. U. for the Decisions of the XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 9th May 1929.

The meeting of Moscow functionaries of the C. P. S. U. which took place yesterday, after hearing the report of Comrade Baumann on the results of the XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U., adopted a decision which states:

The meeting fully and entirely approves the decisions, which aim at the unanimous carrying out of the general line of the Party and the energetic overcoming of the anti-Leninist deviations and conciliatory tendencies, especially of the Right opportunist deviation, which at the present period is the main danger for the whole cause of socialist construction.

The right deviation, by veiling its opportunist line with the talk regarding the degradation of agriculture, by placing itself in fact upon the standpoint of slowing down the rate of industrialisation and restricting the building up of the Soviet economy and collective undertakings, by staking its cards on the extension of the development possibilities of the kulak undertakings, in underestimating the importance of the new forms of alliance of the working class with the peasantry, by promulgating the theory of the growing of the kulaks into socialism, by opposing the measures on the part of the poor and the middle peasantry of socially influencing the kulak in the carrying out of the grain campaign, and by denying the inevitability of the intensification of the class struggle at the present period of socialist construction, unavoidably arrives at the liberal interpretation of the new economic policy, at the anti-Leninist theory of constant concessions, of the distortion of the Leninist doctrine of the leading role of the proletariat in the alliance with the peasantry, at the policy of collaboration with the capitalist elements in the country.

While the Party considers the development of industrialisation, in the first place the production of the means of production, as the key to the rapid advance of the whole national economy on a socialist basis, the Right deviation stakes its cards on the accumulation and enrichment of the individual undertakings.

"The Right deviation which represents the result of the pressure of the petty bourgeois elements upon individual

sections of the working class and our Party and who is advocating a wrong policy within the country, distorted at the same time the Leninist line in the international labour movement and is becoming objectively a centre of attraction for the Right opportunist and conciliatory groupings within the sections of the Comintern.

"These distortions find expression in the over-estimation of capitalist stabilisation, in glossing over the accentuated crisis of capitalism and thereby slip down to the social democratic theory of the recovery of capitalism. They inevitably lead to the denial of the new upsurge of revolutionary proletarian movement in the capitalist countries, to the abandonment of the mobilisation of the working masses for a decisive fight against social democracy (especially against its Left wing) and against the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

"In the midst of the growing revolutionary wave in the West (strike movements, successes of the Communists at the factory council elections, streets fights of the workers on the 1st of May etc.) the Rights and the conciliators in the Comintern are disorganising the ranks of the fighting proletariat and are thus weakening the fighting capacity of the Communist brother Parties.

"The meeting records with indignation the attempts of the Right deviation within the C. P. S. U. to formulate their anti-Leninist line as a fraction, to repeat the Trotskyist calumny of the bureaucratisation of the Party, to repeat Brandler's calumny of the disintegration of the Comintern, the stupid accusations of the "military-feudalistic exploitation of the peasantry" and the sinking to Trotskyist positions against the Party as well as the attempts to create blocs without principles against the Leninist leadership. These anti-Party actions and slanderous accusations have been encountered, as they were bound to do, the most decided Bolshevik resistance of the whole Party."

## THE BALKANS

### The New Stage of Fascism in Yugoslavia.

By B. B....vitch (Belgrade).

More than four months have passed since the setting up of the fascist military dictatorship in Yugoslavia. This has sufficed in order to expose the new autocratic regime before the eyes of the broad working masses. All the promises regarding reduction of the State budget, liquidation of the economic crisis, obtaining of foreign credits etc., which the fascist Generals so lavishly made, have burst like soap bubbles.

The economic crisis has not only not been alleviated in comparison with the year 1928 but has become more acute as a result of the worsening of the transport service and of the severe frost, which has very adversely affected the harvest. The deficit of the commercial balance has increased. In the first three months of this year this deficit amounted to 339 million Dinar. In the same period exports have declined by 4.54 per cent. in comparison with the corresponding period of last year. The general state of crisis of the world money market is very clearly reflected in the poverty of Yugoslavia. The stores of foreign bills in the State treasury is dwindling. The attempts of the government to conclude foreign loans have failed. Even if the government should succeed in obtaining a foreign loan, this would not by any means improve the position of the workers, for as a result the pressure of taxation would become even greater. The national debt already amounts to 70,000 million Dinar. The State budget for the year 1929 is higher than that for the previous year; it amounts to 12,464,474,912 Dinars, as compared with 11,629,794,000 Dinar in the year 1928. The scarcity of money is expressed in the extraordinary high rate of interest for loan capital (30 to 150%). The first months of the fascist dictatorship were characterised by an epidemic of bankruptcies.

The fascist government is strengthening and organising its military dictatorship. The "Supreme Legislative Assembly" is working feverishly. The tenants' protection has been abolished, as well as the law for the protection of labour, and a pro-

of the working day is contemplated. A "revision" of the agrarian reforms is being carried out, which aims at restoring land to the big landowners. Feverish preparations for war are being made. The budget of the War Ministry has been increased by 500 million Dinar in comparison with that of last year; it now amounts to 2,528,571,000 Dinar. General Kutenov, chief of the Russian whiteguardist foreign army, came to Agram and was received by King Alexander. A purging process is being carried out in the army. On the 11th of April 30 Generals were removed from their posts on the ground that they are being politically unreliable.

The severe economic crisis is intensifying all class antagonisms; the increased taxation and the proclamation of new laws is giving rise to ferment and discontent among the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The policy of playing with the national minorities and oppressed peoples is coming to an end. Both in Serbia and particularly in the Croatian territories, and also in the districts inhabited by national minorities, signs of approaching struggles are increasing. In Agram there is taking place a whole number of strikes of Croatian nationalists. But the chief enemy, the central pillar for the bloody regime of the fascist military dictatorship is the working class and its advance-guard, the C. P. of Yugoslavia.

In view of the crisis, the wholesale unemployment, the reduction of wages, the sabotage of the agrarian reform and the tightening of the laws for the protection of labour, the fascist government cannot of course fail to see the threatening nature of the approaching revolutionary movement. Nor can it be deceived by the hope that its agents in the working class — trade union reformists and the social democrats — will be able to stifle the fighting spirit of the broad masses. For this reason the fascist government, which for four months has been trying to destroy all oppositional, political, national and cultural organisations, to enact fresh reactionary laws, to purge the military and official apparatus, is now going over to the offensive. In order to crush the working class, the whole apparatus of the fascist dictatorship is being mobilised and the most cruel and barbarous methods of oppression employed, which are reminiscent of the worst times of the mediaeval inquisition. In the second half of April last repressions and arrests of thousands of workers were carried out in all the towns of Yugoslavia in anticipation of the 1st of May. In Agram alone thousands of workers were arrested. Officers and non-commissioned officers went through the streets of the working class districts armed with hand-grenades; police searches were carried out in workers' houses and in the factories. The fascist government followed the example of the Bulgarian hangman Zankov, the C. P. of Bulgaria, and Ljaptcheff and of the Hungarian hangman Horthy in physically exterminating the revolutionary cadres. The police authorities have issued a circular in which they offer a reward of 50,000 Dinars for the arrest of any communist and 50,000 Dinars for the arrest of any member of the C. C. of the Party or the Communist Youth. On the 20th of April Comrade Djura Djakovitch, secretary of the C. P. of Yugoslavia and member of the E. C. C. I., and Nikolai Hekimovitch, secretary of the Red Aid, were arrested in the streets of Agram during a police raid. Both comrades were frightfully tortured for four days and four nights in the dungeons of the Agram police. On the 24th of April they were placed in chains and, accompanied by gendarmes and police agents, conveyed to the Yugoslavian-Austrian frontier. Late in the evening of the 25th of April both comrades were shot on the pretext that they had attempted to escape. Wholesale arrests are taking place at the present time. An order has been issued by the authorities that responsible Party members are not to be handed over to the court but are to be dealt with in the same way as were Comrade Djakovitch and Hekimovitch. At the present time two workers, Marganovitch and Krndel (trade union worker and member of the town council of Agram), are being fearfully tortured in the police prison in Agram. In the police prison of Belgrade, Petrovitch, a leather worker, attempted to commit suicide in his cell because he could no longer stand the torture. Not only workers but also young women are being ill-treated and tortured.

The new stage in the development of Yugoslavian fascism is at the same time a new stage in the fight of the masses for the overthrow, a new stage in the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class, the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities.

In spite of all the oppression the 1st of May was celebrated in Yugoslavia. In most of the towns the workers did not work.

The illegal May meetings were held in the forests. The May Day leaflets of the C. P. of Yugoslavia were distributed among the workers in the big towns. In spite of the terrible white terror the revolutionary movement is extending and taking firmer root among the proletarian masses in the towns, among the poor peasants in the villages and also among broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie. The toiling masses in Yugoslavia, in their fight to overthrow the bloody regime of the fascist military rule, are hoping for the full support of the international proletariat, of the peasantry and of the whole anti-fascist world; for this fight is at the same time a fight against the danger of war and against world imperialism.

## The Activity of the Balkan Communist Federation.

(Resolution of the VIII. Conference of the B. C. F.)

The VIII. Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation records that the activity of the B. C. F. has been greatly weakened during the last three years. The main reasons of this decline are: a) the temporary defeat of the revolutionary movement in the Balkans; b) the organisational weakness of the Communist Parties in the Balkans; c) the inner crises and struggles of the Parties. In addition to this the Conference declares that the secretariat of the B. C. F., in carrying out the line and directives of the E. C. C. I., did not by a long way make use of all the possibilities of a co-ordinated action of the Communist Parties of the Balkans in the events which took place in the Balkans.

In view of the necessity of closer collaboration and of a joint struggle of the Communist Parties in the Balkans, especially in connection with the growing imperialist war danger and the necessity of a maximum development of activity of the Parties both with regard to the solution of general Balkan questions and to the recovery from the consequences of the defeats which have been suffered, the overcoming of the inner crises of the Communist Parties in the Balkans and the consolidation of their leadership, as well as on the basis of the statutes of the Communist International, the VIII. Conference resolves:

1. To resume and to consolidate the activity of the B. C. F. in its entirety as a federation co-ordinating and guiding the work of the Communist Parties in the Balkans in the sphere of general Balkan questions and campaigns under the permanent leadership and control of the E. C. C. I.

2. The competency of the B. C. F. does not extend to the inner affairs and questions of the individual Communist Parties in the Balkans. The latter maintain direct connections with the E. C. C. I. and work under its direct leadership.

3. Every Communist Party in all its economic and political actions which reach beyond the frontiers of the respective country and are of general importance for the whole Balkans, must bring its activity into harmony with the remaining Communist Parties in the Balkans through the agency of the B. C. F.

4. It is necessary in the interest of real collaboration among the Communist Parties of the Balkans that all questions which are of importance for the whole Balkan be thoroughly explained to the Party members in all the Balkan countries. The decisions, appeals, declarations etc. of the B. C. F. must be popularised for the broad working masses by means of the press and all other methods.

5. The B. C. F. has the following organs:

- a) The Balkan Communist Conference and
- b) the Executive Bureau of the B. C. F.

6. The Balkan Communist Conference shall be convened by the Executive Bureau of the B. C. F. with the approval of the E. C. C. I., at least once every two years, and shall be specially convened when occasion demands.

7. The Executive Bureau is the permanent leading organ of the B. C. F. It consists of a representative of the Yugoslavian, Bulgarian, Roumanian and Greek Communist Parties, a representative of the Young Communists of the Balkan countries and a representative of the E. C. C. I. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Balkans shall send as their representatives to the Executive Bureau of the B. C. F. responsible comrades who enjoy the full confidence of the Party in question.

8. The Executive Bureau shall, as and when necessary hold conferences from time to time with special representatives of all or some of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Balkans for the purpose of clearing up the current Balkan questions and events and organising and carrying out campaigns in the Balkans. For the same purpose the Executive Bureau shall on important occasions send delegates to the individual Balkan countries.

9. The Executive Bureau of the B. C. F. shall maintain a permanent and close contact with the Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, Ukrainian, Austrian and Turkish Communist Parties and if necessary also with other Communist Parties.

The Executive Bureau shall also maintain close connection with the Red International of Labour Unions, the International Peasant Council, the Young Communist International, the International Red Aid and the International Women's Secretariat, for organising work in the respective spheres in the Balkans.

10. For the purpose of ideological and political connection between the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities of the various Balkan countries and the organisation of the struggle in the whole of the Balkan, the Executive Bureau shall work in the following directions:

a) Investigate the situation in the Balkans and the Balkan questions. Closely follow Balkan events and elaborate a common standpoint and carry out of a uniform line in all Balkan questions, problems and events.

b) Keep the various Communist Parties of the Balkans and the E. C. C. I. informed regarding the situation in the Balkans.

c) Consolidate all Balkan connections with regard to the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues, the trade unions and co-operative organisations, the peasant organisations, the national revolutionary movements, the youth, women, sports and other cultural organisations, the labour press and literature etc. Exchange delegates of the various Balkan countries at Congresses, Conferences (of the Party, Youth, trade union etc.) exchange reporters and speakers at meetings and assemblies; exchange articles in newspapers and reviews etc.

d) Organise mutual aid and practical application of inter-Balkan and international solidarity of the proletariat and of the peasantry in the economic and political struggles.

e) Organise common mass Balkan campaigns against the advance of international imperialism, against fascism and white terror, against the war danger, for the defence of the Soviet Union and for the Balkan Federation of Workers and Peasants Republics.

f) Create and consolidate the revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, the peasantry and the suppressed nations in the Balkans.

g) Co-ordinate the work and set up a common line of the Communist Parties of the Balkans in the national question and in the sphere of the national revolutionary movement, and

h) Organise campaigns abroad against fascism, white terror etc. in the Balkans.

11. The chief task of the Executive Bureau of the B. C. F. in the immediate future is the co-ordination and organisation of the mass movement in all Balkan countries against the anti-Soviet bloc which is being formed in the Balkans, against the imperialist war danger and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

12. The Executive Bureau of the B. C. F. shall promote in the sense of the directives of the E. C. C. I. the process of ideological, political and organisational Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties of the Balkans and their struggle against deviations, thereby devoting chief attention to the struggle against the main danger in the Balkans at the present moment — the Right danger.

13. The decisions of the Executive Bureau of the B. C. F. regarding the Balkan questions are binding on all Communist Parties of the Balkans. In case of differences between the Executive Bureau and the individual Communist Parties the E. C. C. I. shall decide the matter.

14. In order to acquaint the broad toiling masses with the tasks of the B. C. F., the VIII. Conference considers it necessary to issue special leaflets in all Balkan languages on the situation in the Balkans, the development of the Communist movement in the Balkan countries and its inter-Balkan tasks and to publish material regarding the creation and the development of the B. C. F. and its activity in the past.

15. The Executive Bureau of the B. C. F. shall issue as its organ the Bulletin of the B. C. F. for the purpose of informa-

tion and publication of documents relating to the inter-Balkan activity of the B. C. F. and to the individual Communist Parties of the Balkans.

16. The Executive Bureau of the B. C. F. pledges itself to assist the Albanian comrades in preparing the ground for the establishment of the C. P. of Albania.

## The Founding of the Communist Party of Albania.

(Resolution of the VIII. Conference of the B. C. F.)

The VIII. Balkan Communist Federation welcomes the initiative for the founding of a Communist Party of Albania, the only country which hitherto had no proletarian Communist Party. It joyfully accepts into its ranks these new revolutionary fighters in the Balkans who are bound to play a leading role in the struggle on a very important sector of the Balkan front. The Conference instructs the B. C. F. to afford every assistance and support to the young Communist Party of Albania in its development, especially in the sphere of organisation and ideological consolidation.

Economic backwardness, strong feudal remnants and colonial dependence are impelling Albania towards the bourgeois democratic revolution, which however with a victory of the proletarian revolution in Italy and in the Balkans will open the way to the country the path to socialist development.

The social basis of the C. P. of Albania is formed by the existing, if only not very numerous, working masses in the towns and in the country, as well as by the poorest, oppressed and exploited portion of the Albanian peasantry. The C. P. of Albania, which is independent of the Albanian national movement, will in addition to representing the general and immediate class interests of the proletariat, propagate the agrarian revolution and the struggle against the imperialist domination of the Albanian people.

Extension of the influence over the broad peasant masses, over the urban artisans and the working intellectuals, establishment of close connection with these strata, penetration of national revolutionary organisations of the country, freeing the national revolutionary movement from the influence of imperialists and the Albanian big landowners, establishment of connections with the national revolutionary movement of neighbouring countries, with the general revolutionary movement in the Balkans and the international proletarian revolution — these are the most important tasks of the Albanian Communists, the solution of which will contribute to the victory of the revolution in Albania. The Communist Parties of the Balkans and the Balkan Communist Federation must extend all-round support to the Communists in carrying out these tasks.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Main Tasks of the VI. Congress of the Canadian Party.

By Leslie Morris.

The Canadian Party will hold its Sixth Congress at the end of May.

The Canadian Party has existed as a united body since 1922, the year in which the first congress was held. Its membership at the present time is in the neighbourhood of 4,400 and has remained at that rough figure since the inception of the Party. Previous congresses have not been of that essential political character that is necessary to the clarification of the work of any Party, having been preceded by no serious discussion of problems or marked by the interest among the membership that they warranted. The Sixth congress promises to be a departure from this procedure in that it already has been prefaced by the deepest political discussion in the history of the Party and will be confronted by theses that really raise vital matters.

Upon the international arena, Canada is playing an ever more important role. The outstanding international imperialist conflict finds one of its main foci within the country in



form of the Anglo-American rivalry. The British imperialists are attempting to maintain their weakening influence in Canada through Empire Trade agreements, immigration schemes and the like, while American capital continues to pour in at the rate of 200 million dollars yearly. In the midst of these two groups, the Canadian bourgeoisie itself is torn into conflicting sections, some of whom find identity of interest with Wall Street, others with Britain, while still other smaller sections possess independent ambitions. This brings the danger of war right to the threshold of Canada. It is certain that the looming Anglo-American war will bring about a chronic situation within Canada because of these contradictions; no matter which way the Canadian bourgeoisie turns, whether it espouses neutrality, or declares war upon either side, it will be confronted with a civil war condition within the country. Until now the Party has been hazy upon this question and has committed many errors, going so far as to attribute to the demand for "administrative independence" of the Canadian bourgeoisie from the British constitution a "colonial-revolutionary" character. This mistake has since been liquidated; the Party now sees clearly that this was a grave error and that the only "independence" for which it can struggle is that of a Workers' and Farmers' government. However, the Party congress will have to debate, with the assistance of the Comintern, the utility of the present slogan of "Canadian Independence under a Workers' and Farmers' Government" as a means for the rallying of the masses against imperialism. The discussion now going on shows that there is being made a serious effort for the first time actually to determine the concrete position of the Canadian bourgeoisie in the Anglo-American conflict, and from this analysis to evolve the correct slogan to rally the masses against the imperialist war, for the defence of the U.S.R.R., etc. This is the outstanding political task of the Congress.

Rationalisation is proceeding very rapidly in the country. Industry is expanding and already shows signs of an approaching deep-going crisis that will upset the stabilisation process. The manufactures of Canada now exceed in value its agricultural products; the industrial proletariat is growing rapidly, recently exceeding the million mark for the first time; the ratio of the number of unskilled workers to the skilled is increasingly in favour of the former; the mechanisation of agriculture is hastening the differentiation of the farmers. The workers of the East, particularly unskilled women and youth, have retaliated against rationalisation schemes by a distinct wave of unorganised strikes that have not been exploited fully by the Party. In this sense the Party has been guilty of a "tailism" that expressed itself in an inability to gain the leadership of the strikes, to organise unions, and in some cases of allowing the A. F. of L. fakirs to dupe and defeat the workers. There is distinct evidence that this wave will broaden into a general leftward move of the masses. The Party congress will have to eliminate the bases for this slowness and hesitancy in the face of struggle, and turn the face of the Party towards the masses in actuality, taking up the leadership of the spontaneous struggles of the workers and organising them into unions under our control, recruiting the best elements into the Party.

The trade union work of the Party in the past has been unclear in policy and weak in execution. Until recently a distinct tendency has been shown to regard our work as proceeding from the "top" rather than for unity from below. This was shown in such slogans of the Party as "Amalgamation of the Two Congresses", i. e., the A. F. L. centre and the new Canadian Congress of Labour. Right errors proceeded from this; a distinct over-estimation of the "leftness" of the leaders of the new Canadian Congress, the liquidation of the revolutionary trade-union organ of the Party, the failure to build a broad Left wing movement of the rank-and-file, a dangerous weakening of the Party's activities in the A. F. L. unions, etc. At the same time good work has been done of late in building new unions of the needle trades and automobile workers. However it is clear that the Party has not orientated sufficiently to the work of organising the unorganised in the new and basic industries, that is, those which contained the most exploited and unorganised sections of the workers.

The Party congress will have to eradicate these dangerous tendencies and formulate plans for the shifting of the gravity of the Party's work to those basic sections of the working class upon which it must rely for support and influence. In this connection, it must be pointed out that, although much has been

said, nothing has been done to organise and penetrate the French-Canadian masses of Quebec, who constitute one third of the total population of Canada. Until the Party has started to work successfully in this rapidly growing industrial centre, containing the most exploited and backward portions of the Canadian proletariat, it cannot be considered a true Party of the Canadian working class.

The same applies to the farmers. Much has been planned in the past, but it remains true that until now the Party has not evolved an agrarian programme, has not ideologically clarified its conception of the farmers but still tends to look upon them as a homogenous mass. The increasing introduction of such devices as the "combine-thresher", the falling price of wheat, the degeneration of the "Wheat Pool" and many other developments that forecast an agrarian crisis in the near future make it imperative that the Party wins the leadership of the poor farmers and hastens the already sharpening process of class differentiation. The Congress will have the task of formulating an agrarian programme, both of a maximum and minimum nature, at the same time paying attention to the organisational problems attached to this vital question.

The chief political mistakes of the Party have been made in the field of the "united front", concretely in relation to the Canadian Labour Party. This party, which "canalized" the revolutionary sentiments of the workers following the strike movement of 1919-20, was built up by our Party in the course of several years in conjunction with the reformists. A year ago the reformists withdrew from the Labour Party in sections of the country, taking with them important groups, and leaving us in control with but few affiliations. As the Labour Party was never a national organisation possessing any mass character the reformists could afford to desert it and, in their swing to the bourgeoisie, leave us behind in the position of preserving an artificial "unity". The whole policy of the Party in regard to the L. P. has been ideologically confused and marked at times by liquidatory tendencies, and an over-estimation of the L. P. and an under-estimation of the C. P. This found clear expression in the idea that we must not fight the reformists for fear of disrupting the Labour Party and breaking the united front. The Party convention is faced with the task of working out the forms of more open appearance of the Party programme, independent candidates in elections, sharper exposure of the reformists, and winning those elements still affiliated to the L. P. for the Party. The attempts of the reformists to organise their own Party (there is no nationally organised Social-democratic Party in Canada) must be fought by the Party through the medium of united front forms of the masses, organised and unorganised. Above all things, the Congress has to destroy the still prevailing conception that our task is to build a Labour Party, and must find means of coming out openly before the workers, against the reformists, and to intensify the building of the Communist Party. The open Right attitude expressed in the Labour Party work in the past will have to be combated sternly.

The structure and composition of the Party organisation is bad. More than 90% of the Party organisation is composed of Finnish, Ukrainian and Jewish immigrants. The first two control large and powerful immigrant fraternal organisations conducting work in their respective languages. The work of these comrades has been marked continually by a conservatism and legalism that has had its reflection in the Party as a whole. In addition to this, the fractional activity carried on among the Ukrainian and Finnish workeres amounts to little; their organisations stress dramatic and social activity to the exclusion of all forms of political agitation and struggle. Federalism and social democratic forms generally still persist in the forms of delegate city committees and the like. The Central Committee, agit-prop committees, and almost all organisational forms are still dominated to a great extent by the two large language groups in the Party. The Congress has the task of really re-organising the Party, overcoming resistance to the changes and placing the Party organisation upon a real Communist basis, building factory nuclei, recruiting native-workers to the Party, overcoming "nationalist" prejudices which still persist in "language" units etc. The leadership of the Central Committee will also have to be broadened, and new elements introduced from among the fresher and more virile comrades. It is undoubtedly true that a continuation of the present loose, semi-social-democratic structure will effectively prevent the Party from developing into a real Bolshevik party.

The low ideological level of the Party is still a problem that must be tackled in order to preserve the Leninist line. Trotskyism, which made its appearance concurrently with Cannon's renegacy in the U. S. A. by the declaration of Spector, editor of the Party organ for Trotskyism, raises this question still more sharply. Although Spector has succeeded in rallying but few to his counter-revolutionary standard, the danger for the Party persists because of its low theoretical level. On the other hand, the **Right danger** represents the chief danger as has been illustrated in the course of the recent critical examination of the Party's past work. It finds its basis in the objective situation; the "prosperity" illusions of the masses, particularly the skilled sections, the continued stabilisation and even marked growth of Canadian capitalism. Within the Party this has expressed itself in federalism, "tailism" in the face of mass movements, denial of the role of the Party in the Labour Party and mass organisations generally, insufficient attention to trade union work and the illusion of unity from the "top", etc. The Congress has the task of sharply combating both of these dangers, while laying the stress upon the **Right** as the main danger.

Taking place as the Congress does soon after the VI. Congress of the C. I., it possesses a splendid opportunity for a thorough revision of the Party programme and tactics in the spirit of the decisions of the C. I. The sharp discussion now going on, the criticism with which the unsatisfactory Political Thesis of the C. C. has been met and the counter-theses presented, shows that the increasingly favourable situation for work by the Party in the country is having its reflection inside the membership. Undoubtedly the present congress is the most important in the history of the Party, and the indications are that the decisions of the Congress will go a long way towards clarifying the hitherto unclear perspectives that have hampered the successful penetration of the Party into the real proletarian masses of the country.

## To the Working Class of Brazil!

From the Appeal of the Communist Party of Brazil.

Workers! The recently terminated III. Congress of the Communist Party of Brazil has thoroughly investigated the economic and political situation of the country, has dealt with the immediate demands of the proletariat and elaborated comprehensive directives for the coming period.

The position of the Brazilian working class is extremely tragic. The stabilisation of Brazilian economy means a stabilisation of misery. The life of the proletariat is accompanied by constant privation and both its food and its dwellings are far from what is needed. The miserable food and the bad housing conditions result in tuberculosis and other infectious diseases which decimate numerous working class families.

The picture presented by the position of the agricultural labourer is even more terrible. The mass of workers employed on the plantations lead inhuman lives and are constantly exposed to the most brutal acts of violence on the part of the armed plantation police. In the big foreign undertakings, such as in the Ford concessions in Amazonia, the workers receive a ridiculously small wage and are subjected in every respect to the tyranny of their employers.

The government is exerting a tremendous political pressure upon the working class in order to maintain this indescribable economic exploitation.

The Brazilian bourgeoisie, which is interested in keeping the proletariat at the lowest possible political level, places all possible hindrances in its way in order to prevent it from organising in the trade unions and parties, and by means of its repressive apparatus is exerting a severe and onerous control of the existing trade unions; it passes laws in Parliament by which all activity of the proletarian advance-guard is subject to severe penalties in order to prevent the proletariat from preparing for the approaching struggles.

Brazil is not a quiet haven in the midst of the great international storm. The Brazilian bourgeoisie is proceeding against the proletariat in the same manner as the bourgeoisie in the other countries. This is all the more the case as capitalism in its imperialist phase breaks through the national frontiers, is becoming international, exports capital and intensifies the

oppression of the colonial peoples, as in India, and of the semi-colonial peoples as in Brazil. This explains the increasing political resistance offered by the working class in the countries doubly exploited by the national and international bourgeoisie.

The great American oil trust is stretching out its tentacles also to Brazil. The fight between Bolivia and Paraguay for Chaco Boreal is a precursor of new wars, to which the rivalry between England and the United States is bound to lead. Ford has established himself in Amazonia. The General Electric Company is advancing still further in a most bitter struggle against English imperialism. Hoover's visit to Brazil means that Yankee imperialism is determined to proceed even more energetically with its policy of penetrating this country. Thus the contradictions of the capitalist system are increasing on an international scale.

War is being prepared everywhere — a fact which cannot be disguised by the pacifist manoeuvre of the Kellogg Pact. The feverish competition in armaments is the best refutation of the pacifist phrases of bourgeois diplomacy. The armed intervention in China and in Nicaragua enabled one to recognise the true countenance of the international financial magnates. In addition to all these conflicts among the imperialist powers, secret preparations are being made for military attack on the homeland of the workers, the Soviet Union.

Whilst everything is proceeding at a headlong pace to fresh sanguinary struggles, the renegades of the working class are trying to lull the vigilance of the workers: the Brazilian Labour Party (Partido Trabalhista) which is subsidised with money from abroad, is setting up organisations which appear to be proletarian but in reality serve the bourgeois State and international imperialism.

The political situation in our country calls for the greatest vigilance on the part of the proletariat. With the sharpening of the contradictions of the capitalist regime the revolutionary ferment is growing. The masses of the petty bourgeoisie are being pushed down into the ranks of the proletariat, imperialism is gaining an ever firmer foothold, the agrarian problem is becoming more and more acute, and the rule of the big landowners does not even permit an amelioration of the situation in this sphere which is becoming ever more tense. We have entered on a period of revolutionary preparation. The forces of the revolution which is on the march, in which the proletariat must play the decisive role, are already countering the forces of open and disguised counter-revolution such as the Democratic Party, which was expressly organised in order to serve as a buffer in the event of a new revolutionary wave. The only solution of the crisis is the revolutionary solution: armed fight against the national and international oppressors, before all against Anglo-American imperialism. On the one side we see foreign capitalism and its instruments, the government of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, the open reaction, the Democratic Party, which is conducting a palace opposition. On the other side there stands the Communist Party, the only Party of the proletariat, which is identified with the great masses of the working class, whose interests it defends, and which is conducting class struggles and is gaining the allegiance of the petty bourgeoisie which is becoming more and more revolutionised.

The Brazilian proletariat must be on the alert. It must more than ever trust its revolutionary advance-guard, the Communist Party, which in spite of the illegality into which it is forced, has courageously resisted all persecution on the part of reaction. The Party is striking its roots ever more deeply in the proletarian masses.

Workers, be at your posts! Support the workers' and peasants' bloc, the united front organisation of the peasant masses of the exploited in town and country. Drive the reformist leaders out of your trade unions! Exert all your forces in order to weld together the unions in the provinces into provincial federations and to set up in the whole country your own trade union federation on a national scale, and by such a centralisation to strengthen the trade union forces of the proletariat.

Support the Latin-American Trade Union Federation, which embraces all the Latin-American trade unions and which will strengthen the practical struggle against Anglo-American imperialism! Intensify the fight against the reactionary laws! Win political rights, fight for your economic and political emancipation!

**Be prepared to side with the real revolutionaries in the fight!**  
**Down with international imperialism which oppresses the colonial and semi-colonial peoples!**

**Down with the national bourgeoisie which exploits the great masses!**

**Long live the iron unity of all workers in town and country!**

**Long live the alliance of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and of the oppressed petty bourgeoisie!**

**Long live the III. International, the reliable leader of the oppressed of the whole world!**

**Long live Soviet Russia, the only workers' Republic in the world!**

**Long live the Communist Party of Brazil, the only defender and leader of the proletariat of this country, which alone is capable of leading the masses in the fight against the national bourgeoisie and international imperialism!**

The C. C. of the C. P. of Brazil.

## AGAINST TROTZKYISM

### Trotskyists Turn Away from Trotsky.

By E. Yaroslavski.

I have used the expression "turn away" although I might better have said "Decay, Dissolution of the Trotskyist Organisation". About two-thirds of the Trotskyists expelled from the Party within recent years have severed themselves from the Opposition, and the majority of these have reverted to the path of the Party and rejoined the Party. Not only is the Trotskyist organisation in decay, the mainstay of the Dezists (Sapronovists) is disintegrating, and the Mjasnikow group, which illegally published the newspaper "Path of the Worker to Power", the journal of the IV. International, is also breaking up. Within the last few days, the Central Control Commission and the local branches have been receiving collective declarations in regard to breaking away from the opposition. Moreover, it is chiefly workers who are thus departing from the Trotskyists.

The cause of the breach is chiefly that, through the experience gained in the fight with the Party the workers have become convinced that the Trotskyists are on the wrong path. They have taken a survey, not only of themselves, but also of the Trotskyists and of the Party. They have convinced themselves that the talk of Thermidorian degeneration of the Party is partly due to the former bureaucrats, who do not take into account the facts of the tense proletarian class fight, which the Party is carrying on against the capitalist elements in the country. They have convinced themselves that the country of the Soviets is defending the positions captured in October, 1917 and that it is strengthening these positions. They have convinced themselves that the Party is carrying on an implacable, ruthless fight against bureaucracy. Every honest proletarian is animated by the desire to take an active part in the work of socialist reconstruction and not hold sulkily aloof and maliciously snigger over this or that deficiency, difficulty or mistake. They now comprehend the fruitlessness, purposelessness and shallowness of the scholastic discussions of the opposition "leaders", who quarrel interminably as to the percentage to which this or that development in the country has progressed, and hold endless, dreary and phantastic speeches to the effect that the working class will finally have to call upon the opposition to put things in order, etc. The workers in the Opposition looked things over and convinced themselves that, with these self-enamoured politicians, who so lightly broke with the good proletarian party, they are not following the right path.

It should, however, be mentioned that this process, which has long been in progress, has been fomented by Trotsky's confusion and particularly by two facts: the first is Trotsky's letter of October 21st, 1928; the second, Trotsky's appearance in the reactionary bourgeois Press. This bloc, composed of the most divergent elements and set up without principle, on the basis of a mere platform, fell to pieces at the first severe test. Expulsion from the Party aggravated the question of the differences of opinion within the bloc. But the discipline in the fraction, on the one hand, and the influx to the Opposition

of anti-Party elements (and such there will always be in our country as long as the fight and the class fight endures) checked the decay. For instance, Trotsky's declaration to the VI. Congress of the Comintern was signed by people, who were not at all in agreement with this document, a fact for which documentary evidence is available. (They signed on the ground of fraction discipline.) Those who did not sign were "worked" and treated as rascals: such is the "democracy" of the Trotskyists. The confused attitude in regard to the assertion that the Thermidor in Soviet Russia had already been reached, awoke in the Opposition workers doubt as to whether the talk of the Opposition about the Thermidor was at all justified. The uncertain attitude of Trotsky in relation to the "leftward" tendencies among the Trotskyists also disintegrated the opposition. And when Trotsky — after his various tackings and alter loose theorisings about the tackings within the party with the secret voting and with talk to the effect that the path of reform was one of the temporary ways, — as one might say, the preparatory way — put the unambiguous question whether other paths were possible, when he called the Sovietistic development an "inverted" Kerenskiade", the workers immediately felt that they were being led into a abyss, that the Trotskyists were leading them on to a fight against their own class.

The expulsion of Trotsky made the question critical. The Trotskyists tried all means to work upon the feelings of their followers. They distributed leaflets; in the declarations and expositions of the Opposition to the C. C. C. and other organs the strongest words were used. But Trotsky was a conspirator. And he had to become a conspirator when everybody saw that "the king was naked". The Opposition workers read with disgust Trotsky's articles in the "Daily Express" and other bourgeois journals. In vain the Trotskyists sought to bridge over the differences which arose in their ranks. Trotsky himself had driven a wedge into the gap through his reactionary articles in the Fascist bourgeois Press, and this wedge spread and deepened the gap. Many people then saw Trotskyism in a new light. And every honest Opposition worker, if he does not, ask himself to-day the question of his quitting the Opposition, will certainly do so to-morrow. That is inevitable.

We must dwell for a moment on the declarations of former members of the Opposition, which have been made in the last few days. S. Baranov, former member of the Bolshevik Party since 1913 has become convinced, that

"the Opposition does not help the working class with its activity nor does the Opposition help the Party to overcome the difficulties in the way of the working class but, on the contrary, only disturbs and injures through its destructive work and shakes the foundations of the proletarian dictatorship. The Opposition will inevitably land in the camp of the enemies of the proletarian State and of the Soviet Power."

A former worker of factory No. 22, W. Rips, condemned Trotsky's publications regarding the attitude of the Lenin Federation, when the latter set up its own lists for the German parliamentary elections. Eleven workers from Poltava declared that they have completely broken with the Opposition and mention in their declaration the anti-Soviet work being carried on by the Trotskyists.

In Dnjeppetrovsk a member of the Trotskyists, M. Gottlieb, discloses in the "Swyjezda" the activity of the Trotskyist district head quarters: agitation against signing the industrialisation loan, attempts to undermine the collective contracts, agitation for strikes, persecution of the G.P.U., discrediting the Communists, punishment of those who leave the Opposition. In reply to his inquiry of the Moscow Trotskyists why they did not send the letters of Radek, Preobrashensky and Smilga, Gottlieb was informed that

"in accordance with the resolution of the All-Russian executive of the Trotskyists, the material of these comrades was not published, because Radek — who has lately published a book and a quantity of other mater — describes Trotsky as a Menshevik, especially in regard to the Chinese question; Preobrashensky and Smilga support Radek's statements concerning the Chinese question. For this reason the All-Russian Trotsky executive is not in a position to send this material, and it will not be distributed, as it does not correspond to the ideology of the 'Leninistic Opposition'. Oh, defenders of the purity of Trotskyism! How beautiful is your "democracy within the party"!"

Again, in Dnepropetrovsk, the workers G. Wlassov, S. Gaponov, G. Mogilevich, Michel, declared that they have broken with the Trotzkyists, because it is now clear to all of them that the Trotzkyist Opposition is counter-revolutionary.

In Charkov, the declarations of the workers N. Ilinski, W. Sacharenko and O. Simanovich were published on March 17th, 1929, in the "Charkovski Proletarij".

In Tiflis twelve comrades, mostly workers, and some of them more than 15 years in industry, have broken away from the Opposition.

In Saratov, a letter signed by six comrades, who have broken with Trotzkyism, has been received by the editorial department of the "Povol'skaja Pravda". They are all workers of the street parks. In this case, too, it is workers who are leaving Trotzky.

Dozens of other declarations have been received from individual Trotzkyists. We are convinced that the movement will not cease at this initial stage. The more the "leaders" of the Opposition confine themselves to analysis and introspection, the less chance they will have of doing anything else as individual intellectuals, which many of them are.

It is comprehensible that we must deal thoroughly with these declarations of former Trotzkyists. We demand definite and complete severance from the Opposition, unreserved fulfilment of the resolutions of the XV. Party Congress concerning the Opposition; we must help the waverers and not drive them away, especially if they are workers, if they are people who have been valuable comrades in the past, and if we are convinced that they really wish to return to the Party in order to make good their mistakes and serve the Party.

At the same time, the fight against Trotzkyism should not lose its intensity. On the contrary, on the grounds of the whole development made by Trotzky and those who followed him, we must fight still more determinedly against the Trotzky atmosphere. In the ideologic fight against the anti-Party tendencies, determination is the best guarantee against an opportunistic conciliatory attitude towards opponents, and that is the only proper attitude in regard to deviations towards the Right or towards the Left. We must fight against the Trotzkyist elements, who are building up their organisation, just as we would fight against any other illegal anti-Soviet group. But the Party must not turn its back on those who break with the Trotzkyists and return to the Party. The resolution of the XV. Party Congress is still valid and the Party need not depart from this resolution.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### Publicans to Lead Australian Labour Party to Socialism.

The Degeneration of the A. L. P.

(As Reflected in its N. S. W. Easter Conference).

By S. Carpenter (Sydney).

In the midst of a general capitalist offensive; with the transport workers already badly defeated; with a most reactionary, truly Mussolinian anti-Trade Union Law and Transport Act already on the statute books and operating against the Trade Unions and against the working class generally; with the timber workers in the ninth week of a desperate struggle against the decree of the capitalist Arbitration Court that hours be lengthened and wages cut; with 12,000 miners locked out because they refuse to accept a 12 per cent wage cut; with the metal and clothing trades threatened with wage reductions and longer hours; with Child Endowment being abolished and Workers' Compensation reduced; with the Basic Wage being seriously threatened by the employers who have put in a claim for its reduction from £ 4/5/- to £ 3/8/-; and with over 200,000 unemployed walking the streets in search of work...

Such was the setting in which the A. L. P. Conferences were held in the various states during the Easter holidays.

"Worse than Nothing" is the only correct characterisation of the work and net result of the A. L. P. Conference in Sydney, as far as the working class are concerned. Where the matters discussed were not irrelevant and ridiculous, they were absolutely negative in character. We mean to illustrate this by giving a cross-section as it were, of all the "important" decisions arrived at by the Sydney Conference.

1. By the Rules of the A. L. P. no member of the Communist Party is permitted to represent his trade union organisation at A. L. P. Conferences. Thus, with one stroke, the militants are denied representation, regardless of the fact that such delegates may be elected by 100 per cent. of the union membership.

Only a few weeks ago, at the Sydney Metropolitan Conference of the A. L. P., a duly elected delegate from the Sheet Metal Workers' Union was debarred from that Conference because he is known as a member of the C. P. (!).

A duly elected trade union delegate to the Victorian A. L. P. Conference, held at Melbourne these days, comrade Charles Wilson of the Road Transport Workers' Union, was also excluded from the Conference, because he is a Communist.

Every worker must ask himself and the A. L. P. politicians: "Has not every union the right to elect and send representatives of their own choice, even though such delegates prove to be good militant workers, who are true to their class?"

2. While militant trade unionists who are duly elected by their respective organisations are thus excluded from Labour Party Conferences, exploiters of labour are kept in and protected from exclusion.

When at the same conference, a motion was brought to debar publicans and hotel proprietors (members of the U. L. V. A. United Licensed Victuallers Association) from A. L. P. membership, on the ground that they were exploiters of labour, the motion was overwhelmingly defeated.

At the same time it is reported from Melbourne that the Victorian A. L. P. Conference held there, defeated a resolution to exclude exploiters of labour from the A. L. P.

"... It was deliberately untrue to state that labour was opposed to a man deriving a just return from his investments; but it was opposed to robbery (applause). Justice demanded that a man should be fairly reimbursed for what he had expended — either in money or in effort."

(Mr F. Saidly, delegate at Sydney A. L. P. Conference, reported in "Labour Daily", of April 1, 1929).

Thus communists and militants are to be kept out; publicans, hotel proprietors and exploiters of labour generally, are to be kept in because — in the words of Mr. O'Sullivan — they are the best friends of labour.

3. The whole economic problem of the Australian working class, including the question of wages, unemployment, etc. was simply reduced to a matter of tariffs. "Prohibitive tariffs" is the panacea for all ills, offered by the A. L. P. reformists.

And while the nauseating discussion on "export duties on hides and skins" (actual wording of decision) was on Soviet Russia came in for a gibe from one of the "labour friends at the conference. Mr. Conaghan, one of the delegates reported to the conference on the shock he had received when he saw that Soviet matches were actually being sold in Australia.

"A long and heated discussion" reports the "Labour Daily" (official organ of the A. L. P.) "took place on..." well, guess on what!... on the question of the Registration of Barmaids!"

Mind you, they did not discuss the question of organising the tens of thousands of unorganised women in industry into the trade unions in order to obtain for them equal pay for equal work, and to stop the untold abuses of woman not only in the liquor trade but in almost all trades. No! They debated hotly the "registration of barmaids!"

An allied question under discussion was that of the "Nationalisation of the Liquor Trades" ... the decision does not really matter

4. M. P. Ryan, until now Vice President of the N. S. W. A. L. P. was defeated in the re-elections for this position. They have also removed him from the Executive. Reason: Militancy and alleged connections with the C. P.

What interests us more in connection with this particular point is the circumstance that comrade M. Ryan was also defeated recently in the N. S. W. Labour Council for the position of President of the Council. This was brought about by the organised opposition of all A. L. P. elements including J. S. Garden & Co.

5. One delegate brought up the question of child labour and described the inhuman exploitation of children in certain industries.

A general, pious resolution, which cost no one anything bound no one to anything, was moved "against child labour" in general. To make it concrete and practical, comrade P. Ryan moved that the school age of children be raised to 16, during which time they were not to be exploited by employers; also that child endowment be increased and reinforced.

Mr. Lang, the super-demagogue of N. S. W. reformism, held his hand in caution: "Be careful... wait until we get more power; leave it until then... Besides, we might lose the sympathy of the farmers who employ child labour"...

Some one at the Conference had the "audacity" to move a 10% levy on the salaries of the members of parliament. As of course defeated, Mr. Lang, the ex-premier pleading tactically:

"In the best interests of the movement, I ask you not to throw a spanner into the machinery... the Parliamentary section is in perfect harmony with the whole of the movement, and I ask not to disturb the harmony... the scheme before us is neither just nor equitable..."

For good contact between the Parliamentarians and those who elect them, it was decided that the former "should address their constituencies at least twice yearly"...

7. Ah!... but here at last is a really important matter dealt with by the Conference of the Australian Labour Party:

"A compulsory herd-testing scheme... having as a goal the gradual increase in productivity of dairy cattle in butter fat... and branding of cows as fit."

A "thorough discussion" took place on this fundamental Labour Party problem, which involves, one would think, the future of the Australian working class — if not the whole of humanity.

#### Conclusion.

1. The morass of publican-ism (reformism is too com-mentary a term for such a conference) into which the A. L. P. leaders and office-seekers have sunk and into which they are trying to drag the working class (unfortunately still with some success) should be a warning to all workers. Only defeat and bitter disillusionment lies that way.

2. The only working class Party in Australia to-day, the only political organisation with a consistently militant, working class policy, is the Communist Party. That is why Communists and Left wingers generally are excluded by the A. L. P. publicans; that is why they prefer to keep in their ranks hotel proprietors and employers.

3. "Industrial Peace" with the exploiters and a jingoistic "White Australia" policy are the main planks of the A. L. P. to-day. No class struggle; constitutionalism; "submission to the inevitable" are the slogans of A. L. P. publicanism.

"Do not kill the goose that lays the golden egg" is how Mr. Duggan, President of the A. C. T. U., and typical representative of A. L. P. reformism in Australia, described Peace Industry with the bosses.

4. Against this policy we must pursue one of relentless class struggle and defence of the interests of the working class.

Our slogans of the hour are:

1. Not a penny off the Pay;  
Not a Minute on the Day;
2. 100 per cent. organisation on the basis of industrial unionism and revolutionary factory and shop committees.
3. Join the only working class Party in Australia, the C. P.!

## FIRST OF MAY

### The International Response to the Berlin Events.

Solidarity of the British Workers with the Berlin Workers.  
London, May 7, 1929.

Not only in Germany, not only in France, but also in Great Britain the May Day events in Berlin have met with a deep response. Throughout England, Scotland and Wales during the week-end, resolutions were carried at big mass meetings and demonstrations expressing solidarity with the Berlin workers in their heroic struggle for the right to celebrate the workers' May Day. Below we give some of the most important demon-

strations which sent greetings to the militant German workers:

In **Hamilton**, an important mining centre in Scotland, Willie Allan addressed a big demonstration, where the police tried to interfere. A resolution was passed protesting against the brutal onslaught of the police against the Berlin workers.

In **Derby and Mansfield**, united front May Day demonstrations, attended by 5000 workers, also passed a resolution of solidarity with the Berlin workers. The **Rossington** miners endorsed the letter of Tom Mann and Harry Pollitt sent to the Berlin workers.

In **Aberdeen**, a large demonstration addressed by Comrade Campbell passed a resolution protesting against the terrorism in Germany, sending their warmest greetings and pledging support to the Berlin workers.

In **Cardiff** a resolution with regard to the Berlin events was carried with enthusiasm at 6 meetings comprising 4000 workers.

In **Glasgow**, a meeting of 100 worker supported a protest against the shooting of Berlin workers. In another Scottish centre, **Dundee**, two big demonstrations passed a resolution protesting against the social-democratic policy of butchery, and congratulating the German Party and the German workers on their heroic vindication of May Day solidarity. In **Motherwell**, mass meetings condemned the shooting of German workers by the capitalists and their supporters, the social democrats.

In **Liverpool** a mass meeting of 2000 workers protested against the shooting of Berlin workers and pledged their solidarity in the struggle.

\* \* \*

Moscow, 8th May 1929.

The bloody events in Berlin have caused the deepest anger and indignation amongst the working masses of the Soviet Union. Reports are coming to hand from numerous towns concerning protest meetings held in various factories.

In **Leningrad** meetings took place in all the large factories and resolutions were adopted condemning the treacherous and provocative attitude of the social democracy. The resolutions also express the indignation of the Russian workers at the suppression of the Red Front Fighters League. Everywhere meetings decided to send fraternal greetings to the German working masses.

Such meetings were also held in **Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, Kasan, Chita** etc., where resolutions of a similar nature were adopted.

\* \* \*

Moscow, 9th May 1929.

Reports of further protest demonstrations and resolutions in various parts of the Soviet Union against the Berlin blood-bath are continuing to arrive.

The miners of the **Don Basin** express their indignation at the attacks of the bourgeoisie on the workers in Germany, France and Poland and call upon the workers to respond to them by rallying around the banner of the Communist Parties in order to fling off the yoke of capitalism as quickly as possible.

The workers of the oil fields and the refineries of **Baku** and the neighbourhood appeal to the German workers to shake off the influence of the social democracy finally and to mobilise their forces in one united and invincible front.

The workers of numerous factories in **Kiev** have sent a telegram of greetings to the Central Committee of the German C. P. and to the Berlin workers appealing for the consolidation of the revolutionary united front.

In a great meeting in **Smolensk**, at which a member of the Red Front Fighters delegation to the Soviet Union for the May Day celebrations spoke, a resolution was adopted condemning the murderous onslaught of the social democrat Zoergiebel and expressing the conviction that the German workers would answer the attack by rallying around the C. P.

In **Leningrad** meetings took place in all big factories on the day of the burial of the victims. After work great demonstrations were held in the centre and in the working class quarters. The resolutions adopted in these meetings express the indignation and anger of the workers. The workers of the **Pudov** factories adopted a resolution expressing their hatred and contempt for the venal social democracy and declaring that the heroic fight of the Berlin workers on the barricades aroused the deepest feelings of proletarian solidarity in the breasts of the workers of the Soviet Union. The workers of the first



workers and peasants State were at one with the German workers in their difficult struggle against fascism.

\* \* \*

Moscow, 9th May 1929.

Deeply stirred up at the news from Berlin the Moscow workers held meetings in numerous factories. The resolutions adopted strongly condemn the attitude of the German social democracy and send fraternal greetings to the German workers.

\* \* \*

Moscow, 9th May 1929.

Numerous protest meetings in connection with the bloody events in Berlin have taken place in Moscow, Kharkov, Rostov on the Don, Novosibirsk, Omsk and other towns.

The workers of the factory "Krasny Bogatyr", Moscow, decided to contribute one fourth of a days wages to support the dependents of the victims in Berlin. A similar collection has been commenced in Novosibirsk.

The conference of the labour unions of Omsk has sent a telegram of greetings in the name of 35,000 workers to the Central Committee of the German C. P. announcing its solidarity with the German workers and declaring the willingness of the Russian workers to assist in the support of Zoergiebel's victims.

\* \* \*

Moscow, 9th May 1929.

On the day of the burial of the victims of the May Day fighting in Berlin, the workers of Kharkov organised a great demonstration in which tens of thousands participated. At one o'clock the sirens sounded from the factories as a sign of mourning. Flags were hoisted at half mast and the workers honoured the memory of their fallen German comrades by a pause of one minute. The district committee of the C. P. sent a telegram to the German C. P. and the German proletariat.

\* \* \*

Prague, 7th May 1919.

About 1500 workers assembled yesterday evening in the Peace Square in Prague in order to demonstrate against the murders in Berlin. The communist member of parliament Harus commenced to speak to the assembled workers from the steps of the Ludmilla Church. Four policemen immediately attacked Harus who was defended by the workers. A force of about 50 policemen who had been standing ready then attacked the workers in the most brutal fashion. Three workers were arrested and Harus was badly mauled.

In Pressburg also a workers demonstration took place against the Berlin bloodbath. The demonstrators succeeded in surprising the police because the preparations for the demonstration were held secret. The police were driven off when they did arrive. Only when the demonstrators had arrived before the building of the German consulate did the police succeed in breaking up the demonstration. Five workers and two communist members of parliament were arrested.

The Communist Party has issued an appeal to the Czechish workers calling upon them to protest against the Berlin bloodbath and to carry out a ten minute strike on the day of the burial of the victims.

\* \* \*

Prague, 8th May 1929.

After the protest demonstration against the Berlin murders as already reported, the demonstrators marched to Ziskow. At 9 o'clock in the evening the streets of Ziskow were full of demonstrating workers. There were approximately 2000 workers in the streets. For about three quarters of an hour the police were helpless. During the demonstration several speeches were made.

On Tuesday afternoon and evening a number of prohibited demonstrations of protest against the Berlin happenings took place in the North Western Bohemian coal-mining district. The Gendarmerie attacked the workers everywhere.

In Southern Slovakia also five great demonstrations took place and were very well attended.

\* \* \*

Vienna, 8th May 1929.

As a sign of solidarity with the Berlin workers, a number of factories followed the slogan of the Communist Party and ceased work for five minutes during the burial of the victims of the Berlin shootings.

\* \* \*

Copenhagen, 8th May 1929.

The Communist Party of Denmark organised a great demonstration to express the solidarity of the Danish workers with the Berlin workers. Ten thousand workers were present at the demonstration. Four speakers from the Communist Party, including the chairman of the party, Thøgersen, and a speaker from the Red Aid described the bloody events in Berlin. The masses unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the slaughter organised by the social democratic Police Prefect Zoergiebel and expressing solidarity with the Berlin workers.

## The „Pravda“ on the Berlin Events

The „Pravda“ on the Bloody Events in Berlin.

Moscow, 8th May 1929.

To-day's leading article in the „Pravda“ declares as follows:

The bloody happenings in Berlin will not pass without leaving their trace. The workers of Berlin, and after them the workers of the whole of Germany, have seen the features of organised capitalism as bred by Hilferding and Kautsky. The workers of Berlin and of the whole of Germany will never forget that the brutal murders which took place in Neukölln and Wedding occurred under the rule of the social democracy. The role of the social democracy as the ass's head of the lackey and the bloodhound of the bourgeoisie was more clearly expressed.

The correctness of the estimation of the Communist Party of the present period of world development has again been confirmed, and in particular the analysis of the situation in Germany. The correctness of the analysis of the role of the social democracy and its close relations with the bourgeois State apparatus has been completely corroborated. The necessity of an increased struggle against the social democracy and in particular against its hypocritical leadership has also been completely corroborated. Whoever is not convinced of the treacherous role of the social democracy should think of the lessons of the Berlin events.

Barricades in Berlin in 1929 are no small matter. It is also not accidental that these barricades should have sprung up in Berlin, the revolutionary fortress of the German working class.

The Berlin events vouch for the tension, the insecurity and the violent antagonisms of the whole course of capitalist development. The Berlin barricades are the harbingers of the great struggles which the German proletariat will carry out.

The lessons of capitalist democracy as shown in Berlin will not be erased from the minds of the workers. Not all the Zoergiebels in the world will be able to shake the iron law of the developing class-struggle. The May Day victory over Zoergiebel over unarmed workers in the streets of Berlin will be a pyrrhic victory for the German social democracy. A social democratic victory over the German workers will be the hour of the final political bankruptcy of the social democracy.

The radicalisation of the masses, and in particular of the German workers, will go on at an ever increasing speed. The day is not too far distant in which the German working class led by the German Communist Party, will arise and say the last word to the German bourgeoisie and its social democracy.