

# May Day Manifesto of the Communist International

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts — Please reprint

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 10 No. 21

30th April 1930

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin C 25, Bartelstrasse 1/5, III. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin C 25, Bartelstrasse 1/5, III. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Berolina 1169 and 2886

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# The Revolutionary Situation in India.

By V. Chaffopadhyaya.

Even in peace time, an anti-British demonstration in the streets of Peshawar would be a serious matter for British imperialism. It assumes far greater significance when it takes place in the midst of a general mass revolt against imperialist domination. Peshawar is a city of vital military importance, for it is situated on the North West Frontier of India, a few miles from Afghanistan, and is an indispensable point of advance in military operations against that country or Soviet Russia. With the independent "unruly" tribesmen on the Frontier British imperialism has been at war for a century in order to reduce them to subjection and to extend the imperialist frontier into Afghanistan. Peshawar is also of importance because it is situated in a province from which the majority of Indian soldiers are recruited for the imperialist army that "defends" the country, and any rising in that city has an effect upon the whole of the Punjab.

The conflicts that have taken place in Peshawar during the last few days have been far more violent than those hitherto reported from other cities. British armoured cars attempting to force their way through the streets were set fire to, MacDonald's British regiments were hailed with a

shower of stones and bricks and several British officers and soldiers have been killed. It is reported that the city is still in the hands of the revolutionaries, and that the MacDonald Government has surrounded it with British soldiers and intends bombarding it with bombing-planes. Heavy artillery is also being dispatched from Central India. As usual in such critical moments, the British women and children have been removed from the city and sent to a place that is safer for the present. As the events in Peshawar are bound to have their effect upon Lahore, where there have already been serious demonstrations and conflicts with the police, martial law has been declared in Lahore, the city is occupied by troops and every street is patrolled.

The wave of revolt has spread to Simla, the summer residence of the Viceroy and his Government in the Himalaya mountains. There has been severe street fighting and the English women and children have been removed from that city also.

It is significant that in the operations against the "rebels" the British Government has used no Indian troops except the Gurkhas.

The Forthcoming First Chinese Soviet Congress

There is good reason for this. The Sikhs, who until fifteen years ago constituted the most "loyal" troops of the Imperialist Army, are today unlikely to fire upon the workers and peasants. In the recent street fighting in Calcutta, the Sikhs were prominent among the revolutionaries. Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs, which has become world-famous through the massacre perpetrated in April 1919 by General Dyer, is the active centre of the Workers and Peasants Party to which a very large number of Sikh peasants belong. As the recruits for the Indian army are drawn mainly from the peasantry, it is obvious that any revolutionary movement among the peasants is bound to have a serious effect upon the troops. It may be prophesied with considerable certainty that Sikh troops will not be relied upon by the Government and that as the revolutionary movement assumes more a proletarian character they will probably join the revolution.

This is not yet the case with the Gurkha troops who are recruited chiefly from the State of Nepal and who have been carefully isolated from the Indian movement. The latest reports from the Gurkha territory, however, show that a national revolutionary movement has already begun among them, and that intensive propaganda is being conducted so as at least to prevent them from serving in the Imperialist Army.

In the province of Bengal the anti-imperialist struggle has grown more intense. In Calcutta, there was a serious conflict in Alipore Gaol between the political prisoners and the police, in the course of which the leader Subhas Chandra Bose was beaten and fell to the ground. The rumour that he and the Mayor of Calcutta, Sen Gupta, had died of their injuries led to extraordinary excitement among the masses and thousands stormed the gaol demanding that their leaders should be produced dead or alive.

Fighting is still going on in Chittagong where British troops are said to have killed twelve of the "rebels" who had set fire to the arsenal. Martial law still prevails there, and throughout East Bengal, numerous arrests are taking place daily on the charge of being connected with the rising in Chittagong.

While the revolt is spreading from one town to another, the Indian agents of the Government are busy trying to break the independence movement. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Lord Irwin's agent, has been doing his best to get the "moderate" leaders together into a so-called All Parties' Conference with the object of appointing delegates to the proposed "Round Table Conference" in London. It is to enable this Conference to be held that the British Government has hitherto refrained from arresting Gandhi. It is announced that Sapru has convened the Conference to take place in Bombay on May 14. The intimate connection between religion and imperialism is shown by the recent action that has been taken by the two great religious organisations of the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindu Mahasabha, which represents Hindu orthodoxy and the great Hindu landowners, held its yearly conference on April 19th and 20th and elected delegates to the Round Table Conference to protect "Hindu" interests against the Mohammedans. The Mohammedans, on their part, held a meeting under the well-known leader Mohammed Ali, denouncing the present movement as an attempt to establish "Hindu" domination over the Muslims and urging participation in the Round Table Conference in order to protect Muslim interests against the Hindus. The protection of these different interests is, of course, to be undertaken by the imperialist exploiters whose interests will be well looked after by Ramsay MacDonald. It is worth recalling that Mohammed Ali was in Europe a year ago and gave the Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism a message to India and the Islamic peoples to fight for national independence and overthrow imperialism in every form! At the same Muslim meeting just mentioned, the Arab countries were called upon to fight for their independence! In this way the attention of the Indian Mohammedans is being diverted from the revolutionary struggle at home to an academic defence of the independence of their co-religionists abroad.

But Mohammed Ali represents only the Muslim landowners, industrialists and commercial bourgeoisie. In the Punjab and in Bengal, the two provinces where the Muslims constitute half the population, the poorer Muslims and the nationalist Muslims of the Congress are participating in the struggle for independence. It is obvious that no such Hindu-Muslim question exists among the industrial workers.

The outstanding feature of the present revolutionary situation, in addition to the widespread revolts in the town, is the growth of the strike movement among the workers. The G.I.P. railway workers are still on strike, the B.B. & C.I. and the Southern Mahratta Railway workers are demanding higher wages, and the strike movement among the railway workers promises to be general. The jute workers in Bengal are on strike and their union officials have been arrested. The "Workers' Weekly", the new organ of the Workers & Peasants Party, points out in its last issue that the movement has gone far beyond Gandhi and the Congress, and calls for a general strike throughout India. The prospects for such a strike are extremely favourable. The agitation for the release of the Meerut prisoners has been carried into the factories and the workers have been contributing their maximum to the Defence Fund. The frantic efforts of MacDonald's British and Indian labour agents to control the labour movement in the interests of imperialism are being met by the workers with revolutionary action.

In fact, the growing strength of the Indian revolutionary movement may be judged not only by the actual revolts, strikes, etc. that have been taking place almost hourly, but by the severity of the regime of violence and terror to which the Labour Government has been resorting. Ramsay MacDonald, the lackey of British imperialism and one of the leading practical exponents of the Social Fascism of the Second International, is governing India by martial law, machine guns, bombing planes, shooting down of workers, mass arrests, vindictive sentences, torture of political prisoners and repressive ordinances. He has discovered to his surprise that the Indian masses are not disposed to serve the purposes of their imperialist exploiters by accepting the doctrine of non-violence preached by Gandhi and the I.L.P. They have begun their offensive against imperialist exploitation on various fronts, and, although there has not yet been a clear formulation of their social and economic aims owing to the variety of the social groups participating in the struggle, they have already given ample proofs of their determination to liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism. It is the task of the Indian Communist Party to formulate those demands and give a clear direction to the movement.

## HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

### The Growing War Danger.

By W. Tischler (Kovno).

The following article was written before the discovery of the intended bomb outrage on the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw. It serves however to show the atmosphere of anti-Soviet incitement and war preparations against the Soviet Union in which such outrages are planned.

Ed.

The article by Roman Dmowski, the leader of the Polish National Democrats, in "Gazeta Warszawska" has aroused public discussion of the question of the military attack on the Soviet Union. Wherein consists, the differences of opinion between Dmowski and Pilsudski's followers. Firstly, in the question of the date when war shall begin. Dmowski is not against a military attack on the Soviet Union—else he would have come forward much earlier against its preparations—but he is against the date for the outbreak of the war being fixed for the immediate future. The economic crisis in Poland is developing into an economic catastrophe. Disintegration has set in in the camp of the Pilsudski-ites. The working class is more and more frequently using the sharpest weapons of the class struggle. The peasantry is not in a position to pay the taxes; in a number of districts the peasants are suffering from chronic famine and are frequently passing over to a complete tax strike. The government does not possess any economic programme, no programme regarding the way out of the crisis. Pilsudski wishes to come out of the crisis by means of war. But the Polish bourgeoisie has something to lose, hence Dmowski is against a war adventure at the present moment.

The second question is: Who shall conduct the war?

Until recently Pilsudski would have been considered as the natural leader of Poland in a war. Now, however, the "Pilsudski legend" has lost its force. Pilsudski has become a name of terror to the masses. Hence the oppositional bourgeoisie does not see in Pilsudski's dictatorship a guarantee for the success of the war, but rather a guarantee of its defeat.

Thirdly, it is a question of the price which Poland would receive for its cannon fodder. Dmowski and such people are not satisfied with vague promises that "Poland will receive territory in the East in the event of a forcible division of Russia . . . that Poland will obtain a loan for the conduct of war". They are discontented that the "bellicose financiers do not intend to lead their own States into the war", but that they intend to "conduct the war to the last drop of blood . . . of the Polish people". They are dissatisfied because the Western frontiers of Poland, to which the National Democrats attach the greatest importance, are not sufficiently guaranteed.

These differences of opinion are so grave that a portion of the bourgeoisie is becoming apprehensive with regard to the risk of a war. We must not however underestimate the immediate danger of war; the masses must be warned against Pilsudski's designs. Dmowski knows very well that the masses "still remember the last war" and that in particular the Polish people are not at all keen on a war. He also knows that the European governments have certain difficulties with their Communists, and that a war against the Soviet Union would call forth great difficulties. The social democrats have made it their task to issue reassuring statements to the effect that the masses do not want war; they thereby only conceal the preparations which are being made by the international incendiaries to lead the masses into a war. The social democrats must be exposed as the actual participants in the preparations for an attack upon the Soviet Union.

In a few days it will be ten years since the commencement of Poland's war against the Soviet Union in 1920. It must be called to mind how ten years ago Pilsudski prepared the advance on Kiev. The Polish military circles now wish to proclaim in the same. Kiev the federative Constitution of Poland, Ukraine and White Russia.

In these days—ten years after the heroic struggle of the proletariat against imperialism, of the revolution against the counter-revolution—the political aims of the international and Polish imperialists their, abominable bloody face must be exposed to the masses not only in Poland but in all capitalist countries of Europe. We must do everything in order to avert the danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union; we must organise the international proletarian defence of the Soviet Union; we must prevent munitions and food being sent to the armies fighting against the Soviet Union. The international proletariat has enough means at its disposal in order to react the heroic events of ten years ago in connection with the preparations of a new war against the Soviet Union. If, however, nothing avails to restrain the Polish adventurers, then we must remember that the road leading from Warsaw to Kiev, Minsk and Smolensk also leads from Kiev and Minsk to Warsaw, and that the proletariat will support the latter march-route.

The international proletariat must be on the watch. The defence of the Soviet Union must be increased to the utmost.

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### Attempt on Soviet Embassy foiled.

Warsaw, 25th April.

Yesterday afternoon the porter of the Soviet Embassy noticed an unusual wire leading from a nearby house (in which by the way a Polish monarchist club has its headquarters) to the roof of the Soviet Embassy. Conducting investigations, the porter discovered on the roof of the nearby house a clock-work contrivance connected with the wire which went over the roof to the Soviet Embassy. The police were sent for and bomb experts arrived and investigated the affair in the presence of representatives of the Polish Foreign Office and of the Soviet Embassy. It was discovered that the wire was connected with a packet of explosives which had been lowered into one of the chimneys of the Embassy. The Polish experts declared that the internal machine was a technical marvel and was of tremendous explosive force. Should it have exploded it would have wrecked the Embassy and blown out the second floor in which the private rooms of the Ambassador and his family are situated.

## POLITICS

### Imperialist Antagonisms in the Mediterranean.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The miserable fiasco of the London "Naval Disarmament Conference" which has just ended, is remarkable not only because it has exposed more openly than ever the hollowness of the pacifist phrases in the mouths of the imperialists and social-imperialists, the futility of the pompous imperialist disarmament conferences, the inevitability of warlike complications between the imperialist states. One of the effects of the conference is that the long-standing Anglo-French antagonism, which has been continually concealed hitherto, and the Mediterranean problem, which has not in any way been solved, have become more acute than ever before.

One can say that after the abortive attempts, lasting three months, to bring about an understanding between France and Italy with regard to the Mediterranean, the Franco-Italo antagonism has entered on a new stage. The immediate reasons therefor are not, perchance, to be sought in the increased naval construction in the Italian shipyards and the Italo-Grecian and Italo-Turkish approachement on the one side, and the change of government in Spain, which has been taken advantage of by France, and the renewal of the Franco-Yugoslavian "friendship", on the other side. Rather has the Italo-French antagonism grown more acute in North Africa and in Western Asia. Only recently the Italian expeditionary corps in Tripolis, after long and hard fights involving the extermination of whole tribes of bedouins and the sacrifice of many Italian soldiers, brought its "activity" to an end for the time being. It is true, not all the revolts in the interior of the country have been finally quelled, but the Italian troops have already reached those points in the South of the country which are regarded as the frontiers of the French sphere of influence; it is not yet certain whither, and if so how far, the Italian General Staff will recognise this "line of demarcation".

In Arabian politics, the appetite of the fascist government, (so far as its opinion finds expression in the fascist press) has become keener than it has ever been since 1925, after the outbreak of the great revolt in Syria. In connection with the British difficulties in Palestine the Italian press is demanding that the whole of the Arabian question be raised, and is plainly hinting that the distribution of mandates be subjected to the revision so often desired by Italy. These attacks are directed not only against France but also against England. The latter, by its possession of the most important strategical points in the Mediterranean (Gibraltar, Suez, Malta, Cyprus) and its Mediterranean fleet, maintains "parity" in relation to Italy and France combined — a sort of balance in the Mediterranean. But Italy is endeavouring to manoeuvre England out of this role. Italian imperialist policy regards itself potentially not only as a successor to France but also as the heir of Great Britain in the Mediterranean. Hence the sharp criticism of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, hence also the protest against the contemplated agreement between Great Britain and the Iraq, as these two treaties endanger the Italian "open door" to the Near East.

It is therefore quite understandable that the representative of British imperialism, Ramsay MacDonald, was not the most suitable person to act as mediator in the Italo-French antagonism in the Mediterranean question, especially as he was not prepared to make any magnanimous sacrifice, were it only a symbolical disarmament gesture, in this sphere where the danger of war always lurks. The British reorganisation plans in the Eastern Mediterranean area are much more calculated, aiming as they do at stabilising British rule, to render the Italians mistrustful of any mediation and induce them to increase their armaments.

The "direct negotiations" between Signor Grandi and M. Briand are seized upon by the imperialist press as the only glimmer of hope left of settling the Mediterranean questions. These direct negotiations are to have a peculiar prelude: the whole of the French fleet is to be concentrated in the Mediterranean; the centenary of the French colonial rule in Algeria is to be the occasion of an imposing naval review under the very nose of the Italians in order to show with

emphasis that France is prepared to defend every inch of ground of her Mediterranean colonies with all the forces, both naval and military at her command.

The Italian answer will not be long in forthcoming. The pacifist talk of a peaceful settlement of antagonisms is being clearly refuted by the naval manoeuvres, like those which took place immediately before the world war, and indicate with the accuracy of a barometer the approach of serious conflicts. The redistribution of colonial booty in the Mediterranean is becoming an urgent necessity for the imperialists. They are now preparing for the eventuality of a dispute over it. This dispute will not assume the form of negotiations at a round table but the form of open warfare.

## The Trade Agreement between the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

By R. (Moscow).

The Trade Agreement between the Soviet Union and Great Britain has been signed in London. It embraces all the important questions of the mutual trade relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. The first paragraph provides that each of the contracting parties shall afford most-favoured-nation treatment to the citizens and juridical persons of the other party on its territory. The same principle regulates the taxation of imported goods, their transport and storage in warehouses etc.

Paragraph 2 of the Agreement is devoted to the questions of the position of the Trade Delegation of the Soviet Union in Great Britain. The experience it had on the occasion of the raid on the Arcos compelled the Soviet Union to demand definite rights and guarantees in this question. The provision contained in paragraph 2 corresponds as a whole to the domestic legislation of Soviets, as well as to the usual contents of similar paragraphs in the other trade agreements concluded by the Soviet Union. This paragraph expressly recognises the foreign trade monopoly of the Soviet Union. The functions of the Trade Delegation are laid down both with regard to the regulation of foreign trade and the immediate carrying on of commercial operations. The head of the Trade Delegation and his two deputies enjoy the privilege of extraterritoriality. The premises of the Trade Delegation enjoy the right of extraterritoriality. This right extends not only to the rooms of those persons who personally enjoy diplomatic immunity, but to all offices of the Trade Delegation.

In accordance with the rules of Soviet law, the Agreement makes the Soviet Union responsible only for the acts of the head of the Trade Delegation or his deputies, and not for the commercial operations of the various economic organisations which, according to the provisions of Soviet Law, are themselves liable for their operations. This provision of the Agreement is of great importance in view of the recent anti-Soviet decisions, before all of the French courts, which attempt to extend the liability of the Soviet Union to the acts of the Soviet economic organisations, regarding which the law has definitely laid down that the State bears no responsibility for them. Just as in the other Trade Agreements concluded by the Soviet Union, the Agreement provides that disputes arising out of business concluded in Great Britain shall come within the jurisdiction of the British courts. The application of orders for distraint in accordance with the decisions of British courts is, however, limited to cases connected with disputes arising out of business concluded by the Trade Delegation. In other words, distress cannot be levied on property of the Soviet Union on the ground of untenable claims on the Soviet Union, or as a result of commercial disputes which have arisen outside of Great Britain.

The third paragraph of the Agreement relates to questions of commercial shipping. In a special protocol to this paragraph the Soviet Union reserves to itself the right to all ships of the former Russian fleet which have not been nationalised hitherto (ships taken by the white-guardists and sold abroad).

Paragraph 4 provides for the possibility of extending the Agreement to the Dominions by a special exchange of Notes, which of course does not exclude the conclusion of independent Agreements with the Dominions.

Paragraph 5 provides for the extension of the Agreement to the colonies, protectorates and mandatory territories of Great Britain by means of a declaration that they join in the Agreement. The right granted in this paragraph to the

economic organisations of the Soviet Union to send agents to the colonies, protectorates etc. which join in the Agreement, is of importance.

The above examination of the Agreement shows that it deals with all the fundamental questions of the relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain which today require a legal regulation. Regarded from this standpoint the Agreement constitutes a considerable success for the Soviet Union.

## The Situation in Hungary.

By S ch a s c h (Budapest).

The economic crisis in Hungary is becoming more acute. The serious industrial crisis, accompanied by an even more severe agrarian crisis, led to an impoverishment of the working masses of Hungary such as has as rarely been witnessed even under conditions of world economic crisis. The new wave of rationalisation; the ten to twelve-hour working day on the one side and the working week reduced to three days on the other; the starvation wages—all this has called forth a situation of fearful misery. The agricultural labourers and small-holders are in a state of misery exceeding anything imaginable. In a country with a total population of eight million there are 750,000 unemployed! These unemployed, who do not receive any unemployment benefit or relief, are doomed to death by starvation (there is an enormous increase in the figures relating to sickness, death and suicide), as the great masses have not the least prospect of obtaining work.

The political situation corresponds to the economic situation. The social basis of fascism is becoming ever narrower. The fascist terror of the bourgeoisie increases with the growing misery of the masses. Since the return from exile of the socialist Garami and his comrades, social-fascism has been performing its traitorous role of strike-breaker and informer more shamelessly than ever. Needless to say, under such circumstances the aggravation of the class struggle is proceeding at a rapid pace. Communist ideas find a fruitful soil among the Hungarian working masses, who are exploited to the utmost and held in political fetters. The industrial workers in the towns have long been infected with the "bacillus of Communism".

The fact that the C.P. of Hungary is growing in strength, that it has succeeded in winning the sympathy of the broad working masses in the towns and especially in the capital, that it possesses mass influence among the latter, that it has been able to organise and carry through such important actions as the mass strike of the miners last year and the outspokenly political actions as on August 1st, October 13th and November 7th, as the demonstrations of the unemployed which took place on January 26th under the leadership of the Party—all these events, although they greatly frightened the bourgeoisie, were not unexpected by them.

What filled the bourgeoisie with mortal terror was, besides the advance of the revolutionary working class of Hungary, the attitude of the land workers and the poor peasants: the mass demonstrations at the beginning of April, the tenacity and endurance, the revolutionary determination with which the agricultural labourers, both men and women, offered resistance in face of the bayonets of the Gendarmerie and the military, and how, in spite of arrested and wounded, they repeatedly demonstrated day after day. These facts offer a magnificent revolutionary prospect for the common fights, which may be expected in the near future, of the industrial and agricultural workers and the poor peasants on a national scale.

The C.P. of Hungary perceives the situation and is preparing for these fights.

But this situation is also seen by those who are in power; and they are likewise preparing for it. Their reply to the demonstrations in the provinces was the proclamation of a state of siege, which is directed not only against the rural working masses who are becoming radicalised, but in the first place against the C.P. of Hungary, which also shows that the bourgeoisie clearly realises what is at stake.

The spontaneous economic strikes of the working class have since 1927 acquired an increasingly political character. In particular, since the decided turn made by the C.P. of

**Hungary**, after the Open Letter of the C. I. of 1929, which put an end to the fractional disunity of the Party leadership, created a united Bolshevik working class leadership, purged the Party of opportunism and finally led to the correct Bolshevik path—the working class, in place of the former spontaneous movement, is consciously pursuing the revolutionary path.

The C. P. of Hungary can no longer be kept silent. On the contrary, fascism and social fascism are entering into an open alliance for the fight against Communism, against the spectre of a new proletarian dictatorship and its embodiment, the C. P. of Hungary, for the extermination of the Bolshevik leaders and the annihilation of the Communist movement. But in spite of everything the revolutionary movement in Hungary is developing and steadily gaining ground.

## The Political Situation in Belgium.

**Tax alleviations for the Rich — Heavier burdens on the Workers.**

By E. G. (Brussels).

The Belgian Parliament is at present prorogued until the 6th of May. In the course of its last session the most important items of the budget were adopted and the Young Plan ratified with the votes of the bourgeois parties and of the social democrats against the one vote of the representative of the Communist Party, while the Flemish nationalists, who abstained from voting, ventured to speak against these measures after the comedy was over. Before the House rose it discussed the tax alleviations in favour of the rich and the bills which are intended to help the capitalists in the present crisis. The voting on these measures will take place in May.

The budget items which have been accepted give a very clear indication of the policy of the capitalist government, i. e. reaction and war-preparation. The expenditure for military purposes amounts to almost double of that for social purposes: 1300 million Francs for the army and navy, 144 million Francs for the gendarmerie, and only 667 million for social insurance and other social services. The extra items of the war budget (for fortifications, armaments, air force etc.) amount to 200 million more than last year. The military budget has risen by 36 per cent, the social budget, however, only by 8.6 per cent. This year the government expends, per head of the population, 167 Francs on war preparations and increased repression, 54 Francs on social insurance and old age pensions, 9.50 Francs on vocational schools, 5.85 Francs on the public health service, etc.

During the discussion of the Foreign Office Budget in the Senate, M. Rutten, a member of the Clerical party, made a fierce attack on the Soviet Union and on the alleged religious persecution obtaining there. During his speech he divulged the fact that already in August 1922, Cardinal Mercier had proposed an "international expedition" against the "challenge" of Bolshevism.

The social-democrat De Brouckere did not hesitate to state that he had been a member of a Committee of Investigation set up in this matter, that he was greatly "moved" by the speech of Pater Rutten, and that his party shares the latter's opinions. Nevertheless he advocated the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union in the interests of the Belgian capitalists.

In the course of the debate in the Chamber on the tax alleviations it came to an extremely interesting passage of arms between Vandervelde, the leader of his Majesty's Opposition, and Jasper, the Prime Minister. Vandervelde delivered an academic speech in order to defend the "principle" of the progressive income tax which is being replaced by a tax which favours the rich. Jasper replied in a fighting speech by which he caused indignation and confusion in the ranks of the social democrats. Before the elections in May 1929, he declared, the social democrats had opposed the tax alleviations of 1926 in favour of social insurance. After their defeat at the elections, the social democrats changed their tactics and proceeded to conduct a demagogic campaign for the tax alleviations. This opportunist attitude made it easy for the Prime Minister to show that differences of opinion prevailed between the majority and the reformist opposition only in regard to the extent of the measures, but not in regard to the necessity of saving capitalism.

Speaking in the name of the Communist Party, Comrade Jacquemotte pointed out that the attitude which the Communists had adopted already in the year 1926 at the time of the stabilisation of the currency had proved to be correct. He exposed the demagogic of the social democrats and of the clericals, and pointed out that after the rich have been granted tax alleviations, the workers will have to pay higher taxes than ever before. The proletariat must oppose the patriotic celebrations of the centenary of Belgium which are being prepared, by a determined fight for its own interests.

## THE BALKANS

### The Croatian Nationalist Movement.

**The Trial of Dr. Matchek and the Croatian Nationalists.**

By P. Dragatchevatz.

After four months of imprisonment on remand, accompanied by the usual police tortures, there commenced on the 24th of April the trial of the leader of the Croat Peasant Party, Dr. Matchek and 22 Croat Nationalists. This trial shows that the dictatorship is commencing, with the aid of the exceptional law for the defence of the State, a determined fight against the Croat nationalist movement. The aim of the dictatorship is, by imposing severe punishments on the present leader of the party, Dr. Matchek, and a number of prominent followers of the Radich party, to deprive the Croat movement of its leadership, to intimidate the masses and to prevent the revolutionary ferment in Croatia from developing into a real national revolutionary movement.

The whole case has been framed up by means of the dirtiest methods of the Yugoslavian police. Dr. Matchek is accused of having participated in six conspiracies, and a number of other crimes. The police, by means of tortures, extracted "confessions" from the accused that Matchek is one of the chief instigators of the conspiracies. All the accused have since withdrawn these "confessions".

Belgrade is delivering this blow at the moment when the Croat nationalist movement is showing its irreconcilability towards the dictatorial regime. The leaders of the Croat movement felt that, in face of the discontent of the masses, it was impossible to capitulate to the dictatorship without appearing as traitors in the eyes of the masses; that it would be better to suffer imprisonment than to think of coming to terms with the Great Serbian regime. Begitch and Hranilovich bravely received bayonet stabs in the breast in the Zagreb police prison, and Dr. Matchek emphatically refused six various Ministerial seats which were offered to him on the order of the king as the price of his capitulation.

There are being repeated the events of the year 1924, when the Croat movement, under the leadership of Stephan Raditch, reached the highest point of its forces, when Raditch was threatened with prison and capital punishment, and later was in fact actually thrown into prison. The imprisoned Raditch capitulated to the big Servian regime before the beginning of his trial and reconciled himself with the king, who four years later had him murdered.

There exists, however, a great difference between the then leader of the Croat nationalist peasant movement, Stephan Raditch, and the present leaders. Stephan Raditch sought his allies in the Red Peasant International, in the national-revolutionary organisation of the Balkans, in those organisations to which the oppressed working peasants of Croatia directed their glance. Stephan Raditch then gave up the alliance with these natural allies, for he was not a revolutionary leader of the peasant movement in Croatia, but a leader who could not free himself from petty-bourgeois vacillation when he had to decide whether he should rely mainly on the bourgeoisie or on the poor and middle peasant masses and the workers.

The present leaders, however, at the moment when the Croatian peasant movement is straining all its forces, are following quite another path. Those leaders who have been delegated abroad, at once accepted all the conditions which were imposed by England, Italy and Hungary for their "help for the emancipation of the Croatian people". They formed a united front with the reactionary and fascist organisations

of the Macedonians in Bulgaria; they expect help from fascist Italy and Hungary, which are keeping their own peasantry in a state of the most cruel feudal bondage.

Whilst the Croat peasant masses are enthusiastic over the fight of the Communist Party, are following its example, taking part in joint actions (barricades in Zagreb, distribution of Communist literature etc.) and brotherly sharing with them every piece of bread in prison; whilst they are demanding the united front with the Communist Party, greeting with enthusiasm the victory of the Red Army in Manchuria and are offering themselves as volunteers in its ranks, their leaders abroad are taking part in the united front of the imperialists and of the Pope against the Soviet Union and are organising the incitement against the Communists.

The trial of Dr. Matchek and the Croat nationalists, and the severe sentences which will be imposed, just as they are imposed every day on Communists and national revolutionaries, mean a historical moment for the Croat national peasant movement. The main slogan with which the Croat toiling masses must reply to the trial of Dr. Matchek is the creation of fighting committees of workers and peasants for the purpose of overthrowing the present regime.

The torture of political prisoners in the Yugoslavian prisons has become such an international scandal that even the bourgeois press can no longer remain silent. The "Berliner Tageblatt" for instance, in its issue of 29th April, publishes a detailed report by an Eye-witness on "The Inferno of the South Slavian Dictatorship". The writer states:

The examination of the arrested normally takes place during the day, when however, anybody is fetched from his cell during the night to be examined, it means that he is to be subjected to torture.

The tortures invariably take place in the presence of the President of the Police, Bedekovitch, in special sound-proof rooms. The murder of prisoners is carried out in the cellar. There exist various systems of torture, ranging from burning the heels with candles to dislocating and breaking arms and fingers. During the tortures a gramophone plays lively tunes in order to drown the cries of the victim.

Referring to two of the accused in the present trial, the former Colonel Begitch and Marko Hranilovitch the writer states:

"Begitch was beaten by the police President Bedekovitch himself and by the local commander of Agram, General Belimarkovitch. Finally a gendarme plunged a bayonet into his breast."

## CHINA

### The Forthcoming First Chinese Soviet Congress.

By Chen Kwang (Shanghai).

The agrarian revolution and the partisan fights of the peasants are today one of the chief symptoms of the Chinese revolution. During the past year the revolutionary fights of the peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have developed further and gained ground enormously in South China. In North China also the peasants have spontaneously taken the field against the rule of the military rulers. A strong movement has arisen among the Mohammedan peasants in connection with the distribution of food in the famine areas. Even if the peasant forces, known as the "Red Lances" and the "Big Knives", are still often under the leadership of the small landowners and rich peasants, this movement is, on the whole, directed against all property owners. In the Eastern part of the province of Chili, in the neighbourhood of Paotungfu and in the Northern part of the province of Honan, it has often happened that thousands of peasants have marched into the town, destroyed the government buildings and opposed the collection of taxes.

In South China, the peasants are waging a life and death struggle against the landowners. In many districts the landowners, aided by Kuomintang troops, have recaptured

power and driven the peasants off the land. They have not only taken back their landed property, but also forcibly seized the land belonging to the poor peasants. But the more brutally the landowners proceed against the peasants, the more fierce becomes the fight of the peasants for land.

In many places in South China, the peasants have already confiscated the whole of the estates of the landed proprietors. In those places where the power of the landlords has been overthrown, the peasants have set up Soviets. The boundary posts are destroyed and the land distributed among the poor peasants and members of the Red Army. The village Soviets have also introduced the eight-hour day and labour protection.

Up to now the Soviet Power has been set up in 18 districts. Many provincial towns are in the hands of the workers and peasants. The Soviet territory in the province of West Fukien comprises eight districts. The towns of Lungyenchow, Yungtinghs, San-han and Tingchow are in the hands of the Red Army under the leadership of Tsude and Mau-Tsedung. The Soviet territories in Kwangsi embrace over six districts; the most important towns in these districts are also in the hands of the Soviets.

There are even larger Soviet territories in the provinces of Hupeh and Kiangsi. According to the imperialist press in China, all districts in the province of Hupeh, with the exception of Wuchang, are in the hands of the Reds. In Wuchang, the fight of the revolutionary workers has broken out again: the movement in this district will be one of the chief points of support of the revolutionary movement. In Tayehhsie, in December last, two mutinous regiments of the government troops carried out a revolt together with the workers in the iron works and the red peasant defence force in the villages, and hoisted the Soviet flag. Although the town of Tayehhsie is again in the occupation of white-guardist troops, the revolutionary centres in East Hupeh have remained unshaken.

It is in this process of advancing agrarian revolution that the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army has been founded. In the previous years the armed forces of the peasants were organised in connection with the sharpening of the class struggle. In the past six months, over 60 well organised mutinies of the soldiers have broken out, in which it has happened that whole battalions and regiments have gone over to the Red Army.

Thanks to this favourable situation, the Chinese Red Workers and Peasants Army has grown enormously; it numbers today 13 armies with over 100,000 men distributed over the various Soviet territories. Their weapons and equipment are fairly good. In addition to the Red Army, there is for example in Kiangsi, in the area in which the third Red Workers' and Peasants Army rules, the Red Peasant Defence, consisting of nine formations, each numbering 5000 men.

The leaders of the cadres are the leaders of the workers and peasants who have already experienced the great Chinese Revolution; they all work under the direction of the Communist Party. The Red Soldiers have always been outnumbered—ten to one—but thanks to the support of the masses, the numerically superior enemy has always been vanquished. It is this invincibility of the Red Army that has caused the imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie and landowning class to unite against the Revolution. The Kuomintang military rulers are sending their troops into the villages in order to "purge" them. But all these attacks prove in vain in face of the upsurge of the Chinese Revolution, the revolutionising of the world proletariat and the victorious consolidation of the Soviet Union.

It is in this situation that the Communist Party of China, together with the Chinese red trade unions, have convened an All-China Soviet Congress. At this Congress a uniform leadership for the whole of the Soviet territories will be set up in order to secure the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. This leadership will enact laws regarding the land; laws for the protection of labour, the organisation of the Red Army and the Constitution of the Soviets, and proclaim the fight for the All-China Soviet Power of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

This Soviet Congress in China will take place on the 30th of May, on the anniversary of the massacre of the revolutionary workers and students in Shanghai by the imperialists in the year 1925. Proletarians of all countries! You must aid the Chinese Revolution by your energetic support. We will all march shoulder to shoulder on the way to the victory of the world revolution, to the establishment of the Soviet Power in the whole world.

## FIRST OF MAY

### May Day Manifesto of the Communist International.

To the Proletariat of all Lands!

To the Oppressed Peoples of the Whole World!

Comrades! The maturing world economic crisis is laying bare more and more the contradictions which are tearing the capitalist world asunder. The boastful claims of the bourgeoisie and their social democratic lackeys concerning the inexhaustible forces and the organisational and creative power of capitalism are collapsing. The bourgeoisie stand impotent before the crumbling of the world capitalist system. But they have still the power to condemn millions and tens of millions of workers and peasants to starvation and death. In all parts of the world, in the home countries and in the colonies, the bourgeoisie are striving to escape from the crisis by worsening the conditions of the toilers. While the financial magnates are making huge profits out of the crisis, the workers are being thrown out of work in hundreds of thousands. Twenty million unemployed, victims of the crisis and of capitalist rationalisation, are tramping the streets of the cities; while in the country districts large masses of peasants, ruined by the agricultural crisis, are being sold up by the finance-capitalists and forced to join the army of unemployed and paupers.

The fascist terror rages more fiercely than ever. The capitalist governments, which means also the social-democratic governments, brutally attack the workers and peasants and put them to death by trial and without trial. They shoot down strikers, demonstrators, protesting peasants and colonial slaves. Everywhere their first aim is to destroy the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party.

Workers, can you not see the leaders of the II. International and of the Amsterdam International among the executioners who shoot down and bludgeon the workers in Berlin, London and New York, in South America, in China, in India, in Indo-China and in Africa?

In the imperialist countries the rivalry in armaments is becoming more frenzied. While ordinary production is being curtailed the munitions industries are working at high pressure in all capitalist countries. The so-called peace treaties are nothing but a skein of lies to hide the preparations and the regrouping of forces for new imperialist wars. There is not a part of the world where the struggle for world domination between the U.S.A. and Great Britain, which is the pivot of international contradictions in the capitalist world, has not reached an unparalleled degree of intensity as a consequence of the economic crisis. There is not a place in the Pacific where the interests and appetites of Washington, London and Tokio are not in irreconcilable conflict. The London Naval Agreement is a new instrument of war, and everyone of the parties to it is hastening with every effort to utilise it for its own war aims. In the present circumstances, when the struggle for markets is more fierce than it has ever been, the Young Plan serves to hasten a new military clash between imperialist groups. The danger of war arising from French and Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean is so imminent that even the imperialists and the leaders of the II. International can no longer conceal it.

Thus, humanity is being rapidly drawn into the whirlpool of machinations for the organisation of new imperialist wars. The charlatans of the II. International are striving to lull the vigilance of the workers by their peace talk. The fascist demagogues hold out the bait to the more backward sections of the people of the prospect of a "profitable" war.

Toilers! Turn a deaf ear to them all. Remember! Your fathers were told exactly the same tales on the eve of the imperialist war in 1914 which, as you know, killed and maimed ten million human victims.

The bourgeoisie believe that a new imperialist war is the only way out of the present crisis of world capitalism. But the activity of the international proletariat and the growing might of the Soviet Union hinders the imperialists from carrying out their plans for dividing up the world. The world bour-

geoisie hoped to destroy the Soviet State by a political and economic blockade, by sabotage, violence and threats, but their calculations have been upset by the successes in socialist construction achieved in the Soviet Union. Thanks to their firm endurance, courage and steadfastness, their determined and consistent peace policy, while ready at any moment to offer stern resistance to violence and provocation, the toilers of the Soviet Union have managed to ward off the attacks of the imperialists and continue unwaveringly their peaceful work of socialist construction. The Five-Year Plan of economic development now being carried out in the U.S.S.R. serves to prove, as nothing has ever done before, that the international proletariat is not only sufficiently mature to overthrow capitalism, but also to build up socialist society. The wretched and oppressed peasantry in capitalist countries, the despairing colonial slaves see how, in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, millions of small peasant farms, by being rapidly raised to a higher material and cultural level, form part of the grand process of socialist reconstruction on the basis of collective farming.

It is precisely for this reason that the imperialist organisers of war are brandishing their weapons more violently and provocatively against the Soviet Union. It is precisely for this reason that the ruling imperialist cliques appoint such governments in Poland, in Rumania, and in other countries which are subservient to them, as are unreservedly prepared to supply cannon fodder for military attack on the U.S.S.R. It is for this reason that the social-democratic slanderers and provocateurs, who, confounded by the tremendous successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, hide from the workers the active preparations for war that are being made against the U.S.S.R. and behind their backs take an active part in the preparations of this war.

Workers! Toilers! Stand in defence of the First Republic of Labour! Stand in defence of the Soviet Union, your socialist fatherland!

Last year, the bourgeoisie and their social-democratic hirelings fiercely attacked the revolutionary demonstrators on May 1st. By this bloodshed they hoped to restrain the revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement. But they were sadly mistaken. The workers are retaliating to this raging of terror by extending the front of the proletarian struggle. They are replying to the penal laws against strikes by intensifying the strike struggles. They are replying to the blacklegging of the reformist trade union bureaucrats by organising strike committees, by electing red factory councils, by strengthening the revolutionary trade union opposition, by forming red trade unions.

The strike movement, which is increasingly assuming a decisive character, is becoming a great school for the revolutionary proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and its state.

On August 1st, 1929, the International Day of Struggle Against Imperialist War, and March 6th, 1930, the International Day of Struggle Against Unemployment, tens of thousands of demonstrators answered the call of the Communist Party. Before the broad masses of the workers they exposed the war conspiracy of the financial oligarchy and the social-democratic leaders. The bourgeoisie and their social-fascist ministers desired to split the working class by setting the unemployed against the employed. The March 6th demonstrations upset this criminal plan. The demonstrations in Detroit and New York caused alarm among the proud bourgeoisie of the United States and their servant Hoover. The demonstrators in Berlin and London tore the mask from the social-democratic governments of MacDonald and Müller at the very moment when they had come to an agreement with their bourgeoisie to perpetuate another act of plunder against the employed and the unemployed. In all parts of the world, the more active part of the masses of the workers heroically repulsed the attacks of the gangs of police and gendarmes during the demonstrations.

The revolutionary reserves are already coming up. The proletariat of China, recovering from the blows of the counter-revolution, strengthened and steeled in the struggle with world imperialism, is rising for new revolutionary struggles. Chinese revolutionary peasants are raising the Red Flag of the Soviets in armed struggles in numerous parts of the country. The young proletariat of India, gathering fighting experience

big strikes and demonstrations, and unmasking the treacherous manoeuvres of the Indian bourgeois parties, are preparing for their world historical mission of leading the hundreds of millions of enslaved peasants in their revolutionary struggle against predatory British imperialism. The rumblings of class struggles are heard louder and louder in South America. New reinforcements from among the Negroes of Africa, who are rising against imperialist oppression, are joining the revolutionary reserves.

Proletarians of all countries! The Communist International calls on you to signalise May First, the day of international proletarian solidarity, by mass revolutionary actions, by mass strikes or demonstrations, according to the circumstances. It calls on you to rally to its banner for a determined struggle against the growing capitalist offensive, against the monstrous increase of exploitation, against the distress of unemployment, against the brutality of fascism, against the new imperialist wars which are approaching. The Communist International calls on you to increase your fighting preparedness, and to stand firmly in defence of the Soviet Union against the imperialist cliques and their flunkies in the camp of social democracy and social papalism, who are feverishly preparing for their attack upon her.

Workers! Take advantage of the situation created by the economic crisis: support with all your might the millions of unemployed and strengthen thereby the army of the proletariat. Organise your forces for the overthrow of capitalism, for the social revolution. Rally around the Communist Party!

Poor farmers and all the toiling masses of the villages! Only in a fighting alliance with the revolutionary proletariat will you succeed in throwing off the increasing oppression of the capitalists and the landowners. March under the leadership of the proletariat to the victorious struggles for socialism. Learn from the fighters in the October Revolution, learn from the collective farmers in the U.S.S.R.!

Oppressed nations of the colonies! Unite in a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the power of the imperialist bandits and their feudal-capitalist allies in your country! Join closely with the revolutionary workers of the capitalist countries!

Toilers and oppressed! Remember the horrors and sacrifices of the imperialist war. Imperialist wars are stealing on you once more. Rouse the revolutionary consciousness of the soldiers and sailors! Prepare to convert imperialist war into a civil war of all toilers against your own bourgeoisie. Organise your forces for the defence of the U.S.S.R.!

Soldiers and Sailors! Down with brass hat discipline and barrack room slavery! Fraternise with the workers. Firmly remember your duty in war time to turn your cannon and machine guns against the exploiters.

Working women! Your vanguard is bravely and steadfastly holding the revolutionary front. Fight against the gaunt hand of hunger which is strangling your children. Call your brothers and husbands to join the revolutionary struggle.

Young proletarians! Capitalist rationalisation is devouring your fresh energy. You are the first whom the imperialists intend to fling into war. To the front lines of the revolutionary class struggle!

Long live revolutionary May Day!

Long live the proletarian united front!

Down with capitalist rationalisation—Long live the seven-hour Day!

Long live the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of the toilers of all lands!

Down with imperialist oppression—Long live the liberation of the colonies!

Down with imperialist war! Down with capitalism! Long live the World Social Revolution!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

## Preparations for the First of May in China.

By Yu-Fai.

In a recent number of the "Shanghai Rao", the semi-legal daily paper of the Chinese Trade Union Federation, we find an exceedingly interesting report from Shanghai:

On March 30, the workers of Shanghai took possession of the central assembly hall of the Kuomintang in the Sytchuan

Road and there held a delegate meeting, which was called on the initiative of the Chinese trade union federation and the revolutionary Shanghai trades Council, to discuss preparations for the 1st of May. The meeting was attended by 300 delegates, consisting for the main part of workers, but also delegates from various anti-imperialist students organisations, from the Red Aid and other organisations. The police in the neighbourhood of the hall were disarmed and held under arrest by worker guards. In front of the platform there hung a red flag bearing the inscription "Defend the preparatory meeting for the First of May", "General Strike and Demonstration on the First of May!". All the buildings and the surrounding streets were sharply guarded by worker guards.

Police patrols who encountered the cordon of worker guards held up their hands as a sign that they did not intend offering any resistance, and likewise were placed under arrest. The delegate meeting discussed a number of draft appeals and manifestoes dealing with the political general strike on the First of May, the organisation of a demonstration on the anniversary of the Shanghai upheaval in 1927, strengthening of the Red Trade unions and the worker's guards etc. A resolution calling for a political general strike on the First of May was adopted unanimously.

After the conclusion of the meeting, the worker guards returned to the police the weapons taken from them. Shortly after all delegates and worker guards had gone, the police and military appeared with four armoured cars. In the meantime, short mass meetings were held in the workers' districts, leaflets were read out and reports delivered on the delegate meeting which has just taken place.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### The Opening of "Turksib".

By T. Ryskulov (Moscow).

The construction of the Turksib railway is completed. On the 1st of May traffic will commence for the first time over the whole line. The formal opening of Turksib will be participated in by representatives of the Republics, the various organisations and a number of big undertakings now in course of construction.

The idea of linking up Siberia with central Asia by means of a railway, which was discussed some decades ago and the realisation of which seemed to be exceedingly difficult, has now been actually carried out by the Soviet Power. A very important victory has thereby been achieved on the socialist construction front. This victory has been achieved thanks to the enthusiasm and the creative energy of the working masses under the leadership of the Party and the Soviet Power.

The construction of Turksib is of special significance in view of the fact that, together with the Dnyeprostroy, it is one of the largest undertakings, work on which was commenced at the beginning of the reconstruction period of the national economy. The building of such a long stretch of railway shows not only the extent and the tempo of the new economic construction, but also the attention which the Soviet Power is devoting to transport, which acquires the greatest importance in the planned construction of socialist economy.

The building of Turksib means before all that Central Asia will be assured of supplies of cheap grain from the nearest corn districts (Siberia, Kasakstan, Kirgis), which will serve to promote the development of cotton growing, and thereby in turn satisfy the demands of our textile industry for Soviet-grown cotton. This measure will mean a great saving in regard to our valuta, as it will enable us to limit the import of foreign cotton and also to put to good use enormous quantities of corn which will now be sent from the North Caucasus, the Ukraine and the Volga area to Central Asia.

The programme for cotton production in Central Asia is now almost double the figures originally laid down in the Five-Year Plan. Although this maximum programme of cotton production appeared quite impossible to us eighteen months or two years ago, to-day it is proving to be quite realisable. At the same time it must be pointed out that such an extension

of the cotton-growing programme would be impossible without the completion of the Turksib railway.

The backward border regions inhabited by non Russians formerly oppressed by Tsarism, have, thanks to the October Revolution become national Republics which are building up their own life. The construction of "Turksib" gives a powerful impetus to the further development of these peoples and will draw them into the general work of socialist construction. This is a result of the correct national policy of the Party and of the Soviet Power.

The experiences gained in the construction of Turksib constitute a magnificent example: completion of the railway a year earlier than the time laid down in the original plan. This experience is of special importance because "Turksib" is the first completely new big railway constructed under the Soviet Power. In connection with the extraordinary extent and the growth of national economy, it has proved possible to project for the remaining years of the Five-Year Plan the construction of a whole network of new railways of about 10,000 kilometres in length.

The economic and cultural development of the districts of the Soviet Union which have hitherto been hampered in their development, are raised to a new and higher level with the completion of "Turksib", which guarantees the rapid advance of these districts on the road to socialism.

## INDIA

### India's Struggle for Independence.

#### An Appeal of the League Against Imperialism to the Workers of Europe.

India has today become the focus of the struggle for freedom of the hundreds of millions of colonial slaves oppressed and exploited by British imperialism. The movement for national independence has within the last few months been developing with lightning rapidity from a constitutional movement under bourgeois leadership into a revolutionary mass movement of the workers, peasants and radicalised petty bourgeoisie. Under the terrible and increasing pressure of imperialist exploitation, and after years of betrayal by leaders consistently seeking compromises with imperialism, the Indian masses with the industrial workers in the forefront are now breaking out into open revolt for the attainment of their full national and social liberty.

The revolutionary energy of the masses that had already found expression in a series of determined and protracted strikes of the industrial workers, is daily gaining in extent and intensity. Hundreds of thousands of workers — railwaymen, miners, textile, jute and dock workers, etc. — are on strike throughout India; peasants are openly flouting the laws and organising committees to conduct the movement for the non-payment of taxes to the Government; hundreds of village officials are resigning their posts; students are leaving their colleges and universities and the youth leagues are actively taking part in organising the movement of civil disobedience. Notwithstanding the efforts made by the official leaders of the Indian National Congress to restrain the revolutionary energy of the masses by preaching non-violence, the masses have taken the initiative into their own hands and are offering increasingly active resistance to the police and the military. Thousands of workers stormed the imperialist law courts at Karachi, hundreds of thousands demonstrating in Calcutta against the arrest of their leaders have been rallying again and again to the fight against the rifles of the police and the armoured cars of the military. Revolutionaries stormed the arsenal at Chittagong and derailed the trains. Despite the brutality of the armed police, tens of thousands demonstrated in the streets of Lahore in support of those who had deliberately defied authority. In the military centre of Peshawar there have been bloody conflicts with the armed forces of the MacDonald Government. In the districts of the United Provinces and Allahabad, peasants are disobeying the laws and offering active resistance to the police. In the garrison town of Poona there were stormy demonstrations, while in Bombay — the centre of the revolutionary workers' unions — the advanced industrial proletariat is leading the struggle for freedom notwithstanding the fact that the armed forces of British imperialism have been mobilised against them.

Faced with this All-India mass movement and anxious to keep India in continued subjection to British imperialism, the "Labour" Government of Ramsay MacDonald is resorting to the most extreme and brutal forms of repression that have ever been adopted in India. The same Ramsay MacDonald who in 1924 was responsible for that reactionary measure known as the Bengal Ordinance, is today using machine-guns, armoured cars, police oppression and torture, martial law, special repressive legislation and the machinery of the imperialist law courts against the working class and its leaders, in whom he sees the real menace to the continuance of British imperialist exploitation. Thirty-three of the real leaders of the working class have been kept for over a year in the Meerut Gaol to undergo the mockery of a trial deliberately aimed at sentencing them to heavy terms of imprisonment. The leaders of the G.I.P. railway strike including Deshpande, the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, have just been sentenced to terms of rigorous imprisonment. The leaders of the S.I.R. strike were sentenced last year to ten years' rigorous imprisonment. Santiram Mondal of the East India Railway Union has received the monstrous sentence of five years' hard labour for having told the truth about the police assault on the railway workers.

That the non-violent doctrines of Gandhi are not regarded as a serious menace to British imperialist domination is shown by the comparatively light sentences passed upon his followers, as well as by the Viceroy's Ordinance discriminating between the non-violent movement and the revolutionary movement against which the MacDonald Government has empowered the police and the soldiery to proceed with ruthless brutality.

In this heroic struggle of the Indian masses, the proletariat of Europe and America and particularly of Great Britain must give immediate proof of their active solidarity. They must demand the release of the working class leaders on trial in Meerut, among whom is Thengdi, the President of the League Against Imperialism, and they must extend the campaign for the Meerut Prisoners' Defence into the factories. They must protest against the arrest and imprisonment of the fighters against imperialism, including Deshpande, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and of Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress and member of the Executive Committee of the International League Against Imperialism. They must mobilise the whole force of the working class to expose and denounce the regime of terror established in India by the MacDonald Government which has converted Indian cities into armed camps, which is governing India by martial law, which is arresting and shooting workers en masse and inflicting vindictive sentences on a hitherto unprecedented scale. They must organise mass meetings in support of the Indian struggle for independence, and they must do their utmost to prevent the dispatch of troops and munitions of war to India.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Savage Sentences on American Workers' Leaders.

By J. Louis Engdahl (New York).

The Delegation of the March Sixth Unemployed Demonstration in Union Square, New York City, is in Prison.

The great capitalists of Wall Street are rushing preparations for a banquet in honour of their police commissioner, "Bloody" Whalen, planned for May Sixth.

The banquet is to express the appreciation of big business for the efficiency displayed by "Bloody" Whalen in smashing the demonstrations of the jobless.

It will be capitalism's feast celebrating the imprisonment of William Z. Foster, Robert Minor, Israel Amter, Joseph Leston and Harry Raymond. This feast can only be disturbed by the increasing rumbling of the thunder of labour's protest, developing into an irresistible demand "Release our Prisoners!"

Against the vengeance campaign of the parasite profiteers the jailed March Sixth spokesmen for the unemployed have everywhere in the capitalist courts sounded the note of defiance of the working class, in New York, in Milwaukee, in Los Angeles, across the land.

The New York trial was typical. It revealed all the railroading methods of capitalist class justice. The charge was whittled down to one of "unlawful assembly". The crime was supposed to consist in the fact that three or more persons were gathered together to do an unlawful act, that is, attempt to parade to the City Hall to present the grievances of the jobless. It was held that the crime was immediately committed when William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, the organiser of the demonstration, put the question to the great throng of 110,000 workers whether they would accept the edict of "Bloody" Whalen that they would not be permitted to parade. The demonstration had responded with a unanimous "No!" and Foster had concluded the meeting with, "Then let us proceed down Broadway to the City Hall!"

Three judicial puppets of the Morgans, Rockefellers and Astors constituted the court. They were nameless even in the reports of part of the capitalist press. It was in this capitalist judicial stench that the demands of seven millions of jobless were raised. The lackey judges had received their instructions on how to railroad Foster, Minor, Amter, Leston and Raymond to prison. They would not admit a word concerning the bloody attack of the police on the demonstration immediately it began to move into Broadway. Whalen himself, the star witness for the prosecution, had testified to the complete orderliness of the demonstration up to the moment that the riot wagons, the mounted and foot police, the armoured motorcycle brigades and the other paraphernalia of open warfare began the attack. Movies and talkies of the demonstration vividly displaying the police attack were barred by the servile court that joined with the prosecutor in declaring nearly every vital fact produced as "incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial", the holy trinity of capitalist court jargon.

Foster, Minor and Amter, on the witness stand, broke through the meshes of capitalist court procedure sufficiently to state the aims of the March Sixth Unemployed Demonstrations. The court insisted on blinding itself to the fact that such demonstrations were held in all the great cities of the land, in countries the world over.

The conviction of the Unemployed Delegation was railroaded through in less than a day. It marked another logical step in inflicting the full possibilities of capitalist class justice upon the prisoners. The delegation had been arrested on the steps of the City Hall, on the afternoon of March Sixth, when it arrived in spite of all police precautions to present the demands of the Union Square demonstration. It was held incommunicado. Lawyers furnished by the International Labour Defense were not permitted to see any of the prisoners. The whole top layer of capitalist class justice was mobilised the next day. Chief Magistrate McAdoo, District Attorney Crain, and all the camp followers, when the prisoners were brought into court and held without bail. They were only admitted to bail after *habeas corpus* proceedings had been carried through successfully. When about to be released they were arrested on fresh charges, so that it was six days later, March 12, before they were finally liberated. Without notice, they were ordered into court March 13 for pleading, which was later set for March 14. Then they were held for trial on March 24. It was only with the greatest difficulty that an adjournment was secured to April 11, in order to make any semblance of preparations for the case. The demand for a jury trial was bluntly rejected, although all the charges could pile up 11 years' imprisonment for each of the prisoners. Immediately the conviction was secured the members of the delegation were rushed back to the Tombs Prison, again being held without bail.

The sentences have since been pronounced: Foster, Amter, Minor and Raymond have each received three years' imprisonment, so that International May Day, 1930 will find these comrades in convict's garb in the famous Sing Sing Prison.

The protest rolls up from many sections of the world. From Manilla, in the Philippines, the Executive Council of the Philippine National Confederation of Peasants, declares its solidarity with the imprisoned Delegation, and with the workers of the United States. Numerous protests are coming in from workers' organizations in Canada as well as from all sections of this country.

This protest must grow. The protest against the imprisonment of our comrades now grows into the demand for their release, "For the Release of All the Imprisoned March Sixth Fighters! For the Release of All the Class War Prisoners!"

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Labour Struggles in Switzerland.

By Fr. Wieser (Basle).

Already in February several hundred furniture workers went on strike in Lugano against the will of the reformist trade union leaders; the growing fighting will of the workers is best shown by the fact, that the local comrades succeeded by means of a leaflet in bringing the workers out on strike. These Tessino workers continued the struggle for more than two months in spite of the attempts of some social-democratic leaders to conclude it by a weak compromise. At the beginning of April this strike was concluded with a wage increase quite remarkable for conditions in Tessino.

At the beginning of March, about 1500 carpenters and joiners of Basle struck work for an increase of wages. This strike is still going on. The reformist trade union leaders attempted to conclude it already after a fortnight by means of a miserable compromise, which however was almost unanimously rejected by the strikers. In spite of this the union leaders are sabotaging every extension of the strike: they permit the performance of blackleg work, so that the completion of buildings is in no way hindered by the strike.

In Basle about 2500 building workers are employed. On the 7th of April, during work time, about 2000 workers arranged a powerful meeting at which they decided on an immediate strike. The union leaders at once declared that they disapproved of the strike and would not pay any strike benefit. All in vain! These Basle building workers have now been on strike for several weeks without receiving any strike pay from the trade union. A large-scale relief action was at once organised by the Communist Party; up to now about 20,000 Francs have been collected; wholesale feeding has been organised, and the children of the strikers taken into the homes of other comrades. A strike committee of representatives elected from all the various building works is leading and organising this strike.

This "unofficial" strike of the Basle building workers clearly shows the increasing radicalisation of the masses. Encouraged by the attitude of the reformists the police are proceeding with great brutality against the strikers. On the 19th of March they attempted to arrest several Italian workers in the Communist workers' club, in which also the strike committee of the building workers have their quarters. The building workers, however, gave them such a warm reception that they had to leave, the place with broken sabres and without the antifascists whom they had intended to arrest.

In Zürich a meeting of building workers held before Easter decided to go on strike. The reformists commenced a sharp counter-offensive by means of posters and leaflets. When the strikers attempted to call out workers on a building job, the social-democratic police without warning drew their sabres against the strikers, injured several of them and arrested ten workers.

In Lausanne the building workers wished to join the struggle. The trade union leaders thereupon dissolved the local branch, which however is now being carried on by our comrades who are preparing for the fight.

The intensification of the class struggles in Switzerland has assumed sharp forms during the last few months. Social fascism is more and more exposed as the pliant tool of the employers. This development will be accelerated by the economic crisis. In March, Swiss foreign trade suffered a severe setback. Exports to a whole number of countries declined by 40 to 50 per cent. In March last exports to Great Britain alone were 45 million francs less than during the same month last year.

With the increasing economic crisis the employers will attempt to save their profits by means of wage cuts and intensified rationalisation etc. This again will result in sharp struggles. Thanks to the clarification in the ranks of the Communist Party of Switzerland which has been proceeding since the Whitsun Plenum, the latter will be better in a position to lead the masses into the struggles, although there are still shortcomings, due to lack of experience.

## Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

# The World Economic Crisis and the Revolutionary Wave.

By D. Manuilsky.

## From the Report Delivered at the Meeting of the Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

### Some Provisional Conclusions.

The approach of the world economic crisis is now an indisputable fact. If six weeks ago the economic press of the bourgeoisie still expressed doubt as to whether the crisis would spread from the United States to other countries, and if a tendency to underestimate the significance of the American crisis was to be observed even in the Communist press, especially in our country of the proletarian dictatorship, among the Soviet economists (Pavlov), to-day the approach of the world economic crisis is no longer disputed. There can exist differences of opinion regarding the tempo, the extent and the forms of the ripening of the world economic crisis, but one cannot deny the facts.

Continuing, the speaker pointed out that the crisis entails great social-political consequences, and drew some political conclusions regarding the economic crisis which has already commenced. The conclusions are, in the main, as follows: First: the theory of American "Prosperity", which lay at the bottom of all bourgeois theories of the post-war period, the theory of the unity and the unshakability of the capitalist system, the growing systematisation of capitalist economy, its organisation and capacity to overcome the elements of anarchy—which was only a peculiarity of the earlier period of capitalism, which was based on free competition—these theories have suffered collapse.

Second conclusion: The Lovestone-Pepper theory regarding the exceptional position of America, which is only a variety of the prosperity theory, has suffered shipwreck.

Third conclusion: The crisis also puts an end to the social-democratic theory of "organised capitalism" (the theory of Kautsky regarding ultra-imperialism, of Hilferding regarding organised capitalism, which sees in the international interweaving of economic interests, the factor which is doing away with capitalist contradictions, and finally, the last edition of this theory regarding the "ironing out" of the trade cycle, the theory which was defended by Naphatali and is now the official programme of the A.D.G.B.)

Fourth: The crisis draws the conclusion of our discussion on the question of "organised capitalism" with the Bukharin school, which attempted to introduce into the ranks of the Comintern the idea that in the present epoch of imperialism "the problems of the market, of prices, of competition, of crisis are becoming more and more problems of world economy, and are being replaced within each individual country by the problem of organisation". The American crisis has made it obvious that "the problems of the market, of prices, of competition, of crises" are becoming more and more problems of world economy, while at the same time calling forth in each individual capitalist country profound inner contradictions which grow parallel and in constant reciprocal action with the outer contradictions.

Fifth: The crisis draws the conclusion of our fight with the Rights and reconcilers with regard to the character of the Third period.

Sixth: The approach of the crisis confirms the correctness of the standpoint of the Comintern in the question of capitalist rationalisation and its consequences.

Seventh: The crisis draws the conclusion also in relation to the lying theory of decolonisation.

Finally, the approaching world economic crisis in the capitalist countries, with the successful realisation of the Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union, draws a balance of world historical importance. Two world systems are colliding with each other: the system of American capitalist prosperity and our Five-Year Plan of socialist construction.

One must observe the fear of the whole capitalist world in face of our Five-Year Plan and collectivisation in order to be able to estimate correctly the really world historical importance

of the latter. The danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union by the imperialists is growing. The imperialist anti-Soviet front is extending, and America is beginning to play a leading role in it. And the more shaky the position of American capitalism becomes, the more active becomes the anti-Soviet policy of the American bourgeoisie.

### The Geography of the Crisis.

What are the indications of the international character of the present crisis? The declining prices, the fall in the value of shares, restriction of fresh capital emission, currency crisis in a number of colonial countries, growth in the number of bankruptcies, unequal decline of production in a number of countries, and finally, unemployment, which is assuming disastrous dimensions. The drop in prices is a genuine symptom of the international character of the crisis. What is the position in this respect? I should like to quote a few figures regarding the fall in prices in the last few months. For example, in the year 1929 the price of wheat fell by 10.4 per cent., while in 1930 it fell 12.6 per cent. in a single month. The world price of cotton, which in 1929 experienced a fall of 14.7 per cent., fell 6 per cent. in one month in 1930; Australian sheep's wool, the price of which last year fell by 39.5 per cent., experienced a 21.2 per cent. drop in price in one month in 1930; the price of jute fell by 20 per cent. in 1929 and 4.5 per cent. in one month in 1930. In comparison with the year 1929 the price of raw leather has fallen 15 per cent.; that of tanned leather 10 per cent.; the price of rubber has fallen 30 per cent., of tin 19 per cent., of copper 7 per cent. etc.

In describing the development of the world economic crisis one can distinguish four types of country. In the first place the United States of America. Secondly, Eastern and Central Europe. Thirdly the colonies and semi-colonies: India, China and South America. Fourthly, countries in which the business situation might be described as that which precedes a crisis; these countries include Western Europe, France, Great Britain and partly also the Scandinavian countries.

The crisis in the United States is the most important and essential part of the world economic crisis, but the crisis in the United States has not yet reached that degree of acuteness which characterised the crisis of 1920. According to the "Annalist", in the year 1929 the production index was as follows: in July 108, in August 106, in September 105, in October 103, in November 94 and in December 89. Thus we see that production has declined by about 18 per cent. This figure does not include the annual seasonal fluctuations, so that in reality production has fallen off still more. In January we witness a certain revival in the smelting industry and in the steel industry in connection with the orders placed by the railway companies. At the same time, however, the situation in those branches of industry producing articles of consumption has grown still worse.

You will remember, comrades, the fuss that was made about the measures that were adopted for overcoming the economic crisis after Hoover's conference with leading industrial and financial circles. You will also recollect that Hoover's programme consisted of developing building activity. What are the results of Hoover's measures? Up to the present these results are by no means brilliant. The number of building contracts was 55 per cent. less in 1930 compared with 1929.

The second group of countries which are in the grip of the crisis are the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. In some of these countries (Austria, Poland) the crisis developed earlier than in the United States. These groups of countries have their own specific causes which gave rise to a long economic depression which has grown into a crisis. Among these causes are the splitting up of territories formerly united in States which took place after the war; the feudal survivals,

which hinder the development of the productive forces, the financial subjugation of these states by world capital, whereby the financial yoke presses upon such Central European countries as Austria and Germany; the inordinate growth, in comparison with the resources of these countries, of their expenditure on armies and police etc. All these factors, which intensify the effect of the economic depression, create the preconditions for the growth of a political crisis, which we must take into account in our tactics, especially in regard to such countries as Poland.

Wherein do the crisis phenomena find expression in Germany? Before all in the decline in the output of coal and in the growth of stocks of coal. Thus for instance, at the end of December the stocks of coal and coke amounted to 778,000 tons, and at the end of January to 2,000,000 tons. The output of iron and steel has recently fallen by 10 to 15 per cent.; the situation in the metal working industries is bad, while stagnation prevails in the textile and the building industry. Workers are being discharged everywhere; the value of shares is falling. In the East European countries the situation is much worse. In Poland the mining industry, the steel and the textile industry are in the throes of a severe crisis. The output of the textile industry has fallen by more than 50 per cent. The agrarian crisis has become more acute; the prices of shares have fallen and the number of bankruptcies has increased. A very serious situation prevails in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, and on the Balkans, where unemployment has assumed enormous dimensions and hundreds of thousands of workers' families are condemned to starvation.

The third type of country involved in a crisis are the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It is generally known that these countries have for a number of years been unable to emerge from their situation of severe economic depression, which creates here the basis for big political movements. The present world economic crisis only serves to aggravate the symptoms of crisis in these countries. The well known English economist Mr. Keynes, declared at the conference of the shareholders of the National Insurance Society that the centre point of the storm lies at present not in Great Britain or in the United States, but in the countries producing raw materials. The signs of improvement or worsening he declared, are to be sought not in London or New York, but in Australia, South America, Asia and Central Europe.

What special causes evoke here the symptoms of crisis? In the first place the fact of the development of the predatory forms of finance capital on the basis of the remnants of feudalism, and in many places also on the basis of the remnants of slavery. Thus, for example, the rapid tempo of the revolutionary upsurge in the South American countries is due to the circumstance that in these countries there exists a blending of three social regimes: the remnants of slavery, the remnants of feudalism and the latest form of exploitation by finance capital, which consequently produces exceedingly sharp forms of the class struggle. The second cause is the so-called monocultural type of economy. The imperialists economically subjugate the colonies and force them by economic or military measures to produce only those commodities which the industry of the metropolis requires. Thus, for instance, Ecuador produces cocoa (one third of the world's output), Chile saltpetre, Bolivia copper, Brazil coffee (70 per cent. of the world's export), the Malayan islands rubber, Cuba sugar, India cotton, jute, tea, Egypt cotton (80 per cent. of the total export) etc.

It is perfectly clear that the business fluctuations on the world market are inevitably reflected in the situation of these branches of industry. They ruin millions of small producers in the colonies.

The third cause of the economic depression in the colonies is the disastrous drop in the prices of colonial raw materials, which far exceeds the fall in the price of agricultural products. The overproduction in the leading capitalist countries automatically results in an over-production of colonial raw materials, which is bound in turn to bring about a considerable fall in prices.

Finally, the fourth group of countries—the countries in which the business situation is that which precedes a crisis (France, Great Britain and part of the Scandinavian countries). We cannot say of France that it already shows palpable signs of a crisis. On the contrary, the whole bourgeois press regards the present situation of French capitalism as one of prosperity. Nevertheless, in France the steel production has been cut down by 10 per cent. in accordance with the decision of the European

Steel Cartel. There are indications of a worsening of the textile industry; a fall in the share quotations is to be observed and the agrarian crisis is also having a severe effect here.

In Great Britain the chronic depression still continues, although this country made some headway last year. The position in the textile industry continues to be very strained. Capital exports show a sinking tendency and are already less than in the previous year. Stock Exchange quotations are falling and there is also a decline of fresh capital issues. At the same time unemployment is increasing and at present stands at two million.

As regards the Scandinavian countries, the "Economist" of February 8 declares that the results of the American crisis are already being felt in Sweden. From November to December 1929 the Production Index fell from 137 to 130. The first signs of a deterioration of the business situation are to be observed in Holland, in Switzerland and also in Belgium.

That is the general picture of the world economic situation at the present time; these are the elements of the approaching world economic crisis.

### The Results of the Crisis and the Tasks of the Communist Parties.

Comrades, I now come to the fourth and last part of my report: The results of this crisis and the tasks confronting the Comintern in connection with the crisis. The crisis indicates the commencement of the decay of capitalist stabilisation. It is not the end of the capitalist stabilisation which is approaching, but the beginning of the decay, for the decay of capitalist stabilisation would mean the collapse of the capitalist system, i. e. the rise of an objectively revolutionary situation in the capitalist countries. It would mean that the whole political superstructure which arose on the foundation of the relative stabilisation of capitalism in the post-war period, the entire system of international relations, as they assumed form after the world war of 1914/1918, with the Versailles treaty, with the Dawes and Young Plans, the whole system of class relations, of conditions in the colonies, the relations of the capitalist world to the Soviet Union would not only be shaken but would be broken down by the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses.

The tempo and the character of the decay of capitalist stabilisation depend upon a whole number of factors: upon the duration and depth of the present crisis, upon how far it in turn deepens the general crisis of capitalism, upon the shakings which the further aggravation of antagonisms in the international arena will bring about, and finally upon the tempo of the growth of revolutionary activity of the masses. As revolutionary politicians, as Leninist-Marxists we must not regard our general perspective of the revolutionary development, which is accelerated by the world economic crisis, as an accomplished fact and base upon it our tactical conclusions.

If one regards the consequences of the crisis from a broad historical standpoint, there can be no doubt that the crisis greatly intensifies all those fundamental contradictions ascertained by the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in that it produces new factors which go to undermine the capitalist stabilisation.

The most important of such factors is the aggressiveness of the United States. The forms of this aggressiveness will be various. In the first place the economic form. Hitherto America has exported but little of its total production, about 8 per cent. In view of the huge extent of the production of the United States, the increased export of American goods by only a few per cent. threatens its rivals on the world market with a disaster.

The export of capital will serve in the hands of the United States the same purpose of weakening its rivals.

American capital will rapidly capture the leading positions in the world arena in the most flourishing spheres of industry: the electric, the chemical, the automobile industry etc. But in addition to the economic forms of pressure, the aggressiveness of the United States will also find expression in military and political forms.

A new period of colonisation is opening in the history of American imperialism. In his speech on the concessions in 1921, Lenin predicted, that in about the years 1925—1928 American imperialism would be sharply confronted with the problem of the redistribution of colonies. The anti-British policy of American capital after the war, which was conducted under the catchwords of the "open door"; of "freedom of the seas", and which represented only a preparatory phase of the

open attack by America on the British colonies and dominions, is developing into the policy of imperialist war for the redistribution of the world. The developing world economic crisis is greatly accelerating the approach of imperialist war between Great Britain and the United States.

The crisis still further deepens the contradiction between the imperialist camp on the one hand and the colonies and economically and politically dependent States on the other. The bourgeoisie will endeavour to escape from the crisis in the first place at the cost of the proletariat, but at the same time at the cost of the colonies and of the dependent and semi-colonial States. This, however, opens an epoch of even greater open robbery of the colonies, their dismemberment by force of arms and increased employment of the methods of military occupation. The economic weakening of China as a result of the crisis places on the agenda of the imperialists the question of the carving up of this country. South America is entering on a still sharper phase of civil war and of wars between individual States by means of the agents put forward by American and British capital. In reply to the monstrous imperialist yoke, a new wave of revolts is sweeping the colonial world which places right in the shade all those which we have witnessed of late. At the same time the crisis strengthens the centrifugal tendencies of the British dominions, accelerates the process of their separation from Great Britain, and consequently also the economic and political decay of the British Empire, which is based upon the enslavement of the toiling population of great parts of the earth.

In the sphere of inner relations of the capitalist countries the crisis is bringing with it a fresh wave of concentration of capital and the ruin of the small and the petty bourgeoisie; it is depriving the labour aristocracy of its social basis, and as a result leads to a further aggravation of the social antagonisms. Under the present conditions, however, this leads inevitably to a growth of fascism, and accelerates and deepens the process of the further fascisation of social democracy and of the reformist trade union bureaucracy; it converts it from a party of "capitalist stabilisation" into a party defending the dying and disintegrating capitalism. Simultaneously this opens enormous perspectives for the growth of the present revolutionary advance into a revolutionary situation in the leading capitalist countries and colonies. These are the results of the crisis viewed from a broad historical standpoint, calculated for a number of years which separate us from the last decisive fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But comrades, the tasks of the present Presidium do not consist in determining our strategic attitude for a number of years in advance—this is laid down in the documents of the Sixth Congress and of the 10th Plenum—but in indicating our tactical line for the next three or four months. And the first question which arises in connection with the result of this crisis is, what effect the crisis will have on the growth of the revolutionary upsurge of the international labour movement in the next three or four months.

What was the situation at the time of the X. Plenum? It is generally known that the year 1929 was a record year for capitalist stabilisation in regard to the development of the economic strike movement. We characterised this period as the period of the coming to end of the depression within the working class and the going over of the proletariat to the economic struggle. It was the beginning of the counter-attack of the proletariat to the offensive of capital.

The economic strike struggle was the chief characteristic of the revolutionary upsurge at the time of the X. Plenum. This does not mean that in a number of countries the economic struggles were not already accompanied by other forms of revolutionary struggle. Already at the time of the X. Plenum we saw mass demonstrations which on the 1st of May led in a number of countries to bloody collisions, and in Berlin to a three days partisan fight on the barricades against the Zörgiebel police. In the colonies, especially in India, the strikes of the working class in this period were already linked up with the fight for national revolutionary emancipation, and thereby acquired to some extent a political stamp.

What new events have occurred since the X. Plenum which justify us in declaring that the approaching revolutionary upsurge is already a stage higher? Firstly, the anti-war fight of the proletariat on the 1st of August. It is perfectly clear that if there had been no revolutionary advance we should not have succeeded in carrying out the first of August. We did not base this movement upon the elementary wave, but solely upon the foundation of the organisational influence of the Communist Parties upon the masses, i. e. the Communists have not followed the line of least resistance but the line of the greatest difficulties, for our organisational influence is the Achilles heel of our work. And if we have succeeded in spite of this in drawing into this movement ten times more workers than the C. I. sections possess members, then this fact is the most convincing proof of the revolutionary upsurge. The representatives of the various Communist Parties—in particular of the illegal Communist Parties, such as the Italian, Rumanian and others—realise that the 1st of August was an element of the turn in the labour movement in a number of countries, especially in the countries of white terror and the fascist dictatorship. A further characteristic of the maturing of the revolutionary upsurge is not so much the strike movement itself, but the tempestuous forms it assumes. In a number of capitalist countries we observe a further increase of strikes. Thus for instance, in Great Britain in the year 1928, 124,000 workers struck work losing thereby 1,388,000 working days, in the year 1929 532,000 strikers lost 8,230,000 work days. In France, in the year 1928, 222,000 workers struck work, in 1929 431,000. But in a number of other countries, such as Germany and even Italy, the number of strikes declined in 1929. Does this mean that the pace of the revolutionary upsurge has slowed down or that there is no revolutionary upsurge at all?

(To be continued)

## Concluding Speech of Comrade Molotow.

Comrades, it remains for me to express my complete solidarity with what has been said here by comrades who have spoken on behalf of other Communist Parties. Their speeches have shown that there is complete unanimity in the ranks of the Communist International in evaluating what is going on in the USSR. I will add only a few remarks on the meaning of the successes of socialism in the USSR, and on the difficulties of socialist construction.

Our successes are unquestionable. They are embodied most vividly in the successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan. It has been proved in practice that the plan not only can be carried out, but will probably be completed in a shorter time. Furthermore, Comrade Thälmann had every reason to compare the Five-Year Plan of the USSR with the Young Plan in Europe. The comparison of these two Plans—that which is being applied under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, and the Young Plan, which is being applied by the finance capital of Germany and the victorious countries, under the hegemony of American imperialism—is an object lesson of the sense of the struggle of Communism against capitalism. And the same comparison shows what prospects there are before each Plan. The prospects of Communism are the prospects of struggle for victory all over the world. The prospects of capitalism are

the prospects of destruction, one of the most striking harbingers of which will be the collapse of the Young Plan. The Young Plan represents a new attempt of the victorious countries, in alliance with German finance capital, to increase the weight of the chains cast on the shoulders of the proletariat of the conquered country, and at the same time to increase the burden of exploitation borne by the workers and toilers in the other capitalist countries. The duty of the Communists, particularly the Communists in the dominant capitalist countries of Europe, must be the international coordination of their forces and the achievement of unity in their actions for the struggle against the Young Plan and other methods of enslaving the workers. The comparison of the Young Plan with the Five-Year Plan of the U. S. S. R. makes it possible to open up better before the workers the prospects of struggle for their emancipation.

I will refer again to the main conclusion of my report. This was that from the moment that the socialist transformation of the productive basis in agriculture began, and consequently the consistently socialist forms of production in industry are being joined by large scale agriculture in reconstruction on socialist lines, there is being developed along the whole front in the U. S. S. R. the construction of the foundations of the socialist order. The socialist order cannot

arise otherwise than on the foundation of large-scale production in the decisive branches of economy. Only on the basis of such a reconstruction of the productive basis can there disappear the contradictions between town and country, and only with the final destruction of this contradiction is the building of socialist society possible. Consequently, mass collectivisation and the building of the Soviet farms will complete the laying of the foundations for the development of the Socialist order of society. The success of collectivisation and consequently, the application of the watchword of liquidating the kulaks as a class, radically alter the conditions of economic, cultural and every other form of development in our country. On a new productive basis, on the basis of large-scale economy both in town and in country, there will proceed the vast transformation of all forms of our social life. This transformation has already begun.

It must be stated that nowadays nearly every day brings something new of great importance for socialist construction. Together with you, we who participate directly in this work are amazed at the new forms, new methods, new waves of enthusiasm which come out of the very heart of the masses. In the most scattered corners of the U.S.S.R., with its patchwork of economic and national peculiarities, in the central districts of the Union and the little national regions on our borders, there spring up new forces with unheard of rapidity, great new masses of workers are drawn into the building of socialism. Taking into account the new forms of socialist construction, the Central Committee strengthens its connections with the districts by various means. The central bodies would not be able to give anything like a timely reply to the questions raised by living practice, were it not for frequent visits to the districts, the study of practical work in the localities of the execution of the Plan in the factories, of collectivisation, etc. by members of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau themselves. In even greater measure this is true of our local committees, whose members spend months in the various localities. Yet even so our organisations in many respects lag behind the requirements of practical work.

The speeding up of the rate, and the growth of new forms, of socialist construction are to be explained by the fact that ever increasing masses, millions upon millions of toilers, are drawn into this work. The growing activity in the working class and the peasantry finds its expression in constantly new forms, and at every step reveals the shortcomings in the work of our organisations and their unsuitability for work in the new conditions. Eleven and a half millions are organised in our trade unions. It is easy to see that the increase in the activity of the working masses has greatly complicated the work of the leading trade union bodies. The collective farming movement already embraces about 15 million peasant farms. Overturning the traditional order of things in the villages, collectivisation refashions the village anew, and of course to take control of this movement is patently beyond the powers of many agricultural cooperative organisations. In the growth of new forms of mass movement, both in the differing forms of Socialist competition in the factories and in the building of collective farms in the villages, there is much that is as yet unstable and fluid. This involves — particularly in the backward districts — the danger that the movement may ebb, and that waverings may take place amongst the masses in other forms. The stormy torrent by which the country is undergoing its revolutionary transformation bears with it a great deal of sludge but the ever increasing attraction of the masses into the work of socialist construction is the guarantee that Socialism is being built up in our country on a firm and stable basis. In this, of course, one cannot exaggerate the importance of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

It is necessary to say a few words in particular about the tasks of the Party leadership in the present conditions. It is unnecessary to prove to you that the Party has always moved, and moves today, as the vanguard of the toiling masses, that it controled and controls the whole enterprise of Socialist construction. As new millions are drawn into that work, the tasks of the vanguard become particularly responsible. The vanguard has to show initiative, daring and consistency in its fight against the enemy, and at the same time it must be able to lead a mass numbering many millions in its spirits and confidence in periods of inevitable difficulty. To be able to take the lead of millions, and tens of millions of toilers in town and country means, on the one hand, not

to show any vacillation in applying our principles — something we will have to deal with more than once yet — and, on the other hand, not to run too far ahead, to be able to consolidate the stage which has been passed through, and to draw up the detachments which fall behind, taking into account the necessity for reckoning with the peculiar conditions of particular sections of the workers. Only given these premises will the stability of our cause be assured and confidence in victory develop amongst the masses themselves. Lenin taught us all this with particular insistence. Our successes are to be explained by the fact that the masses of workers and peasants are perceiving more and more clearly the correctness of Lenin's policy, and that the path along which we are moving is the right one, leading to a new and better life for the workers. That is why the popularity of Socialist competition is growing amongst the mass of workers. That is why thousands upon thousands of collective farms are emphasising their objective by taking such names as „Lenin's Path", „The Comintern", „The Bolshevik", „Red October", etc.

But, comrades, I must emphasise again and again that these successes do not come easily. There are still vast difficulties on the road to build up Socialism, and vast efforts by the working class and all the toilers will be required to overcome them.

I will point out the most important.

It is only this year that we have emerged from the grain crisis. During the two previous years, the question of grain was one of the most difficult of all. In order to get grain for the cities, we had to break down tremendous resistance on the part of the kulaks. In 1928 and 1929 the grain front was the most dangerous sector of our construction. We have, moreover, to reckon with the possibility of bad harvests in the future. But even now we cannot say that everything stands well with us as regards a number of most important foodstuffs, such as meat and butter. Our backwardness in cattle breeding makes itself felt in the consuming centres, and in this sphere we have done very little. The main condition for developing cattle breeding is the improvement of our grain harvest.

Further, the collective farming movement, which is developing into the wholesale collectivisation of the countryside, means, at the same time the application of the policy of liquidating the kulak as a class. This is bound up with very great difficulties, and leads at the present stage to the intensification of the class struggle. It is a task of great difficulty to rally the overwhelming mass of the peasantry in practice around the Party, and to lead them against the kulak, who only yesterday not infrequently enjoyed great influence in the village. Our organisations in the villages are tiny. The Soviets are weak. The masses very little cultured. The forces of the enemy are straining their last effort and making desperate attempts. Despite all the successes of our work amongst the mass of peasantry, we cannot under any circumstances underestimate the difficulties of the present stage of Socialist construction in the villages.

A few words more about cadres, particularly technical cadres. All our work is now being brought up against this problem first and foremost. We are intensifying our efforts to re-educate the old technical cadres and are paying special attention to the training of new cadres, cadres of Red experts. Our difficulties in this sphere are particularly great, owing to the cultural backwardness of the masses. The problem of cadres is, in fact, only part of a much wider problem, that of the cultural revolution. Here we require such a speed of development as is unthinkable in any country without the rule of the working class, and it leads directly to the problem of raising the cultural level of masses which number many millions.

Last come our international difficulties. In this sphere lie the chief difficulties which the U.S.S.R. has to face. The representatives of the Communist Parties who spoke here have sufficiently emphasised this aspect. We cannot forget that the rising wave of revolution in the capitalist countries and in the colonies leads to the strengthening of imperialist hostility to the U.S.S.R. We are accustomed to anti-Soviet provocation on the part of our foreign enemies. We know that today the toiling masses of our country have to be ready for new acts of provocation and new attempts to start a military attack on the U.S.S.R.

In conclusion, I will quote Lenin's remarkable words in his

article: „On our Revolution.“ In this article, directed against the socialists of the Second International and against those who, like N. Sukhanov, were dragging at their tail, Lenin reveals the significance of the October Revolution with exceptional power. Lenin writes:

“Russia has not yet reached the high level of development of productive forces which makes socialism possible. All the heroes of the II. International, including of course, Sukhanov, carry this unquestionable truth in a thousand different ways, but I think it is not decisive for estimating the perspectives of our Revolution.”

After pointing out the peculiarity of the international and internal conditions under which the October Revolution took place, Lenin exposes the anti-Marxist essence of the position taken up by the Socialists of the Second International, stating his case as follows:

“If to establish Socialism requires a definite level of culture (though no one can tell us what exactly is that definite ‘level of culture’), why can we not begin first of all with the conquest by revolutionary means of the preliminary conditions for that definite level, and later, on the foundation already of a workers’ and peasants’ government and the Soviet system, move forward to catch up the other peoples?”

Developing this thought, Lenin writes:

“To build up socialism, you say, requires civilisation. Then why could you not begin by creating such premises of civilisation at home as the expulsion of the landlords and the driving out of the Russian capitalists, in order to begin the movement to Socialism afterwards?”

It is necessary to recall this most profound observation of Lenin.

As you are aware the Party under Lenin’s leadership did exactly as he suggested. The October Revolution completed the bourgeois democratic revolution in the countryside and at the same time, in its capacity of a genuine proletarian revolution, effected the “driving out of the Russian capitalists”. With the passing of industry into the hands of the working class the foundations of the Socialist order of society were being laid. The successful collectivisation of agriculture will mean the completion of the building of that foundation in our country. From this we can draw conclusions as to the significance of the present stage of Socialist construction.

More than one year, of course, will be required to consolidate that foundation. But it is an established fact that the foundation of the socialist order of society are now being laid all along the line—even in the backward village—and thereby all along the line is being accomplished the destruction of the last roots of capitalism. On the basis of the Leninist policy of the Party and the Communist International, Socialism is being victoriously built in the U.S.S.R., thereby accelerating the great victory of the international proletariat. (Applause.)

\*) Lenin, Collected Works, volume XXVII. Russian edition.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Moscow Committee of the C.P.S.U. for the Strict Carrying out of the Party Line.

Open Letter to all Members of the Moscow Organisation.

Moscow, 24th April 1930.

The joint session of the Moscow Committee and the Moscow Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has addressed an open letter to the members of the Moscow party organisation in connection with the coming party conferences and the party congress. The letter stresses the importance of the XV. Party congress which represented an important turning point in the historical development of the Leninist Party of the Soviet Union, which confirmed the instructions for the working out of the Five-Year Plan and mapped out the offensive to be conducted against the capitalist elements in town and country. The XV. party congress made the historic decision to reconstruct the backward and split up agriculture of the Soviet Union on a socialist basis.

Since the XV. congress 2½ years had passed and the Party stands on the threshold of the XVI. congress. The results of the first eighteen months of the Five-Year Plan confirmed the hope that it would be carried out in 4 years instead of 5. Many millions of poods of grain will be provided by the Soviet undertakings even this year. The collectivisation scheme laid down in the Five-Year Plan has been considerably exceeded already, particularly in the main grain areas, despite the errors, exaggerations and obvious deviations from the Party policy permitted by a number of Party organisations with regard to the middle peasants. A decisive and logical correction of these exaggerations will undoubtedly result in a further development of the collective movement. The broad collective movement which had embraced the villages at the end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930, made it possible for the Party to aim at the 100 per cent collectivisation of a number of important grain areas as an immediate task, and also for the Party to proceed from the slogan of limiting and ousting the Kulaks to the slogan of the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class. With the carrying out of the offensive against the capitalist elements this year, the Party has been able to provide the toiling population with bread etc., better and with less difficulties than in the previous year. The agenda now contains a number of great problems, for instance, the meat problem and the vegetable problem.

The influence of the petty bourgeois elements in the village, an influence which affected certain sections of the working class in view of the difficulties which accompanied the progress made, and the increasing resistance offered by the kulaks were expressed in the development of a right-wing opportunist deviation in the Party after the XV. congress. The characteristic feature of this deviation was the tendency to reduce the tempo of the process of industrialisation whilst developing in practice the kulak farms.

Only a merciless struggle against the right-wing opposition as the main danger, plus a ceaseless struggle against the remnants of Trotzkyism, plus decisive opposition to all new left-wing vacillations and deviations can enable the Party of mobilising the working class for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan, and the masses of the poor and middle peasantry for the collectivisation and for the liquidation of the kulaks as a class. The Moscow organisation has consolidated its ranks and its ideological unity, a unity upon which all anti-Leninist deviations from the Party policy, whether openly right-wing or “left-wing” opportunist deviations, have been wrecked and will wreck always.

The letter then points out that the economic situation of the working class and its cultural level have considerably improved and that the numbers of the unemployed have been considerably reduced, and continues: The Party, the economic and the labour organisations have however, not remotely exhausted the existing possibilities of adapting their methods of work to the new tasks and instructions of the Party. The labour organisations still fail to concentrate sufficiently on the factory, and they have not yet earned the place which is worthy of them in the industrial and financial plan.

In the first six months the Moscow district failed to carry out the industrial and financial plan set to it. After the first great successes in Autumn and the beginning of winter, the Moscow Party organisation and its leading organ, the Moscow Committee, took an incorrect line towards the completion of the collectivisation by the spring of 1930, and failed to offer sufficient resistance to certain elements and parts of the organisation which deviated from the Leninist methods of the socialist transformation of agriculture, which flagrantly violated the basic elements of the Party policy with regard to the middle peasants and which were guilty of “left” anti-middle peasant exaggerations. In consequence of this deviation from the correct Party policy and the hunt after inflated collectivisation figures, the collectivisation plan which was based on the broad stream of the peasants into the collective undertakings, was undermined, and this considerably hindered the achievement of the productive tasks set with regard to the raising of agriculture. This exposes the whole insufficiency and planlessness of the work of the Party, Soviet and co-operative organisations in the village, the predominance of campaigning methods in their work, and the underestimation observed in certain quarters of the work amongst the land-workers and poor peasants and the independent organisation of the poor peasantry.

The letter then demands that all the members of the Moscow organisation shall work to dispose of these deficiencies.

cies, and continues: The Moscow organisation must immediately make good the anti-middle peasant exaggerations, without hesitating at adopting ruthless measures against the obstinate exaggerators. The foolish underestimation of the needs of the poor and middle-peasant farms, in particular with regard to the carrying out of the sowing campaign, must be decisively overcome.

The whole activity for the re-election of the Party organs, and the whole work for the preparation of the district conference must be carried on in the spirit of decisive bolshevist self-criticism and of the continued development of inner-party democracy. The errors and the exaggerations in the collective agricultural movement in the Moscow district took on such a severe form as the result of the lack of sufficient bolshevist self-criticism in certain parts of the Moscow organisation. The Moscow organisation will energetically take a stand against the panicstricken talk of "retreat" which comes from the right and "left" opportunists. The Moscow organisation will stand before the Leninist Party policy like a wall of steel and will appear united at the coming XVI. congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### The Session of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance.

By Heinrich Oswald.

Consumers' cooperation is being drawn more and more into the general economic crisis. The steady worsening of workers' conditions the evergrowing concentration of capital in monopolist cartels and trusts, especially the dictatorship of food cartels and trusts, and the rapid growth of trading concerns have placed cooperation into a very difficult position.

The recent session of the Alliance in Leipzig has clearly shown that the policy of the reformist upper stratum of the consumers' cooperatives is dissociating itself more and more from the interests of the workers, that in the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalists, this upper stratum is on the side of the latter. The best proof of this is the rejection of the proposal of the Soviet delegation to lay before the Congress of the Alliance which is to take place in Vienna, in August 1930, the report and resolution on cooperative aid to unemployed and striking workers.

Cooperation could carry on a successful struggle against war, considering that the consumers' societies are embracing enormous numbers of workers. Cooperation could carry on a wide enlightenment and propaganda campaign among the most backward sections of the population (housewives, working men's wives constitute about 50 % of the membership of consumers' societies). Unification of the cooperative forces with those of the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat can mean a great deal in the war against war.

But in reality, the contrary is the case. In the struggle for the preservation of the disintegrating capitalist order, the leaders of the cooperative movement are converting cooperative organisations into a component element of imperialism, they are making them instruments of defence of imperialist interests.

Under the cloak of pacifist phrases (aspiration to universal peace, peace resolutions etc.) cooperative social-fascists, hand in hand with the social-democratic upper stratum, are participating in the preparation of another imperialist war and attack on the U.S.S.R. (Paul Boncour Law in France, the defence of the republic laws in Czechoslovakia, Finland, etc. according to which consumers' societies form part of the military apparatus in the event of war). It is only natural that the cooperative upper stratum has refused to bring up for discussion at the Congress the question of cooperative struggle against the war danger, as demanded by the Soviet delegation.

The Soviet delegation protested against the refusal to bring up for discussion the resolutions proposed by it on the struggle

against the war danger and on cooperative aid to unemployed and striking workers, and presented the following declaration:

"On the strength of Paragraph 24 of the statute of the Alliance, the Soviet delegation reserves to itself the right to appeal to the Congress re inclusion of its two resolutions into the agenda of the Congress." ("Kooperativnaya Zhizn", April 13, 1930.)

Cooperatives are associating themselves more and more with capitalist concerns, are participating in capitalist enterprises and associations.

The German cooperative social-fascists became frantically excited when the Soviet delegation, criticising the means applied by reformist cooperators for "struggle" against cartels and trusts, pointed out that the German Wholesale Society forms part of the Scheuer grain concern, and is intertwined with the Swedish-American match trust, etc.

The German bureaucrats used once more the platform of the Alliance for attempts to weaken the impression made by their treachery with the help of vulgar attacks on the Soviet delegation,—for the continuation of their systematic drive against the first workers' state in the world and the Soviet cooperatives, giving once more vent to their hatred for the U.S.S.R.

The cooperative upper stratum has tried for years to gain the good will of its masters, to attract the attention of the League of Nations to the Alliance.

A considerable part of the work of the Alliance has amounted to association with the decisions of the economic organs of the League of Nations. However, to no avail. The League of Nations answered with a decisive NO to all the requests of the Alliance itself and its patrons regarding a seat to the representatives of the Alliance in the economic organs of the League. It would seem that the League of Nations is well informed about the real power of "the cooperative state arising in the capitalist society". (K. Renner: "Ways of realisation"), and will have therefore nothing to do with the clamorous pretensions of the cooperative leaders.

The Soviet delegation insisted on the recall of the representatives of cooperative organisations from the organs of the League of Nations. It proposed to cease all collaboration with the League, to relinquish participation in any conferences whatever called by the League of Nations or by bourgeois governments.

The Soviet proposal was defeated, and it was decided to continue insisting on the allocation of a seat to the representatives of the Alliance in the economic organs of the League of Nations.

A draft report of the C.C. to the Congress on the activity of the Alliance during the period which followed the last Congress (1927—1930) was presented to the Leipzig session of the Central Committee of the Alliance.

The Soviet delegation voted against the endorsement of the report of the C.C. of the Alliance to the Congress and, according to the "Kooperativnaya Zhizn" of April 13, 1930, made the following declaration:

"Throughout its activity since the Stockholm Congress, the Alliance has systematically repudiated the proposals of the Soviet cooperatives directed towards: 1) the activation of the Alliance, 2) the abandonment of collaboration with the League of Nations, 3) struggle against the war danger, 4) taking measures in aid of unemployed, striking and locked out workers, 5) struggle against high cost of living and the system of taxes and duties and 6) the establishment of connection and cooperation with the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat. The report does not even mention the proposals of the Soviet cooperatives regarding all these questions. On the strength of this, the Soviet delegation is voting against the endorsement of the report of the C.C. by the Vienna Congress".

Such are the results of the Leipzig session of the Alliance, as far as they can be judged by the brief press reports. They fully confirm the correctness of the analysis made by the February Plenum of the Presidium of the Comintern regarding the maturing world economic crisis and the role of social-fascism in the present period.