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## Revolutionary Development in India.

### Gandhi's Arrest.

By V. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

In spite of the rigorous censorship that has been established by the British Government of India upon all news sent out to foreign countries, the information already available from different centres in India is sufficient to show that the movement of revolt is rapidly spreading and deepening.

It is now admitted that the "riots" in Peshawar were not confined to the conflicts between the revolutionaries among the civil population and the Government troops. The regiments sent to fight the "rebels", although mainly British, included a battalion of Indian troops, the 2nd/18th Royal Garhwal Rifles whose conduct is described in the official Government communique as "unsatisfactory", for which reason the battalion has been sent to Abbottabad where there will be "an enquiry". The Garhwalis, like the Gurkhas, are hillmen who are splendid soldiers and have been hitherto regarded as among the best and most reliable fighters of the Imperialist Army. Their "unsatisfactory conduct" signifies that they were in sympathy with the revolutionaries and refused to fire upon the workers and peasants; and the "enquiry" that is being held regarding their conduct is a court martial that will probably result in heavy sentences. But the fact that Indian soldiers refuse to fire upon those classes of the population that are actively engaged in the anti-imperialist revolt is an indirect proof of the feeling that prevails among the peasantry, particularly in the Punjab. It is therefore probable that the events in Peshawar

will be repeated in other military centres of the North where the troops are even more intimately related to the disaffected peasant population.

That the attacks by the revolutionaries should be directed primarily against the police and the munition depots is obvious. The Indian police, doubly corrupt and brutal under the order of their British chiefs, is the most visible and provoking aspect of imperialist oppression, while munition depots are a source both of the material used by the police and the military to shoot down the workers, as well as of the material needed in the fight by the workers against the oppressors. After the storming of the arsenal at Chittagong, there have been many attacks on depots, particularly in Bengal, where there are secret organisations that have specialised in this branch of activity. The most recent was the surprise attack made at 2.30 in the morning of April 29th on the British sentries guarding the gates of the Cossopore Artillery Magazine at Barrackpore, ten miles from Calcutta.

Police raids, followed by dozens of arrests, are taking place every day. But the real situation in Calcutta is indicated by the extraordinary solidarity manifested by all categories of workers with the carters. These had peacefully set up their carts as barricades on April 1st as a protest against the new Government order prohibiting them from driving their

cars along the streets between the hours of 12 noon and 3 p.m. These are the most important business hours in Calcutta, and the 40,000 carters were faced with unemployment and starvation, the new order being a move to stimulate increased motor traffic (and therefore motor lorry import) and consumption of the petrol of the Burma Oil Company. The carters engaged in a Satyagraha were fired upon by the police, six being killed and over 100 wounded. They nevertheless reappeared the next day with their carts during the forbidden hours, and a number were arrested. The police raided the offices of the Carters' Union, the Bengal Jute Workers' Union, the Workers' & Peasants' Party. The Secretaries of the first two organisations were arrested. There have been mass protest meetings in Calcutta jointly organised by the three organisations just mentioned and by the Textile Workers' Union, the National Dockers' Union, the Burrabazar Labour Union, the Young Comrades' League and a number of other Labour Unions. The case against the carters has just ended in three of the Union officials and a carter being sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment each.

In South India, the stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy and of social reformism, the extension of the movement has been less rapid than in the North. But even here the situation is developing. In Madras a demonstration of thousands of workers and students last week was fired upon by the police and a large number were killed. This has led to further street fighting between the masses and the police. In the suppression of the revolutionary movement among the railway and port workers of Madras, the Government is receiving valuable assistance from the reformist theosophical trade union leader, Shiva Rao, one of the most active agents of the Imperialist Labour Party and of Amsterdam in India. But the textile workers have not allowed themselves to be influenced by his intrigues, and a strike has just broken out.

In addition to using its machine-guns and its bombing planes, the MacDonald Government has revived the Press Law (which was repealed in 1922). Under that "Law" every newspaper had to deposit a certain security which was confiscated if the paper was guilty of publishing "seditious" matter. The new Ordinance goes further and makes both the amount deposited as well as the printing presses liable to confiscation, and empowers every magistrate to decide whether any particular article is seditious and justifies the confiscation of the newspaper's property. In Delhi, the seat of the Viceroy's government, certain papers were called upon to furnish securities the same evening or to suspend publication. These papers were the "Hindustan Times", the "Tej" and the "Ariju" (each to deposit £ 375), the "Riyasat" (£ 300) and the "Millat" (£ 150). The first three are nationalist papers standing for national independence but regarded as organs of the Arya Samaj and therefore as anti-Mohammedan. The fourth is an illustrated weekly directed against the tyranny in the States governed by Indian Princes, while the last is the organ of the anti-Hindu Mohammedan group that is for independence but against Hindu domination. The different amounts demanded of the papers correspond to the interests of imperialism. No attacks are to be permitted on Indian Princes who are its main support, while the Indian Mohammedans are to be "protected" as a "minority" against Hindu nationalist attacks. All the above papers have suspended publication. The Ordinance declares that it will not tolerate any propaganda creating class hatred, and it may therefore be expected that all revolutionary workers' organs will be compelled shortly to suspend legal publication. Also four important nationalist dailies in Bengal—Liberty, Advance, Bangbasi and Ananda Bazar Patrika—have been called upon to deposit £ 375 each and "Advance" is likely to suspend publication.

The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie till in Great Britain itself the present ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Indians themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether.

Karl Marx, "Future Effects of British Rule in India".

The leading nationalist papers are receiving heavy subsidies from the Burma Oil Company in the form of daily advertisements. Corruption and repression are working hand in hand.

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Gandhi's repeatedly expressed desire to be arrested has at last been fulfilled. If the Government allowed him to go on breaking laws for four whole weeks while his followers were being sentenced to various terms of imprisonment it had good reasons for wishing to gain time. Gandhi and the Congress leaders launched the movement on the express condition that it shall remain non-violent. But all those who were acquainted with the actual condition of the workers, the peasants and the youth were well aware that the masses were not likely to be influenced by the theory of non-violence. As soon as the Salt Campaign began, violent outbreaks took place throughout India, and it was proved that the workers and the youth in the towns were not acting under Gandhi's leadership. The policy of the Imperialist Government was to give time to the movement to demonstrate fully its violent character, before taking any steps against Gandhi. If Gandhi had been arrested at the very beginning, the Government would not so easily have received the moral support even of some sections of the propertied classes or of the bourgeois Nationalist leaders. It was necessary for the Government to convince the propertied classes that the country-wide outbreaks that have led to armed conflicts with the police and the military, were a consequence of Gandhi's non-violent civil disobedience movement, even against his will. This "lawlessness" of the masses, has been used by the Government to obtain declarations of sympathy and support from the propertied classes, and the Government therefore finds itself in a more favourable position to undertake the arrest without destroying the chances of negotiations with the landowners, the industrialists and their representatives in the political organisations, such as the National Congress, the Liberal Party and the Muslim League.

As far as the textile industrialists are concerned, their opposition has not only been overcome but their actual co-operation has been assured by the recent Tariff Legislation. The millowners of Bombay are satisfied with the raising of the Import Duty on cotton goods from eleven to twenty percent against all foreign countries except Great Britain, thus "protecting" the Indian industry against Japan and America, although the duty against Great Britain is raised only to fifteen percent, thus giving preference to Lancashire textile capital. The millowners are now demanding a revision of the Trade Union Act so as further to crush the revolutionary textile workers. The President of the Bombay Millowners' Association welcomed the legislation because, he said, that the "proposals are calculated to arrest the decline in our fortune and give us breathing time to carry on complete reorganisation." This reorganisation is to be effected by ruthless rationalisation and by a merger of textile factories under a common directorate with a single Managing Director. At least fifty mills are expected to be merged into a single company and the Government of India is expected to advance the millowners a loan of Nine Million Pounds in order to enable them to carry out their scheme of reorganisation. Sir George Schuster, Finance member of the Government of India, had a long interview with the Bombay millowners about three weeks ago to discuss the details of the proposed merger of the Bombay cotton mills and the conditions on which the Imperial Bank of India would grant the loan. The Finance Minister is reported to have declared that the Government would be prepared to stand security to the Bank but according to the Bombay correspondent of the Lahore "Tribune", the Minister made it clear that the guarantee of the loan by the Government would be conditional on the millowners opposing the campaign of civil disobedience and helping the Government to fight the menace of the boycott of British goods, in other words, on their fighting even the Gandhi movement. It is therefore clear that the Government has already obtained the full support of the industrialists.

That the landowners naturally support the Imperialist Government goes without saying. But even among them, especially in Gujurat and the United Provinces there was a tendency to support Gandhi and his non-violent campaign because they had received from the Congress leaders the

assurance that the movement was not directed against them. But the facts of the recent peasant movement in Oudh and Rai Bareili, in Bihar, Orissa, in Jabbalpore and Broach demanding radical changes in the system of land tenure, advocating the non-payment of taxes, which in some cases was carried into effect, and the growing threat of the expropriation of the landlords have brought the latter face to face with the possibility of an agrarian revolution. That the landowners are alarmed by the fact that Gandhi is no longer able to hold back the masses as he once treacherously did in 1922, is proved by the declaration of loyalty and the offer of help that has just been given to the Government in a strictly confidential Memorandum sent on behalf of the landowners of Bengal by the **Maharajah Tagore**, a document that has been published by the "Liberty" of Calcutta.

The political representatives of the industrialists and the landowners are all manoeuvring for a compromise, but they repeatedly declared that they would not be able to negotiate with the Government if Gandhi were arrested. But the position has become changed even in their case by the fact that Gandhi has become more and more aggressive in his language under the pressure of the mass movement and has declared that "the struggle this time will continue even though violence may break out". The Liberals and other moderate leaders who are in favour of a Round Table Conference were making larger demands than the Government was willing to concede even to them, and Gandhi's arrest will have the effect now of

making them still further moderate their terms in order to make a compromise possible.

But while Gandhi's arrest is likely to receive the approval of the above-mentioned classes and political groups, it is also likely to stimulate further acts of revolt, particularly among the youth and the intelligentsia. As far as the masses are concerned, there is a danger that Gandhi's lost influence will be partially resuscitated by his martyrdom at the hands of imperialism and the illusion created that he was fighting a revolutionary battle.

This danger is however not likely to affect the revolutionary movement among the workers or among the peasants, whose economic condition is driving them to organised revolutionary action. The strike movement among the workers in **Bombay**, **Calcutta**, **Madras**, and other cities is developing rapidly, and the unemployment that has already arisen by the closing down of a number of mills, and which will be further enhanced by the carrying out of the above-mentioned scheme of rationalisation, the desperate condition of the transport workers, the miners, and indeed of all categories of workers, is bound to lead within the next few months to a serious sharpening of the struggle. The condition of the peasantry has grown extremely menacing owing to the very serious fall in the prices of all their agricultural products. It may therefore be confidently expected that the movement of the workers and the peasants will grow in intensity and be carried on under revolutionary slogans.

## The Latest Attempt at Forgery against the Soviet Union.

By M. Roger (London).

The instruments which the anti-Bolshevik agents use for their purposes are just as dirty as the aims of their principals. Bombs and forgery—these are the means which are invariably employed at every stage of the anti-Soviet campaign. The infernal machine, which was secreted in the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw was placed there with the object of immediately intensifying the danger of war between **Poland** and the Soviet Union. The forgeries published by Mr. Whalen, the New York police president, are intended in the first place to endanger **trade relations** between America and the Soviet Union.

The contents of these documents differ but very little from the "tradition" which Drushelovsky, Orloff and other long since exposed forgers have established in this sphere. One recognises the cloven hoof of the Deterding forgers in the ever-recurring employment of phrases regarding "remitting large sums of money to the Communist through the Trade Delegation of the Soviet Union"; in the reference to alleged directions that "all means in your possession shall be handed over to Comrade Lisa for the purpose of strengthening the proletarian front" (!); and also in the fact that the instructions contained in the notorious "Zinoviev Letter" regarding carrying on agitation work in the army and navy are also to be found here.

The only original thing about this document is the reference to the Lovestone renegade group (apparently in order to give local colour to the affair), which is alleged to have stolen the papers from the headquarters of the C. P.

In short, we have here a contemptible forgery which is so patent that even the English newspapers refer to it with considerable reserve. It is a further proof that Mr. Whalen, in spite of the employment of his powerful police forces, black-jacks and tear-gas bombs, feels so disquieted by the mass demonstrations on the 6th of March and 1st of May that he gladly concludes an alliance with the infamous forgers and renders them aid in their war-mongering intrigues and in turn receives from them material for the approaching trial of the leaders of the C. P. of America.

We know these bandits, Orloff, Gumski and the other do-

cument-forgers who, with the exception of Drushelovsky, who even ventured to carry on his forgeries in the territory of the proletarian State and received from the proletarian court the well-merited punishment, go about quite freely. We also know Sadathierashvili, Karumidse, Dr. Weber and other Chervonetz forgers who have been encouraged by their acquittal by the German court to commit further forgeries. We also know only too well their paymaster Sir Henry Deterding, whose activity as instigator and assistant was clearly proved in the forgery trial, who finances the document and Chervonetz forgers, promotes bomb outrages against Soviet functionaries, and in whose hands are the threads of the secret negotiations of the German, French and English diplomats and generals over a war against the Soviet Union. In spite of the repeated protests of the Soviet Union, in spite of the open exposure of their tricks and artifices by the proletarian press, Deterding's tools, the forgers of various nationalities, are still allowed to continue their activity in the bourgeois States.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union, which is engaged in realising the Five-Year Plan, which, on the 1st of May, in huge mass demonstrations expressed its inflexible will to offer resistance to any attack, no matter from which side it may come, and to carry out its work to completion, and the international proletariat which, in protecting the Soviet Union, defends its own vital interests, cannot tolerate indefinitely the continued threats by document forgers and counter-revolutionary terrorists. It must demand a strict investigation in regard to the forgers as well as in regard to the conspirators.

The workers of all countries, however, must insist on the complete liquidation of the nests of interventionists in the European capitals who wish to strike blows both at the Soviet Union and the revolutionary labour movement in the country in question.

The latest crime emanating from Deterding's forgery centre, which was carried out with the assistance of the police president of New York Whalen, should serve once again to summon the international proletariat to increased fight against the war danger and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

## CHINA

## The Upsurge of the Revolutionary Movement in China.

Before the Chinese Soviet-Congress.

By Yu Fei.

After the defeat of the Great Chinese Revolution in 1927 the economic and political fights of the workers in China, in spite of the most cruel terror of the Kuomintang, never came to a standstill.

The working class quickly recovered from its depression and is now marching on the new ascending path of the revolution. The first of May last year was the day on which the revolutionary fight experienced a great revival. On the 30th of May 1929, the anniversary of the blood bath of the imperialists among the Chinese workers and students in 1925, the working masses of Shanghai, in defiance of the danger of death, demonstrated in the streets. They gave clear expression to their will in the slogans: "Down with the Kuomintang!", "Down with the imperialists!" In June and July last year the number of the striking workers in Shanghai reached the daily average of 20,000. In these fights the Communist Party of China and the red trade unions have more and more increased their influence.

After the outbreak of the conflict on the Chinese Eastern railway, the revolutionary masses of China clearly expressed their sympathy with the Soviet Union by a great number of demonstrations. Again and again there resounded the cry: "We will protect and defend the Soviet Union!"

On the 1st of August mass demonstrations and processions were held in all places where the C. P. of China and the red trade unions had influence. On this day in Shanghai alone, in spite of the mobilisation of the military with tanks and machine guns, tens of thousands demonstrated for hours in the main streets, such as Nanking Road, Fukien Road etc.

On 1st of September, International Youth Day, the workers in Shanghai again held huge demonstrations. The same thing happened on the anniversary of the October Revolution and on the Day of the Canton Revolt (11th December) in Shanghai, Canton, Wuhan, Peking, Mukden etc. In some towns it came to street-fighting and occupation of the railways. There should also be mentioned the fight of the Ricksha coolies in Peking and the fights of the textile workers in Tsientau against the police. All this shows that the class struggle in China is assuming ever sharper forms.

One of the features of the present situation in China particularly worth noting is that the red trade unions are steadily increasing in influence, are broadening their basis among the masses. The united trade unions of Shanghai, the trade unions of the Hongkong workers and the trade unions of the five big mining iron works in Kei-Suan near Tangseine are the main strongholds of the red trade unions. The Wuhan workers achieved their demands by means of great strikes, including the great strike of the Yu-Yuan textile works. These successful strikes have greatly strengthened the position of the red trade unions in Wuhan.

On the other hand, we observe how the influence of the yellow Kuomintang trade unions is steadily waning. The workers are more and more realising the treacherous role played by them. The textile workers in Tsientau, the miners in Kai-Luan, the railway workers on the Peking—Mukden railway and also the textile workers in Wuhan have risen spontaneously against the treacherous leadership of the yellow trade unions. In mass meetings, the workers have denounced these leaders to their faces, driven them out of their meetings, beaten them and in some cases killed them. The workers have on their own initiative organised red trade unions.

The growing political and economic crisis and the big drop in the price of silver resulted in a great number of works being compelled completely to close down. In Shanghai alone 104 silk mills, a great part of the cotton weaving mills and the largest cigarette factory in China, the Nanyang tobacco factory, have been closed down. According to estimates, in Shanghai alone several hundred thousand men, women and young workers are out of work. Their situation is appalling, as there is no unemployment insurance in China. On the 6th of March last, the International Fighting Day of the Un-

employed, the workless in Shanghai demonstrated for their demands and came into collision with the armed forces. The Shanghai weavers have elected fighting committees in order to fight against the closing down of the mills. The workers formerly employed in the silk factories which have been closed down have formed unemployed committees.

As a result of the continually increasing prices, the standard of living of the workers is declining from day to day. This impoverishment intensifies the class struggle still further. In Shanghai thousands of workers of the Henderson electric lamp works entered on a strike for better treatment and the automatic adaptation of wages to the constantly rising price of rice. The Kuomintang sent representatives who demanded that work should be resumed before any negotiations took place. When this impudent demand was rejected, the police, on the instructions of the Kuomintang forced their way into the meeting of the strikers and fired upon the crowd, killing one worker and wounding several others. The indignant workers, however, put the police and the Kuomintang representatives to flight and continued the strike with determination.

Further, in Shanghai 10,000 workers of the Chi-Ho textile factory, 2,000 workers of the Tung Chen factory and 800 tramway workers in the French concession area struck work. The town was very seriously effected by the strike of the 4,000 electricity workers of the old and new works.

All these strikes took place under the leadership of the red trade unions and were for the greater part successful. Many other categories of workers, encouraged by the successes of the red trade unions, are also preparing to go on strike. These include: the dock workers of Yan-Su-Pu near Shanghai, the textile workers of the Tsun-Schien works, the staffs of the three largest mills of the firm of Fuo-Feng, and the workers of the East-Asiatic Linen factory.

Everyone of these fights was waged not only for economic demands, but was also directed against the leaders of the yellow trade unions and against the Kuomintang.

But far stronger than the fight in the town is the movement of the workers in the country. The peasants have been plunged into the most unendurable poverty and misery by the continual wars of the generals, the oppressive measures of the Kuomintang, the fearful exploitation of the landowners and the natural disasters. The peasants have no way out except the agrarian revolution and the overthrow of the ruling Kuomintang, together with all their generals, by armed force. Peasant revolts and partisan fights are breaking out everywhere. The Soviet territories in China are extending. The Eastern, Southern and Western districts of the province of Kiangsi are for the greater part firmly in the hands of the insurgents. The capital town, Nanchang, is seriously threatened, because the whole neighbourhood is already occupied by the insurgents. Out of the 81 districts in this province only 10 possess mayors appointed by the Kuomintang government. In the province of Hupeh the insurgents have established the Soviet Power over vast areas. In the western part of the province of Hunan the Soviet Power has been set up in 24 districts, in Kwantung in 16 districts, in Kwangsi in over 20 districts, in Szechuan 15 districts, in Honan 4 districts and in Anhwei in 3 districts. (A district corresponds to an area about as large as Yorkshire Ed.) It is estimated that the Soviet territories embrace about 60 million people.

In the past the red villages were shut off from the white towns. Now, however, the white towns are blockaded by the red rural districts. Even Wuhan, the most important town of Central China, is surrounded by armies of red peasants. In this situation there exists the possibility of setting up a Soviet government based upon several provinces. The All-China Soviet Congress, which meets on the 30th of May, will be attended not only by worker, peasant and soldier delegates sent from the Soviet areas, but also by delegates from the not yet liberated districts. This Congress will draw up a Soviet Constitution and the programme of a broad struggle in China in order to show the working masses a clear path to complete victory.

An accompanying phenomenon of the workers and peasants movement is the progressive revolutionisation of the government troops. The influence of the Communist Party is steadily increasing in the ranks of the soldiers. Many soldiers' committees and Communist nuclei are being formed. Revolutionary demands of the soldiers are being put forward; mutinies are breaking out everywhere. These mutinies have brought great armed forces over to the side of the workers and peasants movement.

## POLITICS

### The Commencing Proletarian Offensive in Spain.

By José Bullejos.

The strike of the metal workers of Sangunto, participated in by several thousand workers and already lasting for months, characterises the commencement of the proletarian offensive in Spain. This strike of Sangunto was followed by a general solidarity movement in Valencia, which, although it could not secure victory, was a striking expression of the radicalisation of the working masses and of their will to fight.

In Vizcaya many strikes broke out, some of which ended victoriously, but as a whole show that we are in a period of proletarian offensive. Of special importance is the fact that nearly all movements break out against the "parity committees", and in their overwhelming majority proceed outside of the influence of the socialist and anarchist leaders. The general strike of the painters and grainers at Bilbao, which was organised and led by our Party, is the most important victory achieved by the working class recently. The economic demands were accepted by the employers, and for the first time the strikers excluded the parity committees from participating in the settlement of the strike. Of no less importance is the strike which was won in Reuteria. The employer, who wished to lengthen to ten hours the working day of the workers who were engaged in the erection of a factory, had to give way after the workers had gone on strike for the eight-hour day and had at the same time put forward wage demands. The strike, organised and led by our comrades by means of the creation of a strike committee, was crowned with complete success; the employer was obliged to grant the workers demands. The strike which was called forth by the offensive of the employer was converted into a victorious counter-offensive of the workers.

The most important event however, was the general strike of the dock workers of Seville: the most significant victory won by the Spanish proletariat since 1923. 4000 workers were mobilised and took up the fight under the leadership of our Party. All the demands submitted by the strikers were conceded by the employers. During the strike numerous street demonstrations took place in spite of the prohibition, at which it came to fierce collisions. The State mobilised all its forces in order to crush the movement. The strikers were imprisoned, the worker club promises were closed, all workers meetings and demonstrations were prohibited. But, faced with the threat of a general strike in Seville, the bourgeoisie was compelled to capitulate, to grant the demands of the strikers, to release the arrested (with one exception), and to cancel the order closing the workers' club premises. Another important feature of this movement was the open counter-revolutionary attitude which the leaders of the anarchist movement adopted against the strike; they did everything in order to keep the workers of Seville from supporting the strikers materially and by solidarity demonstrations.

Even if of less importance, a number of strike movements which occurred about the same time as the above-mentioned strikes are worth mentioning: these strikes occurred in Cartagena, in Sans, in the nitrogen works of Asturia, in Suria, in Catalonia, in Elda, while in addition there was the strike of the painters in San Sebastian, the strike of shoemakers and plumbers in Bilbao.

All these movements constitute the continuation of the great mass movement which broke out in all the important factories and works in Spain. In Asturia, the miners are making preparations in order to win back the seven-hour day, which they lost in 1927 owing to the treachery of the socialists. In Vizcaya, the metal workers and miners are preparing to take up the offensive. In both districts the socialist leaders of the trade union federation are endeavouring to prevent the outbreak of a strike, for which purpose they have entered into negotiations with the employers, to whom they are presenting moderate demands in order to cripple the movement. The Communist Party, however, is exerting all its forces in order to frustrate this manoeuvre of the socialists and to organise the fighting front of the workers against the united front of the bourgeoisie and the social fascists.

### The Significance and the Effects of the Bloodbath in Radotin.

By L. Freund (Prague).

Easter Sunday, 1930 will be recorded as a bloody Sunday in the history of the Czechoslovakian labour movement. The Young Communist League had arranged Easter rallies in a number of localities, which, however were straightforward forbidden by the social fascist government. This was also the case with regard to the Easter Rally in Radotin, near Prague. At the demonstration in Radotin incidents occurred which are absolutely unprecedented in the history of the Czechoslovakian labour movement. When the demonstration of the working youth, numbering some hundreds, headed by the young pioneers and their women leaders approached Radotin, the gendarmerie, without any warning and even without calling upon the demonstration to disperse, fired a volley into the procession, as a result of which two school children, a 16 year old working girl and two women leaders of the young pioneer, Comrade Rici Katchner, aged 24 and Comrade Tilda Reich, aged 21 were seriously wounded. At the same time the gendarmerie carried out a whole number of arrests. The arrested are still detained in the prison in Prague.

The monstrous bloodbath in Radotin shows the extraordinary aggravation of the class antagonisms in Czechoslovakia and the exceedingly rapid pace at which fascism is advancing. Since the existence of the Czechoslovakian Republic workers have often been fired upon, but it is the first time since the upheavals in 1925 that workers have been fired upon in the Czechish area of Czechoslovakia.

In this way the social-fascist government is endeavouring to break the growing resistance of the working masses to the hunger and war offensive of the bourgeoisie, and to clear the way for the setting up of the fascist dictatorship and for the war against the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie and the social-fascists are engaged at present in carrying out the so-called "small economic plan". This so-called "small economic plan" involves, in the first place, a raising of the tariffs on corn and cattle, a law regarding import licences, a law amending unemployment insurance on the basis of the Ghent system, and a law regarding old age pensioners.

Of late, however, there has been a steadily growing resistance of the working masses to the policy of the social-fascist government. This was already evident on March 6, when, in spite of the prohibition, 100,000 proletarians, under the leadership of the Communist Party, demonstrated in all the important towns of the Republic. Since then the proletarians of Ostrau-Karvin, the greatest industrial district in Czechoslovakia, have demonstrated in great masses. The staff of the largest sheet-iron works in Czechoslovakia in Karlshütte have by two protest-strikes compelled the employers to cancel the discharges of workers which had already been announced. At many big public and factory meetings held in connection with the preparations for the First of May, the Ostrau proletariat has shown, by decisions to participate collectively in the Communist 1st of May demonstrations, that resistance to the fascist and war policy of the social-fascist government is growing. At the last factory committee elections at the Skoda Works in Jung-Bunzlau, the Rütgers chemical works in Moravian Ostrau, the iron works in Horovitz near Pilsen, the Richter textile mills in Mildenau near Friedland; at the factory council elections in Handlova (Slovakia) and in the lignite mines in the same district, the Red trade unions of Czechoslovakia have again achieved considerable successes. It is to this increased revolutionisation of the Czechoslovakian workers and the growing influence of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia that the social fascist government replied with the bloodbath at Radotin.

The Radotin bloodbath has opened the eyes of further sections of the working population of Czechoslovakia regarding the real character of the social-fascist government. The determined attitude of the Communist fraction in Parliament has also played its part in mobilising the workers against the social-fascist government. Finally, the Young Communist League is able to point to considerable organisational successes since Easter Sunday precisely in the localities in the neighbourhood of Radotin.

## THE BALKANS

### The Growing Political and Economic Crisis in Rumania.

By S. Horia (Bucharest).

The feverish preparations for the war of aggression on the Soviet Union, and the powerful upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Bessarabia confront the Rumanian bourgeoisie with the question of immediately setting up an open military fascist dictatorship in Bessarabia, appointing a military governor, and establishing a state of emergency and a censorship. Under the leadership of the financial oligarchy, the general staff of the army forced the Maniu government to remove Constantin Stere, the Bessarabian leader of the National Peasant Party, from the party and to dismiss the Minister of War Cihoski in order to remove all obstacles to the military dictatorship in Bessarabia. The great majority of the Bessarabian parliamentary group expressed solidarity with their leader Stere, but still intend to remain in the government party as an "independent" group, until the present fascist regime is replaced by the open military fascist dictatorship. The Bessarabian national peasant party will then attempt to conduct a demagogic policy of sham opposition in order to win back the lost sympathy of the Bessarabian peasant masses.

The establishment of a military fascist dictatorship in the whole of Rumania has been placed on the order of the day. The Liberal Party of the Rumanian financial oligarchy is still inveighing demagogically, in the name of "democracy" and the "Constitution", against the "green" dictatorship of the Maniu government; it calls for a "national government" against the "Bolshevik danger", and the immediate proclamation of a state of siege against the revolutionary movement.

The so-called people's party of General Averescu are openly demanding "counter-revolution" against the "revolutionary" regime of the Maniu government and the setting up of an open military-fascist dictatorship headed by General Averescu. Professor Jorga, leader of the national party of fascist-bourgeois intelligentsia, declared after his return from the United States: "The time is come to choose between dictatorship and civil war". The social fascists are actually helping the Rumanian bourgeoisie to set up the military fascist dictatorship, as they support the bloody regime of the Maniu government and wish to frustrate the fight of the toiling masses with the slogan of "pure and free elections against the military dictatorship".

New fascist organisations are springing up one after the other, and all the old organisations and associations of the bourgeoisie are being converted into open fascist organisations. Demonstrations of all bourgeois cultural, sport and religious associations for "saving" Bessarabia from the Bolshevik danger" are becoming more and more frequent.

The new fascist military law, which has the support of the social fascists, militarises the whole of the youth, the schools, the universities and all youth associations and organisations, and places them under the immediate command of the General Staff of the army against the revolutionary movement and for use in the war against the Soviet Union. Under the pressure of Rumanian finance capital, the regency and the bourgeois parties, the fascist government is mobilising the army for the purpose of crushing the revolutionary movement, and in the first place the powerful national-revolutionary fight in Bessarabia. The generals, headed by General Samsonovici, chief of the General Staff of the Rumanian army, are openly attending every Ministerial Council and taking part in the discussions with the regency. The active generals and officers are taking the lead in all national fascist and anti-Communist demonstrations. The masked fascist dictatorship of the Maniu government is becoming more and more a military-fascist dictatorship of the Rumanian big bourgeoisie.

The crisis of the fascist dictatorship is expressed in the newly introduced fascist exceptional law (the so-called Madgearu law), under which any disturbance of the "peace of the citizens" and any act damaging the State credit is punishable

with long terms of imprisonment. The new exceptional law serves the interests of the whole of the fascist bourgeoisie and of foreign finance capital for throttling the revolutionary mass movement and accelerating the organisation of the anti-Soviet war. The oppositional fascist parties, however, declare themselves to be against the new fascist law. The Liberal party of the Rumanian financial oligarchy even openly called upon the "whole nation" not to recognise and to offer resistance to the Madgearu law. Thus the Rumanian financial oligarchy regards the bloody fascist dictatorship of the Maniu government as too mild and weak in face of the forward-surfing masses.

The economic crisis is becoming more acute. Madgearu, the Finance Minister, declared in Parliament: "The State budget for 1929 shows a deficit. The prospects for the present year are none too rosy, as the anticipated revenue has not yet been realised." The broad sections of the middle and petty bourgeoisie are replying to the ruthless taxation offensive of the fascist government with "demonstration strikes". After the Congress of the war invalid organisations in Bucharest on the 11th of April, thousands of war cripples and war widows marched in a powerful demonstration. Three times they broke through the cordon of the gendarmerie and attacked the gendarmes with their sticks and crutches. In addition to the revolutionary upsurge of the working masses in town and country, broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie, who are being ruined, are in a state of profound ferment. The disastrous economic crisis, the growing general political crisis, the threatening fascist dictatorship, the violent class collisions confront the Rumanian proletariat and its Communist Party with the problem of decisive fights.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Anglo-Zionist Terror in Palestine.

By A. m. (Jaffa).

Simultaneously with the revolutionary upsurge in India the difficulties of the social-imperialist MacDonald Government are increasing in the Arabian countries. There is unrest in Transjordan; demonstrations are taking place in the towns of Iraq. In Palestine also, in spite of the greatest efforts of the British administration, which employed the most ruthless terror, it has not been possible to stifle the revolutionary movement. On the contrary, a few months after the bloody reprisals which followed the August revolt, the imperialists were forced to recognise that the masses are becoming more revolutionary and turning away from the reformist and nationalist traitors, and that Communist influence is growing, especially among the workers.

The recognition of this fact is the reason of the new acts of repression and the wave of terror observable in Palestine in the last few weeks. A fresh attempt is to be made to "liquidate" the revolutionary movement; and the means which are employed exceed in cruelty anything hitherto witnessed in Palestine.

First there should be mentioned the death sentences, numbering over thirty, which have been pronounced as "retribution" for the August revolt, and which have been confirmed by the highest court of appeal and whose execution now only depends on the confirmation of the British High Commissioner. The latter considers it advisable, so long as the popular excitement prevails, and in view of the mass movement which has commenced in all the Arabian countries in favour of the condemned, to postpone the executions in order to hold the condemned as hostages in case of a fresh popular rising; but there is little doubt that the pro-Zionist MacDonald Government is minded to act in the sense of the recommendation of the official organ of the Jewish telegraph agency in Palestine, which wrote: "Better to hang innocent people than not to hang anybody at all . . ."

The sentences on the fellahs, which run to ten years' hard labour, are in fact tantamount to death sentences, for the regime in the Palestine prisons is such that the inmates are

slowly done to death. Only recently an Arab peasant was found dead in prison. The explanation given by the authorities was that he had been stabbed by a fellow prisoner.

Ever fresh arrests are being placed in the already over-filled prisons. These are for the main part revolutionary Arab and Jewish workers. The arbitrary powers conferred by MacDonald's prison law of 25th October, 1929, know no limits. Workers are sentenced to eight months' imprisonment simply for belonging to the legal trade union opposition; Arab workers who make application for permission to hold a meeting of their legal workers' association, are arrested on the spot; distributors of illegal leaflets are charged under paragraphs of the criminal code providing penalties of three to five years' imprisonment; dozens of workers have been imprisoned for months on end without any trial.

The police persecutions were especially furious in the last two weeks during the great Arab national festival "Nebi Mussa", which this time bore an outspokenly anti-imperialist character, and before the 1st of May. Police autos raced from one work place to another and indiscriminately arrested Jewish and Arab workers.

The arrested, even before they are tried and sentenced, are subjected to brutal treatment at the police stations. A worker named Miaskovitzky, who was arrested while distributing Communist leaflets in the Arab town of Gaza, was so brutally beaten and tortured by the police that even the English Governor of the central prison refused to admit him without a medical certificate regarding his condition. It is very significant that prominent Zionists—leaders of the so-called Zionist self-defence, who at the same time serve as spies for the British police—carry out these brutal acts; that these "peaceful idealists" in no way lag behind the bloodthirsty Polish defensive or the Rumanian Siguranza. British imperialism, of course, acquiesced in every shameful deed of its Zionist-fascist lackey.

The cruel prison regime of the MacDonald Government in Palestine has already demanded its victims; Anna Milstein, an 18-year old Communist, died after severe suffering as a result of mishandling in the Jerusalem prison. This, however, did not suffice to glut the lust for revenge of the police who destroyed this young life. The funeral of Comrade Milstein was attacked by the hirelings of the Labour Government, in particular by the Zionist police officers, who brutally beat the workers, both men and women, who wished to lay a wreath on the coffin, and broke up the funeral procession. Even the sister of the dead was not allowed to approach the coffin and was severely injured with blows of the whip and police clubs.

The workers are very indignant at the brutal treatment accorded the prisoners. In spite of the agitation of the Zionist press, which shamefully supports the misdeeds of the police, it can be said that the great majority of the Arab and Jewish workers condemn MacDonald's police terror. In Haifa there took place a spontaneous demonstration against the cruelties of the police. With regard to the political prisoners themselves (their number, quite apart from the hundreds arrested in connection with the August revolt, has increased to over 60), they have again submitted to the prison authorities their demands for a special regime for political prisoners and pointed out that the promises which were made to them at the time of the last hunger strike in October last year still remain unfulfilled. They have, as the last means which they have at their disposal, proclaimed a fresh hunger strike for the 28th of April if their demands are ignored.

The terror of the MacDonald government is directed not only against the workers who are engaged in political fights, but also against workers engaged in economic struggles. Thus when the workers in a box factory in Haifa went on strike, the police were called in order to help the employer to suppress the strike.

The fight against the Anglo-Zionist terror, for the release of all political prisoners, the repeal of the exceptional laws, cessation of repression against revolutionary workers and Arab national revolutionaries, occupies an important place in the anti-imperialist action of the proletariat in Palestine. It is very important that this fight should be supported by the solidarity of the workers in other countries, especially of the English workers.

## FIRST OF MAY

### The First of May 1930.

The March of the Proletarian World-Army

By J. Schmidt (Berlin)\*.

The first reports to hand regarding the 1st of May demonstrations this year leave no doubt whatever that this fighting day of the proletariat has been the most powerful expression of the will to struggle of the proletariat of all countries. There was no country in all the world where the 1st of May was not celebrated in one way or another. And there are many countries in which the demonstrations united the broadest masses of the proletariat and of the toilers generally under the red revolutionary flags.

In the capitalist countries the 1st of May meant the immediate battle-march against the bourgeoisie. The demonstrations were carried out under the slogans, "Fight against the War-Dainger, for the Soviet Union, against Unemployment, against capitalism and for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". It was under these slogans that in Germany many hundreds of thousands of proletarians took part in the mass processions of the Communist Party of Germany and which gave to the demonstrations in Berlin, Hamburg, in the Ruhr area, and in Upper Silesia their strikingly enthusiastic fighting character. It was around these slogans that thousands demonstrated in New York. Compared with the powerful communist demonstrations, in many cases the demonstrations called by the social fascists (as for instance in Berlin) were absolutely miserable affairs. It has become evident that the slogan of the revolutionary united front has acquired a new content by reason of the fact that it is being realised under the leadership of the Communists, that the masses who demonstrate do so under the flag of Communism, that the Communists alone are maintaining the tradition of the 1st of May.

Also from the other capitalist countries, from Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland great revolutionary mass demonstrations on the 1st of May are reported. The capitalist police, in spite of the most frantic efforts, in no case succeeded in preventing the holding of demonstrations. This also applies to a great extent to countries such as Poland, Rumania, Hungary and the Balkan countries where the whole fascist apparatus of power was concentrated in order to terrorise the masses, to throw the proletarian cadres into prison and prevent manifestations at all cost.

Special importance attaches to the circumstance that the mass demonstrations were in many countries accompanied by revolutionary political mass strikes.

In the colonies and overseas countries, where the proletariat is confronted with the task of fighting for its national emancipation from the imperialist yoke and at the same time for its social emancipation, the 1st of May symbolised the upsurge of the revolutionary movement. In Australia demonstrations and collisions took place. In Japan, thousands of workers and unemployed marched through the streets. Shanghai, although Chiang Kai-shek had mobilised the greater part of his armed forces in order to prevent the 1st of May celebrations, was one of the towns where the mass strikes and demonstrations bore a particularly militant character. In the other colonial countries from which (as for instance India) owing to the censorship, news has not yet come through, the proletariat prepared for street demonstrations.

The 1st of May in the capitalist and colonial countries has proved that the Soviet Union is surrounded by a protecting wall of faithful proletarians who are determined to render it possible for their brothers in the Socialist Fatherland to proceed undisturbed with their great work, and who, in addition, are ready to take up the fight in order to follow their example. The 1st of May in the Soviet Union itself showed the determination of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R.

\*) Detailed reports from the various countries regarding the May Day demonstrations have already been sent to the press.

to continue the work of socialist construction in spite of all disturbances, to defend it against every attack, and to carry it out to a victorious conclusion in the fight against the last remnants of the old society by means of industrialisation and collectivisation.

The unity and the powerful content of the actions of the proletariat on the 1st of May 1929, on the 1st of August and 6th of March last, have fulfilled their purpose. The Communist Parties, enriched by valuable fighting experiences, know how to lead ever greater proletarian masses. The strategy of the Communist International, which saw in the training of the revolutionary Communist advance-guard in revolutionary actions the best guarantee that the broad mass of toilers, who are becoming more revolutionary, would join the fighting ranks, has proved fully and entirely justified.

The first picture which we are able to derive from the reports to hand from red Wedding and Shanghai, from Sydney and Moscow, from Warsaw and New York, show that in nearly all countries the best part of the working class are marching under the leadership of the Communist Parties, or are developing their actions under their immediate leadership. In the colonies the 1st of May has become an anti-imperialist fighting day, while in the Soviet Union it is a mobilisation day for socialist construction.

**Revolutionary united front, under the leadership of the Comintern, against exploitation and oppression**—that is the first impression given by the 1st of May 1930.

## The First of May in the Second Year of the Five-Year Plan.

By A. K. (Moscow).

At half past two in the afternoon the autobus which had fetched the delegation of Swiss railway workers from the platform in the Red Square for a circular tour through the town drove through the triumphal arch at the Moscow railway station, two kilometres distant from the centre of the town. The whole way down the Tverskaya and as far as the eye could see, the streets leading from the Red Pressnya district where full of marching columns of workers with flags, banners and posters. A sea of flags, the sound of singing, laughter and brass bands. The columns were still marching up.

It was not until 5 o'clock that the last columns marched through the Red Square. The march past, which according to the old tradition followed the great parade with the taking of the oath by the Red Army soldiers, lasted over six hours. Six columns, marching six abreast, take six hours to march past — one can figure that out for oneself!

It is now 9 o'clock in the evening. The town is as lively as an anthill. Everybody is out of doors. One goes through the streets in holiday mood and takes pleasure in this year's unusually rich and attractive illumination of the big squares and buildings. Hundreds of thousands fill the interior of the town. Other hundreds of thousands sit in the theatres, cinemas, concert halls and clubs and enjoy the festive performances. The festival of the workers of Moscow.

After having experienced many revolutionary holidays in the red capital of the Soviet Union, one asks oneself if it is possible to surpass the previous ones. And one is ever again surprised and amazed. Every year there is something new, something more.

The masses alone! Now all the six districts of Moscow march simultaneously through the Red Square, and again the march past lasts over six hours. Standing on the tribune one can become dizzy from gazing on the sea of heads which sweeps past hour after hour to the accompaniment of singing, blasts of trumpets, waving of hands and throwing up of caps.

What is the new feature of this demonstration? The growing political consciousness of the masses. In place of the more general fighting slogans, the concrete slogans of socialist construction are raised: "For the carrying out of the industrial and financial plan!", "Five-year plan in four years!", "Away with the sabotagers, gossips and shirkers in the factories!". It was under these practical slogans that the works and

factories marched past. The factories and their departments carried big posters graphically setting forth their successes in carrying out the Five-Year Plan: "In the first half year of 1930—98 per cent of the whole year's programme fulfilled!" "Model brigades of the turning department of the N. factory: productivity raised by 28 per cent, cost of production reduced by 12 per cent, reduction of wasted material by 9 per cent." On the walls of the big factories and works are displayed the figures regarding the successes achieved: The Moscow city administration shows what it has done in the past year for the population: asphalt roads, laying down of water mains, new tramway lines laid down, gas supply. The publishing house of the peasant newspaper has filled the space between the windows of its premises with the brightly coloured covers of its periodicals and pamphlets; in huge letters one reads the figures showing the growth of circulation of their publications. Many of the big factories inform the public of their achievements by means of big living pictures borne on motor lorries.

The Five-Year Plan and its carrying out in every factory, the participation of every worker in it dominate the demonstration.

The figures regarding the industrial and financial plans have only one competitor: Pope Pius XI. He is presented in innumerable variations, accompanied by priests, rabbis, nuns, sacristans and kulaks. He has become as popular among the Moscow workers as was only Austin Chamberlain up to now.

The political progress of the masses, of which the demonstration bore witness, is accompanied by an equally rapid cultural progress. One saw in the marching columns a large percentage of new workers who have only recently come from the villages and who, in their clothing and bearing, showed that they had come from the culturally backward rural areas. Among the majority of the demonstrators the older industrial workers and employees, and especially among the youth and the children, there was again to be seen an improvement in their clothing. In their brightly coloured or white suits and dresses, clean and fresh, the "godless" pioneers gave with their songs and dances a splendid answer to the lamentations of the papal letter over the 'neglected state and moral depravity of the youth in the Soviet Union.'

And then the pictures, placards and figures, tableaux and symbolical representations! This year the May demonstration put in the shade everything that has hitherto been seen in Soviet Russia in this sphere. The "unchaining of the creative forces of the masses" has, in the sphere of mass-art, brought to the front a spirit of invention, a wealth of ideas, a skilfulness of artistic representation which becomes more astonishing every year.

The leaders of the government and of the Party who stood on the platform in front of the new Lenin Mausoleum which is being erected, could not but be impressed by the wealth of wit and humour displayed. And uninterruptedly the masses shouted greetings, calls, slogans up to the platform on which stood Stalin, Voroshilov, Molotov, Kalinin, Yaroslavsky, Kuybishev, Rudsutak, Tomski and others.

Another new feature was the decoration of the town. For the first time the great squares and main streets were divived up among the existing art associations, who carried out their work in the form of an artistic competition. The whole work was led and controlled by the Moscow Soviet. Thus there was displayed in the streets a "gigantic exhibition", in which the most gifted and skilled members of over ten artists' associations took part. The best show was undoubtedly given by the pupils of the "Supreme technical art institute", to whom fell the great task of decorating the Red Square. Gigantic wooden figures, huge wall paintings, enormous red placards and streamers and red flags gave the Square an unusually solemn and at the same time joyful aspect. For the first time the old architecture with the Kremlin wall and the Basilius Church was overtaken by the new proletarian art. The best transformation of one of the open squares in the town by cleverly applied lighting effects was made by the young revolutionary artists' association "October" in the square between the Moscow Soviet and the Lenin Institute.

Revolutionary Moscow concludes its celebration of this extraordinarily successful May Day with special performances in the theatres, clubs and cinemas.

## Fight Against Right Danger

# The "United Front" of Herr Brandler.

When the increased artillery preparation for intervention in the Soviet Union set in, when the "Holy Father" of Rome proclaimed the "Crusade" against the Soviet Union, when to the chimes of the church bells, the enemies of the working class, both believers and unbelievers, everywhere offered up prayers "for the salvation of the soul of the beloved Russian people", there joined in the choir of these crusaders the soprano of a small sect—the sect of the Brandler renegades.

The Archbishop of Canterbury made the proposal to his Government—in connection with the proclaimed "Crusade"—that it send a Note to the Soviet Government. To satisfy the archbishop the Soviet Government would have to carry out the following small "reforms": reintroduction of the right of the clergy to vote, restoration and securing of Church property, and prohibition of atheist propaganda. The sect of Heinrich von Chemnitz, in connection with the same "Crusade" against the Soviet Union and the Comintern, sent an analogous message to the E. C. of the Comintern, which was published in a special supplement in No. 11 of "Gegen den Strom", suggesting that all the expelled renegades be reaccepted in the Comintern; that an international discussion be immediately opened regarding the working out of a new line of the Comintern (of course in the spirit of these renegades); that everywhere new elections of Party executives and functionaries, including the E. C. of the Comintern (naturally in order to replace them by renegades), be held; that an investigation of the "corruption" in the Comintern be carried out; and finally, that the Party be pledged to derive the necessary means only from the membership contributions of the Parties (a provocative allusion to the "Moscow Rouble").

The contemptible character of this message, which is nothing else but a suggestion that the Comintern dissolve itself, is only equalled by that political cowardice which has always marked the general line of the Brandlerists.

But the Brandlerist mongrels are in this case not barking on their own initiative but on orders. There exists no doubt that the action of the Brandlerists is a part of the general campaign against the Soviet Union.

In order to carry out the orders of social fascism tactfully, in order to show that the certificate that the Comintern is suffering from a serious and deadly illness is issued by competent people, the Brandler renegades chose a pretext in Comintern. This pretext is the resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany of 20th and 21st of March, which demands that, simultaneously with the fight against the Right danger as the main danger, a fierce fight be waged against "Left" sectarianism. Seizing upon this resolution, the Brandlerist renegades endeavoured, as qualified doctors who have themselves passed through the Comintern school, to demonstrate what progress the malady of the poor Comintern has made and how very necessary it is to undertake a surgical operation, — decapitation. This resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. G. denotes, according to the words of the Brandlerists, two serious errors: it means, in the first place, a "turn" which is only an ape-like mechanical imitation of an analogous "turn" carried out by the C. P. S. U., which was initiated by Stalin in his article "Many are being Rendered Giddy by the Successes", against the "Left deviations"; secondly, both "ultra-Left" course, but a belated and inconsistent retreat, which therefore is not capable of preserving the Comintern from slipping down into the abyss, but on the contrary, will accelerate its final plunge into the abyss. The Brandlerist renegades, who in alliance with the social-fascists would only too gladly push the Comintern into the abyss, are posing as school masters before it, to whom they are teaching the A. B. C. of Communism; but in spite of all their efforts they do not succeed in hiding their social-democratic donkey's ears, which stick out from behind their communist mask. Only an out and out social democrat could cite the above-mentioned resolution as evidence that the German C. C. is "aping" the Russian C. C.; only a hopeless social democrat (or donkey) can overlook such a simple fact, that, in spite of the different conditions under which the Russian proletariat on the one hand

and the proletariat of the capitalist countries on the other hand are fighting, these two sectors constitute a closely-welded united front of the proletarian revolution confronting the united front of the bourgeois world. Hence, the direction of the vacillations on both these sectors and, consequently, also the direction of the fight against these vacillations must in the very nature of things exactly coincide, although these vacillations, as regards their content, are different and in the one case find expression in a retreat from the general line of the Party in regard to one or other section of the peasantry, and in the other case relate to the social democrats and the reformist trade unions. Secondly, only out and out social democrats can fail to understand that in the given case neither in the C. P. G. nor in the C. P. S. U. can there be any talk of retreat, for the fight of the Communists against the "Left deviations" is not only not a retreat to Right opportunism, but, on the contrary, is an indispensable prerequisite for a successful fight against Right opportunism.

With this message the Brandlerists complete their transition to open counter-revolution. If we take a cursory glance at the path traversed by Brandler, then we perceive more clearly than ever how farseeing the Comintern was when, beginning with the year 1923, it uninterruptedly continued its fight against the Brandlerists, and how opportune was the expulsion of these people from the ranks of the Comintern.

Brandler began his career in the ranks of the German social-democracy as a Left by joining the Luxemburg wing. But he only imbibed from Rosa Luxemburg that which constituted her weak side, that which separated her from Lenin (a failure to realise the role of the Party, the importance of the hegemony of the proletariat, and the organisational tasks of the revolution). Therefore, even in his best days he was always inclined to replace the factor of revolutionary creative power of the masses by miserable bureaucratic gestures. Swept along by the general revolutionary stream, he took part in the Chemnitz revolt and in the March action. He thereby burned his fingers and never again committed such sins. When, after the March action, the Comintern pronounced against the so-called "offensive theory" by characterising the March action as a mistake, the sobered Brandler interpreted this in the Kautskyan manner, in the sense of an abandonment of the tactics of attack in general, in the sense of a strategy of wearing down the enemy, and set up the slogan "never attack again".

When, after the March days, Brandler stood before the court, he said: "We Communists do not by any means stake everything on revolt; we could, under certain preconditions, set up the dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany on the basis of paragraph 48 of the Weimar Constitution." This remarkable statement furnishes the key to an understanding of the whole of Brandlerism. In 1923 Brandler again imagined that he could carry out the revolution by bureaucratic methods. After he had concluded in Saxony a coalition with the "Left" social-democrat Zeigner, he kept strictly to the Constitution. At the same time he accepted the post of a business manager in order more easily to obtain weapons by legal means. On the other hand, he refused to issue the slogan of the general strike at the factory council Congress in Chemnitz, and gave the Hamburg insurgents the signal to retreat, on the assumption that the success of the revolution would be assured by the weapons which he had accumulated by means of those legal powers given to him by the Constitution without developing the revolutionary movement of the masses. On the eve of the coalition he said in the Comintern that "in Germany the power at present lies in the streets and one only needs to pick it up". When however it proved, as was to be expected, that power does not lie in the street, that a relentless fight must be conducted for this power, and that for this purpose it is indispensable to mobilise the masses, he capitulated without a fight. The legalist, bureaucratic cretinism and the organisational fetishism of Brandler, allied with political cowardice in face of the revolutionary spontaneity of the masses, led to his fatal capitulation in 1923.

This concluded the first stage of his leading political activity. When he had now been removed from the leadership of the C.P.G., he began, along with the theoretician Thalheimer, to elaborate that notorious theoretical platform of Brandlerism which constituted a generalisation of the disastrous "Saxon experiences"—a complete theory, draped with Communist phrases, of a peaceful growing into socialism (control of production and workers and peasants government, without armed revolt of the proletariat, without disarming the bourgeoisie and without Soviets). When he subsequently made the attempt, by fractional machinations, to establish again an opportunist leadership of the C.P.G., he was thrown out of the Comintern.

How comes it that the trio of political cowards and capitulators—Brandler, Thalheimer and Roy—have now, in their "Open Letter" to the Comintern, adopted such a "brave", such an unashamed tone? The reason is that they are no longer the former cowardly opportunists, who underestimate the forces of their class. They have long passed this stage. Following the logic of the renegades, they have gone over to the other class, to the front of the class enemy of the proletariat, and it is from this new source that they derive their bravery and their shamelessness. Behind all the shouting of the Brandlerists about the necessity of establishing a "united front" with the social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, behind their unending, dreary repetition that the German proletariat, with its old strong organisations and its organisational traditions, will not and cannot follow the path of the "Russian spontaneous revolutions", there lay hid their disbelief in the possibility of vanquishing the enemy by a revolutionary attack. Today they are concerned for the consolidation of the "united front" with the social democratic party **against the revolution**.

In their Open Letter, the Brandlerists make sneering references to the contradictions of the "Third period", to the "talk about the revolutionary upsurge", to the "growth of the revolutionary upsurge". They see only the successful attack of capital and of the bourgeoisie along the whole front. This estimation of the situation they already gave on the eve of their expulsion from the Comintern; and at that time it corresponded wholly and entirely to their capitulation theory. For a long time already they have completely disregarded such trifles as the fact that strike struggles break out in one area, that in another demonstrations accompanied by fights with the police are carried out, that in others the workers fraternise with the soldiers, that armed revolts are flaring up in the colonies. What is new about the Brandlerists today is, that they not only underestimate this growth of the revolutionary upsurge, but actively combat it, shoulder to shoulder with the social fascists; that, following the logic of renegades, they now come forward as an active counter-revolutionary force.

An open counter-revolutionary act, which they committed at the instigation of the social fascists, was their latest contemptible action against the Comintern, which they undertook at a time when preparations are being made for intervention against the Soviet Union. The manner in which they characterise the Comintern in their "Open Letter" is absolutely counter-revolutionary. The only thing that distinguishes them from the bourgeoisie, which is making preparations for war on the Soviet Union and to destroy the Communist Party, is their boundless opportunist stupidity. The bourgeoisie fears the Comintern more than anything in the world; it knows very well that a revolutionary ferment is going on in the masses; it knows very well that the only force which is capable of guiding the revolutionary upsurge, and is doing it, is the Comintern and its sections. Therefore, the bourgeoisie, every time the Comintern undertakes any international action, such as the action of August 1st or March 6th, mobilises all its forces—the social-fascist and fascist demagogic, its thugs and its police against it. The Brandlerists, however, are eagerly endeavouring to prove that the sections of the Comintern have already almost ceased to exist and that they have already lost all importance. The fundamental question, i. e. the political influence of the Sections of the Comintern on the broad masses and its connection with the mass struggles, is completely ignored by them. In order to prove the complete "collapse of forces", they seize upon false data and compare them with the strength of the membership of the social democratic parties as well as of the reformist trade unions. In doing so they omit all reference to the ever increasing number of cases where, in the last few years, the Communists have stood at the head of the strike movement and demonstrations; they forget to

mention the marches of the unemployed in Europe and America, the insurrections and partisan fights in the colonies, before all in India. Nay more, according to their opinion, all this must be booked to the debit side of the account of the Communist Parties, for that is "putschism" and "adventurism". Drawing the balance, they solemnly declare: The Comintern has disappeared from the arena!

The aim which the Brandlerists are pursuing is absolutely identical with that of the social-fascists. With garbled figures and distorted facts they say to the workers: abandon the revolutionary front! turn away from the Communist flag! for the Comintern has lost the game! With the same garbled figures and distorted facts they say to the bourgeoisie: attack the Soviet Union more boldly; the Soviet Republic will not be defended by anybody. The true meaning of their declarations is not in the least altered by the fact that they hypocritically state: We are also for the Soviet Union, we are also for the proletarian revolution! It is precisely on account of these "reservations" that the bourgeoisie needs them; they have to make these "reservations" in order to be able to come before the workers as capable false witnesses.

"The dead travel rapidly", and the Brandlerists have travelled far since they proceeded along the path of the renegades. Already at the beginning, when they stood at the parting of the ways, they sharply opposed our designating the social democrats as social-fascists. But they did not yet deny that the leaders of the social democracy are counter-revolutionaries. At that time they justified their refusal to designate the social democrats as social-fascists with the argument that Noske caused workers to be shot down already in 1918/19, but nevertheless nobody at that time called the social democrats social-fascists; that nothing has altered since that time; that the leaders of the social democrats have remained the same counter-revolutionaries and that there is no reason for changing the tactics towards and intensifying the fight against them. Today they no longer speak of the counter-revolutionary spirit of the social democratic policy but only of its inexpediency. Today they describe the social democrats as their "colleagues". Today they speak of the united front in the sense of "temporary alliances and temporary compromises with the social democrats", whilst in practice they have a permanent alliance with them. Today at the factory council elections they put up common lists with the social democrats against the Communists. Today they implore the bourgeoisie parties not to dissolve the coalition with the social democracy. Today they beseech the workers at the municipal elections to strive for the formation of a "red workers majority", i. e. a majority consisting of social democrats and Brandlerists.

At first the Brandlerists fiercely opposed the new course of the Comintern and of the R.I.L.U., whereby they used the argument that this new course would lead to an independent leadership of economic strikes and against the trade union bureaucrats, to an isolation of the Communist Parties from the trade union organised masses and to a loss of their influence over the latter. At first they defended the slogan "Compel the bureaucrats!" but that is already a stage long passed. Already at the time of the Ruhr lockout they endeavoured, in union with the trade union bureaucrats, to sabotage the fight; today strike-breaking has become a system with them and they quite openly incite the government against the Communists and the revolutionary workers. They have today become open counter-revolutionaries.

Today the Brandlerists differ from the "Left" social fascists only in that they form a permanent united front with the social-fascists, maintain their organisational independence and call themselves "a communist tendency". But this "independence" is necessary in order to be better able to carry out the special commissions of the bourgeoisie. Their task as erstwhile members of the Communist International and present renegades of Communism consists not only in restraining the revolutionary workers from going over into the Communist camp, but also, as far as lies in their power, in causing disintegration in the Comintern in order to maintain connection with the secret Brandlerists who still remain in the Comintern.

When the Comintern expelled the Brandlerists from its ranks it displayed the greatest foresight. Today it is evident how correct this measure was. The Comintern, when it expelled the Brandlerists from its ranks, was guided by that which Lenin wrote in the year 1920 in his article: "False talk about Freedom":

"That the revolutionary crisis is ripening in Italy is seen and recognised by everybody... The most essential, the absolutely essential thing for the victory of the revolution in Italy, is that there arises as the real advance guard of the revolutionary proletariat in Italy, a real Communist Party, which at the decisive moment does not vacillate and does not display any weakness... It is necessary to gain the victory in an extraordinarily difficult fight demanding great sacrifices; it is necessary to defend the captured power in a situation when the bourgeoisie of the whole world are resorting to the most monstrous assassinations, intrigues, calumnies, insinuations and acts of violence. At such a moment, in such a situation, the Party must be a hundred times firmer, more determined, bolder, more heroic, and pitiless than in ordinary or less difficult times. At such a moment and in such a situation the Party will be a hundred times stronger,

and not weaker, if such Mensheviks as the participants in the Conference at Reggio Emilia of 11th October, 1920, are excluded". (Lenin, collected works, volume XXV, page 578, German edition.)

Today we see how right Lenin was, and how right the Comintern was when it followed the advice of Lenin with regard to the Brandlerists. The moment of decisive fights has not yet arrived, but the Brandlerists, in alliance with the social-fascists, are already taking part in the crusade against the Soviet Republic and the Communist International.

When the German proletariat comes into power, the Brandlerists, along with the social fascists, will have to pay for their betrayal of the Comintern, for their anti-Soviet actions, for their blacklegging activity, for their provocative work, for the true services rendered by them to the bourgeoisie.

## 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.

(Conclusion.)

The Right renegades are drawing precisely this conclusion. As there does not exist an equally rising strike wave, according to their opinion there is no revolutionary upsurge. Only a scholastic talmudist, but no revolutionary can put the question like that. The revolutionary advance cannot proceed everywhere at an equal pace. Secondly, it can find expression not only in economic strikes but also in other forms of the class struggle. It is not necessary that only one form of this movement should determine the growth or the decline of the characteristic features of the revolutionary advance by lifeless opportunist schemes, according to which the advance means the increase of strikes not only from month to month, from week to week, but from day to day. Finally, in analysing the strikes we must regard as a symptom of upsurge the forms which these strikes assume. The English General strike of 1926 was a very important event of the class struggle, but it proceeded under extreme peaceful forms, whilst the present partial strikes bear a fighting character. The present strike struggles are in particular characterised by the fact that they are not merely directed against the employers and their State, but also against the reformist trade union bureaucracy, against social fascism. Almost every contemporary strike is not only a conflict between labour and capital, but a focus of the class struggle, which requires great heroism and determination on the part of the proletariat. Therefore, the present strike struggles have a great importance as schools of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Can we assert, however, comrades, that the strike struggles everywhere bear a political character? In an absolute form such an assertion would be wrong. We have to analyse the character of these strikes in each individual case.

If we take the largest capitalist countries we can assert that here the movement is still for the greater part an economic movement. Here we cannot yet speak of a growing over of the economic struggles into political ones. In these countries the Communists must still work very hard in order to induce the masses to realise the slogan of the political mass strike. Here and there we perceive already the first symptoms of such a growing over of the economic struggles into political ones. We witness, for instance, that the solidarity strikes are beginning to spread. In France 16 per cent. of the total number of strikes in 1929 were solidarity strikes. In Germany also we can observe an advance in this respect. The strike at the Opel works, which broke out as a result of the dismissal of a Communist, signa-

lises more than appears at first sight. As is known, in England the MacDonald Government is applying the penal law of the Conservatives on the trade unions against solidarity strikes and in general against political strikes.

If we examine the strike movement in the smaller capitalist countries we find here more elements of the political struggle than in the strike movement of the greatest capitalist countries. In Rumania the strike movement and the demonstrations proceeded under the slogan of the defence of the revolutionary trade unions. In Greece the strike movement is linked up with the defence of peasants' demands. In the colonial countries, for instance in India, the strike movement is being linked up with the demands of the national revolutionary emancipation struggle. Here the growth of the elements of the political strike proceeds much more rapidly than in the big capitalist countries. It would, however, be a mistake to generalise these phenomena and not to see the unevenness which characterises the present strike movements.

A characteristic feature of the present strike movement is the fact that it is more frequently accompanied by street demonstrations, collisions with the police, with the gendarmerie, the military, blacklegs and social fascist spies. As a result the workers are more and more realising the necessity of linking up the economic struggle with the political one.

It is a new fact since the X. Plenum that the labour movement has broken through the frame of the fascist dictatorship in a number of countries of the white terror. Can it be denied that the open actions of the workers in Italy, in Rumania, for the first time since a number of years of the most unbridled fascist reaction, reflect the growth of the revolutionary upsurge?

A third characteristic feature of the revolutionary advance is the unemployed movement. Such a movement, of such dimensions and in such a form did not exist at the time of the X. Plenum. There are at present in the whole world about 17 million proletarians whom capitalist society has delivered over to starvation and misery. This mass is not inclined to perish humbly. It lets itself be heard by means of stormy demonstrations, putting to Parliaments and municipal councils the demand: work and bread. This mass is being betrayed by the "Labour" Ministers, by the social democratic party. The social fascist bandits are endeavouring by all means to separate the movement of the working class from the movement of the unemployed in order to be able to defeat the troops of the working class separately. In the present conditions of the crisis the unemployed movement is very important. It revolutionises the whole class struggle of the proletariat by the exposure of the nature of the bourgeois-fascist government

policy of the social democrat Muller in Germany and MacDonald-Thomas in Great Britain.

The international importance of the unemployed movement was fully realised by the Conference of European Communist Parties, who fixed 6th of March as International Fighting Day against Unemployment. The 6th of March was not to be a day of the isolated unemployed movement, but had to be a fighting day of the whole international working class against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to cast all the burdens of the approaching world economic crisis upon their shoulders.

The fourth characteristic feature of the revolutionary upsurge is, finally, the fact that the peasant reserves, both in the capitalist countries and in the colonies, are drawing nearer to the revolutionary movement as a result of the world agrarian crisis. We recently had peasant movements in Germany and on the Isle of Crete; unrest among the peasants in connection with the unbearable tax burdens in Poland and South Italy. We see a commencing movement of the peasant masses in India, symptoms of which are: the movement of the Indian Sikhs (former soldiers), who are demanding land and who attended the peasants conference in Punjab at which about 25,000 peasants participated. We further see in connection with the agrarian crisis a wave of revolts of the natives in Haiti, in Lower Nigeria and in other colonies. In addition, we witness since the X. Plenum the decay of the Nanking reaction, the new outbreak of the generals' war in China and the rise of favourable preconditions for a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in China.

All this together proves the further rise of the revolutionary wave since the X. E.C.C.I. Plenum, which is only overlooked by people who rejected it also in the past. Can we, however, draw the conclusion from this that the international labour movement is passing from the stage of counter-offensive in which it was at the time of the X. Plenum to the offensive on the whole front?

Some people think in view of the fact that the X. Plenum characterised the upsurge of the labour movement as a counter-offensive, we are now entitled to speak of a general attack of the proletariat.

To put the question in this manner means, at bottom, to go over to the standpoint of the Brandlerists, to their estimation of the revolutionary upsurge. According to them the revolutionary upsurge exists only if it grows within a few weeks into a revolutionary situation, into decisive struggles of the proletariat for power. Up to then we can only speak of a retreat of the working class and a reaction in the labour movement. In reality, however, the revolutionary upsurge does not at all exclude an attack of the bourgeoisie, but it presupposes the capacity of the proletariat to resist this attack. To deny this attack of the bourgeoisie on the working class in connection with the approaching world crisis would mean to deny facts.

Some comrades are inclined to put the question of the immediate influence of the crisis upon the revolutionary upsurge quite mechanically. They say: The crisis is inevitably followed by the revolutionary upsurge. What did Lenin say in 1908, when the economic crisis broke out in the old Tsarist Russia? A lively discussion developed at that time in our Party movement. Some of our comrades maintained that as a result of the crisis not only the economic but also the political struggles would be weakened; others thought that the weakening of the economic struggle would be accompanied by a strengthening of the political struggle; and there were some who believed in a general revolutionary upsurge of the labour movement as a result of the crisis. Lenin wrote in connection with this discussion:

"We believe that something is wrong, at bottom, in all these statements, i. e. that they simplify a complicated question. There is no doubt that a thorough study of the industrial crisis is of the greatest importance. It can further not be doubted that no figures regarding the crisis, not even the most exact ones, can decide the question for or against an immediate revolutionary upsurge, for this upsurge depends upon thousands of factors which cannot be calculated beforehand. Without the general basis of an agrarian crisis in the country and without a depression in industry deep political crises are impossible."

(Emphasised by me. M.)

Of course, we do not wish to compare the situation of 1930, which is characterised by an upsurge of the world labour

movement, with the period of the decline of this movement in 1908 in old Russia. This does not mean however that the manner in which Lenin approached the question of the connection of crisis with the revolutionary upsurge is obsolete. Even now we cannot predict the date of the growing of the present revolutionary upsurge into a revolutionary situation. We only know that the present world agrarian crisis, plus the approaching industrial crisis furnish the basis for deep general political crises in the capitalist countries. Precisely for this reason the present situation makes it incumbent upon all sections of the C. I. to "feel with greatest attention the pulse of the whole political life in the country and in particular the position of the movement and the mood of broad proletarian masses". (Lenin.)

Whether the present economic crisis will grow into a general political crisis depends on a number of factors, and before all on the subjective factor, on the power and fighting capacity of the Communist Parties. Therefore, we draw the attention of all sections of the Comintern to this subjective factor, as one of the most decisive preconditions of whether we shall succeed—and how quickly and when—in utilising the present consequences of the crisis in order to lead the masses into the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Thus we come to the main question of the X. Plenum, to its strategic thesis on the capture of the majority of the working class.

The task of capturing the majority of the working class is becoming more immediate under the condition of the approaching world crisis than it was at the time of the X. Plenum. More favourable preconditions are arising for the success of the Communist Parties. Is it not clear that the preconditions for the conversion of the Communist Party of America into a mass party of the working class are now much more favourable than at the time of the X. Plenum? Are not the preconditions in Germany and Poland in February 1930 for capturing the majority of the working class much better than they were six months ago?

In our tactical attitude also we must draw the appropriate conclusions, we must grow much more quickly than hitherto. Not only the influence of the Communists upon the masses but also the number of the members of the Communist Parties must grow. Precisely now we must liquidate the disproportion between the ideological influence and the organisational hold on the masses. At the same time our growth must be accompanied by a decline in the influence of social democracy upon the labour movement. It is quite useless to speak of a revolutionary upsurge if we are not able to deal hard blows to the social democrats in regard to the leading role in the labour movement.

The revolutionary upsurge presupposes a great systematic work, which must be daily performed by the Communists in order not to drag at the tail of the movement. Before all we must put an end to the extremely harmful theory of the spontaneity and the elementary movement in our work. The "philosophy" of the heroes of spontaneity consists in the following: As history works for us and capitalism is approaching its doom, the Communists need only wait for the great historical catastrophe, which will sweep away both the social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, will raise the Communist Parties to the leading position in the labour movement.

This theory of passivity, of disbelief in the creative power of the Communist idea under the conditions of the revolutionary daily work, is in reality a symptom of opportunist khvostism, without overcoming which the Communist Parties cannot make any advance in the struggle for the masses. Such conceptions reflect at the same time the inability to understand the organisational role of the Party in the labour movement.

Let us take, for instance, the experience we had at the time of the X. Plenum in Austria. There the political crisis was developing on the basis of a serious economic depression. The social democrats had capitulated to fascism before the eyes of hundreds of thousands of workers who supported them. It seemed as if there existed the preconditions for the Communist Party of Austria to wean away great sections of workers from Austrian social democracy and of becoming itself a mass party of the Austrian working class. In spite of this, the Communist Party remained in numbers the same small organisation as it was on the eve of the 15th of July 1927. Does not this experience of a very serious defeat of our Austrian Party reveal our chief mistake: the incapability to lead mass movements, the incapability to express that which is stirring the

masses? And the resulting lagging behind the pace of intensifying class struggle? We have journalists who are able to write a good article, theses, resolutions, we have agitators who are conscientiously repeating the statements of the theses, but we have very few people capable of leading mass movements, of winning the confidence of the masses, of consolidating among them the authority of the Party. If in Austria the struggle against fascism had grown into civil war, it is clear that the latter would have passed our Party by. And this is now the greatest danger for the majority of the Sections of the Communist International.

The majority of the Sections of the Comintern has not yet emerged from the stage of agitation and propaganda. But the whole course of the class struggle now sets us already great tasks. The crisis, which is enormously deteriorating the standard of living of the masses, brings them into movement and draws new sections of the working class to us. But are the Communist Parties prepared for this? Have they sufficiently undermined the soil beneath social democracy? Have they sufficiently strong organisational points of support in the masses which would enable them to meet the events not only fully equipped but also to accelerate the development, to lead the movement, to stand at its head? Have we already conquered decisive positions within the working class among the transport workers, the miners, the metal workers, the chemical and electricity workers? Here lies before us a piece of untouched work, of systematic, intensive, patient work.

There are two alternatives: either we make use of the lessons in Austria in order to draw the attention of all sections of the Comintern to this systematic work, as the precondition for the deepening and extension of the revolutionary upsurge, or we place our hope, as the Austrian comrades did, in the "miracle" of conversion of the Communist Parties into mass parties as a result of the objectively revolutionary situation.

Where is the main link of the chain which the Communist Parties must seize in order to mobilise the broad masses for the struggle against approaching fascism and social fascism, against the bourgeoisie, which is casting all the burdens of the crisis upon the toiling masses? This main link is at present connected with questions of wages, working hours, unemployment, with the strike struggle and the unemployed movement. Only a powerful movement of the international working class will furnish a firm basis for the national revolutionary colonial movement and sharpen the forms of struggle in those European countries which are the weakest link in the capitalist chain.

If we wish the working class to apply higher fighting forms than the economic strike, then we must not stand idly by, but work at the co-ordination of the struggles, at their growing into political ones, we must not only propagate the slogan of the X. Plenum regarding the political mass strike, but bring the masses, by our leadership of the economic struggles, to carry out the political mass strike.

At the same time we must set the Communist Parties in every country the most important tasks for the next few months, by making use of the experiences which we have had since the X. Plenum. In a number of countries the Communist Parties have already approached these important tasks and are showing the path to the other Sections of the Comintern. The experience of the recruiting campaigns of the German and American Parties must be internationalised. All sections of the Comintern must carry through recruitment work, not in the form of a short campaign, but as systematic daily work of their organisations. In our work we must adopt another tempo than hitherto; these tempi must correspond to the present level of the revolutionary upsurge. Our tempi are suited to a quiet and not stormy period. It is, for instance, significant that the Paris organisation, the organisation of a town comprising two million workers, pledges itself, when challenged by the Berlin organisation, to recruit in all 1,000 new members and 200 members for the Young Communist League.

Passing to the most important problems facing the various sections, we consider the central task of the Communist Party of Germany during the next few months to be the most active work in the reformist trade unions, the consolidation of the ranks of the revolutionary trade union opposition, the perfection of its organisation and the reinforcement of its centre. For the Communist Party of France, the extending of the organisational basis of the Communist Party through committees set up in the factories to defend the economic demands of the working class, to defend the "Humanité", the Party and

the Red trade unions against reactionary repression. For the Communist Party of Great Britain, the strengthening of the "Daily Worker" in every possible way, by establishing organisational links with the workers in the factories and transforming the "Daily Worker" into a paper which organises the working class, as "Pravda" did in the years of revolutionary revival of the working class movement in Russia (1912-1913). For the Communist Party of America, the strengthening of the new trade unions, which are called upon to play the part of the framework for the whole Communist movement in America. For the Communist Party of Italy, such an organisational reconstruction of the Party as will answer to the requirements of the revival of the working class movement, and will assist the mass of the workers to pass more and more frequently to open action against the fascist dictatorship. For the Communist Party of Poland, deeper penetration into the trade unions with the object of destroying the influence of the P.P.S. therein, and more determined efforts to swing into action the basic Polish peasantry.

For the colonial countries, the setting up of Communist Parties where they do not exist up to the present (India) and the strengthening in every possible way of those Communist Parties which exist (China), as an elementary condition for the success of the struggle of the young colonial proletariat for the hegemony of the national revolutionary movement; and the most stubborn work of the Communists in drawing the peasant masses into the revolutionary movement.

For the Communist Parties of Latin America, work at the strengthening of the independent role of the Communist Parties, their cleansing from survivals of petty-bourgeois radicalism, their penetration into the trade unions, their active participation in the developing revolutionary movement of the masses.

The tasks which we set ourselves for the next few months, are apparently very modest. There is nothing grandiose in them, no new brilliant slogans, no clever, pretentious, "new words". But these tasks confronting every Communist Party, can be understood by every rank and file Communist, who, in constant contact with the masses, realises all our weaknesses and defects much more strongly. These tasks are not separated from the great work which thousands of Communist Party members are performing in the factories: they are permeated by the experience acquired in months and years of the revolutionary movement. These tasks lie on the line of revolutionary upsurge, on the line of the struggle of the working class, not by words but by deeds, for the overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. To carry out these tasks means to work for the proletarian revolution and its victory. It means to set up the enormously broad front, to draw in the backward elements, to keep the advance-guard together, to consolidate the rear, to mobilise the giant army of the toilers of the whole world for the last decisive struggle. And only on such conditions will the general staffs of the revolutionary world movement — the Communist Parties — be able to say firmly and calmly at a decisive historical turn of events, the date of which cannot be predicted by us: "We are prepared!"

## Resolution on the Report of the E. C. of the C.P.S.U.

Having heard Comrade Molotov's report on the situation in the U.S.S.R., the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. declares that the new, gigantic successes achieved in the socialist advance of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., headed by its vanguard the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, represent a great victory for the world proletariat.

Already at its X. Plenum the E.C.C.I. noted the surging growth of Socialist industry and the mighty enthusiasm of the proletariat engaged in the building up of Socialism, and emphasised that the Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction was a great achievement not only for the masses of the toilers in the U.S.S.R. but for the whole international proletariat. The results obtained in the first year of the five year period show that not only is the Plan being carried out but that there is every possibility of it being exceeded. The rate of increase of production in industry continues to rise and has considerably exceeded the level intended for the second year of the five year period. The productivity of labour is increasing and considerably improved technical conditions for further success in

this sphere are assured. The increase in capital investments in new construction in the first year was 50 per cent greater than the increase estimated in the Plan. Heavy industry is making great headway and its rate of increase is considerably higher than the average rate of increase in industry as a whole. Even in the sphere of the circulation of commodities enormous progress has been made (93 per cent of the total trade of the country is already in the hands of government and co-operative organisations). Simultaneously, notwithstanding all the specific difficulties attending Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, a further numerical growth of the working class is to be noted, wages are rising, a considerable proportion of the industrial enterprises in the country have adopted the 7-hour day and the uninterrupted working week, unemployment is declining, a constant improvement in the service of the cultural and social requirements of the broad masses of workers is taking place.

The most outstanding success of the past year has been the development of mass collective farming covering entire districts of vast area and that about one-half of the small individual peasants farms in the country are already being organised in huge collective farms.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. regards as a tremendous victory for the advance of Socialism the fact that the Soviet Government will soon be able to procure more than half of the marketable grain of the country from collective and State farms. This circumstance must profoundly affect the relation of class forces within the country and in the sphere of international relations.

The rapid development of collective farming solves the most difficult problem that confronted the dictatorship of the proletariat, videlicet the problem of bringing the millions of individual peasant farms into the orbit of the social revolution. The surging collective farm movement which is sweeping all obstacles from its path, has refuted all the bourgeois reformist theories to the effect that small individual farming is "sounder" and "more profitable" than large scale farming. This mass movement finally destroys the Menshevik conception adopted by Trotsky and his adherents regarding the anti-revolutionary character of the peasantry as a whole and the inability of the proletariat to lead the main masses of the rural population towards Socialism. This movement also uproots the principal postulate of the Right Wing opportunists that the collectivisation policy is fraught with the danger of a rupture between the working class and the peasantry and may cause a failure of grain collections and diminution of area of cultivation.

The success of the mass collective farm movement which renders possible the substitution of large-scale collective agriculture for capitalist (kulak) farming, puts before the proletarian dictatorship the immediate task of liquidating the kulaks as a class. In view of the fact that the kulaks represent the class in the Soviet Union which until recently sustained the capitalist basis of production, the policy of liquidating them as a class will accelerate the turn of the masses of small and middle peasants towards Socialism and simultaneously will deprive the international bourgeoisie of one of its strongest positions, viz. the support of the kulak counterrevolution in the U.S.S.R. Hence, every successful step taken in collective farming marks a further stage on the road to the victory of the international October Revolution. The successful development of the collective farming must serve as a clarion call to the world proletariat and the oppressed masses of peasants in all countries to fight for the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. regards as a certain guarantee of the triumph of Socialism the fact that the collective farm movement in the U.S.S.R. is truly a movement of millions of small and middle peasants for whom the twelve years of unexampled struggle led by the proletariat and its Party, have opened wide prospects for the future. By striving towards collective farming the broad masses of the peasantry are completely breaking with the dismal past; this striving imbues them with a strong desire for cultural development and for a complete change in the mode of peasant life. The organised participation of these masses in the collective farm movement, in which the voluntary principle is guaranteed, accelerates the process of welding together the main masses of the peasantry with the industrial proletariat, provides the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry with a firm

productive base and thus leads to the elimination of the antagonism between town and country.

The growth of the leading influence of the proletarian town in relation to the countryside, in which all vestiges of the past are being destroyed, acquires still greater importance for the reason that the successful advance of socialism has aroused a fresh wave of tremendous enthusiasm and an active spirit of creativeness among the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., the vehicle of the dictatorship and the leader in the Social revolution.

The greatly increased activity of the workers finds expression in their increased labour enthusiasm, in the discovery of new methods of Socialist construction, in the powerful movement in favour of new forms of organised activity, in the shock brigade movement and Socialist competition, in the mobilisation of workers' brigades for the rural districts to aid the collective farms, in the striving to acquire knowledge of science and technique, and in growing international action.

A most striking expression of the increased political activity of the working class in the U.S.S.R. is the extraordinarily rapid growth of the Communist Party whose ranks the workers are now joining in large numbers, whole factory departments collectively applying for membership.

This rapidly increasing confidence of the working masses in the Leninist Party is a direct confirmation of the correctness of its leadership. The broad masses of the workers realise more and more that decisive success on the Socialist front is inseparably bound up with the correct line of the Party, which has nothing in common with either the anti-Leninist policy of running too far ahead and excessive use of administrative methods (which was characteristic of the line advocated by Trotsky and later by the Zinoviev opposition), or with the anti-Leninist policy of unlimited concessions to the capitalist elements, the course advocated by the followers of Bukharin's theory regarding the kulaks "growing into Socialism".

The C.P.S.U. is firmly carrying out its policy under the most difficult conditions, in which the Socialist advance encounters the stubborn resistance of all the anti-proletarian, anti-Socialist, and, in fact, counter-revolutionary forces at home and abroad. The Communist International takes note of the hopeless attempts of the class enemies to disrupt the cause of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., greets the revolutionary struggle the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government is waging against the kulaks, against the saboteurs and against all the agents of the international counter-revolution. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. declares that the struggle the C.P.S.U. is waging against these enemies is the struggle of the whole Communist International and that it is determined to wage this struggle with the utmost persistence and ruthlessness.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. is convinced that the correct leadership of the working class and the mobilisation of all its creative forces necessary for completely surmounting difficulties will be further assured if the C.P.S.U. continues persistently its irreconcilable struggle against all hesitation and vacillation and for a clear-cut class line. All Sections of the Communist International must learn from the invaluable experience of the C.P.S.U., whose strength lies in its command of the Leninist art of leadership of the masses, in its Bolshevik tenacity in the struggle against distortions of the Party line, its systematic verification of the Party forces and in the close unity between the Party and the proletarian masses based on wide and thoroughgoing self-criticism.

In greeting the Leninist leadership of the C.P.S.U. in the name of the Sections of the Communist International the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. declares that the Comintern fully and unreservedly supports the irreconcilable struggle of the C.P.S.U. and its Central Committee for the principles of Leninism, for the Leninist line of the Party, for the complete defeat of the Right deviation and conciliation and against all manifestations of radical phrasemongering which is an echo of the petty-bourgeois, hysterical demagogic of Trotskyism, which has by now definitely revealed its counter-revolutionary nature.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. once again declares that the fight against deviations within the C.P.S.U. and in all Sections of the Communist International is a matter of enormous importance and it notes with satisfaction that the C.P.S.U. has been consolidated on the basis of the Leninist line, which is the only correct line and the defeat of all elements and tendencies threatening to weaken the fighting capacity of the Party.

The success of the Five-Year Plan and especially the Socialistic transformation of the countryside is the true cause of the growing imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R.

Held in the throes of implacable antagonisms which have been aggravated by the crisis in the United States, unable to prevent the spread of this crisis to other capitalist countries, imperialism sees in the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan the collapse of its own plans. The success of the Five-Year Plan. While strengthening the positions of the proletarian dictatorship and of Socialism, frustrates all the plans of the bourgeoisie to overcome the Soviet Government by economic pressure. The Young Plan, which is a plan to plunder the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses of Europe, and especially of Germany, for the benefit of the imperialists (primarily of the United States) has its sharp edge directed against the U.S.S.R.

In proportion as the Socialist positions guaranteeing a constant rise in the material and cultural level of the masses of the toilers in the U.S.S.R. are strengthened, the more successfully the unemployment problem is solved in the process of Socialist development, the more difficult will it become for imperialism to carry through the most important items of its programme, i. e. of shifting all the burdens of the crisis upon the shoulders of the masses of the workers in capitalist and colonial countries by still further rationalisation, by wholesale discharging of more workers, by imposing new taxes. The striking contrast presented by the decaying capitalist world, and the building up of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. more than ever attracts the gaze of the labouring and oppressed masses of all countries to the Soviet Union as a powerful bulwark in their struggle for emancipation, which day by day is accelerating the process of corrosion of capitalist stabilisation.

The innumerable acts of provocation against the U.S.S.R., the howl raised against the land of the proletarian dictatorship by the bourgeoisie and its armour bearers—the social-fascists in alliance with the Pope of Rome and all the obscurantist forces of the old world—are nothing but a call for the defence of the kulak, for a crusade against the international proletarian revolution, primarily against the stronghold of this revolution, the Soviet Union.

The immediate aim of the imperialists is at all costs to check the further advance of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. This calls for greater vigilance than ever on the part of the international proletariat; more than ever before must all Sections of the Communist International be on the alert.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. again reminds all Sections of the Communist International of the decisions passed concerning the organisation of the defence of the country of the proletarian dictatorship—the only fatherland of the toiling masses of all countries.

Presidium of the E.C.C.I. fervently greets the working class and progressive peasantry of the U.S.S.R. and the Red Army and assures them that the spreading class conflicts of the proletariat and all the oppressed are inseparably bound up with the defence of the U.S.S.R., the successful fulfilment of its great plan, in the practical carrying out of which the toilers of all countries have for the first time in the history of the class struggle clearly discerned their own path to the triumph of Socialism the world over.

## The Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Resolution adopted by the C. C. of the C. P. G. B. and endorsed by the Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

1. The maturing world economic crisis finds acute expression in Britain in the increased depression in industry which has continued for the last ten years. This is clearly emphasised in the growing unemployment; wage reductions in the basic industries; intensification of labour in all the factories; continuous application of rationalisation, resolving themselves into a growing offensive against the working class, carried out under the direction of the MacDonald Government.

The illusions of the workers, which grew with the rise of the Labour Party to power (pacifist illusions, Mondism, Industrial Peace, etc.) are being destroyed by the Labour Government's concrete actions against the toiling masses, both in Britain and the colonies. This situation creates a favourable situation for the growth and development of the influence of the Communist Party amongst the working class and for its conversion into a mass Party.

2. While the Communist Party of Great Britain has a number of achievements to record such as, the considerable work the Party has carried on in connection with the unemployed movement, the extensive work of enlightenment it has commenced to expose the social fascist character of the Labour Government (the Meerut trial, unemployment, etc.), and the publication of a daily paper, nevertheless, it has not adequately carried out the fundamental political task of the Party, viz. to expose the anti-proletarian character of the so-called Labour Government. This campaign has not yet acquired the mass character that is absolutely essential. The role of the Labour Government in the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, as well as in the Five Power Naval Conference have not been adequately explained by the Party. The Party fell short of its duty in exposing the brutal suppression of the revolutionary movement in the British colonies by the Labour Government.

Economic conflicts in the mining and textile industries and transport have not been fully utilised by the Party for the purpose of advancing political slogans together with economic demands. Where political slogans were advanced they were mechanically attached to economic demands. The work of the Party in the mining and textile districts was not sufficiently active in regard to the maturing struggles and the Party has lacked a broad revolutionary perspective in these basic British industries, which after a number of years of depression are becoming involved in the growing world economic crisis.

There has not been a clear and consistent exposure and explanation of the role of the Labour Government in the economic struggles and the Party has completely neglected to link up the fight against the Labour Government with the fight against the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy, which are part of the Governmental apparatus for attack upon the working class and for the carrying out of its whole imperialist policy.

3. The Party can successfully conduct this struggle only if it rids itself of all sectarian tendencies, and increases its work in the mass organisations on the basis of the tactics of the united front from below. Effective mass work can be carried on only if the Party strengthens its work in the Minority Movement and systematically builds up the Minority Movement in the factories on the basis of economic struggles.

A marked tendency is observed in the Party to drop all work inside the reformist trade unions. This is a grave mistake; the present period calls for a more active organisation of Communist fractions and increased activity in all the reformist trade unions.

The Party must exert strenuous efforts to increase the ranks of the Young Communist League which can and must be transformed into an instrument for winning to our side the masses of the working class youth. The Party must assign a number of Party members to work in the League.

4. The publication of the Daily Worker is an enormous achievement for the Party and marks a turning point in the history of the Party and of the British working class.

However, the political level of the paper reflects the weaknesses and defects in the organisation of the political work of the Party. The paper lacks a clear political plan of work and fails to give a consistent political line. A permanent, systematic campaign explaining the anti-proletarian character of the Labour Government is not being carried on. The conflicts in the mining and textile industries are treated in a haphazard manner without sufficient explanation of their significance. The ideological struggle against the Right tendencies is not being carried on. The paper does not give any news whatever of Party life and activity and the tasks of building up the Party are not explained in its columns. Although the paper publishes plentiful news of working class struggles, the Party character of the paper finds very inadequate expression. The articles do not adequately show that the paper is the organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain

nor is this seen from the heading of the paper. The problem of extending and strengthening the Minority Movement finds an insignificant place in the paper.

Worker correspondence, of which there is a considerable amount in the paper, and which constitutes one of its most important political features, is not properly treated or properly utilised in the "Daily Worker".

5. All these shortcomings in the "Daily Worker" reflect not only the weakness of the political work of the Party but also the lack of a clear understanding of the propaganda, agitational and especially of the organisational role of the paper for a Party so numerically and organisationally weak as is the C.P.G.B., and of its role as a means of rallying and training Party forces and of extending and deepening the influence of the Party among the masses.

The "Daily Worker" must be transformed into a mass militant Party newspaper reflecting the political needs of the working class. The paper must come out openly as the organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain and must be throughout a consistent, militant, Communist organ. The paper must give general news of a wide character which must be treated in such a manner as to enable the Party to intensify the political education of the workers. This can be done most effectively by a proper political selection and treatment of news of current events and general information as will systematically help to increase the class consciousness of the workers and to counteract the pernicious influence of the capitalist press. The paper must give publicity to Party life in order that the material thus published may serve to train the members of the Party and to raise their political and ideological level. The paper must give considerable attention to all the mass work of the Party and provide facilities for all sympathetic united front organisations to have their work adequately treated.

The organisation of worker correspondents into local and factory groups and the calling of conferences of worker correspondents must serve as important links for strengthening the paper's contact with the masses.

6. The "Daily Worker" and the Party must utilise the weapon of revolutionary competition to ensure the circulation of the paper in the factories as well as in organising a strenuous campaign among the workers for financial support for the Daily. In this connection the Party should set itself the task of raising the circulation of the D.W. to 50,000 and collecting not less than 5,000 £ within the next three months.

The Party has failed to understand that the distribution of the "Daily Worker", in view of the sabotage of the bourgeois news agencies, is a matter of decisive political importance and requires that the Politbureau and the local Party organisations appoint special organisers who shall be responsible for this work and that special organisations be set up in the factories for the purpose of securing support for and the distribution of the paper (Friends of the "Daily Worker" groups, and similar organisations).

7. With a view to raising the level of the paper, the following measures must be undertaken:

(a) The Polit. Bureau must regularly discuss at its meetings the plan of work of the paper and lay down what political questions should be taken up in the paper, the manner in which they are to be treated, what campaigns are to be carried on, which economic conflicts are to be systematically dealt with and what measures the Party must take to get these campaigns carried out.

(b) The Politbureau must regularly hear and discuss reports on the organisation of the distribution of the paper by Party and sympathetic organisations.

(c) A careful study must be made of the workers' correspondence and that special articles be devoted to the most important letters so that the worker correspondents may see that their work constitutes a particularly important part of the paper.

(d) That Friends of the "Daily Worker" Committees be formed for the purpose of extending the circulation of the paper and mobilising financial assistance. Special attention must also be paid to utilising the worker correspondents as a means of organising the sale of the paper in the factories.

(e) To take up systematically in the paper questions of the ideological struggle against Right tendencies both in the C.P.G.B. and the other Sections of the C.I.

(f) In developing self-criticism especially to concentrate attention on combating opportunism in practice.

8. The above tasks can be effectively carried out only if the Communist Party of Great Britain is converted into a mass Communist Party. It is necessary therefore to initiate a mass recruiting campaign utilising the weapon of revolutionary competition.

Factory cell must compete with factory cell, local with local, district with district in a recruiting campaign to win not less than 2,500 new members in the next three months. The success of the American Party in its present recruiting campaign should serve the C.P.G.B. as an example of what can be done when this is taken up with sufficient energy.

In this campaign the "Daily Worker" has a specially important role to play. The non-Party readers, distributors and correspondents represent the most suitable elements for recruiting into the Party and all efforts must be made to win them to our ranks.

There must be an end to the passivity and sectarianism which has characterised the attitude of the Party towards recruiting in the past. The party must not be a sect, but the leader of the working class, and its doors must be thrown wide open to admit all workers who are genuinely anxious to join the Party and to participate in the Party's revolutionary struggles.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### Ten Years of Socialist Work in Azerbaijan.

Moscow, 29th April 1930.

Ten years ago to-day the Soviet power was established in Azerbaijan. The three years which preceded it were filled with a desperate and bitter struggle of the Baku workers against the counter-revolution. When the last armed enemy had been driven over the frontiers, the workers set about reconstructing what industry there remained. The heroic efforts of the Baku workers quickly brought about the recovery of the petroleum industry, so that the oil production of Azerbaijan compares favourably with that of any capitalist world trust. In the current year the oil production was 136% of the pre-war production whilst the gas production was increased nine-fold and the benzine production in the refineries was increased twelve-fold.

Building operations are at present proceeding for the construction of foundries and metallurgical undertakings and of chemical works. About 150 million roubles has been earmarked for these building operations. The Soviet Government is making great efforts to promote agriculture in Azerbaijan and the area under seed to-day is 40% greater than before the war. Over half of the peasants are now members of the agricultural co-operatives, and about 20% of the peasants have joined the collective undertakings.

The cultural revolution is also making increasing progress. Whereas the previous non-Soviet government expended the ridiculous sum of 638,000 Roubles for educational purposes annually, the present annual expenditure is 42 million Roubles and is still rising. To-day Azerbaijan has 1,497 schools with 188,200 pupils, or about four times the number under the previous government. There are 5 high schools in Azerbaijan with about 5,500 students, and 40 technical schools with about 10,000 pupils. The total number of pupils in Azerbaijan has risen from 60,000 under the previous government to about 200,000, 60% of these are Turks. Azerbaijan has shown to the world what a backward country can achieve after it has broken with imperialism, even when its industries and agriculture are ruined and stagnant.