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Poland's War Preparations against the Soviet Union.

By W. (Warsaw).

The prolonged stay of the Rumanian military mission, with General Samsonovici, the chief of the Rumanian General Staff at the head, in Poland, the discussions of this mission with the French General Azan, who has been specially sent by General Weygand, the carrying out of a railway treaty which regulates traffic between Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, as well as the carrying out of the treaty on the "small" frontier traffic between Poland and Lithuania, the favourable course of the negotiations with the English capitalists regarding the construction of a Bialystock-Novogrodek-Oszmiana railway line (Western White Russia), the arrival next month in Gdengen of two torpedo boats and three submarines built in France for Poland, Pilsudski's journey of inspection to Vilna, and finally the arrest of the Communist Sejm deputy Comrade Zarski, because, in his speech in the Sejm, he called upon the Polish workers, peasants and soldiers to proceed to civil war in the event of a war against the Soviet Union—all these facts show the increasing tempo of the war-preparations on the part of Poland and other imperialist great powers.

The international preparations for war against the Soviet Union are already so far advanced that nobody now takes the trouble to conceal them; that an open discussion of a military attack on the Soviet Union is proceeding in the press of the whole bourgeois world.

The statements of the Estonian and Latvian newspapers have created a great sensation in the East European press in the last few days because Esthonia, a few months ago, during the visit of President Strandmann to Warsaw, finally con-

cluded the anti-Soviet military treaty with fascist Poland, and because Latvia, just as Esthonia, forms an integral part of the Polish war front in the approaching armed collision of the capitalist world with the State of the Proletarian dictatorship.

In the last few days of April, the chief of the General Staff of the Estonian Army, General Tirwant, declared to representatives of the Press that, in the event of a war between Poland and the Soviet Union Esthonia would send its army to the Soviet frontier.

In connection with this announcement by General Tirwant his Latvian colleague, General Kaleis, gave an equally open reply to the Riga journalists. He said: "If a war should break out between Poland and the Soviet Union, Latvia, just like Esthonia, could not remain indifferent."

These open declarations of the leaders of the future war operations of the Latvian and Esthonian armies leave no doubt whatever as to with whom and against whom these armies will fight in the fight of the capitalist world against the workers' State. And the facts also speak an equally plain language. A few days ago the President of Esthonia sent to the Polish President a present in memory "of his visit to Warsaw", i. e., in memory of the anti-Soviet military treaty. On the 7th of May a Latvian-Esthonian-Rumanian-Polish railway commission commenced its deliberations. The real aim of these deliberations consists in organising traffic between Konstantza and Riga and Talin,—naturally for war purposes.

And what do the leaders of the social democratic parties say to these facts? We remember the 1st of May Manifesto of the II. International, whose leaders set their hopes on the

"Russian Mensheviks being successful in their endeavours to save the great Russian Revolution from the threatening counter-revolutionary danger by democratising the Soviet State". But "Mensheviks" here is synonymous with military intervention.

As regards the Latvian social democracy, Mr. Zeelens, former Foreign Minister of the Latvian bourgeoisie, in his article in the "Vorwärts" in Berlin, made the greatest "revelation", i. e., that

"the key to the maintenance of peace in East Europe in the present situation lies in the hands of Poland".

Mr. Zeelens also "thinks" that "the Latvian social democracy will be strong enough to enforce the maintenance of strict neutrality in the event of a Polish-Russian war".

Unfortunately, the peace-loving Mr. Zeelen's opinion regarding the future position of the Latvian social democracy is contradicted by Herr Kwapinski, one of the leaders of the P.P.S. who was staying in Riga in April in order to get into contact with the Latvian social democrats and have a talk with Mr. Zeelens. On his return to Warsaw he wrote in the "Robotnik", the social democratic organ: "Fortunately, Zeelen's opinion regarding Poland are not shared by his colleagues."

Today, just as in the years 1918-20, the leaders of Polish social-facism are unhesitatingly in favour of war against the "red imperialism" (as they call it) of the Soviet Union.

Of course, after all that the bourgeoisie press of the whole world openly and plainly writes regarding the preparations for war on the Soviet Union, the P.P.S. press can no longer suppress the facts. Mr. Kapinsky, writing in the Robotnik of 9th of May, was forced to recognise that

"there exist real ideas of intervention, is not to be denied. In these ideas Poland is undoubtedly called upon to play the most active role. It is possible, that "amateurs" will be found also in Poland".

But Mr. Kapinsky discreetly refrains from mentioning that among these "amateurs" are to be found he and his colleagues on the staff of the P.P.S. He also keeps silent as to the fact that Poland's budget, amounting to 3000 million Zloty of which about 2000 millions are earmarked for direct and indirect war-preparations, was passed by the Sejm thanks only to the votes of the P. P. S. He also refrains from mentioning that of the P. P. S. He also refrains from mentioning that the cam-Daszinski and his friends are still of the opinion that the campaign against Kiev in the year 1920 "represented a gigantic idea of Pilsudski for creating an independent Ukraine".

The leaders of the P. P. S. are today "opposing" the dictatorship of Pilsudski, but when Pilsudski, as in 1920, commences a campaign against Kiev and Minsk, the whole of the leaders of the P.P.S. will again rally round him in order to become his truest henchmen in the fight against the Soviet Union and against the revolution in Poland.

India and the I. L. P. Imposters.

By Chapurji Saklatvala (London).

The British imperialists are worried to death: the revolutionary spirit of the people of India is rising. The Conservative and Liberal circles are openly jubilant that at such a crisis the Labour Government is in charge of the Empire. The old imperialists recognise that the new Labour imperialists are far more subservient to the interests of Kings and Thrones, of financiers and bankers and of colonial exploiters and imperialist landgrabbers than ever the old imperialists would dare to be in modern times after the example of the Russian Revolution. The unanimity of the Labour parliamentary Party in actual action is all the more valuable on account of the wild and hypocritical words of the British I.L.P.

Lord Irwin, the present Viceroy, has a reactionary policy almost worse than any of the previous viceroys. He has certified every act that the Indian Assembly has rejected; he has perpetuated the outrageous mockery of law called the Meerut Trial of Trade Union leaders; he has inflicted upon Indian workers the Trades Dispute Act and the Whitley Commission. He has ordered imprisonment, without trial or with mock trials of workers' representatives and strikers all over the country, and he and MacDonald combined together have sanctioned the taking of human life of the working class people on a more extensive scale than was done during Baldwin's Government. And the I.L.P. has still got the audacity to make their Indian friends believe that this Viceroy is to be looked upon as more democratic than others. It is this Viceroy who in conspiracy with MacDonald's Government devised the trickery of the Round Table Conference. The I.L.P. pretends to pass resolutions in favour of India's independence, and yet recommends the Round Table Conference also. Fenner Brockway and all I.L.P. members who have got friends amongst the Indian bourgeois politicians inside or outside the Indian National Congress, are continually writing letters to persuade them to enter into negotiations with the Labour Government at the Round Table Conference. They want the Indians to believe that a ruthless and murderous government, by a little friendly discussion around a conference table, will give up their imperialist conspiracy and will agree to India's freedom.

Fenner Brockway and James Maxton know very well that this Round Table Conference will be composed of representatives of the British House of Lords and the present House of Commons, one hundred per cent of whom are in favour of Empire in some form. It will have Indian Princes, it will have Indian liberals representing the highest and strongest capitalist interests of employers, money lenders and land owners, and

notorious right wing Indian Trade Union Leaders beloved of Indian capitalists, and then Fenner Brockway and Company want some Indian Left Wing pretenders from the old Congress Party who represent 3 per cent of India's enfranchised population. Maxton and Fenner Brockway are making every effort to support MacDonald and Lord Irwin in drawing Gandhi into this game of the Round Table Conference when they know that Gandhi has stoutly refused to support or to identify himself with the struggle of the Meerut Prisoners, or of the Textile Workers of Bombay or of the G.I.P. Railways strikes or the Jute Mill's strikes or with the Gharwal Regiment troops.

The I.L.P. Conference pretended to reserve the right to oppose the MacDonald Government and even to vote against it at the risk of defeating it, but they mean to use this right only for the sham fight round financial provisions for certain British social measures. Their financial struggles also are not of a truly revolutionary or socialist character, but are entirely and purely capitalist, only differing in degree from Philip Snowden. They want the world to believe that crazy financing and fantastic banking under a Capitalist society will be an equivalent of Socialism. However, on the position in the colonies they are in the same despicable conspiracy with the imperialists as is MacDonald or Lord Irwin. When a fighting deputation of working class representatives was arranging in London to see Wedgwood Benn and to expose this cruel policy in the Meerut Trial, Maxton and Brockway, who both pretended to be members of the Meerut Defence Committee, sabotaged the movement of this bonafide working class deputation, and a dishonourable bogus I.L.P. deputation helped to screen Wedgwood Benn from working class exposure. Since the pretence of the I.L.P. that they are opposed to MacDonald's Imperialism, literally pools of blood have been flowing from the murdered colonial workers, and the I.L.P. gang of political imposters has not even the common humanity to challenge a vote and oppose MacDonald's Government. In order to throw dust into the eyes of the Indians, Brockway and Maxton manoeuvred a resolution on India which was of such a disgraceful imperialist character that not only the MacDonald Cabinet supported it and backed it up in the House of Commons. When the London Branch of the Indian National Congress threw an open challenge to Maxton as to how he was engaged in low tactics of a sham fight against MacDonald on imperialist and colonial problems, he barefacedly admitted that he was confining his opposition only to such picturesque questions as may increase his popularity and votes in Great Britain; and as for the murders of Negroes,

Indians, or Chinamen, he was not moved on any principle of Socialism or humanity. No member of the I.L.P. is ever prepared to resign his seat and cause a by-election as a challenge against MacDonald's murderous policy even when two rivers of Indian blood are flowing in India. The I.L.P. imposters are still engaged in persuading Gandhi and Congress leaders to come to a compromise with MacDonald so as to add to the glory and prestige of MacDonald's Labour Government by helping them to preserve the British Empire to the complete satisfaction of the old Conservative and Liberal Imperialists. The I.L.P. Left Wingers are too much afraid of losing their parliamentary seats to enter into a bonafide fight on behalf of Socialism or against Imperialism. In fact they are shedding tears in private for being entirely left out of Cabinet positions and high places in State Commissions. They know that their only chance of making their parliamentary seats quite safe and of sharing sweets of office is by rendering some signal service to MacDonald. They believe that they can use the trust which they undeservedly enjoyed from Egyptian and Indian bourgeois leaders to bring them to the feet of MacDonald and help the Labour Government to destroy India's and Egypt's real independence and liberty with the consent of Indian and Egyptian leaders. Such a service would undoubtedly be considered a valuable service and will improve the chances of Maxton, Brockway, Brown to be included in some kind of office in future. They see Mosley and Ellen Wilkinson will act as the toots inside the Cabinet group and will recommend prizes for them if they can betray the people of India and Egypt and add glory to the British Labour Government's success in strengthening and prolonging the British Empire.

POLITICS

The Situation in Italy.

By S. O.

Italian economy, which has already for some years been in a state of serious depression, is approaching a profound general crisis.

Following the period of the "productive boom" and of industrial expansion, the economic life of the country has passed through a period of "reassembling of forces". 10,000 million Lira have been invested in production, partly for the purpose of reorganising the apparatus of production and partly to meet the requirements of the monetary circulation. Six to seven thousand millions of this sum have been placed at the disposal of the Italian industrialists by foreign capitalists; the remainder was squeezed out of the working class by reducing wages.

The "reorganisation" of the apparatus of production has achieved a certain amount of success. The electric industry has grown immensely in the last few years. The same applies to the electro-technical and the chemical industry. Steel production has also made great progress. But this reorganisation and rationalisation of industry has been accompanied by the ruin of small industry.

The fascist State also promoted with all its powers the concentration of banking and credit, which led to the destruction of the smaller banks and credit institutes and robbed broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie of all their savings.

The intervention of the State is not confined to finance and industry, but also extends to agriculture and trade. In agriculture fascism periodically initiated so-called "campaigns" ("corn campaign", "rice campaign") etc. and pursued a policy of agrarian credit, which benefitted only the big agrarians and delivered over thousands of middle and small peasants to ruin. For the purpose of improving exports, fascism forced the creation of special central institutions (for wool, silk etc.) under the control of a national export institute, which meant a severe blow to small traders.

The relative and unequal reorganisation of industry has only increased the antagonisms between certain branches of industry and also between industry and agriculture. But the increased production is confronted by a shrinkage of the home and foreign market. This has led to the closing of several big factories and the falling off of production. All the automobile works in Turin are suffering from a crisis. The Fiat works,

whose technical equipment renders them capable of producing 500 cars a day, produced on an average in 1921 only 130 cars a day, and at the end of the year reduced their daily production to only 40 cars. The whole engineering industry is shaken by a crisis. The wool industry is also experiencing great difficulties. The silk industry, which has always been one of the most important industries, is in the throes of an acute crisis.

As a result of this situation, unemployment has increased tremendously. According to official figures there were 337,000 unemployed in Italy at the end of 1929. This figure only covers the registered workers, i. e., those who are receiving unemployment benefit. The actual number of unemployed among the industrial workers is double that figure. Nor does this figure include the employed agricultural workers, who do not receive any unemployment benefit, so that the total number of the unemployed in Italy already amounts to about a million.

The wages of the Italian workers are exceedingly low. Even the fascist industrial federation had to admit that the average wage of the industrial workers amounts to 370 Lira a month. In the textile industry many workers do not earn more than 170 to 180 Lira a month.

With what means is fascism endeavouring to master this situation? In a speech recently delivered to the fascist leaders, Mussolini declared that the big bourgeoisie and the big industrialists must be supported at all costs. If the small undertakings and the small banks are ruined—well, that cannot be helped. Mussolini mentioned the figure of 400 million Lira to be granted as a subsidy to the engineering industry, the sum of 200 million to the shipbuilding industry and a further 200 million to other big industries.

It is the intention of the fascist government to raise the money for the carrying out of this plan by stopping all public work. This means the beginning of the collapse of the fascist plan for the development of an intensive agriculture.

The main line which fascism will pursue cannot in the last resort be any other than one of increased pressure on the workers and peasants, higher taxes to balance the State budget, reduced wages in order to lower the cost of production, constant increase of the number of unemployed and thereby a tremendous aggravation of class antagonisms. In order to realise these plans fascism is forced to increase its armaments and to conduct an even more aggressive imperialist policy. Mussolini, who through his representative at the London Conference made the hypocritical proposal greatly to reduce armaments, and in the first place to abolish submarines, has now accepted in his naval construction programme for the year 1930/31 the construction of no less than 3 cruisers, 4 destroyers and 24 submarines.

The sharpening of the economic crisis gives rise to increased discontent of the masses of workers and peasants with the fascist regime. Even those sections of workers who up to now had cherished certain illusions with regard to fascism are beginning to shake off fascist influence and in many localities are coming forward in a direct fight against the regime. The great number of open fights of workers and peasants against the employers and the big landowners and against the State organs which have occurred of late, prove that the active militancy of the mass of workers and peasants is reviving.

The prospect in Italy is one of aggravation of the economic and political situation and the growth of elements of a revolutionary situation. In this situation the main task of the C.P. of Italy is to make every effort to win the decisive strata of the proletariat and to place itself at the head of the movement of the masses.

Sharpening Class Antagonisms in Norway

The Role of "Left" Social-Fascism.

By Arvid Hansen (Oslo).

Under the influence of the rapidly growing world economic crises, the political situation in Norway is already characterised by a considerable aggravation of the class antagonisms and increased incitement against the Soviet Union. A part of the bourgeois press is already openly calling for the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Embassy has received threatening letters emanating from Russian White-Guardist circles. The anti-Soviet campaign of

the Church is being increased and is supported by the Broadcasting Company. The capitalists are preparing for an all-round attack on wages in the near future. The workers are faced with the immediate prospect of wholesale dismissals and increased unemployment. The elementary economic struggles are spreading from factory to factory, from one industry to another, and are further intensified by a number of solidarity strikes. There is a growing ferment among the poor peasantry and a fresh mass movement is springing up rapidly in the rural districts. The Communist Party is eagerly endeavouring to get the leadership of these mass actions and movements completely into its hands.

In this situation we witness an accelerated development of the Norwegian Labour Party towards social-fascism. Already before the Norwegian social democracy first took over office in February 1928, one of the parliamentary leaders of the Party wrote:

"Our country, like other countries, is dependent upon foreign capital. We must carry out a stronger concentration of production, an improvement of technical equipment, a modern division of labour, specialisation, standardisation, systematisation and simplified administration . . . The collaboration of the workers' organisations is necessary."

Nobody can deny that the Norwegian social democracy has in its whole practice remained true to this programme. This programme was supplemented by the gradual cutting down of unemployment benefit, by the direct reduction of wages by "arbitration awards" pronounced by the social democratic leaders, by the betrayal of the demands of the poor peasants in regard to the reduction of their debts, by increased taxation, by a direct and indirect blacklegging policy in economic struggles, by intensified repression of revolutionary elements in the mass organisations, by the introduction of a splitting policy in the trade unions, and by the substitution of the former passive, sabotaging attitude in the question of the Soviet Union and the danger of war by an active social-imperialist policy directed against the Soviet Union.

At the last party congress, the "Lefts" maintained and strengthened their leadership of the party. They carried out a number of manoeuvres in order to bring the workers. The Congress, in approving in principle the participation of the party in the government, demanded as a prerequisite that the taking over of government responsibility should take place in a "situation in which important steps in the direction of socialism could be made".

When the Norwegian social democracy proceeded to split the workers sport federation in order to rid this great mass organisation, numbering nearly 30,000 members, from the revolutionists, it was precisely the "Lefts" **Tranmael, Torp and Co.**, who were at the head of this disruptive policy.

When in **Bergen**, a strong mass movement developed against the social-fascist strike of the printers in the printing works of the revolutionary labour movement, who was it that at this moment appeared on the scene in order to disintegrate the mass movement? No other than **Tranmael**, who got a very warm reception from the workers in Bergen. For the first time in the history of the Norwegian labour movement, **Tranmael** was driven from the platform and prevented from speaking.

When the unemployed in **Lörenskog** demonstrated for their economic demands and the police were mobilised against them, it was again the "Lefts", with **Martin Tranmael** at their head who defended the police and incited the social fascist "defence force" against the demonstrators.

One could quote many other examples. At the annual conferences of the trade union federations it was precisely the most cunning "Lefts", together with the **Right renegades**, who were put up to oppose the Communists. And when the Communist Party in Parliament brought in a motion for the granting of 15 million crowns for the unemployed, the great majority of the Lefts, together with the Right wing social democracy, voted against this proposal. Five members of the social democratic Parliamentary fraction, however, voted for the Communist motion.

The recent experiences of the Norwegian working class thoroughly confirm the thesis of the third Party Congress of the C.P. of Norway, which states that in the present period the "Left" leaders of the social democracy are the most

dangerous enemies of the revolutionary working class within the Labour Movement, because these centrist leaders, **Tranmael, Bull and Co.**, employ the most slimy and cunning means in supporting stabilisation and imperialist war policy.

The Creation of a Fascist Militia in Austria.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

In connection with the report of the Geneva correspondent of the "Daily Herald" that Federal Chancellor **Schober** had addressed a letter to the League of Nations in which he announced that his government is introducing a Bill providing for the strict prohibition of possession of weapons by private persons, the Christian-Socialist press publishes further statements regarding the Chancellor's plans for the formation of a militia.

According to the Christian-Socialist press, the "Daily Herald" did not publish the full text of **Schober's** letter to the League of Nations. It is alleged that the Bill in question deals not only with the prohibition of the possession of weapons, but also with the plan for placing the fascist **Heimwehr** and also the **Republican Defence Corps (a social democratic organisation) in the service of the Austrian republic**. These nationalised defensive organisations will not be standing formations, but its members will pursue their ordinary occupations, only coming together for military drill in their spare time.

As the rumours regarding the creation of a militia in Austria by placing the fascist and social democratic formations under the State are continually appearing—particularly in the government press—without meeting any denial, they must be regarded as thoroughly well founded. The advantage to the government of such a "disarmament" is obvious. The problem of bringing together fascism and social fascism under a united leadership would be solved straightaway, without social fascism requiring to give up its special functions among the working class. On the other hand, the Austrian bourgeoisie would gain enormously by this increase of its armed forces, while at the same time it would avoid the high costs of a militia system according to the Swiss model. As the officers of the present federal army would not suffice, the new arrangement would provide comfortable posts for a whole number of **Heimwehr** officers who are at present out of a job. By the strict terms of the prohibition of weapons, the working class would be completely disarmed.

Up to now the only hindrance to the realisation of such plans was the fear of certain States adjoining Austria of an increase of her armed forces. It must, however, be regarded as exceedingly probable that, in connection with the general war-preparations against the Soviet Union, this resistance has been abandoned. There exists very little doubt that this formed one of the items of the negotiations which **Schober** was conducting in Paris and London.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Breaking Off of Anglo-Egyptian Negotiations.

By M. Rogers (London).

When **Nahas Pasha**, the Egyptian Prime Minister, came to London about six weeks ago, the declarations made by the British Foreign Office on the one side and by the Egyptians on the other regarding the forthcoming negotiations were so optimistic that the conversations seemed only to have the purpose of bringing to a formal conclusion an already settled affair. As a matter of fact the treachery of the Egyptian **Wafd** and its approval of a Pact which would mean a political bloc with British imperialism against the masses of Egyptian workers, was beyond all doubt. **Nahas Pasha** only wanted, in order to save his face, to bargain over a few minor points, for which **Henderson** willingly granted him opportunity.

Whilst, however, conversations commenced in London in the most friendly and amicable spirit, dark clouds gathered on the horizon of the British Empire. The great revolutionary movement in India set in, and in the course of a few weeks British imperialism found itself in the midst of serious fights

against an insurgent people numbering 350 million. But the fights in Calcutta, Peshawar and Bombay had revolutionising effects far beyond the borders of India.

The language of the Egyptian newspapers, which formerly had nothing but words of praise for the Pact proposed by Henderson, and only spoke of certain necessary minor alterations, also became obviously sharper in tone. In the Wafd meetings, where not only the official leaders but also rank and file members expressed their opinion, the agreement was fiercely attacked. The growing sentiment against the treacherous Pact was to be observed in the whole country; anonymous leaflets, fiercely attacking the draft agreement, circulated in the country; in **Mansura**, a provincial town in Egypt which has always been one of the centres of the revolutionary movement, a Wafd deputy was met by a hostile demonstration which raised cries of "Down with the traitors who have sold themselves to England!" The threatening economic crisis by which the toiling population of Egypt has been seriously affected during the last few months, also caused the Wafd to proceed with the greatest caution.

By accepting the Pact the Wafd ran the danger of losing not only its popularity among the working masses, but also the support of certain sections of the bourgeoisie, which regard the abandonment of the Sudan as directly injurious to their interests. There was the danger of a split in the Wafd.

This situation compelled Nahas Pasha at the eleventh hour to raise the price which he had demanded for the treachery of the Wafd in regard to certain demands in the Sudan question, which however Henderson, who in the Egyptian question is completely dependent on the Liberals and Conservatives, could not accept. The result was the breaking off of negotiations—a breaking off which in no way alters the treacherous character of the Wafd, which had accepted nine-tenths of the agreement. The tremendous alterations in the world-situation which have occurred in the few weeks during which the negotiations were proceeding compelled Nahas Pasha to make this manoeuvre. The bloc between British imperialism and the Egyptian bourgeoisie is postponed, but by no means abandoned. In practical politics, however, the fact that Henderson has not succeeded at present in finally concluding the Egyptian Agreement means an aggravation of the crisis of British imperialism. India in revolt, bloody fights in South Africa, the Arab countries in a revolutionary ferment, unrest in nearly all British colonies in Africa, Soviets in South China, and now failure in the one point where the Labour Government believed that it had already reached a "satisfactory settlement", breaking off of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations—a pretty gloomy picture after a year of the Labour Government.

Cruelties of the Imperialists in the Belgian Congo.

By E. G. (Brüssels).

After the bourgeois papers had attempted for a long time to maintain a conspiracy of silence regarding the revelations of the chairman of the Red Cross in the Belgian Congo, Pierre Orts, a clever agent of imperialism, the majority of them have now proceeded to deprecate the "excesses" which have occurred in the Belgian Congo. The object of this campaign is to throw the blame onto the lower officials and to whitewash to Belgian government, which has openly violated the colonial charter and the agreement signed by it at Geneva in the year 1926 "abolishing" forced labour.

These newspapers are thereby revealing the most horrible acts of cruelty after having for years maintained silence regarding them. As in the time of Leopold II., when the Negroes were forced to collect rubber under the blows of the whip and the accompaniment of rifle shots, floggings and even more horrible means are now being employed to compel the Negroes to pluck cotton. Forced labour on public works and for the capitalist companies has to be performed equally by the physically capable and physically incapable Negroes as well as by women and children. Every means is made use of in order to get the Negroes from their villages. A special method used is to call up the Negroes for seven years military service.

Whilst the official commission fixes the maximum of labour power to be recruited at 25 per cent, in the majority of cases over 40 per cent and in some important districts even

80 per cent of all males between the age of 15 and 35 are carried off. In general, only the most physically unfit and old men are left behind in the village. The mortality among the workers is incomparably greater than in the villages. When the recruiting agents approach, the Negroes flee into the bush, from where they frequently never return. In the year 1928 thousands of natives, fleeing from the wholesale recruitments, crossed the frontier between Kivu and Lake Albert into British territory, where after being caught they are frequently imprisoned as suspicious characters. As a result of the "voluntary" and "democratic" character of recruitment, the population is being rapidly exterminated.

There is also the notorious hypocrisy of the "economic zones", in which recruitment is limited. At the first glance one might think that the object of this limitation was to protect the population. In reality, however, the "economic zones" correspond to the exploitation zones of the big companies and secure them the monopoly of labour power under the very worse conditions. These companies compel the native peasants to supply the big factories and works and take their crops at arbitrarily fixed prices.

The Negro must, on an average, plant 40 ares with cotton which yields him about 150 kg. raw cotton, for which the exploiter pays 1.20 Francs per kilogramme. If the Negro plants no or too little cotton he is punished by flogging.

The official agents seek to justify their cruel deeds by declaring that they are necessary in order to get in the prescribed amount of cotton, failing which they themselves would be subject to disciplinary punishment. Although this plea does not excuse the subordinate officials, it nevertheless inculpates the higher authorities and the government.

What means are now proposed by those, including the social democrats, who are raising such an outcry? A Commission of investigation, which "will make an impression upon the public" and favourably influence public opinion abroad.

At the same time reference is made to the "Communist pest", especially in Elisabethville and Coquilhatville. This means that more or less considerable unrest prevails among the natives in the already industrialised districts. The revolutionary movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party, and the revolutionary collaboration of the native masses with the proletariat in the capitalist countries alone offer the Negroes the way of escape from their present slave conditions.

THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

The International Trade Union Conference of Negro Workers.

By James W. Ford (New York).

A great International Trade Union Conference of Negro Workers, will take place on July 1st, 1930 at **London**, England.

The 4th Congress of the R.I.L.U. really gave this coming Conference its mighty background and its historical significance. Sharp attention was drawn to the significance of the Negro industrial proletariat in the U.S.A. and its possibilities in the leadership of the liberation movement of the Negro peoples; and also considerable attention was given to the movement of the native toilers of South Africa. An **International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers** was set up to stimulate the class initiative of the Negro workers and to awaken the international proletariat to the importance of this powerful class ally.

The rapidly growing economic crisis of world capitalism, expressed sharply in the recent Wall Street stock market crash in the U.S.A., has intensified the imperialist exploitation and oppression of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, especially the black toiling masses. Faced with mass unemployment of millions of workers and the shortage of markets, the bourgeoisie is turning more and more to colonial sectors in order to cast the burden of the crisis on to the backs of colonial toilers.

But the continuous speeding-up of the workers and the constant rationalisation of industry produces more and more **mass unemployment** in the capitalist countries and even extends into colonial spheres like South Africa; at the same time the Negro toilers are rising in revolt throughout the

world, in conjunction with the upward development of the revolutionary proletarian movement in all capitalist countries and in the general decline of world capitalism.

The first great battle that gave tremendous significance to the rising tide of revolt on the "Dark" continent was the great revolt in Equatorial Africa in 1928. It was the first of the numerous insurrections that have occurred in Equatorial Africa against French imperialism, that was not confined to one place, but extended over the whole of the territory, and comprised the total population of Equatorial Africa, and had such a long duration, lasting from November 1928 until February 1929.

This fight was mainly a struggle against **Forced Labour Recruitment**: the natives systematically killed off all the chiefs of the recruitment troops. Thus the struggle took on a labour character. And we must say, that this struggle had as its basis the embryo of an organised movement of native workers.

War preparations and the securing of troops for strike purposes in France was another important cause of this uprising. The French imperialists, in their haste to complete the Ocean-Congo railroad in order to tap the resources of Central Africa and to establish the "Black Army" which is to be concentrated in Northern Africa as well as around certain industrial centres in France, killed off thousands of native workers like flies.

Although drowned in blood by the overwhelming forces of French imperialism this Central African revolt is a landmark in the struggles of the Negro toilers of Africa.

The first practical application of the use of the "Black Army" has already been seen in northern France at **Gard**, where 18,000 miners were on strike, and white troops fraternized with the strikers, the white artillery was replaced by black troops from Senegal and Equatorial Africa.

In **South Africa** the native movement was betrayed in 1927 by the native reformist, **Kadalie**, who affiliated the I.C.U. to the yellow Amsterdam International. In the meantime the conditions of the natives were getting worse and demanding militant leadership, which was not forthcoming from Kadalie. Then one **Ballinger**, a white reformist of the Independent Labour Party of England, was sent out to South Africa. Kadalie and Ballinger successfully disintegrated the I.C.L. and it dwindled down to nothing. Thousands of workers left the I.C.U. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions was organised and affiliated to the R.I.L.U. Immediately militant struggles took place, many of them joint struggles of native workers and white workers. At **Durban** last summer serious clashes took place between the workers and the police. Constantly increasing pressure on the workers points to more fierce battles ahead between the workers and the bourgeoisie.

In the U.S.A. the Trade Union Unity League has seriously taken up the organisation of the Negro workers, especially in the South. Organisations are being formed of both black and white workers. Racial barriers are being smashed by the holding of joint meetings of black and white workers, a number of which have been held at Chattanooga, Birmingham, Atlanta, Winston-Salem, right in the hotbed of American capitalist segregation and jim-crow practices.

Thousands of Negro workers responded to the call of the T.U.U.L. on March 6th to demonstrate against unemployment in all parts of the country. In the south white and black organisers of the T.U.U.L. were arrested and placed on the chaingang.

In America too the Negro must struggle against reformist leadership as well as against the white fascist A.F.L. and also Negro petty-bourgeois influence. **Randolph**, a Negro reformist, has betrayed an organisation of Negro workers into the A.F.L. and has himself become an open social-fascist. In **Chicago** recently he engaged the police and department of justice agents of the U.S. to guard an open meeting and to throw workers out who came in with a militant programme.

Everything is being done by the social-fascists to stem the tide of radicalisation of the Negro toilers. In the south Negro preachers and petty-bourgeois have openly co-operated with the white fascist bosses in an attack upon the Negro and white organisers of the T.U.U.L. The workers of the South are in a militant mood as a result of mass unemployment, wage cuts, long hours, and the agricultural crisis. They are responding to the leadership of the R.I.L.U., to the inspiration of success-

ful socialist construction in the Soviet Union and to the struggle against war.

It will be on this basis that the International Conference in London will respond to the need for organised action of Negro toilers. This basis of organisation and the struggle against ideologies inimical to the interests of the Negro masses will lead towards the wide organisation of Negro toilers.

But the Conference will also be faced with mobilising the Negro toilers for struggle against the more vicious policies and attacks of the imperialists and their social-democratic allies, such as the MacDonald "Labour" Party, who are shooting down Negro toilers in various parts of the world.

American imperialism strangles the toiling masses in Haiti, in Liberia and San Domingo, while British, French, Belgian and Portuguese imperialists are grinding the life blood out of the millions of enslaved Negroes in Africa.

The Colonial policy of the MacDonald "Labour" Government was demonstrated recently when 43 native women in **Nigeria** were shot down by British troops. In **Gambia** also the young trade union movement is facing the most brutal persecution of the British colonial Government; martial law has been proclaimed, trade union leaders arrested and the entire labour movement is threatened with being wiped out.

Everywhere the Negro toilers are offering the greatest resistance to the imperialists, in Jamaica and Haiti, in Trinidad, Barbados, Grenada and British Guinea, throughout Africa, and the U.S.A.

All these struggles are being conducted under great objective and subjective difficulties. On the one hand there is a tremendous lack of conscious revolutionary leadership, and, on the other hand, absolute isolation from the more advanced and experienced revolutionary proletariat of Europe and America. Despite this the very conditions under which Negroes live throughout the world drive them into the struggle and prepare them to play an ever increasing role in the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The test of the European and American labour movements will be the measure of support they render the International Conference of Negro workers.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Workers and the Opening of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway.

By Anise.

The following letter has been received by us from an American woman newspaper correspondent who accompanied the special Delegation which travelled from Moscow to take part in the opening of the Turksib railway. Ed.

I.

I am on a special train bound from Moscow for the opening of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway. For eight days we are winding southeast through the wheat fields of European Russia, then over the Urals, then across the alternating sandy wastes and grassy steppes that mark the Soviet Republic of the Kazaks, and so to Alma Ata and the "Joining" where the rails will be laid and our train will be the first to pass over.

Some thirty foreign correspondents are on the train: Americans form the largest group, Germans the second. They try to send telegrams to their various newspapers, but find it difficult. In this region the telegraph operators do not know the Latin alphabet. The foreign journalists are especially interested in the exotic nature of the land through which we are passing, — the camels that browse near the railway stations, the dark-skinned, picturesquely clad Kazaks and their felt tents known as "Yurts" in which they travel from winter to summer pastures seeking grass.

But the foreign correspondents know also the world-wide significance of this railway, — else their newspaper would not send them here. The Turkestan-Siberian Railway will change the history of Asia. From it timber and wheat will pour southward to the irrigated cotton lands of the Uzbeks. These

dwellers till now in mud huts, will begin to live in wood houses. Along this road will go also much freight to Western China, whose frontier parallels this road for some distance, about eight to a thousand kilometres away.

Some twenty-five Soviet journalists are also in the train, sending back telegrams with more success than the foreigners, since they use the Russian language. Well-known and well-travelled journalists they are: men who went to the Arctic seas with the "Krassin" to rescue the wrecked Italians; men who flew with Chukhnovsky across frozen Siberia to the search for wrecked Americans, men who have spent months investigating the Pamirs.

The chief of all the groups, however, are the Russian workers. They were chosen through their trade unions and shop organisations as workers deserving a prize; they were sent to open the Turk-Sib, as this railway is called. They know the importance of this road in history; but they know also what it has cost in labour. Fifteen hundred kilometres of railway line driven in swift time across deserts and mountains is not achieved without sacrifice. Under the broiling sun of midsummer, and under forty degrees below zero in winter, the work went on. Far up unexplored rivers the timber was cut and taken in rafts down dangerous rapids; on the sides of icy cliffs the road was blasted. A thousand kilometres from supplies of food and clothing, and a hundred kilometres from even supplies of water, men sent back hot complaints when transport failed to deliver these necessities; yet they toiled on.

They were like solidiers in war; it was, in fact, a war on the economic front of building socialism. It was the first major construction of its kind to be finished under the Five-Year Plan. By the effort of its workers and the skill of their leaders, the railway was finished a year and a half ahead of its original schedule, and four months earlier than the revised plan adopted a year ago.

The workers know quite well the meaning of this road for the world revolution. Bill Shatoff, former anarchist in America and now superintendent of construction on the Turk-Sib, said to me: "This railway will hurt world capitalism more than all the agitation I ever made in America."

Who are the workers chosen to open the Turk-Sib? In the special car I become acquainted with some of them. Here is Comrade Sheina, from the chocolate department of the "Red October" Candy Factory in Moscow. She led in the organisation of a "productive commune", in which the forty-five workers in her room receive wages on one pay check, and divide equally, though formerly their wages varied from 80 to 180 roubles a month. Under the new commune it was to the interest of all to help each other: the idea spread to other departments of the factory. Hence, when Red October Factory was assigned a place on the special train, the workers elected Comrade Sheina.

Spektor, from the Electric Works in Moscow tells me that his plant got a prize for greatly increased production. "My department, where we make the fine filament for lamps, was the banner department. In four months we are increasing four-fold the length of wire we make, from two million to eight million metres a month. Our department got the prize and elected me."

Besides the workers chosen for past achievements, there are groups whose achievements look towards the future. Here, for instance, is a delegation of five men from the Council of Moscow Industries. An engineer, a technician, an economist and two workers for this group; they will spend two months travelling in the steppe of Kazakhstan to inspect the changes of new industry. The Turk-Sib opens great possibilities of mining and new factories based on wool, silk and cotton. But the Kazak Republic has few technical experts to develop these resources. So the Council of Industries of Moscow District have taken a "technical shestvo" over the coming industries of Kazakhstan; this means that at their own expense and without any return, they will send technical experts to help the Kazaks. They do this as "social work", as part of the task of building socialism, which must "equalise the backward regions with the centre".

If the Turk-Sib were opening in a capitalist land, there would also be a celebration, for it is a historic achievement. But in a capitalist land, who would go to the celebration? The representatives of capital, and the real estate speculators, hoping to make more money. Here the road is opened by the

delegates from factories, chosen by the workers, and by commissions who expected not to make money, but to give from their own scanty supply of engineers, the technical help needed to build socialism in these wastes of Asia.

II.

As our train travels steadily south-east towards the opening of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, bearing more than a hundred workers' delegates, and Soviet and foreign journalists the workers at the various stations meet us. There are not, as yet, many stations, for the land is largely grazing plain or desert. All day long we see from the windows the camels and sheep and round felted tents of the nomads. Sometimes for hours the grass dies out and the nomad life disappears with it; then, as we near mountains, the land again grows green and populous. From time to time we reach a station.

They are not luxurious, these stations. A few mud huts, a few of the felted tents known as yurts—in these the workers on the line have lived while they built. But always across the front of the largest mud hut—which is usually the co-operative store—runs a red banner with some inscription about the Turk-Sib-Railway. And always the workers demand that our train stop and hold a meeting.

Last night we stopped at Luganovo, where the actual new constructed line of the Turk-Sib begins. The workers had erected a triumphal arch across the tracks, with the words: "Hail to the hand-clasp with the North! Siberia is attained! Hail to the Iron Way!" Above these words was the face of Lenin, set in a Red star.

On a small red tribune with green branches, the speakers addressed the crowd.

Katayama spoke, a veteran Japanese revolutionist, on behalf of the Communist International; a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Bashkir Republic followed him, then a representative of the Kazakstan Republic. It was perhaps significant that the last two speakers celebrating a road which in old days would have been a tool of Russian imperialism to dominate Asia—were now, in Soviet days, a Bashkir and a Kazak. After them spoke workers from Moscow, sky-rockets were sent off, not very many—; from the sound of "ah's" that rose from the young throats, it was clear that rockets were a great attainment in this distant desert.

At the station in Alma-Ata our train received a new engine—a present from the workers in the Railway Repair Shops of Alma-Ata. Volunteers in these shops overhauled and remade this engine in their spare time, without wages, as a present to the May Day opening of the Turk-Sib. It was an oil-burner; inside its copper and steel parts were shining like jewels; outside it was painted green, to distinguish it as a festival locomotive. Its side bore the words: "Strengthen the might of the Soviet Union. Our answer to the Pope of Rome and the capitalist world in their crusade . . . For May 1st, 1930—gift of the workers of Alma-Ata, to the Turk-Sib."

Across the front of the engine was fixed a red banner with the words: "Give Siberia." The word: "Daesh", or "Give", is a slang inherited from the civil war; it was always a battle-cry demanding the surrender of a new city.

With this demand "Give Siberia" in front of our engine, our train moves north, towards the "Joining", where the special train from Siberia awaits us, and the last few metres of rail road will be laid in our presence. Then perhaps, this engine will go on to Siberia. The engine crew was chosen from the volunteer gang that overhauled the engine; they also take a proud part in the opening of the road.

Our train waited eight hours in Alma-Ata, as a return to the gift of the workers. For we reached the station at nine in the morning; it was impossible at this hour to hold a meeting without interrupting the working programme of the Repair Works. The meeting was held at three o'clock in the summer park of the railway workers, not far from the large winter club building.

In the town of Alma-Ata I saw a ten-year Russian school, in whose upper classes the pupils specialise on building and irrigation—as the two specialities needed in this region. Near it were two schools for Kazaks with a dormitory in which one hundred boys from the distant yurts were housed while getting learning. They learned carpentry and gardening, as well as the book knowledge which their race had never before had.

Coming unexpectedly upon a white building bearing the words: "Babies' Consultation" I entered to find in this distant

town of Asia a modern babies' consultation that would do credit to any city in Europe. Here are received 15,000 visits of babies in a year, of whom 6,000 are "first time" visits. Half of those who come are from the nomad Kazaks. Scores of kilometres away some cluster of yurts hears of the free advice for babies; they talk it over, and then, some spring day when the weather is good for travel, a whole encampment of Kazaks comes to Alma-Ata bringing perhaps seventy or eighty babies, under the age of three, for the doctor's inspection. During my short visit a Kazak mother brought her baby for vaccination against small-pox.

At the Executive Committee of the Rayon, I learned the facts of the local collective farms.

"In our whole rayon" concluded the president of Alma-Ata Rayon, "we have 70 villages, 8 of which are Russian and the rest native. Sixty per cent of this population are now in collective farms, organised in 80 artels; five of these are livestock collectives, the rest are grain-raising. In many of these collectives the sown area rises from 100 hectares last year to 300 hectares this year. This is due to the better implements; as a result of these the Kazaks begin to turn towards settled farming in addition to their raising of live-stock . . ."

Last year this rayon had fifteen rural schools in the distant encampments; this year it has twenty-five. The figures are not large, but the increase is mighty. Last year the dwellers in Beinazar village seeded an average of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hectares each household; this year they organised a collective farm known as "Leninzhö", or "Lenin's Way", and sowed 6 hectares for each family. Such is the new life coming into the ancient nomad hordes of the Asian steppe.

FIRST OF MAY

May Day 1930 in the United States

By Alex G. Richman (New York).

Among the millions of workers marching throughout the world on May Day, mobilising in test of their readiness to struggle, were hundreds of thousands of United States workers, led by the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions of the Trade Union Unity League, under its guidance. In **New York City** (reports for the rest of the country are not yet available as this is written) 150,000 workers answered the police brutality of the great demonstration of March 6th by an even greater outpouring. They showed their sympathy with the May Day slogans of the C.P.U.S.A. by demonstrating against unemployment, speed up and wage cuts, against capitalist oppression and terror, against colonial tyranny and the war danger, for the release of **Foster, Minor** and the other of the March 6th delegation railroaded to prison, for the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, and for a revolutionary workers government in the United States.

The police refrained from attacking physically the Communist demonstrations and parade in New York, because the bosses had other very carefully worked out plans to submerge it. But their pretty plans went astray despite their most frantic efforts. A patriotic counter demonstration arranged for Union Square, where labour demonstrations have been held for two-score years, fizzled out despite the combined efforts of a number of congressmen, A.F. of L. fakers, white guard Russians, city officials, and the most wohlhe-arted cooperation of the police. The patriots had less than 2,500 in their parade of a quarter mile, as against over ten times that number in the Communist parade of two miles through the working class districts of the East Side. The jingoes mobilised less than 10,000 apathetic sightseers and employees out to lunch, while the Communists had a crowd of 125,000 sympathetic workers whom thousands of police kept in the side streets adjoining the square and prevented from participating in the demonstration.

Over 60,000 workers demonstrated under the Party's directions at Rutgers Square, in the proletarian dwelling section. Then 25,000 marched in a colourful parade that resembled a smaller edition of a Moscow May Day, while hundreds of thousands of workers lined the streets and filled the windows along the way, responding to the cheers and singing of the marchers and the slogans on their banners, placards and cartoons.

After scores of workers had been arrested during the week preceding May First for distributing leaflets, papers and pamphlets calling for a general political strike, May Day morning began with mass picketing before all the largest factories and schools, which were attacked by the police and dozens arrested. It had been preceded by a series of **United Front May Day Conferences**, at the last of which, on April 25th, 985 delegates from 280 shops and 150 workers fraternal organisations and clubs had decided to hold one of the largest parades and demonstrations on any May Day ever held. Earlier conferences had announced determination to demonstrate despite the police prohibition, and had forced the granting of a permit, as had also been done in **Chicago, Detroit** and many other cities.

The day before May Day the Supreme Court of the state refused to free Foster and the others of the imprisoned unemployment delegation on bail, pending appeal against their sentence to three years imprisonment. The judge cynically admitted that the reason was the desire to keep them from participating in the demonstrations.

In the parade marched the Left wing workers of the city — marine, metal, building, paper, food, shoe and leather, needle, textile, office, laundry etc. workers unions of the T.U.U.L. The Y.C.L. marched in uniforms, together with the Pioneers, scores of workers clubs, women's Negro, sports, defence, relief and anti-imperialist organisations. When fascist police commissioner **Whalen** came to Rutgers Square to see the demonstration, the Pioneers greeted him with, "To hell with Whalen; we want Foster!", and throughout the demonstration he was booed.

After the demonstration Whalen disclosed the plan hatched by him, the bosses, Mathew Woll, and other baiters of the U.S.S.R. to create another **Arcos Raid frame up** against the Amtorg Trading Corporation, representatives of Soviet trading organisations in the U.S. He issued to the press photostat copies of forged documents alleged to connect the Comintern and O.G.P.U. with the Amtorg company, asserting direction of the March 6th and May 1st demonstrations by the Soviet commercial organisation, despite the fact the U.S. State Department had the previous day stated that it had no knowledge or evidence "linking the Amtorg Trading Corporation with the spread of revolutionary propaganda in the United States". The patent character of the frame up is evidenced by the fact that the N.Y. Times and World did not print a single document of Whalen's, although the "Hearst" papers and evening papers featured it.

The social-fascist S. P. had another fiasco of a meeting. A hall seating 20,000 was obtained, members of the German Reichstag (Tony Sender) and Polish Sim, and such leaders of the S.P. as Hillquit, Abe Cahan, Panken, etc. featured — yet less than 5,000 were present. These were the people who had bombastically told the capitalist press for days that they would have 250,000 workers on strike.

The **Lovestone renegades** also received much favourable publicity in the capitalist press. They practically endorsed the police brutality on March 6th and urged the workers to stay away from the Party demonstration on May Day. These exemplars of the correct tactics for winning the masses now held their meeting indoors in the evening — and gathered all told some 200 persons. The Party also had a meeting in the evening, and despite the fact that it was at the far end of the city and a severe thunderstorm came up, over 10,000 workers attended. In **Boston** a parade and demonstration of 15,000 was held, despite the covert sabotage of the district organiser Stevens, who went over to the Lovestone camp openly after weeks of destructive tactics and stealing hundreds of dollars from the Party.

The Party's preparations were the most intensive this year that have ever preceded any May Day since the Party was organised eleven years ago. With the expulsion of the Lovestoneite disrupters and the wiping out of practically the last remnants of factionalism, the Party has been able to turn to mass activity. More revolutionary industrial unions have been organised under the leadership of the T. U. U. L. and Profintern than ever before. More new members were recruited (6,167 in the last drive), and a transformation brought about in the activity in the factories and in agitational work since this cancerous factionalism has been rooted out.

May Day in 1930 took place amidst one of the severest crisis of U.S. capitalism, part of a world-wide crisis, with the bottom by no means reached and no likelihood of this

happening for some time to come. Since March 6th the workers employed and unemployed, have abandoned their passivity in the face of the intensified rationalisation through which the bosses are trying to make them bear the full brunt of the crisis.

Under the leadership of the Comintern and against the united efforts of the bosses, social-fascist tools in the S. P. and renegades in the Cannon and Lovestone camps the Communist Party of the U.S. is going ahead, leading the workers in their struggle against rationalisation and unemployment, against the menace of war and attacks upon the Soviet Union — forward to the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a revolutionary workers' government.

Police Terror and Social-Fascist Denunciation in Hungary.

By Benkő (Budapest).

Horthy's police replied to the May Campaign of the Communist Party of Hungary with an extraordinary intensification of the Terror against the Party and the revolutionary workers. This intensified police Terror was accompanied by increased denunciatory activity on the part of the social-fascists.

A few days before the 1st of May, about 25 workers and employees were arrested in Budapest—apart from the 400 who were arrested for "preventative" reasons. The arrested were cruelly tortured by the police. **Eduard Blum**, a private employee, was so frightfully knocked about and beaten that there was not a sound spot on his whole body. His underclothing and clothes were soaked with blood. Another arrested, who was wearing spectacles, has these smashed; the glass splinters penetrated eyes causing them serious injury. The arrested women were stripped naked and beaten on the lower part of the body with straps and oxtide thongs.

That police in Hungary are adopting new methods of terror is shown not only by the fact that they are reverting to the methods of examination obtaining in the years 1919 and 1920, but that they themselves see to it that the facts as to the mishandlings become known; the tortures are not denied. The Police wish to intimidate and terrify the workers. They are endeavouring in this manner to break the growing influence of the C. P. of Hungary and to strike terror into the hearts of workers who think of entering it. This method is combined with enhanced **provocative activity**. On the 25th April an "illegal", hectographed leaflet appeared in Budapest bearing the signature: "The Executive Committee (!) of the C. P. H.". It originated from the Police. In this leaflet the workers were called upon not to wait until the 1st of May, but to hold demonstrations already on the 27th April. The object of the Police was, on the one hand, to create confusion among the workers and, on the other hand—in the event of a few dozen workers attaching credence to this "manifesto"—to have the pretext for carrying out a bloodbath.

This time the Hungarian social democracy adopted a "left" pose. On the 1st of May they summoned the workers not to the usual annual garden party outside of the town, but to a "demonstrative walk" in the Andrassystrasse, one of the main streets of Budapest. The real object of this "left" gesture became obvious when the police, two days before the 1st of May, arrested 400 workers in Budapest, i. e. all those who were known to be more or less active in the Opposition in the factories, the trade unions and other mass organisations. The lists of those to be arrested were drawn up for the police by the social democrats. This fact was divulged by a high police officer. He stated that it had been agreed between the Police and the social democracy that the different trade union secretaries should deliver to the Police by a definite date, i. e. the 25th April, the lists of those workers who were to be arrested for "preventative" reasons.

But the "demonstrative walk" of the social fascists had to be protected also by other means from the Communists and revolutionary workers. Therefore, the "demonstrative walk" of the fascists in the Andrassystrasse was protected by the united forces of the Police and the social democratic guard. There were about five to six thousand workers in the Andrassystrasse—a great many of them in expectation that the walk arranged by the social democratic leaders would

become transformed into a revolutionary mass demonstration. The "walk" was taken part in by the chief of police of the province, as well as his deputy, at the head of a number of high police officials. When the police people met the social democratic leaders **Kabok, Esztergalyos, Garami** etc. in the street, hearty greetings and congratulations were exchanged on the "discipline" and "order" prevailing. The task of maintaining "order" in the street was most amicably divided between police officers and social fascists: constant connection was maintained between them by means of couriers. When the chief of police wished to end the demonstration, he sent his adjutants to the social fascists, who thereupon at once gave the order to conclude the demonstration. By means of arrests of Communists, mass terror, provocation and denunciation the first of May in Hungary became a love-feast of the social fascists and the police.

For it must be candidly admitted that the police terror, coupled with social democratic denunciations, for the greater part achieved its purpose, as the mass arrests of the revolutionary workers was one of the reasons of the failure of the May action of the C. P. of Hungary. To this there should be added certain political and organisational mistakes of the Party which further contributed to the fact that the May action of the C. P. fell far short of its aims. In some parts of the town it came to demonstrations under the May slogans of the Party, but they were isolated and failed to embrace large masses. One of the lessons to be drawn from the May campaign is that the Party must devote more attention to the fight against the new and severer methods of police terror and against the social fascist denunciators.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Executive Session of the II. International in Berlin

By J. Schmidt (Berlin).

After the collapse of the London Naval Conference, upon which the leaders of the II. International had set such great hopes, a new manoeuvre of the II. International was to be expected. This purpose is served by the session of the Executive of the II. International which is being held in Berlin.

From 22 countries the representatives of some of the most scandalous coalitions with the bourgeoisie have met together. But it is again a purely **European** assembly. There is not a single representative present from the Asiatic or African countries, i. e. from those territories which are witnessing the great revolutionary upsurge. Nor is there a representative from any colony.

And now with regard to the agenda. The disarmament swindle is bankrupt. When the League of Nations has had to postpone the question of disarmament until 1936, when even bourgeois newspapers speak of the disarmament fiasco of the socialist MacDonald, what can one say to the masses regarding the further progress of international reconciliation and the abolition of war and the danger of war?

In India, a war is going on between quite differently equipped armies. The British troops, who are armed to the teeth, do not shrink from firing on defenceless women and children, from bombarding and setting fire to towns and villages. And this army is under the command of no one else than the apostle of peace MacDonald, one of the shining lights of the II. International.

No wonder that the Indian question is worrying the minds of the social fascists, that they discuss it for hours and finally find it necessary to set up a commission on the Indian question. Of course not for the purpose of working out a plan for colonial emancipation or even for mobilising the masses for the Indian revolution. There will be no word of condemnation or of protest against the bloody deeds of MacDonald: the throttling of the Indian revolution will be passed over as an "inner" question of the British empire, of the British section of the II. International. It will be merely a question of finding an appropriate formula to give some justification to the twists and wriggles which the social democratic press of the various countries will be compelled to make in face of the murderous deeds of MacDonald.

The resolution on the economic situation is practically nothing else but an open deception of the workers. This International, which has everywhere promoted and supported capitalist rationalisation at the cost of the working class, is now shedding crocodile's tears over the "millions of unemployed", and proceeds to sing the praise of free trade without even mentioning the possibility of a solution of the unemployment problem **outside** of the capitalist order. The ratification of the Washington Agreement on the eight-hour day is the most radical demand which the Second International is able to recommend to the working class in face of the world economic crisis.

In the disarmament question itself, which is supposed to form the main question at the Session, one only hears the miserable repetition of worn-out pacifist phrases. That the French armament programme was not only voted for by the socialists but was **worked out** by M. Paul Boncour and defended against all attacks; that according to the statements of Herr Groener, the German War Minister, the **Hermann Müller Cabinet** had approved beforehand the building of a whole **series of armoured cruisers** for 1931; that the **British Labour Party** is not only maintaining intact the British army and navy but is constantly **increasing** them; that the Polish P. P. S. approves and supports Pilsudski's armaments—all this of course is neither condemned nor even mentioned in the speeches and resolutions which speak in such ecstatic terms on the future world-disarmament.

On the other hand, the report on Soviet Russia, delivered by the notorious counter-revolutionary Abramovitch, undoubtedly means a fresh link in the **imperialist war preparations**. Following the Pope, the industrial federations and the reactionary groups of the various countries, the highest authority of that body calling itself the Labour and Socialist International now pronounces its anathema against the Soviet Union. In the present extremely tense political atmosphere of increased war incitement, of activity of the various conspirators and forgers, this new step taken by the II. International against the Soviet Union means nothing else than a direct attempt to kindle war against Soviet Russia.

The reasons for this dastardly act are all too obvious. The whining over the fate of the kulaks who have been driven from their land is intended to divert attention from the really monstrous and abominable deeds of **British imperialism** in Nigeria, South Africa, Palestine and before all in India. It is intended indirectly to "justify" the violent methods employed by MacDonald. In addition, the social fascists are unable to conceal their disquietude over the tremendous successes of the first two years of the **Five-Year Plan**. When even Vandervelde, at a an interview recently given by him, had to admit the successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, many leaders of the II. International fully realise that the perspective of socialist construction is anything but bad. They realise even more clearly that the success of the Five-Year Plan means the death of the II. International. Hence, the growth of **interventionist** tendencies in the II. International, the furious language adopted against the Soviet Union and the counter-revolutionary decisions passed by the present Executive.

The meeting of the Executive of the II. International forms an important stage in the process of the fascisation of this body. This meeting of the Executive, and its decisions will serve to show the workers how necessary it is ruthlessly and determinedly to fight this International, as such, and its various sections in order to clear the way for the emancipation of the working class and for the overthrow of Imperialism.

A. J. Cook's Mission in Poland

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

Mr. A. J. Cook, the General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, is at present in Poland in connection with the Congress of the **Amsterdam Miners' International** now being held at Cracow.

A few years ago the Polish and also the entire bourgeois and social-fascist press of the world had nothing but abuse for A. J. Cook. At that time he was regarded as a Communist, as a leader of the revolutionary movement of the English and of the international proletariat. Only two years ago Pilsudski's government refused to grant Cook a visa to enter Poland.

Today, Cook states in an interview which he gave to the London correspondent of the Cracow fascist "Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny" (see issue of April 30th 1930), that he is pleased that no difficulties have been made in connection with his journey to Poland.

"I am very pleased", he said, "that the Polish government, as well as the mineowners, wish to be helpful in order that I may be able to derive an objective picture of the conditions in the Polish coal industry."

Cook never was a Communist. Today, however, he is an **open enemy of the English and of the international revolutionary movement and of the Soviet Union**. He is today one of the props of the "socialist" MacDonald Government, which is preparing for war against the Soviet Union and wishes to drown in blood the revolt of the toiling masses of India against capitalism and against the English conquerors.

As a result of exploitation, of high prices and unemployment, the Polish miners are becoming more revolutionary and the working masses of Poland in general are in a state of increasing ferment. Mr. Cook is therefore to make a **tour of the Cracow and the Upper Silesian coal fields** in order, with his demagogic phrases and his lying figures, to **keep the Polish miners back from the fight against capitalism and against the fascist dictatorship, whose chief task is war against the Soviet Union**. Cook will tell the Polish miners, that which he already stated to the London correspondent of the Cracow paper namely:

"the real wages of the Polish miners are higher than those of the English miners. In the Polish mining industry wages have risen 40 per cent. in comparison with 1914, whilst in England, on the other hand, they have fallen by 40 per cent."

This assertion is a downright lie. Even according to the Polish official statistics the wages of the Polish miners are only 97 per cent of pre-war wages, while at the same time the productivity of labour has increased by 111 per cent, compared with pre-war time!

According to the figures of the Commission of Enquiry set up by the Pilsudski government, wages in the coal industry amounted in February 1929 to about 80 per cent. of pre-war wages. According to the report of the same Commission, 16 per cent. of the workers in the Cracow coal fields earned only 33.5 per cent. of the pre-war wages, i.e., less than 100 Zloty (a little more than 11 dollars) a month.

The actual state of affairs is much worse than these faked figures of the official Enquiry Commission portray. If Mr. Cook wishes to compare the wages of the Polish workers with the wages of the English miners, we will quote him a few figures. According to the figures of the **International Labour Office of the League of Nations**, the wages of the Polish miners in Upper Silesia compared with the real wages of the miners in England were as follows: 1925—53 per cent, 1926—54 per cent, 1927—47 per cent; in the **Dombrow coal area**: 1925—53 per cent, 1926—51 per cent, 1927—49 per cent.

Has there been an improvement in 1929/30? At present only 15-20 per cent of the miners earn the minimum necessary for existence, and only 2-3 per cent earn anything over it.

The wages of the Polish miners are the lowest in all Europe. Today the starvation wages of the Polish miners are being cut down still further as a result of the economic crisis, which is leading to mass unemployment and short time. Thus, in the Dombrow coal field all the pits have been working only three days a week since the New Year. In Upper Silesia the number of idle shifts is increasing. In February last the miners worked only 18 days in the month. Finally, the Polish mining barons, taking advantage of the growing unemployment, are launching a **fresh attack on the starvation wages of the workers**. To give one example: The owners of the iron mining works near Czenstochowa have announced a **10 per cent wage cut**.

Mr. Cook, the guest and at the same time the lackey of the Polish coal barons, can lie as much as he likes in the social fascist press and at the Cracow Congress of the Miners International, but should he venture to show his face in the pits, the miners will soon cut short his social fascist demagogy.

Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. J.

Concluding Speech of Comrade Manuisky.

1. The Unequal Development of the Revolutionary Movement.

Comrades, the speeches of Comrades Semard, Pollitt, Garlandi, Katayama and other comrades have given a characterisation of the economic position in the various countries, supplementing the picture of the spread of the world economic crisis from the U.S.A. to other countries. Comrade Ercoli and Remmele, in their speeches, raised some questions of principle with which I shall have to deal today in my closing remarks.

Before going over to these questions it is essential to make one preliminary observation. One of those who spoke here declared that questions such as that of the character of the present crisis and of its nature are academic, and that tactical conclusions may be drawn independently of whether this is a cyclic crisis or whether it represents an expression of the general crisis of capitalism. Such a way of putting the problem is absolutely wrong, for the question of revising Marx' teaching on the subject of crises is for every Communist a far from academic question. It is a question to which every Communist must give the reply. Secondly, to say only that the present crisis is purely the expression of the general world crisis means to say either too much or too little. It is too much because, after all, it is not absolutely beyond the bounds of possibility that after the present world crisis, which is deepening the general world crisis of capitalism, the capitalist world will live through a new wave of capitalist rationalisation, that is to say, a new period of restoration of basic capital, which will bring in its train a feverish temporary boom in industry and commerce. Further, this way of putting the problem says too little also because it leaves quite out of account the specific peculiarities of the present situation. Surely, it is a fact that the general crisis of capitalism which began with the world war, existed in 1924, in 1925 and in the subsequent years, and nevertheless we had no such sharp fall of prices, no such decline of output on a world scale, no such gigantic growth of unemployment, no such disquiet amongst the ruling classes, no such flurry of the "Labour" and Social Democratic Governments in search of a solution, as we have today. Not to notice this means not to give the reply which the Sections of the Communist International expect of this Presidium.

That is why the question of the nature of the crisis is a far from futile or academic question, and cannot be passed by without adversely affecting our tactical conclusions.

I pass now to the main question — the general scheme of our theses.

Comrades Ercoli and Remmele dwell in detail on the inequality of development of the rising revolutionary wave, consequent upon the inequality of development of capitalism. Comrade Remmele drew from this the conclusion that we must, in analysing the revolutionary revival, take into account the variety of the revolutionary forms of struggle in different countries which are at different stages of revolutionary development. Comrade Ercoli warned us against, in our absorption in everyday petty work, overlooking higher forms of struggle and a higher level of development of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, or, for example, in Spain. I already pointed out in my report that it is not Spain which decides the fate of the world proletarian revolution. One must realise clearly that, in spite of the forms of civil war which the revolutionary revival is taking in Spain, the working class plays as yet a very weak part in that movement. By force of this circumstance, such movements pass as an episode across the screen of history, not leaving behind a deep trace in the consciousness of the working masses and not enriching their experience of the class struggle. An individual partial strike may have for the international working class more meaning than this kind of "revolution" of the Spanish type, which takes place without the leading part being played by the Communist Party and the proletariat. This, of course, does not mean that the fall of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera will exercise no influence, either on the labour move-

ment in Spain or on the struggle of the proletariat against the fascist dictatorship, in such countries as Italy.

I believe Comrades Ercoli and Remmele were correct in their general remarks on the inequality of the development of the revolutionary process. It is with this inequality that the tactical scheme of the Comintern is bound up. But I must emphasise, comrades, not only the unequal development of the revolutionary revival in the capitalist countries, but also the inequality in the scale of the revolutionary upward surge in the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries. Of course, the scale of work of the C.P.S.U. is different, and is hardly comparable with the scale of work of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. This is inevitable, since the C.P.S.U. is a party which is realising in effect the proletarian dictatorship. Thus, inequality rooted in the very nature of the two types of Communist Party: the party which is only fighting for the proletarian dictatorship and the party which is realising it in practice; and this inequality will remain in force until the world proletarian revolution. But at some moments it is stronger, at other times it is weaker. If the revolutionary movement proceeded in the capitalist countries at hurricane speed, like the movement of 1918—19 in Germany, this disproportion would be considerably diminished. But it now shows itself with particular sharpness to the extent that, on the one hand, the rising revolutionary wave of the labour movement in the capitalist countries has not yet reached such a speed, and on the other hand, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the proletariat and poorest and middle peasantry in the U.S.S.R. has made it possible for the C.P.S.U. to go forward, on the broadest front from the Beresina to Vladivostok, to the rooting out of the elements of capitalism in the villages and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class. The C.P.S.U. has begun a gigantic task, the importance of which for the building of Socialist society in the U.S.S.R. and the fate of the world proletarian movement is immeasurable. The unprecedented wave of enthusiasm of the workers of the U.S.S.R. breaks through age-long customs and traditions of millions, century-old bulwarks of backwardness and stagnation of peasant economy, and rebuilds it on the basis of collectivisation, building a machine and tractor foundation beneath it. This is no trifle: its achievement in the space of a few years will alter the whole face of the Soviet country, drawing millions of peasants into the sphere of Socialist economy. The whole capitalist world is at present bristling up with bayonets against this greatest turning-point of all, which will consolidate and greatly extend the battle positions of the world revolutionary labour movement. But this turning point could be reached only by a strong forward movement under the firm leadership of the C.P.S.U.

This is basic fact, and on the background of this basic fact we see more clear-cut the lagging-behind of the world revolutionary movement. If the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries had laid at the foundations of their tactical policy the rate at which the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. is advancing, this would have meant a common offensive of the proletariat against the capitalist class. But neither all the objective nor the subjective premises have matured for this common offensive. Of course, if there were a mass Party in Great Britain and not a Party of 5,000 members, if the crisis in America had found a Communist Party already deeply rooted in the masses, if social-fascism were going through its death agony in the European countries, if vast masses of the proletariat were answering to the slogans and appeals of the Communist Parties, then the question of the general offensive of the proletariat in the capitalist countries would stand otherwise than it does today. But the Communist International would be a bad leader of the world labour movement if it did not set itself the task of overcoming this shortcoming, if it did not urge on the proletarian reserves which are lagging behind, if it did not call upon its Sections to enter into a determined campaign to straighten out the world front of proletarian struggle. But if the Sections of the Comintern have not yet matured sufficiently for a general

attack against capitalism, they have sufficiently matured in order, supported by the working class and the toiling masses of the colonies, to offer resistance to the world bourgeoisie should the latter undertake a general offensive against the world labour movement and against the U.S.S.R.

A serious hindrance to such a general offensive by the bourgeoisie is the disturbed rear which it possesses in the conditions of the present developing world crisis. The bourgeoisie has in its rear millions of unemployed, the most profound mass discontent of the working class, the growing revolutionisation of the peasant masses, the unquenchable national revolutionary movement in the colonies, ferment amongst the soldiers in the imperialist armies. And if the ruling classes of the capitalist countries were to venture on such a general offensive, the historic retribution would not be slow in appearing.

The second disproportion arises from the inequality of revolutionary development in the capitalist countries. On the one hand, we have before us the colonial countries, in which big revolutionary events are already taking place: this applies to India and partly to China. Further, we have the weak links in the capitalist chain where the processes of capitalist decay and disintegration are taking place much more rapidly than in the great capitalist countries: for example, Spain and Poland. Lastly, we have a higher revolutionary level in Germany than in other capitalist countries, for there we have a strong Communist Party. On the other hand, we have before us the advanced capitalist countries—France, Britain, America—where the working class movement has not gone beyond the stage of economic strikes. There are many more elements of political struggle today in Rumania, the Balkans, Poland, than in the proletarian movement in the advanced capitalist countries. We Communists always speak of the necessity of drawing our reserves up to the vanguard, in order that the vanguard should not hasten ahead too far and be crushed by our class enemy. Usually, it is the working class of the advanced capitalist countries which we associate with the idea of "vanguard", and the toilers of the colonies with the idea of "reserves". But what are we to do, comrades, if history produces quite a paradoxical situation for us, in which we have to draw the Lancashire weaver up to the Bombay weaver and not vice versa? What are we to do if, in respect of fighting capacity, revolutionary energy and devotion, Lancashire, drags at the tail of Bombay? We must take the level of the revolutionary revival as it appears in reality, and not as we should like to see it. From this second disproportion there again arises the necessity of great detail work in urging forward the working class movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

And it is strange to hear the criticism of Comrade Rubinstein, who accuses me of not taking into account the fact that the growth of the Communist Parties can take place only on an objective revolutionary basis, and that there is a smack of revolutionary subjectivism about our way of stating the case. Comrade Rubinstein leaves out of account considerations of political timeliness and emphasis. Do the Communist Parties suffer, Comrade Rubinstein, from growing extremely rapidly while the revolutionary revival taking place slowly? Are they in peril of entering the fray, as a result of this subjective revolutionary full-bloodedness, earlier than the objective premises are mature? Or do our Parties run the risk that in a number of capitalist countries events may sweep over their heads?

For this, after all, is the root question. We are lagging behind. The level of our organisational leadership of the masses is in crying contradiction to the level of the revolutionary wave. And this is why the Comintern is concentrating the attention of all its Sections at the present time on this principal defect, this is why it is turning their attention to what must now be done to overcome our principal weaknesses.

2. The Struggle for the Masses at the Present Stage.

I should like now to sum up the discussion which has taken place at the Presidium. It seems to me that in our discussion we did very little to make concrete the slogan of detailed work at the present stage of the rising wave. We have now reached a moment in the advanced capitalist countries when we must put before ourselves clearly the task of developing the present economic strikes into political strikes.

Yet in our discussion we treat this main question in too abstract a manner. And here again our weakness shows itself in our agitation and propaganda approach to the working class movement.

We raised the question of the mass political strike at the X. Plenum. Have we done much to carry out mass political strikes in reality in the advanced capitalist countries after the X. Plenum? Very little, comrades. Take, for example, our August 1st campaign. Apart from Greece and France, where attempts were made to achieve a mass political strike, there were not even any such attempts in other countries. Were we then mistaken in our estimate of the situation? Are there not even the proper conditions for political struggle on the part of the working class? It is a mistake to think so. These conditions are developing, they are being prepared by the force of development of the class struggle in recent years, and by the universal development of bourgeois democracy into fascism. More than ever before, it is precisely in the third period of the post-war development of the labour movement that economics are interwoven in the closest possible way with politics. The working class struggle is difficult precisely because when it arises, even for individual and partial reasons, the working class finds itself up against the whole monstrous machine of the capitalist State. It is not so easy to break the capitalist "triangle" (the employer, the social-fascist, the capitalist State*). But the political strike, even if it does not break up the triangle, nevertheless, compared with economic strikes, represents a very serious blow at that body. If we are seriously considering the problem of the mass political strike as experienced revolutionary politicians, we cannot confine ourselves to general phrases about it, but must make a concrete analysis of the circumstances in which the Communist Parties have to carry out such strikes: the success of which depends on a number of conditions. The mass political strike pre-supposes the disorganisation of the government machine, a certain degree of activity among the masses, appropriate agitation and organisational preparatory work by the Party among the masses, and, finally, the preparedness of the Party cadres themselves to fulfil this task. In countries where there are traditions of mass political strikes, it is easier to carry them into effect than in countries where the proletariat has had no such experience in the past. In France, for example, they are easier to carry out than in Germany, and in Germany easier than in Great Britain.

Furthermore, if we do not link up the realisation of the mass political strike in the advanced capitalist countries merely with spontaneous events, but make them dependent also upon the guiding part played by the Communist Party in preparing, organising and carrying through such strikes, it must be quite obvious that one of the most important conditions for success is the undermining of the influence of social democracy within the working class. This, of course, does not mean that we must first destroy social-democracy and only then set about carrying through mass political strikes. Such an approach would be simply capitulation. Social-democracy can be destroyed only by developing the class struggle in all its force, and at the present stage of the working class movement first and foremost by developing the mass political strike. But this means that the Communist Parties must connect the question of the mass political strike most closely with tireless work directed towards winning the working masses away from the influence of social democracy. If previously we regarded the destruction and undermining of social democratic influence over the working masses from the angle of revolutionary perspective, the world crisis today raises this issue as a problem of the moment.

The leftward swing of the working class is not a legend, comrades. The question of the paths and methods for destroying the influence of social-democracy over the working masses is today a fundamental question. Has it been reflected in our discussion, comrades? After all, we have accumulated a certain amount of experience, even though occasionally it be of a negative character, as in Austria. Should we not have subjected our failures to severe criticism? But this did not

* In Soviet factories the Red director, the Chairman of the factory committee, and the Secretary of the Communist Party cell, constitute the "triangle" and consult on all important matters.

take place. It stands to reason that in a revolutionary situation the destruction of social-democratic influence will take place otherwise than at present. In a revolutionary situation the disintegration of social fascism will take place in catastrophic landslides, whole masses of workers will break off from social-democracy. Social-fascism will share the common fate of capitalism. When the latter shakes, the basis of social-fascism breaks up, and it breaks up itself. But, regrettably enough, we are not yet at that level of the revolutionary upward surge. We still have to work a great deal, and experience more than one setback, before we succeed in winning away large sections of the social-democratic workers from their party. It is a mistake to think that it is enough for us to give the right slogans and the masses will come to us. Long and stubborn work amongst the mass of social-democratic workers is still needed, persistent daily struggle for the soul of the social-democratic workers is required.

The maturing world crisis greatly reduces the social basis of the labour aristocracy, not only in Europe, but also in the U.S.A. The crisis has ruined considerable sections of that labour aristocracy in the U.S.A. It lost its "savings" in the Stock Exchange crash last October. The system of instalment payments, so widely practiced in America, revealed to the full its character as a system of financial servitude. A new word cropped up, the so-called "re-possession" i. e. when a firm which has sold goods on the hire-purchase system takes possession of them again from the workers owing to non-payment of the instalment dues.

The basis for the labour aristocracy in Europa was even more narrow, and is becoming, even narrower. The new wave of capitalist rationalisation will render superfluous new groups of skilled workers. All this is bound to affect the problem of the destruction of social democracy somewhat otherwise than was the case during all the years of relative capitalist stabilisation. This raises before the Communist Parties the question of the organisational channels into which the Communists will direct the discontent of the social-democratic masses. The question of these organisational channels is one of the most important questions on which we must concentrate the attention of the Communist Parties. It is first and foremost the problem of the role of the revolutionary trade union opposition at the present stage of the movement. The revolutionary trade union opposition is becoming the point of crystallisation and accumulation of all the elements which are leaving social-democracy and moving to Communism. The role of the revolutionary opposition is developing more today than at any time before in its history: it is becoming a matter of tremendous political importance. And hence, the importance of the experience which the German Communist Party can provide us with on the subject of the direction of the revolutionary trade union opposition into definite organisational channels. All Sections of the Communist International in countries where the trade union movement has not been split must follow this experience with the greatest possible attention, must study it, check it in their own concrete conditions.

The second channel of organisation is the red trade unions, which must inevitably, under the influence of the developing world economic crisis, extend their mass basis of organisation. Can we seriously speak of a revolutionary upward surge and imagine that the trade unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. will remain for months to come at the same level of mass organisation? In this respect, also, of great importance is the experience which the Communist Party of the United States provides for the Communist International in setting about the organisation of parallel unions.

Finally, the third channel of organisation is a broad network of all kinds of committees set up by the workers in the factories: unemployed committees, committees of action, strike committees, factory and works committees. Without this broad representation of the workers in the factories, it is no use talking about the Communists winning the majority of the working class. The Communist Parties embrace the best section of the workers, but as yet a very narrow one. Only with the help of such committees can the Communist Parties penetrate deeply into the factories.

Why do we now have a full-length discussion on these organisational channels? Because our whole experience has shown us that without them we cannot make a single step

forward. What do the very few months which have passed since the X. Plenum teach us? The Communist Parties were faced with a profound revolutionary revival in a number of countries, but failed to seize hold of the masses and to grasp the main essential question which is occupying their attention, which the broad masses are turning over in their mind. The masses do not develop in the same way as the Communist vanguard in Party schools develops. The masses do not learn from books. They proceed from their elementary requirements and on this basis they are drawn into action, into class battles. The task of the Bolsheviks is at any moment to be able to seize hold of these requirements of the masses. Was this question reflected in our discussion? No. Yet we have very great negative lessons to learn in this respect. Take for example the three types of countries where events have occurred in recent times and where the Communist Parties played no part at all. Austria is the first, Spain the second and the colonial countries third, where great movements develop without Communists participating or playing any part in them. We can talk as much as we like in resolutions about the dictatorship of the proletariat, its leadership in the revolutionary movement of other oppressed classes, but it will all remain written on sand until the Communist Parties learn how to lead mass movements on the basis of the immediate needs of the workers. Today, however, the movement in a number of countries has passed by the Communists, and in this is the main source of our weakness. And this brings us to the question of united front tactics. For what does seizing hold of mass demands mean? It means, not in words but in deeds, mobilising the widest possible mass of workers on the basis of the tactics of the united front.

The problem of the tactics of the united front from below now bears a somewhat different character from its form in the years of "stabilisation". We must frankly admit that we more often declaim about united front tactics than apply them. Yet, in the conditions of the present revolutionary developing wave, in the conditions of the progressing world crisis, the tactics of the united front at once acquire an exceptional revolutionary importance. If it is true that the bourgeoisie is attacking, and will still further attack the proletariat and the toiling masses of the colonies, striving to shift the burden of all the consequences of the crisis on to the workers and peasants, it is quite clear that the workers will have to beat off this attack, step by step, reply to the capitalist attack with a counter-attack, and fight for wages, against longer hours, against mass dismissals, for State maintenance of the unemployed. The social-fascists will restrain the workers from struggle by every possible means. They will not only appeal to the workers to maintain "national unity" in face of the economic catastrophe, but also aver that the present situation of crisis is very unfavourable for the development of a strike movement. In this they will be seconded by all the renegade groups of all the Brandlerite and Trotskyist types.

In our own ranks there will be people who will seek to hold back the Communist Party, warning it against the "strike fever". And Comrade Pollitt is wrong in thinking that to point out these difficulties will in any way act in a demoralising fashion on the Communist Parties. We are Bolsheviks precisely in order not to fear difficulties; we are Bolsheviks in order to resist everything which interferes with the development of the strike struggle. Comrade Pollitt fears that, if we connect the fact of the diminution in the number of strikes in Germany in 1929 with the arithmetical decrease in the number of workers engaged in industry, we may provide an argument in support of the Right wing theory that the crisis has a demoralising influence on the fighting capacity of the workers. But from where did he draw this conclusion? We cannot deny unquestioned truths. The decrease in the number of workers in industry—is it a fact which influences the decrease in the number of strikers at the given factory? Undoubtedly. And if there is a decrease in the number of workers engaged in the factories of the whole country, does not this have a similar influence on the total number of strikes and strikers? Of course it does—if we detach this fact from all others. But it does not all follow from this that the number of strikes is bound to diminish, if the number of workers engaged in industry diminishes—particularly at a time of crisis, which has a revolutionising influence on the working class. Even when there exists vast unemployment, the number

of strikes may and must increase, in as much as the very fact of unemployment revolutionises the working class. We must beat the Right wingers, not by denying facts, but by exposing their nature as capitulators. The Right wingers, by sowing lack of faith in the possibility of successful strikes during the present crisis, thereby disarm the working class, and disarm it at the very moment when the bourgeoisie is trying to shift all the consequences of the crisis on to its shoulders. Today we have already a decline in production and mass unemployment, tomorrow we will have a new wave of capitalist rationalisation, and at such a time the workers are told: "Don't strike, it is all useless". This is the ideology of capitulation, most contemptible and treacherous, against which we must fight with the utmost resolution, for in practice it leads to the renunciation of the struggle even for the immediate partial demands of the working class.*)

(To be concluded.)

The Tasks of the Communist Party of Germany.

Resolution Adopted by the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany and Endorsed by the Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

(February 1930.)

During the period since the X. Plenum, the C.P. of Germany has made considerable progress in the struggle for winning the majority of the working class, and in the organisational consolidation of its political influence over the masses.

By ruthless and tireless exposure of and struggle against the social-fascist policy of the coalition government and the trade union bureaucracy, by the consistent and determined resistance which the Party has put up against the reactionary policy of social democracy, and especially by organising political demonstrations, a number of economic strikes and a wide mass movement in defence of the interests of the unemployed (demonstrations, hunger marches, etc.), the Party has succeeded in undermining the influence of social-fascism in important strata of the working class (defeat of the Social Democrats at the municipal elections in Berlin, the Ruhr and other industrial centres), and in winning over new strata of the proletariat (victory at the Berlin municipal elections, victory at the factory and works committees elections in the Ruhr and other districts, successes in the sport and free-thinkers movements).

The Party has achieved considerable successes in regard to the organisational consolidation of its political influence over the masses. The national congress of the trade union opposition, which established a centre for the trade union opposition, and the district congresses which followed it, as a result of a big campaign carried out in the factories, mark an important stage in the process of organising the millions of workers who follow the slogans of the Communist Party of Germany.

The acceleration of the activity of a number of factory nuclei and Red factory committees, the important success achieved in the establishment of a united front of unemployed and employed workers, the energetic work conducted by a number of mass organisations, and the successful recruiting drive in Berlin, — all this, like the successful trade union opposition congress, undoubtedly bears witness to the growing activity of the Party.

The correct political line of the Party and its aggressive policy towards social-fascism have served to strengthen the Party, have compelled some of the conciliators (Ewert) to capitulate, and at the same time, have compelled the Brandenites to expose their social-democratic cards. The most important symptom of the growth of the political and organisational influence of the Party and of its internal consolidation, is the growth of the authority of the Party leadership in the Party itself, as well as among wide masses of workers.

The Central Committee proposes to continue in its course of developing wide self-criticism and encouraging local initiative to the utmost. Only by applying the method of self-criticism and by introducing an extensive system of control in all districts, local Party groups and revolutionary mass

organisations, will the Party succeed in increasing the tempo of its work, overcome certain shortcomings, weaknesses and hindrances that are to be observed (inadequate clarity in the struggle against "Left" social-fascism, especially in Saxony; slowing down of the fight to expose the social demagoguery of the fascists; very inadequate expansion of revolutionary delegate bodies in enterprises; inadequate Party recruiting drive in a number of industrial districts—Halle-Merseburg, etc.;—numerical weakness of factory nucleus membership; inadequate expansion of self-criticism in the lower organisations; opportunism in practice in a number of Red factory committees and nuclei;—for instance, Ullstein and Loewe in Berlin;—inadequate development of the ideological struggle against opportunism), the greater part of which have already been noted in recent decisions of the Political Bureau.

The immediate tasks of the C.P.G. are determined by the tasks arising from the struggle for winning the majority of the working class amidst the rapid intensification of class antagonisms called forth by the intensification of the crisis of the capitalist stabilisation in Germany, the preparations of the bourgeoisie and its social democratic lackeys for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship by launching a decisive attack on the C.P.G. and the revolutionary labour movement of Germany, the strenuous preparation for war against the U.S.S.R., the country of proletarian dictatorship, and the rapid growth of unemployment accompanied by the growth of the activity and revolutionary consciousness of the masses are:

a) To develop further the struggle against the Young Plan, which is an instrument for the enslavement and spoliation of the German proletariat, for developing the capitalist offensive against the workers in the victorious countries for preparing an economic blockade and armed intervention against the U.S.S.R., and is a factor operating to intensify the danger of war between the imperialists for the division of the imperialist booty. In this struggle the Party must set itself the aim of mobilising the masses around concrete typical slogans and also of popularising among the masses the programme of the proletarian mass struggle (economic strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, hunger marches, anti-fascist demonstrations), into mass political strikes.

b) Ruthless exposure of social-fascism, which is the principal support and the main force for the establishment of the next fascist dictatorship, and the chief organiser of war against the U.S.S.R. (in this connection, special attention should be paid to the exposure of the fascist role of the "Left" social democracy). The growing cooperation between social democracy and fascism must be ruthlessly exposed.

c) The Party organisation must be able to draw a distinction between ordinary workers in the factories, who are still under the influence of the social democrats and the social-fascist party apparatus, in order by means of a consistent application of the united front tactic from below to win these factory workers for the revolutionary front for the joint, energetic revolutionary struggle.

d) To organise and weld together the million strong army of unemployed by means of unemployed committees under the guidance of the trade union opposition and of the Party.

e) To develop the economic struggles under the slogan of struggle against capitalist rationalisation, for higher wages, against mass dismissals, for the 7-hour day without reduction of wages, with the view to developing these struggles, as well as all other forms of proletarian mass activity and proletarian mass activity and proletarian mass struggle (economic strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, hunger marches, anti-fascist demonstrations), into mass political strikes.

f) To link up the partial demands of the everyday struggles with the fundamental political Communist slogans; to advance concrete demands for all strata and sections of the working class down to each separate enterprise and factory department.

g) To organise the struggle of the poor peasantry and rural toilers against the yoke of the landowners and against the growing burden of taxation. To strengthen and improve Party work among office employees and all other strata of urban workers for the purpose of organising the struggle against exploitation by monopoly capital, against capitalist rationalisation and the finance policy attack of the Social Democratic Coalition Government.

h) To consolidate and develop still further the revolutionary trade union opposition in the German Federation of Trade

*) Comrade Manuisky then came to the third point of his speech—The Problem of Partial Demands. As this has already appeared in "Inprecorr." No. 17, 3/4/30, it is omitted from the present report. Ed.)

Unions and to reinforce to the utmost the work of the Communist fractions in trade unions. To strengthen to the utmost the ranks of the revolutionary trade union movement and its organisational centre. In order to widen the mass basis of the revolutionary trade union opposition, the following measures must be taken: to consolidate the organisation of the trade union opposition; to carefully register all readers of revolutionary trade union newspapers; to secure the collective affiliation of Red factory committees, revolutionary delegates, expelled oppositional trade union organisations, and also of unemployed committees to the revolutionary trade union opposition.

i) To mobilise the masses against the growing danger of suppression of the Communist Party and for the fight for legal existence by the development of mass work, the creation of mass organisations of proletarian self-defence for the purpose of protecting labour organisations and demonstrations from the attacks of social democrats and fascists and their police. This struggle for legal existence does not, however, preclude, but rather presupposes that proper measures will be taken in anticipation of the suppression of the Communist Party.

j) Strenuously to combat opportunism in practice, particularly in the sphere of trade union and municipal work, on the basis of the widest possible self-criticism from the top to the bottom. This fight is to be carried on against the avowed opportunists (Right) as well as against those who conceal their opportunism with "revolutionary phrases" ("Lefts"). It is absolutely essential periodically to convene conferences of toilers (factory workers, unemployed, petty-bourgeoisie) to whom the Communist fractions on municipal bodies must report regularly, in order that public control and the participation of the masses of the toilers may be maintained in regard to municipal politics, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

k) More energetically to recruit new members of the Party, particularly among workers in big enterprises, women workers and the working youth; district executives must concentrate their attention on the development of factory nuclei by extending the network of factory newspapers and consolidating and developing the factory nuclei system as basic organs for the Party leadership of mass work, on the renewal of cadres and their ideological education — the fulfilment of these tasks will guarantee success in the struggle for winning the majority of the working class.

The firmness and energy with which the C.P.G. has carried, and is carrying out the decisions of the VI. Congress and of the X. Plenum, are a guarantee that the Party will achieve considerable successes in the fulfilment of these new tasks in the struggle for winning the majority of the working class and in mobilising it for decisive revolutionary battles.

The Tasks of the Communist Sections Regarding Municipal Policy.

(Resolution of the Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I.)

1. Municipal work is a field in which the Communist Parties must strengthen their contacts with wide masses of workers. In view of the growing capitalist contradictions, the maturing general economic crisis, the enormous growth of unemployment, the rapid fascisation of the bourgeois State apparatus, the capitalist offensive against wide sections of the working class and sections of the non-proletarian population in the field of municipal politics as well as in other fields, and the growing activity of the masses—a correct Communist municipal policy can and must be made to serve as a lever for the mobilisation of the population from the influence of bourgeois parties, of fascism and social fascism.

While in all other fields of activity (especially in the trade union field) the Communist Sections have already begun to alter their tactics to correspond with the new stage in the class struggle, as far as municipal activity is concerned, however, hardly any of the Sections of the C.I. have brought about the change, nor, in the majority of cases, have they even begun to introduce it. More than that, the municipal activity of the C.I. Sections bears the imprint of opportunism in practice such as voting for municipal and police budgets, blocs with bourgeois parties (Czecho-Slovakia, France etc.), unprincipled subordination to bourgeois law and order, opportunist practice frequently degenerating into actual corruption (Gübel—Degner case in Berlin), and in all Sections of the C.I.

provides a refuge for opportunist elements. To bring about a decisive change in municipal activity is one of the most important general political tasks of the Sections of the C.I.

2. This decisive change in municipal activity presupposes a breach with social democratic traditions regarding the role of municipalities in the bourgeois State.

"The task of the proletariat is to break up the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, to destroy it, and with it also all parliamentary institutions, whether republican or constitutional-monarchist.

The same applies to bourgeois municipal institutions, and it would be wrong theoretically to draw a distinction between them and other organs of the State. They are, in fact, part and parcel of the bourgeois State which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local workers' councils." (Resolution of the II. Congress of the Communist International: "The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism.")

Consequently, it is wrong to demand that the bourgeois State power should concede "complete administrative and financial autonomy to the municipalities". (France.) To demand the extension of the right of self-government in accordance with the interests of the workers' and peasants', or "election of municipal officials" (Finland) can only foster the democratic illusions of the masses. Municipalities as such cannot serve as an "instrument of proletarian class struggle" (Denmark).

3. Communists repudiate the attempts of the opportunists to draw a distinction in principle between private and State capitalist enterprises and municipal enterprises. The same methods of capitalist exploitation are employed in municipal enterprises as are employed in private enterprises. With the fascisation of the capitalist State and municipal apparatus, municipal enterprises more and more become strongholds of fascism and social-fascism. Communists cannot demand "workers' control over municipal enterprises"; they can neither advance nor support the slogan of "municipalisation of public utilities" (which however, does not preclude Communists from voting against the transferring of municipal enterprises to private capital, provided they made it clear that a genuine struggle against the monopolist aspirations of the bourgeoisie can be carried on only in the form of a revolutionary struggle).

4. The change of tactics in the municipal field calls for ruthless struggle against opportunism in municipal practice of the Parties, first and foremost, the complete cessation of all cooperation whatsoever with the Social Democratic Party. Communists must not enter into election alliances either with the social-democrats, or with other bourgeois parties. They must not vote for social-democratic mayors, town councillors, chairman of town councils, etc. Working class majorities in municipal councils can be said to exist only where Communists alone, or workers and peasants pledged to work on the Communist platform and under Communist leadership have a majority.

5. The general line of the Communist Party in municipal work is to mobilise the toilers, primarily the working men and women employed in industry for a revolutionary struggle against the prevailing capitalist system.

"Where the Communists secure a majority in municipal councils, they must a) form a revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois central authority; b) do everything in their power to be of service to the poorest sections of the population (economic measures, organisation or attempt at organisation of an armed workers' militia, etc.); c) to take advantage of every opportunity to show how the bourgeois State authority puts obstacles in the way of every really important reform; d) to utilise this for strenuous revolutionary propaganda, not shrinking from conflicts with the State authority; e) under certain circumstances (in an acutely revolutionary situation) to replace the local self-government organs by local workers' councils. Thus, the work of the Communists on municipal bodies must form part of their work for the disintegration of the capitalist State." (Parliamentary Resolution, II. Congress, C.I.)

The Communists must use the municipal, as they do the parliamentary bodies as a platform for mobilising the masses for the revolutionary struggle.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. places on record that the Communist Parties have made very little use of the municipal

platform for the organisation of the mass struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascist reaction. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the Communist fractions on town councils have shown inadmissible passivity during the political campaigns of the Party and during mass movements in general.

In every campaign the Party carries on—against the war danger, against fascist and social-fascist terror, against mass dismissals, for carrying on economic or political strikes, etc. the municipal platform must be utilised for the purpose of explaining to the masses the Party slogans, to mobilise them for supporting the Party campaigns. Municipal councillors must at the same time be the principal Party agitators, the initiators in calling mass meetings, where they, as representatives of the workers, must show the connection between the class struggle in the country and the struggle around municipal questions in the given locality.

Especially in periods of illegality municipal posts must be used for continuing Party work.

In municipal election campaigns, Communists must put forward before the masses an extensive programme of partial demands, but they must not put forward such partial demands as are likely to foster democratic illusions among the masses.

Every Communist Party must draw up a programme of action of its own around which it must mobilise the workers. In this municipal programme, attention must be drawn first of all to the following partial demands:

a) To lead the struggle of the workers against fascism of all shades, to organise proletarian self-defence corps in opposition to the fascist and social-fascist shock troops, etc.

b) Systematic campaign against imperialist war and all war measures against the U.S.S.R., against billeting (of soldiers) and against the municipalities rendering assistance in recruiting: to establish connections with working class and peasant soldiers and sailors outside as well as within the given municipal area (by the system of "patronage") and to support their struggles against the drill sergeant regime.

c) To render assistance to the workers in their political and economic struggles by making grants to strike funds, giving financial support to strikers and locked out workers, organisation of free meals for strikers and their families, playgrounds, kindergarten and crèches for all workers' children, etc.

d) Wide support for unemployed, by exempting them from payment for municipal services, special grants for their support, the money for this purpose to be raised by increasing the taxes of the bourgeoisie, exemption of unemployed from paying rent to big house owners; organisation of public works for the purpose of providing employment such as hospitals, workmen's dwellings, etc., wages to be paid at not less than the customary rates in the given industry.

e) It is particularly important to exert every effort on municipal councils to enforce the class principle in municipal taxation, i. e. to raise the taxes of the propertied classes, especially of the wealthiest stratum, to reduce the share of taxes to be paid by the workers and other toilers, to completely exempt low paid workers and the disabled from taxation, etc. In this connection, revolutionary workers' representatives should not shrink from disregarding bourgeois laws and regulations.

f) Introduction of the 7-hour day and one-month annual leave for all workers (manual and non-manual) employed in municipal enterprises, four months' leave in connection with pregnancy, payment of all social insurance contributions from municipal funds.

g) Support for workers' mass organisations, cultural and educational organisations, sport leagues, freethinkers, etc.; support for proletarian organisations like the I.R.A., and W.I.R., by the municipality affiliating to these organisations.

h) In countries where there are national minorities, an energetic struggle must be carried on against any oppression of these national minorities, for the right of these national minorities to employ their own language in the conduct of the business of municipal institutions, for officially recognised schools where all subjects are taught in the language of the national minorities without control by priests and other reactionaries, and for the establishment of educational institutions capable of satisfying the political and cultural requirements of the national minorities.

i) To fight for the provision of facilities and equipment to

serve the cultural requirements of young men and women workers, to fight against all institutions which corrupt the minds of the working class youth.

j) To establish fraternal relations with municipal councils in the Soviet Union; to send delegates to the Soviet Union to study the working of the Five Year Plan and Socialist construction; to expose the slanders spread about the Soviet Union by the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists.

k) These general principles of Communist municipal policy must be supplemented by suitable demands for women workers, working men's wives, agricultural labourers and poor peasants (prohibition of distraint, free use of meadows and forests, remission of taxes for all persons in poor circumstances poor lower middle class) etc. These demands must be adapted to the concrete conditions prevailing in the particular country and municipality. (To be concluded.)

WORKERS DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION!

For the Sending of Workers' Delegations to the Soviet Union.

The International Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia appeals to the workers and workers' organisations of Germany, England, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Spain, Luxemburg, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Canada, and extends to them the invitation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union to send workers' delegations to the U.S.S.R. in June and July of this year.

The workers and working peasantry of the U.S.S.R. are defending themselves to the utmost of their powers against every attempt on the part of imperialism and its open and concealed lackeys, to interfere in the internal affairs of the proletarian state and to resort to armed intervention. The proletarians working in capitalist undertakings, the agricultural labourers and working peasants, and the intellectuals really sympathising with the proletariat, are given the opportunity of convincing themselves, either personally or through their representatives, as to the situation in the Soviet Union, at any time. This purpose is served by the workers' delegations which have been visiting the U.S.S.R. for years, and which systematically report on their impressions and experiences after their return, utterly confuting the slanders spread by the enemies of the U.S.S.R.

When the workers' delegations arrive in the U.S.S.R. in the summer of 1930, they will be able to convince themselves of the practical carrying out of the most decisively important part of the Five-Year Plan, the socialist transformation of agriculture. The delegates visiting the U.S.S.R. in the summer of 1930 will find a great task set them—that of probing the successes of socialist reconstruction, and of devoting serious study to its difficulties and the struggle for their elimination.

The workers' delegations are among the best tried and tested means of combating the calumnies and deceptions of the anti-Soviet press and organisations. The sending of workers' delegations enables the German metal workers, the English textile workers, the French railmen—indeed the whole of the workers of all capitalist countries, to judge for themselves how much truth is contained in the assertions of the capitalist and social democratic newspapers.

The greater the tasks waiting the workers' delegations, the more carefully must the election campaign be carried through in all countries. The International Committee recommends that measures be taken to ensure that the preponderant majority of the delegates chosen are workers who do not realise clearly the significance of the work of socialist reconstruction, or the real situation of the workers in the U.S.S.R. Precisely those workers who feel instinctive sympathy for the proletarian state, but are still greatly in doubt, should be given the opportunity of convincing themselves of facts on the spot. Elected by the workers, paid for by the pence of the workers, and responsible to the workers—this is how a workers' delegation should be formed.