

# INTERNATIONAL PRESS

Vol. 10 No. 27

5<sup>th</sup> June 1930

# CORRESPONDENCE

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

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## French Imperialism and the Syrian "Constitution"

By M. R. (Damascus).

For some months a growth of the revolutionary ferment has been observable in Syria. The general revolutionary upsurge in the colonial countries, and in particular the unrest which has prevailed in the Arab territories since the August insurrection in Palestine, are not failing to have an effect in Syria. In addition, there is the circumstance that, in spite of all the imposing plans of economic development made by the French imperialists, the economic crisis is steadily growing in all parts of Syria. Nearly every week agrarian collisions occur in various parts of the country as a result of the dire misery of the small peasants; the police or the tax officials are often attacked and driven away. In the towns there are to be seen increased efforts on the part of the workers to improve their position. These efforts are expressed in repeated wage demands, labour conflicts, strikes etc. Trade union organisations are being formed, which the government, which naturally designates as "Bolshevism" every attempt of the workers to help themselves, is only able to oppose by ruthless prohibition. (Only recently a workers' paper *Sot-el-Amal*, which had only been appearing two months, was suppressed.)

The French, therefore, have every reason to fear that, in spite of the use of considerable bodies of troops in Syria (the French army of occupation has not been reduced in the last few years following the suppression of the Syrian revolt), and in spite of the services rendered French imperialism by a part of the feudal landowners and the rich clergy of the type of the Syrian Prime Minister Tacheddin-el-Hassam, it is impossible to avoid an outbreak in Syria. Such an outbreak, however, in connection with the general revolutionary move-

ment in the colonies (China, India, Arabia) and in view of the serious difficulties of French imperialism itself in its colonies (Indo-China, Morocco, Guadeloupe etc.) would be exceedingly dangerous. In addition there is the circumstance that a new anti-French revolt in Syria would be made use of by Italy, with whom there has commenced a period of acute conflict.

The Syrian national bourgeoisie, who in the years 1927 to 1929 continually endeavoured to come to an agreement with the French, but who, after the dissolution of the Syrian Constituent Assembly on account of its refusal to capitulate on every point to the French, adopted an attitude of opposition, have in the last few weeks given French imperialism an unmistakable warning. Hashem Bey-el-Atassi, President of the dissolved Syrian Constituent Assembly, handed over a solemn protest, in which he pointed out that the Syrian people are no longer inclined to put up with the present state of affairs, which amounts to a complete domination of the country by the French imperialists.

This action compelled M. Ponsot, the French High Commissioner, to resort to a new manoeuvre, by which he hopes to draw at least the Syrian bourgeoisie over to his side in order to avert the threatening storm. In the year 1928, the Constituent Assembly, the organ of the Syrian bourgeoisie, drew up the draft of a Constitution for Syria. The French imperialists rejected this draft because it contained six clauses in which the sovereignty of the Syrian State, and thereby the non-recognition of the French mandate, was expressed. The French High Commissioner is now adopting this draft; he thereby accepts the leading ideas elaborated by the Syrian

bourgeoisie for its rule in the country, but keeps the steering wheel firmly in his hand by omitting the six clauses in question and replacing them by a formula according to which the Syrian State must not undertake anything that is contrary to the French mandate. Also in the question of the unity of Syria, which is a subject of fierce dispute between the Syrian national movement and French imperialism, Ponsot in his new manoeuvre remains true to the imperialist traditions. Simultaneously with Syria the dwarf States set up on Syrian territory: Lebanon, Alaouten, Jebel Druz, also receive a Constitution. Thus the country is further split up for imperialist purposes.

It is undoubtedly a clever manoeuvre on the part of French imperialism, after having for two years kept the Syrian bourgeoisie from sharing in political power, now, when the bourgeoisie under the pressure of the masses is beginning to adopt a threatening attitude, to throw a sop to it. It is doubtful, however, whether the nationalist Syrian bourgeoisie can now be satisfied with a sop. It has now committed itself to some demands, for example that of the unity of Syria, in the same way as the Egyptian Wafd did in the Sudan question and cannot therefore capitulate straightaway on this question. In addition, the excitement of the masses has in no way abated, and the workers of the towns and also the poor peasants are still in a state of ferment. The attempt to stir up religious fanaticism afresh (fight between Christians and Mohammedans in Lebanon) which will be undertaken in the last resort by the French, no longer meets with success, as the population already know how to discern behind clerical incitement a machination of the imperialists.

Therefore it is hardly likely that the Constitution manoeuvre of French imperialism in Syria will achieve its purpose.

## INDIA

### The Indian Mohammedans and the Revolutionary Movement.

Von V. Chattopadhyaya.

The imperialist press agencies have been busy, ever since the beginning of the present revolutionary wave, in creating the impression that the Mussulmans in India are keeping aloof from the movement for independence. And they are spreading statements to this effect in order to counteract the growing anti-British movement in the Arabian and other Muslim countries. But all the evidence that has been accumulating during the last six weeks goes to show the extraordinary solidarity that has characterised the mass movement of revolt.

During the last few years the Government of India had succeeded in creating Hindu-Mohammedan riots in almost all parts of the country, through the instrumentality of communal leaders who are fighting one another for obtaining more posts in the Imperialist Administration. That conflict has suddenly disappeared since the movement has been taken up by the masses. In other words, with the emergence of the class line in the struggle, the religious differences that had been skilfully exploited for years together by the feudal and bourgeois leaders in their own interests and in the service of imperialism have ceased to be any longer effective.

We now find that in the present phase of the movement, the Hindu and Mohammedan landlords are completely united in supporting the Government against the growing agrarian movement, the Hindu and Mohammedan industrial and commercial bourgeoisie are united in the suppression of the revolutionary movement of the workers and on the other hand, that the workers, peasants, and the city poor, without any distinction of their inherited or nominal religious beliefs, are united in the widespread revolt against imperialism.

Nearly all the conflicts that took place in former years between the two communities, the Hindus and the Mohammedans, were located in the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, where the Mussulman population is slightly in excess of the Hindu. In most cases the fights were engineered by feudal and clerical reactionaries whose religion was only a cover for the protection of their landed interests. But it is exactly from these two provinces that reports keep pouring in of the soli-

darity between the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim masses. The recent events in Peshawar have given conclusive proofs of the facts that the economic factors that bind the peasants and the workers are stronger than their traditional allegiance to their feudal and clerical chiefs. The whole country round Peshawar is mostly Mohammedan, and in the revolutionary organisations such as the "Red Shirts" of the Frontier and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Revolutionary Youth League), the membership is predominantly Mohammedan.

The "Times" correspondent speaks of "the artificial nature of the agitation stirred up among the Muslims of the North by walking delegates from Bombay or Bengal" (by which is insinuated that the delegates are Hindu agitators), and the Government of India's communiqué of May 5th condemns "the vain and criminal attempts to stir up trouble on the Frontier and to embroil Muslims in a movement opposed to their true interests"! But the "Times" special correspondent from Peshawar cannot conceal the growing agrarian revolt among the peasantry which is the true cause of the mass solidarity that has been so remarkable a feature of the events of the last few weeks. He admits that propagandists "have found ready soil for their seed in districts which are suffering from poor agricultural seasons, failure of crops, and a certain amount of unrest consequent on the systems of revenue and land tenancy".

The organisation of the "Red Shirts" which has its headquarters at Utmanzal is a good illustration of the new forces that are stirring among the Pathans (the Mussulmans of the North West). The Pathans are a fighting race and supply a number of regiments to the Imperialist Army. Their "fanatical devotion" to their religion was generally accepted as a fact, and they were often easily roused by their religious leaders against the Sikhs and the Hindus, when it suited the Government (though their religion did not prevent them from fighting against the Turks for the British Government). It was believed that even revolutionary propaganda among the Pathans should be based on their religion.

This seems to have been the case also with the "Red Shirts", who call themselves "Servants of God". Recruits are sworn in on the Koran to follow the teachings of Islam, to live a pure and righteous life, and to refrain from violent resistance if persecuted. These objects are anything but revolutionary. But the terrible economic conditions in the Pathan villages have forced them into the anti-imperialist struggle, and the well-disciplined "Red Shirts" are now marching from village to village with the war-cry of "Inkilaab zindabad" (Long live the Revolution) and creating organisations in every village. Their leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan has been arrested, and their allies from the other side of the Frontier — the Haji of Turangzai, Fazli Wahid, and his son Badshah Gul — who came to their support with an army, — have been forced to retire under bombardment by MacDonald's airplanes to the mountain fastnesses of Ghalanai and the village of Matta Mughal Khel, from where the "Red Shirts" are continuing their revolutionary activities in the surrounding areas.

These activities of the "Red Shirts" will have a far-reaching effect upon the peasantry and the Pathan regiments. When we consider that former areas of religious conflicts, such as Multan, Dera Ismail Khan, etc., have become centres of mass demonstrations in which all religious denominations have participated, that the efforts of the landlords to keep the Muslim peasants away from the struggle have completely failed, and that Hindu regiments have refused to fire upon Muslim demonstrators, we realise that in the Punjab we have come one step nearer to the agrarian revolution.

The active participation of the youth and poorer middle-class intellectuals of the Punjab in the anti-imperialist struggle is shown by the activities of the Congress committees and youth organisations. The most active and determined leaders of the Congress committees and of the so called "War Council" are Mohammedans like Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Mohammed Alani, whose arrests led to violent mass demonstrations. In Amritsar, the Sikh centre, the Muslim Youth Associations resolved unanimously to call upon all Muslims to participate actively in the struggle for national independence. On May Day all the branches of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Revolutionary Youth League), of which the membership is largely Mohammedan, took part in the celebrations and hoisted the Red Flag over the offices of the Sabha.

Similar is the position in Bengal. The Bengal Muslim Political Conference held at Chittagong unanimously passed a

resolution identifying the Conference fully and whole-heartedly with the present revolt and with the goal of complete national independence. The police have been doing their best to provoke religious feuds, as is proved by the fight provoked in Dacca on May 24th. But such instances of successful provocation have been rare, although the danger still remains and may prove a hindrance to the movement.

The resolution of the Bengal Conference was in full accordance with the resolution passed by the Jamiyat-el-Ulema-i-Hind (All-India Association of Muslim Scholars and Theologians) who issued a *fatwa* (religious ordinance) calling upon all Muslims to join the independence movement. The *fatwa* does not indicate that the *ulemas* have become revolutionary, but only that they have, in order to preserve their own position as religious leaders, given expression to the irresistible sentiment of the Muslim masses.

How strong the class-line has developed is shown by the movement in the province of Sind where the Muslims constitute 90 Prozent of the whole population.

The British Government has been arranging "Muslim Conferences" against the revolutionary movement. It is obvious that the "jackies" who do this work are landed proprietors. On May 22nd Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto (whose title explains itself) presided over a meeting of Muslims of the Three Upper Sind Districts held at Sukkur, and advised his colleagues — all landowners and upper middle-class gentry — "not to fall a prey to the Hindu schemes". But the answer to the gentlemen was given at a mass meeting of the Muslims held at Karachi on May 23rd, that endorsed the resolution of the Jamiyat-el-Ulema-i-Hind urging Muslims to take part in the movement for the independence of India and to carry out the programme of the Jamiyar which includes the publication of proscribed literature etc. In a conflict with the police next morning the masses shouted revolutionary war-cries.

The treacherous role that is being played by Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali cannot sufficiently often be exposed. Through their Khilafat agitation they have acquired a certain position in the Muslim world and while they are anxious to retain this popularity in the Arabian countries for whose independence they are agitating in India, they are afraid of the revolutionary mass movement which is developing in their own country. The recent mass meetings organised by them in Bombay and Madras and attended by over 100,000 Muslims passed resolutions in favour of Arab and Egyptian independence only, but also afforded a clear proof of fact that the Muslim masses in the cities are just as much in favour of India's independence.

The question of Muslims as a separate community does not arise in the case of the industrial workers, among whom economic and political factors alone count. The attempt to create "muslim" unions has failed. It is these industrial workers that are playing an important role in the destruction of the religious illusions that are still strong among the peasantry.

## POLITICS

### Intensification of the Crisis in Austria.

By R. Schüller (Vienna).

The uninterrupted economic and political crisis in Austria has taken a further turn for the worse. In order to overcome the crisis in Austria the entire forces of fascism, with the support of social fascism, last Autumn formed the Schober-Vaugoin government. But the activity of this government only served to aggravate further the class antagonisms. The Schober government has now been in power for seven months. It has attempted by means of the fascist alteration of the Constitution, the press law and the anti-terror law, to consolidate and develop further its dictatorial regime. These measures, which were passed with the support of the social fascists, have caused a further revolutionisation of the working masses. Economically the crisis of capitalism in Austria has become decidedly worse under the Schober government and has assumed the proportions of a catastrophe.

Having prepared the way by means of the anti-terror law, finance-capital and the fascist government is developing

an economic offensive along the whole line. This offensive is connected with the so-called investment loan. The Schober government is skilfully pushing this loan amounting to 100 million dollars, for which the Austrian bourgeoisie have long waited, into the foreground in order to give the social fascists an opportunity to join in the paens over the blessings of the dollar and to conceal the hunger-offensive of finance-capital. But this loan is the greatest piece of robbery which finance-capital has ever undertaken in Austria.

In reality, of this so-called investment loan only a very small fraction is to be applied for investment purposes, and this only for the building of roads of strategic-military importance. The far greater portion of the loan is simply taken by the fascist government and used for the purpose of strengthening the fascist State apparatus. In connection therewith there is being carried out the so-called **taxation reform**. The State reduces the taxes on property and capital by the amount of the loan. The capitalists thus receive a present of many hundred million shillings. The interest and the sinking fund on the loan is to be raised by an all-round increase of customs duties, by the limitation of all social expenditure on the part of the municipalities by fresh taxes, and before all by the most drastic **cutting down of unemployment benefit**. According to the new government bill, the young workers and the majority of seasonal workers are to be deprived of benefit. In all 150,000 unemployed are to be deprived of benefit. The scale of benefit to be reduced generally and the waiting period lengthened. Also all other social and economic rights which the workers still possess, such as the eight-hour day, sick insurance, payment for overtime etc. are being attacked.

Needless to say, this hunger-offensive of finance-capital is calling forth **increasing indignation and excitement among the working class**. Here the bourgeoisie proceeds to an **intensification of the fascist Schober-dictatorship**.

This intensification of the Schober dictatorship has been already shown by the renewed parades of the Heimwehr bands and the so-called **disarmament law**. This disarmament law is, of course, directed exclusively against the workers. And in fact Schober declared that this disarmament law in no way aims at reducing the means of defence of the law-abiding population.

Nevertheless, these assurances were insufficient for the Heimwehr, and they submitted an ultimatum to the government in which they demanded that **first the social-democratic defence corps should be disarmed under the supervision of the Heimwehr**, and that for this purpose the **Ministry of the Interior** and the leading positions in the police and gendarmerie should be occupied by Heimwehr leaders. At the same time the Heimwehr leaders in Korneuburg decided on a newly formulated oath which expressly declares "**for the fascist system**".

Schober and the government press replied to the Heimwehr ultimatum in a manner, which while formally "rejecting" the Heimwehr demands, in practice expresses the agreement of the Schober government with these demands. In spite of the minor differences in their own camp, Schober and the Heimwehr are in practice quite united on the fundamental question, i. e., the **disarming of the workers**, the sharpening of the fascist dictatorship and the carrying out of the fascist economic programme by the Schober government.

The social fascists want to persuade the workers that Schober is "**fighting**" against the Heimwehr; they are trying to disguise the fascist character of the Schober-Vaugoin government; they want to make out to the workers that the Schober government represents the last bulwark against the fascist dictatorship (whilst the Schober government is in fact this fascist dictatorial government!) and wish by this trickery to justify their support of the Schober government and conceal their treachery on the disarmament question.

Against this united front of the Heimwehr, the Schober government and the social fascists, it is necessary, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to strengthen the **united front of the working masses**. The revolutionising process in the Austrian working masses is increasing, and an influx in to the Communist Party has already set in. Since the 1st of April last 1100 new members, for the greater part social democratic workers, have joined the Communist Party. This fact proves that Communism is gaining ground among the social democratic workers.

# THE WHITE TERROR

## Storm over the United States of America.

By J. Louis Engdahl (New York).

Twenty workers face "the death penalty" in the United States today in such widely separated sections of the national as Massachusetts and Georgia, Kentucky and California.

"Treason!" is the cry for vengeance, from the lips of the American Legionnaire prosecuting attorney, Heald, in Imperial Valley, California, against 16 members of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial League.

"Attempting to incite insurrection", "distributing insurrectionary literature", declares the Georgia Prosecutor, Hudson, demanding death for **M. H. Powers**, Southern organiser of the Communist Party, and **Joe Carr**, organiser of the Young Communist League.

In Boston, **Leonard Doherty**, marine worker sits in Suffolk County Jail, facing a frame-up murder charge because of his militancy on the needle workers' strike picket line, in the city that saw Sacco and Vanzetti murdered three years ago. The Negro youth, **McPherson Anderson**, is being railroaded to a legal lynching in Crescent Springs, Kentucky. Sentence of death has already been pronounced.

Death for the twenty is the reply of the masters of industry to the hunger cry of the many millions. Death for workers on the gallows, in the electric chair of capitalist class justice.

This on the first anniversary of the heroic struggle of the Loran Mill strikers against the Manville-Jenckes tyranny at Gastonia, North Carolina, when on the night of June 7, 1929, police and lynch mob were forced to retreat before the armed guard of the strikers' tent colony.

The centre of struggle remains in the South. It grows among the spindles in the mills along the Dan River, at Danville, in Virginia; around the blast furnaces of the Birmingham, Alabama, steel mills; in Tennessee's mines as well as rayon plants; continuing to swell in the textile mills of North and South Carolina, in Georgia; echoed in the battles of labour in New Orleans.

In the early 60's of the last century, nearly 70 years ago, the Southern ruling class was continually haunted by the dread spectre of rebellious slaves, by the feared uprisings of Negroes held in chattel slavery on tobacco, sugar, cotton plantations. The Southern chattel slave owners wrote this fear into laws against insurrection. In Georgia, "The Code of 1861", 4214-Section 4, declared that "Exciting an insurrection or revolt of slaves is punishable by death".

In this same "Code of 1861" we have in 4215-Section 5, the following:

"If any person shall bring, introduce or circulate, or cause to be brought, introduced or circulated, or aid or assist or be in any manner instrumental in bringing, introducing or circulating within this state any printed or written paper, pamphlet, or circular for the purpose of exciting insurrection, revolt, conspiracy or resistance on the part of slaves, Negroes or free persons of colour in this state against citizens of this state or any part of them, guilty of high misdemeanor which is punishable by death."

These days saw the Civil War sweep through the South. By 1865 the Negro slaves had been "emancipated" by the decree of rising Northern capitalism; but only to feel the heavy chains of wage slavery shackled on their limbs, the same slavery that claimed white workers.

So the "Code of 1861" was amended to fit the new times. In 1866, still providing the death penalty, it was made to declare that "any attempt by persuasion or otherwise to induce others to join in any combined resistance to lawful authority of the state shall constitute an attempt to incite insurrection".

This code is in force in Georgia, as in many other southern states, to-day. It is for the South what the so-called criminal syndicalism or sedition laws are in 35 different states the nation over, powerful capitalist weapons against the working class.

Under this code in Georgia, Assistant Solicitor General

John Hudson, the prosecutor, seeks the lives of Powers and Carr.

The issues at Gastonia and Atlanta are pretty much the same; the right to organise militant unions, to unite Negro and white workers in class unions. In Atlanta as in Gastonia, Birmingham and elsewhere throughout the South, the trade Unionism of the American Federation of Labor is the staunchest ally of bosses, prosecutors, capitalist courts.

At first Powers and Carr were charged with disorderly conduct, unlawful assembly and with throwing a tear gas bomb. When the ridiculous nature of the bomb charge seeped into the police brain, the explanation was offered that while the police had actually thrown the bomb, nevertheless, Powers and Carr were to blame because the police had dropped the bomb becoming highly agitated while reading a leaflet they said they had found. While Powers and Carr were out on bail, the grand jury reconsidered the charges and finally returned indictments for "attempting to incite insurrection" and "distributing insurrectionary literature" on which they are now being held without bail in the Fulton Tower Prison at Atlanta, Georgia.

The prosecution pins its hopes for a guilty verdict on the insurrectionary literature charge on a leaflet issued by the Young Communist League, the first page containing a sketch of a Negro and white boy shaking hands.

These laws have never been put into force until now. It is exactly in the present period of growing industrialisation in the South, increasing radicalisation under the lash of the stretch-out (speed-up) system, that the boss class sharpens these legal weapons for the judicial lynching of Powers and Carr.

The electric chair, prisons, chain gangs, lynching mobs constitute the reply of the South, as in the nation, to the storm of labour's demands and protests. At the very moment of the arrest of Powers and Carr, the conference for Social Service, an employers' organisation, meeting at High Point, North Carolina, had to admit that deaths from the dreaded scourge of the textile areas — pellagra — from 1929 to 1930 had increased eight times as fast as the population; that the death rate for infants in the South still remained the highest in the nation, that starvation wages force whole families to seek work in the mills. Editorial pleas in the capitalist press (Greensboro, N. C. Daily Record, May 16, 1930) for finances to keep the breadlines going, constitute an open confession of increasing unemployment.

Sending children into the mills at an early age, the killing workday, failure to provide proper school facilities, especially for children of Negro parents, breeds illiteracy in the South as well as pellagra.

Franch J. Loesch, notorious as the chairman of the infamous Chicago Crime Commission, that uses the crime situation as an excuse for attacking foreign born workers, tells the Chattanooga University's Institute of Justice that illiterate voters must be disfranchised, even at the cost of revising every state constitution, if a social revolution is to be prevented. This is merely another method of disfranchising large numbers of Negro and white workers who should be qualified voters.

Under pressure of labour's protests, the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, meeting at Pinehurst, N. C., hypocritically goes on record for the 50-hour-week for night work and the 55-hour-week for day work, as labour raises the demand for the seven-hour-day and the five-day-week.

In the midst of it all the employers' weekly, "Atlanta Life" hysterically declares that, "The indictment of Powers and Carr is the answer of the state of Georgia to Communism".

Yet it is exactly the capitalist lust for the lives of Powers and Carr that illustrates perfectly the fact that it is the most simple activities of workers in their own interests, the distribution of leaflets, the holding of meetings, calling on members to join the militant unions under the banners of the Trade Union Unity League, that meet immediately with the most repressive measures of the bosses. These boss attacks are accompanied by wage cuts, increasing working hours, worsening conditions on the job that shorten the life span of the workers. Southern soil is stained red with the life blood of the working class. Lynching is a class weapon used by the bosses against workers, Negro and white. This becomes most apparent in the judicial lynching of labour's spokesmen — of Powers and Carr.

# FIRST OF MAY

## May Day in India.

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

The fact that all cable lines between India and the outside world are absolutely controlled by British imperialist agencies is being conspicuously brought home not only to the labour press but even to the bourgeois press of Europe and America in connection with the present revolutionary mass movement in India. The MacDonald Government is determined to isolate India as far as possible, so that no help or stimulus from outside should be given to the great mass revolt of the Indian people for their independence, and also that the world proletariat should be kept ignorant of the regime of terror with which the revolt of the Indian masses is being met. This deliberate isolation was very clearly shown by the suppression of all news regarding the **May Day celebrations** in India. There was just one telegram of 11 lines in the "Times" of May 2nd in which the following was reported:—

"May Day passed quietly in Calcutta. By leaflet and street propaganda efforts had been made to promote a complete **hartal**. Although shops and bazars in the native quarters closed their doors and there was a deficiency of omnibuses and taxicabs, the city was quiet, a full service of tramcars was run, and the streets were less crowded than usual. Extra police were stationed in all dangerous areas, and their presence discouraged demonstrations....."

This telegram suppresses the truth about the actual happenings in **Calcutta**, while it does not even mention the magnificent demonstrations in all the industrial areas. We are in a position today to give a few facts to show how the class-conscious proletariat of India gave proof of its solidarity with the international proletariat on May Day.

In **Calcutta** the partial strikes and street demonstrations took place in the face of the terror initiated by the Government against the working-class and youth organisations. The offices of the trade unions (jute workers, textile workers, etc.), of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, of the youth and students' organisations were constantly raided by the police, and the officials and several workers arrested just a few days before May 1st. P. K. Mojumder, Manager of the **Jugabarta Press** was arrested on April 30th because he had published an account of the May Day celebration, and Nipendranath Choudhuri was arrested on the same day as publisher of the **May Day Bulletin**. The "Times" reporter did not mention the fact (reported by the Nationalist "Free Press of India") that the omnibuses and taxis did not run in spite of the fact that the police had threatened to cancel the licenses of the drivers if they did not turn up on duty as usual. Not only the regular police but military pickets were stationed at road crossings, and special military and police forces were concentrated in the Bhowanipore quarter where the recent violent conflicts had taken place between the masses of demonstrators and the police.

In **Lahore**, where British Imperialism had often succeeded in setting up religious riots between Hindus and Mohammedans, remarkable solidarity and revolutionary enthusiasm was displayed by the workers. According to the report in the "Tribune" of Lahore, the mass meeting convened on May Day by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Revolutionary Youth League) was particularly marked by the strong participation of the workers of the city. The most active interest was displayed by the railway workers (North Western Railway) who turned out in full force. Speeches were made explaining the significance of May Day, condemning capitalism, and calling upon the workers to unite for the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism. The first resolution unanimously passed was one expressing solidarity with imprisoned Communist workers all over the world and welcoming the international brotherhood of workers and peasants.

In **Amritsar**, the ground had been well prepared by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha as well as by the Workers' and Peasants' Party. Propaganda for May Day had been made by leaflets and posters in Urdu and Gurmukhi (the languages of the Panjab) and the revolutionary monthly magazine, the **Kirti**, published at Amritsar, issued a May number in both languages containing splendid articles on May Day, on Marx, Lenin, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. A mass meeting was organised by the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, and a procession was then formed which marched through the principal streets, terminating in the park **Jallianwala Bagh**, the scene of the unforgettable massacre of workers and peasants perpetrated by General Dyer on April 13th, 1919. At that place the Red Flag was hoisted, and Comrade Ajit Singh in hoisting the flag, exhorted the large mass of assembled workers "to maintain the honour of the flag at all costs."

The reports of the celebrations in South India show the influence that is still exercised by the religious-reformist labour leaders Shiva Rao, Giri & Co., who are doing their best to keep down the revolutionary temper of the workers. No details are to hand of the very well attended and successful demonstration held at **Gondia** under the auspices of the B.N.R. (Bengal-Nagpur Railway) Labour Union. At the special meeting organised by the **Perambur** Branch of the M. S. M. (Madras Southern Mahratta) Railway Employees' Union, the chairman Govindrajula Naidu made a speech on the present situation in the country and on the need for strictly adhering to non-violence!!! Resolutions were passed condemning the police for resorting to shooting and dispersing demonstrators, but also asking for contributions to the **Satyagraha** (non-violent) fund!

In **Coimbatore**, an important industrial centre, a meeting of all the workers of the town was held and the first item of the programme was the hoisting of the Red Flag. Resolutions were passed conveying fraternal greetings to the workers of the world on the celebration of May Day, and demanding the release of the Meerut and other class war prisoners in India. But before the resolutions were passed the President of the Labour Union, Ramaswami Aiyengar, declared that in the existing circumstances the only way open to India to achieve independence was by following the principles of Gandhi and fully imbibing the spirit of non-violence! After the meeting a procession was formed which marched through the principal streets of the town, carrying the Red Flag but nevertheless shouting "Gandhi ki jai" (victory to Gandhi)!

It is obvious that the finest demonstrations took place in **Bombay**, the city of the revolutionary textile and railway workers, of the most advanced section of the Indian proletariat. During the whole day there were several processions of employed and unemployed workers, led by the recently organised Workers' Volunteer Corps, wearing red badges with the emblem of Hammer and Sickle. In the evening a very well attended mass meeting was held at Parel and from there the workers marched in procession to Chowpatty. The special May Day number of the "Workers' Weekly", the organ of the militant working class, published in Bombay, issued a stirring appeal to the oppressed masses of India to make May Day the symbol of the fight against imperialism, against capitalism, against international reformism and social fascism.

While the above-mentioned facts show to some extent the solidarity that was displayed by the Indian workers with the international revolutionary working class, it should also be remembered that solidarity with the Indian workers constituted one of the central features of the May Day demonstrations of the European and American proletariat. One of the outstanding slogans of the mass demonstrations in **London** and **New York** was "for the Independence of India and support for the Indian Revolution". It is the most important immediate task of the workers of the world to carry these slogans into action and to organise the widest possible moral and material support for the workers and peasants of India in their heroic struggle against foreign and native enemies for their national and social emancipation.

## Economics

# The Economic Crisis in Britain.

By W. Rust (London).

The effect of the world economic crisis on Great Britain is strikingly shown in recent official reports concerning trade returns of the state of industry.

**Unemployment** has now reached the huge total of 1,739,500 an increase of 640,000 since the Labour Government took office last year. These figures relate only to the number of officially registered unemployed and are in fact a gross under-estimation.

That prospects for the winter are especially gloomy is shown by the report that orders being placed now are very limited and in the words of the extreme Conservative "Morning Post" "manufacturers and business men are really seriously disturbed", at the certainty that "next winter is going to be the blackest since the war from the unemployment view".

The Ministry of Labour has issued the following illuminating commentary on the state of the various industries:

Coal mining.	Slack.
Iron and Shale mining.	Fair.
Pig Iron.	A further decline.
Shipbuilding.	Very bad.
Engineering.	Bad on the whole.
Cotton.	Much worse.
Wool.	Continuing bad.
Boots and shoes.	Moderate on the whole.
Bricks.	Slight improvement.
Pottery.	A further decline.
Paper and Printing.	Fair generally.
Dock Labour.	Slack.
Seamen.	Moderate.

The entire capitalist press is very gloomy—with good reason—about the Board of Trade returns of overseas trade for the month of April.

The value of **imports and exports** for April were the lowest in the range of the twenty-eight months covered by the Board of Trade Returns. Compared with the corresponding month of 1929 the decline in trade was £36,121,664 made up as follows:

Imports	£20,206,330
Exports	£13,382,944
Re-exports	£ 2,532,390

Taking the first four months of this year in comparison with the corresponding period for last year, we get the following striking reductions:

Exports	£42,673,696
Imports	£30,418,578
Re-exports	£ 2,532,390

The returns show that the biggest fall in exports during April took place in the textile and metal industries. The drop on cotton yarns amounted to £4,248,262 and on iron and steel manufactures to £1,023,403.

So far as imports are concerned, raw materials showed the following drop for the first four months of the year:

Cotton	£12,519,934
Wool	£ 8,773,029
Oilseeds, etc.	£ 3,827,364
Other textiles	£ 1,211,682

The heavy decline is also shown by the returns regarding the quantity of exports.

Of twenty three sections into which iron and steel manufactures are divided, only two show a small increase. The total exports fell from 339,804 tons in April last year to 267,995 in this, a drop of 71,809 tons.

Although coal showed an increased export of 1,553,230 tons for the four months it was down by 313,323 tons for April. This shows that the new slump in the coal industry has already got a firm grip.

**Cotton** yarns were 405,500 lbs. down for the month, 1,128,400 lb. for the four months. Cotton piece goods were 132,354,800 square yards down for the month, and 277,701,700 square yards down for the four months.

Woollen tissues were 1,647,700 square yards down on the month and 6,988,100 square yards on the four months.

A comparison between the **first quarter** of 1929 and 1930 shows the following decreases in the **volume** of exports:

Iron and Steel	12.8 per cent
Machinery	8.0 per cent
Cotton yarns	13.5 per cent
Woollen and worsted yarns	16.0 per cent
Other textiles	7.5 per cent

The decay of the basic industries had had a severe effect on **shipping**, already hard hit by American competition. In the words of the shipowners "British shipping is faced with a crisis such as has not been experienced since the war".

These facts are sufficient to show that rationalisation has in no way succeeded in "saving" British industry. The official figures are an eloquent refutation of those opportunist elements in the ranks of the British Communist Party who in 1929 spoke about the "progress of rationalisation", the "arrest of the economic decline" and emphasised Britain's "large reserves of strength in the colonies".

Under the Labour Government rationalisation is still being rapidly pushed ahead with the big banks in the leadership. Two new steel, iron and coal companies have been formed with a combined capital of £1,000,000. Under the merger, five leading firms amalgamate into the new concerns.

The Bank of England will hold the majority of votes and the Bank Governor is to appoint the first directors. This is the first time that the new Bank of England industrial reorganisation machinery has been used.

The rationalisation drive in the cotton industry is headed by the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, which is backed by the Bank of England to the extent of £2,000,000 and controls some 10,000,000 spindles and 25,000 looms.

The working class resistance called forth by rationalisation is shown in the Ministry of Labour's report regarding the **spread of the strike movement**. In the first four months of 1930 no less than 1,483,000 working days were lost through strikes as compared with 485,000 in the same period last year.

In the forefront of the strike movement are the woollen textile workers whose magnificent struggle, now in its sixth week, shows ever more clearly its revolutionary character as part of the struggle for the Revolutionary Workers Government.



## **Before the XVI. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.**

# **The Tasks of the Trade Unions in the Reconstruction Period.**

**Theses on the Report of Comrade Svernik to the XVI. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U.  
Confirmed by the Politbureau of the C. C. on May 20th, 1930.**

### **The Trade Unions in the New Stage.**

Lenin's definition of the role and importance of the trade unions in the proletarian State is embodied in the decisions of the 10th, 11th and 14th Party Congresses, which determine the actual tasks of the trade unions in adapting themselves to the requirements of the proletarian dictatorship at the given period.

The present reconstruction period in building up Socialism, which is closely bound up with the offensive of socialism against the capitalist elements along the whole front, differs from the previous periods in that the task of the determined turn in the work of all mass organisations of the proletariat, and in particular of the trade unions as the greatest mass organisation, comprising the whole working class, is now placed on the agenda.

The reconstruction period has tremendously widened the economic basis of socialism by extending also to the village with its collective forms of farming. Thereby the prerequisites have been created for the transition of the Party from the policy of restricting, to the policy of liquidating the kulak as a class on the basis of hundred per cent. collectivisation. The regulating role of the proletarian State has thereby been greatly strengthened in the whole economic life of the country. The importance of planned economic management has thereby grown, as it now comprises the whole of economy.

The socialist offensive, which is linked up with the extermination of the roots of capitalism, inevitably evokes an intensification of the class struggle (resistance offered by the kulaks, sabotage). Simultaneously, the activity and the class consciousness of broad masses of the proletariat are growing. The mass entry into the Party shows that the confidence of broad masses in its vanguard, the Communist Party, is growing. The powerful movement of socialist competition and of the shock brigades, which has seized millions of workers in the factories and Soviet estates, has already become an important lever of socialist society now in course of construction. The movement of the working masses to acquire culture and technical science is growing. The permanently increasing activity of the factory workers in their leisure time in the various spheres of State and public work (patronage over State institutions, shock brigades, voluntary collaboration) has become a serious factor in the struggle against bureaucratic excrescences in the State and economic apparatus.

The socialist offensive which is developing, requires a still more active and immediate participation of thousands and tens of thousands of advanced proletarians in the management of economic construction and the drawing of the million masses of workers and middle and small peasants into the collective farms for practical work in socialist construction. Just as the advance of the trade unions in the first period of the October Revolution and in the period of the civil war drew along with it, under the banner of Lenin's Party, the whole mass of trade union members into the struggle for the October achievements in the most advanced revolutionary positions, so now the shock brigades and their members, these heroes of labour, constitute these iron ranks upon which the Party and the trade unions have to base themselves in order to draw the whole mass of the workers into the struggle for the socialist transformation of economy, for the reconstruction of industry, for the complete extermination of the roots of capitalism.

The trade unions, as the broadest proletarian mass organisations, have in the first place the task of mobilising and organising the masses for the construction of socialist society,

which can only be created and consolidated by the efforts of millions of toilers.

"The trade unions must be the nearest and unconditional collaborators of the State Power, which is led in its whole political and economic work by the conscious advance guard of the working class, the Communist Party. The trade unions must be for all workers and also for all toilers a school of Communism in general and a school for the management of socialist industry (and later also of agriculture) in particular".

This instruction of Lenin, formulated in the resolution of the 11th Party Congress, must be particularly emphasised just now, in connection with the achievements of the socialist offensive, the growth of the socialist forms of economy, the growing activity and increasing class-consciousness of the working masses.

All these facts change the tasks of the trade unions, require of them a more active and immediate participation in the economic construction, their turn towards production.

The reconstruction of economy is accompanied in the proletarian State by an improvement of the material position and the whole mode of living of the workers. Hence, the work of the trade unions for raising the material position of the workers is not only not reduced but this work is increasing and must be realised by the growing participation of the trade unions in the organs of administration and of planned economy, by the struggle against bureaucratic excrescences in these organs and against the underestimation of the immediate requirements of the workers.

The trade unions, which are fighting against the bureaucratic excrescences in the State and economic apparatus, selecting and training ever fresh thousands and tens of thousands of advanced proletarians as organisers of socialist economy, must closely connect their activity for the improvement of the material position of the workers with the production tasks, explain to the broadest masses of workers, that the rapid rate of industrialisation and the socialist reorganisation of agriculture are the only correct means to improve fundamentally the material position of the working class and of the whole mass of the toilers. Based upon the decisions of the 11th and 14th Party Congresses, the trade unions have achieved considerable successes in the reconstruction period: transition to individual voluntary membership, serious steps towards the development of proletarian democracy, participation of the trade unions in the reconstruction of economy, attraction of the masses to socialist construction etc.

At the same time trade unionistic, opportunistic elements began to settle down in the trade unions. It is for this reason that the trade union organisations were not up to the new tasks set them by the Party in the reconstruction period.

The opportunist leading group in the old composition of the Central Council of the trade unions of the Soviet Union not only proved incapable of understanding the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship in the reconstruction period and the tasks arising therefrom for the trade unions, but it also opposed the Party in regard to the transformation of trade union work and the elimination of the greatest shortcomings which were glaringly revealed during the development of the socialist offensive. The opportunist leadership of the Central Council, which distorted the line of the Party in the trade unions, adopted an anti-Leninist deviating attitude in all fundamental questions of the trade union movement in the new stage.

The opportunist leadership of the Central Council, which expressed trade unionistic tendencies, directed its course towards weakening the Party leadership in the trade union movement: it carried out an extremely dangerous anti-Leninist line, which opposed the trade unions to the Party.

This position was quite correctly condemned, in a Leninist

sense, by the C. C. of the Party and the overwhelming majority of the Communist trade unionists, who rallied still closer round their Bolshevik Central Committee (fraction of the 8th Trade Union Congress, Plenum of the Central Council, Plenum of the Central Committees of the Trade Union Federations, of the local trade unions organs etc.).

The trade unions, which removed the bankrupt leaders, took up, under the leadership of the Party, the determined struggle against the elements of trade unionism and opportunism in the trade union movement.

The XVI. Party Congress considers it necessary to continue the struggle against the elements of trade unionism and opportunism in the trade union movement and simultaneously against the anarcho-syndicalist and semi-Trotskyist deviations.

This struggle cannot be considered as finished insofar as a "relative stability of all political influences, which form the superstructure of the remnants of capitalism and of the small producers, is inevitable precisely in the trade unions" (from the resolution of the 11th Party Congress.)

## II. The Turn to Production.

The XVI. Party Congress most sharply emphasises that in the revival and improvement of the whole trade union work and in the drawing of broad working masses into the administration of production, the socialist competition and its work, the shock brigades, as the expression of the most powerful movement of the proletariat, are the decisive main links. Only now is Lenin's great idea of socialist competition beginning to be realised.

"Socialism does only not do away with competition, but on the contrary creates for the first time the possibility to apply it in fact on a broad, mass scale, to draw the majority of the toilers into the arena of such work in which they can prove their capability, show their talents, of which there are undreamt of treasures lying dormant in the people, which capitalism has mutilated, suppressed, and stifled. Now, when the socialist government is in power, it is our task to organise competition". (Lenin).

Hence, socialist competition and the shock brigades must become the basis of the whole productive activity of the trade unions in the factories and shop departments.

Socialist Competition, however, encounters in many cases passivity, bureaucratism and backwardness both on the part of the trade union and the economic organs, which have not sufficiently grasped the tremendous historical importance of socialist competition and of the shock brigades in socialist construction.

1. The task of the trade unions is to organise and strengthen socialist competition and the shock brigades, to mobilise the masses against any and every bureaucrat who endeavours to belittle and suffocate socialist competition, against those who hamper socialist competition, finally against those petty-bourgeois moods of "those strata of workers who stubbornly stick to the traditions and customs prevailing under capitalism, and who adopt towards the Soviet State the old standpoint of giving "it" as little and as bad work, as possible and in return squeezing out of "it" as much money as possible". (Lenin).

The trade unions must organise comradely courts from among the most tried representatives of the shock-brigades in order to bring pressure to bear on those who violate working discipline and hamper the socialist construction. It is the most important task of the trade unions to drive into the mind of the working masses "that the workers are not working for the capitalists, but for their own State, for their own class; this consciousness is a tremendous driving force in the development and perfection of our industry" (Stalin).

2. The development of socialist competition and the movement of the shock-brigades require a fundamental reorganisation of the production conferences. The shock-brigades must be the prime nucleus for attracting the workers to the management of production. The shock-brigades must be the backbone of the production conferences.

The Party Congress is of the opinion that the production conferences of the shops departments and of various production units must base themselves in the first place on the shock-brigades. This does not exclude but presupposes the attrac-

tion of those workers to the production conferences who for the moment have not yet entered the shock-brigades.

The Party Congress considers it necessary to continue the practice of promoting the chairmen of the production conferences in the big factories to assistants of the managers. The activity of the provisional control commissions must be closely linked up with the organic work of the production conferences, with socialist competition and with the movement of the shock-brigades. The provisional control commissions must in the first place be drawn from the ranks of the shock-brigades.

3. This ever increasing importance of planned management in national economy, which determines the relations of the various elements of economy, the rate of construction and the material position of the workers for a long period, requires of the trade unions an active, energetic participation in the elaboration of the economic plans. In this respect a determined end must be put to the formal-bureaucratic attitude both on the part of the trade unions and on the part of the economic and State organs, to the participation of the trade unions in the elaboration of the economic plan. The trade unions must make concrete proposals for the elaboration of the economic plan by taking into account all the statements and suggestions of the working masses and of the trade union organisations, both in regard to the plans of the various industrial branches and in regard to the plan as a whole.

4. The production work of the trade unions must proceed from the task of "increasing the role and the participation of the trade union federations in the management of industry, according to the programme of the C. P. S. U. (decision of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. on the tasks of coal-mining in the Don basin). The trade unions, while they must not permit the intervention of the trade union organs in the operative work of the factory management, must at the same time take up the struggle against the incorrect, bureaucratic application of the principle of sole command and against its distortion by the managers who wish to exclude the production initiative and self-activity of the working masses.

It is the most important duty of all trade union organisations to see to it that the managers of the departments and their assistants, the foremen, workers and members of the technical staff who do excellent work, in particular the participants in the shock-brigades are promoted to managers of the factories.

At the same time the trade unions must pay extraordinary attention to the whole training of labour forces by the development of factory training schools for the training of skilled workers from the ranks of the young workers, by the organisation of schools for mass professions and by the utilisation of short termed forms of training (Central Institute for work, short-termed courses, apprenticeship etc.).

In addition to the active participation in the training of fresh experts, the trade unions have the task of educating in a proletarian spirit the existing cadres of specialists — the old as well as the young engineers and technicians who have risen from the proletariat, — by creating the necessary comradely atmosphere for the activity of the engineers and technicians.

## III. Trade unions and Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture.

The reconstruction period requires the enhanced participation of the trade unions in the socialist transformation of agriculture. The trade unionistic tendency in the work of the trade unions is, among other things expressed in the underestimation of the leading role of the proletariat in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

This incorrect attitude was connected with the whole position of the Right opportunists.

The XVI. Party Congress sets the trade unions with all determination the task of mobilising the working masses, and before all the workers connected with the village, for practical assistance in the carrying out of the collectivisation of agriculture.

The Party Congress, which approves the sending of 25,000 proletarians for developing collective farms, is of the opinion that the trade unions will have to call up and carefully train fresh thousands of proletarians as organisers and managers of collective farm development.

The Party Congress, which expressly emphasises the growing role of the agricultural workers' union, and in particular of the workers on the Soviet Estates, in socialist recon-



struction of agriculture, proposes to all Party and trade union organisations systematically to strengthen this union by passing on the experiences, gained in the organisation of socialist economy in the advanced industrial factories (socialist competition, shock brigades) to the Soviet estates and collective farms.

The trade unions must promote in every way the organisation of the agricultural workers and strengthen the influence and the connection of the proletariat with the masses of the collective farm members in the village (patronage system, workers brigades).

#### IV. The Improvement of the Material Position and the Standard of Living of the Workers.

1. The Party Congress records with satisfaction the rapid numerical growth of the working class in the Soviet Union (in the industry comprised by the Supreme Economic Council the number of workers has increased by 25,000 during the last six months) and the great decline of unemployment (the number of unemployed was reduced by 40 per cent. during six months) in connection with the rapid rate of industrialisation and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

The Congress notes the uninterrupted increasing material well-being and the uninterrupted rise of the cultural level of the working class in the Soviet Union. During the last five years the wages of the worker have increased by more than 79 per cent.; they have reached 139 per cent., or 167 per cent. of the pre-war real wages if one takes into account the social insurance and the contributions from profits to the funds for the improvement of the standard of living of the workers.

a) The Party Congress notes the enormous importance of the work of social insurance — the budget of which reached the sum of 1400 million roubles in 1929/30, and which pays to the workers full wages in the event of temporary incapacity for work, secures unemployment benefit, old age pension, disablement benefit for the worker — and is of the opinion that the trade unions must become the decisive authority for the rational utilisation of the huge sums expended by the social insurance; that they work towards the systematic improvement of the work of the social insurance institutions, the extension and improvement of the network of hospitals, sanatoria, convalescent homes, dispensaries (institutes for free supply of medicine etc.).

b) The construction of workers' dwellings, which has greatly developed in the last few years, (in the last two years 1330 million roubles have been earmarked for the construction of workers' dwellings), requires much greater attention on the part of the trade unions than hitherto. The trade unions must control the expenditure of the means granted for the construction of dwellings and their rational employment. (Cheaper building, standardisation etc.).

The Party Congress is of the opinion that in the Five-Year Plan and in all the plans of the new construction provision must be made for the construction of dwellings and of institutions serving cultural and social purposes: dining halls, clubs, creches, laundries, public baths etc., and this in the first place in the most important factory districts. In addition to the funds granted by the plan, the special funds for the improvement of the mode of life of the workers, which amounted in 1929/30 to 220 million roubles (as against 110 million roubles in 1928/29), must be utilised for this purpose.

2. The further growth of the material well-being and the cultural level of the working class is inseparably bound up with the realisation of the prescribed rate of industrialisation and of socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

The activity of the trade unions in the sphere of socialist education of the working masses must be greatly strengthened; the greatest propaganda must be made of the idea that the Soviet factories and works, the coal and ore mines, the railways and other means of transport are works of a socialist type, the property of the whole people, that the growth and well-being of the working masses, the consolidation of the political power of the working class, the successful construction of socialist society and the final victory of the working class, the ruling class in the Soviet Union, depend upon their growth.

3. The trade unions, while aiming at the improvement of the material position of the working class, in the first place

of the industrial proletariat, must when concluding collective agreements, pay careful attention to the position of industry of the trusts, the economic associations and of the factories and the interests of the development of national economy as a whole, the economy of the workers' State.

When concluding collective agreements the trade unions must exclude bureaucratic elements on the part of the economic organs and narrow, craft, trade-unionistic tendencies on the part of the trade union organs.

The collective agreement, which constitutes a mutual obligation on the part of the trade unions and of the economic organs, must be fulfilled in all its parts not only by the economic organisations but also by the workers organised in the trade unions.

4. The Party Congress is of the opinion that the trade unions have hitherto paid absolutely inadequate attention to the question of the supply of the workers with the necessary goods, to the struggle for reducing prices and improving the work of the cooperatives.

In order to secure the uninterrupted increase of real wages, the trade unions must draw broad masses of workers into active participation in the organisation of vegetable cultivation, dairies and State cattle-breeding in the industrial districts by the economic organs and co-operatives, as well as into the co-operative cultivation agreements with the agricultural producers.

The Trade unions must energetically see to it that the work of the co-operatives is reorganised, that the glaring shortcomings in the co-operative organs, which have a disastrous effect upon the material well-being of the workers, are removed, that the apparatus of the co-operatives is improved and cleansed of bureaucracy, that the workers and their families are introduced into all the links of the co-operative apparatus, that the activity of the co-operatives is placed under the control of the broad masses of workers.

The trade unions must effect a more rapid development of the network of dining halls and communal kitchens, on improvement in the quality and a cheapening of the cost of public feeding.

5. The Party Congress considers it necessary that the work of the organs of the People's Commissariat for Labour, of the economic and trade union organs for labour protection in the factories and in particular in heavy industry is improved.

The trade unions must see to it that in the new construction and the rationalisation of production the provisions regarding labour protection and safety devices are strictly adhered to.

The Party Congress, while recording the introduction of the seven hour day and of the uninterrupted working week as a tremendous political achievement of the working class, considers it necessary that the transition of all industrial and transport workers to the seven-hour day and to the uninterrupted working week be completed in 1931/32 and 1930/31 respectively. The Party Congress proposes to the economic, trade union and Party organisations that they energetically correct the shortcomings in connection with the bad preparation of the transition to the seven-hour day and the uninterrupted working week, improve in connection with this important measure the cultural and social needs of the working masses, and adopt measures for the correct organisation of the recreation of the workers on their free days.

7. The struggle against bureaucracy in the State and economic apparatus must occupy first place in the activity of the trade unions. The trade unions must reinforce their active participation in the purging of the State apparatus of all bureaucratic elements alien to our class and bring ten thousands of workers, in the first place the most trusted members of the shock-brigades, into the State apparatus. The trade unions, as the organisation of the ruling class, must become in fact the powerful reservoir for drawing thousands and thousands of proletarians into the State and co-operative organs for immediate participation in the management of economy and the administration of the State.

The whole of this work of the trade unions must be carried out in close connection with and as active support of the Central Control Commission of the workers' and peasants' inspection.

8. Although the number of the workers engaged in the private and concession undertakings is insignificant, the trade

unions must unswervingly defend the interests of these workers and actively conduct the class struggle of the workers in the private undertakings.

### V. Cultural work and Political Education of the Masses.

1. The fundamental socialist transformation of the country requires a general raising of the cultural and political level of the working masses. One of the decisive prerequisites of the cultural revolution is the liquidation of illiteracy, the introduction of general compulsory education, the reformation of the school and the development of the technical high school system. The trade unions must, together with the organs of the People's Commissariat for Education, liquidate in the shortest possible time illiteracy among the trade union members, in the first place among the industrial and agricultural workers.

2. The Party Congress is of the opinion that the political enlightenment and cultural work of the trade unions must in the first place be directed towards developing the consciously socialist attitude of the workers to socialist production.

The trade unions must pay special attention to the socialist education of the new workers' cadres, systematically combat the petty bourgeois moods, prejudices and all possible remnants of the old capitalist time within the working class, organise and strengthen the anti-religious propaganda, the struggle against antisemitism etc.

The trade unions must help to raise the cultural level of the most backward sections of the proletariat in the various national groups in the Soviet Union.

3. The XVI. Party Congress suggests to all Party organisations and trade unions fractions that they imbue the whole cultural and enlightenment work of the trade unions with a communist spirit, combat the least attempts to separate them from the tasks of socialist construction, and energetically overcome the tendencies to depoliticisation and exclusive concentration on cultural activity.

### VI. The International Work of the Trade Unions.

It is the most important task of the Soviet trade unions to still closer connection between the workers of their own countries and the workers in the capitalist countries, lying dormant and the workers in the capitalist and colonial countries, to support the weaker sections of the government is in power, and political experience, and to establish... (Lenin).

The Soviet Union, competition and the shock brigades must, R. I. L. U. with organisational and political experience, and to fight determinedly against the Right deviations in the international trade union movement which were tolerated by the old leadership.

The Soviet trade unions must through the R. I. L. U. as well as by means of the mass of the workers delegations, strengthen the connection with the working class in the capitalist and colonial countries for the purpose of an irreconcilable struggle against reformism in the trade union movement (Amsterdam International) and for the consolidation of a revolutionary world trade union movement.

### VII. The Reorganisation of Trade Union Work.

1. The tasks confronting the trade unions in the reconstruction period can be solved only by means of a fundamental change in the work of the trade union organisations. The basis for the reorganisation of the trade unions is the shock-brigade movement.

2. The trade union apparatus, which has developed in a number of years and has rendered considerable service in the organisation of the working masses, has simultaneously accumulated a number of negative elements against which the old leadership of the trade union movement did not fight with Bolshevik determination. The weak attraction of the trade union apparatus to the active political life, its insufficient connection with and sometimes even its isolation from the working masses, the restriction to narrow craft interests created the presumption for the development of political elements in this apparatus and later, in the period of the VIII. Trade Union Congress, led to attempts to oppose the trade union apparatus to the Party.

The elements of opportunist and bureaucratic degeneration in various parts of the trade union apparatus led to the question of the purging of the trade union apparatus, of its radical improvement and its adaptation to the fulfilment of the most important tasks of the working class.

The Party Congress approves the purging of the trade

union apparatus, carried through by the Central Commission of the workers' and peasants' inspection, a decision of the Central Council of the Shock Brigades of all the passive, bureaucratic elements to actual reorganisation of work. The Party Congress is of the opinion that the purging of the trade union apparatus is successful only if the trade union apparatus is filled up with working men and women from the factories. The Party Congress instructs the trade union apparatus to replenish the apparatus in the shortest possible time by filling it with hundreds and thousands of shock-brigade members.

The Party Congress is of the opinion that a real turn in the work of the trade unions must be accompanied by drawing of broad masses of workers into trade union work by attracting volunteers to the work in the trade union apparatus.

The main work must be centred on the lower links of the trade unions: shock-brigades, groups, shift, departmental work. The Party Congress considers one of the most important preconditions for the success of the turn in trade union work to be the guaranteeing of real trade union democracy, and broad development of self-criticism as the test from below of the working capacity of the trade apparatus and its leading cadres. Self-criticism is still developed in the trade unions and does not yet bear a concrete effective character. Proletarian self-criticism in the trade unions shall contribute to the systematic improvement of their work, to the training of the trade union cadres, correction of their mistakes, turn of the trade unions to production and increased attention to the requirements and demands of the masses.

3. The filling up and the preparation of new leading cadres is one of the most decisive tasks in the reorganisation of work of the trade unions.

The Party Congress proposes to the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions to put on the agenda as the most urgent task of the trade union movement the training of trade union cadres. The Party Congress proposes to all Party organisations that they assist the trade unions in realising this most important task.

4. The assistance of the Party organisations must improve and strengthen the concrete leadership of the work of the trade union organisations by penetrating into the nature of trade union work, assisting them to remove the mistakes and shortcomings in the process of work and caring for the systematic strengthening of their cadres.

The Party Congress approves the line and work of the new leadership of the Central Council and proposes to the Party organisations that they render it all-round assistance in the decisive reorganisation of work of the trade unions in adaptation to the new tasks of the present and to the decisions of the XVI. Party Congress.

The Party Congress expresses the firm conviction that the Soviet trade unions, which have played a prominent historical role in all stages of the socialist revolution, will in the present reconstruction period be raised to a new stage of a still more active and decisive force of the great construction of socialist society.

## The Carrying out of the Five Year Plan of Industry.

Theses on Comrade Kulbyshev's Report for the XVI. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U.

(Conclusion).

### IV.

#### The Preconditions for the Carrying out of the Five-Year-Plan of Industry.

1. The carrying out of the policy of the Party for the realisation of the Five-Year Plan is based upon the tremendous eagerness for work and the creative enthusiasm of the broadest masses of the working class, which found expression in the wholesale going over to new socialist forms of the organisation of the work — socialist competition and shock brigades — and opened up a new epoch of socialist construction.

It is here that the Party must in the future intervene in order to overcome the difficulties of the carrying out of the

Five-Year Plan and the accelerated rate of the construction of socialism.

2. The necessary prerequisite for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan is the solution of the problem of the cadres, which requires a determined and decisive extension and a qualitative improvement of the practical work in the sphere of the training of qualified cadres of industry and the raising of their qualification.

a) In view of the extraordinarily growing demand for qualified workers in connection with the increase of the rate of development beyond the Five-Year Plan, the existing network of factory schools and mass vocational schools in industry must be considerably extended.

Apart from the extension of the factory schools, which constitute the fundamental form of training qualified workers from the ranks of the young workers, other forms of training must be developed in the next few years, such as courses and training centres of the central Labour Institute, courses for raising qualification and training the unemployed etc. In this connection a further raising of the production technique and cultural-political level of the workers trained by these methods must be attained.

Under the conditions of the reconstruction of production the task of training new cadres of highly qualified workers (fitters, heads of departments etc.) and also of lower and middle technical personnel (foremen, controllers) is of particular importance.

b) The Party Congress fully and completely approves the decisions of the Plenary sessions of the C. C. of July, 1928, and November, 1929, and the further decisions of the C. C. on the reorganisation of the high schools; the Party Congress proposes that the carrying out of these decisions be controlled in order to achieve a fundamental turn in this decisive question in the shortest possible time. Whilst we are ruthlessly combating the counter-revolutionary sabotage in the economic organs, we must, on the other hand, also in the future pay careful attention to all specialists who are collaborating in the development of socialist economy.

c) The Party Congress considers the achievements in the consolidation of the leading staff of industry to be insufficient in view of the demands which must be made of the cadres in the present period of socialist reconstruction of economy, and imposes on the leading functionaries of industry the important task of acquiring technical knowledge in the sphere of the respective branch of production.

The Party Congress demands a broader promotion of cadres of organisers to leading positions from the ranks of specialists who are devoted to the cause, from the ranks of young engineers and technicians, and in particular from the ranks of the workers who have been prominent in the factory conferences, in the factory control commissions and in the shock brigades.

3. The most important reserve of the further progress and the acceleration of socialist development is the maximum utilisation of the machines employed in industry, which are still insufficiently utilised, and the introduction of new techniques.

a) The Party Congress takes into account that the introduction of the uninterrupted working week and the increase in the number of shifts increases the possibilities of the utilisation of machinery and the labour output of the factories, promotes the acceleration of capital circulation, increases the gross production and reduces the prime costs, and that the results of the uninterrupted working week in the past period have shown that the latter is an essential factor in the carrying out of the industrial and financial plan for 1929/30. Taking all this into account the Party Congress demands that in the coming year the transition of all important branches of industry to the uninterrupted working week be secured, while at the same time the number of shifts in the factories must be increased.

b) The Party Congress considers it necessary that the practice of sending workers and specialists abroad and inviting foreign engineers and qualified workers to the Soviet Union be extended and that their experience and knowledge be made full use of for the factories in the Soviet Union.

In utilising the already existing agreements on technical aid and availing ourselves of foreign assistance for the reconstruction of industry and the organisation of new branches of production, we have to attain in this work such a tempo

as will enable our industry in the shortest possible time to absorb the best experience and the most important achievements of the most advanced techniques.

c) Simultaneously, the exchange of experiences and achievements of rationalisation among the State factories in the Soviet Union must be organised on a large scale. Broad masses of workers must be drawn into the struggle against the passive, bureaucratic attitude of the apparatus to this matter and against sectarianism. We must register the lessons of the technical achievements of the best undertakings and apply them to other factories. The patronage of leading undertakings over the backward ones must be greatly extended.

d) The mutual relations between the big State industry and the small local and home industrial concerns must be organised on the basis of the extended utilisation of the existing possibilities of production. The small local and home industry, which is producing important marketable goods, must serve as complement to big industry by producing a number of machine parts and semi-finished goods and thereby free the machinery of the big industry from such processes of production as can also be carried on in small, home industrial undertakings.

4. The solution of the tasks confronting industry, requires the most rapid termination of the reorganisation of the administrative system in industry, which is proceeding from the following principles:

a) To secure the system of management by one individual in all branches of industry.

b) To secure the maximum independence and initiative of the industrial undertakings in the carrying out of the planned tasks.

c) To consolidate the technical leadership of the work in the factories.

d) To remove the harmful overlapping in the work of the economic organs and consolidate the whole system of planning and industrial management.

The Party Congress approves the decision of the C. C. on the organisation of factory management, on the introduction of individual management and the reorganisation of the administration of industry and demands its immediate carrying out. Simultaneously the Party Congress declares that the work for the reorganisation of administration of industry is not carried out sufficiently rapidly and energetically, that in the carrying out of this work a number of mistakes have occurred: up to now in a number of cases the principles of economic calculation have not been applied, the system of individual management has not been introduced in all factories, in many cases instead of simplifying the relations between the various organs of industry they have become more complicated, instead of the reduction of the administrative-economic apparatus we have seen in many cases an extension of it.

The Party Congress instructs the C. C. to adopt measures for the most rapid rectification of the above-mentioned shortcomings, to carry out the work of reorganising industry in the shortest possible time and consistently to apply the system of individual management in the factory.

The successes of socialist construction, the successes of the Five-Year Plan are so obvious that they inevitably enforce recognition by the capitalist world. The speculation by the latter on our cultural backwardness and on our lack of cadres has proved vain; its hopes that hunger would frustrate the carrying out of the plan, are dashed; its hopes for the collapse of the alliance with the middle peasants are defeated.

The Soviet Union is being converted with tremendous rapidity from a backward agrarian country into an advanced big industrial country. The position of the Soviet Union within world economy has changed. The Five-Year Plan estimated that the Soviet Union would in the year 1932/33 advance from the fifth place in the world production of coal to the fourth place. In reality, however, we shall occupy this place already next year. With regard to the production of cast iron, the Soviet Union was supposed, according to the plan, to advance to the fourth place in the year 1932/33. In reality, however, thanks to the accelerated rate of development of the production of black metal, she will take this place already in 1931/32.

In a number of important industrial branches — hard coal, naphtha, agricultural-machine construction, general machine construction, production of building material, the tasks of the Five-Year Plan adopted by the Soviet Congress are already being realised in the first three years.

The successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan of development of industry, the decided turn of the poor and middle peasant masses to Socialism, the intensified attack upon the kulak elements and the transition to the policy of the liquidation of the kulak as a class on the basis of hundred per cent. collectivisation, called forth the intensification of the class struggle within the country and a new wave of bitter incitement against the Soviet Union on the part of world imperialism and its social fascist spokesmen.

Under such conditions, the solution of the historically enormously important tasks confronting the Party and the working class in the sphere of the industrialisation of the country, requires the carrying out of a specially firm and consistent Bolshevik line in the questions of the economic construction and the determined struggle against any kind of opportunist distortions, against any kind of deviations from the general line of the Party.

The period since the XV. Party Congress was filled with struggles of the Bolshevik Party, which bases itself upon the million masses of proletarians and peasants, for a rapid rate of industrialisation and before all of heavy industry, which constitutes the basis of the socialist transformation of the whole economy, for overcoming the difficulties of economic development standing in the way of victorious socialist construction.

The Party succeeded not only in carrying out but also in surpassing the Five-Year Plan by developing along the whole front the attack on the capitalist elements in town and country in spite of the increased open, opportunist vacillations of some strata of the Party who are under the influence of the petty-bourgeois anarchists, which fact found its expression in attempts at a direct attack on the line of the Party on the part of the Rights.

The Rights opposed the line of the Party in the fundamental decisive question of the rapid rate of industrialisation. The line of the Right deviation would have led to reducing the rate of industrialisation introduced by the Party and, consequently, to a strengthening of the capitalist elements in the country. In reality, however, the policy of the Right deviation meant capitulation to the capitalist elements.

The Rights opposed the Party line in the question of the accelerated development of heavy industry, which constitutes the basis of socialist reconstruction of the whole economy. The line of the Right deviation in this question would have led to renouncing the leading role of the proletariat which is marching at the head of socialist transformation of the country. Thus, the Right deviations meant the abandonment of the struggle for the socialist path of development.

The Rights opposed the Party line in the question of the development of socialist industry, arguing that we must adapt ourselves to the "weak spots". This line would have led to the demobilisation of the masses instead of to their stronger activation for overcoming these difficulties. The Right deviation thereby finally exposed its capitulatory nature.

The Party could achieve and will further achieve the great successes in the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan only by an uninterrupted struggle against the Right opportunists. The future successes of socialist construction are possible only if this struggle against the Right deviation and the reconciliators as the chief danger is continued.

Simultaneously, a struggle must be energetically carried on against the remnants of Trotskyism and against any kind of deviations and "Left" distortions in the nature of over-industrialisation. The exposure and the overcoming of "Left" opportunist deviations is the indispensable prerequisite for the successful struggle against the Right opportunist deviations, the main danger in our Party.

The Party, which is overcoming the opportunist vacillations and deviations, is rallying under its flag ever broader masses of the working class and the toilers in the village on the basis of the consistent carrying out of Lenin's policy of building up Socialism and consolidating the positions of the international proletariat in the struggle for Communism.

## Increased Fire to the Right!

(Leading article of the "Pravda" of May 27th.)

The Party comes to the 16th Party Congress in closed Bolshevik ranks, equipped with the experiences and successes of socialist construction. Between the 15th and the 16th Party Congress there has taken place that acceleration of our development to Socialism which Lenin foresaw already at the commencement of the N.E.P. This acceleration of socialist construction has been reflected in the last year or two not only in the tempestuously increasing pace of industrialisation but also in that gigantic social-economic progress which is taking place in the village. The going over of millions of small, poor and middle peasant farms to the path of collective cultivation of the soil, the complete collectivisation of whole districts of the Soviet Union which has already been commenced, and the first serious steps in the direction of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class — therein lies the "great change" which various comrades, who prefer to look backwards rather than forwards, obstinately "do not notice". That is the chief factor of the further struggle of the Party to build the foundation of the socialist society in the Soviet Union.

The great successes of the Party in the sphere of industrialisation and in the sphere of collectivisation of agriculture were a direct result of the firm, Leninist line of the C. C., which was developed in fierce and unrelenting fight against the opportunist distortions of Leninism, against the attempts to divert the Party from the Bolshevik path. After the defeat of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, which has now returned to the traitorous social democracy, the Party conducted a victorious fight against the open opportunist Right deviation which, under the conditions of the development of the socialist offensive in town and country in the present stage, was and is the chief enemy within the Party.

The energetic Bolshevik overcoming of the Right opportunist liberal distortions of Leninist teachings on the alliance with the middle peasants, the ruthless exposure of the capitulatory line of "uninterrupted concessions", determined resistance to the disorganisatory attitude of slowing down the rate of industrialisation — all these were important preconditions of those successes of socialist construction which the Party will record at the XVI. Party Congress. The Party, under the leadership of the Central Committee, has conducted the struggle against the Right deviation with its whole Bolshevik irreconcilability, with its firm conviction of the victory of socialism in our country, with the whole fighting enthusiasm of the advance-guard of the proletarian masses, who day in and day out, hour by hour are working at the establishment of Socialism. And it is precisely this reason why the leaders of the Right deviation were so rapidly and definitely compelled to capitulate to the will of the Party.

It must, however, be owned that a number of difficulties have arisen during the last few months in the process of the sharp economic turn in the village, that mistakes and "Left" exaggerations were committed by several organisations of the Party in connection with collectivisation, that a greater resistance on the part of the kulaks to the decisive socialist transformation of the village, has been revealed, that there has been vacillation on the part of certain sections of the middle peasantry as a result of the committed mistakes etc. — all this aroused certain hopes among the Right opportunist elements, who in spite of their complete ideological bankruptcy in the eyes of the working masses again began to hope to be able to take revenge on the Party, thereby shamefully speculating upon the difficulties of the epoch of the "great change".

This speculation of the Right opportunist wisecracks, who are always so very clever after the event, is expressed now before the XVI. Party Congress in various statements which masked by inner loyalty, are directed against the Party and its C. C. They resuscitate all sorts of common-place "theories" which have long been exposed and rejected by the Party. In particular in the columns of "Pravda" clear examples of the activity of the Rights were enumerated, such as the activity in various nuclei in Kharkov (article of Comrade P. Postyshev), the exposure of individual opportunists in Soviet institutions in Tula, the recent events in the nucleus of the Industrial Academy etc.

What are the symptoms of all these statements which characterise an undubitable revival of Right tendencies?

Before all there is revealed that inevitable panicky mood with which the Right opportunists are seized in the face of difficulties; the capitulatory effort to represent the whole campaign of collectivisation this Spring as a "defeat", and to designate the decisions of the C. C. for correcting the mistakes committed by various local organisations and to make good the "Left" exaggerations as a retreat, an abandonment of the slogans of complete collectivisation and liquidation of the kulak class. Proceeding from this capitulatory standpoint, certain comrades of the Right deviation returned to their beloved occupation of making all sorts of panicky "prophecies" to the effect that we shall have to suffer for ten years (!), on account of the mistakes committed during collectivisation. These miserable "prophecies", which strongly remind us of the prophecies of various articles in the last copies of "Socialisticheski Vestnik", characterise that ideological equipment with which the Right elements again appear in the arena of the political struggle.

No less interesting are the attempts of the Right elements to disregard such "trifles" as the consolidation of the successes achieved in collective-economic construction and its further development, the energetic seed campaign of the collective farms, again bringing forward the stock argument that the village is "unprepared" for mass collectivisation and the Party "unprepared" for the leadership of this process. It is perfectly clear that here again an attempt is made to build a bridge to the ideas of "peaceful growing into socialism" which are finally discredited in the eyes of the Party masses; that an anti-Leninist, liberal interpretation is made of Lenin's co-operative plan and that other Right opportunist tricks are applied, which were applied already in the preceding stage of our development. "One should not have taken up arms", this is the equivalent all these sorts of declaration, by means of which the Rights wish to disorganise the ranks of the Party in an extremely responsible stage of socialist construction and endeavour, at the moment of developing socialist offensive, to drag the Party back to the defensive positions of the class struggle.

The opportunist attacks on the Party are of course draped with cheap and shameful demagogy. In particular the Right opportunists energetically support the endeavours to cast the responsibility for all exaggerations and mistakes which were committed in collectivisation, upon the Party leadership, upon the Central Committee. Although the anti-middle peasant "Left" deviations were not infrequently revealed together with genuine Right opportunist practice, the Right elements hysterically called for "self-criticism", meaning thereby not the exposure of their own opportunist mistakes but of the Party leadership.

Contrary to the facts and contrary to the documents from which the leading line of the C. C. in collectivisation is clearly to be seen, the Rights have attempted since January 1930 to raise an alarm that the "C. C. has not sufficiently come forward as leader", that it has not shown sufficient "elasticity", that no cadres were trained etc. The aim of this whole demagogy is clear. It is a discrediting of the Leninist Party leadership, an endeavour to make again an attack upon the inner-Party regime which is the inveterate custom of every anti-Leninist, petty-bourgeois opposition be it openly Right or draping itself with "Left" phrases. It is perfectly clear that other, partly thorough Menshevik arguments are incorporated in this demagogy against the C. C. Thus, for instance, the argument, that "first the workers must be fed" and then "all sorts of competition, shock brigades etc." can be organised. As is known, the sham "care" for the workers and their hypocritical "defence" are characteristic features of all distortions of the Party line, expressing thereby the irresponsible petty-bourgeois isolation of anti-Party deviations.

There is no need to prove that alongside the "care" for the workers, the Right opportunists in the struggle against the Party, which is being increased lately, are directly defending the kulak, against whom "the Party has not shown sufficient elasticity". Several exceedingly "cautious" comrades are even going so far as to make peculiar anti-Party statements to the effect that the dekulakisation has up to almost 50 per cent. been carried out unlawfully.

All these symptoms of increasing activity on the part of the Rights confront the Party with the task of increasing its watchfulness, determinedly opposing these "new" Right

opportunist theoreticians, and nipping in the bud the Right opportunist demagogy. In recent times the Party revealed brilliant examples of a consistent and undeterred struggle on two fronts — against the Right danger, as the main danger in the present epoch of reconstruction, and against the "Left" deviations, which jeopardise the alliance with the middle peasants, foster the Right deviation and consolidate its positions. The Party considers the **Right danger** to be the **main danger**, containing capitalist tendencies absolutely hostile to the cause of socialist construction, and expressing the pressure of kulak ideology upon certain strata of the Party.

In view of the increasing attacks of the Rights on the eve of the XVI. Party Congress, which must demonstrate to the whole world the determination of the Party to advance with tenfold energy to new socialist victories, the Party must open an **annihilating fire against the Right capitulators**. This is one of the preconditions of the further successful realisation of the general Party line which was forged in a determined struggle on two fronts — against the Right and "Left" deviations — in spite of the opportunist panic-mongers and in opposition to their anti-Bolshevist policy.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Movement of the French Postal Employees.

By A. Simon (Paris).

The question of the pay of civil servants has for some years been an exceedingly acute problem in France. The salaries of the middle and lower categories of civil servants are far below the pre-war level.

The postal Employees complained at the continual postponement of payment of sums due to them since July 1920. The reformist union, as usual, endeavoured to intervene with the Finance Minister or the President of the Ministerial Council in order to agree to a compromise which would have served to pacify the Postal Employees, but the authorities did not deign to reply to their enquiry. When the new scale of salaries proposed by the Government was announced, discontent became general.

On May 10th, the Postal Employees in Lyons demonstrated in front of the head Post Office. Their example was followed on May 12th by their colleagues in Marseilles. On May 13th a big meeting, called by the reformists, took place in Paris, at which 6,000 Postal employees warmly greeted our comrade Gourdeaux, Secretary of the unitary union, whilst the speaker for the C. G. T. could scarcely obtain a hearing. On May 14, 1,500 employees in the Paris Central Telegraph Office ceased work for an hour. The movement grew in the whole country.

The unitary Union was taken by surprise by the rapid development of events and was not in a position to take over the leadership of the fight. It issued the slogan of a General Strike and called for the setting up of strike committees, consisting of representatives of all categories of employees. The reformists, who recognised the danger that they might lose control of their followers, thereupon issued the slogan of a two hours' "irritation" (Work to rule) strike. They wished thereby to demonstrate to the Government that they, the reformists, would lose control of the masses in the event of the authorities maintaining their obdurate attitude.

The Government, who felt there was a danger of the movement spreading in spite of the manoeuvre of the reformists, and were strengthened by the declaration of the leaders of the reformist Union of Postal Employees that they were against the strike slogan (although, it is true, that they had on the 15th May, under the pressure of the masses, called for the irritation strike mention above), declared that they would employ every means to crush a strike. The Government also immediately adopted measures by mobilising the technical troops so as have them ready to replace the Post Office employees, and had the Post Offices occupied by strong forces of police.

Whilst, therefore, the unitary Union concentrated its whole forces on agitating for the setting up of strike committees, but did not succeed in making good with sufficient rapidity its



organisational backwardness, the reformist organisation of the Postal Employees retreated, and implored its members to remain quiet and await the decisions of the annual conference of the Union which was to meet on May 20.

The Union conference was a miserable affair. On the proposal of a social-democratic member, it was agreed that a delegation should be sent to make representations to Tardieu, while at the same time, in obedience to Tardieu's orders, the conference avoided electing a victimised Post Office Employee to the delegation. The leaders boasted of their brave intentions, without, however, making any protest whatever against the discharges and victimisations, or against the occupation of the Post Office by hordes of police.

Under the usual pretext of the reformists, that the Government wanted a strike and that they must therefore not walk into the trap, the fight was abandoned. The conference was concluded on May 23 with a meeting to which only certain categories of Postal employees were admitted. The exclusion of unwanted elements was carried out jointly by the reformists and the Police. Only those in possession of membership cards of the C. G. T. were admitted.

For the unitary Union the fight only now first began. Our comrades devoted themselves with the greatest eagerness to forming strike committees. In Paris a large number of such strike committees already exist. Also in the provinces they are making progress. The idea of strike committees, which is absolutely new to the Postal Employees, is gaining ground among the masses. This is an important result of the strike. The influence of the unitary Union is considerably greater than its membership. This influence must be organisationally consolidated by realising the united front of the class struggle at the work places.

## THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

### The Black Masses and the British Empire.

By William Wilson.

Any uncertainty which the Negro workers and black toiling masses of the colonial world of British Imperialism may have entertained as to their place, economically, politically, and socially in the Empire must now be cleared away. The answer of the "Labour" Government refusing the request of the International Committee of Negro workers that it be permitted to arrange and hold the first international Negro workers' conference in London is clear and distinct and its implications are not to be easily misunderstood.

The black colonial world of the British ruling class has seen some of its most "worthy" sons knighted, it has been them "honoured" as doctors of law and of medicine, it has seen them lauded for their prowess on the field of sport, and it has come to regard itself as such as part of the Empire which if denied certain rights at home might expect to enjoy the full floor of British Democracy in England. The Negro masses were under the illusion that the King Emperor could deny his loyal subjects nothing, albeit behind his back his agents, the governors, the lieutenant governors and their tools, the paramount chiefs and also the chiefs abused their powers.

This "abuse of power" explained for the black workers and toiling masses of the colonies and semi-colonies the existence of forced labour, hut and head taxes, slavery, Pass Laws, the compound system in the mines of South Africa, the system of native reserves. It even prevented their bringing their just grievances to the ear of his most gracious majesty the King owing to the denial of passport privileges. In their minds these ideas were carefully planted and more carefully nurtured. The strength of this illusion was the strength of the Empire. No ruling class ever more thoroughly imbued the minds of their exploited and oppressed masses with the idea of the "community of interests", the "oneness of their destiny", than have the rulers of the British Empire.

But the International Committee of Negro Workers had quite another point of view. It saw in the economies of Imperialism the source of the political and social policy of the colonial administrators. To it, the theory of the "abuse of powers" did not cover the shooting down of unarmed native

women in Nigeria, the ruthless savagery with which the so-called Beer riots of Durban, South Africa, were suppressed, the brutal attempt to stave the organisation of the native workers in Bathurst, Gambia, with the use of the armed forces of imperialism, the relentless expropriation of the land of the natives of Kenya and the stirring up of inter-tribal war, the implanting in Kenya of racial animosity between the Indians who have been placed as a "buffer" between native and the imperialist colonist. All this appeared to the members of the provisional committee as a series of provocative acts, of tactical measures arising from a definite policy of imperialism. "Divide and rule" was the slogan. The division necessitated the settling of the natives in the metropolitan area against the colonial slaves; the engendering of racial, national and religious hatred among the colonial peoples. This was "the white man's burden", the civilising influence and mission of British imperialism in the colonies. The Liverpool dock riots between white and black workers; the riots between black and white workers in Cardiff in 1919; the South Shields riots between blacks, Arabs and white workers of very recent date evinced the efficacy of the divide and rule programme. And this programme, while during moments of "prosperity" withdrawn slightly to the rear of the stage, in moments of economic crisis which are featured by a rising wave of militancy of the workers at "home" and a revolutionary upsurge in the colonies becomes that stage prop upon which great dependence is placed.

The black colonies of the British Empire are far-flung and spread into the Eastern and Western hemispheres, but the problems of the native populations are largely similar. Each knows an infant and adult mortality rate that has no parallel outside of the Indian portion of the Empire. The masses in each are steeped in ignorance and superstition after having for more than a century enjoyed the civilising mission of imperialism. Native industry is non-existent, while agriculture proceeds along the most backward and primitive path. The cultural and political institutions of the native peoples have been destroyed and participation in the political institutions which make the laws by which they are now governed is denied them. The existing "cultural" institutions teach only the "virtues" of imperialism. Poverty, disease, sickness and death mark the cycle of existence of the Negro population of the British Empire.

To these almost dehumanised masses the International Committee desired to bring the message of organisation—trade union organisation primarily. Sure this could find no point of conflict with what is ostensibly the programme of the Labour Party.

To these masses the committee hoped to bring an account of the preparation of the imperialist powers for the war they are now designing. The new world war is destined to bring about a redivision of the colonies. A war in which these masses will be forced to struggle to the death with other colonial peoples and the white workers of the "mother" countries.

To these masses the committee wished to bring the message of international working class solidarity, to destroy the myth of racial superiority, and supplant it with the facts of the uneven development of capitalism, the economic causes of this unevenness and the subsequent existence of "backward" peoples.

The committee had for its object the foundation of an international organisation exposing to the black masses the forces making for their further and continued enslavement. The organisation would show to them the common characteristics in the exploitation and oppression of all colonial peoples and their common interests.

But the Labour Government has said that British democracy does not embrace the black masses of the Empire; that the white workers whose standard of living is being constantly lowered through the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the colonial masses shall not see the alliance with the colonial world as the only way to their own emancipation. The Labour Party, the standard bearer of British Imperialism, says there will be no black workers' conference in London. But the answer of the International Committee of Negro Workers will be to make that answer the basis of the exposure before the black workers and toiling masses who—come what may—will have the first international conference of Negro workers in July, 1930.



## BOOK REVIEWS

### Collected Works of V.I. Lenin, Volume XVIII.\*)

The Imperialist War

The Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism and Social-Pacifism,  
1914—1915.

By A. Komjat.

The new Lenin volume issued by International Publishers, New York, covers the period from the beginning of the world war to the end of 1915, the only exception being the article "Karl Marx", which Lenin commenced before the outbreak of the war but did not finish until November 1914. This article, which was originally written for a Russian encyclopedia, has also been published in the series of essays collected and issued by Ryazarnov under the title of "Karl Marx—Man, Thinker, and Revolutionist". In the present volume, however, the translation of this compact and lucid exposition of the life and teachings of Marx has been completely revised, and the essay is here published for the first time in full.

The year 1914 marks a turning point in the history of the international Labour movement. Open opportunism triumphed. The world war acted as a powerful test; it brought to the surface even the concealed opportunism of every shade which had accumulated in the Second International in the "peaceful" epoch of the development of capitalism. The attitude to the imperialist war, the employment of revolutionary methods to combat it, action in the spirit of resolutions solemnly proclaimed at International Congresses became the acid test of what was still revolutionary in the Second International and what was hopelessly rotten. Words or deeds—that is how the question was inexorably put. The II. International did not stand this historical test. Rights and Centrists hastily deserted from the revolutionary front to the other side of the barricade. In fact even the small groups of honest Lefts, with a few exceptions, stood at the first moment in the midst of the catastrophe as if struck by lightning and found neither the saving word nor the saving deed.

At a moment of world historical importance the leaders of the II. International, in their overwhelming majority, betrayed the cause of socialism: they voted for the war credits, entered the bourgeois governments of the belligerent countries, or acted as agents of these governments, they adopted the chauvinist slogans of their bourgeoisie; they justified and defended the war conducted by their country and substituted nationalism for socialism.

In those days of shameful collapse of the II. International it was only Lenin, it was only the Bolsheviks, who rightly recognised the concrete historical content, significance and meaning of the imperialist war, who laid down the fundamental tactics of the revolutionary Labour movement for that period, pointed out the perspectives of the unexampled crisis, which must necessarily merge into the proletarian revolution, took up along the whole front the most consistent and irreconcilable fight against social-chauvinism and social-pacifism, and right from the first moment on determinedly aimed at the restoration of proletarian connections, the organisation of the new, the Third International. At one stroke Lenin and the Bolsheviks broke through the national Russian limits and became the recognised leaders of the revolutionary Labour movement the world over. Lenin later wrote regarding this:

"The class-conscious workers of Russia created a Party, placed at their head an advance-guard which in the time of world war and of world collapse of international opportunism has shown the capacity, as nobody else has, to do their duty as revolutionary social democrats. The path which we took, has been tested in the

most powerful crisis and has proved again and again to be the only correct path."

It is impossible in a short review even to touch upon all the problems which Lenin raised, analysed and answered in these years. We must confine ourselves to outlining his main thoughts as he developed them in the numerous articles, resolutions, speeches and letters contained in this volume.

Already in the first days of September 1914, when he had hardly arrived in Switzerland, after having been long detained in Austria, Lenin proclaimed in a draft resolution (*The tasks of revolutionary social democracy in the European War*\*) the ideal-political collapse of the Second International, stood for revolutionary defeatism and put forward, inter alia, the following slogans:

"An all-embracing propaganda of the Socialist revolution, to be extended also to the army and the area of military activities; emphasis to be placed on the necessity of turning the weapons, not against the brother wage-slaves of other countries, but against the reaction of the bourgeois governments and parties in each country; recognition of the urgent necessity of organising illegal nuclei and groups in the armies of all nations to conduct such propaganda in all languages; a merciless struggle against the chauvinism and patriotism of the philistines and bourgeoisie of all countries without exception. Against the leaders of the present International who have betrayed Socialism, it is imperative to appeal to the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses who bear the brunt of the war and are in most cases hostile to chauvinism and opportunism... Thirdly and particularly, struggle against the tsarist monarchy and the Great Russian, Pan-Slavist chauvinism, and advocacy of a revolution in Russia as well as of the liberation and self-determination of the nationalities oppressed by Russia, coupled with the immediate slogans of a democratic republic, the confiscation of the landowners' lands and an eight-hour work-day."

In the *Political Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks)* of November 1st, 1914, Lenin gives the central slogan, which has now become historical: "Turn the present imperialist war into civil", war and expresses the conviction that the proletarian masses will overcome all obstacles and create a new International.

The fight against social-chauvinism, and in the first place against the Centrism of Kautsky, which hypocritically cloaks and conceals it, Lenin regarded as most important. His activity ran in two directions: on the one hand, consistent and ruthless ideological-political fight against opportunism in all its varieties and, on the other hand, in dialectical connection with this fight, practical organisational work for gathering together the revolutionary elements of the labour movement, for the purpose of actively combating the imperialist war, and as the cadres for the new International which was to be founded.

With the weapon of Marxism Lenin shattered the arguments which the opportunists made use of in order to justify their treachery. The bourgeoisie of all countries deceived the masses and cloaked the imperialist robber-campaign with the old ideology of "defence of fatherland" and of "national war". The opportunists repeated these arguments of the bourgeoisie in order to justify their abandonment of socialism. To this Lenin replied that it is impossible to deal with the question of native country and of national wars while ignoring the concrete historical character of the world war, and that the social patriots falsify Marxist teachings by transferring things which applied to the epoch of the rise of capitalism to the epoch of its decline. Speaking of the final epoch of capitalism, of the tasks of the proletariat for the fight for the destruction not of feudalism but of capitalism, the "Communist Manifesto" clearly and plainly declares: "The workers have no country". This truth the social chauvinists denied.

Lenin characterised all the talk about defence against "hostile attack", of "defensive war" as nothing but deception of the people, and declared that the question which group of the belligerent nations delivered the first blow or which of them first declared war was of no importance whatever in determining the tactics of the socialists. He tore to shreds the

\*) Collected Works of V.I. Lenin, Volume XVIII. The Imperialist War. The Struggle Against Social-chauvinism and Social-Pacifism, 1914—1915. International Publishers, New York. Price 4 dollars.

fable of the "last war", and again and again hammered home to the workers that war is an inevitable stage of capitalism. The slogan therefore cannot be: war—peace, but **war—civil war**.

To the social-pacifists who conducted an abstract peace propaganda and talked about "refusal of military service", "strike against war" etc., Lenin replied that

"it is a piece of stupidity, a miserable and cowardly dream of unarmed fight against the armed bourgeoisie, a sigh for the abolition of capitalism without desperate civil war".

The centrists, with Kautsky at their head, occupied the same positions as the open renegades, with the "difference" that they attempted to justify chauvinism "scientifically" and with "Marxist" arguments and to conceal the collapse of the II. International. To them fell the miserable role of "uniting" the standpoint of open opportunism with that of revolutionary Marxists. Kautsky put forward as the practical central question: victory or defeat of one's own country. He maintained that the workers' International is only an instrument of peace, and that the differences within it were by no means of a fundamental nature. In order to give a theoretical basis to the possibility of reconciling opportunism with revolutionary Marxism, he trotted out the theory of "superimperialism". The Centrists remained "true" to internationalism, but only in the sense that they declared that the social democrats of all nations have the same right or the same duty to take part in the defence of their native countries. Thus in practice they replaced the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" with the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, slaughter one another!"

These arguments and theories Lenin opposed in a great number of articles. To the question: "victory or defeat of one's own country" and to the Trotskyist slogan: neither victory nor defeat, Lenin laid down the axiom: in a reactionary war the revolutionary class must **work with revolutionary methods for the defeat of its own government**.

To Lenin the collapse of the II. International did not come as a surprise. He was long aware that the ideology of opportunism, the defence of class collaboration, the abandonment of the idea of the socialist revolution and of revolutionary methods of fight, adaptation to bourgeois nationalism, the renunciation of the class standpoint and of the class struggle out of fear of repelling the "broad masses of the population"—that this ideology has social roots, is supported by a broad strata of **petty bourgeois** within the labour movement. He represented the standpoint that the opportunists had long become dominant in the II. International and that the imperialist war had only exposed, particularly rapidly and glaringly, the real extent of this dominance. He designated it as a shameful illusion to place hopes in the rebuilding of a real socialist International without a previous complete **organisational** separation from the opportunists, for the unity of the Labour movement cannot be unity with opportunism, i. e. with the bourgeoisie, but only unity upon a revolutionary basis. Regarding the theory of "ultra-imperialism" Lenin declared that this theory, with the hope of a new era of peaceful capitalism, only aims at giving a justification for the opportunists and the official social democratic parties attaching themselves to the bourgeoisie and for their abandonment of revolutionary tactics during the stormy era of the imperialist war.

Lenin conducted an ideological fight not only against the enemies but also against friends when they represented a false theory. Thus in his article, "**The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination**", he polemised with Comrade Parabellum (Radek), whose services in the fight against the imperialist war Lenin recognised, but who declared the "struggle for the non-existent right to self-determination" to be illusory and contrasted this struggle with a revolutionary mass struggle of the proletariat against capitalism. Lenin represented the standpoint that the socialists of the oppressing nations must connect the revolutionary fight for socialism with a revolutionary programme in the national question, that they must demand the freedom of separation for the oppressed nations, while the social democrats of the oppressed nations must view as foremost the demand for the

unity and the fusion of the workers of the oppressed nations with the workers of the oppressing nations, because "otherwise those social democrats involuntarily become the allies of one or the other national bourgeoisie, which always betrays the interests of the people and of democracy and which in its turn is always ready for annexation and for oppressing other nations." Therefore, Lenin declared, "the proletariat of Russia, marching at the head of the people, cannot complete the victorious democratic revolution (which is its immediate task) nor fight together with its brothers, the proletarians of Europe for a socialist revolution, without demanding at once full and unreserved freedom of separation from Russia for all the nations oppressed by Russia".

That was the ideological basis upon which the Bolsheviks in the war years, right from the beginning, developed their activity and for which they stood at the **Zimmerwald** Conference, which Lenin regarded as a first step in the direction of breaking with opportunism and social chauvinism.

The volume includes various documents and material, among them being the text of the resolution adopted at the Stuttgart Congress, the Manifesto of the Basle Congress, and of the Zimmerwald Conference, a bibliography giving the titles of books and articles cited by Lenin in this volume, calendar of events from June 1914 to the end of December 1915, and the chronology of Lenin's Life from the period of August 1914 to September 1915.

The contents of the present volume were borne of the imperialist war, the horrors of which the great masses of workers experienced at first hand. Therefore this volume has a very stirring effect on the reader. New imperialist wars are threatening, the workers are again to be driven to the slaughter in the interest of their exploiters. Every worker who wishes to oppose the war-mongers from the **class point of view** must study with special care this new Lenin volume.

## OBITUARY

### Comrade V. L. Kopp

On 27th of May there occurred the death of Comrade Victor Kopp in a Berlin clinic.

Comrade Kopp was born in Jalta in 1880. Already as a student in Nikolajev he was active as a propagandist among the workers. In 1899 he joined the Social Democratic Labour Party of Russia. In 1900 he was expelled from the technical high school and banished from Kharkov for organising a students' strike and taking part in a demonstration.

From this moment there commenced the period of Comrade Kopp's illegal work, sometimes in Russia and sometimes abroad, interrupted by frequent arrests: in Jekaterinoslav for organising a May Day celebration and delivering a speech at this celebration, in Leningrad 1909 etc.

Shortly before the outbreak of the imperialist world war Comrade Kopp returned to Russia, was called up for military service and at the beginning of 1915 became a German prisoner of war. He remained in Germany until the autumn of 1918, when he was released on the order of the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, joined the Soviet Mission as a member of the diplomatic corps, and from now on devoted himself to diplomatic activity, after having joined the Communist Party in 1920.

From 1919 to 1921 he was representative of the R.S.F.S.R. in Germany. In 1922 he was appointed chairman of the Russian delegation to the disarmament Conference. From 1923 to 1925 he belonged to the collegium of Foreign Commissioners. In April 1925 he was appointed Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Japan. From March 1927 he occupied the position of Soviet Ambassador in Stockholm.

In spite of the severe illness (cancer of the stomach) from which he suffered in the last few years, Comrade Kopp worked indefatigably right up to the last days of his life.