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Programmatic Declaration of the C. P. of Germany on the National and Social Emancipation of the German People.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, on the proposal of Comrade Ernest Thälmann, decided on the following **Proclamation** on the national and social emancipation of the German people.

The German fascists (National Socialists) are undertaking at the present time the fiercest attacks against the German working class. At a time when Germany is enslaved by the Versailles Treaty, at a time of growing crisis, of unemployment and misery of the masses, the fascists are endeavouring by unbridled demagoguery and loud radical phrases, under the flag of resistance to the policy of fulfilling the obligations under the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan, to win important sections of the petty bourgeoisie, declassed intellectuals, students, employees, peasants, and also some groups of backward and unenlightened workers. The partial successes of the national socialist agitation are the result of the twelve years treacherous policy of the social democracy,

which by holding down the revolutionary movement, participation in capitalist rationalisation and complete capitulation to the imperialists (France, Poland) has prepared the soil for national socialist demagoguery.

To this national socialist demagoguery the Communist Party of Germany opposes its programme of fight against fascism, its programme of real representation of the interests of the toiling masses of Germany.

The fascists are rendering practical aid in the carrying out of the Young Plan by tolerating and promoting the casting of its burdens upon the working masses, by helping in the carrying out of the customs and tax laws dictated by the Young Plan (approval by the national socialist Reichstag fraction of all proposals for increasing customs duties and taxes, Frick's poll-tax in Thuringia), by endeavouring to hinder and throttle all strike movements against wage cuts. The government parties and the social democracy have sold the goods and chattels, the life and existence of the working people of Germany to the highest bidder among the foreign

imperialists. The social democratic leaders, Hermann Müller, Severing, Grzesinski and Zörgiebel are not only the hirelings of the German bourgeoisie, but are at the same time the voluntary agents of French and Polish imperialism.

All the acts of the traitorous, corrupt social democracy are continual high treason against and betrayal of the vital interests of the working masses of Germany.

Only we Communists are fighting against the Young Plan and also against the Versailles robber-treaty, the point of departure of the enslavement of all the workers of Germany, as well as against all international treaties, agreements and plans (Locarno Treaty, Dawes Plan, Young Plan, German-Polish Agreement etc.) arising out of the Versailles Peace Treaty. We Communists are against any payment of reparation liabilities, against payment of any international debts.

We solemnly declare before all peoples of the world, before all foreign governments and capitalists, that in the event of our seizing power we shall declare null and void all obligations arising out of the Versailles Peace; that we shall not pay a penny interest on the imperialist loans, credits and capitalist investments in Germany.

The fascists (national socialists) maintain that they are against the frontiers drawn by the Versailles Peace, against the separation of a number of German districts from Germany. In reality, however, fascism, wherever it is in power, oppresses the peoples subjected to it (in Italy, the Germans and Croats, in Poland the Ukrainians, White Russians and Germans, in Finland the Swedes, etc.). The leaders of the German fascists, Hitler and his confederates, however, do not raise their voices against the violent annexation of South Tyrol to fascist Italy. Hitler and the German national socialists maintain silence regarding the misery of the German speaking population of South Tyrol, which is groaning under the yoke of Italian fascism. Hitler and his party have concluded behind the back of the German people a dirty secret treaty with the Italian fascist government, under which they unconditionally deliver over the German districts of South Tyrol to the foreign conquerors.

We Communists declare that we do not recognise any violent annexation of a people or of a nation or a part of a nation to another national State; that we do not recognise any frontiers which have been drawn without the approval of the toiling masses and of the real majority of the population. We Communists are against the dismemberment and plundering of Germany carried out under the enforced peace of Versailles.

The fascists (national socialists) assert that their movement is directed against imperialism. In reality, however, they conclude agreements with the imperialists (England and Italy). Everywhere where imperialism enslaves, throttles and shoots down oppressed masses of people, the German fascists collaborate through their representatives. In China through the Kapp putschists Wetzel and Krieger, in South America through the military mission of General Kuntz, in Austria through Papst, the murderer of Liebknecht.

We Communists are the only party which sets itself the aim of overthrowing imperialism and emancipating the peoples from the power of finance capital. Therefore, we call upon the working masses of Germany to fight in the first place against the enemy in their own country, for the overthrow of capitalist rule and for the setting up of the Soviet Power in Germany in order to tear up the Versailles Peace Treaty and do away with its results.

All parties in Germany, with the single exception of the Communist Party, carry on coalition policy in the Reich, in Prussia, Thuringia and the other provinces; all parties, except the Communists, are coalition parties, government parties, ministerial parties.

Only we Communists are against all co-operation with the bourgeoisie, for the revolutionary overthrow of the present capitalist order of society, for the abolition of all rights and privileges of the ruling classes, for the abolition of all exploitation.

The national socialists maintain that the economic crisis and plundering of the masses are solely the result of the

Young Plan; that the overcoming of the crisis will be already assured when Germany breaks the fetters of the Versailles Treaty. That is an impudent fraud. In order to free the German people it does not suffice to break the power of foreign capital, but the rule of the bourgeoisie in our own country must at the same time be overthrown.

The Communist Party of Germany is developing the fiercest political and truly mass fight against the nationally treacherous, antisocialist, anti-working class fascism.

We are fighting to save the toiling masses from the threatening catastrophe.

We Communists declare that, after the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and big landlords, after the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany, we shall, in brotherly alliance with the proletariat of all other countries, carry out in the first place the following

Programme

which we set up against the demagogy of the national socialists:

We shall tear up the robber Versailles "Peace" Treaty and the Young Plan which enslave Germany; we shall annul all international debts and reparations obligations which have been imposed upon the toilers of Germany by the capitalists.

We Communists will strive for the complete right of self-determination of all nations, and in agreement with the revolutionary workers of France, England, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, etc., assure the possibility of union with Soviet Germany to those German districts which express the wish for the same.

We Communists will conclude a firm political and economic alliance between Soviet Germany and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, upon the basis of which the factories of Soviet Germany will deliver industrial products to the Soviet Union and receive food and raw material from the Soviet Union in return.

We declare before the toilers of Germany: if present-day Germany is defenceless and isolated, Soviet Germany, supported by more than nine-tenths of its population and enjoying the sympathies of the toilers of all countries, will have no need to fear any attacks on the part of the foreign imperialists. We point out to the workers of Germany that it is thanks only to the support of the workers of all countries, and with the aid of its unvanquishable Red Army, that the Soviet Union has been able successfully to repel the interventions of world imperialism.

In contrast to the hypocritical fascist phrases against big banking and commercial capital, in contrast to the empty national socialist mouthings against the parasites and against corruption, we shall carry out the following programme:

Having come into power we shall ruthlessly call a halt to the machinations of the bank magnates, who today openly impose their will upon the country. We will carry out the proletarian nationalisation of the banks and annul the debts to the German and foreign capitalists.

The wholesale dealers, the magnates of commercial capital are today driving the small shopkeepers to ruin, throwing thousands of employees on to the street, destroying the means of existence of hundreds of thousands of middle class people, robbing the peasants and screwing up the prices of articles consumed by the masses. When we have come into power we shall call a halt to the machinations of commercial magnates, nationalise wholesale trade, and create powerful consumers' co-operatives really representing the interests of all toilers and freeing them from the predatory profiteers. We shall shatter with an iron fist any speculation taking advantage of the need of the toilers.

We shall annihilate the capitalist forms of communal economy, expropriate the big house-owners without compensation and quarter the workers and the poor population of the towns in the houses of the rich. We shall graduate according to the principle of classes the amount of rent, the price of gas, water, electricity, communication and all communal services, and reduce them to the minimum for the proletarians and the toilers possessing little means.

We shall put an end to the taxation policy of the bourgeoisie. By seizing power, taking over without compensation the industrial undertakings, the banks, big house property, wholesale trade, the working class will create all the prerequisites for a class budget of the proletarian State. We shall place on an absolutely sound basis social insurance of every sort (unemployment, incapacity, sickness, old age, accidents, support of war cripples and invalids and the dependents of those fallen in the war), at the cost of the State.

We shall free the State treasury of the German Soviet Republic of all unproductive expenditure for police and church, for pensions for the Hohenzollern princes, kings, dukes, marshalls, generals, admirals who have either abdicated or have been driven away, for ministerial salaries and pensions, for the payment of reactionary officials, for corruption and luxury expenditure of every sort.

We shall break the rule of the big landowners; we shall expropriate their land without compensation and hand it over to the poor peasants; we shall set up Soviet estates equipped with the most modern machinery and give to the rural proletariat the same working conditions as those enjoyed by the city workers and draw millions of working peasants into the work of building up socialism.

We shall sweep away with an iron proletarian besom all parasites, big industrialists, bankers, junkers, big business people, generals, bourgeois politicians, betrayers of labour, speculators and profiteers of every kind. We shall shatter the apparatus of power which exists for oppressing and enslaving the working people. From the work place up to the German Soviet government, everywhere the proletariat will rule in alliance with all toilers on the basis of real and broadest Soviet democracy.

By the introduction of the seven-hour day and the four day working week, by a firm economic alliance with the Soviet Union and by raising the purchasing power of the masses, we shall abolish unemployment altogether. We shall give to everybody the possibility of work; we shall place all the productive forces of industry and agriculture exclusively at the service of the toilers. We shall secure to the working women and the working youth full political equality with equal pay for equal work. We shall raise wages by doing away with the profits of the employers, the unpro-

ductive overhead charges of the capitalist system of economy, and the reparations payments. Towards all bourgeois idlers and loafers we shall with Bolshevik ruthlessness carry out the principle; he who does not work neither shall he eat.

We Communists bring to the toilers the programme of their social emancipation from the yoke of capital. We shall kindle the enthusiasm of the masses to victory over the bourgeoisie, for the social and at the same time national emancipation of the toiling people of Germany. Only the hammer of the proletarian dictatorship can shatter the chains of the Young Plan and of national oppression. Only the social revolution of the working class can solve the national question of Germany.

When all workers, all poor peasants, all employees, all working middle class people, men and women, youth and adults, when all who are suffering under the crisis, from unemployment, misery and exploitation, gather round the Communist Party of Germany, then they will form a power of such invincible strength that they will not only succeed in overthrowing the rule of capital, but all resistance to them, both at home and abroad, will be absolutely hopeless.

Therefore, we call upon all workers who are still under the spell of the abominable fascist deceivers of the people, to break definitely and finally with national socialism and to join the army of the proletarian class struggle. Therefore, we Communists call upon all workers who still follow the traitorous social democracy, to break with this party of coalition policy, of the Versailles peace, of the Young Plan, of enslavement of the toiling masses of Germany and to join the revolutionary front, numbering millions, with the Communists for the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Down with the Young Plan!

Down with the government of capitalists and junkers!

Down with fascism and social democracy!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live Soviet Germany!

Berlin, 24th of August, 1930.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany
(Section of the Communist International).

The Impending Capitulation of the Indian Nationalist Bourgeoisie.

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

The political situation in India during the past few weeks has been dominated by three main factors. Firstly, the steadily increasing extent and intensity of the revolutionary movement among the masses, sharpened by the rapidly growing economic distress of the workers, the peasantry and the urban middle class. Secondly, the "peace negotiations" between the prominent nationalist leaders and the Government in order to break the revolutionary movement. Thirdly, the war on the North-West Frontier, which, while stimulating the revolutionary struggle, is also a factor that is hastening the "peace negotiations".

Since the very beginning of the civil disobedience movement launched by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi, we have steadily maintained that the principal Congress leaders would, by the very nature of their political and economic programme and their class affiliations, be led to a compromise with the Imperialist Government, that is a betrayal of the movement of national independence which the National Congress declared to be its goal at the Lahore session in December 1929. The whole development of the movement during the past few weeks has confirmed our appreciation of the situation in almost every detail, and we are now nearing the end of the movement as far as the bourgeois nationalist leaders are concerned.

The outer aspect of the negotiations now in progress is that two respectable Indian gentlemen of the groups known as Liberals and Moderates, namely Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru

and Mr. M. Jayakar, "applied to" the Viceroy for "permission" to see Gandhi in prison. But the real truth is revealed by the semi-official Anglo-Indian organ, the "Pioneer", published in Allahabad, which in its issue of July 26th, published some interesting facts. Among the "notable" Indians that have been in London during the last three months is the Rt. Honble. Srinivasa Sastri, the only Indian member of the "Privy Council" (a proof of his absolute reliability as an imperialist lackey), who represented the British Government of India as Agent General in South Africa and who is now a member of the Imperialist Whitley Commission to enquire into labour conditions in India. This imperialist agent, after consultation with Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the I.L.P. Secretary of State for India in the imperialist Cabinet, sent a telegram to Gandhi in prison suggesting negotiations, and received a telegraphic answer from Gandhi which was regarded as "encouraging". He therefore again sent a long cable to Gandhi and received another reply which was "still more encouraging". Therefore the Rt. Honble. Mr. Sastri put himself in communication with Lord Irvin's well known agent, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who, on behalf of the Government, has been moving between Allahabad and Yerawada gaols and has brought together the Congress leaders for mutual consultation in Gandhi's "cell". How anxious the I.L.P. leaders in Great Britain are to bring about "peace" with the nationalist bourgeoisie and "prevent the threatening disaster" to the British Empire is shown by the fact that Fenner Brockway in the House of Commons on July 27th, according to Reuters report cabled

to India, suggested "joint consultation between Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and moderate leaders, rather than separate interviews" between the Viceroy's Indian agents and the Nationalist leaders, and that his I.L.P. colleague, the Secretary of State for India, replied that "that was really a matter for the Government of India and he would see that the suggestion was conveyed to the proper quarter".

The suggestion was conveyed to the proper quarter and the result was that the two Nehrus and other Congress leaders were brought from Allahabad and elsewhere to visit Gandhi, after letters had been exchanged between the latter and the two Nehrus through the intermediary of the Viceroy's agents, who did not publish the contents of the letters but who kept informing Lord Irvin at every stage of the negotiations.

The Congress leaders after three interviews with the Viceroy's agents, addressed a letter to them which was forwarded to the Viceroy "with the permission" of the Congress leaders, as they declared in a statement made to Reuter's correspondent. The contents of this letter have not been published, but the "Daily Telegraph" of London alleges that the Congress leaders have made it a condition that the Labour Government and the Viceroy should give an assurance that they will stand for Dominion Status for India at the Round Table Conference, and amnesty for all political prisoners. The Congress leaders are undoubtedly anxious to come to a speedy compromise, and their desire to do so has been strengthened by the "real facts" of the situation (i. e. the social revolutionary development of the movement) as presented to them by the Government of India during their incarceration and their isolation from the masses. But the leaders are nevertheless well aware of the feeling of the masses, and it is the pressure of the latter that makes Patel, who is not in prison, speak of the "blunder of futile peace talks", while it also makes it impossible for the Congress leaders in prison to capitulate unconditionally. They are obliged to make such conditions as will at least enable them to win their followers over to an acceptance of a compromise.

When the Sapru negotiations began there was some apprehension expressed that Jawaharlal Nehru might offer resistance. But the right-wing Congress journal "Tribune", of Lahore, in its issue of August 1st, quotes with approval the following opinion expressed by the semi-official "Pioneer" of Allahabad. "There does not seem any ground for the opinion widely held that the young Nehru will prove an insurmountable obstacle to peace. His previous conduct in moments of crisis and his support of his father and the Mahatma Gandhi on the other hand, lend weight to the view that Jawaharlal Nehru will bow before the riper judgement of the two elder Congress leaders". Nevertheless it is quite unlikely that the Congress leaders will participate directly in the Round Table Conference in London on October 20th. The same Tej Bahadur Sapru who is conducting the negotiations with them is also very optimistic about the Conference, for he and others believe that the civil disobedience movement, even if it is not formally called off by the Congress leaders, will slowly fade away by October. This view is not confirmed by recent developments.

What is true is that the "non-violent" aspect of the Congress movement,—which is now confined mainly to the boycott of British goods and the breaking of forest laws,—is fast disappearing. There is a process of differentiation that is going on in the Congress camp itself, and there is no doubt that the official leaders will soon find themselves isolated. The youth have already given the alarm that these leaders are on the eve of a betrayal of the movement. The betrayal has not yet taken formal shape but has already begun, as is shown by the very acceptance of negotiations with such a wellknown Government agent as Sapru and the authority given to the latter to forward a letter to the Viceroy. The exact conditions of the capitulation have not yet been agreed upon, but the tremendous danger of the revolutionary mass movement will compel both sides to find the form that is necessary to preserve imperialist interests on the one hand and be "inoffensive to national self-respect", on the other.

POLITICS

The Strikers in North France Shamefully Betrayed by the Social Democratic Leaders.

By J. Berlioz.

In the course of the last week the reformist organisations and social-democratic politicians have done everything possible in order to sabotage the strike, which broke out against their will and placed them in an awkward situation.

In Lille and the neighbourhood the movement has come to an end without the strikers being able to record the slightest success. The same course is being pursued in Roubaix-Tourcoing. In that case there would remain over only the isolated districts of Armentières and Lys Valley, where the revolutionary trade unions have stronger positions, but which could not hold out if the chief centres had capitulated.

The splendid revolt of the masses of this district against the social insurance law is therefore broken for the time being.

There has rarely been witnessed in France such a cynical, such a vile peace of treachery as that practised by the reformists and socialist leaders in this fight.

In numerous articles and interviews and in solemn declarations the trade union bureaucrats endeavoured more and more to reduce the aims of the strike and at any price to remove from the demands the abolition of the workers' contributions to the social insurance. They maintained that in the strike in Roubaix-Tourcoing it was only a question of a protest against the form of the "fidelity premium" ordered by the textile Consortium, which was an affront to the "dignity" of the workers. In addition, the employers, they said, must be induced to take into consideration the increased cost of living. The reformist and social fascist leaders never had in view the victory of the workers as a result of the fight; they never organised street demonstrations; they were against picketing. After a few days they wanted only one thing—resumption of negotiations between the employers and the reformist leaders. They endeavoured to make out to the workers that it means a victory for them when their exploiters declare themselves ready to enter into negotiations.

They ordered the resumption of work after 15th of August in all undertakings where the slightest wage increase has been granted, or even promised, in order by this means to divide the workers. Only a part of the strikers followed their slogan. The number of workers who returned to work amounted to only a few thousand, but nevertheless this created confusion in the ranks of the strikers. The reformist leaders had placards posted up forbidding the members of the reformist trade unions to gather in front of the factory gates on August 18th to drive away strike-breakers.

In spite of everything, however, the main mass of the strikers remained unshaken. It was therefore necessary to intervene directly, in order to throttle the movement as quickly as possible. Salengro and Lebas, the socialist deputies of Lille and Roubaix, requested the Minister for Labour, Laval, an old renegade of the Socialist party and a tricky politician, to arbitrate in the conflict. Conversations between the socialist leaders, the industrialists and the Ministers took place almost interruptedly in Lille and Paris.

On the 21st of August the compromise was signed. The traitors who had succeeded in damping down the fighting of the workers represented this compromise in such a demagogic manner, that they managed to get a meeting of several hundred members of the textile union to accept it. In this compromise the employers "pledge" themselves, in the event of the official index for October showing an increase in the cost of living, to investigate the question of wages and to grant a wage increase, provided the situation of the industry permits it.

On Friday and Sunday the workers, who realised that

they had been left in the lurch, began to return to work, it is true with serious misgivings, but nevertheless in sufficient numbers to cause the revolutionary trade union, which is anxious not to become isolated from the masses nor to sacrifice its not very numerous followers, also to order the resumption of work.

Roubaix and Tourcoing still remained in the fight. **Léon Blum**, the leader of social fascism in France, had by a number of articles in "Populaire" issued the appropriate catch-phrase: The tremendous class struggle which has shaken these two proletarian towns, is only a fight against the dictatorial procedure of a single person, the spokesman of the textile consortium, **M. Désiré Ley**. The slightest apparent concession on the part of Ley, therefore, enabled the reformist leaders to say to the workers that they had achieved a victory involving a very important principle.

M. Laval, the Minister of Labour, gave emphatic support to **Blum's** thesis. A suitable formula was found: The "fidelity premium" is easily modified, the alterations consist mainly in giving it another name, i. e., "stability premium". This formula is to be submitted to the next general meeting of the textile workers of the two towns, and it is practically certain that the trade union leaders will help to get it accepted. In Armentières negotiations are still proceeding on the minimum coefficient of the standard of living at which increased wage rates are to come into force.

What will the result of this fight be for the workers of the Northern district? None of the agreements which have been concluded guarantees any wage increase. The Lille industrialists have already issued an announcement in which they declare they have not promised anything, and that everything depends upon the position of their industry. They are naturally endeavouring to represent this to be in an extremely bad way. In order not to undermine the authority of the social democratic leaders, they will doubtlessly grant a wage increase of 10 to 15 centimes an hour, whereas the minimum demand of the workers for the past few years has been a wage increase of 50 centimes an hour.

The great victory of the employers consists in the fact that the reformist and social fascist leaders have solemnly confirmed the formers' "fundamental" principle that, in the regulation of wages, not the cost of living but the economic situation shall be the decisive factor. The whole bourgeois press is overjoyed "that the social insurance law, which has found a fervent apostle among the socialists, will be respected in every way". ("Le Temps").

The workers are returning to the factories with suppressed anger; but they still believe that the employers have definitely granted a wage increase. When at the beginning of October next the workers discover that they have been betrayed, their fury will be tremendous. Our first task is to prepare without hesitation the revenge which the workers will take. We must before all methodically organise the united front in the factories on the basis of the following slogans: wage increase of 50 centimes per hour and no workers' contributions.

We have committed mistakes in this respect. We did not form any fighting committees in the factories in order to prepare for the fight. We had no strike committees, democratically elected by the great masses. Our organisations were too sectarian and made the mistake of lumping the socialist workers together with the reformist leaders. Then, at the height of the mass movement, our comrades were inclined to fall into the opposite error; to cease criticism of the reformist leaders and to abandon the demands of the reformist trade unions. This led to the neglect to organise the united front in the factories.

We are in the midst of a great fight between the social fascists and ourselves. The mass movement against starvation and the capitalist regime is becoming so powerful that the reformists are compelled to endeavour with all means to obtain the leadership of the movement in order to break it. They have this time been successful. The next time things will turn out differently.

The Political Situation in Turkey.

By S. Gastow.

In Turkey a new party has been formed calling itself the "Party of the Free Republic". The leader of this party is **Ali Fethi**, hitherto Turkish Ambassador to France. 65 members of the Turkish Parliament have joined the Party, among them being the Turkish Ambassador to England, **Ferid**. A sister of **Mustapha Kemal** has also entered the party. The President considered it necessary publicly to assure the new party that he will adopt an unprejudiced attitude towards it if it keeps to the principle of the Republic and complete separation of church from State. In order to confirm his words he withdrew from the people's Party.

In the programme of the party which has just been published we find, however, a number of further significant items, such as the abolition of State monopolies, benevolent attitude to foreign capital, friendly relations with the neighbouring countries while closer collaboration with the League of Nations is also stated to be desirable. The capitalist stock-exchange responded to the reports of the organisation of the new party with a rise in the quotation of Turkish securities. The foreign press is also speaking of the possibility of the formation of a Cabinet of the new party with **Fethi** at the head.

The fact of the formation of the new party and the going over to the two party system is no longer a matter of surprise; it arises from the social structure of Turkey, where important strata of the bourgeoisie (particularly in the coast districts) are closely connected with foreign markets and foreign capital and consented only reluctantly to the nationalist policy of Angora and do not conceal their interest in a policy inclined more to compromise with the West. The nuclei of the People's Party, which is supported by the bourgeoisie and the leading group of the peasantry, played a leading role during the war period and also during the last years of economic construction. The opposition tendencies, which at first found expression in the organisation of various groups outside of the party (the former Ittihadists, people's republicans etc.) after the destruction of these groups sought refuge in the vacillating strata of the ruling party. By degrees they grouped themselves round **Fethi** and his followers in Parliament.

Fethi proved himself to be a personality very responsive to the oppositional moods, because, as one of the leaders of the nationalist movement and a personal friend of **Kemal**, he was not disinclined to deviate from the policy of Angora. His compromising line in the question of the Anatolian railway, and of the liquidation of the French tobacco monopoly, his irresolute attitude in the question of introduction of the Republican Constitution and the liquidation of the Kaliphate, and finally his rejection of sharp measures for suppressing the Kurdish insurrection are well known. His vacillating attitude in regard to the last question led to his resignation as Prime Minister and his general withdrawal from the inner-political arena. He took up diplomatic work and in particular conducted the Mosul negotiations at Brussels and Geneva. From his position as Turkish Ambassador in Paris he repeatedly advised the government to adopt a friendly attitude to Western Europe.

The growth of the tendency to compromise with imperialism which led to the formation of the oppositional group of **Kemalism** and the formation of a special party, does not come unexpected. Rumours to this effect were current for some months past and were accompanied by the furious campaign of the Constantinople newspaper "**Jamrya**" (Morning) against **Ismet's** policy. In view of the unfavourable trade balance, the depreciation of the Turkish pound etc., this paper designated the construction of railways by the government as the chief item of its false economic policy. It was argued that, instead of the construction of railways, main roads should have been built and a sound trade balance brought about in order by this means to promote agriculture. In other words, this newspaper sought the solution in the agrarianisation instead of the industrialisation of the country.

One of the most essential factors which undermined the normal economic development of Turkey and hindered the very modest beginnings of industrialisation, in particular railways, was the debt agreement. According to this agreement, Turkey must pay two million pounds annually in respect of the old

debts incurred by the Sultan's government and for the redemption of the Angora and Baghdad railway. Together with other sums, the total amount to be paid grew to about eight million pounds, which brought about a big budget deficit and a fall of the Turkish pound.

With the general intensification of the world economic crisis the financial difficulties became still more acute and led to a falling off of demand and reduced income (partly owing to reduced prices) from the export of Anatolian agricultural products: fruit, wool, vegetable dyes etc.). All this, along with the bad harvest in the last few years, very seriously affected the Turkish trade balance. The import surplus doubled last year and reached 100 million Turkish pounds. The circulation of money was disturbed and at the same time misery in the village and unemployment in the towns increased. In its endeavours to find a way out of the difficulties, the government drew up an economic programme, providing for the granting of credits to agriculture for the development of cattle breeding and the stimulation of the textile and timber industry.

The government did not pursue the path of a radical agrarian reform, which would have increased the well-being of broad masses of the rural population, raised the purchasing power of the peasant masses and thereby secured a big market for the growing industry. The government obstinately combated the attempts of the working class to improve not only their political but also their economic position. The country got into a blind alley. The Kemalists could not decide on a radical change of their home policy and sought a way out along the line of apparent least resistance — along the line of negotiations with foreign finance capital for a loan of 30 to 40 million Turkish pounds with which to carry out the economic programme.

This way proved equally simple as it was dangerous for the national achievements of Turkey. The foreign financiers imposed as a precondition to negotiations for a loan, the sending of an "expert" to investigate the economic situation of the country, to work out a "plan of financial restoration" and to reorganise the system of finances.

Reast, the Vice-President of the Ottoman Debt Administration, went to Angora as a small edition of Dawes, and left it at the end of June after long negotiations. His conclusions were not published but it became known that the financial people laid down as a condition a "restoration" of the whole of Turkish economy under control of foreign experts, and at the same time demanded "guarantees" for the fulfilment of those obligations which Turkey had to undertake in this connection.

Everybody knows what the imperialists mean by a "guarantee": the creation of a government which possesses the "confidence" of international finance capital, and the introduction of a more or less disguised form of foreign control of the whole economic life.

Whilst among the leading elements of the People's Party there were some who vacillated with regard to what attitude should be adopted in face of the imperialist greed which is striving to reduce the country again to a position of a semi-colony, the revolt of the Kurds was a factor which strengthened the position of the compromising elements. The Kurdish revolt has not only rendered more difficult the financial and inner-political situation of Turkey, but also complicated the foreign political situation. The fact that the insurgents had their headquarters on Persian territory led to strained relations between Persia and Turkey. There arose a situation in which Persia was able to appeal to the League of Nations, of which Turkey is not a member. It is also not quite excluded that the Kurds also will apply to the League of Nations. In addition, the Turkish reactionary emigrés began to get busy and gathered their forces together in Syria with the open intention of making use of the revolt for the purpose of bringing about a restoration of the old regime. The totality of these events was bound to influence the vacillating section of the Kemalists and to strengthen the camp of the open reaction. There arose a panicky mood which had as a result that the Kemalist front, which hitherto had been outwardly united, broke in twain.

Here we see a characteristic difference. In the year 1925 the revolt of the Kurds led to a strengthening of the radical elements and the removal of the vacillating elements from power. The Kemalists were welded more firmly together.

Today we witness the reverse effect. The Kemalists ranks are split and the supporters of a compromise with the West are displaying increased activity.

Quite apart from the fact that the idea of a capitulation to the West has not yet triumphed even among the ruling classes of Turkey, one must bear in mind that in addition to the People's Party, there are the masses of toilers, numbering millions, whose determination to fight against imperialism is not declining but, on the contrary, is bound to increase in face of the vacillations of the ruling upper strata. Should the idea of capitulation be realised in practice in any form and the national emancipation, which was bought with the blood of thousands of toilers be jeopardised, then these masses will have a decisive word to say.

Advance by British Imperialism in the Balkans.

The Orthodox and the Anglican Churches to be United.

By M. L.

When the Orthodox Greek Church lost its head in the person of the tsar, the three Powers, France, Italy and England, immediately set to work in order to be able to use this church as their tool. The Vatican likewise endeavoured to get hold of this church and bring about its union with the Roman Catholic Church. The efforts are by no means ended, but the "interested parties" have to record with disappointment that the British imperialists have been able to achieve a greater success than the French and Italians.

To gain influence over the Orthodox Church means to obtain influence in the affairs of the Balkan States, just as did the tsars by means of their "clerical" agents. A further political advantage is that the head of the Church has a great influence over the orthodox population in Persia and Near Asia. Finally, it means an open protectorate of the counter-revolutionary emigrés and an advance against religious conditions in the Soviet Union itself.

The Conference at Lambeth, a Conference of the Anglican Bishops of the whole British Empire, has just ended. One of the special features of this Conference was that a whole number of prominent heads of the orthodox Church were present, whose not inconsiderable travelling expenses were borne by the MacDonald Government. Of the heads of the orthodox Church there were present: the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Archbishop of Thyateira, the Rumanian Archbishop of Bucovina, the Serbian Bishop of Novisad, the Syrian Archbishop of Epiphaneia, the Bulgarian Bishop of Znepolsky, the Cyprian Bishop of Paphos, the Polish Archimandrit Sabbas Svioloff, a number of emigrant princes of the Church etc.

A Committee was formed, the so-called Dogma Committee, the task of which is to lay down the foundations for the union of the two churches. The Committee consists of heads of the Anglican and the Orthodox churches. These efforts towards union, which have now assumed a definite form, have to be admitted on the part of the Catholics. In the Catholic missionary review we read:

"The Anglicans with their wealth of funds have the advantage of the Eastern Churches, who for the most part are very poor. The resistance hitherto offered by the Orthodox Church to Protestantism in the sphere of dogma is gradually breaking down. The Patriarchs of the Nestorians in Mesopotamia and of the Greeks in Egypt are already completely under the influence of the Anglicans. D'Herbigny found in the Synod Hall at Jerusalem no religious emblems but only English portraits."

The proceedings at Lambeth form a key stone of a very tenacious effort on the part of the Anglican Church. Indications already existed beforehand. Last year, when the Church Congress of the Bishops was held in Cheltenham, there was present a missionary of the Orthodox Church, the Archbishop Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira. He delivered a speech in which he pointed out that there are far fewer differences between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches than between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. It is true, he added, a union of the two Churches must be carefully prepared and a Synod of the Orthodox Church must proclaim the union.

The idea of the reunion of the two Churches is said to have originated from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The question was not ended with this theoretical discussion. In "The Near East and India" we read that the Bishop of Gibraltar, Hicks, was in Belgrade on behalf of the Anglican Church and the practical negotiations have now begun. In order practically to demonstrate the possibility of the union, the Bishop of Gibraltar and the Orthodox Patriarch Dimitrijeo jointly celebrated a solemn mass in the Belgrade cathedral, at which all the leading clergy and nobility were present.

From Belgrade the bishop proceeded to Karlovice, where he conferred with the "Holy Synod". No details regarding this conference were published.

"The Near East and India" also mentions that preparations for this move had been going on for years.

Three years ago the Anglican Bishop of Gloucester was in Belgrade, where he delivered a series of lectures on the necessity of a union of the two churches.

It should be remarked in conclusion that this manoeuvre of British imperialism with the Orthodox Church represents a strong material and political promotion of anti-Soviet and white-guardist machinations.

The Instigators of the Kurdish Revolt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The fighting in the South East corner of Anatolia, (the Ararat district, or so-called Turkish Kurdistan) has been going on for six weeks. The originally optimistic view of the situation on the part of the Angora government has since given place to serious concern. The number of troops engaged in the task of suppressing the revolt has been raised to 60,000, and in addition, the commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, Farsi Pasha, had been sent to the front in order to take charge of the war-operations. The fight is everywhere assuming exceedingly bitter forms, particularly as the insurgent Kurds have the possibility of obtaining provisions, arms and even shelter on the other side of the Turkish frontier.

According to reports from Turkish and Arab sources, it can now be regarded as certain that the revolt was prepared long beforehand. In spite of official denials, for months past news repeatedly came, now from Baghdad, now from Mosul, another time from Aleppo, that Colonel Lawrence, the very talented agent of the British Secret Service, whose last great "achievement" was the instigation of the revolt of Habibullah in Afghanistan, was in the Kurdish district. The Kurdish "émigrés", who after the defeat of the former revolts found refuge in Iraq, in North Syria and in Persia, were energetically engaged in "negotiations", the meaning and content of which was shown with sufficient clearness by the slogan, put forward at the beginning of the present year, of a "united Kurdistan embracing the Kurdish population of Iraq, Persia and Syria" — of course under British protection.

The reactionary Turkish Sheiks, who considered themselves unfavourably treated by the centralist Constitution of the Turkish State, and also the Mohammedan clergy, who are opposed to the religious reforms which were introduced, find in the backward semi-nomadic Kurdish tribes an equally willing tool for religious incitement as the Kurdish peasants, to whose requirements Kemal Pasha and the bourgeois government have not paid sufficient regard. Once these elements received modern weapons—and to supply them with the same is precisely the task of the agents of the secret allies and future patrons of the "Kurdish State"—everything was ready for striking a blow. The new reactionary adventure is supported by the "brother Kurds" in Persia and in Iraq, and is rapidly becoming a very serious little war for the Angora government.

Once this war has got fairly started, the time has come for British imperialism to throw aside the mask: the English press can now come forward openly in support of the "oppressed". The whole civilised world condemns the vile "bandits" in India, the "rowdies" in Egypt, the "robbers" in China and "pogromists" in Palestine, but precisely now something must be done for the emancipation of the unhappy Kurds! And soon after all the outpourings of sympathy for the heroic Kurds, British imperialism openly reveals its designs against Turkey, which maintains friendly relations with Soviet

Russia and in addition has committed the "crime" of refusing to fulfil the Shylock demands of the British creditors of the "Dette Publique Ottomane".

The organ of the Colonial Office, "Near East" of 31st July wrote:

"No one who knows the history of the Kurdish people will be surprised at the **tenacity** with which the Kurds, in spite of the defeats at the commencement, offer resistance to the **organised forces of Turkey**. Mustapha Kemal's anxiety is **only natural**, for whilst the Angora government is at its wit's end how to obtain money, it must find it very annoying to be **compelled** to concentrate great masses of troops in the neighbourhood of Van and Bayezit."

Translated into plain language this means: Mustapha Kemal will be still further surprised by the "tenacity" of the Kurds (to whom the question of money obviously plays no role) if he does not very soon come to an understanding with those who are behind the revolt. Mustapha Kemal has already once (in 1926) paid tribute to the blackmailers (the "unhappy" Kurds at that time only ceased to be "tenacious" when John Bull had appropriated the Mosul oil wells). This time the blackmailers have raised their price. Kemal Pasha is given to understand that he can purchase peace in Kurdistan at the price of unconditional capitulation in the debt question and possibly also joining the anti-Soviet front. Another dirty piece of business by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald!

Should, however, Mustapha Kemal this time not give way, or only partially give way, British imperialism has still another shot in its locker: The Kurdish movement will be converted into a permanent revolt by a strategic-organisational point of support being created for it on **British territory**. The Kurdish centre Soleimaniyeh (in North Iraq) is **not** in agreement with the Anglo-Iraq Treaty. How could such champions of freedom, as the English are, deliver over the Kurdish people to the Arab majority! How could they egoistically think of withdrawing British troops from Iraqi Kurdistan, where the unhappy Kurdish people cannot live without their assistance! Troubled by pricks of conscience, the British press will now really turn its attention to the problem of the Kurds; and even if perhaps the extreme proposal of "complete Kurdish independence under a direct British mandate" is not yet realisable, nevertheless the compromise-proposal that Iraq shall be divided into two parts under the Personal union of King Feisal, who is from on now to be described as the "King of Iraq and Kurdistan", and the Kurdish State thus created is to be big enough in order later to appropriate with little trouble the "Kurdish territories of Turkey, Persia and Syria", is meeting with a "sympathetic response".

For the rest, this idea fits very well into the British plans of advance against the South of the Soviet Union. British Kurdistan would form the most northern outpost for an attack on Batum and Baku. Behind the fights round Mount Ararat there is again to be seen international imperialism, which is forging the iron ring around the Soviet Union.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

International Social Fascism Supports MacDonald's Imperialist Terror in India.

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

The Executive Committee of the Social Fascist, Social Imperialist International has just concluded a two days' session at Zuerich and has added another chapter to its glorious record of treachery to the working class and to the colonial peoples. The full report of its proceedings are not yet to hand, but from the summary of the second day's discussion contained in the "Vorwärts" of August 24th, the organ of the German Social Fascist Party, we learn that the originally planned agenda was extended by the discussion of two problems — unemployment and India.

These additions were indeed natural, for the British "Labour Party" plays a dominant role in that International, and badly needs the moral support of the other European and American Social Fascists for its policy, as these two problems — unemployment and India — are just those that are exposing

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's "Labour" Government most ruthlessly as agents of British Fascism at home and lackeys of British Imperialism in the colonial countries.

For MacDonald's regime of terror against the masses of India in their struggle for national independence, moral support was given by the same Executive at its special meeting held in Berlin on May 11th and 12th of this year, when a resolution was passed which ran as follows:

"The Executive recalls the Resolution of the Brussels Congress of the L. S. I. which recognises the rights of the peoples of India of self-determination."

"It is convinced that through negotiations between the British Labour Government and the representatives of all sections of the Indian population that right can be exercised under the safest and most effective conditions."

"It is confident that the British Labour Government will make these negotiations possible, that in order to facilitate them it will consider an amnesty for political prisoners as soon as possible and that it will conduct the negotiations in such a manner that they will lead as early as possible to full responsible self-government."

That resolution contained **no word of condemnation** for the methods by which the interests of British imperialism were being maintained in India by a member of the Second International — suppression of the freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, bribery and corruption, brutal prison torture, police and military terror, mass arrests, hangings and shootings, and government by machine guns, tanks, and bombing planes.

On the contrary, the Social Fascist International gave every encouragement to the "Labour" Government to make possible such negotiations with the Indian princes, landlords, capitalists and nationalist and labour reformist traitors, as might make it possible to make India safe for British Imperialism.

But the resolution on India just passed at the Zuerich meeting by these unabashed international agents of Fascism and Imperialism goes even further than the Berlin resolution. Its full text deserves quotation:

"The Executive takes cognisance of the declarations made by Comrade Gillies on behalf of the British Labour Party and Comrade Brockway on behalf of the Independent Labour Party, and renews the expression of its confidence that the Labour Government of Great Britain will succeed in giving satisfaction in accordance with the fundamental principles of Socialism and of the Labour Movement, to the demands of the Indian peoples for self-government. It recalls the Berlin Resolution of the Executive on this question, and expresses again the hope that the granting of a political amnesty to India as soon as possible and to as large a degree as possible, and the simultaneous cessation of the movement of civil disobedience will make it possible to carry through successfully the Round Table Conference."

This is exactly the hope that is being expressed by all the three Imperialist Parties of Great Britain, but there are a few remarkable features about the new resolution that need pointing out. Firstly the political amnesty suggested is to be granted "to as large a degree as possible", reflecting the change in the demands of British Imperialism since last May when the Berlin Resolution was passed. Secondly, the Executive passed the resolution after having heard not only the official Labour Party representative but also Fenner Brockway, who calls himself an "anti-imperialist". The resolution was carried unanimously, the **whole British delegation abstaining from voting**. In other words, while the British delegation wished the support of MacDonald's imperialist policy in India to come unanimously from the rest of the International, the resolution itself had the approval of Brockway also and shows once again how the two sections of the "Labour" Party work hand in hand. Thirdly, the resolution definitely accepts the British Empire as compatible with the fundamental principles of Socialism, for it urges the "Labour Government" — not to withdraw its army from India, not to abandon its repression and terror, not to recognise India's claim to independence, but — to grant India "self-government" i. e. self-government within the British Empire "in accordance with the fundamental principles of Socialism and of the Labour movement!"

Once again, too, we have in the Zuerich resolution the

same imperialist phrase about the "peoples" of India (not people of India), one of the cunningly invented phrases by which British Imperialism has created the impression of the hopeless diversity of races, religions etc. that make it absolutely essential to maintain in India the whole murderous machinery of the "Pax Britannica".

If the Executive of the Second International believe that their resolutions purporting to give support to Indian "self-government" will ever deceive the Indian masses, they are sadly mistaken. The frantic efforts of these international traitors to the working class to prop up the tottering fabric of imperialism will be frustrated by the heroic struggle of the Indian masses themselves, who clearly recognise the role of Zuerich, Amsterdam and Geneva in the maintenance of the vast system of imperialist exploitation of which they have been so long the victims.

Their fight for full national independence and social freedom will be continued and successfully terminated, notwithstanding the bombs and guns of the Second International and notwithstanding the cowardly compromises and treachery of the nationalist bourgeoisie and of Joshi, Chaman Lal, Shiva Rao, Bakhale, Ginwala, Ruikar and Co — who are the Indian counterparts of Otto Bauer and Fenner Brockway.

There is one other colonial problem that was dealt with by the Zuerich Social Imperialist Fraternity. They protested against the "extermination of the Kurds", but they have not said one word to point out the bloodstained hand of British imperialism in Kurdistan. The British Secret Service has financed and armed the Kurds to revolt, and the Kurds themselves probably believe that they are really fighting for their national independence. But when even the bourgeois world is protesting against this criminal deception practised upon the Kurdish people by and in the interests of British imperialism and militarism, the "Socialists" assembled at Zuerich have given whole-hearted support to Britain's nefarious Kurdish plans by expressing sympathy with Kurdish "independence". At the same time, however, India shall not be independent, but shall have self-government within the British Empire. The contradiction is only apparent. India is already a monopoly of British Imperialism and has to be prevented from becoming independent, while Kurdistan has yet to be conquered by British Imperialism by making the Kurds fight with British money and British guns for their independence — from the Turks and Persians! Incidentally, Britain's military base against the Soviet Union is thereby pushed up northwards closer to the Soviet frontier. It is therefore no accident that the Second International intervenes in order to help the Kurds to jump from the frying pan into the fire. This too, is in strict "accordance" with the fundamental principles of socialism and of the labour movement.

M. Vandervelde Goes on Tour.

By H. Valetzki (Moscow).

The President of the Second International, the one-time Minister of the King of Belgium, is undertaking a trip to China and Japan. M. Vandervelde has already had dealings with China. That was in the year 1926, when in his capacity of Foreign Minister he accused China before the Hague Court of Arbitration of a "one-sided" dissolution of the Belgo-Chinese Treaty of 1837 and protested most indignantly against the violation of Belgian "interests", represented by the Concessionaires and Missionaries. But all this is now past history. The situation in China has changed "for the better" since then. It is possible to "have dealings" with the present Chinese government, which represents capitalist interests, the more so as this government is urgently in need of the support of the imperialists against the inner dangers threatening it on all sides.

The protean M. Vandervelde is therefore proceeding to China not as an official representative of the government, nor as the head of the International of the social democrats, but as a private person and scholar. He has been invited by the "Chinese National Committee for Scientific Research" in order to give lectures at a number of universities on the contemporary social movement, provincial and communal self-administration of Belgium, international economic relations, and the organisation of peace. These themes, as one sees, are quite harmless, which leads one to hope that during his public appearance in China there will not be among his Chinese auditors any tactless people to whom it might occur to remind the

speaker of the role played by him in the old Belgo-Chinese disputes.

From China M. Vandervelde intends to return to Europe by sea, visiting en route Indo-China; not perchance in order to study on the spot the latest differences between the native population and the French imperial power, but solely in order — as his own paper, the Brussels "Le Peuple" reports — "with the kind permission of the French government of Indo-China", to make use of the opportunity to visit the celebrated ruins of Angkor.

On his journey out to China Vandervelde is using the overland route which, as is known, runs through the territory of the Soviet Union. To the sarcastic question of the Brussels "Börsen Echo", why Vandervelde — whose organ, to put it mildly, is not characterised by any exaggerated friendship for the Soviet Union, has chosen this route — our tourist replies

"the 'Börsen-Echo' should be aware that . . . tourists, business people, diplomats, in fact missionaries and nuns, make use of the Siberian railway now when journeying to China, Japan, Persia (?) or other oriental countries, for the simple reason that this is the shortest and cheapest route".

Thus, Vandervelde is travelling through the territory of the Soviet Union in a through railways carriage, and this neither in the capacity of a business man nor of a nun.

There was a time when the President of the II. International displayed a very lively interest in the Soviet Union. Let us glance back and see how this interest found expression in the various historic situations.

The first time Vandervelde visited Russia was just before the outbreak of the imperialist war in 1914. He was the first and the only one of the leaders of the pre-war second International to whom the Czarist government did not refuse a visa to enter the country. Vandervelde a few years afterwards summed up the impressions of this visit in the words:

"Maxim Kovalevsky (a moderate liberal member of the government council G. V.) introduced me to Rodzianko, the president of the Duma. I entered my name in the gold book of visitors to the Duma immediately after that of the emperor's widow . . ."

The next occasion on which Vandervelde had to do with Russian affairs was immediately after the commencement of war, on the 5th of August 1914. Vandervelde, who had just been appointed Minister by the King of Belgium, decided to send a telegram to the Russian socialists in Petrograd calling upon them to "cease for the time being" the fight against Tsarism, in order to support the Tsarist government in the war against the Germans. Owing to lack of modesty on the part of the Tsarist Ambassador in Brussels, Prince Kudashev, it soon became known that the text of the telegram signed by Vandervelde was the product of the joint creative labours of the chairman of the Second International and the above-named prince. It will be remembered that the sharp reply given to this telegram by the Bolshevik fraction of the Duma, the text of which was found on Comrades J. Petrovsky and Bedayev in prison, formed one of the chief points of the prosecution in the trial of the Bolshevik members of the Duma. The Vandervelde-Kudashev telegram thus played the role of a mean provocation.

In February, 1917, Vandervelde published appeals "To the Russian workers", "To the toilers of Russia" and a leaflet, "Russian soldiers, brothers, rescue Belgium! The line was the same as that followed in the telegram drawn up together with prince Kudashev; the form however was adapted to the new conditions. In this leaflet to the Russian soldiers Vandervelde wrote:

"Reaction in Europe has three heads: The Tsar in Petrograd, the Kaiser in Vienna and the Kaiser in Berlin. You have destroyed the first. It is now the task to destroy the other two heads."

In one of these appeals Vandervelde declared:

"Russian brothers, from now on you are free men. Your Belgian comrades, however, are still slaves. They implore you to free them; they are expecting from you not words but deeds".

(In order to avoid any misunderstanding, it must be explained that, Vandervelde meant the active help of the Russian brothers to free the Belgian workers, not from capitalist

slavery, but from the German occupation in order to restore the rule of the Belgian bankers and industrialists).

At the beginning of May 1917 Vandervelde went personally to Russia, along with two other socialist Ministers, **Albert Thomas** of France and **Arthur Henderson** of England, in order to oppose the withdrawal of revolutionary Russia from the imperialist united front of the Entente. He exerted his influence on **Kerensky** and **Zeretelli** in this direction not without success. He declared, the "extremists" are against the war, only because in this revolutionary Commune there are many foreigners, cosmopolitans and **above all Jews**, who are fettered by catchwords originating from Germany". Upon the invitation of the Commander-in-chief, General Alexeyev — who according to Vandervelde's words was the "**embodiment of Slav courtesy**", — he went to the front in order to inspire the soldiers to the offensive . . . He declared to the soldiers:

"This Red Flag under which you are fighting is also our flag . . . If they (the German soldiers) fire at you and attack your flag, will you not then defend yourselves? **You will drive them right back into their towns, shut them in there and bring freedom to your enemies at the point of the bayonet.**"

(In order to avoid any misunderstanding it should be remembered that Vandervelde uttered these words in July 1917, and not in the years 1919/1920; not in the years of Entente Intervention against Soviet Russia, when his own friends attacked the Red Flag and fired at the Russian workers and peasants, when the Government of which he was a member recognised Koltchak.)

Vandervelde's next attempt actively to interfere in the affairs of the Russian revolution was in the year 1922, in connection with the trial of the Social Revolutionaries. This time Vandervelde came to Russia in his capacity as lawyer, as defending Counsel of the Russian "Girondists" against the "vengeance of the Jacobins". After making scandalous and ridiculous "juridical" statements in defence of paid agents of the foreign imperialists and organisers of abominable terrorist attempts on the lives of leaders of the proletarian revolution, Vandervelde, along with his colleagues, deemed it advisable to pack up and go home before the conclusion of the trial.

Three years later, before the Belgian parliamentary elections, Vandervelde, in view of the sympathy of the masses of Belgian workers for the Soviet Union, made recognition of the Soviet Union by Belgium one of the chief planks in his election platform. In the new government Vandervelde took over the post of Foreign Minister. But the elections were over and there existed no necessity to fulfil the demagogic pledge which had been given solely for the purpose of catching votes. The government, in which Vandervelde also occupied the post of a deputy Prime Minister, was nothing but a usual executive organ of the bankers and industrialists. And now Vandervelde, at an interview which he gave in the Autumn of 1925 in Locarno to a group of journalists, to the question how matters stood with regard to the recognition by Belgium of the Soviet government, made the following historic answer:

"There is no need whatever for us to hurry in the matter; they need us much more than we need them".

At the end of 1927, after the currency had been stabilised at the cost of the toiling masses in the interests of the cliques of stock-exchange speculators and with the actual participation of the social democratic Ministers, the Belgian social democrats left the government. There was, however, no immediate prospect of an election, and thus the social-democratic press was able, without any demagogic manoeuvres, to indulge in the most vulgar incitement against the Soviet Union. At the Congress of the II. International held at Brussels in August 1928, Vandervelde declared in his opening speech:

"In the Soviet Union we witness a dictatorship whose home policy consists of systematic acts of violence, and whose foreign policy openly or covertly spares (!) the bourgeois governments and thereby strengthens them."

But now new elections are approaching, and news regarding the grandiose Five-Year Plan of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the successes already achieved in this sphere is beginning to reach the masses in spite of all the flood of shameful lies of the social democrats, while the developing economic crisis is also awakening in the masses

sympathy and interest for the Soviet Union. And Vandervelde, this accomplished hypocrite and past-master of demagoguery, who for the moment is in "opposition" to the government, is beginning once again to mingle with his campaign of calumny and incitement against the Soviet Union, declarations on the necessity of its "recognition".

In February last, during the debate in Parliament on the Foreign Office budget, Vandervelde delivered a great speech, in which he pointed out that in spite of his hostility to the "Moscow system of government", Belgium could derive political and in particular economic advantage by recognising the Soviet Union. "I declare" said Vandervelde in conclusion, "that on the day of the formation of a government which accords with our principles (1) we shall immediately enter into negotiations on the renewal of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union."

In his reply M. Hyman, the Belgian Foreign Minister, confined himself mainly to enumerating those arguments against the recognition of the Soviet Union which only a few years ago the then foreign Minister, Vandervelde, brought forward. Hyman, amidst the general laughter of the House, quoted at length the answer given by Vandervelde in the year 1925 in reply to the interpellation of the Communists. Vandervelde at that time pointed to the incidents which had occurred in the last few months in England and France (the raid on the "Arcos" in London etc.) which for him proved the inexpediency of an immediate recognition of the Soviet Union. Vandervelde had then reminded the House that

"Belgian enterprises in pre-revolutionary Russia are estimated at 3,500 million Gold Francs, and that we (1) have the duty to think not only of the interests which we might have in the future in Russia, but also of the interests of the past."

In conclusion, he took the opportunity of pointing to a further obstacle to the recognition of the Soviet Union, namely, "the suffering Georgian Republic, which has already long been recognised by us and which is determined not to perish". Hyman added, M. Vandervelde referred in his speech to abundant material on the situation in the Soviet Union. I possess no less detailed information; not only extracts from "Bulletin of French Industry", which the honorable member has read out here, but also material which important social democratic newspapers publish and which is directed against the Soviet Union.

In the last few months Vandervelde has developed feverish activity in the interests of civilisation, of trade, peace etc., for a practical sober and advantageous policy in regard to the Soviet Union, without for a moment having ceased active participation in the anti-Soviet campaign of the Labour and Socialist International (including joint authorship of the Manifesto issued by the May Plenum of the Labour and Socialist International addressed to "all workers of the Soviet Union" and calling for the overthrow of the Soviet Power). But elections are again approaching in Belgium, and therefore he comes forward as an "honest, disinterested mediator" and calls for a milder policy towards the "great country in which great events are taking place". At the moment when M. Vandervelde, like many "tourists, business people, diplomats, missionaries and nuns", is travelling in a sleeping car across the territory of the Soviet Union, it may not be out of place to call to mind the manifold changes of standpoint adopted towards the Soviet Union by this globe-trotter in the course of the last fifteen years.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Declining American Federation of Labour.

by

Sam Darcy.

Workers have been leaving the social-fascist and fascist unions in the United States by hundreds of thousands. This is admitted by even an official United States government report

based on figures supplied by the American Federation of Labour and closely allied organisations.

This report published in the *Monthly Labour Review*, organ of the Department of Labour, consists chiefly of a comparison of the situation obtaining in 1926 and in 1929. The figures are of course gross exaggerations. The report refuses to acknowledge the practical destruction of the A. F. of L. needle workers union during the past few years, the loss of hundreds of thousands of members by the United Mine Workers of America, the wiping out of the textile workers union with an insignificant exception in a very minor part of the industry (half-fashioned hosiery), etc. Yet the facts offered indicate clearly enough the answer to the workers to the activities of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

During the three years covered, the report admits a net loss of 112,272 members for all the unions involved out of the somewhat over two million members which are claimed. This loss was sustained chiefly in the basic and war industries of the country. The railroad unions alone show a loss of over two hundred thousand members. Those railroad unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. do not show any loss because of the return in 1929 of a previously expelled railroad craft union from the A. F. of L. the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks with a membership of 135,000. The net loss to all the various craft unions including the A. F. of L. totalled 81,894 members. Of all the unions concerned in these losses one of the most significant is that of the "Jim Crow" Association of Coloured Railway Trainmen which lost 180 members out of its pitiful total of 4800.

In the group of mining and mineral extraction workers, the official figures report a loss of 50,000 members. That the actual loss is several times larger than this can be seen from the fact that the United Mine Workers of America are listed as having 450,000 members in 1929, whereas it is well known that not more than one quarter of this number, chiefly anthracite miners have remained in this union.

In the basic branches of the metal industry similar losses are admitted. The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, and Helpers of America acknowledges a loss of over 3,000 members out of its total of 23,000. This, despite the sweet overtures of Green to Hoover begging the union label on American shipping and navy boats in return for energetic support by the A. F. of L. of the new and greater war programme before and after the London Naval Conference. The Union which includes the aircraft workers was cut in half. And so on all the way through.

In the clothing, shoe and similar unions, a loss of 26,000 members is acknowledged. That the loss is far greater can be seen by the fact that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is listed as having 87,000 members. This union actually has less than 5,000, and even these are mostly non-dues paying. The United Garment Workers is alleged to have 85,000 members. It has barely 20 per cent of this amount and these are concentrated in a comparatively unimportant part of the industry, the over-all line.

In the textile industry, while the official A. F. of L. figures admit a loss of 5,000 members in the American Federation of Textile Operatives, the membership being reduced from 11,000 to 6,000 they still claim 30,000 members in the United Textile Workers of America. This is a most laughably exaggerated figure. Even the Department of Labour comments that it is that this does not represent actual membership but merely "voting strength" in the A. F. of L.

The tremendous losses suffered by the A. F. of L. which they do not yet acknowledge is evidenced also by the fact that the American Federation of Musicians still claims in 1929 125,000 members, the same figure as for 1926. It has become common knowledge that the crisis amongst musicians in the United States brought on by the tremendous extension of talking pictures and other mechanical devices has decimated tens of thousands of musicians and practically wiped out this once flourishing organisation, leaving nothing but a treasury. This treasury is now being used in a pathetic attempt to win the public against "canned music" -- talking pictures, radio, victrola, etc. -- and for attending concerts.

The report claims serious progress for only one group of unions. These are the unions which include the governmental

employees. Even in this list, however, it is not the labourers or other actual manual workers which increased organisation but the most vilely corrupted groups of government employees. Thus, for example, the International Association of Police Women doubled its membership from 300 to 600. The two unions which include the postmasters, the worst slave drivers possible, increased their membership by over 4,000. The American Federation of Teachers claims an increase of 1500. This last is, however, very doubtful.

The building trades, according to the official reports, have been holding their own during the three years under consideration. However, because of the tremendous crisis which this industry is suffering from at the present time, where in many sections between 45 to 60% of the workers are unemployed, these unions have also lost considerably. For some time the official figures as shown in the voting strength in the A. F. of L. will not reflect the tremendous losses of membership which they are suffering from. Especially the larger of the various crafts have accumulated hundreds of thousands and even millions of dollars in their treasuries and will continue to pay their per capita in the A. F. of L. out of these funds irrespective of actual dues payments within the unions. This is done by the bureaucrats so as to better enable them to jockey for power against one another. The perspectives especially for this group of unions auger their further weakening. The builders have already reduced wages by at least 35 per cent in by far the greatest part of this industry. Thus though a carpenter's wages in New York is still officially \$ 13.20 per day, there are almost no carpenters getting these wages at this moment which is supposed to be the height of the season. Because of economic conditions the carpenters leave the reactionary unions which are doing nothing to help them out of the misery of unemployment and go to work for as little as three dollars per day. The National City Bank, one of the biggest investors in heavy industry declared in commenting on this situation that "wages must come down" if industry is to survive.

The A. F. of L. is in the period of its senility. Next year marks its fiftieth anniversary. It cannot and will not lead the workers in defence of their interests against the wage cuts and worsening conditions which are being carried through.

The Lovestone and Trotskyite oppositions find common ground against our Communist Party on the trade union question. They wail about the danger of deserting the American Federation of Labour. They cry against the isolation from the masses which will inevitably result from "exaggerating" the possibilities of the new revolutionary unions. They shout that we must reach the masses through the A. F. of L. This opportunist sentiment has even found echo within our Party in the articles of Comrade Staehl, during the pre-convention discussion.

This point of view has roots in the history of our Party. Even at the time of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in October 1928 there was considerable speculation on the question of a possible new era of growth for the A. F. of L. This point of view never considered that the will of the masses might settle this question. Nor did they conceive of the Communist Party and revolutionary trade unions as a factor in determining the will of the masses. The workers are in fact writing the answer to the renegades in bold letters by leaving the A. F. of L. in hundreds of thousands. The right wing, however, has developed a scheme of possible historic development fatalistically based on the will of the bourgeoisie to force the working class into the A. F. of L. so as to have the situation more in hand. Our Party has since left these profound thinkers to their speculative tasks and proceeded with its own.

While the A. F. of L. continues to decline, a glorious opportunity for revolutionary trade unionism was opened with the successful Cleveland conference which formed the **Trade Union Unity League**. It is now about one year since that conference. A thorough examination of that year's work must be made, the sharpest and most constructive critical faculties must be brought to bear and then all possible forces must be thrown in to help the Trade Union Unity League become the great class defender of the workers that the historic moment calls upon it to be.

The 5th Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, now meeting, will undoubtedly provide the lead necessary to accomplish this task.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Workers' Delegations in the Soviet Union.

By Albert Inkpin.

During the month of August delegations from eleven different countries have been visiting the Soviet Union under the auspices of the "Friends of Soviet Russia" and as the guests of the Central Council of the Russian Trade Unions. In these delegations, almost all of which consist exclusively of workers, innumerable trades and industries have been represented, and members of various political parties and non-party workers as well all have their place. There are to be found textile workers from the industrial North of France, where the great strike movement against the new impositions on wages (social insurance laws) is now in progress, as well as from the textile areas of Yorkshire in England and of Mansfeld in Germany, where strikes against wage reductions have just concluded and the workers have been forced back into slavery after bitter and protracted struggles in which the reformist trade union leaders and Socialist politicians have played their customary strike-breaking role. Workers and peasants, men and women alike, elected by their fellow workers in the factories and other enterprises, travelling to and from the Soviet border on monies subscribed by their fellow workers for that purpose, are visiting the Soviet Union for the first time to see with their own eyes the progress the Russian workers and peasants have made in the building of Socialism in the first proletarian state.

In visiting the Soviet Union the delegates have not merely crossed a frontier and passed into a new land. They entered a new world, a world where the workers and peasants are the ruling class, where the bourgeoisie and its social order, with its consequent toil and suffering and misery for the workers, have been swept away, and where the workers and peasants themselves, under the sure and certain guidance of the Communist Party, are building a new social order, a new civilisation, based on the teachings of Lenin and Marx. Wherever they have journeyed in the Soviet Union they will have witnessed the results of the great Five-Year Plan that are manifesting themselves on every hand. They will have seen the workers and peasants, conscious of the fact that they labour now for themselves and their class, prepared to sustain any temporary hardships in order that that Plan can be brought to fruition in the speediest possible time. They will have observed the enthusiasm with which the workers themselves seek to stimulate production, the shock-brigades in the workshops and factories, the friendly but keen rivalry between shop and shop, mill and mill, mine and mine, which has resulted in increasing industrial output to an extent that far transcends the level of 1913. They will have learned, at the same time, how unemployment is disappearing, how wages have been increased, the hours of labour reduced and the social conditions of the workers immensurably improved. They will have seen the rise of new towns, with houses for the workers planned to give a maximum of light and air. In schools and universities they will have watched the feverish development of educational and cultural activity, which in a few years will eliminate the illiteracy once rampant amongst the Russian masses, and transform them into the best educated and most culturally developed people in the world.

And now these worker-delegates return to their own lands: to the England of the MacDonald "Labour" Government and the unemployed now numbering two million; to the Germany of Zörgiebel and the Young-Plan, where the workers are being throttled to squeeze out more surplus value to maintain the rate of profit and at the same time to meet the tribute to foreign capital; to the France of the fascist insurance laws imposing new burdens on the falling wages of the working

class. Everywhere to capitalism, to dwindling wages, lengthening hours, social-democracy and labourism, unemployment and the hard, grim struggle for bread. For every honest and genuine worker the lesson is clear: The Soviet Union must at all costs be saved from attack; the Russian workers and peasants have shown the way by which alone the social and economic emancipation of the working class can be achieved. These great deeds that speak alone drown the pitiful whimpering of the petty-fogging distorters and "interpreters" of Marxism, no matter how cunningly their phrases about "parliamentary democracy", "peaceful evolution" etc. are turned in the endeavour to cover their social-fascist intent. No wonder M. Tardieu refuses passports to French workers to visit the Soviet Union in the vain hope that by this means the truth will be prevented from being brought out!

In the organisation of these delegations the International Committee and the national sections of the F.O.S.R. perform a very important and necessary task. They are a means to the establishment of a real bond of kinship between the workers of western Europe and America and those of the Soviet State. They give increasing opportunities to the workers of capitalist countries to learn from their own elected representatives the truth concerning the Soviet Union, thus counteracting the lies and misrepresentations of the capitalist, social-democratic and "labour" press. The delegation campaigns bring the F.O.S.R. into close contact with ever widening circles of workers, provide opportunities for the creation of groups and committees in the workshops and factories and for building up the "Friends of Soviet Russia" as a **real mass organisation**, based upon the widest possible united front from below. And it is that which constitutes the principal task of the F.O.S.R. and is the end to which the organisation of delegations is one of various means.

In order, therefore, to strengthen our work and to stabilise the results already achieved it is necessary that the national sections of the F.O.S.R. should review the political and organisational forms of their work, the successes achieved the difficulties encountered and the mistakes and weaknesses that have manifested themselves in the course of the delegation campaigns. What measure of success has attended the delegation campaigns? How has our propaganda been received by the workers? What measures were adopted to secure the election of delegates at meetings of workers in factories and workshops, to what extent were these efforts successful and the reasons why bigger successes were not achieved? How far were the campaigns utilised for recruitment to and the building up of the F.O.S.R., and how many new members were made, new groups or committees established and new contacts made in the industrial enterprises?

On the basis of these reports from the national sections the International Committee must review the position of the organisation as a whole, and from the collective experiences of the national sections draw the necessary political and organisational directives for the strengthening, extension and development of our work.

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IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Appeal of the E.C.C.I. to the Communists and Workers of Holland.

Five years ago the Communist movement in Holland was split by Wynkoop who advocated the united front with the reformist leaders and turned his back on the policy of the Communist International. Now, after five years, the bankruptcy of the opportunist policy of the Wynkoop group and the victory of the line of the Communist International and of the C.P. of Holland is an undisputed fact. The policy of the Comintern and of the C.P. of Holland, which has been confirmed in the struggle both against the Right opportunists and the Trotskyists, was and is a line of ruthless struggle against the bourgeois agency within the working class, against the social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, in particular, however, against its most deceitful "Left" wing; it is line of fighting alliance with all workers, including the honest workers who are still under the influence of social democracy. The

line of the Comintern and of the C.P. of Holland was and is a line of struggle for the independent leadership of the economic struggles, for the mobilisation of the masses against the offensive of capital, for the rallying together of all class-conscious elements of the trade union movement under the leadership of the C.P. The line of the Comintern and of the C.P. of Holland was and is a line of brotherly support and leadership of the struggle of the suppressed masses of Indonesia against their greatest exploiters, the parasitical Dutch imperialists; it was and is a line of the consolidation of the brotherly alliance between the Dutch proletariat and the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union, which is successfully building up Socialism.

The line of Wynkoop, the Party splitter, was a line of collaboration with the reformists at any price, a line of groveling before the "Lefts" (Fimmen etc.), the most abominable wing of reformism, a line of abandonment of the independent tactic in the economic struggles and in the trade union movement. (Strike in Groningen, Zaandam etc.)

The line of Wynkoop, the Party splitter, was a line of struggle against the Bolshevik course of the C.P. of Holland in the colonial question, against the leading role of the Party in the struggle of the suppressed masses of Indonesia, for the support of the bourgeois nationalists, who are aiming at a compromise with Dutch imperialism (support of their treachery after the arrest of the leaders of the Independence Party of Indonesia).

Whilst the C.P. of Holland was and is directing its course towards the welding together of the masses under its leadership for the struggle against Dutch imperialism, for preparing the future revolutionary struggles, the splitting group of Wynkoop wished to convert the Communist movement into an appendage of reformism.

Now, after five years, on the eve of his complete political bankruptcy and under the pressure of his proletarian followers, who have now become the members of our Party, Wynkoop is knocking at the door of the Communist International.

The bankruptcy of the Wynkoop group, the return to the Dutch section of the C.I. of hundreds of workers, who five years ago were split away from the Communist path by Wynkoop,—these facts brilliantly confirm the correctness of the policy of the C.I. and of the C.P. of Holland.

The new upsurge of the revolutionary labour movement, which is proceeding from the new sharp crisis of capitalism, disintegrates all the groups standing between the camp of social democracy, which is in a process of fascism, and the Communist camp. Either back into the ranks of the Comintern, into the ranks of the Bolshevik parties—or final abandonment of revolutionary theory and practice, passing over into the ranks of social fascism. That is how the question stands.

Decisive class struggles are in store for us. The huge successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union are causing the whole capitalist world to tremble and to prepare for an armed attack on the country of Socialism.

The sharp economic crisis, which is seizing one country after another, rendering millions of workers destitute and bringing about a further impoverishment of the toiling masses, is already today calling forth the determined resistance of the masses (Mansfield, Ruhr strike, English wool workers' strike) and will lead to gigantic struggles.

A new revolutionary upsurge is developing in the colonies, rousing millions of colonial slaves to struggle.

In Holland, the present situation calls to the working class for a determined revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie State and its tool, the reformist bureaucracy. The crisis is deepening and spreading: rationalisation is undermining the standard of living of the working class and the bourgeoisie is now proceeding to new intensified attacks upon the wages. Unemployment is growing; capitalism is frightfully exploiting the "workers engaged on emergency work". A deep crisis is prevailing in agriculture and threatening the toiling peasantry with extinction. In Indonesia a new wave of revolution is rising against the inhuman exploitation by Dutch imperialism, which is feverishly arming against the colonial revolution, against the revolutionary workers and against the Soviet Union.

In this fateful hour of history every class-conscious worker must ask himself the question: Where is my place? In which

ranks have I to fight for my class interests, for the socialist aims of the proletariat?

The experiences of the class struggle are convincing all the revolutionary workers of the fact that outside of the Comintern, outside of its Sections it is impossible to wage a struggle for the class interests of the proletariat. Thus we see that thousands of proletarians in all countries are acting like those who followed Wynkoop—they are returning to the ranks of the C. P.

The "Left" Trotzky openly proclaims the bloc with social democracy; but his former followers in the Soviet Union and in Germany have almost completely returned to our ranks. Brandler is preaching "the workers' government" with Müller and Severing at the head; his not very numerous followers, however, are returning to the Communist camp, as is shown by the election to the Saxon diet.

A small group of renegades in Austria wishes to throw itself into Otto Bauer's arms, but more than a thousand oppositional social democratic workers are entering the ranks of the C. P.

The E. C. C. I. welcomes all proletarians who hitherto followed the Party-splitter Wynkoop and have now returned to the ranks of the C. P. It hopes that, supported by cadres of the C. P. of Holland, these proletarians will ultimately recognise their mistakes and become true adherents of the Comintern line. The E. C. C. I. fully agrees with the decision of the C. C. of the C. P. of Holland to admit into the Party the rank and file followers of the former Wynkoop group without any precondition, and expects that the C. P. of Holland will be supported in this action by all the revolutionary proletarians of Holland; that the leaders of this group, who for five years have conducted the tactics of splitting the Communist movement and advocated a tactic of collaboration with the reformist bureaucracy, can be admitted into the C. P. of Holland only if they recognise, unconditionally and unambiguously their splitting tactics as erroneous and fatal; if they openly and clearly declare, that their tactics have led them into the reformist camp and if they unconditionally admit that the Comintern and the C. P. of Holland were fully justified in their struggle against the policy of Wynkoop and his followers.

The return of hundreds of active revolutionary proletarians to the ranks of the C. P. of Holland must cause every worker to reflect. Before all we call upon the proletarians organised in the N. A. S. (Left trade unions) to follow the example of the former adherents of Wynkoop, to break with their leaders who, like Trotzky, have finally gone over to the side of counter-revolutionary reformism and in practice conduct the same policy as the reformist trade union bureaucrats.

Establish revolutionary unity together with the Communist proletarians in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its reformist aiders and abettors of every sort. Over the heads of your leaders, who have sunk in the reformist bog, carry out the return of the N. A. S. into the R. I. L. U. Send delegates to the V. World Congress of the revolutionary trade union movement; join the C. P. of Holland.

We appeal to the honest proletarians who are still in the ranks of social democracy. Comrades, follow the example of the revolutionary Austrian proletarians, who have broken with the Party of "Left" social fascism. Abandon your leaders, including the so-called "Lefts", who wish to conceal behind "radical" phrases their policy of support of the State which is in process of fascism, their policy of sabotage of the strike struggle and of support of the colonial regime of plunder. Form a united front together with the Communist workers for the struggle against capitalist rationalisation, for the conduct of strikes, for the defence of the first proletarian State, for the support of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed masses in the colonies.

We call upon all class-conscious workers; prepare the counter-attack against the capitalist offensive, against the bourgeoisie and its agents, the reformist leaders of all shades. Join the C. P. of Holland.

Long live the unity of all revolutionary proletarians under the banner of the C. P. of Holland! Long live the Dutch Communist Party, the revolutionary advance-guard of the Dutch proletariat!

Up with the approaching proletarian revolution in Holland!
Long live the victory of Communism in the whole world!

The E. C. of the Communist International.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

The Forthcoming International Conference of Working Women in Moscow.

By M. Bulle (Moscow).

The Soviet Union is the only country in which the working women receive equal pay for equal work. In all capitalist countries there exists a considerable difference between men's and women's wages.

In Germany the wages of working woman are 30 to 50 per cent. lower than those of the men, and this disproportion is still increasing. Thus, for instance, in the textile industry women received in 1913 74.1 per cent. of the men's wages; in January 1929, however, only 70.5 per cent. In the chemical industry the women's wages amount to 55.1 per cent. of those of the men, in the paper making industry 64 per cent. While the percentage of working men earning less than 18 marks a week is 3.5, that of the women is 34.1.

In Austria we have the same state of affairs. The disparity between men's and women's wages is growing.

Thus, for instance, a collective agreement was concluded in the Wienerberger Brick Works, according to which the rates of pay for piece work were so fixed that the men earned 72 Groschen (fivepence) per hour, women 49 Groschen (3½ d.) per hour, youths up to 17 years 41 Groschen, and girls up to 18 years 32 Groschen. Under the same agreement the time rates are as follows: men 61 Groschen per hour, women 42, youths 35, and girls 27. Thus, while performing the same work, the women's wages are only 68 per cent. of those of the men, and the wages of the girls only 78 per cent. of the wages of youths.

Male window-cleaners receive 60 Schillings; women doing the same work, only 40 Schillings. In the waggon construction works unskilled workers receive 26 Schillings, adult working women however 20 Schillings a week. The social democrats are not stirring a finger in order to put an end to such a state of affairs, even in those places where they are in power. On the contrary, the municipal council of Vienna, headed by social democrats, pay far less to working women than to men.

In Great Britain the wages of working women amount to 52 per cent. of men's wages. Thus, for instance, in the cotton industry the men receive £ 2-8-2, the working women only £ 1-0-6. In Autumn 1929 a wage-cut of 6.25 per cent. was carried out affecting 588,000 working women in the cotton industry.

In France the working women in the metal industry, for instance, receive 30 to 40 per cent. less than, the men, in the leather industry 30 to 35 per cent. less, in the food industry 25 to 30 per cent. less. Recently there has been a slight wage increase in some industries, but this increase does not make up for the intensification of the labour process. Thus, in the textile industry, when the four-loom system was introduced in place of the two-loom system, the working women received a wage increase of only 5 to 10 per cent. In other branches of industry women's wages were reduced in spite of the increased productivity of women's work. For example in the naphtha industry labour productivity has doubled, wages however have been reduced.

In Czechoslovakia working women receive only 50 to 60 per cent. of men's wages, but equal pay for piece work. In Poland women's wage are on an average 60 to 65 per cent. of those of the men.

The low level of woman's wages has an unfavourable effect not only upon the situation of the women but upon the general standard of living of the whole working class. In the last few years we observe an uninterrupted growth of women's share in production and the ousting of men's work by women's work. The wages of women are in many cases being converted from a supplement into the chief means of subsistence of the workers' family; consequently the low payment of women's labour is forcing down the general standard of living of the working class. In these circumstances the slogan: "Equal pay for equal work!" is of particular importance and must be converted from a special demand of working women into a general demand of the working class.

XVI. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The Tasks of the Trade Unions in the Reconstruction Period.

Report of Comrade Schwernik.

Between the 15th and 16th Party Congresses we have passed through an important stage of the socialist offensive of the proletariat, of the industrialisation of the country, of the collectivisation of agriculture, of the upsurge of the cultural revolution, and of great events in the international revolutionary movement. The essential feature of the moment which we are passing through at present consists, as Comrade Stalin rightly pointed out, in the developing offensive of socialism along the whole front.

In the period of the great change and the offensive of socialism against capitalism all along the line, the old leadership of the trade union movement in the Soviet Union proved to be incapable of comprehending the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship in the period of reconstruction, it adopted an anti-Leninist standpoint, in all fundamental questions. How could this come about? This question requires a clear and exhaustive reply.

The Struggle against the Right Opportunists in the Trade Unions.

We expected the answer to this question from Comrade Tomsky at the Party Congress. It must, however, be observed that Comrade Tomsky obviously cloaked over his errors in the trade union movement when speaking here.

What do the facts show? The Party steered a course towards the rapid industrialisation of the country, but the Right opportunists proposed an adaptation to the weakest spots, they hindered the tempo of development. The Right opportunist leaders of the trade union movement actually opposed their representative functions to the tasks of production, and degenerated to the protection of narrow craft interests. In these questions the Right adopted an attitude actually Menshevik, creating an antagonism between the interests of the workers and the interests of the proletarian dictatorship as a whole. Those who fail to comprehend this new stage will also fail to grasp those tasks of production confronting the trade unions, and cannot understand the essential nature of the turn taken by the trade unions with their face to the front.

The Party issued the slogan: "Trade unions, turn your faces to production!" But the Right elements in the trade union movement regarded the policy of the Party as a transition back to Trotskyism, as a return on the part of the trade unions to the epoch of war communism. They revealed clearly their non-comprehension of the New Economic Policy as a policy unconditionally including the determined offensive of the proletariat against capitalism.

The Party set the task of the transition to the offensive against capitalism all along the front. As counterweight the Right brought forward their line on the merging of the kulak into socialism, of unbelief in the building up of Soviet and collective farms, whilst the Right opportunists within the trade unions, leaning on this theory, under-estimated the work of the trade unions in the village. Those who believe that we can build up socialism by watching the kulak grow into socialism, those who fail to grasp that socialism will be built up under the conditions imposed by the most inexorable class struggle, naturally fail to understand the rôle which the trade unions will have to play in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Is it indeed possible to speak at all of the rôle of the trade unions in the period of socialist reconstruction, without determining their rôle and their tasks in the socialist transformation of agriculture? Certainly not. But it is just this main point which the Right opportunists in the trade unions have always failed to grasp.

Long before the 8th trade union congress the Party declared the Right deviation to be the chief danger. And how

did the leading trade union press react to this? It passed it over in almost complete silence. Some responsible comrades, for instance Koselev, even went so far as to declare that it was not necessary to publish Party material in the trade union press, since the trade unions where non-party organisations and should not interfere in the inner Party struggles.

The Party set the task: Development of the socialist competitions and the shock troops; but the Right opportunists, who did not believe in the creative powers of the proletariat, did not undertake the leadership of the initiative of the masses. They actually hampered the great movement of the masses, in their efforts to force this movement into the limits of a bureaucratic plan.

The Party developed self-criticism on comprehensive lines, and set us the task of improving the State apparatus by means of the relentless exposure of the shortcomings of our organs. The Right opportunists, on the other hand, cloaked the bureaucratic traditions of the trade union apparatus, and, instead of putting the directives of the Party into actual practice, found various pretexts for hindering the development of self-criticism.

The line of the Party with respect to self-criticism was carried out in the following manner by the opportunist leaders of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, in their fundamental document, containing their instructions:

"For the trade unions self-criticism does not represent anything absolutely new. The trade union organisations have employed the critical attitude towards deficiencies, and for the exposure of these deficiencies, to a very wide extent for years, and it has attained to a certain extent the power of a tradition."

And in another place we read:

"The trade unions have already had much experience in the sphere of the criticism of their own faults. As early as the beginning of the New Economic Policy and of the new course in trade union work, the ruthless exposure of our own faults had already become a tradition of the trade unions and their most prominent leaders." (Tomsky: "The decisive questions of the trade union movement.")

And thus at a time when the Party was developing the most comprehensive self-criticism, at a time when the Schakty trial, and the exposure of acts of sabotage in a number of other branches of industry, caused the Party to call upon the workers to exercise broad and active self-criticism. This was the time chosen by the old trade union leaders for an express endeavour to prove that self-criticism was nothing new, that the trade union leaders had long applied the principles of self-criticism, that self-criticism had already become traditional in the work of the trade unions. And this in spite of the fact that such cases had come to light, in numerous trade union organisations, as the "Kobaki", the "Vladimir" affair, etc.

They also stated that what we require is "not sounding phrases from above but a broad wave of self-criticism from below, a comradelike and tolerant self-criticism of the errors of the representatives of our own class, and not a bureaucratic reprimand and calling to order"

What has all this Philistine chatter in common with the Bolshevik development of self-criticism "without respect of persons?" Is it not clear that the Right, instead of organising self-criticism, invented every possible method of frustrating self-criticism, and that they obliterated and restricted self-criticism, instead of taking over its guidance?

The Party set the task of the resolute reorganisation of the trade unions, but the Right opportunist leaders resisted obstinately, and even went so far as to create an antagonism between

between the trade union organisations and the Party. Some leaders even stated that the consolidation of Party leadership in the trade unions might lead to a "splitting up" of the trade union movement. This was the Right opportunist conception of the strengthening of the Party line in the trade unions.

The Party imposed the duty of a determined struggle for the Leninist ideology in the trade union movement. The struggle against petty bourgeois influence was to be carried on on the front of the theory of the trade union movement. The status of the theoretical cadres of the trade union movement was to be accorded great attention. But in this field of work we took over a very sorry inheritance from the Right. Not only did the Right fail to combat the narrow trade unionist theory, developing under the eyes of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, but without much ado placed the printing presses of the trade unions at the disposal of this theory.

The adherents of trade unionism in its narrow sense in the Soviet Union made propaganda for Leninism in the trade unions such as the following.

"Do the Leninist teachings contain a uniformly established theory of the trade union movement"? queried one of the social-called "trade unionist theoreticians", Yarozyk, and replied: "No, Lenin did not bring his views on the trade union movement into a uniform system. When studying Leninism in the trade union movement it is frequently necessary to begin, not with Lenin's first works, but with his last."

In another place this same "theoretician" and "historian" instructs the workers on the situation of labour in the capitalist countries as follows: In England, for instance, in his opinion "the workers are already able to participate, with equal rights to those of the representatives of the employers organisations, in the control of economic activities". It appears that the working class of England is already "collaborating in the leadership of national economy."

In the sphere of theoretical research the Right comrades tolerated such teachers as Yarozyk, who laid down their reformist views of the role and tasks of the trade union movement, and their opinion that the reformist path has been confirmed by history. And more than this: The Right degenerated in a number of important trade union questions into the narrow trade unionist standpoint which separates the tasks of the trade union movement from the general class tasks of the proletariat.

This sets us a most responsible task: **The purging of the theory and practice of the trade union movement from reformist poison, the improvement of the theoretical work of the trade union movement, the raising of the propaganda of Lenin's teachings by the trade unions to the required level.**

The old opportunist leaders lost contact with the masses. Various links of the trade union organisations began to degenerate. The old leaders cultivated the depoliticising of trade union work and the tendency to that narrow trade unionism which ignores the labour movement as a whole.

What does the former leader of the right opportunists, Comrade Tomsy, think of the errors of the old trade union leaders? What is his judgment of them? It suffices to read attentively his speech at the present Party Congress to recognise that he has not grasped his errors. Comrade Tomsy declares:

"As result of my increasingly oppositional trend, comrades infected with this oppositional tendency gathered around me, comrades who had become accustomed in the course of years, to see in me their leader. The result was, though at times against my will an increasing opposition of the majority of the then leaders of the trade union movement to the Central Committee of the Party. This entailed the simultaneous deviation of the trade unions, the diversion of their attention from the tasks whose speedy fulfilment was so imperative - the tasks set by the reconstruction period, by the mighty work of building up socialism, and by the work undertaken by the Party. What happened was that conflict, well known to all of you, in the fraction of the 8th Trade Union Congress, and my absolutely unallowable and arbitrary withdrawal from the function of a president of the Central Council

of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, causing a demoralisation in the ranks of the trade unionists, and forcing the Central Committee of the Party to the only right measure, though a very difficult one: the measure of removing from their posts the whole of the leaders of the trade union movement."

What is the characteristic feature of Tomsy's remarks? Only observe the modest role he assigns to himself! He retires - and the whole movement is demoralised! He has slipped, erred . . . and the whole herd follows him! He began to create an antagonism between himself and the Central Committee - and with him the whole of the leaders of the Central Council! Truly a modest role!

In all these events we hear only of the mood of Comrade Tomsy; but what about the line of the Right opportunists in the trade union movement, opposed to the line of the Party? Comrade Tomsy says nothing of this. Thus, it appears, would be "a tiresome repetition of what has frequently been said". There follows the sounding phrase on the removal of the whole of the leaders of the trade union movement from their posts. Comrades, the Party removed a group of persons who had long ceased to be the leaders of the trade union masses, and who had isolated themselves from these masses by their struggle against the C.C. of the Party. (Hear, hear!) Is not the speech just cited a proof that the opposition has failed to recognise its errors? The fractional struggle of the Right in the trade unions has been admitted in Koselev's declaration. Why has Tomsy deemed it necessary to conceal this fractional work from the Party? Does this not show that the Right are still concealing their weapons against the Party?

It is remarkable that even after Comrade Koselev has enumerated the persons taking part in the fractional work, the latter still preserve silence. Comrade Tomsy and the others would have done better to state here at the Party Congress their errors in the trade union movement in order that these might become well known, and the possibility of their repetition excluded.

We must say that the errors of the Right in the trade union movement have been of a graver nature than might be supposed from Comrade Tomsy's speech. The policy of the trade union movement obviously led to a chasm between the vanguard and the masses. The Right not only hindered the transition to the new course in the reconstruction period, but they deliberately orientated the trade union movement to a political course differing from that of the Party.

The policy of the Right led to a weakening of the influence of the Party in the trade unions. Instead of combating petty bourgeois influence in the trade unions, the Right strengthened this influence by breeding the narrowest craft trade unionism, and by reviving the Menshevik traditions in our trade union movement. They attempted to erect a wall of opportunist leadership between the trade unions and the Party, in the hope that the trade union movement would follow them. **The line taken by the Right in the trade unions signified, objectively, a line towards the hampering of the building up of socialism.**

They were, however, unsuccessful. The Party declared a resolute combat against the Right before it was too late, and was able, with the aid of the overwhelming majority of the communists working in the trade unions, to isolate them. In the course of an intense struggle against opportunism, the Party strengthened the role played by the trade unions as connecting link between the Party and the masses, and as leader of the proletarian masses in the mobilisation of all the forces of the working class for the great struggle for socialism.

The Right in the trade unions recorded one success: By their activities they threw great difficulties in the path of the speedy adaptation of the trade unions to the needs of the reconstruction period. And this is their greatest crime in the eyes of the working class and the Party. (Hear, hear!)

The most important prerequisite for the successful reorganisation of the whole work of the trade unions, and for their turn to production, is the struggle on two fronts: Against the right deviation and against the "Left" derailment, and against the conciliatory attitude towards either. **The Right danger and the conciliatory standpoint towards it remain the chief danger, and demand determined struggle for their elimination from the theory and practice of trade union**

work. At the same time a consistent struggle against the "Left" anarcho-syndicalist, semi-Trotskyist deviations is necessary in the trade union movement.

The trade unions must combine their work for the betterment of the material situation of the workers as closely as possible with their tasks in regard to production, and must for this purpose make it clear to the great masses of the workers that the rapid tempo of industrialisation and the socialist reorganisation of agriculture form the sole right path to the improvement of the material position of the working class and of all toilers.

All talk about the immediate concentration of the whole management of production in the hands of the trade unions must be shown in its true light. It must never be forgotten that as early as 1921 Lenin gave an exhaustive reply to this question. Anyone who attempts to leap over the various stages of development in the trade unions is inevitably bound to land on a path leading to the "Left" deviation.

Every lesson must be drawn from the errors of the old opportunist trade union leaders in order that the work of building up socialism may be carried forward successfully.

The leadership of a proletarian mass organisation with millions of members requires the closest contact with the advance-guard of the proletariat, with its Party. The slightest attempt to depart from the Party leadership, or to weaken it, leads to the opposing of the trade unions to the Party, and to the hampering of our socialist reconstruction.

The strengthening and development of the trade unions, the further growth of their authority and their influence among the broad masses of the workers, are only possible on the assumption that the leadership of the Party is being realised, and that the whole of the work of the trade unions is based on Lenin's teachings. The revision of Leninism in the questions of the trade union movement cannot pass by without leaving a trace, and leads to a revision of the Leninist teachings of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Right opportunists adopted, in all decisively important questions, a standpoint demanding the pursuance of a line differing from that of the Party. This brought them to a point at which they opposed the trade unions to the Party, and actually began slipping down the path leading to a playing off of the trade unions in a struggle against the Party, and into a struggle bearing within it many dangers for the proletarian dictatorship.

It is only under the leadership of the Party that the trade unions can lead the masses, and can perform the required turns opportunely in every stage of the development of the proletarian dictatorship. The slightest weakening of the leading rôle of the Party inevitably leads to the weakening of the rôle and the influence of the trade unions.

At the time of the transition to the reconstruction period, the Right opportunists committed a number of grave political errors in the trade union movement. They became a clog on the advance of the broadest masses. The Party, by spreading enlightenment on these errors of the old opportunist leaders of the trade unions, taught the masses how to recognise these errors, how to draw conclusion from them which might better arm the workers for the socialist offensive.

The achievements of the socialist reconstruction period are gigantic. The advance of the working class secures progress towards socialism all along the broad front. This movement can only continue to develop successfully if the trade unions actually and resolutely take their place at the head of the mighty socialist advance. Such an advance as this demands from the trade unions the boldest and most determined work for the reorganisation of their ranks, and for the carrying out of the tasks of the reconstruction period.

The leading and chief task of the trade unions during the present stage is the capability of leading and developing the movement among the broad masses of the workers for the building up of socialism, for the reconstruction of industry and the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, and for the extermination of the last roots of capitalism. The trade unions must lead the movement towards socialist competition and the shock brigades, and must ensure that the experience gained by the shock brigades raises the socialist competition movement to a higher level. The new socialist society can only be established and consolidated by the efforts of the millions of the workers. The trade unions, in their capacity of greatest proletarian mass

organisations, must mobilise dozens of millions for the accomplishment of the tasks of reconstruction.

"The trade unions must be the nearest and unreserved collaborators of the State power, which is led in the whole of its political and economic work by the conscious vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party. As a school of communism, the trade unions must form for the whole working class, and for all workers in particular, a school in which they learn the administration of socialist industry, and then gradually also of agriculture."

This legacy from Lenin must be the centre on which our attention is concentrated, and must form the rule upon which we base our activities during the coming period.

In laying down the tasks of the trade union movement, we take as starting point that the rôle and the tasks of the trade unions, as adapted to the requirements of the proletarian dictatorship in this or that period, are prescribed by the Leninist teaching with respect to the trade unions, and by the decisions of the Party Congresses.

Taking as basis the Leninist definition of the rôle and tasks of the trade unions in the proletarian State, I pass on to the next tasks of the trade unions in the reconstruction period.

The Reconstruction Period, and the Turn of the Trade Unions towards Production.

What is the meaning of the slogan: "turn your faces towards production", issued by the Central Committee and by the Presidium of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions? The slogan "turn the face towards production" means the mobilisation of the millions of the working class for the accomplishment of the tasks of socialist reconstruction. The turn "towards production" means the actual leadership by the trade unions of the gigantic upsurge of the working class, of the socialist competition and the shock brigades, of the movement for the establishment of socialist working discipline, of the increase of the productivity of labour and the improvement in the quality of the products. The turn "towards production" must find its profoundest utterance in the indefatigable daily work of the trade unions for the mobilisation of the masses for the struggle for the carrying out of the plan of production and finance, for the development of a rapid Bolshevik tempo of industrialisation in our whole economy. The actual turn of the trade unions "towards production" ensured the accomplishment of the task of "overtaking and out-distancing the technically and economically advanced capitalist countries" within the briefest historical period.

What are the tasks imposed on the trade unions by the "turn towards production?"

The decisively important link in the animation and improvement of the whole work of the trade unions, and in drawing the broadest masses into the control of production, is socialist competition with its shock brigades. The Lenin Recruitment of the shock brigades has developed into a vast movement in the working class and has enlarged these brigades by over a million new collaborators. On 1st March two million industrial workers were engaged in socialist competition, 1.5 million in the shock brigades. We are witnessing the realisation of Lenin's great thought by means of the socialist competition and the shock brigades. Hundreds and thousands, even millions, of human beings, are now engaged in the socialist competition and shock brigades. These millions are beginning to carry forward the work of socialist reconstruction as it should be done. From these millions there proceeds that creative talent lying latent to an undreamed of extent in the working class.

The socialist competition and the shock brigades ensure the intensified productivity of labour, the accomplishment of the production and finance plan, and the rapid tempo of socialist reconstruction.

The Lenin Recruitment of the shock brigades has played a big rôle in the accomplishment of the production and finance plan. It suffices to cast a glance at the results in March. In March the output of the metal manufacturing and machine building industries had increased by 27 per cent since January, of coal mining by 9 per cent, of crude iron by 6 per cent, and of manufactured steel by 2 per cent. Labour pro-

ductivity had increased by 7.9 per cent in March as compared with January.

The great development of socialist competition and of the shock brigades has yielded high standards of economic labour efficiency.

Let us take for instance the "Karl Marx" factory in Leningrad. During the first two months of the second quarter of 1929-30 22 per cent more wool carding machines were manufactured than envisaged by the programme. I give this figure in order to show that undertakings such as this, manufacturing textile machines, which we are making for the first time, outstrip the programme. The workers show great enthusiasm, and make heroic exertions, that they may not only keep to the programme, but may turn out exemplary goods from the qualitative standpoint. As a matter of fact, many of our machines are substantially superior to those of English manufacture. This is a great success of the staff of the "Karl Marx" factory.

Or another example. The department of the Tula works manufacturing up-to-date spinning looms accomplished its programme to 100 per cent during the first half year. The increased production of this department may be seen from the following figures: 1926-27 52 machines, 1928-29 196 machines, and 1929-30 320 machines, according to programme. The workers have, however, themselves undertaken to raise this number to 345.

These few figures show that the socialist competition and the shock brigades are becoming a weapon of unheard of efficiency in the hands of the working masses in every section of reconstruction. The socialist competition increases working discipline, intensifies labour productivity, improves the quality of production, gives play to the creative energies of the working class in the rationalisation of production, induces the active participation of the masses in every branch of production, and in the control of production.

All these steps already taken show that the working class has already found the methods and forms giving it the possibility of a more successful progress in the work of reconstruction.

Although the trade unions have taken the first steps towards strengthening the guidance of the socialist competition, this is not yet enough. We see that both the trade union organisations and the economic organs reorganise their work but slowly, and thereby prevent the socialist competition and the shock brigades from developing properly. In this direction we have still much to do.

It should be observed that of late there have been cases (even of a mass character) of a formal attitude towards the declarations made by works departments and factories in favour of shock brigades. There are departments and factories which have declared themselves to be shock brigades... but if the workers are questioned they frequently know nothing about it, and have no share in the matter. If some trade unionist and economic organisations declare factories to be shock brigade factories merely for purposes of parade and advertisement, but do not ensure that work is carried out accordingly, then in my opinion this is a great danger. We are already far enough to place certain definite demands, if only minimum ones, on the factories and departments declaring themselves to be shock brigades.

What kind of demands are these? An undertaking can only become an exemplar of a real Bolshevik working tempo as understood by the shock brigade movement if the production and finance plan is not only fulfilled, but exceeded; if the overwhelming majority of the workers employed participate in the socialist competition and shock brigades; if the production and financial plan has become the affair of the workers and is carried out by them; and if the majority of the workers and all shock brigade members take part in the production conferences.

It seems to me that these are the minimum demands which we can put to the shock brigade undertakings and departments. Unfortunately there are a number of these which do not meet these demands. Undertakings which formally declare themselves to be shock brigade factories, and then do not prepare their workers for work in accordance with this, cannot fulfil their mission as shock brigades.

Let us now consider the production collectives. These are widespread among the metal, textile, and other industries.

How do they originate? A group of workers, connected by the process of production unite to form a production collective. Such associations aim at a better solution of the questions connected with the participation of the group of workers concerned in production, and at the strengthening of the elements of a socialist society.

This form of collective contributes to the improvement of the qualifications of the individual workers, a point of extreme importance for production at the present time.

In a number of textile factories in Ivanovo Voznessensk we see a higher degree of labour productivity in the collectives, we see the whole of the machines utilised to their full capacity, and any absent worker is at once replaced by another, so that the machine may not stand idle. These collectives therefore enable the working plant to be efficiently and rationally utilised. In the factory "Armo", too, it has been placed on record by the members of the collective that the collective has improved the qualifications of the workers. In this factory there is a collective of the milling cutters, composed of workers of varying skill and qualifications. This collective, which counts highly qualified workers among its members, helps the less skilled workers to raise their qualifications, and thereby raises the general wage level. This collective has also the general effect of considerably increasing the productivity of labour of the factory.

We must draw the conclusion that the most progressive form of the organisation of the production collectives is the association of workers who are all receiving the same wage, as also the association of workers receiving varying wages and dividing these according to the tariff rates, thereby improving their qualifications and the productivity of their labour. We must combat the tendency towards equalisation in the collectives, the tendency towards equal division of wages without consideration of the qualification and labour productivity.

Of late a form of association has sprung into existence known as "social towing", and has already been widely taken up. This is a form of socialist competition initiated by the workers of the Artemov mines. What does it undertake? The workers and technical staff of a successfully working undertaking or department come to the aid of backward and less successful works and departments.

This form of competition has become most popular among like branches of production. The importance of this highest stage of socialist competition is enormous. By means of "social towing" associations the successfully working undertakings give the benefit of their experience and achievements to the backward factories and departments. Technical, production, and organisational experience is put at the disposal of others, and the backward undertakings thus advanced.

In Stalin, for instance, I observed the following: the Stalin Works, which is extremely successful in its production, resolved to aid the backward Makeyev works. When the workers of this latter undertaking heard that aid was to be given them, they declared that they could raise and rationalise production by themselves! We see, that in this case merely the mention of "towing" sufficed to spur on the workers and to attain substantial results.

I may also refer to another form of socialist competition, the "survey shock brigades". These were organised for the first time in the agricultural machinery factory at Rostov on the Don a few weeks ago when the factory received the order to make the first sowing machine for the first tractor. The workers of all the departments taking part in the execution of this order received a very brief term in which to fulfil their task. They declared themselves to be the members of one uniform "survey troop", whose members were distributed over the various departments. The survey troop kept itself informed of all irregularities in the organisation of production, caused by incorrect organisation of the technological process of production. The brigade took immediate measures for the removal of these irregularities. The results were amazing. The whole of the departments were able to work without friction, the systematic division of work over the various departments was ensured, and many workers and technical assistants induced to take part in active work for the punctual completion of the first sowing machine to be used as auxiliary machine with the first Soviet tractor.

And now a few words on the progress of working discipline. Comrade Stalin stated in his report that it is "the most important task of the trade unions to hammer into the consciousness of the broad masses of the workers that the workers are not working for the capitalists, but for their own State, for their own class". When the workers become fully conscious of this, an immense impetus is given to the development and perfecting of our industry. I must, however, ask the Party Congress to take note of the fact that the data on the progress of working discipline show, in spite of some success, that we still have an enormous amount of work before us. In the first half of 1929/30, for instance, we lost a total of 11,420,000 working hours as the result of breaches of working discipline and absence from work; of these hours 540,000 fall to machinery running idle, absence from work for good reasons 1,980,000 hours, arbitrary absence from work 5,520,000 hours, absence through work in public organisations 3,780,000 hours. Calculated in roubles, these lost working hours represent a value of about 276 millions.

These figures show that neither the trade union nor the economic organisations are energetic enough in the struggle against breaches of working discipline. A resolute stand must be taken against this state of affairs: by means of educational work, especially by means of the organisation of comrade-like boards of arbitration out of the tried and tested members of the shock brigades, in order that an influence may be exerted over those who violate the working discipline.

The productivity of labour is the factor which ultimately decides the issue of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. We need such a tempo of development in the productivity of our labour as will practically demonstrate within a brief period the superiority of the socialist system. It is therefore evident that the socialist competition and the shock brigades are the decisive factors in the raising of the productivity of labour and in the rationalisation of production.

The Trade Unions and the Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture.

The slogan of "turn your face towards production" signifies, in the period of reconstruction, not only a turn towards industry, but also towards the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. The under-estimation of trade union work in the village by the old opportunist leaders of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions was the result of their incorrect standpoint with regard to the rôle which must be played by the working class in the reorganisation of agriculture on a socialist basis.

We see that the leading rôle taken by the proletariat in the reorganisation of agriculture increases daily in importance. What work must the trade unions perform here? The trade unions have taken an active part in the building up of the collective farms, in the realisation of the slogan of the liquidation of the kulak as a class in the districts of complete collectivisation, in the carrying out of the Party decision on a recruitment of 25,000 workers for the development of collective farming. Among these 25,000 we have the best elements, selected by the working class. The proportion of these with more than 10 years of service behind them is as follows: Moscow district 55 per cent; Ural 52 per cent; Ivanovo Vossnessensk 40 per cent; Leningrad 48 per cent. of the recruited workers. What use has been made of this recruitment of 25,000? 71 per cent are working as organisers on the collective farms. How well they have mastered their task you have seen from the data brought forward here at the Party Congress. This must induce the trade unions to prepare further ten thousand workers, that a fresh army of organisers may be sent to the collective farms, and the organisational work in the collective farms raised to the required level.

The trade unions have accomplished enormous tasks in sending worker brigades to the villages in the grain collecting campaign, (the seed campaign, at the time of the elections to the Soviets, etc.) Numerous declarations to this effect have come from the collective farms themselves, and from the Party, Soviet, and other public organisations which the brigades have helped in their work. The brigades which have repaired the agricultural machinery have at the same time formed propaganda nuclei for collectivisation, for organisation. In 1928, before the VIII. Congress, the trade unions

sent 1500 workers into the rural districts, but by 1929 the number had increased to 10,700, and by 1930 to 74,739. Hence the trade unions have had a great share in the work for the reconstruction of agriculture.

I must also observe that work done by the trade unions in the form of "patronage" over certain districts has become a very popular form of aid. The production principle is now taken as a basis for this help. A large number of trade unions have undertaken the patronage over various raw material districts supplying this or that industry. In this manner the textile workers aid the cotton districts of Central Asia. The comrades working in the Party organisations here declare that the patronage plays a great rôle. By means of the patronage system the production alliance between the raw material districts and the works and factories is being consolidated.

The trade unions must ensure that the workers connected with agriculture take part in the collectives.

The organisation of large-scale agricultural undertakings and the methods of organising work on the Soviet farms, demonstrate to the peasants the advantages of large-scale farming, over the small individual farm. Therefore the work done on the Soviet farms must be perfectly exemplary, and the experience gained thereby put at once at the disposal of the collective farms. Here the union of agricultural and forestry workers plays an important part. According to the enquiries made by the Central Committee of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers' Union among the 26,000 workers employed on the Soviet farms, 77 per cent are taking part in socialist competitions and 26 per cent are members of shock brigades. Thus the experience gained in the industrial undertakings is comprehensively applied on the Soviet farms, a factor greatly increasing the productivity of labour and the organisation of the workers on these farms, and spurring on the collective farms to emulation.

The Union of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers counted 1,273,000 members in 1928, 1,715,000 in 1930, that is to say, the number of members has increased by 432,000 within a year. The composition of this union has altered with its numerical increase. Whilst in July 1927 150,000 workers were employed on Soviet farms, of whom 10,000 were skilled workers, by 1930 this number has increased to 400,000, including 100,000 skilled workers (mechanics, fitters, chauffeurs, tractor drivers, etc.). It is clear that the Union of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers, whose ranks are already filled by the recruitment of 25,000, is bound to have its basis in the qualified labour of the village. The influence exerted upon the organisation of work on the Soviet farms themselves, and upon the reorganisation of the whole of agriculture on the collective basis, will be more rapid than before.

The trade unions must draw the following conclusions for their further work for the reconstruction of agriculture. Aided by their achievements in the village, in the organisation of the Soviet and collective farms, the work of all trade unions must be directed to the socialist reorganisation of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulak as a class, on the basis of complete collectivisation.

The increased work of the trade unions in the Soviet and collective farming movement must affect its participation in the whole work of systematic planning, in the organisation of work and production, and in the application of the working methods and the lessons applied by industry.

Further practical work must consist of the training of cadres of the most capable men and women workers for the consolidation of the Soviet and collective farms, of the greatest possible inclusion of all workers connected with the village in the activities of the collective farms. The most advanced industrial unions must help the Union of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers, especially in the training of tractor drivers, mechanics, and other skilled labour for the machine and tractor stations, Soviet and collective farms, and forestry work. Further, the practical activities of the workers' brigades in the villages must be superintended, in order that they may be more systematically utilised for applying in the rural districts the organisational and production experience gained in the industrial undertakings. At the same time it is necessary that the industrial works which undertake the patronage over collective or Soviet farms and agricultural

raw material districts receive stronger support and instruction. In a word, our trade unions must realise in actual practice the tasks laid down by Lenin:

"As a school of communism, the trade unions must form for the whole working class (and for all toilers in particular, a school in which they learn the administration of socialist industry, (and then gradually of agriculture)."

The Improvement of the Material Position and Social Life of the Workers.

It is a generally known fact that the tremendous advance of socialist reconstruction has been accompanied by a systematic improvement in the standard of living of the working class. Both material welfare and cultural level have been raised. In 1927/28 the number of wage workers was 11,450,000, in 1929/30 13,129,000, i. e., an increase of 1,673,000. In 1927/28 big industry was employing 2,632,000 workers, a number increased by 1929/30 to 3,029,000. During the last half year the industry controlled by the Supreme National Economic Council alone recorded an increase of 250,000 in the number of workers employed. This means that the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat is growing, the force, the power, and the organisation of the working class.

At the same time the membership of the trade unions is growing: in 1928 10,904,000, in 1930 in round figures 12 millions. An average of 86.5% of the workers are organised in the industrial unions, whilst the total average for all unions is 80.7%.

Unemployment is decreasing steadily. In the course of one year the unemployment figure has dropped by 750,000, or by 12.3 per cent. In May and June of this year the number of unemployed diminished by 300,000. Of the number of those still unemployed, 100,000 are being freshly trained, and will then find their places at once in production. We are on the road to the rapid liquidation of unemployment. We have already a great shortage of qualified and even of unskilled labour.

Wages are rising. The average wage of the industrial worker has risen by 75 per cent in 4½ years. The policy of the Party and of the new leaders of the Central Council has been directed toward promoting the backward wage groups and the key industries. With this object the sum of 40 million roubles was allotted in 1929/30, from the fund established for that purpose, for the systematic raising of wages: of this 18 millions fell to the miners' union, 11 millions to the metal workers' union. The control figures for 1929/30 envisaged a rise in miners' wages of 12 per cent, metal workers 10 per cent, workers in the light industries 4.6 per cent.

Our further policy with respect to wage increases must be directed towards raising the wages of the workers in the key industries, the miners and smithing workers, towards strengthening the elements of planned work, regulating the wage conditions in the different districts and sub-districts, removing the inequalities in wages in similar professions, increasing the wages in professions in which there is a lack of workers, and establishing the closest connection between working wage and labour productivity.

It would be wrong, and not in accordance with facts, were we to judge the growth of the material welfare of the workers merely by the rise in wages. In the first half year of 1929/30 the number of wage earners in the worker's family increased, raising the income of the family by 15 to 16 per cent as compared with the corresponding period in 1928/29. During the last year the qualification of the workers has again improved, enabling the income of the worker's family to be further increased.

In the first half of 1929/30 real wages amounted to 139 per cent of pre-war wages, totalling 167 per cent with the addition of the social and other benefits. But in spite of the increase in real wages, we have not attained the prescribed tempo of wages increases.

What are the ways and means which we must employ to ensure the material welfare of the workers and the increase of real wages? The work of the co-operatives must be reorganised from top to bottom. The co-operatives must turn their attention to the production of foodstuffs. They must create a broad network of farms producing vegetables, milk, pigs, etc. they must secure our food supplies, up to 100 per cent, and systematically lower the retail prices.

Mention must be made of the great achievement of the

Central Council, collaborating with the trade union organisations, in the districts, sub-districts, and local bodies. I refer to the superintendence of the co-operatives. 50,000 workers have investigated the activities of the purchasing societies, of the consumers' societies, the bookkeeping, etc. This investigation has shown that the co-operatives have not yet re-organised their activities in adaptation to the working tempo of industry, and to the tempo recently attained by the trade unions.

We must take the co-operatives in tow. The trade unions must actively participate in the work of the co-operatives, in order that a rational utilisation of our resources may be guaranteed with all speed. It must be made possible that the co-operatives organise vegetable plantations, dairies, and pig-breeding farms, in the vicinity of workers' centres.

This is a point of paramount importance for the raising of real wages. This is what we must organise.

The investigation has, however, brought to light impossible conditions in some co-operatives. The workers' co-operative in the Makeyev Works, for instance, has earned a profit of 200,000 roubles by bread baking, whilst the co-operative in Sverdlovsk pockets a profit of 75,000 roubles from its public dining halls. In some places provisions are sold at a 100 per cent profit. In Astrakhan the profit earned on a dinner is 100 per cent, on separate dishes even more.

Comrade Stalin remarked very rightly that the co-operatives are more concerned about their balance-sheet than anything else, that they have Nepman manners which prevent them from efficiently carrying out the work for the raising of real wages. Therefore it is the task of the trade unions in common with the co-operatives to adopt all measures to exterminate these tendencies. This work must be energetically tackled, the control exercised by the workers on the co-operative societies in the form of "patronage" must be extended, and the struggle for the lowering of prices must be resolutely pursued.

The trade unions must keep in mind that a fundamental improvement in the provisioning of the workers with food is only possible by the organisation of vegetable plantations, dairies, Soviet farms for livestock breeding, and by the improvement of the whole of the work of the co-operatives.

The trade unions have now for the first time set aside 12 million roubles out of their own resources for the organisation of farms in the vicinity of the cities. This is a proof that they are willing to take up seriously the struggle for the raising of real wages.

There is a certain change observable in the organisation of such agricultural undertakings. The status of such enterprises in the Don district and in Stalingrad made an excellent impression upon me. Whilst last year the Don district obtained its potatoes from Voronezh and other districts, this year the workers' needs in this respect could be satisfied to 60 per cent by the potato fields in the environs of the labour centres. The Don district forms no exception. In Leningrad, Ural, Moscow, and other industrial centres, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, etc., very much has been accomplished in this direction.

We must, however, not content ourselves with what has already been done. We have only commenced work. The co-operatives must be energetically supported. Then the plantations and livestock farms in the environs of the towns, destined to play an important part in the food supplies of the workers, will be really able to fulfil their task.

In my opinion the new stage in the work of the trade unions differs from the first in the comprehension and given to the co-operatives in this direction, enabling decisive results to be attained.

One of the best methods of improving the provisioning of the workers is the organisation of the public food supplies service. For this purpose 17,611,000 roubles were set aside in 1928/29, 53.5 millions in 1929/30, whilst in 1930/31 this sum is to be 200 million roubles. Dining rooms and canteen-kitchens must be extensively built. 200 million roubles are a small sum of money. It is the task of the trade unions to see to it that the quality of the food is improved, the prices lowered, and the workers — and especially their families — drawn into the work of the organisation of the food supplies service.

With respect to social insurance its budget was raised from 980 millions in 1927 to 1400 millions in the year 1929/30. In the two years from 1928 to 1929/30 631 million roubles were expended for relief in cases of temporary working incapacity, 576 million for medical aid. There are 100 health resorts, and

convalescent homes received 546,000 patients in 1928/29, 671,000 in 1929/30, of which almost 80 per cent were workers.

The growth of the social insurance budget demands the active participation of the trade unions in the work of the social welfare organs, the drawing in of workers to collaborate in this work, and the control of the correct and rational expenditure of these enormous sums, and of the observation of the class principle in this expenditure.

1800 million roubles have been expended in the last three years for dwelling house building. The dwelling area of the houses in the industrial centres has increased from 8,599,000 sq.meters in 1929 to 10,942,000 sq.meters in 1930. In 1927/28 2.9 million sq.meters were added, in 1928/29 3.2 million and in 1929/30 6.4 million sq.meters. It will be seen that the dwelling area steadily increases. The area per head of the workers and employees has increased from 4.9 to 5.2 sq.meters in this time.

But this is not enough. The trade unions must take part to a much greater extent in the solution of the housing question. They must ensure extended means for dwelling house building, regulate the expenditure of these means, increase the useful effect of the expenditure to a maximum, and cheapen building. Here we are faced by a tremendous task. We must call upon the workers to control the construction of dwelling houses. The housing policy of the trade unions and economic organs must be directed towards the betterment of the housing conditions of the working class.

In some branches of industry, especially mining, the housing question has become a question of the cadres. Let us take the Don district for instance. Here the great fluctuation among the mining population is chiefly due to the fact that the workers have no possibility of finding a dwelling. It is therefore imperatively necessary to help these branches of heavy industry, that they be enabled to organise dwelling house building on a large scale in the immediate future, to improve dwelling conditions, and thus to deal a decisive blow to the constant fluctuation of the workers.

At the same time all housing plans must be made to include dining halls, clubs, creches, baths, laundries, etc. This is most urgently necessary in the most important industrial centres. The Party, trade union, and economic organisations must occupy themselves seriously with the betterment of the workers' standard of living, with the building of new towns and public institutions, improving the lives of working men and women. This point is already included in the theses of the Central Committee on the tasks of the trade unions. I stress it especially, for every day brings fresh evidence of the necessity of building new cities, and impresses this upon us more urgently. Let us remember for instance the Magnitogorsk smelting works, the Stalingrad "Traktorstroi", etc. Here tens of thousands of workers will be employed. Complete new cities are being built for them. The trade union, economic, and Party organisations must see to it that these new cities meet every cultural need, that the workers dwell here under conditions guaranteeing a high tempo of production, an increased labour efficiency, etc.

It must further be remembered that the seven hour day and the uninterrupted working week represent great political achievements on the part of the workers. By the beginning of May 1930 the uninterrupted working week had been introduced for 63.4 per cent of all industrial workers, the seven hour day for 47 per cent. The transition of all industrial and transport workers to the seven hour day must be completed by 1931/32, the introduction of the uninterrupted working week by 1930/31. The economic, trade union, and Party organs must take determined measures to remedy the deficiencies arising in connection with the transition to the seven hour day and the uninterrupted working week. We must devote more care to the cultural and social needs of the working masses, and secure the correct organisation of recreation on the free days.

The struggle against bureaucracy in the economic and Soviet apparatus must be accorded a leading place in the activities of the trade unions. The trade unions, as an organisation of the ruling class, must become a vast reservoir enabling hundreds and thousands of proletarians to take an active part in the State and co-operative apparatus, and in the immediate administration of the State.

During the last few years the trade unions have trained

approximately 25,000 working men and women as leading functionaries in various spheres of work. We must ensure the further systematic selection and training of thousands and tens of thousands of proletarians, devoted to the cause, as organisers of the socialist economy. The patronage of the works and factories over the Soviet apparatus must be organised, the Soviet apparatus must be purged of all detrimental elements, and the broad masses of the workers drawn into this task. This whole work must be carried out in closest contact with the C.C.C. and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, and must actively aid the measures of these bodies.

Further, the daily needs of the workers must be the pivot on which the work of the trade union turns. Of late the trade unions show a falling off in their work in this direction. The report of the works council of the "Isvestiya" shows a characteristic instance. Here we read:

"The basis of trade union work in this so responsible period must be the slogan: 'Turn your faces to production'. This means that the defensive functions of the trade unions retire into the background."

Such a standpoint is fundamentally wrong. The production tasks of the trade unions are not to be separated from the defence of the daily needs of the workers. The struggle must be continued against the bureaucratic distortions of some economists, against exaggerations, against the narrow guild and craft trade unionist tendencies of some functionaries.

What tasks arise for the trade unions in the sphere of the improvement of the material position and the social lives of the workers?

The trade unions must extend their work for the socialist education of the masses to the utmost of their power: they must make the masses increasingly conscious that the Soviet factories, mines, quarries, railways, and other undertakings and means of transport, are of a socialist type, that they are the property of the people, that it is upon the growth and prosperity of these enterprises that the increasing well-being of the working class, the increasing political power of the workers, the successful building up of the socialist state of society, and the final victory of the working class, the ruling class in the Soviet union, depend.

The material position and the cultural level of the working class are indissolubly bound up with the realisation of the prescribed tempo of industrialisation and of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The numerical increase of the working class, the relative and absolute lessening of unemployment in the Soviet Union, bear witness to the correctness of the general line of the Party, laying down a rapid tempo of industrialisation, entailing an increasing participation, from year to year, of the working class in the national income of the country, as compared with the other classes.

Up to the present the trade unions have devoted too little attention to the supplying of the workers' needs, to the struggle for the reduction of prices, and to the improvement of the work of the co-operatives. In order to ensure a steady rise in real wages, the trade unions must attract the broad masses of the workers to the whole work of the co-operatives, for the organisation of vegetable plantations, dairies, and Soviet farms livestock-breeding farms, etc., in the immediate vicinity of the industrial centres. The trade unions must take resolute steps for the reorganisation of the work in the co-operatives and for remedying those crying evils in the co-operative organs which affect the material position of the workers. The apparatus must be improved by sweeping it clear of all bureaucracy, by ensuring that workers and their families are active in every department of the co-operative apparatus, and by placing the activities of the co-operatives in the full light of the control of the working public.

The trade unions must ensure the more rapid organisation of dining rooms, central kitchens, the improvement of the public food supplies service, and must do this with the help of the workers and their families.

In this connection the trade unions must not forget one of their most important functions: the care of the daily needs of the workers. On this point they must combat the bureaucratic standpoint of some economists and trade unionists.

The increased means placed at the disposal of soc.

insurance, labour protection, construction of dwellings, and cultural and social institutions, render it necessary that the trade unions devote increased attention to the proper expenditure of these means.

The Cultural Revolution and the Educational and Political Task of the Trade Unions.

The cultural and educational work of the trade unions has hitherto been more subject than any other branch of trade union activity to depolitisation, to the narrow-minded guild standpoint, to cultural faddishness. This tendency has been solely due to the standpoint of the Right opportunists. They have failed to grasp the tasks of the trade unions in their new stage, and they have not comprehended the aims which cultural and educational work must serve in the period of socialist reconstruction.

The characteristic feature of the depolitisation of cultural work is the lack of comprehension that this work must serve the aims of the class-conscious training of the broad masses in the spirit of communism. The cultural and educative work of the trade unions will not be fulfilling its present task until it is the bearer, daily and hourly, of the general line of the Party, and leads the backward strata of the workers to the realisation of the general class tasks of the proletariat. The faults and deficiencies of this department of trade union work have been due to the under-estimation by the Right of the political tasks of educational work, to the lack of understanding of the tasks of class-conscious training, to the narrow minded guild and cultural faddist practices, and to the promotion of views on the education of the masses which have nothing in common with Leninism.

What is the conception of the Right opportunists of the tasks of cultural education? In Comrade **Tomsky's** pamphlet: "The decisive questions of the trade union movement", we read:

"What is the meaning of all this talk about depolitisation? Does it not signify the endeavour to transform the clubs and the trade unions themselves into centres occupied exclusively with the carrying out of various political campaigns as counterweight to the "cultural faddishness" from which the educational work of the trade unions is alleged to be suffering at the present time? But it is precisely this cultural work which we need, that is, the imparting of the most elementary cultural habits to the working masses, and the providing of cultural recreation quite apart from those campaigns of which we have already enough in the clubs."

And further:

"Instead of concentrating on important sections of cultural work, and insisting on the satisfaction of even the minimum cultural needs of the workers, a number of functionaries recommend that we retrace the well worn path of the time of the New Economic Policy, when the trade unions occupied themselves with all manner of things, and replaced all the organs of the Soviet power, especially the organs of education and the agitprop departments of the Party organisations.

This standpoint of the old opportunist leaders led to the rise of a whole stratum of "cultural functionaries", who regarded themselves as specialists in the organisation of dances and other entertainments, and were regarded by the other functionaries as such, and not in the least as persons carrying on the struggle for the increase of production, for the realisation of the general line of the Party.

Comrade **Kaganovitch** has spoken here on the expenditure of our means; how they are being spent, and how they were spent up to recently.

The old leaders, for instance, expended only 1,564 million roubles in 1928 for the liquidation of illiteracy. How have we reorganised this budget? In 1929 we spent 18,800 million roubles for the liquidation of illiteracy.

The old leading body expended 632,000 roubles on the production consultations; we are expending 17,500 million. In our opinion the course which we are pursuing in the reorganisation of the budget is the sole right one. It gives the trade unions the possibility of actually devoting themselves to the training of technical cadres within the next few years,

and thereby to fill up the gap hitherto existing in the trade unions in this direction.

At the same time we are expending considerable sums on the training of trade union functionaries. For this purpose the old leaders spent one and a half million roubles, whilst our corresponding expenditure is 54 million. (Applause.) The total expenditure for the satisfaction of the cultural needs of the masses has increased from 135 million roubles in 1928 to 270 million in 1930. (A voice: Too little.)

Have we a reorganisation of our cultural work at the present time? Certainly we have. But it is not yet sufficient. If there is any field of work in which the working tempo has dragged, it is in cultural and educative work. But can we regard the tempo as adequate, when in 1928/29 the so-called culture campaign reached a total of 800,000 illiterates, whilst the number of these increases on an average by 2.6 per cent yearly, and approximately 37 per cent of the population of the Union, including over 1,200,000 members of the trade unions, are unable to read and write?

It is only during the last few months that we have tackled the comprehensive training and reschooling of the trade union cadres.

At the present time the network of trade union cultural and educational organs is being but slowly reorganised, and does not keep pace with the tempo of socialist reconstruction.

What does the inclusion of cultural work among the tasks of socialist reconstruction mean? The propagation and realisation of the slogan: "Turn your faces to production", not only as a turn relating only to the tasks of industrialisation and collectivisation, but to those of the cultural revolution. This means that cultural work is made into an important weapon in the struggle for the general line of the Party. It means that the situation is liquidated in which the trade unions confine their cultural activities to their narrow interests, and that cultural work is made into a powerful instrument for the realisation of the tasks of the cultural revolution. It means that the slogan of general elementary education is made, especially among the industrial workers, into the fighting slogan of the whole of trade union cultural work. It means that the general and technical level of the working masses is being raised by the growing activities of the shock brigades. It means that the class-conscious training of the workers is being directed towards converting them in the shortest possible time into active champions of our socialist reconstruction. It means that the international education of the working masses is being raised to the required level, and the transition being made to the systematic international training of the broad masses of the workers. It means that the correct class-conscious education of the masses is being brought into harmony with the correct organisation of their cultural recreation. The trade unions must at the same time devote due attention to the peculiarities of the work among the various nationalities, and to the necessity of the cultural uplift of backward groups, especially among the women.

The Bolshevik Offensive of the Proletariat of the Soviet Union and the International Work of the Trade Unions.

I now come to the international work of the trade unions. An exhaustive analysis of the international position and tasks of the Comintern and of the revolutionary trade unions is contained in the reports of Comrades **Stalin** and **Molotov**. I need add nothing to this analysis, which demonstrates the line of our Party, and the policy and tactics of the international revolutionary movement. It is only necessary for me to stress those tasks set the trade union movement in this sphere at the present stage.

What determines the tasks of the international revolutionary trade unions? The present international situation: The radicalisation of the working class in the capitalist and colonial countries; the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the West and in the colonies in its relation to the shaken capitalist stabilisation and to the increasing economic crisis; the increasing number of great economic struggles, turning into political strikes in many countries; the growing importance of the rôle played by the Comintern and the RILU.

The victorious building up of Socialism in our country is one of the greatest factors of the revolutionary upsurge all over the world.

When speaking of our tasks, we must make it perfectly clear that we shall attain further successes only on the basis of Bolshevik policy in the international revolutionary trade union movement. This means, above all, the pursuance of the line of actual support given to the weaker sections of the RILU, enabling these to share the benefit of the political and organisational experience of the stronger sections. This means work for the establishment of close contact between the working class of the Soviet Union and the proletariat in the capitalist and colonial countries, the struggle for the Leninist purity of the principles and ideology of the revolutionary trade union movement.

It is only along these lines that an actual strengthening of our international work can be attained. It need not be specially pointed out that we have received a bad legacy in the field of international work from the old opportunist leaders. This opportunist inheritance must be resolutely liquidated. We are on the eve of the V. Congress of the RILU. At this Congress the trade unions of the Soviet Union, as at earlier congresses, must play an extremely active part.

How has the struggle against the opportunist elements in the RILU been carried on? The Right in the trade union movement have not grasped the nature of the present stage of the international movement. After committing a number of grave theoretical and tactical errors, they land in the arms of the reformists.

The struggle carried on by the Right is tantamount in its essentials to a denial of the radicalisation of the masses, of the revolutionary upsurge of the working masses. The Rights do not comprehend the slogan of unity, but interpret it in a reformist sense, demanding unity at any price, thereby hoping to conceal their utter lack of principles, their apostasy. The Rights do not understand the new tactics of the RILU, the tactics of the independent leadership of the economic struggles in spite of and against the will of the bureaucrats; they do not understand the necessity of ruthless struggle, on the basis of the united front, against social Fascism. And finally, they do not understand the Fascist degeneration of the social democratic and reformist bureaucrats. At bottom they are actually opposed to a resolute struggle against the reformists and social Fascists of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. The Right opportunists in the trade union movement of the Soviet Union, taking such general theoretical premises as starting point, have opposed the decisions of the IV. RILU Congress, thus supporting the Rights in the whole international trade union movement. The Rights in the international trade union movement, having actually surrendered their weapons to the reformists and moved in the direction of Amsterdam, found themselves supported by the Rights in the trade union movement of the Soviet Union, who were hindering the work of the RILU and the Comintern in the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses.

The regrouping in the Soviet trade unions must bring about the furthering of our international work. The Soviet trade unions, the backbone of the R.I.L.U., play the leading rôle in this work. It is their task to define clearly and distinctly the means and ways to be employed in the present period for the real strengthening of our international work.

What are these ways and means? The resolute turn towards intensified international work on the part of the Soviet trade unions, active participation in the work of the R.I.L.U., the passing on of the experience gained by the revolutionary work of the Soviet unions to all other Sections of the R.I.L.U., especially the weaker ones. This means, above all, intensified work for the R.I.L.U. It means that the close ties between the working class of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist and colonial countries is not to be a mere high sounding phrase, but is to form a definite part of the work of the Soviet trade unions.

The contact between the workers of the Soviet Union and of the capitalist countries must be more firmly secured, in order that the delegations elected directly in the works and factories may be able to report on the great work of socialist reconstruction and on our upward struggles when they return home from the Union. These workers' delegations, after their return, must be prepared to be the best organisers of the struggle against capitalism, the best agitators and propagandists.

Is it not characteristic that our trade union press contains

so little about the life and struggles of the international revolutionary proletariat? Is it not a fact that the standpoint of the old opportunist leaders has led to a weakening of all international trade union work?

We must enable every single one of our workers to gain an insight into the inexorable struggle going on between capital and labour in the capitalist countries, of the forms taken by this struggle in the worsening of the standard of living of the proletarian masses, the growing unemployment, the cutting of wages, the impoverishment of the masses of the people, in these capitalist countries. Every worker in the Soviet Union must be made thoroughly to realise that to help the international revolutionary movement is the first duty of the proletariat of the Soviet Union. We must prove ourselves able to carry on this work on the basis of the experience of the broadest masses, in order that it does not fall merely to a few dozens or hundreds of trade union functionaries, but at the same time to the thousands and millions of the workers of the Soviet Union. It is only when this prerequisite is fulfilled that a real turn on the part of the Soviet trade unions in the direction of international work can be guaranteed, and the work of the R.I.L.U. really strengthened.

Can we attain this aim? Certainly we can, and we shall do so.

What are the first tasks of the trade unions in connection with the Bolshevik offensive under present conditions? The leadership of the trade unions must be built up, in the whole of its work, on the Bolshevik Party line, in order that the trade unions may train the masses, daily and hourly, in communism, may take up the unrelenting struggle for the realisation of the general line of our Party, may mobilise the masses for the struggle for the Bolshevik tempo of development of socialist industry and of the reorganisation of agriculture, and may carry on their whole work from the standpoint of the fight on two fronts at the present juncture, especially the combat against the Right danger and the conciliators as the chief danger. Only then can the trade unions master the tasks set them, and assume the place due to them in the great Bolshevik offensive.

The determined offensive of the proletariat on the whole front, under the leadership of the Party, this is the principle which must form the point of departure in all spheres of trade union work for all trade union functionaries.

The Soviet trade unions have already played and will continue to play an important part in the development of the international trade union movement, by means of aiding the building up of Socialism in the first proletarian state.

The fight of Socialism against capitalism affects hundreds of millions of workers all over the world. We must be prepared for fresh battles, in which the Soviet trade unions are called upon to play an important rôle.

In the whole capitalist world great struggles are going on between capital and labour. The world economic crisis is becoming daily acuter. Unemployment is increasing. The workers' wages are being reduced. The partial stabilisation of capitalism is steadily collapsing.

But the Soviet Union, though surrounded by capitalist foes, is building up Socialism with the aid of the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed peoples, and hastening forward from victory to victory, despite all obstacles thrown in its path.

Our trade unions, under the leadership of the C.C. of the Party, and with the support of the whole Party, have commenced the regrouping of their ranks and their purging of all opportunist elements; they are armed and ready for the struggle for a higher social tempo, for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in four years, for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

The 16th Party Congress will go down in the history of the international labour movement as the Party Congress of the victorious building up of Socialism.

The Soviet trade unions, which have played such a prominent historical rôle in every stage of the socialist revolution, will attain to a higher level in the course of the present reconstruction period, and will become an even more decisive and active power towards the building up of the socialist state of society. (Prolonged applause.)

Discussion on the Report of Comrade Molotov.

(Conclusion).

Comrade Mif.

Comrades, we have heard the exhaustive and interesting report of comrade Molotov, and I would like to supplement it with a few words on the rise of the revolutionary struggle in the East.

We are faced with a real rise of the revolutionary struggle in **Corea** and in the **Philippines**. We have seen tremendous successes for the revolutionary movement in **Mongolia** where last year all cattle and other property of the feudalists and other reactionary elements was expropriated under the leadership of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party, where the co-operative and semi-collectivist movement has strengthened, where the Party leadership, which gained power a little while ago, is conducting, logically and persistently, a policy in the interests of the poor population. The result of all these revolutionary measures is that in Mongolia, one of the most backward countries in the world, the way is being scored for a non-capitalist development independent of international imperialism.

Further, we have recently witnessed very serious actions on the part of the toiling masses in the **Arabian countries**. The insurrection in Palestine last autumn, the revival of the struggle of the Arabian working masses in Syria, Egypt and the other Arabian countries show us that the Arabian East is awakening, that the Arabian working masses are rallying to the international struggle against imperialism.

And then hundreds of millions of **Negroes** have been drawn into this struggle. In Rhodesia, in Nigeria, in Gambia, in Kenya Colony, in Haiti, in the Belgian and the French Congo the Negro workers and peasants, driven by inhuman exploitation, are taking up arms against imperialist slavery, against forced labour and against the terrible exploitation of the colonial countries by imperialism.

The workers and peasants of **Indo-China** have also joined in the struggle and what is very important, whole garrisons of native troops have gone over to the side of the insurrectionary people.

In **India** we have witnessed not only tremendous strikes, but also armed collisions in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Peshawar, Chittagong, Sholapur and Delhi. Open armed actions were carried out also by various tribes in the north-west provinces.

All these events are the first signs that the struggle in India has begun, that it will continue to develop and that in the end it will not only overrun British imperialism, but also all the forces of the native bourgeois national reformists who now hinder the movement and play objectively the role of the agency of British imperialism. In India the strike struggle will undoubtedly extend still further, the process of the politicalisation of the economic struggles will be accelerated, the anti-imperialist movement will continue to develop, and the decisive peasant reserves will be drawn into the struggle side by side with the proletariat. At the same time the Communist Party will strengthen. The Indian proletariat will succeed in winning the hegemony of the movement and leading it to a victorious struggle against British imperialism.

And now a few words concerning **China**: the bearer of the revolutionary advance there is the working class. One can judge the growth of the Chinese working class movement from the **May Day** demonstrations. I cite the evidence of Dai Tsi-tao, the ideological leader of the Chinese counter-revolution. Prior to the 1st May he declared the following:

"This year the May Day demonstrations give rise to especially great anxiety owing to a series of strikes which broke out in various industries in March and April and which are not yet settled. Everywhere you hear the sigh, if only this day were past." (Chenbao, 1st May 1930.)

From this confusion in the ranks of the Kuomintang leaders we can judge the extent of the working class movement in China. Significant for this confusion was the fact that the governing clique of the Kuomintang was compelled to declare the 1st May a holiday.

Parallel with the working class movement, the irregular struggles of the peasants are developing in China.

The Shanghai correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung" writes: Behind the fighting fronts of the numerous armies which are fighting for political power in China, a new power is arising slowly and surely amongst the peasants. He then describes the districts in which the Soviet power has been victorious: these are the eastern and southern districts of the province of Kwangtung, parts of the island which lies before the coast of Kwangtung, the south east of the province of Kwangsi on the Indo-China frontier, the western and southern districts of the province of Fukien, the north east of the province of Hunan, the east, the north east and the interior of the province of Hupeh. The correspondent refers to the statement of a high Chinese official who told him that the soviet power was so firmly established in a third of the province of Hupeh that the government was threatened with the loss of the entire province. He then describes the fighting around Hankow. He concludes by declaring that all these struggles in which tremendous masses of the peasantry are taking part, are obviously proceeding on a joint plan on the basis of a uniform programme and uniform tactical operations. He writes that he cannot obtain definite figures concerning the strength of the Red Armies, but that it is assumed that they have at least 50 000 bayonets at their disposal. The Red Armies suffer chiefly from a shortage of ammunition. Their weapons and equipment had been won from defeated government troops and from the towns occupied by the Red Armies. Further, individual deserters and even whole units of the government troops went over to the Red Armies taking with them their rifles and ammunition and even machine-guns. In 1929 no less than 36 mutinies took place amongst the soldiers in the government forces, whereby the province of Fukien contributed the greater number and many soldiers went over to the Red Army. In the end the government had been compelled to send the units in Fukien to other provinces, to fill them up with reliable material or to disband them altogether.

The correspondent in question writes that the imperialists, the Chinese militarists and the Nanking government are well aware of the danger represented for them by the new peasant movement. Newspaper reports from Shanghai showed that two American warships had bombarded Chinese troops between Hankow and Itchang, and that a Japanese gunboat had also opened fire on Chinese troops in the same area. It was further reported that four French aeroplanes had flown over the Indo-Chinese frontier and dropped 400 bombs on the province of Kwangsi, doing great damage in the towns and villages of the province.

It must be pointed out at this juncture that of these 4 aeroplanes 3 were shot down by the red troops; two on Soviet territory in the province of Kwangsi, whilst the third was compelled to make a forced landing on Indo-Chinese territory. Apart from these facts quoted by the correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung", we are aware of other instances of imperialist intervention. For instance, in Dayen, a comparatively large industrial town for Chinese conditions, a party of Japanese marines landed and drove the red troops out of the town.

We also have no exact figures concerning the numerical strength of the Red Army. It is known that at the beginning of April it had 62,730 men of whom 38,982 had rifles. By the end of April the figures had grown to 75,000 and 57,200 respectively. These figures are taken from the organ of the Chinese Communist Party. Further it is reported that at the beginning of April of 773 districts in 10 provinces, 162 were in the hands of red partisan troops. Later reports of the "Daily Worker" (London, No. 148 of the 23rd May 1930) show that at the end of May 241 out of a total of 636 districts in 8 provinces were in the hands of insurrectionary Chinese peasants.

The rise of the revolutionary movement in China refutes all the prophecies, including those of the "left-wing" liquidators, concerning a long period of depression for the Chinese revolution.

lution. It is characteristic that Yen Du-hsiu, a former leader of the Communist Party of China and an opportunist who is now Trotskyist, describes the Red Army in an article published in the first number of his newspaper as follows: "This army is composed of the remnants of the armies of Ho Lung and Ye Ting supplemented by roving bands. Cut off from all connection with the masses this army must inevitably develop into banditry on a new scale." Yen Du-hsiu proceeds from what is in his opinion the inevitable consolidation of the bourgeoisie and the development of capitalism. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that the new rise of the revolutionary wave in China should brush aside all the prophecies of the "left-wingers" and liquidators in general.

The revolutionary rise in the East however also destroys all the theories of the right-wing capitulators who talked of the extended basis of capitalism in the East from the standpoint of the theory of decolonisation and the theory of "organised capitalism". The bourgeois social democratic essence of the opportunist conceptions such as the theory of "organised capitalism" and the so-called "decolonisation" theory is exposed not only by the American and afterwards the world-wide economic crisis, but also by the growing and intensifying contradictions between capitalism and labour. The new revolutionary rise in the east also delivers an annihilating blow from this side, from this front against the opportunist social democratic theories. Brushing aside the right-wing and "left-wing" liquidators and their theories, the new revolutionary wave in China is rising just as it is rising in all the other countries of the oppressed East.

The rise in China and in particular the revolutionary struggles raise a series of extremely complicated and difficult problems which one cannot by any means regard as solved. There is for instance, the question of the organisation of the civil authorities in China who must prevent a degeneration of

the individual irregular units into militarist semi-robber bands, who must ensure the participation of the masses in all the organs of power, who must centralise and co-ordinate the revolutionary struggle for freedom, who must play a great agitational role by their decrees and practical measures, and finally, what is the most important of all, must guarantee the hegemony of the proletariat in the peasant war. Then there is the problem of a correct solution of the land question in the Soviet territories in China which must guarantee that the agrarian revolution is a revolution of the poor and middle peasants and not of the Kulaks. Then there is the problem of the economic policy of the revolutionary government, and the problem of the Red Army, its gradual transformation into a real people's army on the basis of a mobilisation, the consolidation of the communist leadership and the communist nucleus in this army. Then there is the problem of the **foreign relations** of the Chinese workers and peasants government and the utilisation of the contradictions between the various imperialist powers in order to split the imperialist united front. At the same time the task remains and grows of extending the anti-imperialist movement in China on the basis of the agrarian revolution. Finally there is the problem of conducting a correct **labour policy** in the Soviet territories, a policy which must radically improve the situation of the working class, increase its activity, consolidate its organisations and at the same time strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Now that the decisive masses of humanity have come into movement we must not forget for a moment that this struggle of the oppressed peoples of the East, together with the successes of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union, and together with the revolutionary struggle in the West will, as Lenin taught us, change and determine the fate of the whole of humanity (applause).

V. Congress of the R. I. C. M.

Report of Comrade Hecker t.

Moscow, 17 th August 1930.

It is my task to place before you a number of concrete questions of our practice from the standpoint of **Leninist-Bolshevist self-criticism**. This is the more necessary as in view of the present economic crisis, and the growing revolutionary situation, we cannot take things so easily as does the Amsterdam International, whose leaders declare that capitalism has succeeded in restoring economy and in overcoming the crisis. Leipart, at the last Congress of the Amsterdam International, referred to the world steel trust, and to the sugar and potash syndicates, as examples of the advance of organised capitalism. At the very moment in which he said this, the steel trust dissolved, followed by both the other syndicates, under the pressure of competition and the struggle for the markets.

In our own ranks there were people who attempted to side-track us from the main daily problems, and to combat our line. I refer to such elements as Brandler, Lovestone, Haiss, and Kilboom, who at the beginning of this year still maintained that the crisis was an invention of Stalin. It is unnecessary to dispute with these. It is more important to turn to our own work in the light of real Bolshevik self-criticism. This does not mean solely the exposure of our faults and defects, but the creation of a firm organisational basis for overcoming these, that is, we must learn the lessons taught by the experience and achievements won by the workers in their daily class struggles, and pass on these lessons to other countries, that these may not repeat errors once committed. Our criticism must therefore not consist of condemning others, but of benefitting from our own mistakes and shortcomings, in order that we may say to the workers: Look, these are the effects of this or that error, take care you do not repeat it.

I should like to refer more in detail to the lessons of our strike struggle. At the IV. Congress there was much discussion on the attitude to be adopted by revolutionary workers in those countries in which there are no independent Red trade Unions, towards the leaders of the reformist trade unions. At that time the slogan prevalent in the countries with reformist

trade unions was: Compel the bureaucrats. This injurious and dangerous slogan we replaced by: "Prepare independent economic struggle in the working class, organise these, and carry them through." That is, not jointly with the reformists, but without and against the reformists. This has been the decisive and important turn.

The decision in favour of independent economic struggle was passed unanimously by the IV. Congress. This does not, however, mean that all who voted for it were agreed with it. As instances I may name Lessing, etc. who immediately attempted to falsify the decisions of the IV. Congress. Their argument was: For other countries this may be all very well, but our country is an exception. Thus arose the theory of national peculiarities. And after the VI. Congress of the CI. had issued its decision on this question, the Right and the conciliators began a regular combat. This combat has been carried on not only in Germany and the United States, but in Czechoslovakia, Sweden, England, and France. The Right and the conciliators sabotaged and undermined our work until we expelled them from the leadership of the revolutionary trade union movement. It must be observed that a numbers of our directives have been carried out, not so much as a result of our propaganda and organisational work, but because the class feeling of the proletariat has recognised the necessity of revolutionary tactics under present conditions. The history of the last few years shows the necessity of studying the experience gained in all former strikes, even the most insignificant ones. We may remember for instance the Hennigsdorf strike in 1928. Here the revolutionary trade union opposition succeeded in preparing and carrying out a strike against the will of the reformist leaders, demonstrating that we have already learnt how to lead economic struggles. We succeeded in doing this, although opposed by all the forces of the bourgeois state and of the reformists —by the declaration that the awards of the board of arbitration were binding, by the police, by organised strikebreaking. The Hennigsdorf strike was important not only for Germany, but for the whole world. Its lessons were further confirmed by the

plumbers strike in Berlin last autumn. These strikes were a brilliant confirmation of the rightness of our prognosis, of our line in the question of independent leadership of economic struggles. Other strikes of great importance have been those of the Czechoslovakian miners and glass workers, the strike of the Danzig agricultural workers, the Bradford woolworkers, etc. A noticeable feature of the Czech miner's strike was its insufficient preparation. The Czechoslovakian comrades, even built up a special theory on this insufficient preparation: They maintained that the spontaneity of the strike is a sign of the present period.

The strike struggles of the last few years have shown that the part played by women and youth in the struggle of the working class is increasing in importance. This circumstance must be given due consideration in our tactics.

With respect to the conversion of economic struggle into political and revolutionary struggles, our prophecies have been fully fulfilled. The inevitability of economic struggle becoming political was plainly shown during the strike at Hartmannsdorf, where 250 workers stopped work in protest against a 35 per cent wage cut. The police shot down the strikers. The survivors were made responsible and sentenced. Even the prejudiced observer has to admit the political character of this strike.

Unfortunately, we often under-estimate the political importance of such strikes, and fail to explain this to the workers. This is one of our gravest errors. In carrying out the tactics of the united front from below, we have again made many errors.

The speaker then criticised Trotzky's attitude towards the united front. We have not yet succeeded in creating a united front of the workers and the unemployed. Whilst we raise the question of creating a united front from below against the reformist trade union bureaucracy merged in the bourgeois state apparatus, Trotzky opposes us, proposing that we unite with the Amsterdamers and the II. International against unemployment. At the same time left sectarianism must be combated, for this can do great injury to the united front.

Heckert further exposed the dangers of the Right opportunist policy, tolerated by a number of the sections of the R.I.L.U. It has been often proved that Right opportunism undermines in actual practice the working class struggle and demobilises the revolutionary workers. The best weapon against

Right opportunism is the wide use of revolutionary self-criticism, the relentless exposure of even the most insignificant incidents which may lead to a deviation from our correct line.

Comrade Heckert dealt in detail with the question of the struggle against reformist trade union bureaucracy and with the possibility of winning over the reformist trade union apparatus. Some comrades have taken the decisions of the IV. R.I.L.U. Congress to mean that we should never take over posts in the reformist unions, under any circumstances. In individual cases, where the opportunity is offered to capture a post and therewith to expose the treachery of the reformist functionaries, the opportunity must be taken. This applies especially to work in the factories and workshops, whereby the trade union apparatus can be employed to save the workers from the influence of the reformists.

It is wrong to classify all qualified workers as belonging to the "labour aristocracy", as has been done by many comrades in Czechoslovakia and other countries. Rationalisation and the offensive of capital are erasing the differences between the various strata of the workers. The skilled worker of today may be one of the army of the unemployed to-morrow and entirely revolutionary. We must extend our work to the skilled workers, not reckon them wholesale to the social Fascists and consider them to be lost to the revolutionary movement.

An important question for our movement is the transference of our work into the works and factories. We must win over the great undertakings, for it is these which will decide the fate of the coming revolution. There are no "objective difficulties". Such objections are simply excuses on the part of those who are unwilling to work or incapable of it. We must win the great industrial undertaking, or we cannot accomplish the revolution.

No Section of the R.I.L.U. can boast of any great success in work among the agricultural workers. And yet the success of the proletarian revolution depends entirely, as Lenin taught, on our winning over great masses of rural workers and forming a united front with them.

In conclusion, Comrade Heckert called upon the delegates to apply the methods of self-criticism, resolutely and without respect of persons. Our Congress is not to be a Congress of phrases, but of revolutionary action.

Italian Confederation of Labour Joins the R. I. L. U.

The Italian delegation submitted the following declaration to the Congress:

Comrades! The III. Conference of the Italian Federation of Labour resolved unanimously to join the R.I.L.U. officially and unconditionally. With proletarian pride and glowing enthusiasm, our delegation brings the Congress the official notice that the old class organisation, representing the whole Italian proletariat, joins the R.I.L.U. This step is the result of long years of struggle on the part of the Italian proletariat against the reformist trade union bureaucrats, who, supported by the bourgeoisie and aided by Fascist Terror, forced the Federation to join the Amsterdam International against the will of the Italian workers. D'Aragona, Rigola, and other renegades and former leaders of our Federation have now gone over openly into the service of Fascism, whilst others (Buozzi and his consorts) are abroad combating our Federation and therewith the Italian working class, and are seeking to create reserves for Italian capitalism. All of them boast cynically of the defeat caused to the Italian proletariat by their treachery. The different phases of the struggle of capitalism and social democracy against the Italian proletariat teach valuable lessons to the workers of all countries. When the whole Italian proletariat faced great revolutionary struggles, the former reformist leaders pretended willingness to join the R.I.L.U., but maintained communications with their worthy counterparts from Amsterdam. When we workers from town and country took possession of the factories and the land, the former reformist leaders pretended to take part in this revolutionary action. But at the same time they collaborated in secret with the bourgeoisie and the government

towards the capitulation of the workers. And when we were fighting the Fascist bands with weapons in our hands, the social democratic leaders signed the disgraceful peace agreement with Fascism. As soon as the Italian proletariat had been defeated, the reformist leaders went over openly to Fascism, and abandoned the working class to the unrestricted exploitation and the bloody dictatorship of capitalism. This is the goal towards which social democracy is anxious to lead the proletariat all over the world.

Now that the Italian proletariat is once more taking up an energetic struggle against the Fascist regime of blood and terror, we see the social democratic leaders on the other side of the barricade, side by side with the capitalists. Our Federation, led by the revolutionary proletariat, joins the R.I.L.U.

All Italian workers—including those who till recently were under the influence of the social democrats—have declared themselves, unanimously and enthusiastically, in favour of immediate and unconditional affiliation to the R.I.L.U. The separation of our Federation from the R.I.L.U., forced upon us by the former reformist leaders in 1921 was the beginning of the defeat of the Italian proletariat. The enthusiastic affiliation to the R.I.L.U. on the desire of the whole of the Italian workers, determined to continue the struggle against the employers and against Fascism under any circumstances, is the beginning of the decisive struggle for the overthrow of Fascism and the triumph of the cause of the proletariat.

Long live the Italian Confederation of Labour! Long live the Red International of Labour Unions!

Discussion on the Report of Comrade Losovsky.

Moscow, 18th August.

Comrade Mirzakh (India)

Comrades, In India there is a great revival of the revolutionary movement. This movement has its economic basis, and has grown into a mighty strike wave. The million masses of the oppressed proletariat have taken part in these strikes, which have already become expressly political in character. The inevitable defeats have not discouraged the workers. In spite of the sabotage and treachery of the national reformists, the revolutionary workers of India are marching forward on the path of revolutionary class struggle.

The Indian textile workers union has set an example to the other workers of India. The workers reply to police terrorist methods by the organisation of Red self-defence corps, which can be used for purposes of attack. All this shows that the working class of India is sweeping away the remnants of slavery. The bourgeois press of India does not refer by one word to the workers' struggle, but we know very well that millions of workers are taking part, by means of strikes and demonstrations, under Red banners, in the class struggle.

We have committed many errors, and these have mainly been due to the generally unfavourable social-political position in India for our struggle. The revolutionary movement is frequently under the guidance of petty bourgeois elements, who betray the workers at the decisive moment. In India there is no Communist Party to lead the revolutionary labour movement. And many of our errors are due to our being insufficiently aided by the international labour movement, especially by the R.I.L.U. Had the R.I.L.U. devoted serious attention to us earlier, we might perhaps have avoided many errors. The R.I.L.U. and the revolutionary trade union movement in the capitalist countries must help us.

The English trade unionists support the Indian national reformists. We need the active aid of our comrades in the imperialist countries. The Indian workers need a revolutionary press and proper guidance by experienced revolutionary workers, who have already emerged successfully from their struggles. (Stormy applause.)

Moscow 19th August.

Comrade Sadi (Syria):

stated: The presence of new representatives of the proletariat of the colonial and oppressed countries is characteristic of the V. International Congress of the R.I.L.U. Its leading influence on the struggle of the workers in the colonies is a mighty success for the R.I.L.U. A new force enters the proletarian arena: The Arabs of Egypt, Palestine, Algeria, Morocco, Syria, and Iraq, are joining the revolutionary movement. The sole organisation creating a firm foundation for the revolutionary trade union movement in the Arabian Orient is the R.I.L.U. The Arabian proletariat is chiefly agrarian. The workers' question is therefore closely bound up with the agrarian question. The agrarian crisis affects both fellaheen and workers. The national Arabian bourgeoisie seeks to win over the peasantry by demagogic means. The Wafd government expends millions in trying to pacify the middle and big peasantry. Many comrades underestimate the influence of Amsterdam in the Arabian Orient. It would be a grave error to overlook the fact that imperialist Amsterdam and the Arabian bourgeoisie may form a bloc against the revolutionary Arabian movement.

The inattention of the English and French comrades towards the Arabian proletariat must cease with this Congress. We hope that the R.I.L.U. will help us in the energetic struggle for the liberation of the Arabian working masses, and of the Jewish, Armenian, and other minorities, and will aid us in the founding of an Arabian Secretariat for communism.

The representative from Greece

described the situation and the radicalisation of the Greek proletariat. The workers are losing faith in the reformist leaders, and are joining the revolutionary trade unions. Under the leadership of these last the great strike at Lazrio was won in 1929, greatly increasing the importance of the RILU.

Comrade Bulat (Soviet Russia)

designated the successes of the revolutionary trade movement during the last 2½ years as the result of the struggle against Right opportunism and "Left" sectarianism. The trade union movement of the capitalist countries must gain by the multifarious experiences won by the Soviet Russian trade union movement.

Comrade Dunkel (Switzerland)

criticised the opportunist errors of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition in Switzerland, with their harmful theory of the uniqueness of Swiss social democracy. The result of this has been that the revolutionary trade union opposition has not been in a position to head the growing activity of the masses. The change of trend now beginning must be consolidated.

Comrade Horner (Miners' L.P.C.):

The revolutionary trade union opposition has the opportunity at the moment of gaining the majority of the miners, for an especially energetic employers' offensive against the miners is setting in at the present time. Work in this direction is inadequate. The coming mining struggles will undoubtedly be international in character. They must be carefully prepared and carried through.

Comrade Weissmann (U.S.A.):

The American workers are standing ready to fight under the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions. But we ourselves are still insufficiently prepared. The success on 6th March came as a surprise even to us. The proper development of our work has been hindered by opportunist errors, which must be determinedly combated in the future.

Comrade Roja (Mexico):

Mexico is now in the midst of a severe crisis. Out of a population of 15 millions there are 600 000 unemployed, and this reduces the standard of living of the whole working class. Under such circumstances the radicalisation of the workers of Mexico is comprehensible, and is going forward in opposition to the traitorous activities of the social Fascists and their allies the anarchists.

A representative of Chinese Youth stated that in the Chinese light industry 64 per cent of all workers are juveniles. The low wages and long working hours are arousing the revolutionary spirit. In many strikes the young workers have been the driving power. Youth is the coming army. Therefore the greatest attention must be devoted to work amongst the youth of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Comrade Voss (Norway):

Norway is striding rapidly forward to Fascism. A peasants' march on Oslo, on the pattern of the other Fascist countries, is already being spoken of. This Fascisation in Norway is closely bound up with the crisis arising from the reduced wages and worsened standard of living. The growing radicalisation of the working masses finds expression in numerous strikes, in which a revision of the tariff agreements in the direction of a rise in wages is demanded.

A Japanese woman delegate

stated: The Japanese women workers are organised but weakly. Scarcely ten thousands women are organised in the Right trade unions. This facilitates the extreme exploitation of the Japanese women by the employers. Their wages are frightfully low, and they live under miserable conditions in the factory buildings, under prison regime. Up to the present the international revolutionary trade union movement has done too little towards reaching and organising these women. International reformism is endeavouring to strike root in Japan.

Comrade Galbreight (New Zealand):

The world crisis has reached New Zealand. The bourgeoisie seek a way of escape in an offensive against the working class. New Zealand's main product is wool. Therefore the main attacks are upon the sheep-shearers' wages. New Zealand is the first country in which a complicated legislation on arbitration has been introduced in the interests of the bourgeoisie. The reformist trade unions are one with the bourgeois State. A strike becomes an illegal action against the State. It is our task to fight the arbitration system, and to organise the unemployed, and to strengthen our organisation.

Comrade Marenmarsch (Nigeria):

The home of the Negro is Africa, but there are Negroes in every part of the world. Comrade Losovsky referred to the organisation of the Negro workers as an urgent question. It is a difficult question, and one hitherto accorded too little attention by the revolutionary trade unions. Only unity can help us. The Negro Congress in London was prohibited by MacDonald. The white workers made no protest. This just suits the capitalists, who wish for disunity between white and black. But here in this hall we see the representatives of all countries, all nations, all races, white, black, yellow, and others.

Comrade Navodny (Austria)

declared himself in agreement with Comrade Losovsky's theses and report. The speakers stated that though a social-democratic workman, he was elected as delegate to the V. R. I. L. U. Congress. The trade union bureaucrats threatened him with expulsion should he go to Moscow. The social-democrats and reformists, by their policy of strike suppression and fawning on the bourgeoisie, have smoothed the path of Fascism into the works and factories. The trade union opposition has not yet succeeded in gaining the leadership, but its influence is growing.

A Chinese woman delegate,

who had worked in a silk factory from nine years of age, described the wretched conditions suffered by the Chinese working women. The Chinese woman is a slave and a chattel, of her employers and of her relations. Her miserable situation has, however, now roused her to join the workers of China in active participation in the economic and political strikes and demonstrations. Especially after 30th May 1929, when the revolutionary movement began to rise again in China, the Chinese women have shown the greatest heroism.

Comrade Sharkey (Australia):

Australia too has been seized by the world crisis, and we have 300 000 unemployed. In Australia we have a "Labour Government" which carries on an offensive against the standard of living of the workers. Rationalisation in the interests of the capitalists is ruthlessly introduced by the government. The Australian trade unions work hand in hand with the government. The Minority Movement is still somewhat weak in the Australian trade unions, but its activities are not without effect.

Moscow, 20th August.

At the evening session on 19th August the following speakers took part in the discussion:

Comrade Galinat:

The struggles in Mansfeld and in the Ruhr district are a striking proof of the rightness of the method of leading the struggle and organising fighting committees on the basis of a broad united front from below. It is of the outmost importance that the work of such fighting committees be well prepared beforehand. In Mansfeld, where this was done, the committee was well able to cope with its task. In Duisburg, where the preparations were inadequate, these fighting committees were mostly stillborn.

Comrade Allan (Great Britain).

the representative of the independent revolutionary miners' trade union of Scotland, stated that the result of the capitalist rationalisation and the offensive against the standard of living

of the workers is the ever increasing discontent of the miners. We must place ourselves at the head of the discontented, and organise the repulse of the capitalist advance. To accomplish this we must transfer our chief efforts to the mines and iron-works. We must win one mine after another, one works after another. We must combat as false the under-estimation of the struggle of the separate undertakings and even departments. Some of our comrades are of the opinion that we have only to devote attention to great mass actions. This is entirely wrong. We must learn to conduct every strike, even the smallest. Only by taking into account the needs and interests of the smallest workshops can we gain the confidence of the workers. We must fight the social Fascists in the works and factories.

Comrade Urso (Paraguay)

pointed out that the first labour organisation formed in Paraguay was a relief fund founded in 1896. This developed later into the trade union. We are fighting for improved conditions of life, and the day is not far distant when Paraguay will send its proletariat to join the ranks of the international revolutionary proletariat. We have always been isolated from the international movement, hence our errors. The position of the workers in Paraguay is extremely difficult. The peasants are subject to feudal exploitation. The workers in the tea plantations are slaves, and the wages of all workers do not suffice for the most elementary needs. We appeal to the international proletariat to aid us in our struggle.

Comrade Little (U.S.A.),

speaking on behalf of the revolutionary youth of his country described the effect of the great economic crisis upon the young people. The working youth of the United States join the adults in the struggle against the capitalist offensive. Youth goes even further, and organise strikes when the adults will not.

Comrade Germanov (W.I.R.):

The W.I.R. is an organisation which has set itself the aim of coming to the aid of every suffering worker. The W.I.R. helps the workers during the labour struggles, it aids the unemployed, etc. I may say that I have never seen so much want and misery as at present, nor such fighting determination and heroism on the part of the proletariat. The only party and the only trade unions helping these heroic proletarian efforts are the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. The speaker appealed for support for the W.I.R., which helps the workers on every front of their struggle against their foes.

Moscow, 20th August 1930.

A Korean delegate:

In Korea Japanese imperialism rules; it has seized upon every key position, and squeezes enormous profits out of the Korean proletariat. Hence the economic crisis in Japan has affected Korea. In the towns of Seoul and Pejan alone 1500 undertakings are temporarily or permanently closed down. The number of unemployed exceeds 200,000. More and more workers emigrate. In every branch of industry the working day is lengthened and the wages reduced. There is a steady increase of suicide among the Korean workers.

The position of the working women and children is especially wretched, for these are ruthlessly exploited. An extensive strike movement has commenced. Since the general strike in Gensano and the heroic textile workers strike at Fusan there have been 50 other strikes. The Korean Labour Federation is, however, not yet able to take over the leadership of this movement, for it is not built up on the industrial principle, and does not combine sufficient proletarian elements. The leading role is played by radical petty bourgeois intellectuals, who have recently in many cases gone over to the side of the reformists. The Federation is ready for anything, and is only anxious to ensure its legal existence. Therefore it does not venture to come into conflict with the authorities. It does not even combat the "workers" unions formed by the police, though these still hold a firm position among the Korean workers. All these deficiencies must be energetically combated. The

Corean Federation will only become a capable mass fighting organ if the R.I.L.U. and its Sections aid the Corean trade union movement.

A delegate from Indochina:

In Indochina the revolutionary movement is growing, and is leading to bloody strike struggles between the workers and the colonial powers. The latest events in Indochina, the brutal repression of the movement by French imperialism, the shooting down of many Indo Chinese revolutionists, are still fresh in our memories.

The revolutionary trade union movement of Indo China is still very weak. We do not yet control this movement and can boast of no success. And yet we count ourselves to the great community of the fighting revolutionary proletariat, and will join the revolutionary struggle being carried on in every part of the world. We shall our utmost to stride forward to the world revolution under the banner of Lenin.

An Indonesian representative:

The present Congress is a proof that the revolutionary movement of the proletariat is really international. The delegates to our Congress are the real representative of the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited workers.

An important question is the extremely inadequate connection between the revolutionary trade union movement in the European and colonial countries. The revolutionary trade union movement has developed more broadly in the colonial and semi-colonial countries than in many countries of Europe. Means and ways must be found to bring about closer contact between the European and colonial revolutionary trade union movements. The question of the revolutionary trade union opposition is of leading importance. Wherever possible, we must go forward from the revolutionary opposition to the creation of independent Red unions.

Resolution on the Report of the Central Committee.

The following resolution was submitted on the report of the Central Council of the R.I.L.U.:

The V. World Congress of the R.I.L.U. has heard the report on the activities of the R.I.L.U. for the period between the IV. and V. Congresses, and fully approves, the political line and activities of the Central Council.

The V. Congress places on record with satisfaction the considerable organisational consolidation of the R.I.L.U. in the period under report, as also the strengthening of the international contacts of the revolutionary trade union movement.

At the same time the Congress deems it necessary to state that the most important international task of the revolutionary trade union movement—the work of internationalising the great strike struggles—has not been realised. In international help action for strikers (English wool workers' strike and others) the Central Council has not succeeded in obtaining real financial and moral aid from the R.I.L.U. Sections for the fighting troops of the proletariat.

The Congress places on record that despite repeated resolutions on the establishment of an international fighting solidarity fund, such a fund has not yet been founded. The Congress attaches great importance to this question, and calls upon the Central Council to take all necessary measures towards the speedy creation of an international fighting solidarity fund. It demands from all Sections the greatest activity in the fulfilment of this decision.

The Congress believes that in view of the upsurge of the revolutionary labour movement, and of the growing activity of the masses, a much closer contact is necessary between the Central Council and all the Sections of the R.I.L.U. The Congress records that up to the present this contact has been insufficient. The Congress demands that this contact be strengthened by means of regular instructions imparted to the Sections. The Congress considers it necessary that conferences of the Central Council be convened regularly in accordance with the valid statutes of the R.I.L.U.

The Congress commissions the Central Council to establish

representatives of the national groups in Europe and America, in order to ensure immediate contact with the leaders on the spot where class struggles are going on, and to take measures for the better control of the work of the international propaganda committees, and for the reinforcement of the European Secretariat of the R.I.L.U.

The Congress considers that our purposes will be served by the giving of regular political and organisational reports, by the largest Sections and the International propaganda Committees, at the sessions of the Central Council and of the Executive Committee of the R.I.L.U., and by inviting to it leading and subordinate functionaries of the countries and undertakings concerned.

The Congress commissions the Central Council to organise a systematic control over the realisation of the decisions of the Congress and of the leading organs of the R.I.L.U. The Congress considers a considerable strengthening of the organisational structure of the revolutionary trade union movement to be necessary. The Congress calls for a reinforcement of the contact with and support of our brother revolutionary trade union organisations—the Pacific Secretariat and the Latin American Federation of Labour.

The Congress records the steadily growing importance of youth and women in the revolutionary struggle, and calls upon the Central Council to take measures both for the development of this department of work in the national sections, and for the reinforcement of the guidance of this work on the part of the Central Council and the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U., by means of the consolidation of the International trade union committee for working women and the youth secretariat.

The Congress attaches enormous importance to the participation of the Negro workers in the class conscious trade union movement, and commissions the Central Council to carry on systematic political and organisational work in Africa, North and Latin America, and in the West Indies, among the Negro workers, and to combat energetically the very slightest signs of white chauvinism. The Congress commissions the Central Council to consolidate the International Negro Workers Committee and to develop its work on a large scale.

The Congress believes that the training of fresh cadres is one of the most important tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement. The Congress welcomes the decision of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions on the establishment of an international school for the trade union movement, and commissions the Central Council to accelerate, conjointly with the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions, the realisation of this decision.

The Congress considers the further development and improvement of the trade union press to be of the utmost importance; the Sections must devote earnest attention to the publication of a mass trade union press, to the works newspapers, and to the development of a trade union correspondents movement. The press of the R.I.L.U. must be adapted much more than hitherto to the demands of the active international trade union revolutionary movement, and must give special attention to the utilisation of the experience gained in the strike struggles.

The Congress considers it necessary to strengthen the leading organs and the central apparatus of the R.I.L.U. with the aid of functionaries from the different countries, and to organise consultations and conferences on the most important questions in the capitalist countries themselves, whereby these conferences must be given a mass character as far as possible.

The Congress imposes upon the leading organs of the R.I.L.U., as one of its first tasks, the organisation of the systematic and energetic recruiting of new members for the revolutionary trade union organisations, and calls for a constant superintendence of the carrying out of this work, by the R.I.L.U. Sections.

The Congress calls upon the whole international revolutionary trade union movement to utilise the growing activity of the masses for the consolidation of the contacts established between the different Sections, for the organisation of joint action, and for the development of the work of the Red International of Labour Unions on the line of the decisions accepted at this present Congress.