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Communism Advancing in Germany.

The Result of the German Reichstag Elections.

By Werner Hirsch (Berlin).

The Reichstag elections held on 14th September have resulted in a magnificent victory for the German Communists and fully and strikingly confirm the whole policy of the C.P. of Germany and the Communist International. In this election result there is reflected the extreme acuteness of the economic and political crisis of the capitalist system in Germany, the disunity in the camp of the bourgeoisie, the rapidly growing accentuation of class antagonisms, the bankruptcy of reformism and the uncheckable revolutionary advance. The C.P. of Germany has increased its vote by more than 1,300,000 as compared with the last Reichstag election held in May 1928, when it polled three and a quarter million votes. This great gain shows, on the one hand, the extent to which the Communist Party has forced a breach in the camp of reformism and, on the other hand, that the C.P. of Germany has succeeded in winning considerable masses of the young electors, who in 1928 were not yet entitled to vote, as well as of the former supporters of the bourgeois parties. The loss sustained by the social democracy is expressed not only in the absolute decline of its vote, but above all in its relative decline in view of the increased participation of the electorate in the present Reichstag elections, the total of the votes cast being 4 million higher than at the last election.

The results in Berlin are a magnificent example of this breach by the C.P.G. in the ranks of the social democracy. At the municipal elections held in November last, the Party succeeded in gaining the majority over the social democracy in three working class districts of Berlin. But its total vote in Berlin still remained behind that of the social democracy. At the present Reichstag elections the C.P.G. has become the strongest party in the capital of Germany. Of great importance is the relatively weak growth of the National Socialists in Berlin. The correct policy of the Party, based on the decisions of the Central Committee and of the Politbureau on the political-ideological mass fight against fascism, was obviously carried out in Berlin, the seat of the Central Committee, with remarkable rapidity and success.

Of the very greatest importance in judging the election victory of the C.P.G. is also the fact that the Party has this time succeeded in advancing at an equal pace in all districts, in the whole of Germany; that in no district is there to be recorded any set-back worth mentioning, whilst at the Reichstag election in 1928, for example, besides big successes, as for instance in Berlin, losses of votes were to be recorded in whole districts, before all in the agrarian districts and in South Germany. The rallying of the proletarian forces under

the banner of Communism at the cost of the reformist positions has commenced in the whole of Germany.

The Communist offensive in the ranks of the German working class is accompanied by a regrouping of the bourgeois forces in Germany, which finds its expression in the sensational absorption of the old traditional bourgeois parties by the party of open fascism—the national socialists. The intended breach in the camp of so-called "Marxism" (by which term the bourgeoisie and the fascists mean the Communist Party and the social democracy), has been completely frustrated by the policy of the C.P. of Germany and its election victory. In fact the German Communists have not only won those masses who are turning their backs on the social democracy, but beyond this have achieved further great successes. The growth of the national socialists has occurred entirely at the cost of the old bourgeois parties. The German nationalists have lost nearly two million votes, the German peoples party over one million and the former democrats, now the State Party, nearly 200,000 votes. The Hitler party has thereby become the strongest bourgeois party, occupying the position formerly held by the German nationalists.

This regrouping of the forces in the bourgeois camp also indicates to what extent the economic crisis in Germany has already developed into a **political crisis of the capitalist system**. The going over of millions of former supporters of the open capitalist bourgeois parties to the Hitler movement arises from the profound ferment and rebellion which has seized the broad masses not only of the workers but above all of the middle classes in town and country as well as of the clerks and employees in Germany. On the other hand, the concentration of the bourgeois forces in the camp of the extreme counter-revolution and of open fascism is eloquent proof of the extreme accentuation of the class antagonisms and the bitter character of the class struggle in Germany. The fronts of the class struggle are being formed. The proletariat is rallying round the flag of revolution. The bourgeoisie is turning more and more to undisguised fascism. The role hitherto played by the social democracy of concealing the abyss between the classes and of endeavouring "peacefully" to chain the working class to the bourgeoisie is, historically regarded, played out in view of the growing crisis and the revolutionary upsurge. True, from the standpoint of capitalism, the main function of social democracy in the camp of the working class will still remain that of preventing the fighting unity of the proletariat and supporting with every method, from lies and confusion via strike-breaking to open murder of workers, the capitalist attacks on the working class. But the importance of the other bodyguard of capitalism, fascism, in its undisguised brutal form, is at the same time increasing on the general front of the class struggle. The role of the Hitler party, with their daggers, knuckle-dusters, revolvers, with their programme of the gallows, is increasing.

What immediate forms the policy of the German bourgeoisie will assume after the Reichstag elections still remain uncertain. Every coming government will in any event stand under the knout of the Hitler party. It is possible that the former government parties of the bourgeoisie, dissatisfied with the surprisingly rapid tempo of the fascist offensive, will decide on temporarily including the social democracy in the government or making use of it merely as a support of a minority government. It is more likely that the Hitler party will either directly or indirectly take part in the government, which in any event will be participated in by the German nationalist rump party under Hugenberg's leadership. But apart from these government combinations, the tempo of the fascisation of Germany will be extraordinarily accelerated. The coming development will bring with it an extraordinary sharpening in regard to the restriction of Parliamentary representation, in the going over from the democratic methods of rule to the form of the dictatorship, and in regard to social and political reaction. The future government, of whatever composition, will conduct more brutally than ever the policy of terror, of fight of the capitalist State apparatus and its organs against the revolutionary proletariat and against the Communist Party. But the advance of Communism can never be brought to a standstill by such means.

The success of the national socialists, who have been able for the time being to hold back a considerable part of the rebellious working section of the population from joining the

ranks of the proletarian revolution, bears within it the germs of the coming disintegration of the fascist party. This disintegration, which has already caused numerous inner difficulties within this party, will increase still further the more the Hitler party is compelled by its practice to expose its unscrupulous agitation phrases. The tempo of this development will naturally depend to a great extent upon the fighting power of the Communist Party as the only anti-fascist party of the proletariat.

All efforts of the Party and its leadership will in the coming weeks be directed towards utilising the great moral results of the election victory in order to increase the fighting power of the mass struggles outside of Parliament and to consolidate organisationally the Bolshevik advance-guard of the German proletariat.

Against Mass Misery, Young Slavery and Fascism!

(Appeal of the Communist Party of Germany).

Berlin, 17th September 1930.

The Communist Party of Germany, on the occasion of the great victory achieved by the Party at the Reichstag elections, has issued an appeal in today's "Rote Fahne", in which the concrete tasks of the Party in the fight against mass misery, Young slavery and Fascism are enumerated. The appeal states:

"It is now necessary to exert all forces in order to forge the proletarian united front. We call upon all social democratic workers, all workers organised in the Christian trade unions, all non-party workers to fight together with the Communists in order to crush murderous fascism. The million masses are getting into movement against the capitalist Young Plan domination. **The coming Soviet Germany is marching on.** The present victory must be crowned in the near future by still greater victories.

"The enormous army of the **unemployed** must fight along with the workers in the factories for work, bread and increased unemployment benefit. A stop must be put to the handiwork of the national socialist murderers of workers. An army of **red defence guards** must arise in all the factories, pits and dockyards of Germany.

"The workers must hold themselves in readiness to thwart by all means, and in the first place with the sharp weapon of the political mass strike, the fascist dictatorship plans."

POLITICS

The Campaign for the Workers' Charter in Britain.

By Idris Cox (London).

The general crisis of capitalism is reflected in Britain in a very acute form. Unemployment is increasing by leaps and bounds, and has now reached over 2,000,000 registered unemployed workers. Taking into consideration those who do not receive unemployment benefit and are therefore not registered at the Labour Exchange, the **actual** number of workers unemployed is at least 2,500,000. The Labour Government is powerless to prevent this tremendous increase in unemployment. In fact, by its support of rationalisation, it assists in increasing the number of unemployed workers.

At the Labour Party Conference last October it was stated that unemployment would be back to normal in February of this year. But **months** have passed, and unemployment is still increasing. So great is the number of unemployed that the State Insurance Fund has long since become insolvent, and, has been forced to borrow £ 50,000,000. A three-party committee (Liberal, Labour, and Conservative) has been appointed to consider measures for placing the Insurance Fund on an actuarial basis. **This will mean further attacks on the workers' standard of life.** The whole of the capitalist press are already advocating one or more of the following measures:

- a) Reducing unemployment benefit.
- b) Increasing workers' contributions to the Fund.
- c) Reducing the categories entitled to benefit.
- d) Enforcing contributions on new categories of workers in industries with a low percentage of unemployment.

Whichever one of these methods is adopted it will mean a further burden upon the workers in order to relieve the profits of the capitalist class. On the railways, wholesale dismissals are taking place, and in many railway centres the railway workers are in revolt. The Labour Government has carried through the Coal Mines Act, which is the highest form of rationalisation yet applied to the mining industry, including the spread-over on hours, which while giving the appearance of reducing hours, **actually means an increase in some important coalfields.** The Act also gives an opportunity to the coalowners to demand reductions in wages, on the plea that this is necessary to compensate the coalowners for the reduction in hours.

After the application of the wage-cutting award of McMillan, appointed by the Labour Government to "save" the **woolen textile industry** at the expense of the workers, the Labour Government has now turned its attention to the **cotton textile industry.** It appointed a Commission under the leadership of Graham (the foremost member of the Labour Cabinet responsible for the Coal Mines Act) which brought forward proposals for amalgamation, speeding-up, and the extensive application of the 8-loom system, by which weavers now working 3 and 4 looms have to work 8 looms. This system has already been introduced in Burnley and efforts are being made to extend this. In almost every other industry in Britain, speeding-up and overtime is prevalent.

This situation is creating profound changes in the relations of the bourgeois parties. The millionaire press lords (Beaverbrook and Rothermere) are conducting an intensive campaign for Empire Free Trade, which, brought down to reality, is the most vicious form of Protective Tariffs for reducing the workers' standard of life. The Conservative Party, under the leadership of Baldwin, is not against Protective Tariffs in principle, but remembering the experiences of the General Election in 1923, is not prepared to accept the open form of Protective Tariffs advocated by the millionaire press lords. Meanwhile, the Trade Union Congress meeting at Nottingham in the first week of September, adopts the Empire Memorandum prepared by the General Council, which in essence gives support to the Beaverbrook campaign; and there are persistent rumours that the Labour Cabinet is seriously considering a 10 per cent. all-round Tariff. Despite the apparent difference there is to be seen a gathering together of the bourgeois parties in a common effort to find a way out of the present situation.

But it is necessary to understand the deeper reasons for this collaboration between the three parties. The tremendous revolutionary movement in India, the situation in Egypt and Palestine, the growth of Soviet power in China, and the general revolt throughout the colonies, is striking at the roots of British Imperialism. The Trade Union Congress at Nottingham, the Imperial Economic Conference, and the Round Table Conference on India, are different aspects of the attempts being made to consolidate the forces of the bourgeoisie against the growing revolutionary forces. Fascism is not on the order of the day in Britain, but the propaganda for Empire Free Trade and the gathering of the reactionary forces show definite tendencies towards open Fascism.

This situation gives tremendous possibilities for the development of a mass movement against the Labour Government and mobilising mass support for the **Communist Party.** But although the Party leadership elected at the Leeds Congress fights for the line of the Comintern in general, it has not yet succeeded in **applying** this line correctly in order to mobilise the workers in struggle against the Labour Government.

The present campaign for the **Workers' Charter** presents a splendid opportunity for the Communist Party to make the correct united front approach to the masses. This campaign is being led by the **National Minority Movement**, which at present is weak and has very little mass contact. But the Charter Campaign can be made the basis upon which to build the Minority Movement and to transform it into a mass organisation. During the past year there has developed a

deep-rooted disillusionment among the workers in the trade unions and in the Labour Party, arising from their experience of the Labour Government. The proposals for the Workers' Charter present an opportunity to harness these disillusioned workers around immediate and concrete issues in a mass movement of struggle against the Labour Government, and to expose the "Lefts" who make a show of opposition on order to deceive the workers. The six proposals for the Workers' Charter embody the following demands:

- 1) Increased unemployment benefit and abolition of all disqualifying restrictions and task work. Benefit for each unemployed day.
- 2) Against speed-up, dismissals, overtime, and the spread-over, and for the seven-hour day.
- 3) Against increased insurance contributions, and for non-contributory insurance.
- 4) A guaranteed week and a national minimum wage of £ 3 a week.
- 5) Repeal of the Trades Disputes Act.
- 6) Against Imperialism and Tariff attacks upon the workers' standards.

The campaign for the Workers' Charter is of the widest mass character and the final demands of the Charter will come direct from the heart of the masses. These six proposals are only tentative and are being discussed at every meeting during the campaign. Already some of the original proposals have been changed as a result of wide mass discussion. The first stage of the campaign is to popularise the Workers' Charter in the factories, Labour Exchanges, trade unions, Local Labour Parties, I.L.P. branches, Co-operatives, and among working class housewives. This preliminary campaign will lead to local Charter Conferences of a mass character which will adopt local charter demands and combine these with the national demands of the Charter. At these conferences there will be appointed united front local Charter Committees which will have the direction of the campaign leading towards the mass National Charter Conference which will finally adopt the Charter. During the whole campaign there will be different forms of activity including demonstrations to municipalities, trade union and Labour Party Conferences. Already in Burnley, Blackburn, and Glasgow, successful demonstrations of this character have been held, and at the Nottingham Trade Union Congress there was a successful march and demonstration which roused the workers in that area to greater enthusiasm than has been experienced since the General Strike in 1926.

An important feature of the campaign are the steps which are being taken to secure the financial support of the workers. The financial support which is being given is an evidence of the degree of enthusiasm which the campaign has aroused among the workers. It is also shown by the fact that the first Charter pamphlet which has been published has created such an enormous demand that the printers are not able to supply these in sufficient quantities to meet it. In the textile and mining areas and among the unemployed workers in fact, all over the country there is a tremendous response and enthusiasm for the Charter Campaign. In the ranks of the Party there is a new spirit which recalls the enthusiasm of the whole membership during the period of the General Strike. This big campaign will undoubtedly be the means of transforming the Minority Movement into a mass organisation, through which channels the Communist Party can exert its leadership of all working class struggles and strike a death-blow at the Labour Government.

A Social Democratic Public Petition in Austria as a Smoke Screen for the Fascist Autumn Offensive.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

The Austrian employers are making ready to garner the fruits of their campaign of laying idle of factories and works. That this campaign was only a preparation for a large-scale wage-cutting offensive is to be seen from the attitude of the bourgeois press, which unanimously demands a "reduction of the costs of production", and even calls quite openly for wage reductions in order to "revive" business.

These wage reductions are already taking place. Wage cuts ranging from 3 per cent. (Semperit Rubber Factory in Traiskirchen) to 8 and 10 per cent. (Steyr Automobile Factory) have already been carried out. At the same time, by means of rationalization, or change over from peace work rates to time rates, while the output of the workers must remain the same, wage cuts of even 30 per cent have been achieved. In the next few weeks, however, these wage cuts will become the order of the day in all works and factories.

In order to support the employers in their action, the government intends, by a reform of the unemployment insurance, to deprive about seventy to a hundred thousand unemployed of all benefit. These workers, rendered utterly destitute and driven to despair, are to serve the employers as willing wage depressers and strike-breakers.

It is perfectly clear that the Austrian proletariat will not calmly allow itself to be pushed down to the standard of living of Chinese coolies. According to the official statistics of the International Labour Office, the Austrian workers are among the three or four worst paid in all Europe. But the European standard is now to be left behind and an African or Asiatic standard reached. Every such lowering of the standard of living of the working class leads to big struggles. These struggles will not fail to break out in Austria, especially now, when the Austrian workers are fired by the example of the Hungarian workers.

For this reason the Minister for War, on Saturday last, had five brigades of the Federal Army march round the Ringstrasse in Vienna, in order to demonstrate before the workers the power of the fascist State apparatus. The power of the fascist irregular formations is to be brought home to the workers by a series of Heimwehr parades to be held in October. This can be designated as the fascist "Autumn offensive".

The social democrats are aware of the mood prevailing among the working class. They also observe the signs denoting the approaching storm, and are now playing their part in the "Autumn Offensive" by launching a public petition, with the object of keeping the masses off the streets.

The Public Petition is an essential part of an economic programme which the social democratic party leaders decided on on August 28. This Economic Programme differs essentially from the former social democratic economic programmes. While in past years the social democrats published demagogic programmes as a platform for a future social democratic government, this time we have to do with a **concrete programme of collaboration with the fascist dictatorship**. Commenting on this programme, the "Arbeiterzeitung", the chief organ of the social democratic party, states that it does not contain anything which could not be expected of a bourgeois government. The social democratic party thereby seeks to make itself the spokesman of certain sections of the industrial capitalists and of the big peasantry. This is to be seen from the demands. For example, the demand for increased public works on the part of the Federal Government, for a turn to a "commercial treaty policy more in the direction of free trade, which would promote our exports of manufactured goods" (this is directed against the heavy import duties on agrarian products, which compel the agrarian states to retaliate with duties on industrial products), for acceleration of house-building activity, and finally, the demand for a reduction of the Bank Rate, which in the meantime has been fulfilled. All these are demands intended to meet the wishes of the employers.

The introduction of the grain monopoly is, on the other hand, nothing but the fixing of high prices of grain for the benefit of the big agrarians, while the State, according to the calculations of the "Oesterreichischen Volkswirt" will earn 50 million Austrian shillings from the monopoly-import of cheap foreign grain.

Thus we have a social democratic economic programme which demands increased prices for the most important and necessary articles consumed by the broad masses. In addition to the economic programme with its very doubtful benefits, the masses have the public petition!

On September 14 there commenced the collection of signatures to the Petition, according to which a motion is to be submitted to Parliament to the following effect:

The Federal Government, which hitherto has not contributed anything to the costs of normal unemployment benefit, shall now undertake the payment of 40 per cent of the costs,

while the rest shall be borne by the employers and the workers equally. The measures for extraordinary relief of unemployment (emergency relief) which are in force only until the 31st December next, shall continue to run indefinitely, and the grant by the Federal Government to the same shall be increased. Finally, the old age, incapacity, widows and orphans' insurance shall come into force on July 1st, 1931, so that the payment of pensions (30 to 60 Austrian shillings a month) can commence on January 1st, 1932.

Now a public petition in Austria merely means that a motion to which 200,000 signatures have been given, must be submitted to Parliament for discussion. Thus it has no more effect than a motion submitted by one of the 71 social democratic members of parliament.

What, then, is the object of the public petition? Its purpose is, as is being openly stated by social democratic speakers, to keep the masses from the fight in the streets. They say that for the social democracy it is no longer necessary to go on to the streets; it is able by such a "Public Petition" to mobilise far larger masses than by street demonstrations.

The "public petition" has no other purpose than to serve fascism as a smoke screen for its Autumn offensive. By means of the spectacle of a sham fight the masses are to be prevented from preparing for the real fight.

War Clouds on Mexican Horizon.

By Albert Moreau.

The recent revolts in **Bolivia** and **Peru**, which ended in the temporary substitution of one bourgeois government clique by another, are the prelude of the oncoming imperialist war between the two dominant imperialist powers: **Great Britain** and the **United States**. The overthrow of the Siles Government of Bolivia by a military coup, General Cerro's coup in Peru conclusively prove the sharpening of this inter-imperialist rivalry. Parallel to these manoeuvres of British imperialism, using its mannequins for an effective political blow to the power of American Imperialism, we witness the defining of class relations in almost all the countries of South America, with the attempt on the part of the oppressed masses to push forward the struggle against imperialist exploitation to its logical conclusion: against the feudal landlords, the native bourgeoisie and the imperialist vassals.

In a lesser degree but with more astuteness, these two Imperialist Powers are manoeuvring against each other in their Caribbean colonies. Here the iron heel of Wall Street falls heavier upon the oppressed masses, especially through the unchallenged control of the Government institutions by the White House. In El Salvador and Honduras, the political intrigues of the opposing government groups reveal outstandingly the fight of London bankers against the still advancing colossus yankee. More defined is this rivalry in **Mexico**. Here the political horizon is pregnant with dark clouds that may bring in any day the storm of bullets and destruction, an imperialist war. The Escobar rebellion of 1929 engineered by English financial lords was defeated by American Imperialism. Since then, Wall Street made further advances culminating in the "successful" Lamont-Montes de Oca agreement. But simultaneously with this advance, England is forging its weapons of war, and this time Morones and Toledano are the willing servants and are coming forward to speak of the "progressive" role of European capital.

On July 25th Mr. de Oca, finance Minister of Mexico, and Mr. Lamont, chairman of the International Committee of bankers in Mexico, signed the agreement by which all the provisions therein included completely satisfy both the master and the servant. A victory for J. P. Morgan. Assurance is thereby given to the collection of big interests to be paid by the Mexican workers and peasants. The agreement only settles part of the international debts of Mexico to the amount of \$ 500,000,000. Lamont secured the payment of the interest and sinking funds by a **guaranteed lien upon customs revenues**. This the first victory. The second important victory for Morgan, is the passage of the control of the Mexican railway into the hands of American interests. It is a well known fact that a good portion of the railway of Mexico has until now been under the unquestionable control of British financiers. The Lamont-de Oca agreement stipulates the plan by which the railway company is to be reorganised and a new one to be

formed. It goes without saying that this new company will be controlled by the House of Morgan. The declaration made by General Almazan a few days after the conclusion of the agreement, to the effect that in the event of war between the United States and any other Power it would be an "honourable" duty for Mexico to side with the United States, was a threat made by the almighty Morgan, Hoover & Co., to the beaten but not knocked out British Imperialism. General Almazan's statement should be considered as carrying heavy political weight. He was one of Mr. Morrow's lieutenants who helped to defeat the Escobar rebellion of 1929. Highly significant also is Mr. Hoover's announced autumn trip to Mexico, coinciding with the conclusion of the bankers agreement and General Almazan's declaration. The way is now paved for the settlement of all "differences" between the United States and Mexico.

Meanwhile, **Toledano**, the friend of the "progressive European capital" and **Morones**, head of the decrepit Partido laborista and the fascist Confederacion Regional Obrera de Mexico, speak on the same platform in Mexico in connection with the congressional elections. The forgotten Vasconcelos is on a speaking tour in the Caribbean region on the payroll of London financiers.

The deepening economic crisis in Mexico is increasing the toll of unemployment. All industries are suffering from a general paralysis. In 1921 the petroleum industry employed 50,000 workers in 1927, 17,000, in 1929, 12,000 and now a little over 5,000. There is frightful unemployment in the mines, especially in Pachuca where through rationalisation 50% of the workers are facing permanent unemployment. More than 10,000 railway workers will be effected by the "reorganisation" system with the help of the reformist leaders.

The first stages of capitalist rationalisation in Mexico and the resultant mass defensive to its application brought about the adoption of the fascist labor code, the fascisation of the state and the incessant, ruthless persecutions of the reactionary Morrow-Portes Gil-Rubio Government. A further revision of the labor code is now proposed. This is deemed necessary in view of the still tightened grip over the economy of the country by the recent developments in connection with the Lamont-de Oca agreement.

How the exploited workers are reacting, how these workers are increasing their militancy against the fascist Government, is shown in Matamoros. The fascist authorities are particularly vicious in their attacks upon the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. The announced Hoover's trip to Mexico was again the occasion of renewed brutalities against the Communists. All efforts are being made to stifle any working class opposition to Hoover's stepping on the Mexican soil. The oppressed masses know that this imperialist emissary's trip bodes them no good.

The question of the impending war between the two Imperialist Powers, and the chance of success of the new programme of financial and economic slavery, depends upon the correct application of the line of the Communist International not only in Mexico but also in the United States. The revolutionary proletariat of this country must give full support to the struggles of its brother proletariat of Mexico.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Breakdown of the "Peace" Negotiations in India.

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

The negotiations for a "peaceful" adjustment of differences, that began on June 20th between the Government and the imprisoned Congress leaders through the intermediary of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, broke down finally on September 5th. The two imperialist agents have issued a lengthy statement showing the course of the discussions during the last two months. The contents of the letters that passed between the leaders themselves, and between the leaders and the Viceroy are now made public, and we are told in some detail on what terms the Nationalist leaders were prepared to call off the civil disobedience movement. Those terms were

categorically rejected by the Viceroy as "impossible", and the leaders declare that "they see no meeting-ground between the Government and the Congress" and that "the Congress must continue to fight for freedom".

The failure of the negotiations has been hailed with delight by the so-called "European" Association—a deliberate imperialist misuse of the term "European" to describe the British—as well as by the radical elements in the Congress as represented in the Youth Leagues and the "War Councils". But in their final letter, written after the Viceroy's reply had been received, the Congress leaders themselves say that "there need be no disappointment at the **apparent** failure of the peace negotiations". (Italics mine.) As these leaders are all lawyers accustomed to weighing their words carefully, we may conclude that they regard the failure as temporary and that at a certain point the negotiations will be resumed. It is, therefore, essential to form a correct appreciation of the position now taken up by them, in order to estimate at what point the negotiations will be taken up again, and what the factors are that are delaying the compromise between the Indian bourgeoisie and British imperialism.

To begin with, it is interesting to record the fact that of the three leaders **Gandhi**, **Motilal Nehru** and **Jawaharlal Nehru**, it is Motilal that is the most conscious and consistent representative of the Indian bourgeoisie as a whole, while Gandhi voices the demand of the millowners and merchants of Gujerat and Bombay, and Jawaharlal puts up a feeble theoretical resistance, summing up his own attitude in a letter to Gandhi in which he says: "I realize that most people are not warlike and like peace, so I try hard to suppress myself and **take a peaceful view**." Gandhi still adheres to his absurd "11 points" seven of which are merely a part of the demands of the capitalists, but he regards these 11 points as the "substance of independence", and would personally be willing to accept these as the basis of negotiation, although he admits in a letter to Motilal that his "position is inconsistent with the intrinsic Congress policy or **the present temper of the people**". As far as Gandhi is concerned, we may take it that his betrayal of the movement is being delayed by "the present temper of the people", that is, by the tremendous revolutionary ferment among the masses. But with Motilal there is another important consideration that weighs. He regards the whole mobilisation of the masses under the Congress flag as the only weapon for compelling imperialism to make the concessions demanded by the Indian bourgeoisie. Those demands have not yet been granted even in part, and there is therefore no reason to call off the civil disobedience movement, **so long as this movement is still under the influence of the Congress leaders and so long as the point has not been reached at which the growing revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants threatens to overthrow the Indian capitalists and landlords**. In other words, there is still a clash of interests between the Indian bourgeoisie and British imperialism, and the revolutionary labour and agrarian movements have not yet matured to the point of bringing about a complete identity of those interests. The language of the Congress leaders, representing the bourgeoisie, is therefore still anti-imperialist, and they are therefore still able to formulate the following "preliminary" conditions for calling off the civil disobedience movement.

1. "No solution would be satisfactory unless it were recognised that India had the **right to secede** from the British Empire."
2. A **National Government** responsible to the people, the National Government to have **control of the defence forces** as well as **full economic control**.
3. Recognition of the right to refer to an independent tribunal such British claims and **concessions**, including the **Indian public debt**, as seems unjust to the Nationalist leaders.
4. Picketing of **foreign cloth** and liquor shops to continue.
5. Illicit manufacture of salt to continue, but no raids to take place on the Government's salt depots.
6. Political prisoners **not found guilty of violence** to be released, and their confiscated property restored. This applies to the non-cooperation prisoners of 1920-21.
7. Village officers who had resigned to be reinstated.
8. All special ordinances to be repealed.
9. Composition of the Round Table Conference to be decided after the settlement of the above demands.

It is obvious that these are the maximum demands of the Indian bourgeoisie, for the satisfaction of their own interests as well as those of the educated and professional sections that are the appendages of the bourgeoisie. But even these demands—which are quite impossible from the point of view of British imperialism—do not use the word independence which was declared as the goal at the Lahore Congress in December 1929. They merely ask for a formal **recognition** of the **right** to secede, but not the secession itself. That formal recognition is regarded as necessary to emancipate them from the terrible mass pressure and to supply the phraseological cover for conducting the negotiations for a compromise against the masses. The demand of "full economic control" by the "National Government" and of the right of cancelling such British claims and concessions as seemed "unjust" (that is, as militated against the interests of Indian capitalists), are obviously a direct challenge to the monopolistic control by British capital of financial and fiscal policy, forest and other concessions. A compromise is inevitable on the question of the rupee ratio, of tariffs, etc., but it is absurd to suppose that British imperialism would be prepared to hand over "full economic control" or even the greater part of the economic control to the Indian bourgeoisie, or that the "control of the defence forces" would ever pass into the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie knows this, but is making a stand for more concessions and more power, while the spectre of communism is haunting them through their fight and driving them to the acceptance of fewer concessions and less power.

The factors that have hitherto favoured the Congress, that is, the bourgeoisie, are as follows:

a) The Congress, which has a certain tradition and prestige, took the initiative in launching the mass struggle on the slogan of national independence, that is, mobilising the revolutionary mass discontent along certain channels of activity, such as, breach of salt-tax laws, boycott of foreign cloth, picketing of liquor shops, boycott of schools and colleges, fight for the legalisation of the "National Flag", right of demonstrations, etc. (The strict observance of non-violence is regarded as an essential part of the Congress "programme".)

b) Through the combined efforts of the Nationalist leaders and the labour reformists, and latterly of certain adventurers working on behalf of the renegades of the so-called "Right Communist Opposition", the workers of important industrial centres like Bombay, Calcutta, and certain South Indian cities, have taken part in Congress demonstrations and are being exhorted to join the Congress and look upon it as their own political organisation.

c) The peasantry are still under the organisational influence of the Congress Committees, which are hindering the development of the general peasant discontent into an agrarian revolution.

d) The boycott movement, which is described by the Imperialist Government as the "only real success of the Congress", has so far had the moral and financial support of the millowners and merchants, — of textile and commercial capital, — and has enlisted the active support of large masses of middle-class women and youths.

e) The war on the North-West Frontier, and the events in Chittagong, etc. coinciding with the civil disobedience movement, though not a part of it, have stimulated the anti-imperialist struggle and indirectly enhanced the prestige of the Congress.

But changes are beginning to be observable that are bound to affect severely the bourgeoisie and therefore the Congress leaders. Firstly, the non-violent character of the movement is fast disappearing. The Congress control is still strong in Gujerat and parts of Bombay and the Central Provinces, but terrorism is gaining the upper hand in Bengal and in the Punjab, and the movement threatens to spread to other Provinces, owing to the increase of imperialist repression and of desperate unemployment among the middle-class youth, but partly also to direct Government instigation. The attitude of the Congress leaders is seen in the above mentioned demand that only political prisoners not guilty of violence should be released, while the victims of the anti-imperialist struggle in Lahore, Chittagong, Sholapur, etc. are deliberately excluded. Secondly, the textile manufacturers who joined and financed

the boycott movement because of the necessity of selling out old stocks, and in the hope of increasing production and sale, now find that they have to close their mills, because the inland market has no purchasing capacity. Similarly, the merchants are losing money, and both the millowners and merchants are now beginning to press the Congress leaders to give in. Thirdly, the condition of the peasantry, owing to the rapidly falling prices of agricultural produce, is becoming desperate, and in many districts they are passing out of the control of the Congress Committees and are taking to direct action. Fourthly, unemployment among the industrial workers, which has now become aggravated by the closing of the Bombay mills involving some 80,000 workers, and by the fact that 30,000 of the G.I.P. Railway workers who went on strike last Spring are still workless, is creating a situation which, as admitted by the Secretary of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and by the Vice-President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, is becoming extremely dangerous to the capitalists.

It is clear therefore that industrial unemployment with its consequences, agrarian revolts, terrorism, failure of the boycott, diminishing trade, and other factors must soon compel the industrialists, merchants, landowners and professional classes, whose interests are being threatened with ruin, to put pressure upon the Congress to "call off" their movement. Individual leaders may discreetly retire rather than face the consequences of the collapse, but the bourgeoisie will be compelled then to accept terms very different from these now formulated by the imprisoned leaders. The trump card is in the hands of the masses.

The Agrarian Disturbances in Palestine.

By Bob (Jaffa).

Whilst in Geneva diplomatic speeches on the Palestine problem are being made, in which "concern" for the well-being of the population is always placed in the foreground and the representatives of British social imperialism (Henderson, Drummond Shiels & Co.) at one moment appeal to the world to pity them in their "hard task" in this country, and the next moment praise their agents and officials (who are guilty of the worst acts of oppression and violence) on account of their cleverness and circumspection, the imperialist robber policy in Palestine is still being carried on.

The occupation army is being constantly increased. Almost every month fresh regiments arrive in the little country. The visits of the British fleet are becoming more and more frequent. The aerodromes which already exist are being extended and new ones are being erected. All this is to serve to arouse respect and fear among the population for British imperialism. The persecution of the revolutionaries, before all of the Arab and Jewish Communists, who have already been ten times "exterminated" and "liquidated" (if one is to believe the local press) and of which there are ever fresh "nests" to be discovered, and the ruthless throttling of the press and of the right of assembly serve the same purpose.

In addition, British imperialism, in spite of all past failures, is still endeavouring to set up a block with the Arab big landowners and big merchants. The "conciliatory" attitude of the Arab Executive Committee shows that the national reformists, in spite of stormy mass protests, is continuing to pursue the path of treachery.

Under the protection of the British bayonets, the Zionist adventurers now believe that the time has come to renew the campaign of conquest against the Arabs which was interrupted by the August revolt. The new acts of conquest of the Zionists have already resulted in serious agrarian disturbances — in fact even bloody collisions — whilst the excitement of the Arab masses is growing all round.

The scene of the disturbances is the district of Wadi Havaras. The Zionists want to drive out the 12,000 Arab Fellahin and Bedouins who inhabit and cultivate the soil in this district and settle thousands of Jewish Halluzim (pioneers) in their place. The Fellahin have nothing in the world beyond their land and cattle. Even after the big landowners (Effendi) bargained away their land to the Zionists, the Fellahin never recognised this commercial bargain concluded behind their backs between the Zionists and the big landowners. On the contrary, the British soldiers who came to drive the inha-

bitants of Wadi Havaras from the land, encountered obstinate and desperate resistance, in which the women and children of the poor peasants participated. Although many Fellahin were injured and numerous others arrested, and although further reinforcements were sent into the district, the peasants have not yielded up their land. They have inflicted losses on the police troops and also on the Zionist settlers, who came under the protection of the bayonets of the former. The peasants have not yet been driven out and the fights are still going on.

It is certain that these disturbances will not fail to awaken an echo in the whole of Palestine and in the neighbouring Arab countries. Even the imperialist committee of investigation which investigated the question of the Palestine revolt had to admit that one of the chief causes of the revolt was the "fear of the Arab Fellah that he might suffer the same fate as the inhabitants of Wadi Havaras". But the fight against the imperialist and Zionist robber-policy cannot be conducted under the leadership of the treacherous nationalists. In order to be successful it must be headed by the workers and their Communist Party. The slogans of the Communist Party, which summon the Fellahin and the workers to show solidarity with the peasants of Wadi Havaras and which make clear also to the Jewish workers that their place is not at the side of the British soldiers and of the Halluzim but in the anti-imperialist front of the Arab workers, are finding increasing acceptance among the masses. Only under these slogans can the sporadic agrarian movements grow into a real agrarian revolution against the imperialists, the Zionists and the Arab big landowners.

CHINA

The Agrarian Revolution and the Setting Up of Soviets in the South West of Kiangsi.

By Chie-Hua.

The province of Kiangsi which is situated in the midst of the red provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Kwantung and Fukien, is so strongly seized by the Soviet movement that even the ruling class is forced to confess that the capital town of Nanchang, which is all that remains in the hands of the government, has now several times been threatened. The example of the Soviet fights in the South west of the province furnish us with a picture of the fights in the whole of Kiangsi.

In the Autumn of last year, at the time of the harvest, the Communist Party, supported by the peasant masses of South West Kiangsi numbering millions, conducted an energetic fight against the oppressive ground rents and against the payment back of the debts owing by the peasants. The illegal peasant unions won legality and organised the fight against the big landowners. The peasants refused to pay the ground rent and debts to the landowners and also to the big peasants. Further, they conducted a fight for the confiscation of the land of the big landowners and its division among the poor peasants. Owing to these fights of the peasants the landowners and the usurers found it unsafe to remain in the village; they either fled or were arrested by the revolutionary peasants, and when they offered reactionary resistance they were shot. In all villages in over 20 districts in South West Kiangsi the peasants unions became the provisional organ of political power. Following the general demand, "distribution of the land", the peasants, under the leadership of these organs, issued the slogan: "confiscation and equal division of the land among the peasants without distinction of age or sex".

In all districts of South West Kiangsi the peasants burned the tenants' agreements and documents acknowledging debt and themselves reported to the village organisation the exact number of the population and the area of the land. They held meetings day and night in order to solve the land question. In a short time the land in 22 districts was divided. The arrest and punishment of the big peasants who resisted the distribution of the land by the revolutionary poor peasants means the intensification of the class struggle in the village. The defeat of the landowners and usurers in the fight for land and the combating of the reactionary big peasants in the distri-

bution of the land secures the further development of the Soviet movement. In this situation the Communist Party in South-west Kiangsi called for the establishment of the power of the workers, peasants and soldiers in the form of Soviets. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the peasant unions were instructed to summon conferences of workers, peasants and soldiers' deputies and to form Soviets. In a short time over 50 local Soviets and 13 district Soviets were set up. Delegates from all local and district Soviets were sent to a delegates Conference. At a conference lasting five days the forms and methods of the fight were fully discussed and laid down. At this Conference there was also set up at the same time the central Soviet Government of South West Kiangsi. Under the directions of this central Soviet Government the armed fights in these districts were organised on a large scale. At the delegate Conference the slogan, "Arm the villages", was discussed and it was decided to carry it out. The organisation statutes of the various formations of the armed forces were issued. The red defence troops for the whole Soviet area, the red defence force for the individual Soviet districts, the young guard and the pioneer organisation were extended. The red defence troops, who are well armed and number over 4000, comprise the most active and advanced elements.

The red defence forces are endeavouring to embrace the largest possible part of the population between the age of 20 to 40 years in the individual Soviet districts; they already have in all 1600000 members and possess various kinds of weapons, such as flintlocks, rifles, lances etc. The young guard, which is also armed and a present numbers 300000, embraces the youth between the age of 14 and 20 years. The pioneer movement embraces the children. The strengthening of these armed organisations will result in the capture of further Soviet areas.

FASCISM

Before the Terror-Elections in Finland.

By M. S. (Helsingfors).

The Parliamentary elections will be held in Finland on 1st and 2nd of October next. The fascist Svinhufvud government wishes by "democratic" elections to create a Parliamentary majority which will without demur convert into legal enactment all the demands of the big bourgeoisie. The chief slogan of the bourgeoisie at the election is "liquidation of Communism". This slogan was even issued by the President, who is supposed to stand above the parties, in his election decree. As a matter of fact fascism wants to do more than merely liquidate Communism. The Parliamentary franchise is to be restricted in the sense that only those who directly pay rates and taxes are to be entitled to vote. In addition, all Communists and those who sympathise with them are to be deprived of civil rights. Even the social democrats feel themselves affected by the demand that all those who have at any time been condemned on account of "political crimes" are to be deprived of the right to vote.

The election campaign is being carried on in the midst of a raging terror. The government has prohibited all the election meetings of the Left-wing workers, is hampering the activity of all workers' organisations, has suppressed the labour press, dissolved the election committee of the left-wing workers and arrested its members. There is not the least possibility of legal election agitation. And what the government and police have not been able to do, is being carried out by the fascist gangs. The political police have arrested 300 to 500 Left-wing workers and Communists; but the number of those who have been kidnapped by the fascists, mishandled and tortured or are compelled to remain in hiding in order not to fall into the hands of the fascist murder gangs, is still greater. Any worker whose name stands on the list of Left-wing workers and peasants candidates, or who even signs the lists runs the danger of being arrested or kidnapped and mishandled by the fascists. In addition, the government threatens not to permit any list of the revolutionary workers.

Under these conditions the government believed that the workers would not take part in the elections at all. The social fascists already reckoned how many new votes they would obtain from the Left-wing workers. The Right opportunists

are making propaganda for the social democracy and spreading rumours that the Communist Party is calling upon the workers to vote for the bourgeois Swedish party. It therefore came as a complete surprise to the whole of the bourgeois-social-fascist-opportunist front that the Left-wing workers are taking part in the election and that in spite of the unheard of terror they are putting up their own lists in nearly all the important electoral districts. Some of these lists have been rejected. Nevertheless there are Left workers' lists in the districts of Helsingfors, Abo, Tammerfors, Viborg and Uleaborg, i. e., in all the most important industrial districts in the country. In several districts, however, the fascists succeeded in preventing the Left-wing workers from handing in their lists. But also in these districts the workers will vote for their own candidates. According to the Finnish election law the electors have the right to write on the voting paper the name of candidates who are not on the list, and these votes are also valid. In this way votes will be cast for most of the deputies of the dissolved Parliament who either have been arrested or have fled, among them being the Communist deputy Salo, whom the fascists mishandled and who was afterwards expelled from Sweden to the Soviet Union. In one district Comrade Kuusinen will be put up as a candidate, in spite of the fact that he possesses no civil rights in his fascist "fatherland".

It is obvious that the savage fascist terror will greatly influence the election result. What, however, will have the greatest effect on the elections is of course the fact that it is impossible to conduct any legal agitation for the Left lists. The Finnish working class is entering this election without a press, without legal meetings, without election agitators and without legal placards and leaflets. The only means of conducting the election campaign are the illegal leaflets of the C. P. and agitation in the factories and works. Therefore, it will not be possible for the Left workers to poll the same number of votes as last year. But this "defeat" will be converted into a victory when, on the 1st and 2nd of October, it will be seen that in spite of all the threats thousands of Finnish workers and poor peasants have ventured to cast their vote for the despised and persecuted Communists, who have been pronounced to be dead a hundred times.

The number of votes cast by the Left-wing workers will suffice in order to obtain ten seats in Parliament, but these seats will never be given to the Communists. The question of Parliamentary seats, however, plays only an incidental role. The chief thing is that the broad masses of workers will by the election proclaim their confidence in the Communist Party and fling down a challenge to fascism, and that the fascist terrorist election will thus be a stage in the fight against fascism.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

One of the Most Valuable Achievements of the Soviet System.

The End of Unemployment in the Soviet Union.

By M. Kalinin.

Almost every day one can read in our newspapers the demands emanating from economic organisations, both large and small: Give us workers. With us there is a disastrous shortage of workers; the workers are leaving the factories. Workers who have hardly become qualified go to other factories in order to occupy higher positions.

The "Ekonomitscheskaya Shizny" of August 29, writes for example:

"The disastrous situation in regard to labour at a number of big building undertakings (Magnitostroi, Sibcombine, Turksib, and others) finally compelled the People's Commissariat for Labour to adopt determined measures in order to provide these building works with workers. Hitherto the People's Commissariat for Labour had permitted the recruitment of labour only in certain districts.

According to the latest decision of the People's Commissariat for Labour of the R.S.F.S.R. Turksib must be supplied with 4,000 workers from the provinces of Nijni-

Novgorod and Middle Volga, from the Tartar Soviet Republic and the Bashkir Soviet Republic. The regional and district departments have been instructed at all costs to obtain the corresponding number of workers not only by means of recruitment, but if necessary by transferring workers from less important building works."

That is quite correct. This year, in all branches of labour, not excluding office work, in which up to recently there was a considerable surplus of workers, a shortage of workers is to be recorded. How is it possible that right up to recently there was still a surplus of workers? A year ago the Labour Exchanges still had a million unemployed; today they are empty. Contrary to the first assumptions of the Five-Year Plan, the overcoming of unemployment has been accomplished more rapidly than any other part of the Five-Year Plan.

If one thoroughly analyses this phenomenon, one has to admit that it constitutes one of the most valuable achievements of the Soviet system. Just think of the meaning of the word "Unemployment". With us the terror connected with this word is not fully understood. In order to understand it one must follow the columns of the foreign or Russian white-guardist press containing the reports of suicides. Let us take one case out of thousands from the "Rulj":

"In a village near Berlin a father and mother and daughter hanged themselves. The reason was unemployment."

In the capitalist countries unemployment is for many proletarians equivalent to a death sentence. For the one a quick death, as in the case mentioned above, and for the other a slow death.

With us there is no unemployment. There is no unemployment in the country in which, according to modest calculations, not long ago about ten million people (I am including the peasants) were drawn into intensive productive work. This huge number was absorbed by the great, unprecedented work of construction which is taking place in the Soviet Union. And, what is the chief thing, this work of construction is developing not only in the towns (the work in the towns would never have been able to absorb the surplus workers in the country districts) but also in the villages. The village is now calling out for workers and adopting measures to prevent the loss of labour forces.

But a new question arises: Why, with such a tremendous utilisation of the existing labour forces, the total value of the production, even in the present year, does not keep pace not only with America, but even with such countries as Great Britain and Germany? If in the economic year which is now drawing to a close, we had worked as much as Germany, for instance, would there be such long queues waiting outside the shops for articles of every day use? One of the chief causes of this phenomenon is the backward productivity of labour in our country, in comparison with the leading capitalist countries. In addition to this cause, and apart from the fact that a huge quantity of work is being put into the building of new undertakings, the erection of factories and works, which will first commence operations in a few years time, there are a number of very essential causes, such as, for example, the large-scale erection of dwelling houses, the cultural construction: schools, hospitals, clubs; Sanitary and public health work: water supply, lighting, drainage, construction of bridges and main roads etc. All this work absorbs a tremendous quantity of labour.

Our material means and organisational possibilities have increased so much that the main mass of the working population has been drawn into the process of production. That is an important step forward on the way to Socialism. This step is yielding those perfectly astounding results illustrated by the figures of our economic achievements; but these achievements are at bottom, the results of the enthusiasm, the self-sacrifice and the efforts of the masses. And now, when the reconstruction of economy, the rationalisation of labour are on the order of the day, one can just imagine what it will mean when these masses, numbering millions, are provided with a first class technical equipment. Then the peoples of all countries will see what Socialism is able to accomplish.

No other country is making such strenuous efforts as we are to equip its production with the best machinery. Our industrial construction is not only costing us enormous sums; it occupies the most privileged position in regard to supplies of raw material, finance and human labour power. Today we

are intentionally making sacrifices in order to promote industrial construction more rapidly, so that tomorrow our productive apparatus will be better equipped. The following example suffices to show what advantages a worker possesses who is equipped with organisation and technics.

The Stalingrad tractor factory, with a staff of 10,000 workers, will produce in a year goods to the value of 100 million roubles. That is to say, with a seven-hour day, goods to the value of 10,000 roubles will be produced per year, per worker.

The essence of industrialisation lies in increasing the productivity of labour. Now, however, when the surplus labour has all been absorbed, the most important element of the growth of production will be the increase of labour productivity per worker, that is, we must catch up to the capitalist countries not only in regard to the sum of production, but also in regard to the productivity of labour.

Therefore, the appeal of the C.C. of the Party demands of the party, economic, trade union and youth organisations that they take up the fight against fluctuation of labour power. As a matter of fact, is not this fluctuation of labour power — along with all causes dependent upon the economic functionaries — also a result of the bad activity of the economic functionaries? I fully realise their difficulties in connection with the carrying out of the tasks set them by the Party. But when the workers go from one factory to another, it means, after allowing for all the objective difficulties, that the managers of these factories are not up to their jobs, that they are not capable of securing for their factories the most important element of production — the worker.

We are confronted with considerable shortages, for our efforts always somewhat exceed the "normal" possibilities, and thereby extend these possibilities. But those who are engaged in the work of construction often find themselves in difficult situations; one time the supply of the necessary material to the factories or the supply of food for the workers is held up; another time there are bad living conditions etc. The appeal of the C.C. is perfectly right when it turns to the economic functionaries and directs their attention to these questions. He is a bad economic functionary who does not attempt to take part in improving supplies, in organising the co-operative organs.

One often meets the objection raised by the economists that one can do but little in these organisations owing to lack of means. But it is not merely a question of means. The workers are prepared to make sacrifices when they see that the management is trying to seek ways to overcome the present bad state of affairs, and doing its very utmost to improve the condition of living of the workers. The workers will not leave such an enterprise in masses. In such an undertaking the production-collective will arise and grow, and cadres for socialist construction will be created.

Decisive Stage of Liquidation of the Kulak.

Moscow, 15th September 1930.

To-day's "Pravda" publishes an article by comrade Popov entitled, "In the decisive Stage of the Struggle for the Liquidation of the Kulaks". The author analyses in detail those elements which support the Kulaks and declares:

These elements are composed almost exclusively of persons who formerly belonged to the ruling classes or were its lackeys. As is known, the State Political Administration (O.G.P.U.) has recently discovered in Moscow two new counter-revolutionary groupings. One of these groups was under the leadership of the typical Kulak ideologist Professor Kondratyev. Kondratyev and his friends Professor Makarov and Professor Sadyrin, who were engaged in the agricultural co-operative movement, were working above all for a capitalist development of our economic system and in particular of agriculture.

In addition to the Kondratyev group there was the group of intellectuals Gromann, Basarov, Suchanov, etc., who leaned towards Menshevism. This group of the "leftist" of "left-wing" mensheviks, many of whom are themselves not formally members of the menshevik organisation as a result of their "leftness" set as its aim the democratisation of the Soviet power and were compelled to support themselves on the Kulaks. The carrying out of the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class by the Soviet power flung the Suchanov-Gromann-

group, which did not believe in the possibility of building up socialism in the Soviet Union, into the arms of the Kondratyev group. The close contact of these two groups, of course on the basis of the Kulak platform, was crowned by their connection with the saboteurs organisation led by Palchinski which was liquidated last year. The aim of the Suchanov-Kondratyev groups was to set up a bourgeois government in the place of the Soviet power. Their work in the economic and State organs of the Soviet power was directed always towards strengthening the capitalist elements, particularly the Kulaks upon whom they chiefly based their hopes.

The two groups had no connections with the working class, the poor and middle peasantry and the intellectuals of the Soviet Union. Amongst these masses who work loyally with the Soviet power and desire to build up socialism, these groups represent a little company of outsiders. They were unable to establish any connections beyond those with the professional experts engaged in the Soviet apparatus (and particularly in the agricultural organs and the agricultural co-operatives), the Czarist officials and the Kulaks. In their work, however, they sought connections, sometimes with success, with the right-wing elements in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as they regarded these elements, not without reason, as forces making for a capitalist restoration. Is there any clearer proof necessary than this in support of the decision of the XVI Congress of the C.P. of the Soviet Union which declared the right-wing elements as the agents of the Kulaks in the C.P. and their opinions as irreconcilable with membership of the Party? Kondratyev and his group on the one hand and the Suchanov group on the other were the practical originators of all the theories of the right-wing opportunists against the general policy of the Party. The counter-revolutionary nature of these two groups shows clearly in what direction the theories borrowed by the right-wingers from Kondratyev and Suchanov lead.

The complete liquidation of both groups coincided with the decisive successes of the work for the construction of socialism, with the development of the forces of the Party to overcome the great difficulties in the way of this work, with the rallying of the Party masses on the basis of the general policy of the Party, and the destruction of right-wing opportunism. The liquidation of the Kulaks as a class on the basis of solid collectivisation and on the basis of the radical socialist construction of industry and the rooting out of all the capitalist elements, must be followed by the liquidation of the agents of the Kulaks in the State apparatus. Our socialist offensive will mercilessly root out and destroy all those elements which attempt to utilise politically the resistance of the Kulaks. There is no power which is able to hold up this offensive.

AGAINST THE CAMPAIGN OF LIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

Declaration of the British Worker's Delegation.

Moscow, 13th September 1930.

The British Labour delegation which is at present paying a visit to the Soviet Union, has made the following declaration regarding the statements recently made by Mr. Toole, M. P. concerning the conditions in the Soviet Union:

We have just returned to Moscow after touring the U.S.S.R. and read in the English press the amazing statement by Mr. Toole, M.P. for South Salford. Our delegation, which comprises all sections of the British Labour movement, is unanimous in condemning Mr. Toole's utterances as a vicious and malignant tissue of lies and misrepresentations.

It is easy to see that Mr. Toole met the common fate of all petty middle class people who visit the Soviet Union. He found himself in the country where the workers are the ruling power and where many little luxuries and comforts enjoyed by the middle class in England are missing. This is irksome and disagreeable to such people as Mr. Toole.

From the moment "Co-operative" set sail Mr. Toole's troubles began. He kept himself aloof from the other passengers. He made no attempt to mix with the crew, notwithstand-

ing that an express invitation was extended to him by our delegation to come amongst us.

Mr. Toole's behaviour was distinctly hostile to the Soviet government before he touched Soviet soil. That was easily to be seen on the boat. Once ashore he was bound to find all the arguments necessary to reinforce his hostility. He saw and mixed only with the debris of the old order; his hatred to the workers power closed his eyes to the new.

We have travelled over 4000 miles through the Soviet Union. We have been to metal works, textile factories, mines, state and collective farms, oil fields, locomotive and motor works, electric power stations, workers' rest houses, co-operatives, children's homes, schools and numerous public institutions. We mixed with workers, questioned them and have been questioned. We found nothing but the most intense enthusiasm amongst all sections of the workers for the social order that they are constructing.

Of the hundreds of thousands of workers in the shock brigades who are throwing themselves into the task of increasing production; of socialist competition among all sections; of workers who vie with each other in doing more than their neighbours and of the astounding fact, impossible in capitalist countries, of whole cities like Leningrad without a single person unemployed, Mr. Toole has nothing to say. The Five-Year plan for him is a closed book.

We will not repeat the figures for food etc. already quoted in the "Daily Worker".

In our delegation report we shall give ample statistic and photos to shatter Mr. Toole's slander that "there is nothing but incompetence, insecurity, insanity, disease and want". Suffice it to say it is not amongst the rubbish of the old regime that one finds elements of the new socialist society but in the enterprises, in the workers' homes, in their clubs and cultural organisations that is direct from workers on the job.

Mr. Toole says that the control of industry is given to men because they were once successful revolutionary leaders. This is sheer nonsense. Our delegation consists mostly of practical workers: some are highly trained in technique. We have had conversations and discussions with those leaders in industry. What we found is a new school of worker technicians, the product of the Soviet technical schools: men and women from the working class who are now managing their own industry.

We ask the workers in Great Britain not to be misled by such vile anti-Soviet propaganda as Mr. Toole's, neither to be misled nor deceived by the manoeuvres of false friends of the Soviet Union who would seek to cover up their betrayal of professed friendship for the Soviet masses at the expense of such clumsy outspoken enemies as Mr. Toole.

The successful constructional work of the revolutionary masses in the Soviet Union is proving a veritable nightmare to our capitalists in England as well as elsewhere. They would destroy the workers' Republics if they could. Even now they are preparing for war against the Soviet Union. Such people as Toole are in reality tools of the warmakers.

We are convinced from what we have seen that it is more than ever necessary to be vigilant and watchful and to stand guard over the Soviet Union. We openly declare our determination to defend the Soviet Union as the socialist fatherland of the world's workers. (Signed) Thomas Bell.

The "Misery" of the Toilers of the Soviet Union — A Social-Fascist Legend.

By J. M. (Moscow).

The bourgeois and social democratic press report from time to time with jesuitical malicious joy of a lack of food-stuffs and articles of mass requirement in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is experiencing difficulties connected with growth. Nobody has ever denied this. But these difficulties which the toilers of the Soviet Union are willingly facing, are bringing them victory. We already have the pledge of this victory: the giants such as the tractor works in Stalin-grad, the Turksib Railway, the agricultural machine factory in Rostow, the power works which are nearing completion on the Dniepr, etc.; further the gigantic Soviet farms, which in the spring will cultivate 4½ million hectares of land, and the collective farms whose number is increasing every day.

When, two or three years ago, the Soviet Union had

practically completed the restoration of the economy which had been destroyed by the war, it was faced with the question whether it should exert all forces in order to develop light industry, which would have meant rendering the country more dependent upon the capitalist countries which possessed the monopoly of the supply of machinery and factory equipment.

The Soviet Union has chosen another course, that of the development of heavy industry and the establishment of Soviet farms and collective farms. That does not mean to say, however, that the Soviet Union has neglected light industry in the past few years. Light industry, too, has in the last two years developed at a rate unknown in any other capitalist country. Nevertheless, a shortage of goods in the Soviet Union is to be observed. What is the reason of this? It is due to the fact that in the Soviet Union the demand for and the consumption of goods has grown extraordinarily. The revolution has increased the well-being of the broadest strata of the population, of the workers and peasants, and thereby increased the demand for all commodities. Unemployment disappeared. During the last three years a million new workers were employed in the census industry (factories which employ more than 16 workers and using mechanical power) alone.

It suffices to quote a few figures in order to show that this is actually one of the most important causes of the shortage of goods. Let us take such a commodity as shoes. The bourgeoisie is concocting the wildest stories about our country and saying that "we are catching up and passing the West and at the same time going barefooted". But let us see when the country went barefooted: before the revolution, under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, or after the revolution, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Before the revolution Russia consumed altogether 55 million pairs of shoes a year. The peasants, especially the peasant women, and also a part of the workers, for the greater part wore either rags round their feet or bast shoes. The bast shoe was the symbol of peasant backwardness and economic poverty of the country. In the current economic year, i. e., since October 1929, industry alone (without reckoning the production of small handworkers) has produced 97 millions pairs of shoes. The population today is consuming twice the quantity of shoes as formerly. If we take into consideration that the State shoe industry will in the coming year produce at least a 120 million pairs of shoes, and the handworkers, who are organised in handworkers co-operatives (artels), will produce 15 million pairs, then it is plain to everybody that after the revolution the population have actually commenced "to put shoes on". In addition, the footwear industry of the Soviet Union will in the coming year attain the second place in world production (after the U.S.A.).

The same picture is presented by the rubber industry in regard to the production of rubber shoes. In the current economic year the production of rubber shoes in the Soviet Union has surpassed the pre-war level by 70 per cent and will in the coming economic year exceed it by 135 per cent (56 million pairs of rubber shoes are to be produced.)

How do matters stand with regard to textile wares? Before the war the consumption of cotton fabrics amounted to 18.2 metres per head of the population; in the current year the consumption is 18.4 metres (it should be remembered that in pre-war times the consumption was confined mainly to small strata of the upper classes). If we take the consumption of meat we see here also an increase in the last few years. In 1924 the annual consumption of meat per head of the town population was 39 kilogrammes; in the year 1929 it was already 48 kilogrammes. In the village the consumption of meat has increased in the last six years from 16.5 to 20 kilogrammes per head. This increase in the consumption of meat, the small production of meat for market purposes on the individual farms, the counter-revolutionary role of the kulaks who conducted an agitation in the village for slaughtering the cattle, all led to a temporary difficulty in regard to the meat supply. The Soviet government is at the present time making great efforts in order, by setting up Soviet cattle farms and founding collective farms, to solve the meat problem in the shortest possible time.

In this connection the Soviet Union is pursuing the same course which it adopted in dealing with the grain problem, which it has very successfully solved. The Soviet government has not only secured the supplying of the workers with

bread in sufficient quantities and at cheap prices, but at the same time has at its disposal a permanent grain reserve.

Figures show very convincingly that in the last few years the consumption of food and objects of every day requirement is steadily growing both in the country and in the towns. The present difficulties in regard to supplying the workers with these products will be overcome in the very shortest time. For this purpose a number of very important measures are being carried out in the Soviet Union. In his speech at the XVI. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. Comrade Stalin declared:

"Up to now we have economised everywhere, including also in the light industry, in order to build up heavy industry. But we have reconstructed heavy industry and now it only requires to be further developed. We can now turn to light industry and develop it at an accelerated tempo."

The Soviet Union is now turning to light industry. For the coming economic year, which begins on the 1st of October next, an increased production by light industry of 32 per cent, as compared with an increase of 21.9 per cent in the current year, has been laid down.

The whole food industry will in the coming economic year double its production as compared with the current year. In the coming autumn and winter two and a half times more sugar will be produced than in the past year. The food preserving industry will triple its production. A huge raw material basis will be created for light industry. Thanks to collectivisation and the sending of 10,500 tractors to Turkestan, in the year 1931 the arena of land under cotton cultivation will exceed the pre-war area by 200 per cent. Already in the current year the area under cotton cultivation is twice as large as that before the war.

The light industry in the Soviet Union has made decided progress. The supplying of the population of the Soviet Union with articles of food and of all necessary commodities is improving every month, and will continue to improve in the future.

THE WHITE TERROR

Appeal of the Chinese Red Aid.

The following appeal, addressed to the Workers, Peasants and all other Friends and Sympathisers with the Chinese Revolution throughout the world, has been issued by the Chinese Red Aid:

The unparalleled horrors of the four-year reign of White Terror in China by the reactionary Kuomintang and other militarist cliques have been recently ten-fold intensified and extended. This new period dates from the recapture of Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province, by the Kuomintang armies last month (August) from the Red Armies of the workers and peasants. The bloodthirsty Kuomintang press boasts that in Changsha itself 4,000 suspected "Reds" were murdered upon the reoccupation of the city. Most of these were poverty-stricken coolies. They were shot or beheaded in the streets where captured. Their heads, still dripping with blood, were hung up for days in public places as warnings. Some eighty students, asleep in the dormitory of a local school, were taken out of their beds in the dead of night and shot at sunrise. Hundreds were arrested in Wu-Han, where squads of Kuomintang soldiers with long executioner's swords patrolled the streets. Dozens of suspected revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers were beheaded. In Canton and throughout Kwangtung Province the right of a hearing—little as this had amounted to in practice—was suspended and petty local military chiefs instructed to kill all suspected "Reds" on sight. Thousands and thousands were thus slain. The native and foreign press is full every day of the most terrible incidents.

In these brutal proceedings there is no distinction between the militarist cliques so far as barbarity and the announced determination to wipe out every trace of the revolutionary movement of the worker and peasant masses is concerned. Chiang Kai-shek, Yen Hsi-shan, Feng Yu-hsiang, Chang Hsueh-liang, Wang Ching-wei and the Reorganizationist clique, and all the other various reactionary groups—all are participating

in these massacres and giving them their heartiest approval. All are loudly promising the imperialists that no mercy will be shown the "Reds", that they will stop at nothing to destroy every trace of mass revolutionary struggle in China.

The imperialists, for their part, are doing their utmost to assist in these massacres. Changsha was recaptured from the Red Armies only in the most tremendous struggle by the united imperialist and Kuomintang forces. A missionary agent of imperialism writes from Changsha describing how an American gunboat there "fired in all 67 shells along the waterfront into the "Reds", besides using machine guns and other guns". He adds that "Other boats also fired". These "other boats" were British and Japanese warships. It was the shells from these foreign warships that started the disastrous fires, afterwards blamed by the reactionary native and foreign press upon the "Communist bandits", the slanderous term used to characterize the brave workers and peasants struggling to overthrow militarist oppression and imperialist exploitation.

It is under such conditions as these that the streets and alleys of the cities and towns throughout the length and breadth of China are running red with the blood of the country's best and most heroic sons,—and daughters, too, for the militarists in their massacres draw no distinctions of sex or even of age. Labour unions are mercilessly suppressed. Labour organisers and strike leaders are at once arrested, terribly tortured, and then sentenced to long terms of imprisonment where they are not killed outright. In the countryside and the villages there goes on a continuous slaughter of the rebellious peasantry.

Dear comrades, friends, and sympathisers!—The Chinese Revolution is the pivot upon which the World Revolution turns. This has long been recognized by friend and foe alike. The success of the Chinese Revolution means that the bottom has fallen out of the world capitalist system, to which the retention of the Chinese market is indispensable. Therefore, in the universal worldwide struggle against imperialism and for the overthrow of the capitalist system, we, the hard-pressed workers and peasants of China appeal for your renewed support. It is urgent that in this crisis in our common struggle against the White Terror you shall immediately and on the largest possible scale use extraordinary methods of blocking aid from your respective capitalist governments and bourgeoisie to the bloodthirsty butchers of the ruling class in our country. We accordingly call upon you at once to carry out the following actions:

1. Organize everywhere "Committees of Action" for "Hands off the Chinese Revolution."
2. Bring every possible pressure to bear upon your respective governments to compel them to withdraw their armed forces from China.
3. Expose in every possible way the United Front of the Kuomintang Murder Gang and the other Chinese militarists with the imperialists.
4. Prevent by any and every means the shipment of war supplies to the contending militarist factions, even to the extent of wholesale sabotage and strikes in the factories concerned and among the transport employees.
5. Demonstrate militantly in mass before the Kuomintang Consulates, exposing with your slogans and propaganda the bloodthirsty regime of the Chinese militarists.
6. Raise funds for the relief of the widows and children of the Chinese revolutionary martyrs and for relief of the thousands in prison.
7. Reveal to your toiling masses the treachery of the social-reformists, who, in China as in all other colonial and semi-colonial lands, have proven themselves the most unscrupulous running-dogs of the imperialists.

This is especially important because the intervention of the imperialists against our Revolution — as well as those in the other colonial countries — is supported by the social-reformist elements in the homelands of imperialism. Thus the British Labour Party approves the handing over daily of suspected revolutionary workers arrested in the British Settlement (alias "International") in Shanghai to the Kuomintang butchers, to be fearfully tortured and then executed. Similarly, the Socialist Party of France has never raised a word of protest against the same state of affairs in the French Concession at Shanghai. Scores of former Kaiserist military leaders have become advisors to the Nanking Murder

Government and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany has not only not a word to say, but on the other hand actively supports the Kuomintang despotism. American gold and military supplies, American advisors of all kinds are at the Butcher Chiang Kai-shek's disposal. Not a whisper of criticism even comes from the American Socialists, the "liberals" and social-reformist groups. It's out of our own bitter experience with these traitors to the Revolution that we thus emphasize the necessity of their most decisive exposure.

(Signed) **The Revolutionary Red Aid Society of China**
(MOPR) August 25, 1930.

On the Execution of the Four Slovenian National Revolutionaries.

From the Manifesto of the C.P. of Italy.

Workers, peasants, Slovenians and Croats of the provinces of Venetia Julia and Istria! German inhabitants of South Tyrol! The population of Libya and the African colonies!

The trial of the Slovenian national revolutionaries concluded with the death sentences pronounced on four of the accused and fearful punishment for the other accused. The Special Tribunal, the shameful instrument of torture in the hands of the capitalist Italian State, has again handed over four revolutionaries to the execution department and condemned eight revolutionaries to slow death. Franz Marussis, Zvonimir Milos, Ferdinand Bidovec and Franz Valencic are fresh victims of the fascist hangmen, of the oppressors and starvers of the working population of Italy.

The names of these martyrs are connected with those of Della Maggiore and Vladimir Gortan, as well as with those thousands of victims which the fascist regime has sacrificed during the years of its rule.

We greet the condemned Slovenians of Trieste, we hail the memory of the murdered of Trieste.

The fascist regime is shaken by the crisis which has seized the country. The starving population in the towns and in the country are by their persistent activity undermining the basis of the fascist regime. But the numerous fascist murders cannot do away with the crisis. On the contrary, they express in an extremely sharp and tragic form the profound character of this crisis; and the fact that they are from time to time repeated, only goes to show that nine years of white terror have not sufficed to stabilise the political regime of Italian capitalism or to destroy the militant spirit of the Italian proletariat, the peasants, the national minorities and of the toiling population, which is again beginning to show itself in a strong and determined form. The Trieste trial and the sentences with which it ended occur at a time when the revival of the mass fight is becoming more and more plainly visible.

The episodes of civil war in Venetia Julia, in view of their sharpness and extent, can no longer be regarded as isolated terrorist episodes. In the territories inhabited by the national minorities of Slovenians and Croats there has developed in the last twelve months an uninterrupted partisan war, which has been supported in various ways by the suppressed population. This important fact cannot be regarded separately from the revival of the working class in the whole of Italy. That is the reason why the "warning" sentences of the Special Tribunal no longer fulfil their purpose. The working masses are beginning to move, and nobody will be able to stop them.

The Communist Party, just as it did on the occasion of the death of Vladimir Gortan, is conducting this fight which is again reviving of the oppressed minorities of Venetia Julia and Istria; it stigmatises before the Italian proletariat this fresh cruel murder and declares to the oppressed Croat, Slovenian and German minorities, as well as to the population of Libya and the African colonies, that there is no other way of emancipation from the yoke of Italian fascism than that leading to the overthrow of the capitalist regime in Italy.

The aims of democratic bourgeois restoration advocated in Italy by the so-called "Anti-Fascist Concentration" only serve to mislead the masses. In no country has bourgeois democracy solved the national problem, nor can it solve it. Only the proletarian revolution, which will destroy the strongholds of capitalism and the capitalist class, will free the national minorities along with the toiling population from the yoke of imperialism.

In the name of Gortan, Marussisch, Milos, Bidovec and Valencic, who sacrificed their youth for the freedom of the Slovenians, the Slovenian and Croat population of Venetia Julia and the German population of South Tyrol are gathering round their class organisations, the trade union federation, the defence organisations of the peasants, and creating a steel bulwark round the Communist Party.

Long live the memory of the executed in Trieste!

Hail the victorious revolution of the Italian and Yugoslavian proletariat against imperialism and Italian fascism, against the bloody Belgrade dictatorship!

Workers, peasants, Italians and national minorities of Venetia Julia, Istria and South Tyrol, unite!

The Communist Party of Italy.

The Blood-Bath in Matamoros.

By R. Rojo (Mexico).

The blood-bath which took place in Matamoros-Laguna on June 28 last is unexampled in the history of Mexico, and one must go back to the mass slaughters of workers in Cananea and Rio Blanco under President Porfirio Diaz in order to find anything in any way resembling it. In Cananea and Rio Blanco, however, there were exceedingly bitter strike struggles, whilst in Matamoros one can only speak of deliberate and cold-blooded murders by the white-guardists and the police. The monstrous brutality with which women and children were struck and beaten with the butt-ends of the rifles was placed in the shade by volleys fired at the unarmed crowd by the police troops without their having been provoked in the slightest way. Eighteen killed, twenty severely wounded and a great number of slightly wounded covered the field. It must, however, be pointed out that the demonstrators, although they were entirely unarmed and never expected the attack, not only offered the most determined resistance, but killed two policemen and wounded the chief of police. The demonstration was attacked as soon as the procession began to move; it was clearly to be seen from the action of the police and the troops that this attack was in accordance with a pre-arranged plan.

Matamoros is a centre of revolutionary activity, largely due to the unemployment of large masses of land workers and the closing down of the cotton mills in Laguna. The agricultural crisis in this district has various causes: the increasing mechanisation of the cultivation of the soil has reduced to one quarter the number of agricultural workers employed in this area. To this there is of course to be added the general economic crisis which the country is experiencing and also the severe drought of last year, which resulted in the loss of the greater part of the cotton crop. All these causes have served to radicalise the masses of land workers and textile workers, thousands of whom are unemployed and living in the greatest misery.

Already in the past twelve months street demonstrations and meetings of the working class were becoming more and more frequent occurrences, in spite of their express prohibition by the police. Matamoros had become the centre point of revolutionary agitation. These demonstrations reached their highest point in the events of June 28.

It was intended to hold a demonstration against the White Terror and the persecution of the revolutionary movement, for the release of all political prisoners—in the first place of those comrades who had been arrested on May Day. As usual the government refused to allow the demonstration. In spite of this the masses went onto the streets to demonstrate not only against the fascist persecution, against the arrest of workers and persecution of revolutionary organisations, but also against the white terror in the whole country.

The attitude of the working class during the events in Matamoros on June 28 was specially characterised by the circumstance that the workers, in spite of the prohibition of the authorities, went with the greatest enthusiasm into the streets in order to express their solidarity with the world proletariat, they followed the call of the Mexican section of the Workers International Relief and the decision adopted at the last conference of the revolutionary trade unions to demonstrate throughout Mexico on this day against the white terror.

It must be specially pointed out that the events in Matamoros are a clear and irrefutable proof of the radicalisation

of the masses, while at the same time they show the intense fascist development undergone by the Mexican government—from the brutal murder of Comrades José Guadalupe, Rodiguer and others in Durango up to the blood-bath in Matamoros. In the period from January to June 27th this year, 749 comrades were arrested, 26 mass trials held, in which 623 comrades were condemned and sentenced, two comrades were murdered, 40 wounded, 6 demonstrations dispersed, 7 workers clubs closed, numerous domiciliary searches carried out and many foreign comrades expelled from the country. That is the fascist regime under which the revolutionary proletariat in Mexico is living today.

ECONOMICS

The Drought Intensifies the U. S. Farm Crisis.

By A. Bosse (New York).

The drought which struck from one-half to one-third of the States in the United States this spring and summer was one of the worst calamities its agriculture has ever suffered. President Hoover states that it affects one million families, with 2¼ million horses and mules, 6 million cattle, and 12 million hogs and sheep. This is one-sixth of the total farm families and one-eighth of their animals, and takes into account **only the dozen states most affected**. The real situation is far worse, since official government surveys of crises, unemployment, and disasters are always greatly underrated by these official optimists. Large numbers of Negro tenants and farm owners, white and Negro farm labourers, and others are simply not considered.

The drought began in March and April and lasted until the rains during the middle of August. It was especially severe in the corn belt, where the crop was reduced at least one-fourth, but it affected many other crops in sections throughout the country. Its extent may be seen from figures issued by Secretary of Agriculture Hyde, who tries to minimise the consequences of the disaster by saying that there is "no occasion for fear of any serious shortage of food for humans". Such deliberately misleading generalisations, while perhaps true for the country as a whole, do not consider the great numbers of the farm population already on the verge of starvation, and those who will find themselves in this situation during the Fall and Winter. His figures give some idea of the extent of the damage: Taking the average gross production of all crops of the past ten years as a basis, Illinois has lost 86⅓ per cent of its crops, Indiana — 85½ per cent, Wyoming — 84½ per cent, South Dakota — 84 per cent, Tennessee — 84 per cent, North Dakota — 80 per cent, Oklahoma — 78 per cent, Ohio — 78 per cent, Missouri — 77 per cent, Virginia — 70½ per cent, Arkansas — 70 per cent, Kentucky — 67 per cent, Montana — 66 per cent and West Virginia — 65 per cent, with considerable damage in perhaps a dozen other states. (New York Times, August 15, 16.)

To take in somewhat greater detail conditions in one of these states, and by no means one of the worst sufferers: In Kentucky 90 per cent of the corn crop has been destroyed, 80 per cent of the tobacco, 94 per cent of the hay, and practically all vegetables and fruits. The pastures are almost a total loss, and stock feed in many sections of the state is gone. The report of the Red Cross, which also greatly underrates such calamities, states that in various parts of the state, absolutely no pasturage remains, and there is a heavy sale of animals at the lowest prices in years. Cattle which in the spring brought 11—12 cents a pound, after being fed for five months, are being sold at 3—4 cents, and often given away.

There is no water in many sections, and typhoid and dysentery are increasing, and may become epidemic before winter. Unemployment is acute, due to the economic crisis, and there are no chances for these farmers to obtain any work, except for a little roadbuilding for a few of them. Suffering is great now, and the prospects for the Winter are extremely black. (Times, August 12.)

In Poinsett County, Arkansas, the press reports that one-half to one-third of the farmers have not enough money to buy

food, and there is wholesale stealing of food by starving tenant farmers. In Carroll County, Mississippi, 2000 families are already unable to buy food. In Webster County, Louisiana, there is "urgent need of food supplies for 3000", and in Estill County, Kentucky, "many families are at the point of starvation". Over 250 counties in 23 states are officially said to be affected. (Times, August 15.) The Arkansas representative at Hoover's relief conference stated that in his state 100,000 families would need aid to live through the Winter.

In many states pellagra and infantile paralysis are spreading. The worst conditions are not reported, as witness this significant sentence from the Red Cross report, as given in the New York Times, "Typhoid cases are numerous, especially among Negroes, but are generally unreported". (August 12.) This is simply a repetition of the atrocious treatment of the Negroes by the Government and the Red Cross during the Florida tornado and the Mississippi floods of a year and two ago. In the former instance they were brutally refused relief. In the latter they were herded into camps and forced to build levees under the guns of Army officers and overseers.

On August 6, when everybody knew how serious the situation was, President Hoover was still procrastinating: "It is too early to determine the precise character of relief . . ." (N. Y. Times.) Representative Greenwood of Indiana, commenting upon Hoover's attitude, stated, "It is inconceivable that the Federal Government, in its various departments, lacks any information they can furnish. The drought has been of many months duration in one section or another, and the Department of Agriculture must have kept up with its programme". (Times, August 6.) This practically means that the governors' conference Hoover called was a fake publicity stunt, intended to impress upon the country an appearance of action.

At Hoover's relief conference of governors, the representatives of a number of states stressed the need of the farmers for money. Hoover opposed this emphatically, insisting upon the following fake programme to relieve the farmers of what little they might have left:

Each governor would appoint a committee on which there would be a banker, a railroad official, a politician, a Red Cross official, and some "farmers". Similar committees would be formed in the counties, and the county committees would receive applications for relief and recommend treatment—loans, Red Cross assistance, employment, etc. The government would start now, instead of in January, its appropriations for road building and repairs (amounting to about \$ 40,000,000) and the Red Cross stated it would allocate \$ 5,000,000. The railroads said they would reduce rates by 50 per cent. for food and feed to the stricken sections, and animals from there. (Times, August 15.)

At this conference the subject of real relief was religiously avoided. Reduction or omission of taxes, a moratorium on interest on mortgages, free aid by the government in the form of feed, food, water, seed, etc., a check on profiteering, loans without interest, etc.—these measures were of course taboo. Senator Caraway, commenting upon the conference, said that "the farmers sources of credit have been dried up for months. The aid which is to be extended to those who are most in need of it will have to be a direct loan, not merely a loan through the intermediary (farm A.B.) banks and Federal Farm Board, because these have exacted excessive securities in the past and would doubtless do so now". (Times, August 15.) This gentleman speaks as a Democrat to embarrass the Republican administration, but nevertheless what he says is true, little though he says.

It is born out by the Federal Farm Board statement of the "relief" it intends to give. Its plan is as follows: If business men and farmers in the drought area form "responsible corporations (sic) which will guarantee the payment of notes to be given by individual farmers (on loans—A.B.) . . . whereby the Grain Stabilisation Corporation can sell feed grains of any kind at market prices in easy payment of one or two years". (Times, August 8.) This is a very pretty scheme, which enables the Farm Board to kill a number of birds with one stone. In the first place it hands over the farmers still more to the local bankers who are so euphemistically called "business men", and who are completely controlled by the few great Wall Street banks. Secondly it substitutes loans on heavy security for real financial aid. Thirdly, its grain corporation sells corn and other feed at prices which have risen 40 per cent. (for corn) in the past month and a half. Corn for August delivery

is selling at 8 cents, a bushel more than wheat—an unprecedented situation. Times, August 17. At the same time the farmers are paid less than the cost of production for this corn when they sell it.

Profiteering is rampant throughout the country, and the city, state and federal governments are, as usual, making a pretence at combating it. In New York City, for example, food prices have been jacked up by \$3,500,000 to \$7,000,000 a week. (The city's total food bill is estimated at \$30,000,000.) The New York City health commissioner, Wynne, has stated that retail food merchants are making from 300 to 700 per cent. profit. A congressman from New York, La Guardia, figures that the cost of living as a whole in the city has increased 25—35 per cent., as a result of the alleged shortage due to the drought. (Times, August 14.) This after hundreds of tons of, vegetables, etc., have been dumped into the harbour to keep prices up: the Department of Health of the city admits that "In June about 150,000 carloads of the finest quality products, including beans, lettuce, carrots and eggplant were abandoned". (Daily Worker, August 11.) Carrots and beats are retailing at profits of 500—700 per cent., although the wholesale prices are half those of last year, as is the case with fruits and vegetables generally. The fruit and vegetable yield this year increased, 18%. Milk prices have been boosted one cent a quart, an increase of \$1,000,000 to the consumers in New York City. Even meat retail prices have increased greatly, although the effect of the drought has been to swell tremendously the number of animals rushed to the slaughter houses or sold almost for nothing because they could no longer be fed. (Times, August 15.)

The city, state and federal government talk "conspiracy", and Hoover promises to fight the profiteering—by issuing a daily bulletin of wholesale prices, forsooth. This charlatan knows quite well that wholesale prices are lower than they have been for a long time, and are still declining; also how bulletins will affect the profiteers, who are hand in glove with the government. The New York agent of the U.S. Department of Agriculture renders aid and comfort to this "enemy" by stating, "If there were a 100 per cent., or even a 300 or 400 per cent. increase in its (lettuce) cost, it would not be out of proportion." (Daily Worker, August 14.)

The Communist Party urges mass demonstrations by the farmers in the drought area for real relief. It demands that all the Farm Board funds be turned over to the poor farmers for administration; that a tax be levied on tax-exempt bonds held by the rich, on the profits of the large corporations and crop speculators; that insurance and relief funds be organised to make loans without interest and these loans be cancelled in case of crop failure. It urges the farmers to organise Committees of Action and demonstrate militantly for real relief. Through the United Farmers League, the Left wing farmers organisation, it is putting these demands before the poor farmers, tenants and labourers.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Resolution of the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. on the Unprincipled Fraction Struggle and the Restoration of the Unity of the C.P. of Rumania.

1. In the C.P. of Rumania a fraction struggle, void of all principle, has broken out, which has led to the splitting of the Party leadership and later also of a number of Party organisations. At an exceedingly important moment the whole activity of the Party was paralysed. It was only possible, with the aid of the C.I., to set up a provisional Party Committee for the restoration of unity of the Party and work among the masses.

The outbreak of the fraction struggle was not preceded by any differences on political principles in the Party Committee: even members of the C.C. only learned afterwards of the fraction struggle which had broken out. All the attempts undertaken afterwards, by the Luximin group as well as by the Barbu group to fabricate a political platform in order to justify the fraction struggle, which had already been let loose, suffered miserable failure. The unprincipled character of the

fraction struggle is proved by the fact that both fractions accuse each other of the same Right-opportunist and "Left" opportunist mistakes and deviations. A further confirmation is the fact that the Luximin-Rudolf fraction did not even attempt to appeal to the E.C.C.I. in the disputed questions, but transferred the fraction struggle into the legal press and into the non-Party mass organisations. The Luximin group, in a criminal manner, split some organisations, set up parallel committees, sabotaged and is still sabotaging all the measures of the E.C.C.I. aiming at overcoming the fraction struggle. It made use of the legal press in order to spread the dirtiest calumnies against various organisations and individual comrades and did not even shrink from denouncing illegal comrades. The Barbu fraction also sent its agents into the organisations in order to split them. Both fractions strove to confront the C.I. with accomplished facts. In this fraction struggle the committee of the Y.C.L. played a particularly shameful role by placing itself entirely at the disposal of one fraction and openly sabotaging the instructions of the Y.C.I. and of the E.C.C.I.

The unprincipled character of this struggle and the subordination of Party interests to the fraction interests even went so far that the fractions simultaneously sabotaged the preparation of actions in connection with the anniversary of the „National Assembly" in Alba Julia and with the 1st of May; and even such an event as the coup d'état of King Carol could not bring them to unite for the purpose of common action.

2. The C.P. of Rumania achieved some organisational successes after its 4th Congress and after the removal of the bankrupt Right-opportunist leadership. The district organisations and local branches which were lacking all contact with each other, as well as the newly established organisations, were welded together by the Central Committee; the latter was set up Rumania, and the number of Party members increased. These successes, however, do not in the least correspond to the objective possibilities in regard to the growth of the Party and the extension of its mass work offered by the intensification of the political and economic crises, the elementary peasant and workers' movement, which frequently assumed revolutionary forms, as well as by the growing discontent of the toiling masses of the suppressed nationalities. In the most important industrial districts and big factories of old Rumania and Transylvania (Bucharest, Walla-Prachova, Temesvar, Reschitza, Walla-Muresh) the Party organisations, and in particular the factory nuclei, are either completely lacking or in the best case are extremely weak. Further, in the most important agrarian districts, with the exception of Bessarabia, there exist hardly any Party organisations, even where we possess some influence among the agricultural workers and semi-proletarian peasantry (Bichor, Walla-Muresch, Bukovina, Dobruja). Many opportunist elements in the Party (and in the mass organisations connected with the Party) have been removed from leading positions; but this was done without any ideological preparation of the members, without any participation of the working masses, by purely administrative measures (for instance the dissolution of the Temesvar Party organisation). Such methods in no way facilitated the promotion of new fighting cadres from the ranks of the working class, which naturally hampered the organisational-political consolidation of the Party and the development of broad mass work.

As a result of the bureaucratic-sectarian methods of the Central Committee, it was not only isolated from the broad proletarian and peasant masses, but even from the Party membership. The prevailing form of instructions consisted in sending out directives and circulars by the Political Bureau regarding various campaigns without any connection with the vital questions of the working and peasant masses. The consequence of such holding aloof of the Party leadership from real life was not only that the Party did not prepare for the mass struggles, but it was also unable to place itself at the head of the spontaneously arising political and economic struggles (Lupeni, Buchush, peasant unrest in Bessarabia, movement of the war invalids etc).

3. In the struggle for the legal existence of the unitary trade unions the Party succeeded in several cities (Kishinev) in mobilising the working masses. The Party leadership also came forward against the tendencies to liquidate the unitary trade unions, but it did not understand how to mobilise the trade union masses for the struggle against the liquidators.

Owing to the feeble work in the factories and the lack of Communist fractions in the unitary trade unions, as well as owing to the lack of any work in the reformist trade unions, the Party leadership did not carry out the decisions of the IV. R.I.L.U. Congress and of the X. E.C.C.I. Plenum regarding the new trade union tactic and the revolutionary leadership of the economic struggles. A number of opportunist errors were committed by the Party and the unitary trade unions in connection with the strike wave rising throughout the country. Thus, for instance, the Party Committee prevented the workers of the whole mining district from joining the fighting workers of Lupeni, arguing that the Lupenin action had been instigated by provocateurs. In Satu-Marc many Communists and followers of the unitary trade unions refused to take part in the strike of the waggon workshops under the plea that this strike "had been organised by reformists". During the strike of the Astra work in Arad, the Party and trade union organisations left the leadership of the strike to the renegades giving as a reason that the capitalists would only negotiate with the renegades. During the strike at the Lemaitre factory in Bucharest the Party and trade union organisations did not set up any fighting committees and thereby enabled the Right and "Left" social fascists to throttle this strike also. The metal workers of Rechitza, the textile workers of Buchuch requested the Communists and unitary trade unions in vain to take over the leadership of their economic struggles. The powerful strike wave which set in eighteen months ago against rationalisation and wage cuts, was not made use of by the Party leadership for the consolidation of the basis of the Party and of the unitary trade unions in the factories.

4. The Party leadership has not known how to organise work in the rural districts, which is so important for Rumania, so that this year's peasant disturbances, which even in the opinion of bourgeois politicians are reminiscent of the eve of events of 1907 (the year of the Rumanian peasant insurrections) remained without any leadership on the part of the Communists. At the Parliamentary elections in 1928 the Party Committee came forward with an opportunist programme (control of production, abandonment of the slogan of the right of the suppressed nations to separation from Rumania), while various items of the programme, such for instance as the confiscation of the whole land, were bound to repulse from the Party the masses of the middle peasantry and even of the peasants with small land. The underestimation of revolutionary work in the rural districts resulted in the Party only putting up candidates in those places where it could expect an easy election victory, but even there it did not develop any active revolutionary election campaign.

The Party leadership also neglected work among the toiling masses of the suppressed nationalities. Although it succeeded in wresting the Ukrainian national revolutionary organisation of Bukovina from the social democratic party, it has nevertheless not consolidated its influence over the leadership of this organisation and did not support it in any way. The connection of the Party with the national revolutionary peasant organisations of Bessarabia and of Dobruja is likewise very inadequate.

The practical opportunism of the Party leadership also found expression in the fact that work in the army, in spite of repeated decisions of the Party, was entirely neglected. This also applies to the work in the munitions factories and similar works (Reschitza, Brashov, Mediash, Pagarash, etc.) as well as in the transport undertakings and in the naval dockyards (Plochehti, Galatz, Constantza, Braila).

Disregard of work among women, who in a number of industrial branches form the majority of the staffs and are of greatest importance for anti-war work, must also be considered as opportunism.

5. Bureaucratic methods of leadership were applied not only on a general Party scale but also in the local branches. The Bucharest Party Committee attempted to perform its leadership by means of circulars. Instead of Bolshevik self-criticism, the Party leadership attempted to cast the whole responsibility for mistakes of any kind, for abortive actions, for omissions etc. on to the middle and lower organisational links. In spite of the criticism by the C.I. of the opportunist mistakes and failures of the Party leadership, in spite of the demand for Bolshevik self-criticism and for the turn to mass work in the factories, for drawing the Party and trade union masses into the struggle against the opportunist liquidatory

danger, the Polbureau declared with self-satisfaction that "the general line of the Party is correct". In the preparation of the demonstrations the necessary mass work was not carried out in the factories; the directives were issued in the form of commands, with the result that only Communists took part in the demonstrations. The whole Polbureau, (both Comrade Barbu as well as Comrades Rudolf and Luximin, who while not belonging formally to the Polbureau controlled the whole press and the Bucharest organisation) unanimously kept to this organisational-political practice and to this method of leadership. The estrangement from the rank and file members of the unprincipled, opportunist leadership, working with bureaucratic methods, the estrangement of the Party organisations from the working masses and their struggle, their estrangement from the Comintern, all this created a favourable soil for the unprincipled fraction struggle.

6. The restoration of the unity of the Party leadership is still being sabotaged by certain responsible followers of the Luximin fraction. The Polsecretariat calls upon all organisations and all members of the C. P. of Rumania to oppose in all unanimity and with the greatest energy all attempts at a further continuation of the criminal fraction struggle and to work for the restoration and consolidation of the Bolshevik unity of the Party. All organisations and Party members must exert all their forces, under the leadership of the provisional C. C., in order to secure with determination and iron will the unity and fighting capacity of the Party. Any continuation of the fraction struggle, every attempt to keep up the unprincipled fraction groups is a crime against the Party and the Comintern and must involve expulsion from the Party. The Party leadership and the Party must see to it that the irresponsible drawing of the youth organisations into the unprincipled fraction struggle ceases.

7. In order to liquidate quickly and radically the disruptive fractional struggle, the Polbureau of the E. C. C. I. decides:

Comrade Luximin is to be removed from responsible work in the C. P. of Rumania for a period of two years. Comrade Luximin bears direct personal responsibility for the fraction struggle and for the measures adopted towards splitting the Party. In his whole activity there were revealed strong features of an alien, petty-bourgeois ideology (his conception of the role of the intelligentsia in the Labour movement, of the individual herism of various personalities, the ideology of the hunger-strike etc.). Owing to his constant vacillation between extreme Right opportunism and ultra-Left phrases, he developed an opportunist attitude towards the most important questions of Party policy (his attitude to the question of the struggle of the Lupeni workers, his views on the trade union question, which approach very near to those of Müller). Owing to his inability to submit to the discipline of the Party and of the Comintern, he has repeatedly proved his incapacity to perform leading Party work. Comrade Luximin deserves to be expelled from the ranks of the C. P. of Rumania and of the Comintern for his anti-Party actions. But in view of his declaration regarding his complete and unreserved submission to the decisions of the C. I., the Pol-secretariat limits itself to the above formulated punitive measure, declaring at the same time that the least violation of this decision will bring with it immediate expulsion from the Party.

Comrade Barbu must be removed from responsible Party work in the C. P. of Rumania for the period of two years. It was he who prepared the ground for the unprincipled fraction struggle by his whole activity as the leader of the secretariat of the C. C., by his bureaucratic methods of leadership and by his suppression of self-criticism, as well as by his group-mongering tendencies. He opposed the establishment of a collective leadership in order to cloak over his opportunist mistakes. He deliberately sabotaged the carrying out of the most important directives of the Communist International in the trade union question.

Comrade Rudolf is to be severely reprimanded. By following Comrade Luximin and becoming his tool, he actively participated in the development of the unprincipled fraction struggle. He deliberately concealed from the organs of the C. I. the group quarrels existing in the Party, although he had been questioned regarding them. Comrade Rudolf has not up to the present recognised his mistakes and must therefore, and also on account of his lack of political character, be removed from the Party leadership.

The Pol-secretariat cancels the decisions of the C. C.

Plenum, which had been convened by the Barbu group, and declares invalid the resolutions of the fraction meeting, convened by the Luximin-Rudolf group, which wrongfully adopted the name of "Third Party Conference".

8. The C. P. of Rumania is fighting at one of the most important outposts of the Comintern and of the international proletarian revolution. It is fighting in a country which is intended by international imperialism to serve as advance-guard in the coming war against the Soviet Union and is being undermined by a sharp political and economic crisis. King Carol's coup d'état has still more clearly revealed, in spite of the formal maintenance of Parliament, the fascist character of the regime and opened up the immediate perspective of an undisguised military-fascist dictatorship. The growing discontent of workers, peasants, petty bourgeois masses and broadest sections of the toilers of the suppressed nationalities with the dictatorship of the Rumanian and foreign financial capital is expressed in stormy strikes and peasant actions. In addition to the arbitrary and violent methods of the State apparatus, the national Zaranist government is making use of the fascists and social fascists in order to divert the peasant and working masses from the revolutionary path and to suppress them. Although the social fascists in reality support the Maniu government, they, and also the "Left" social fascists (Gellert people), are frequently enough succeeding by means of sham-radical phrases in disorganising and throttling from within the struggles of the workers. The anti-semitic fascist groups and organisations—owing to the passivity of the Communist leadership—are diverting, on behalf of the government, in many districts the indignation of the peasantry into the channels of Jewish pogroms in order to prevent the peasant revolution. But the objective situation will enable the C. P. of Rumania, if it pursues a clear political line and daily carries out revolutionary work, in a relatively short time to make the indignation of the toiling masses into a powerful lever of its conscious revolutionary mass work and to organise the masses for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

The Party must only point out to the working and peasant masses the path of the Rumanian revolution as the only path out of its difficult position, but also elaborate the methods of mobilising the masses, in particular the chief method—the tactic of the united front from below—in a thorough and detailed manner. The mobilisation of the masses, which must take as starting point the daily demands of the toilers, their suppression by the fascist dictatorship, must not be regarded as a mere matter of agitation. It is equally an organisational-political task, a question of the organisational welding together of the working class for the daily revolutionary struggles. The existence of millions of peasants and large toiling masses of the suppressed nationalities as the revolutionary reserves of the proletariat, of the leader of the revolution, imperatively demands that attention be devoted to the work among the peasantry and the toiling masses of the suppressed nationalities for the purpose of establishing a revolutionary alliance of all toiling and suppressed strata against capitalist and semi-feudal exploitation, against national and social oppression, against imperialist war and for a revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union.

10. The overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Rumania, which is being undermined by a severe crisis, is only possible under the leadership of a strong Communist Party, basing itself in the first line upon a revolutionary, organised, large big-industrial proletariat. Therefore, the political and organisational consolidation of the Party, in particular of its mass work, must occupy the centre of its preparation for the Party Congress and of its work in general. Only by an all-round utilisation of the experiences won in the organisational-political work of recent times, by a ruthless laying bare and overcoming of all mistakes and shortcomings, by Bolshevik self-criticism, by a relentless struggle against all deviations—against Right opportunism as the main danger, against the Left sectarian phrases, as well as against all kinds of opportunism in practice—can the Party find the correct approach to the masses, carry out a reorganisation of the Party organisations on the basis of the factory nuclei, and organise in mass organisations the industrial and agricultural workers, by making full use of the legal and semi-legal possibilities, without limiting or distorting the line and the justify of the Party. The question of setting up Bolshevik suffered the Party cadres cannot be solved without a revival work, particularly in the factory nuclei, without

the organisation of firm fractions in non-party organisations, without mass work in the factories, trade unions and other mass organisations. The linking up of illegal work with the maximum utilisation of all possibilities for open and legal work must be undertaken with the perspective of a further intensification of the fascist regime and a still greater illegality of the Party. This requires such methods of organisation as will secure the Party both the most possible close contact with the masses and the strictest secrecy of the leading Party cadres. The question of the greatly neglected Party press and publication activity, in particular the question of the factory papers, is of the greatest importance for the organisational work of the Party.

11. The organisation of broad masses of the industrial and agricultural workers under the leadership of the C. P. is to a great extent a problem of the unitary trade unions, whose development into an organiser of the revolutionary mass struggle must be carefully prepared. The methods of bureaucratic leadership, disregard of the work of the Communist fractions on the part of the leading organs, decision of important trade union questions without the active participation of the masses of members, and in particular the neglect of work in the factories and in regard to the preparation of economic struggles must cease. The opportunist passivity of the leading trade union organs in the preparation, carrying out and politisation of the struggles, which prevents the unitary trade unions from placing themselves at the head of the strike movement and developing into real mass organisations in spite of all persecutions, can only be overcome by the active collaboration of the whole membership and of the sympathising masses of industrial workers and unemployed. Only lively and revolutionary fighting activity in the factories and among the unemployed can strengthen the weakened recruiting and attractive power of the unitary trade unions and enable them to win legal existence in spite of the fascist terror. The work in the independent unitary trade unions must be linked up with systematic work in the reformist trade unions, in particular in such as have influence upon broad proletarian masses.

12. The Party must not restrict itself to the formulation of general tasks, to replying to the question: "What should be done?" The determined turn from the mainly agitational-propagandist activity to the revolutionary organisation of the masses demands from the Party in the first place the reply to the question: "How shall we work?"

The questions of the working methods of the Party organs and organisations under the concrete conditions of the different districts of Rumania must be placed in the foreground. Particular attention is to be devoted to the question of how the Party organisations in old Rumania shall be promoted in order to overcome the inequality in the development of the Party and of the whole revolutionary movement, which is expressed in the lagging behind of the organisations in old Rumania.

All Sections of the C. I. Can and Must Become Real Mass Parties.

By O. Piatnitzky.

(Conclusion.)

In many of these 20 factories the practice of the red factory councils differed in a very essential manner from that of the reformist factory councils and trade union bureaucrats: the latter conducted a furious incitement against the Communists; the red factory councils, the nuclei and the individual Communists on their part, however, did not carry out a systematic, determined and irreconcilable campaign against the reformists and social democrats, although the Communists had very rich material, understandable by the masses, on the treachery of the social democrats, whilst the social democrats could bring only lies and slander against the CPG. The mistakes of the Communists, their passivity and bad work in the factories — their opportunism in practice — was simply made use of by the reformists and social democrats and led to their getting the workers on to their side. The social democrats performed the petty daily work, visible to and understandable by the masses. But not only the social democrats made use of these mistakes of the Communists, but also the open fascists of all shades, who in the struggle against the revolutionary workers enjoy the full support of the social democrats. In many factories where the CPG lost votes at the

factory council elections, the fascists have gained votes. The latter are getting stronger as they are supported also by the terror of the employers and the government; they fight for the factory by issuing factory papers, and founding their own nuclei, by means of which they mislead the less class-conscious workers, using thereby the basest demagoguery and calumny of our Party.

We do not doubt that during the present campaign for the Reichstag elections the C. P. G. will conduct a fierce struggle against the social democrats and the national socialists (fascists); but that is not sufficient. It is necessary that the Communists and the revolutionary workers under the leadership of the C. P. G. conduct a permanent, energetic and many-sided struggle in all organisations, in particular in the factories and in the organisations of the unemployed, not only against the social democrats but also against the fascists.

In Party circles the question is discussed, whether the mistakes committed by the revolutionary trade union opposition and by the Party nuclei, and which have led to the decline of our votes in a number of big factories at the factory council elections in Germany, are of a political or organisational character. Of course it is necessary to study the causes of the mistakes committed in order to rectify them and avoid them in the future. It seems to me that it is wrong to put the question like this. Politics cannot be separated from organisation, and vice versa. In the above-mentioned factories the red factory councils, the nuclei and the individual Communists did not carry out the correct Party policy (it is very significant that the C. P. G. achieved the greatest successes in those factories in which the red factory councils, the nuclei and the individual Communists pursued the non-compromising policy of the Party: class against class), i. e. the mistakes committed bear a political character. Would, however, these mistakes of the red factory councils in the big factories have led to the Communist Party experiencing such a loss of votes, and thereby weakening the positions of the Communists in these factories, if the Party nuclei in these factories had worked well in organisational respect, if the Communists in the red factory councils and the Communists who were functionaries, had conducted them correctly? There are factories in which there already exist red factory councils, but their Communist workers are not united in a nucleus. For this category of factories the question must be formulated in the following manner: would the factory councils have committed such mistakes, if there had been nuclei which worked properly? Of course not! The nuclei would have compelled the Party members, who are members of the red factory council, to adjust their line and to carry out the tactics of the Party, or they would have declared to the workers that the Communists in the factory councils are not carrying out the policy of the Party but a reformist policy, and the authority of the C. P. G. would not have suffered to such an extent, in spite of the grave mistakes of individual Communists. The mistakes of the red factory councils were not committed on the last day before the election but many months ago. Why have these mistakes not been made good in time, or why did the nuclei or the local Party organisations not disavow them? This is chiefly due to the bad organisation system, the organisational form of the Party organisations of the Sections of the C. I. Hitherto the Communists working in the factories were not everywhere united in nuclei, not even all the Communists working in factories where a nucleus already exists. The factory nuclei are mostly working very badly among the working men and women: they do not divide the work among their members, and in most cases the Communists who are members of the factory council or of the functionary body, are not united in fractions and therefore have no leadership at all or a very bad one. Would the factory nuclei work so badly if the district committees or the Party committees, which are connected with them or ought to be connected with them, had devoted greater attention to them instructed them, controlled their work — in short, if they had correctly guided them? Of course not. It is clear therefore that the present organisational practice is inefficient. It must be changed. Of course, it is difficult to perform Communist work among the masses in the factories at a time of increasing rationalisation, of cutting down of production and mass dismissals, when a savage spy system prevails in which the social democratic bureaucrats are participating, at a time of uninterruptedly

growing unemployment, particularly when the old social democratic traditions are maintained, and the structure of the Party organisations is according to the residence and not according to the place of work of the Party members.

But we have proofs that these difficulties can be completely overcome. There exist nuclei, and even in big factories, which work very efficiently, and therefore have the majority of the workers behind them. Otherwise would the C. P. G. have been able at the last factory council elections to mobilise an army of 12,000 Communists and revolutionary workers and employees, who are engaged in more than 1200 large and middle factories, in order to put them up as candidates for the factory councils? (Of these 12,000 candidates only 300 deserted their post, 700 were elected as factory councillors and 4000 as substitute factory councillors.) If the work is organised with understanding, the management and the spies are unable to know all the members of the factory nucleus. But the candidates of the factory councils who were put up in the name of the C. P. G. or of the trade union opposition, are known by the whole counter-revolutionary gang, as their names must be publicly posted up. Our candidates therefore run the risk of losing their jobs, particularly in view of the great unemployment, and further incur the danger of being expelled from the trade union etc. In spite of all these facts the C. P. G. was able to participate in the very important campaign by putting up its lists in more than 1200 factories. Is this not a proof that the existing difficulties can be overcome by a strong will, by sensible and correct leadership? Of course not struggle and in particular no class struggle, can be waged without sacrifices. But the workers of the whole world, and in particular the Communists, have repeatedly proved that they do not shrink from any sacrifices. As long as the Communist Parties do not concentrate their whole Party and trade union work in the factories, they will not be able to wean away really considerable portions of the workers from the influence of the reformist trade union bureaucracy and social democracy, and in some places of the national fascists, i. e. the Communist Parties will be unable to win the majority of the working class.

The social democratic party of Germany hitherto had a residential basis. Only in the last few years has it begun, in the struggle against the Communists, to organise factory nuclei and to issue factory newspapers. In addition, it is very closely connected with the factories by means of the "free" trade unions, which are headed by the leaders of the social democratic party. The reformist "free" trade unions have their functionaries in all factories. These functionaries are elected in the factories by the trade union members. The trade unions put up their lists. At the factory council elections the reformist trade unions, by putting up their lists, appeal to their members among the workers and employees, whose number amounts to six million. If the figures published by the "Vorwärts" are correct, the S. P. G. had 1,032,019 members on 31st March 1930. Let us presume that only 300,000 of these members are working in the factories, then the reformist trade unions have a sufficient number of candidates for factory councils and functionaries at their disposal. The social democratic and reformist trade union press, the trade union apparatus, the apparatus of the sick insurance institutions, which is composed of members of the social democratic party, the functionaries and the factory councils, who likewise for the greater part are social democrats, confuse and deceive the broad masses of workers in the factories, in the trade union meetings, as there they do not encounter the necessary, systematically organised resistance of the Communists, for in the factories there do not exist any factory nuclei, or if they do exist they are working badly. Neither is the work of the Communist fractions and of the trade union opposition in the reformist unions any better.

The social democratic party is manoeuvring cunningly and craftily in the centre and in the province. When it headed the coalition government, it prepared all the financial Bills which impose the whole burdens of the Young Plan (for whose acceptance the social fascists are fully responsible) upon the shoulders of the toilers. Even after the bourgeois parties had become so strong that they could do without the S. P. G. in the government, the S. P. G. continued in practice to collaborate with the government in its attacks upon the standard of living of the masses: in words and in Parliament it came forward against the government, but in actual fact it arranged

for a certain number of its deputies to abstain from voting, in order that the bills, which the social democratic party opposed in words, should not be defeated in the division. Now, when the social democratic party sees that the working masses are beginning to understand this treacherous game (in Saxony the social democrats lost 51,000 votes at the elections to the Diet) and when the Brüning government is not making any concessions to the social democrats, it has cast aside all its former tricks and submitted a motion in Parliament regarding the rejection of all financial enactments which are being carried through by the President of the German Republic on the basis of article 48 of the Constitution. By means of this gesture the social democracy assures itself a platform for the deception of the workers at the approaching elections: look, they will say, we, the social democrats, are defending the interests of the masses.

The active cadres of the social democracy are working in the same way in the factories. As soon as they realise that the workers, in spite of the pressure and the sabotage of the S.P.G., are beginning to fight, the social democrats attempt to place themselves at the head of the movement: they elaborate the appropriate demands, whilst at the same time their colleagues in the central and district committees of the trade unions either directly betray the strike or throttle it by means of an arbitration award, in most cases, the arbiters being themselves social democrats. Only Communist trade union fractions, which are elastic and well functioning, and factory nuclei in the factories, which are closely connected by a permanent leadership and controlled by the district and Party committees, can successfully fight against such cunning politicians who, unfortunately, have still considerable influence over a great portion of the proletariat.

The Party organisations of the sections of the C. I. must unconditionally break with the social democratic traditions in regard to the "division of the spheres of influence" between the Party and the trade unions. The Party, it is alleged, occupies itself with politics, and the trade unions with the economic struggles. The social democrats and the reformists can afford to have such a system, as with the social democratic politicians and reformist trade union bureaucrats there exists complete unanimity in regard to betrayal of the interests of the working class, whereby they are sure of the full support of the State and the whole administrative apparatus of the factories. The case is quite different with the Communist Party. Just as it is harmful to separate politics from organisation, so is it likewise harmful to divide the spheres of influence between the Party organisations on the one hand and the trade union opposition or the Communist trade union fractions on the other hand. The Bolshevik Party organisations will be able to capture the majority of the working class and to become its leader, only when the members of the Party, wherever they are working, no matter in what labour organisations they are active, carry out the policy and the decisions of the Party in accordance with the plans worked out by the Party organisations. To this end it is necessary that all important questions, among them being the trade union questions (leadership of strikes, elaboration of demands for tariff agreements etc.) are discussed by the Party organisations, in order that all Party members, wherever they are working, are able to organise their work on the basis of these decisions, by concretising them in accordance with those circumstances in which they are working. In order better to carry out the Party decisions and to work more successfully, the Party organisations, and in particular the factory nuclei, must divide their work among the Party members in such a manner, that all Party members who are trade union functionaries, trade union members, factory councillors or factory functionaries, unite into Communist fractions, which have to work under the leadership and control of the respective Party organisations (fractions of the factory council, of the revolutionary functionaries' body in the factories, in the factory nuclei etc.).

The analysis of the last factory council elections and the collective agreement campaign in Germany proves that only in this manner can the work be successfully conducted. Many Party organisations of the C.P.G. entrusted the trade union opposition with the preparation for the conclusion of collective agreements in the most important industries (metal industry, textile industry etc.) and the leadership of work of

the red factory councils, thereby not exercising sufficient control of the trade union opposition. We have already stated above how the elections turned out in a number of large undertakings and how the red factory councils worked. The trade union opposition is preparing very badly and with great delay for the new collective agreements. The German, and not only the German, experience clearly shows the necessity of doing away with the social democratic traditions in regard to the division of work between the Party organisations on one side and the trade union opposition and trade union fractions on the other side.

Since the III. World Congress the Comintern has been fighting for the carrying out of Bolshevik organisational principles in the Party structure of the C. I. Sections. Since 1924 the C. I. Sections undoubtedly have successes to record in this sphere. The danger of imperialist wars and attacks upon the Soviet Union, the decline of the tottering capitalist stabilisation on the basis of the world economic crisis, the upsurge of the revolutionary movement — all this urgently demands from all Sections of the C. I. an enlargement of their membership, the firm welding and training of the new Party members, the overcoming of fluctuation of the Party members, the intensification of the struggle against the social democrats, reformists and national socialists (fascists), better preparation of the independent leadership of all actions of the proletariat in spite of and against the reformists. To this end it is necessary to liquidate the social democratic traditions still remaining in the Communist Parties, to strengthen the work in the reformist, Catholic and other reactionary mass trade unions, to strengthen the Red Trade unions and to concentrate Party and trade work in the factories, by means of setting up new factory nuclei as well as by an improvement of the work of the existing factory nuclei.

Fight Against the Right-Wingers in Switzerland.

Communique of the C. C. of the C. P. of Switzerland.

Basle, 8th September 1930.

The second plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Switzerland as elected by the fifth congress of the Party, took place yesterday in Zurich in the presence of the representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and in the presence of a strong delegation of workers from Schaffhausen. The chief point on the agenda was the question of the struggle against the right-wing fractionalists who are particularly strong in Schaffhausen. The members of the Central Committee unanimously supported the policy of the Communist International and expressed complete approval of the measures taken by the Political Bureau and the Political Secretariat of the Party against the right-wingers. The workers from Schaffhausen strongly condemned the anti-party attitude of their former leaders. The speech of these representatives of the Schaffhausen workers showed clearly that the workers of Schaffhausen thoroughly realise the necessity of a merciless struggle against the right-wing fractionalists who have captured the Party newspaper.

After a speech by the representative of the E. C. of the C. I. the members of the Central Committee unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the right-wingers to capitulate on the Party's terms. The Central Committee also expressed approval of the action of the Political Bureau and of the Political Secretariat in dismissing Comrade Wieser who was elected editor of the „Basler Vorwärts“ by the fifth Party Congress and in engaging comrade Krebs and making certain alterations in the staff of the „Kaempfer“.

The session also sent telegrams of greeting to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in connection with the tenth anniversary of the foundation of its central organ „Rude Pravo“, and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary. A resolution of protest was adopted in connection with the executions in Trieste.

V. Congress of the R. I. L. U.**The World Crisis, Economic Struggles and the Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.****Report of Comrade Losovsky.**

(Conclusion.)

VI. Tactical Conclusions.

Comrades, I shall now turn to the tactical conclusions we can draw from the analysis of the international situation, from our assessment of the correlation of forces between the classes and in the working class itself and from an appreciation of the position of our own organisations.

What are the tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement? Its historical mission is to prepare the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and to set up the Dictatorship of the proletariat.

I do not think we need revise the decisions of the Strassburg Conference or the decisions of the Sixth Session of the R. I. L. U. Central Council. We should endorse them and go further.

What are the practical tasks confronting us to-day. The tasks facing the international revolutionary trade union movement can be divided into three groups.

Under the first group we have all the questions relating to the organisation of the mass economic struggle. The second group includes the questions of strengthening and consolidating the revolutionary trade union movement, while under the third group we have the question of coordinating the economic struggle on an international scale. Only if all these problems are correctly solved will the ground be prepared for a counter-attack on the part of the working class. Only if we have a well-knit, strong and united organisation, only if we unite all our forces, and only by linking up good policy with good organisation shall we be able to make our counter-offensive really effective.

What are the concrete questions now on the order of the day? I shall try to formulate these questions as briefly as possible.

1. The Struggle for the Everyday Needs of the Workers. All our organisations must concentrate on catering for the everyday needs of the workers, must take up everything that concerns and agitates the workers, everything that affects the proletarian masses. This is no „neutrality“, not a renunciation of politics, but only the skilful application of a real revolutionary policy to the concrete conditions. Questions of wages, hours, social-insurance, housing conditions, the position of the women workers and the young workers, the position of the emigrants, the questions of colonial labour and the thousand and one questions of labour-conditions in the factories are all matters which in their aggregate affect the everyday lives of the workers and which must be given first attention by our organisations.

We have seen time and again after a strike, won under our leadership how several unions went over to the reformists, we saw this occur in Belgium and in several of the Latin-American countries. It shows us that the workers judged things approximately this way: for a strike they, that is we, are the best people going, but as soon as the strike is over we had better return to the reformists!

Let me say, comrades, at once, this is our fault. We apparently have not yet shown the workers that we are really able always to defend their everyday interests, and that every worker can always find a reply to all the questions interesting him in our organisations.

2. Don't Lag Behind, But Lead the Masses. We must struggle relentlessly from now on against any of our organisations lagging behind the pace at which the labour movement is progressing. This struggle must be developed in such a way as to get the cooperation of all the active forces of our organisations and all the active elements in the working class.

If we are really the foremost section of the international revolutionary trade union movement, we have no other alternative but to lead the movement. If we lag behind, how can

we claim to be the foremost section? We could claim anything but this. Then, it seems clear that we must not drag along painfully behind the masses, but lead the mass movement, ascertain the mood of the workers, give expression to their feelings and to their dissatisfaction by formulating concrete, clear and simple demands, which can be readily understood and easily grasped by every working man and woman. Only if we do this shall we be abreast of events, only in this way shall we be able to really carry out the decisions we have all adopted time and again on giving a lead to the mass economic struggles.

3. The Building of Serious Leading Organs Elected by the Bulk of the Workers. There are comrades who ask: "If we begin to elect any leading organs, then we risk the danger of reformists being elected, and the reformists will betray the strike." True enough the reformists will undermine every strike. But do you think if we create a strike committee artificially, that we shall thereby improve the position of the strike? Not at all. Let the workers elect the strike committees they want. If we are in the minority, it is up to us to warn the workers that the policy of the reformist majority means retreat and defeat, but let this organ be really elected by all the workers, and in the process of the struggle, in the process of the class collisions, as the contradictions become more and more intensified, the workers will support that section of the strike committee which really express their militancy, which really embody all their demands and give a revolutionary lead to the struggle.

4. Most Serious Attention Must Be Given to the Organisation of the Unemployed. It is time we got a move on. We must finish once for all with bureaucratism and every attempt to cover up our inactivity with apologetic statements. Millions of unemployed are now walking the streets. Wherever the unemployed are to be found, there we must concentrate, there must be our organisations and our best forces. It is the millions of unemployed workers who are now bearing the brunt of the economic crisis. We must give expression to their dissatisfaction, we must organise this titanic force, for if we fail to do this, there will be fascist demagogues, who will eagerly make use of this discontent, will utilise the militant energy of the unemployed and use it against us. The organisation of the unemployed must be given first attention by the whole of the revolutionary trade union movement. We must organise the unemployed wherever they are concentrated, taking all steps to prevent the unemployed workers being isolated from those in employment. A firm alliance must be set up between the workers in employment and those out of work. If this is done the unemployed will no longer prove a dangerous factor in the struggle of the workers in employment, and only in this way will the unemployed together with the employed workers struggle for their common interests.

5. We Must Now Give Serious Consideration to the Wage Movements and Collective Agreements. In the revolutionary trade union movement there are two deviations on this question: some say: "It is our business to further our revolutionary propaganda, let the reformists attend to the wage agreements!" Others say: "Since the wages agreement is simply a written statement of the existing correlation of forces, and since we can terminate the wage agreement at a favourable opportunity, we need not pay any attention to it; when the time is ripe we shall strike all the same. Let those who are interested in the subject take up the wages agreements." Both these points of view are absolutely wrong. As a rule the tariff agreements involve hundreds of thousands of workers. The wage movements should always be utilised to unmask the manoeuvres of the reformists in negotiating col-

lective agreements with the employers behind the backs of the workers. All the wage-campaigns, especially in countries like Great Britain and Germany, where extremely large sections of the working class are always involved, should be utilised to put forward our point of view in order to offset the views of the trade union bureaucracy. Accordingly, in those countries where we have revolutionary trade unions organised, we must get our unions to conclude short-term collective agreements, and this should be achieved not by talk, but by organising the masses and a stubborn fight. In those countries where there are no independent organisations, where there is only a minority movement or a trade union opposition organised, we should set up **special wage committees** in the factories, whose work should be coordinated on a district scale and throughout the given industry, these committees to conclude wage agreements with the employers without the sanction of the reformist organisations. When, for example, the centralised unions of Germany or Britain, by means of some underhand manoeuvres, lower the living standards of the workers, we should urge the adoption of **Decentralised Wage Agreements**, to be concluded by the Wage Committees in the given districts, for the given group of enterprises, or for the whole industry. There must be no wage agreements behind the backs of the workers. We must conduct all our agitation, propaganda and organisational work so that all wage agreements concluded, without the knowledge of the workers will not be recognised by the workers, and only in this way will we get into direct touch with those sections of the workers who have not yet been drawn into the movement, that is with all those workers whose interests are affected by the given collective agreement. We must utilise the collective agreements campaign to strengthen our forces, to extend our influence, to build up wage committees, subsequently to coordinate the work of these wage committees, thus countering the reformist unions with our own organisations.

6. The Struggle Against Fascism Penetrating the Enterprises. The fascists have already got a footing in many enterprises, in Austria, Germany and several other countries. They are organising their own groups, their own nuclei, their own strongholds, and they have already started to build up their own trade unions. Many active workers, disillusioned by social-democratic policy are turning to the fascists. There are also workers, revolutionary in outlook, but little class-conscious who looking for some immediate action to be taken, join the fascist movement. Extremely serious attention must be given to this development, and we must systematically and unrelentingly fight fascist demagoguery, all the fascist methods of duping the workers, and come out against all the organisations the fascists are building up in the factories. In those cases where the fascists have managed to line up a section of the workers in their factory organisations, we should try to convince these workers: we must point to the results of fascist policy, and show them where fascism is leading the working class. We must start real organisational work to get all the backward workers to participate directly in the struggle against the employers, to get them to take up their proper place in the fight against the bourgeois State and all its institutions.

7. We Must Link Up the Struggle Against Fascism With Our Drive Against Social-Fascism. In fact, our fight against social-democracy, against the reformist unions and their leadership must be pushed forward more concretely than in the past. It will hardly do to keep on from morning till night branding them as social-fascists and fascists: we must point to concrete examples of the activities of the social-democratic organisations and the reformist trade union bureaucracy to bring home to each worker exactly what the policy of social-fascism means. We should make less use in future of generalisations, and press forward our agitation and propaganda in a more concrete fashion. The best method of struggling against social-fascism is to build up the united front from below with the Workers still under social-fascist influence, to guarantee joint action in the struggle to improve the living standards of the working class. Today, when we see the economic crisis everywhere, when the social-fascists are coming to terms with the employers regarding wage-cuts, and other conditions, today is the time when we must unmask their manoeuvres and break down social-fascist influence among the workers.

A very important place in our future activities must be to expose the "left" gestures of social-democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, and unmask the specific role, the Left Amsterdamers are playing today, concealing and hiding as they are the crimes of the social-fascists.

8. We Must Really Get Down to the Organisation of Workers' Defence Corps and Pickets, for the continued intensification of the struggle will tend to bring the strikers more and more into collision with the fascist and social-fascist thugs. We should line up in the workers' defence corps not only R.I.L.U. adherents but all the workers who can and want to take part in the struggle, who want to defend the strikers, workers' headquarters, workers' homes, who want to fight against the raids of the police and the fascist and social-fascist bands. It is extremely important to get also the social-democratic workers, the Catholic workers and others to join the workers' defence corps, so that these corps will reflect all the views, the moods and the sentiment obtaining among the strikers. The backward sections of the workers must themselves experience and see how the bourgeois State, fascism and social-fascism smash the strike movement in order to lower the living standards of the working class, in order to bind the workers hand and foot and leave them to the tender mercies of the employers. We have already got some experience in the organisation of workers' defence corps, but it is still very inadequate. So far we have done all too little in this sphere.

9. The Best Method of Winning Over the Masses Is the United Front From Below. In order to carry out effectively the concrete tasks I have referred to here, we must skillfully organise the United front from below. We have been talking about the united front for many years now, and we have adopted resolutions on this score one after the other, but it is a fact that in this sphere we continually meet either with a compromise on a question of principle—the right deviation—or we hear a lot of "left" phraseology like the statement that we cannot build up the united front with the social-democratic workers.

The United front is not a single act or statement. It is a method of working, a method of running our activities, a method that we must constantly apply, before strikes, during strikes and after strikes. The united front is a method of drawing the still backward workers into the struggle for the vital demands of the working class, a method to get new sections of the workers to take up their proper place in the class struggle. Therefore it would certainly be a mistake to regard the united front tactics as a casual form of struggle, to be used off-hand as occasion demands.

The united front is no compromise with the reformists on a question of principle, for the organisation of the united front from below presupposes an unrelenting struggle against social-democracy, reformism, the trade union bureaucracy and against all traitors to the working class. One cannot be contrasted with the other. The united front means that we must push forward the struggle against all the right tendencies, against any attempts to compromise with the reformist leaders.

10. The Consolidation of the Independent Revolutionary Unions, of which there is now a very considerable number, **Must become our Most Important Task.** Apart from the USSR, we have independent revolutionary unions in France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, Spain, Latvia, Finland, Estonia, China, Japan, the Philippines, Korea, Singapore, USA., Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, and so on.

In those countries where there are no general trade union centres, we have various individual revolutionary unions organised, the United Mine Workers of Scotland, the various unions in Portugal, several unions in Germany, and so on.

The consolidation and strengthening of the revolutionary unions certainly means that we are consolidating our forces both politically and organisationally, for we are bringing our ideology and our tactics in this way right down among the rank and file. Our unions are still weakly organised, and serious attention should be given in future to the recruiting of new members. In the countries I just enumerated there are millions upon millions of workers unorganised. In the USA. 90 per cent of the workers are unorganised. Take Latin America, where you have many millions of workers absolutely unorganised. Here you have the agricultural workers employed on the coffee, sugar, rubber and other plantations, who have

hardly been touched by our propaganda and agitation. In all these countries the numerical strength of the unions is extremely small, and our organisations are unable to get in touch with the masses and recruit these hundreds of thousands and millions of workers into our organisations. We have all observed the considerable fluctuation, the ebb and flow of the membership in our organisations. We have not yet learned how to keep the workers who come over to us in our organisation.

We must drastically overhaul the whole of our network of branches (locals) on the basis of the factories. We must utterly condemn any sign of defeatism and all those elements who, in face of the difficulties under which the revolutionary unions exist and function, are ready to retreat all along the line and liquidate these unions.

In all the countries I just mentioned we have reformist, Catholic, reactionary and many other kinds of organisations existing side by side with our own revolutionary unions. Our comrades do not pay any attention to the existence of parallel unions, although the importance of working in these organisations cannot be stressed too much. We must organise our own supporters in these organisations, and get the workers en masse to transfer to our trade union. We must do everything we can, in those countries where we have revolutionary trade union centres, to liquidate the other organisations, getting all the members of the reactionary unions to join our revolutionary organisations.

In several of the countries, where you have revolutionary trade unions organised and functioning, you will find all kinds of mutual aid societies, and other associations, with memberships running into millions. In France, for example, the membership of the mutual aid societies is placed at more than five millions, while some comrades claim that there are even seven million workers in these associations. I should like to know whether our RILU supporters who are members of these associations mix with the millions of workers in these mutual aid societies are doing anything at all?

We must really come to grips with the question of reconstructing our revolutionary unions, of verifying the concrete work that the leading and local organs are conducting and engage in practical day-to-day activities among the workers, wherever the masses are to be reached.

11. Strengthening the Illegal Revolutionary Unions. If our forces have proved too weak to keep on the surface, and the bourgeoisie with the social-democracy have managed to outlaw our organisations, this should not be a reason by any means for pessimism, for a general panic, or a reason to suggest liquidation. We must strengthen our illegal organisations, develop their activities and take all steps necessary to ensure their permanent contact with the masses. Of course, you cannot organise hundreds of thousands or millions of workers in illegal organisations. Such are the objective conditions that the membership of the illegal unions is bound to be small, but this does not mean that they cannot be mass organisations. The mass character of an illegal organisation is not measured by the size of its membership, but by the contacts it has with the rank and file in the factories, by the degree of influence and organisation it has in the enterprises and how it leads and guides the workers' struggles. The illegal unions, which must develop their activities, must also give very special attention to the economic struggle, set up strike committees, promote the most active elements among the workers to leading positions in the movement, and utilise every legal and illegal loophole to further their work. In those countries where terror is rampant, you will find all kinds of labour societies. If such are non-existent, then we must form them, and they should include all kinds of societies, from sport clubs to cultural and educational organisations.

12. Serious Activities Must be Developed in the Reactionary Unions. The fundamental idea underlying our revolutionary tactics is to work every where wherever the workers are to be found. In some countries you will find millions of workers still organised in the reactionary unions, take Germany, for example, or Great Britain. We must say that during the last twelve or eighteen months there has been a definite weakening of our work in the reactionary unions. We have lost a number of positions in these organisations in Germany and Great Britain, which was due not only to the persecution

and intimidation of the reformists, who expelled militant workers, but also to our insufficient activity, our inability to hold on tightly to any position we might have gained. Miners' delegates are now being elected in Germany for the miners conference, and it is quite possible that the revolutionary trade union Opposition will not get a single delegate elected. Practically all our positions in the Berlin district metal workers, organisation have been lost. This is a serious danger to our RILU supporters in these countries. There are millions of workers organised in the unions of Germany and Great Britain, and undoubtedly when we lose positions in these unions, wherever it may be, it means a victory for the reformists.

There are comrades who, instead of struggling and working in these organisations, are preoccupied with metaphysics, and say: either you work to build up the revolutionary opposition, or you work in the reactionary unions. We must work both in the reactionary unions and at the building up of the revolutionary opposition. These activities complement each other and form one whole; any division of this work can only lead to the weakening of our positions. We must unhesitatingly condemn the theory which lays it down that you must work among the unorganised because it is very hard to do anything in the unions. This is a poor philosophy indeed, comrades. If there are millions of workers in the reactionary unions, then all our RILU supporters must work among them, and not set activities among the organised workers over against work among the unorganised. They must take all measures with a view to coordinating on efficient lines all our activities among the organised and unorganised workers no matter where they are, for a concentrated struggle against the reformist trade unions bureaucracy and social-fascism.

13. We Must Seriously Organise The Trade Union Opposition in These Countries Where There Are No Independent Revolutionary Unions. Take the National Minority Movement of Great Britain. I said already that the Minority Movement was a top-heavy movement, without any local organs, without a network of branches and without any real footing in the shops. How can you carry out any policy, apart from a policy on paper, if you have no footing in the factories. The trade union opposition in Germany is organised far better and on a more extensive scale than in Britain. It has already entrenched itself in many important positions. There is no doubt it has made excellent progress since the Fourth RILU Congress. But, comrades, more has to be done here than has been done in the past. Quite recently our German comrades adopted the very correct decision to organise Opposition groups in the factories. I would certainly like to ask our German comrades, what they think the functions of these opposition groups in the factories should be? Does it mean an occasional meeting over some important event, or will these groups function regularly as the factory nuclei of the trade union opposition that will gather the workers together to discuss questions that vitally affect the interests of the workers? The only justification for the organisation of trade union Opposition groups in the shops will be if they become local Opposition nuclei, carrying on activities all the time, and if they will not merely confine themselves to outlining policies on paper and passing resolutions but will really get down to the everyday work of examining, discussing, and deciding the questions uppermost in the lives of the workers, and pursue a real revolutionary policy in the trade-union mass movements.

We should remember that it is only in the process of work that we shall be able to increase our support in the factories. There is no other way of extending our influence or recruiting new members to strengthen our organisations. In building up the trade union Opposition it is extremely important to reinforce all our local organisations. We must say that even the Opposition of Germany, which is better organised, is still top-heavy in many respects, having only committees organised in many localities. The Opposition here, as it were, is not yet organised properly from the bottom up. A controversy was once started as to where we should begin, from the top or from the bottom? I think we should begin from both ends, but of course the chief thing is to have a basis, to have the organisation firmly rooted in the factories, the districts and throughout the given industry. After we have put in some serious preparatory work, we should keep track of

and register all our Opposition members and take steps to build up a solid financial foundation by introducing periodical and non-periodical payment of membership dues, etc.

We have comrades who claim that we must first of all build up the trade union opposition and only afterwards will it be possible to lead the strike movement. This is a mistake, comrades. The Opposition must be built up in the process of the struggles, in the heat and stress of the fight, for otherwise the Opposition will never be built up, and will simply remain on paper. It must be said that our German comrades have certainly made considerable headway in this direction. Just look, for example, at the very remarkable strike that took place in Henningsdorf, the Mansfeld strike which lasted eight weeks, and the many other strikes led by the trade union opposition. We should remember that we had to face the reformist organisations, and if the trade union organisation retained its leadership of the movement for many weeks on end, this is certainly a big stride forward. I am of the opinion that the experience of our German comrades should serve as an example for our comrades in Great Britain and the other countries, where there are no independent revolutionary trade unions.

14. We Must Organise The Unorganised Workers, who comprise the bulk of the working class in the capitalist and colonial countries. If we take the labour movement throughout the world, we see that, in relation to the whole international proletariat, the percentage of organised is very small. But in the old capitalist countries we find that the percentage organised in some of the industries is very high. Look at the printers in Germany, Britain and elsewhere, or the workers in some of the other industries, where the percentage organised is as high as 90 per cent., in some industries being even higher. But in general we see that the great mass of the proletariat is for the most part unorganised.

What has been the outstanding development of the last two and a half years? The thing that strikes one is the remarkable activity of the unorganised workers, the militancy shown by the backward strata of the workers, the women workers and the young workers. This increased activity is, of course, not due to any psychological motives, but to those changes that took place in the production process during the last few years. Rationalisation has led to the increased employment of new sections of the working class—the unskilled workers, unorganised for the most part. Thanks to the increasingly large number of these workers employed in industry, the part they are playing in the class struggle has grown also. The revolutionary unions must definitely come out in defence of the interests of these unorganised workers. In the eyes of people like the trade union bureaucrats of the Amsterdam school, an unorganised worker is the same as a scab. But it is up to us to defend the interests of this great mass of unskilled and lowpaid workers with every means in our power. Wherever our revolutionary unions are functioning, we must line up the unorganised in our ranks. In those countries, like Britain or Australia, for example, where there are no revolutionary unions, we must draw the unorganised workers into the reformist unions, it is true, but in order to strengthen and build up the Minority Movement.

In those countries where you have a strong well-knit trade union Opposition, like in Germany, for instance, the slogan: "Join the reformist unions" is obviously no longer applicable. Instead of urging the workers to join the reformist unions, we must appeal to the unorganised workers to "Join the revolutionary trade union Opposition". This question has been solved in a concrete and practical way by our German comrades, who during the last two years have no longer been urging the slogan of "Join the reformist Unions". This move can only meet with our whole hearted support, and we can only endorse the measures adopted by our German comrades.

But if we do not tell the unorganised workers in a country like Germany to "join the reformist unions", we must make a resolute fight against attempts to interpret our point of view as meaning that we are urging the workers to leave the reformist organisations. Nothing of the sort. They must remain in the unions, organise themselves, organise their own groups and organisations on a sound basis in order to put through our policy.

15. We Must Re-Educate The Old Cadres and Train New ones. What is the weak side of the revolutionary unions?

How do you explain the break down of the struggles during the last two-and-a half years? We must say quite candidly, that the question of our cadres is altogether unsatisfactory. How were the contingents of active workers, or rather, how are they built up in the revolutionary trade union movement? In many parts of the world a section of the leading cadres came over from the social democratic movement. In other cases they came from the Anarchists or the Anarcho-Syndicalists. Many of the leading elements have been through a revolutionary school. They really have a serious understanding of the revolutionary tactics of the trade union movement, and are making a real effort to apply them. But we still have all kinds of socialdemocratic and anarchist survivals in our ranks, and it is now high time that we begin to take serious thought of new contingents of active workers for our movement.

You know that in the reformist trade unions the question of cadres of leading workers is solved very simply. Anyone who has not reached the age of 50 can only become a leader if he has managed to betray and disrupt several big strikes, and particularly if he has made a name for himself as a downright traitor to working-class interests. In Czechoslovakia there was an entire group, headed by Hais who was inculcating these traditions in our movement. We had these Hais senior and Hais junior, in fact, a whole dynasty of union officials.

We must draw on the working class for new forces. We must find these forces in the movements that are now developing in every part of the world. It is during the strike that you see the elements with initiative coming to the top, and it is precisely from these elements that we must draw our new cadres of active workers, and draw the young workers into the leading organs.

16. The Conditions for Building up New Unions. During the last two years the reformists have been pushing forward their disruptive policy to the utmost, fighting the revolutionary workers tooth and nail.

The revolutionary workers' movement comes out under the banner of trade union unity. What kind of unity? **On the basis of the Class Struggle!** We stand for unity in the struggle against the employers and the bourgeois State.

In view of the reformist policy of expelling individual workers and disaffiliating entire organisations, with their continual scabbing, we are now faced with the question of setting up new unions where they never existed before. There are two wrong view-points on this matter in the R.I.L.U. and in our organisations. Some comrades, who are alarmed when you even mention the words "New Union", say: "Under no circumstances must there be any new unions". This shows simply how eaten up they are with trade-union legalism, which is simply a recognition that the reformist unions are with us for all time, and that they are better than the revolutionary unions.

But some of us make the mistake of supporting the opposite extreme. There are comrades who think that new organisations are necessary and can be built up everywhere, no matter what the conditions may be. This is absolutely wrong, no matter how you regard it. If reformist policy makes it impossible for the revolutionary wing in the labour movement to work among the masses and if a refusal to organise new unions means a violation of our principles we, of course, will stand for the formation of new unions. We know that unity is not an end in itself, but only a means, to an end: If we can promote working-class interests by splitting the trade unions organisations, we could hardly call ourselves revolutionaries if we failed to do so. Hence, we must definitely condemn any attempt both to organise new unions wholesale, irrespective of the conditions, as well as to deny wholesale the necessity of building up new unions if warranted by the objective conditions.

Now what should the conditions be to justify the organisation of new unions in those countries where such do not exist so far? If the reformists make it impossible for the revolutionary wing of the labour movement to continue their activities among the masses, if the reformists continue to expel entire groups of revolutionary workers and thus try to isolate them from the masses, and if the bulk of the workers in the given industry or the given union are for the organisation of a new union, and want to have no further business with the reformist trade union machine, then we must start the organisation of a new union. The danger here lies in the fact that

unless we are very careful, we may end up by having isolated the more class-conscious section of the workers from the masses, that is, end up by lining up in the union only the class conscious workers, leaving the rest of the workers under reformist guidance and leadership. This contingency should always be borne in mind. The question of establishing a new union must therefore be carefully weighed up in each separate case. We must reckon with the objective conditions, gauge the correlation of forces and estimate the strength of the enemy and our own forces. We should remember that the activity of the masses will be increased, and the workers drawn into the new organisation, only if there is a serious movement on foot and the workers at large are seriously roused.

17. Activities in the Factories. I have already said that our network of local organisations was extremely weak, that the activities of the factory committees where they exist were weak, this applying also to our union sections, trade union groups, factory delegates, and so on. The whole of the apparatus in the localities is, as I have said, functioning very weakly. We have trade unions whose roots are still not in the workshops. In order to strengthen our organisations, and to get a real footing among the masses, we must first and foremost push forward our work in the factories. Here you will find both organised and unorganised workers. We shall be able to cope with reaction only if we entrench ourselves firmly in each enterprise. In its programme of action, the First R.I.L.U. Congress stated—and you will find this also in the Programme of actions adopted by the Third Congress of the Communist International—"we must transform every mill and every factory into a stronghold of the revolution."

Work in the factories means that we have to organise factory Committees wherever they have not been organised so far, to arrange for the election of shop delegates, to make preparations for struggles and to make a careful choice of our cadres. If we are working in an enterprise, we should have a pretty good idea before the strike of where we can find the most militant, active, and class-conscious elements that could head the movement. All this should be prepared well beforehand, and we should know what we are about.

18. Coordinating Strike Movements on an International Scale and International Solidarity. The class struggle to-day is spreading beyond national boundaries. Vast employers' international trusts and cartels, amalgamations and agreements between the capitalists of one and the same industry, raise for us the question of coordinating strikes on an international scale and organising international working-class solidarity. We must say quite frankly that things are lagging far behind with us, so far as concerns the coordination of the strikes that break out in different parts of the world. Unlike Amsterdam, we can of course point to some accomplishments in this direction, but that is little consolation. Of course, we all claim to be internationalists, but I should like to see the internationalism we speak about in our resolutions really put into practice, to see the workers in particular industries helping their fellow workers abroad in some tangible fashion when they come out on strike. There are 150,000 workers out on strike at this moment in France. Has the German Opposition collected considerable funds as a sign of their solidarity to help these men? What have our British comrades done? Or take a different case, what did our comrades in France and other countries do when the workers came out in Mansfeld, Germany? They did not do very much. Can we allow things to go on this way? Can we look on quietly when serious strikes break out in France, Germany and elsewhere, and the workers in the neighbouring countries merely express their solidarity in a number of resolutions? Can we look on and do nothing? From now on there must be a definite change in this sphere. Some comrades say: "We should have commenced collections, had we been notified by the R.I.L.U." Is it possible, comrades, that you yourselves cannot realise that we can only really express our solidarity by taking some concrete action? Must you wait until notified by the R.I.L.U. that you should support such and such a strike?

As regards coordinating the struggles on an international scale, coordinating the movements in the various countries, we would stress the importance of organising special Industrial Committees in neighbouring countries, as well as special

brotherhoods, Frontier Committees, joint demonstrations, and so on. Something already has been done in this field, but nevertheless much more will have to be done, if we are going to put international working class solidarity, which is the corner stone of the Red International of Labour Unions, really into practice.

19. International Industrial Federations. Especially important in the work of coordinating the struggles throughout the world are the International Committees for Propaganda and Action, which embrace the workers in the various industries. Now, how do things stand with these committees? I must say quite openly that the present situation still leaves much to be desired. Apart from a few of the committees who are really carrying on effective international work—I refer here to the metal workers, the transport workers, miners and chemical workers—the rest are doing very little in this direction. Who is to blame? Well, I must say that we are all to blame—both the R.I.L.U. and the R.I.L.U. Sections. The impression has gained ground in some countries that the I.C.P.A. is a sort of fifth wheel to our coach, which could be dispensed with. And so not serious contact is maintained, no effort is made to set up connections, while nothing real is being done to unite all the metal workers, all the miners, and so on. But it is a fact that the question of the I.C.P.A. is becoming more and more important with the intensification of class contradictions. And as time continues the role of the I.C.P.A.'s will become still more important. To embrace the workers in the various industries so that the I.C.P.A.'s shall really represent not only the workers in the respective industries in Europe alone, but also in the East, Latin America, and so on, is now extremely vital. Unless we solidly unite all the workers in the metal industry, in the mining and transport trades, etc., we shall be unable to set up that essential number of strongholds and contacts necessary to lead great mass movements involving millions upon millions of worker, movements that have their repercussion over the whole world. We must really start the reorganisation of the I.C.P.A. The Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress adopted a decision to transform the I.C.P.A.'s into international centres of leadership. The Sixth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council went even further in this connection. It is high time that activities were pushed forward. The conditions are ripe. Every effort must be made in the R.I.L.U. and in all its affiliated organisations, in all the countries, to create the conditions that would warrant the transformation of each I.C.P.A. into a real militant Industrial International. (Applause).

20. Concrete Steps Must Be Taken to Aid the Struggle of the Colonial Peoples. A wave of intensified class struggles is sweeping over the colonial countries today. At the opening Session of this Congress we adopted a message of greetings to the workers of India, and to the workers and Red Army of China. But we must give real help to the workers in the colonial countries, assist their struggle against imperialism in some concrete and tangible way (continued applause). I want to know have the workers of the U.S.A., Britain, Japan and France done everything. Little enough has been done. I want to know, have our French organisations done everything in their power to support the workers of Indo-China? Little was done, very little, to say the least. And were I to enumerate all the colonies one after the other, and what had the R.I.L.U. Sections in the ruling countries done, there would not be a very big balance to the good. Can we condone the present inaction? In no circumstances. The workers in the ruling countries, who do not realise how important is the colonial struggle for their own emancipation do not realise their own interests. The R.I.L.U. Sections must bring home to the masses how closely connected is the struggle being waged by the workers and peasants in the colonies with the movement for emancipation of the working class in the chief capitalist countries. The immediate future will see a further intensification of the revolutionary struggles in the colonies. The revolutionary wave is rising in China. The revolution is beginning in India. The working class in every part of the world must therefore render real and serious support to these hundreds of millions of people who are struggling against world imperialism. The most important task of the whole international revolutionary trade union movement today is to support the struggle for emancipation of the colonies. The slogan of independence for

the colonies must now be one of the chief watchwords of the Red International of Labour unions and its Sections (Applause). But to help this movement in practice we must now establish closer contact between the workers in the colonies and the ruling country. The workers of India regard every Englishman as an imperialist. We must show them that the supporters of the R.I.L.U. are the enemies of imperialism! (Applause).

You, the workers in the ruling countries, must vindicate the honour of the working class of your country, by struggling against imperialism and for the independence of the colonies.

21. Against imperialist Wars! Defend the U.S.S.R.! The general analysis of the present situation shows quite clearly comrades, that the new war danger is looming up large on the horizon. The clash of interests between the capitalist States is becoming sharper and sharper. The capitalist world is making a tremendous effort today to strangle the U.S.S.R. The new war is steadily drawing nearer and nearer. Now, what have we done to struggle against the war menace? Very little, all too little. I recall when we, the Delegation of the Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions, went to attend the International Peace Congress in the Hague in 1922, a Congress that was convened by the Amsterdam International, how Lenin gave us the following instructions, and literally said that we must fight against the general impression that to struggle against war was not a very difficult thing in itself. Many comrades believe that a few resolutions will do the trick. Well, it won't. When the war draws near, then we shall begin to see the reformist inner man of many of the present "left-wing" leaders of the trade union organisations. But when the war begins, it will be too late to make up for the ground lost in the meantime in fighting against war.

We must struggle now and all the time against the new war menace, explaining to the masses its class meaning. The fight against the new war danger must be continued every day and each day, so to guarantee that when the war begins the masses will be ready to fight against it. Let me give you an example. A year ago there was a danger of war between Bolivia and Paraguay. At the suggestion of Paraguay unions, the Latin American Confederation of Labour convened a special Anti-War Conference. It was duly held, and a resolution was drawn up. I should like to know what our Paraguay comrades did to carry out this resolution? What did our comrades in Bolivia do to fulfil its provisions? We don't know of any case when a war was prevented by means of an anti-war conference alone. Such a conference will only prove effective if it leads to concrete action to a fulfilment of its decisions, and if all the energy of the struggle is directed towards carrying out these decisions. Otherwise, when the war begins, you will be caught unawares and overwhelmed by the fast development of military operations.

The International working class movement must also struggle to defend Soviet Russia, the land of the proletarian dictatorship, against the imperialist attack. The working class in every part of the world are now giving central attention to the defence of our Socialist construction. And it depends on the way we carry on our activities every day, on the way we organise the masses, on our work among the workers at large, whether or not the imperialists will be able to realise their designs. You are a section of the revolutionary force that is struggling against World Reaction. In the USSR, the international revolutionary workers' movement has a territorial base, and it is the defence of this base, the defence of our socialist construction that is the chief and foremost duty of the working class throughout the world (Applause). By defending Soviet Russia, the working class throughout the world is defending itself! (Applause.)

Comrades, I have outlined 21 conditions necessary for the organisation of a counter-attack against the bourgeoisie. Let us try and fulfil these conditions, which outline in concrete terms the concentrated experience gained by the world labour movement. Let us apply in practice that which has grown up, and is growing up to meet the needs of our struggle, and you will see how much stronger we shall be when we come to the next Congress, and how much the influence of the R.I.L.U. and its sections will have grown during the next few years.

VII. Conclusion.

At this Congress we are summing up the results, not only of the work of the last two and a half years, but of the work carried out by the R.I.L.U. ever since it was founded ten years ago.

The Red International of Labour Unions was first formed as an agitational and propaganda centre. At that time it had no sections whatever in the overwhelming majority of the countries. Today we represent a big and real world power. The stronger we become, the more right have the workers to make demands of us. The greater our influence grows, the greater is the responsibility of the R.I.L.U. and its various sections. Only if we draw the correct conclusions in practice from the resolutions adopted here, only if we combine our political line with good organisation, and only if we get a footing right down among the masses, only then shall we be in a position to carry out the task that history has imposed upon us.

All the R.I.L.U. Congresses, from the First Congress to the present gathering, have had as their watchword: "To the workshop, to the factory, to the masses!" We have struggled for ten years under this slogan; it is under this slogan that Communism will triumph throughout the world! (Loud and continued applause, delegates rise and give comrade Losovsky an enthusiastic ovation.)

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Final Betrayal of the French Textile Workers Strike.

By P. F. (Paris).

In order rightly to understand the present strike situation in North France it is necessary to bear in mind that the reformist leaders pursued a twofold aim. They wanted to liquidate the strike as quickly as possible, and for this purpose to find a solution which permitted them to betray the workers without being compelled to call upon them to return to work, just as in Lille, where the strike was broken off on a vague promise of the employers. Their action in Lille, however, in spite of the caution employed, had unfavourable effects on them, so that they could not simply repeat this manoeuvre. That is the explanation of the present events and the completion of the betrayal which is being prepared together with Laval and in the interest of the employers.

Laval and a number of other textile employers have come forward with a new proposal which has undoubtedly been worked out together with the reformists. According to this proposal there shall be no wage increase and only a slight increase of the so-called "loyalty premium", against which the workers have fought so bitterly. In order to support the proposal the rumor was spread that the 10,000 workers of the combining departments had put it forward. Here the reformists stepped in, took up the proposal and presented it as extremely favourable and a moral victory for the workers. As the proposal had been put forward by a group of employers, the reformists even dared to talk of a breach in the front of the employers as the result of the strike.

The fact, however, is that the proposal is favourable to everybody, to the employers, to the government and to the reformists, except the workers. In order to throttle the strike the reformists have caused the proposal to be adopted by the trade union officials although it includes none of the demands of the workers. It means a demagogic betrayal of the strikers. How the strikers will take this piece of treachery is not yet clear. In any case the workers have realised the necessity of a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and against the reformist leaders who are the most loyal supporters of the bourgeoisie. The task of the French Communist Party will be to strengthen itself organisationally as the result of this great wage movement and to work in the factories to see that the lessons of the present defeat are utilised to lead the proletariat to the future victory over the bourgeoisie and the reformist leaders.