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MAY DAY SPECIAL NUMBER

Two May Day Articles of Lenin.

The following articles by Lenin are written at two different epochs. The first was published in 1895 in the year when the first Social Democratic organisation was founded on Russian territory in the year when the mass movement among the workers first arose. The second was written in 1920 on the 3rd anniversary of

the existence of the Soviet Power. The comparison of these articles will show better than anything else the difference in the character of the May celebrations under capitalism and under the proletarian dictatorship. Editor.

I.

It is time for the Russian Workers to break the Chains of their Slavery.

(On the 1. May 1895.)

Comrades, let us consider our situation carefully; let us contemplate the conditions under which we lead our lives. What do we see? We work hard, we produce countless riches, gold and tissues, brocade and velvet; we haul iron and coal from the depths of the earth; we construct machinery. All the riches of the world are created by our hands, are produced by our sweat and our blood. What compensation do we get for our forced labour? If we had our deserts, we ought to live in good houses, wear good clothes and at any rate not want for our daily bread. Nevertheless we all know that our wages hardly suffice to provide us with a bare existence. Our masters reduce the rate of wages and force us to work overtime, they impose unfair fines on us, briefly, they oppress us in every possible way and if we are dissatisfied, they turn us out without more ado.

We have often convinced ourselves that all to whom we apply for protection prove to be henchmen and friends of the masters. We workers are kept in the dark; we are given no education lest we should want to fight for the improvement of our condition. We are kept in bonds, we are chased out of our work, we are forbidden to fight; anyone who resists the oppression is deported and arrested. Darkness and bondage are the means by which the capitalists and the Government which does everything for their advantage hold us captive.

What means have we for improving our position, for raising our wages, for reducing our hours of work, for enabling us to read instructive books and for protecting ourselves from insult? Everyone's hand is against us; that of the masters, who live all the better the worse off we are, and that of their lackeys, of all those who live on the crumbs which fall from the capitalists' table, and who keep us in ignorance and bondage for their advantage. We cannot look for help from any quarter, we can only depend on helping ourselves. Unity is our strength; our weapon is firm, unanimous and unrelenting resistance to the masters. They themselves have known for a long time in what our force consists and use all efforts to keep us disunited and to prevent us realising that the interests of us workers are common interests. They reduce the rates of wages, not all at once but one at a time; they introduce foremen and payment by piece-work, even reducing the rates of wages arbitrarily, laughing in their sleeve when they see that we wear ourselves out at our work.

Every dog however has his day, patience wears out in the end. During the past year, the Russian workers have shown their masters that the submission of the slaves has been replaced by the steadfast courage of those who do not yield to the insolence and shamelessness of the capitalists who hanker after unpaid work. Strikes have broken out in a number of towns; in Jaroslav,

Tejkov, Ivanovo-Vosnessjensk, Bielostok, Vilna, Minsk, Kiev, Moscow and other towns. The majority of the strikes ended with the victory of the workers but even in those which failed, the failure was only apparent. As a matter of fact, the strikes thoroughly frighten the masters, cause them great losses and compel them to make concessions for fear of fresh strikes.

Even the factory inspectors are beginning to get busy and to discover beams in the eyes of the factory owners. They are usually blind until the workers open their eyes by striking. How, indeed, can we expect the factory inspectors to notice mismanagement in the factories of such influential people as Mr. Thornton or the shareholders of the Putilov Works? We have given the gentlemen plenty to do, here in St. Petersburg. The strike of the weavers at Thornton's, of the women cigarette makers, at Laferme's, of the spinners at Lebedev's, at the factory for the mechanical production of shoes, the movement of the workers at König's, Voronin's and at the docks have shown that we have ceased to be callous sufferers and that we have thrown ourselves into the battle.

As is well known, workers from many factories and works have formed a fighting union for the liberation of the working class and with the object of disclosing all abuses, of doing away with mismanagement, of fighting against the insolent tyranny and oppression of our unscrupulous exploiters and attaining complete liberation from their rule. The union distributes pamphlets, the very sight of which freezes the blood of the masters and their lackeys. It is not the pamphlets which they dread but the possibility of our united resistance, the demonstration of our tremendous force, which we have shown them more than once.

We workers of St. Petersburg and members of the union call upon all our comrades to join our union and to promote the great work of the union of the workers in a fight for their own interests. It is time for us Russian workers also to burst the chains with which the capitalists and the Government have bound us so as to keep us in subjugation; the moment has come for us to join our brothers, the workers in other States, in the fight, for us to march under a common banner on which is written: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

II.

Labour Saturday on May 1st.

(From the First Labour Saturday on the Moscow Kasan Railway to the All Russian Labour Saturday of the May Celebration.)

We have covered the above-mentioned path in the course of a year. The distance covered is indeed great. Whatever weak points our Labour Saturdays may still show, whatever defects in performance, in organisation and discipline may become evident each Saturday, the main thing is yet accomplished. The heavy machinery has been put in motion and that is the kernel of the whole thing. We are not for a moment blind to the fact of how little has been done so far and how infinitely much still remains to be done. Only the most malevolent enemies of the workers, the most evil-intentioned partisans of the bourgeoisie, however, are capable of looking down with contempt on Labour Saturday on the 1st of May; only the most despicable persons who have sold themselves irrevocably to capitalism are capable of condemning the use of this lofty celebration as a mass attempt to introduce communist work.

Only now, after the overthrow of the Czar, the landowners and the capitalists, is the field for the first time clear for the real construction of Socialism, for the working out of a new social unity, a new discipline of general labour, a new world historical order of the whole national economy and later of international economy. It is a case of reforming customs themselves which have been polluted and spoiled by the abominable private ownership of the means of production as well as by that atmosphere of nagging and distrust, of hostility and disunion, of working against one another which cannot but develop over and over again from small undertakings working independently, from the undertakings of private owners with uncontrolled freedom of exchange.

For centuries, free trade and free exchange were the supreme law of economic wisdom for millions of people, a firmly

In France, England, Germany and other countries, in which the workers have already united in strong unions and have conquered many rights for themselves, they are inaugurating a general day of celebration for Labour on April 19th (in other countries this is May 1st).

They forsake the stuffy factories, march with music and banners in serried ranks through the main streets of the town, thus showing the masters their ever increasing strength; they gather in numerous, well attended meetings, in which speeches are held and the victories won over the masters in the past year are enumerated whilst plans of campaign for the future are drawn up.

Fear of a strike prevents any single employer from imposing fines on the workers who do not turn up at their work on that day. On that day the workers remind the masters of their chief demand: the limitation of the working day to 8 hours — 8 hours work, 8 hours sleep and 8 hours recreation. This is what the workers of other States are now proclaiming. There was a time, and that not so long ago, when they also, like ourselves at present, had no right to proclaim their needs, when they were oppressed by want and disunion just as we are to-day; but by obstinate fighting and through great sacrifices they have gained the right to discuss in common the cause of the workers.

Let us wish for our brothers in other countries, that their fight may very soon result in the desired victory; that the time may soon come when there are neither masters nor slaves, neither capitalists nor workers, when all will work equally and all will enjoy life reasonably and on equal terms.

Comrades, if we act unitedly and harmoniously, the time is not far distant when we also, in firmly welded ranks, shall be able, without distinction of race or creed, openly to join this common fight of all the workers of all countries against all the capitalists in the whole world.

Our muscular arm will be raised and the shameful chains of slavery will fall; the working people of our Russian country will rise and the capitalists and all other enemies of the working class will be filled with terror.

established custom for hundreds and hundreds of millions. This freedom however is just as much a fraud, serves equally well as cover for capitalist deception, force and exploitation, as the other forms of freedom which the bourgeoisie proclaims and carries through, as for instance the freedom of labour (i. e. the freedom to die of starvation) and so on. All these forms of freedom are the creations of property owners. We have done away with this freedom of capital to exploit labour, we are abolishing it irrevocably and mercilessly. Down with the old social bonds, with the old economic relations; down with the old freedom of labour subjected to capital, with the old laws, the old customs! Let us construct a new society! Our defeats in the lofty revolutionary fight against Czarism, against the bourgeoisie, against the almighty imperialist Powers of the world have not intimidated us. Neither do the enormous difficulties and the mistakes intimidate us, which are inevitable at the beginning of this most difficult of all tasks; for the reformation of all the habits and customs of labour is a piece of work which requires decades. And we pledge ourselves truly and solemnly to be ready for any sacrifice, to be steadfast in this infinitely difficult fight, the fight against the power of custom, to work indefatigably for years, nay even for decades.

We will endeavour to abolish the abominable rule "Everyone for himself, God for all", to put an end to the custom which regards work merely as a duty and only approves of that work which is paid according to definite rates of wages. We will exert every effort to impress the rule "Each for all and all for each", the rule "From each according to this ability and to each according to his need" on the consciousness of the everyday life of the masses, in order to introduce, gradually but

persistently, communist discipline into communist work. We have set in motion a mountain of unprecedented size, a rock of moral immovability, of ignorance and obstinate defence of the custom of free trade, of free purchase and sale of labour and man-power as though they were ordinary commodities. We have begun to shake and destroy the most deeply rooted prejudices, the most inveterate customs. Our Labour Saturdays have made enormous progress in the course of a year. They are indeed still weak, very weak, but this does not terrify us.

We have seen how the infinitely weak Soviet Power has grown strong before our eyes through our efforts and has begun to transform itself into a force of unlimited vigour which will encircle the whole world. Let us devote years, even decades, to introducing the Saturdays, to developing, spreading them and improving them and popularising them among the masses. In this way we shall gain the victory for communist work. ("The Communist International", vol. II, No. 10, 1920, p. 1747).

The Festive Day of Work and Struggle.

By A. Lozovsky.

Year after year passes, but the struggle for power between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie continues with undiminished force. The character, methods and intensity of the social fight are not everywhere the same. There is however not a single corner on the whole globe where the question of the power of labour does not arise in its full significance — especially on the first of May. The power of labour is not a dream for the distant future, but an actually existing fact which has found its territorial and national expression in the Soviet Union since October 1917. Since that date, the old festival of May 1st. has gained new significance; socialism has come down to earth out of the misty distance, down from the cloudy heights; the day of celebration of fighting and work has become a festival not only of victories anticipated in the future but also of those already won.

The October revolution has shown that the proletariat can carry off the victory, but this has not only increased the force of attack of the proletarian masses and their striving for power tenfold, it has also multiplied a hundredfold the power of resistance of the ruling classes who now know by experience what they have to expect from the revolution. In this way social differences have increased to the utmost. All the main and auxiliary forces of bourgeois society are advancing in a common front against communism in its growing vigour. Every day, every year, brings new evidence of the concentration of revolutionary and reactionary energy at the two extreme poles of present-day society. However complicated the reciprocal social relations may be, whatever may be the social structure of the State and the degree of its capitalist and constitutional development, an embittered fight for and against the October revolution, for and against Communism is always and everywhere proceeding.

The working class — of course in the historical sense — has entered into a direct fight for power. This does not mean that we are everywhere on the eve of a social revolution, but it does mean that there is no other issue from the present crisis of capitalism than that of establishing the dictatorship

of the proletariat. Decades will elapse between the beginning of the fight of the proletariat for power and its first victory (October 1917) and the victory of the proletariat in all or in the most important countries but, as the experience of the last eight years has shown, all these decades will be filled with gigantic social fights with varying results.

A critical period in the history of mankind began in the year 1917, and the year 1926 is only a milestone on the road of sinking capitalism which is convulsively fighting for its existence. This is the point of view from which the course of present events and our international proletarian festival of work and struggle must be treated.

The working class has already covered a long stretch of road; the two great forces, the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. have come into being. The union of the workers of all shades in a fight against the bourgeoisie, the struggle of the working class out of the depth towards a united front and unity, is approaching completion; millions and millions of proletarians and semi-proletarians from the colonial and semi-colonial countries are drawn into the fight, the path is cleared for the creation of a united class-fighting trade union International, many millions have been set in motion; is it possible for all this to be arrested? Can historical events be wiped out? Is it by any means possible to dam back within its old shores the movement of the oppressed classes and peoples which, vast as the sea, is flooding the land? No! Many representatives of the bourgeoisie understand better than do the so-called socialists the stage which capitalist society is passing through; this accounts for the growth of reaction and the extraordinary exertion of forces in the fight against the growing revolution.

The working class is faced by a fight of great difficulty and long duration. The bourgeoisie will still inflict many defeats on it; but whatever incidents the battle may bring, whatever defeats may be suffered on the separate sections of the social front, whatever the subjugated working masses may have to suffer, capitalism is doomed to decline, and the young, all-victorious Communism will take its place.

The First of May and the Soviet Union.

By B. Smeral.

Since 1918 the central question of the international policy of the proletarians in all countries has been the question of their relation to Soviet Russia. What an effect would the heroism of the Russian workers at the time of the October revolution, at the time of the civil war and of the war communism inevitably have had on the workers of the capitalist countries immediately after the great war, if the news they received from Russia at that time had corresponded with the truth! The bourgeoisie undoubtedly knew this only too well; this is why in the years after the imperialist war, they spared no pains, intervention having failed, to cut off Soviet Russia from the proletarian world by the blockade. This is why they distorted the causes of the difficult days of suffering, hunger, cold, disease and fighting with which the Russian comrades had to contend, in order to break the faith of the masses of workers in the social revolution in the rest of the world, in order to instil the poison of scepticism with regard to the Soviet State into the political consciousness of the

proletariat and thus to stifle its energy in the fight for its own liberation.

The leaders of the Social Democratic parties not only supported this universal campaign of lies against the Soviet Union, they even took an active and direct part in the organisation of the military intervention of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois governments. It cannot be denied that for a certain time this deliberate deception on the part of the bourgeoisie succeeded to some extent. In 1921 in particular it seriously affected the pace of progress of revolutionary development in Western Europe.

To-day however this fraud, this tissue of lies and deception is beginning to vanish. To-day even the social democratic workers realise how they allowed themselves to be misguided by the cunning intrigues of the counter-revolution. Not until now, so long after the events, are the broad masses of the non-communist workers gradually learning the truth with regard to the days of the October revolution, the years of civil war and war communism.

This knowledge cannot fail to have its effect on the workers. The heroism shown by the proletarians of the Soviet Union in their fights, will fan the heroism of the working masses in the countries in which up to now capitalism has prevailed, will inspire them with enthusiasm for the October revolutionary fights which are still before them. The knowledge is spreading further and further among the workers that the only path to active socialist reconstruction is that via October, i. e. via a real revolutionary fight with the bourgeoisie, and that in this fight which the bourgeois class is carrying on with the courage of despair and with unexampled cruelty, the victory of the proletariat is impossible without a cast-iron Bolshevik party.

That which is now going on in the Soviet Union, the second great stage of the proletarian revolution, the stage of the building up of socialism is of no less importance for the development of the social world revolution, than the stage of the fight for the conquest and consolidation of political power, especially through its effect on the broad masses of the workers. What are all the "positive" achievements which the Reformists have accomplished within the scope of capitalism and of which they are so proud, compared to the magnificent results obtained by the working class under the protection of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, in the realm of nationalised industry, of the co-operative system, of our splendid trade union organisation! The present period of systematic and well thought-out building up of socialism in the Soviet Union fills the workers of the industrial countries of Western Europe and America with confidence in the positive creative activities of the proletarian dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie is still trying, as it always has done, to turn to account the difficulties by which, for the time being, the proletarian Government of the Soviet Union is faced in the construction of socialism, in order once more to spread among the workers of their countries a disbelief in the living power of the socialist principle. This time however, the manoeuvre of lies is taking much less effect than in the period of war communism. On the contrary, the more frequently the workers in the capitalist States are informed of the difficulties of socialist construction, the greater is the confidence they gain in the socialist plans and also in the pioneers who are carrying them out. Even in the general consciousness of non-communist workers, the social revolution, the construction of socialism is ceasing to be just a subject of dreams, a mere ideal. It is becoming a living, human reality, burdened with human difficulties but just for this reason it is an actual, near, possible, tangible reality, summoning them to fight.

In the first period of the existence of the Soviet Union, it was the essential task of the Communist parties in the various countries first of all to rouse the sympathy of the broad masses of workers and their brotherly solidarity with the Soviet Union as the first proletarian State. It is no coincidence if in the second period, a change has, so to speak, been made in the sequence of the propaganda for the socialist idea. In many countries, large numbers of workers who have not yet become Communists, are joining the united front with the communist fight against the bourgeoisie about the Soviet Union. The workers' delegations, the Left wing in the Amsterdam trade unions, the Anglo-Russian Committee, all bear witness to the fact that the Soviet Union is exercising an influence not only through the example of its sacrifices and fights but also by the systematic construction of the socialist system in its industry. During the period of the blockade, the civil war, the famine and the interventions the difficulties sometimes seemed insurmountable. The iron Bolshevik will, the unity and singleness of purpose of the C. P. of Russia have overcome one difficulty after another. Serious difficulties must be reckoned with in building up socialism in a country which, for the present, is the only one which has overthrown the government of the bourgeoisie. But the iron Bolshevik will, the unity and singleness of purpose of the C. P. of Russia will overcome these difficulties also one after the other. In this field also, every individual success is a further stride towards socialism and towards the proletarian world revolution. The Russian workers are already conscious of this, the workers of other countries are becoming more and more conscious of it.

Thus the Soviet Union is becoming an important factor which supports the tendency which is the right one for the proletarian world movement in the present epoch, i. e. the tendency towards a union of all workers with the object of carrying on the class war. The Soviet Union as a proletarian State is calling on the workers of all countries to join in the united front. In a universal measure, as regards its further con-

sequences, this problem is expressed in the words: **Gompersism or Leninism?** The labour movement completely prostituted and captive to the bourgeoisie or a type of labour movement such as that which gained the victory in the October revolution and is now building up socialism in the Soviet Union; between these two poles, Social Democracy can, for a certain time, carry on an insincere game; it may, retreating before the new signs in the labour movement and the growing tendency towards the Left, represent the class principle in words and in phrases, but in reality hold back a large number of the workers from going over to the fighting army of Communism.

In the system of the States of the whole earth, the two greatest decisive forces are: the capitalist United States of America and the Soviet Union. It is possible — historical reality has proved it — to build up Socialism in a State; but two such powerful factors, each of which represents an entirely different social economic principle cannot possibly exist permanently side by side in peace without a serious, decisive conflict occurring. In spite of the temporary part which it can still play for a time between the Leninist type and the American Gompersist type of the labour movement, Social Democracy will become a superfluous party and will gradually lose its significance. At present the best social democratic workers are still vacillating, but there is no doubt how they will decide. In the end every worker will realise that the Red capital of the Soviet Union is nearer to him than the capitalist Babel — New York.

The experiences gained in the period of construction of the Soviet Union are of great significance at the present day, firstly because of their direct effect on the worker and secondly in connection with the question of the ally of the working class. Capitalism is achieving its relative stabilisation not only through the increased exploitation of the workers but also at the cost of the peasantry in the villages who are becoming poorer and poorer and also of the proletarianised former middle classes in the towns (artisans, State employes, intellectual specialists). In the present concrete conditions, large numbers of these groups are extremely dissatisfied with the regime of large capital; voices of opposition are being raised in every country. These groups, however, are on the one hand afraid of Communism, and on the other hand they do not yet believe in its creative force. These views make the strata which are disappointed with the bourgeois "Democracy" susceptible to Fascist influence.

In reality, the experiences of the eight years of the existence of the Soviet Union prove the following: the methods of war communism were necessary in Russia (and apparently also in some other countries) during the first period, when it was necessary to defend the power conquered by the proletariat. The actual construction of socialism is being achieved in Russia and will be in the other countries on the lines of the new economic policy.

In the Soviet Union, socialism is being built up in such a way that while concentrating and centralising all the most important forces of production in the hands of the proletarian State (factories, mines, nationalised land, transport, banks, credits, foreign trade) the State does not "destroy" the production of the small producers with a mechanical word of command from above ordering expropriation, but by a very well-thought-out, systematic economic policy uses it for the purposes of socialist construction and absorbs it gradually into the general socialist scheme. In this way the Soviet Union has given strong evidence that the political alliance (not only neutralisation) with the middle peasantry, (not only with the poor in the villages) is possible after the counter-revolutionary dangers have been overcome. This is an effective argument for our work among the peasants in the capitalist countries. We can exercise a great influence on the members of the working classes of the towns in Western Europe if they learn to recognise and understand what is the function of cooperation in the structure of socialism in the Soviet Union. The position of the peasants and artisans in the Soviet Union is characterised by the fact that the State of the proletarian dictatorship of the masses includes the small producers in the great system of the Cooperatives which are systematically organised, managed by the working class and supported by the State and thus leads them step by step to more perfect technical and social forms of work and of life. The intellectual specialists who are working for production, are indispensable for production and are experiencing the decay of capitalism in Western Europe, will be greatly affected when they realise clearly that the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics will soon be equal to America thanks to the regulation of the nationalised,

centralised production on the basis of a vast scheme of a consistently socialist type, and that it has in addition, as a proletarian State, a much greater moral force and actual support in the working class of its own country and in the international labour movement than any other State. All these practical experiences of the Soviet Union make it possible for communist propaganda in Western Europe to be built up on a broader basis than hitherto.

In the countries which still have to go through their October, their social revolution, the Communists will make use of the demonstrations of this year's first of May to spread among the workers who are not yet Communists, the knowledge of what the Soviet Union means for the international labour movement. The Soviet Union is a support for the proletarian labour movement in all countries. The best social democratic and non-party workers are indeed conscious of this to-day. At the same time however, the Soviet Union needs the support of all the workers. Every proletarian is fulfilling his duty towards the Soviet Union if he once more prepares for a victorious October in his own country, if he helps to create a strong Bolshe-

vist party in his own country, if he works for the development of a powerful active proletarian class movement in his own country. This means in the concrete conditions of to-day, working for a united front, for unity in the trade union movement, for the renewal of faith in the great socialist aim.

By their behaviour to the social democratic workers, the Communists will try, especially on the occasion of the first of May, to influence them in such a way that as many as possible of the older generation who have taken part in the labour movement and who, during recent years have been led astray by their leaders and their illusions so as to become traitors to their own laudable past, will now return to their proletarian thinking and feeling and thus join us in the common class fight. The class contrasts of the present day which are becoming more and more acute and the growing aggressiveness of the bourgeoisie are driving them to this. They are called to this by the existence of the Soviet Union, by the best traditions of the good old past of the European labour movement, traditions of the time when, before Social Democracy had degenerated, the banner of revolutionary Marxism was sacred to it.

The First of May.

In a Period of Uncertain Stabilisation and of the Winning of the Majority of the Working Class

By John Pepper.

May 1st. has always been the festival of the international solidarity of the proletariat; it is therefore a matter of course that the traitors of the proletariat, the leaders of Social Democracy, have just now, a few weeks before the first of May, once more shown in Geneva, that they are in the service of their "own" bourgeoisie only.

May 1st. has, for a long period, been a day of fighting for "social revolution" — nothing else therefore was to be expected but that Social Democracy, as a traitor to the socialist revolution in the whole of Europe, would take its stand as the "younger partner" of the various bourgeois Governments, that it would finally and irrevocably establish itself on the basis of capitalist Europe, that the Social Democratic "Pravo Lidu" should declare with jubilation: "The capitalist order in Europe is ensured for at least a century".

Social Democracy (and of course the bourgeoisie) gives the workers the following analysis of the world situation:

1. An economic crisis in the Soviet Union.
2. Defeat in China, i. e. on the most important battle-field of the national revolutionary fight against imperialism.
3. No revolutionary situation in Europe.
4. Powerful advance of American imperialism.
5. American imperialism with its growing export of capital is making the European countries more and more dependent on it; at the same time however it is rescuing Europe from "famine", but also from "revolution".
6. General fraternisation of the imperialist Powers; the conclusion of the London agreement, the realisation of the Dawes plan, the conclusion of the Locarno pact.

This analysis does not reflect the truth; it is only a distortion of the facts, a caricature of reality. It skims over the surface of daily events, it does not see (and does not wish to see) the underlying connections, it fails to recognise the fundamental revolutionary character of the world situation or smothers it up. This falsification in the analysis of course is not an accident. Social Democracy recognises more and more clearly that the duration of its existence depends on that of capitalism. It prophesies another century of undisturbed existence and prosperity for capitalism in Europe because — it hopes for a long life itself. The Marxist Leninist analysis of the international situation however asks both European capitalism and European Social Democracy the question which Frederick the Great put to his soldiers who were hesitating to rush into the battle: "Dogs, do you want to live for ever? Do you not see the insoluble contradictions of capitalism, the growing dissensions between the imperialist Powers, the increasing strength of the storm-attack of the proletarian revolution?"

The Social Democrats only see the short, transient crisis in the Soviet Union; they do not however notice — they do not wish to notice! — the basis of this crisis, the rapid growth of all the vital forces of the first Worker and Peasant Republic in

the world. They only see the small crisis and hush up the fact that this is only a consequence of the all-round progress of the economic life of the Soviet Union, only a symptom of the rapid all-round construction of Socialism in the proletarian State.

The Social Democrats only see the defeat of the people's armies in China, they only perceive the going over of part of the Chinese large bourgeoisie to the foreign imperialists, they are however completely blind to the fundamental fact of the great Chinese revolution — the progressive industrialisation of China. The Social Democrats only see that a part of the Chinese bourgeoisie is going over to the imperialist enemy; they do not see the opposite pole, the development and strengthening of the Chinese proletariat. They only see the cleft in the Right Compradore of the Kuomintang party who want to trade with Great Britain and Japan; they do not however notice the great, independent actions, strikes and demonstrations of the revolutionary proletariat in Shanghai, Canton and Hong-Kong. They do not see that it is just the increase of power of the proletariat which has driven part of the Chinese bourgeoisie over to the imperialist enemy, and that it is just this which has led to a temporary weakening of the fighting front of the Chinese revolution. The fundamental fact is that the industrialisation, the general capitalistic development of China persists and gains in strength, and with it the fundamental forces of the fight for independence in China, which guarantee the victory of the national revolutionary movement. The fact that a part of the Chinese large bourgeoisie has gone over to the imperialist enemy does not imply the defeat of the Chinese revolution; the Compradore are conspiring with Great Britain, the Kuomintang party, however, has during the last year increased sevenfold and the Communist party of China threefold.

China is only one example. We have the same picture of industrialisation in all the colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism. The imperialist countries of Europe are finding it increasingly difficult to exploit their colonies. At one time the "Communist manifesto" was justified in stating that "the cheapness of its (the bourgeoisie's) commodities is the heavy artillery with which it lays low all Chinese walls, with which it compels the most obstinately hostile barbarians to capitulate". The "Barbarians" of the colonies now have their own "artillery"; they have built up their own industry which, with its even cheaper prices, demolishes all the "European" walls of the various mother countries.

In the Far East the progressive industrialisation of the "Barbarians", in the Far West the growing supremacy, the hegemony of America. American capitalism is still following an ascending line. American imperialism also possesses its "artillery", its export of capital. The world owes the United States no less than 21 milliards of dollars. The countries of Europe must work for 62 years for the American imperialists in order to wipe off their debts.

The industrialisation of the colonies, the increasing economic supremacy of America — between these two millstones present day capitalist Europe is being ground. Europe is in a period of decline and, on the soil of capitalism, there is no remedy against decline. Production in Europe has not yet reached the pre-war level. Europe has to-day five million unemployed. Actual wages are falling; taxation is increasing; militarism is growing. The antagonisms between the individual European Powers cannot be settled. Locarno was followed by — Geneva, in other words the public declaration of bankruptcy of bourgeois and Social Democratic pacifism.

In this situation, the Communist International has issued the slogan of the united States of Socialist Europe. No salvation is to be found for the European working class on a capitalistic basis. Nothing but the victory of the Socialist revolution can prevent the war of annihilation of the European Powers against one another, can save Europe from the exploitation of American imperialism.

The great changes in the world situation are bringing about deep-rooted changes in the labour movement.

A swing to the Right of the American working class is going on hand in hand with the progressive development of American imperialism.

In correspondence with the industrialisation of the Orient, quite new branches of the labour movement are developing in the colonies.

In consequence of the process of decline in Europe, the European labour movement is step by step becoming more revolutionary. For the first time since the world war, the three most important countries of Europe, Great Britain, Germany and France are simultaneously passing through a deep social and political crisis; and as the crisis progresses, the proletarian armies are carrying off great victories. In England, in 1921 there was still "Black Friday", in 1925 came the day of the victory of proletarian solidarity, "Red Friday". The great conference of the Minority Movement on March 21st 1926 included delegates of no less than 957,000 workers — nearly a quarter

of the organised workers of England — and was under the leadership of the Communist Party of England, which only numbers 6000 members.

The Communist Party of France carried on a heroic fight against the Morocco war, and the recent elections show how it is continuing to gain the confidence of the proletariat.

After the October defeat of the German revolution in 1923, our opponents announced the death of the Communist party of Germany, and to-day the C. P. of Germany with its 150,000 members is able to drag Social Democracy in its wake and to fan into flame the powerful people's movement of 12.5 millions of workers, peasants and petty bourgeois in the "Volksbegehren" (people's demand for a plebiscite). The Communist parties are now experiencing great success because they have seriously and with resolution taken up the **fight for winning a decisive majority of the working class**. The Communist parties are now beginning to devote themselves heart and soul to the tactics of the **united front**. The more Social Democracy shows itself to be a disintegrating element in the working class, the more energetically must the Communists promulgate the idea of the unity of the working class, the unity of the trade union movement. The festival on May 1st, 1926 must preserve the best fighting traditions of the early days of the 2nd International. On the banner of the international solidarity of the working class may be seen to-day the slogans of the united front of the working class, the international unity of the trade unions, international support of the greath fight of the British miners, solidarity with the Soviet Union and fraternal sympathy with the Chinese revolution.

The diplomats of the European imperialist Powers declared at Geneva in Briand's words: "We must speak a new language, the "European" language. The proletariat however should recognise that this new "European" language of new wars is the language of the old oppression. On May 1st., the proletariat should everywhere find its own universal language, the language of international solidarity, of the socialist revolution, of world peace.

The Rallying Day.

By Paul Fröhlich.

When the 2nd International came into being in 1889, it established the demonstration of the world proletariat on May 1st. In the hour of its birth, the International was filled with high aspirations. The depression which had weighed down not only the French proletariat but that of all the Roman countries, was overcome. New labour parties had come into being in these countries. In England, resistance to peaceful trade-unionism was beginning. In Germany, after a decade of illegality, Social Democracy had actually defeated Bismarck's exceptional law. The renewal of the International increased the consciousness of power of the parties. The Paris Congress was dominated by a proud optimism which was stimulated by thoughts of the great French revolution and the Commune which lived in those who represented it and had fought for it.

The first of May was born of this mood; it was an ingenious factual idea. It is true that the immediate slogans did not reach beyond the scope of a capitalist order of society; but the protection of the workers and the eight hour day were just the slogans which could be grasped as an immediate end by the workers of all countries, and thus necessarily set free a strong motor force. And the fact of the international demonstration strike on an appointed day necessarily carried the consciousness of the proletariat far beyond the horizon of the capitalist order. It broke down the barriers which separated the workers of the different countries from one another. The knowledge that, wherever capitalism held sway, the workers were manifesting their readiness to fight for the same end, could not but raise the sense of power of the proletariat throughout the world. The contrast between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was marked sharply, uncompromisingly and with an unblurred outline, and in this way the demonstration for a limited aim was stamped with a revolutionary character of a general settling of accounts between the two classes.

The announcement of the demonstration strike on May 1st. was a declaration of war to the international bourgeoisie. Carried out along the whole line, it could not fail to have enormous

significance for the revolutionising of the workers. It was of little import that the demonstration was still weak, for the socialist parties were only learning to walk. It did not have much effect that in Austria the first May demonstration was a great success thanks to favourable external circumstances. Everything depended on Germany, the country of the strongest labour movement, and German Social Democracy was found wanting. Instead of the strike, there was a Sunday afternoon walk. It is difficult to-day to pass judgement on the tactics of the German party leaders. They had their own reasons which were not without weight. The exceptional law, it is true, was already condemned to death and Bismarck had fallen, but reaction was only looking for an opportunity to hit Social Democracy on the head so as to be able to fetter it anew. Accepting a new long period of illegality in a situation without any acute revolutionary factor, meant practically arresting the development of the German labour movement, perhaps even throwing it back. Who can decide to-day whether the Bebel's, Singer's and Liebknecht's of those times overestimated the force and resolution of reaction or not. In any case, they refrained from issuing a challenge. They deprived the 1st. May demonstration of any revolutionary character and in this way broke its neck for the whole period of the 2nd International.

Nothing but a fresh impulse could restore to the first of May the revolutionary character which had been assigned to it at its creation. But the impulse did not come. Reformism marched in Germany as well as in the International. The opportunists regarded it as their success that International May Day had been deprived of its revolutionary nature, and they were not inclined to renounce this success. The May celebration became a tradition and lost its impetus more and more as time progressed. Every party conference, every International Congress concerned itself with the May question, but the parties could no longer fill the May idea with the revolutionary ardour which they lacked themselves. It is true, that increasing numbers took part in the demonstrations; the growing danger of imperialism added to the

old slogans that of the fight against war, and the growth of trust capital with its political and economic supremacy added the slogan of Socialism as the common slogan of the immediate struggle (only sensed but not grasped in its revolutionary significance) — but the 2nd International was already too much corroded by opportunism; it was incapable of soaring very high. The labour movement inevitably had to pass through a serious crisis, a catastrophe.

The world crisis became a crisis of the International. The idea of May was stifled by peaceful passivity. It was born again in the revolutionary action of May 1st, 1916, when ten thousand workers in Berlin responded to the call of Karl Liebknecht and declared war on the armour-plated power of the State, on social treachery and on war. In this re-birth, the May demonstration regained its revolutionary character.

May Day and the Far East.

By Sen Katayama.

It is now just forty two years since May Day was first observed in Chicago, by advance guards of the American proletariat. The slogan motto of the May Day was first of all the eight our day. Soon it became a general holiday and demonstration day for the proletarians of the all civilized countries.

Since the great success of the Russian revolution tens of millions of the workers and the peasants are celebrating the May Day as a universal holiday.

The meaning of May Day in Russia differs entirely from that in countries where the brutal capitalist class still dominates and oppresses the workers and the peasants. But in the capitalist countries also the very meaning of May Day has changed.

Now the proletariat of the world celebrates in common with the Soviet Russian workers and the peasants who have thrown off the yoke of capitalism.

May Day has also come to the Far East with an entirely new meaning. Before the Russian October revolution the Far Eastern proletariat scarcely observed May Day, and even millions of the workers knew nothing of May Day as such. To them May Day is now a festal day of the success of the Russian October revolution.

The capitalists that exploit and oppress them day and night are still raging in all the capitalist countries. This non-capitalist Soviet Russia, the workers and the peasant Republic, that has completely subjugated and annihilated the greedy capitalist class gives the workers and the peasants of the Far East the greatest stimulus to revolutionary hope and activities. There is no longer doubt in their mind as to the final victory over the capitalist class.

They too like the Russian proletariat, will beat down the capitalism and despotism in China, Japan, Corea and all others countries in the world!

This faith and hope in the social revolution created and is creating the revolutionary movement in the Far East, especially in China. In China since the last May Day many world-famous events have happened: Shanghai strike, massacres in Shanghai and other cities, anti-imperialist movements and demonstrations and demand for the abolition of extra-territoriality and complete emancipation of the country. This movement has influenced the workers and the peasants of other lands and the Chinese revolutionary movement has gained the support of the workers of England and other countries.

As a result of the Chinese revolutionary activities western capitalism has become terror-stricken, and it is perpetrating the outrageous and inhuman crimes against the poor workers and the peasants in order to retain its greedy clutch over them and to continue to exploit them. The capitalists of Great Britain and Japan as well as America are filled with fear at the stubborn fight and struggle of the Chinese workers and the peasants supported by the students, and the capitalist Powers in China are trying to utilize the reactionary militarist generals to crush the revolutionary movement and are concentrating their attack upon the Kuomintang Party and the National Army.

If to-day millions and millions of workers in all the countries of the world, even in the remotest colonies march in procession on May 1st., they do it in the consciousness of their revolutionary tasks. Their thoughts then fly to the town of revolution of the present — Moscow. They are inspired by the thought of the heroic example of the Russian working people. And if to-day, their immediate slogans are again directed towards that which lies nearest their hearts, to the 8 hour day, to the primitive protection of the working class against extreme distress, they know that nothing but revolutionary action will carry them onward, that nowadays every serious fight involves, as its consequence, the overthrow of capitalism, that every important victory presupposes the seizure of power. On the first of May the fighters in all countries collect. The first of May is the rallying day of the army of the revolution.

In spite of everything the revolutionary movement in China will progress and will organise and build up a powerful revolutionary party. All the revolutionary forces of the country will be massed under the banner of the Kuomintang which is rapidly becoming Bolshevised through its Communist left wing. There is no doubt that China will become the scene of the great conflict between Bolshevism and Capitalism. The capitalist Powers in China are terror stricken at the growing revolutionary movement and the firm and steady power and ever-extending influence of the Communist Party party and of Soviet Russia. The Imperialists of Japan and England are trying to provoke the Chinese workers, peasants and students in order to obtain a pretext to invade China and crush the revolutionary movement. But the already awakened Chinese masses will not be beaten as was the case in the Boxer rebellion. They are aroused to revolutionary struggle under the slogan of the complete emancipation of China and the clearing out of the foreign exploiting capitalist class. Under such condition the Chinese workers, peasants and students will celebrate May Day with greater enthusiasm than ever.

In Japan May Day has been celebrated since 1920 and the numbers participating in it have been increasing every year. Many revolutionary mottoes are displayed in the May Day processions and many stirring speeches are delivered on the Day to inspire the workers, while collisions and street fights with the police and the forces of oppression are a usual occurrence.

This year May Day will be more widely and extensively observed, as the trade unions have grown in number and extent, and recently the Workers' and Peasants' Party was formed. Although the Party is moderate in tone and platform, it is nevertheless the proletarian Party. The present Party is the successor of the Party formed last December with the theses and statutes of a revolutionary tendency, but it was suppressed by the authorities on the day of formation. The most conspicuous feature in connection with the formation of the Party is that it was initiated by the Peasant Union which has 70,000 members, and the workers' unions and federations supported it. It is based on individual membership, instead of union affiliation as in the first Party, so it is possible that many communists will be able to join the Party and form a communist fraction in the Party.

The left wing movement is growing in the trade union and political movement labour and is penetrating into the moderate and conservative unions, although the government is trying to crush the left wing unions and supports the opportunist unions.

In Korea a young Communist Party and other revolutionary organisations are struggling against Japanese imperialism and capitalism. They will certainly celebrate May Day in the spirit of international solidarity. The Mongolian Peoples Republic will help the Far Eastern proletariat as the only standard bearer of the Social Revolution of the Far Eastern countries.

May 1st and the Young Workers.

By R. Schüller.

May 1926 falls during a period of hard times for the young workers: wholesale unemployment in Germany, England, Austria and other countries. A general attack of the capitalists on wages and hours of work. War in Morocco, Syria and China and the clouds of still greater conflicts on the horizon.

In these circumstances, the young workers are being more and more drawn into the fight of the working class. Sections which previously were altogether non-political, are awakening and taking their first political steps; large sections of the organised young workers are being revolutionised and showing a growing fighting spirit. The first of May— which this year will be a day of specially hard fighting for the workers, cannot therefore fail to lead to a further advance towards stirring up and gathering together the masses of the young workers.

It is nevertheless necessary that all workers and Communists should be fully aware of one circumstance. The great majority of the young workers will not be active allies and co-fighters with the workers class. Even if we take into consideration all the trade unions, the Young Communist Leagues, the Young Socialist Leagues and the workers' sport organisations, it is seen that only a small section of the young workers indeed is organised at all up to the present. The bourgeois organisations on the other hand, are of vast extent and the other unorganised sections are under the influence of the capitalist ways of thought. As long as this state of thing continues, capitalism will play off the juvenile against the adult workers, and the position of the young workers will remain the specially precarious one that it is to-day. On the 1st. of May then, all workers ought clearly to understand that their first duty with regard to the young workers is to organise them to 100% in the trade unions.

The organisation of the whole of the young workers in trade unions will put an end to their being exploited for the

purpose of forcing down the wages and prolonging the hours of work of the adults; will transform them from a defenceless mass into an organised force which will give tremendous additional strength to the working class. Only in this way is it possible to fight effectually for an 8 hours' day for the workers and beyond that, for a 6 hours' day for the juveniles. The working youth throughout the world will take part with all its weight of numbers in the demonstration for these two demands on May 1st.

May 1st, 1926 is also a day of demonstration and of fighting against imperialism and against imperialist war. In this struggle the young workers are in the front line. The appeal to the youth to fight against imperialism and imperialist war will, again as it always has done, meet with an enthusiastic response. The determined fight of the C. Y. I. against militarism and war is going on to-day as it did during the war and in "times of peace". Our French comrades have been the first to show that the legacy of Liebknecht and Lenin still lives in the hearts of the young Communists. Whilst the leaders of the young Social Democrats are indulging in helpless and lacrymose pacifist adjurations and illusions, the C. Y. I. is really fighting against war and the danger of war. Let the 1st. of May be an appeal to the masses of young workers to join with all their force in this fight.

The young communist movement is growing slowly but surely, in spite of all the blows of reaction and in spite of all difficulties. Throughout the world, young workers will this year follow the banners of the May 1st. demonstrations under the leadership of the C. Y. I. — not only in Europe but also in China, Japan, South Africa, America and the Near East; and above all the young workers and peasants in the Soviet Union who will with millions of voices proclaim the May message of freedom to their brothers in the East and the West.

Women to the Front on the First of May!

By G. G. L. Alexander.

The 1st. of May 1926 occurs at a time of intensified economic distress, of more and more depressed conditions of work for the broad masses in all countries. The proletarian women especially have felt in their own persons what the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie has brought to the working masses. "Class conciliation", that has meant in the seven years since the war, for the working class and particularly for the working women in all countries, an ever increasing oppression and deprivation of their rights.

May 1st, 1926 is under the sign of treachery and the lie of the Locarno slogan of national peace, which was only invented to lull woman, the "peace-lover" into illusions of peace which are, it is true, brutally contradicted by the sanguinary reality of the colonial wars in Morocco and Syria. And just this bloody enterprise of the French bourgeoisie against an oppressed colonial people, which is supported by the Social Democratic politicians, shows the women of all countries, but above all those of France who have to send their sons to be slaughtered there, the hypocrisy of the phrases of the pacifists of all shades about the "last" imperialist war, and opens their eyes to the fact that the protest of the proletarian mothers and widows against the war will be of no avail unless it is taken up, carried on and supported by the broad masses in all countries, in alliance with all the oppressed colonial peoples who are struggling for their freedom. The old 1st. of May slogan "against war" must be taken up again as a special demand of the women. The "peace politicians" of Locarno went absolutely bankrupt at Geneva. Nothing but new armaments can be concealed behind the disarmament conference which has been called for May 17th.

In his "Imperialism as the Latest Stage of Capitalism", Lenin described a "European federation of the Great Powers" as the "imminent danger for the cause of world civilisation... which

would mean the complete overlordship and exploitation of Africa and Asia, with China as the potentially largest reservoir for the extortion of profits which the world has ever seen."...

What else is the policy of Locarno than a way towards the realisation of such a federation? And though the latest attempt showed that unity is not yet completed, it is, as an aim, all the more pregnant with fate, because the union of the capitalist Powers of Europe is taking place under pressure from America, the greatest creditor of all the States which gained or lost through the war, and is all the more fateful because this front is directed not only against the colonial peoples but, in the first place, against the friend and protector of all the colonial peoples as well as of all those who are exploited and oppressed, — against Soviet Russia.

The policy of Locarno — the policy of the conferences for "the restoration of Europe" — led not only from one conference to another, but in most of the capitalist countries of Europe, from one crisis to another. The Dawesation of Europe, its exploitation by American imperialism, has meant for the broad masses of the European workers, after the wholesale slaughter and wholesale starvation of the war years, political, economic and social deprivation of their rights, oppression, famine due to inflation and, with the stabilisation of the German mark and the Austrian shilling, the stabilisation of distress, a permanent fall in the standard of living of the whole working class. Wherever the workers resist this sinking into misery — as in the approaching fights of the miners in England — the proletariat of other countries must fight with them and support their demands!

Stabilisation by American capital, with the support of which the European economy is to be restored to health, is the factor which in all countries has thrown hundreds of thousands of workers on the streets, which has destroyed the existence of millions of the petty bourgeois class in town and country and forced them

down into the proletariat, has made them objectively ripe to join in a common class front with the revolutionary workers and is forcing them to do so. In the ranks of officials and employees also (half of whom, in some countries even more than half, consist of women), the salaries of whom are still more behind the pre-war earnings than those of the workers, a certain radicalisation is spreading which, in Germany for instance, has found visible expression in the campaign for the expropriation of the princes.

The Communists, as that part of the proletariat which is most conscious of its aim and most advanced — and among them of course, the women — must carry on a constant and untiring fight for the purpose of opening the eyes of the petty bourgeois and peasant masses, who are driven by their economic situation into opposition as to the bourgeois Social Democratic policy of Locarno in favour of a union of the peoples, and of pointing out to them the socialist way of restoring Europe: the amalgamation of all proletarian elements, of all exploited people, of all members of the working class who have been forced into misery, into an international class front. In the fight against exploitation, through which, with the help of American capital, Europe is hoping to achieve reconstruction, the Communists must show the way by contrasting it with the method of proletarian reconstruction: the creation of the socialist united States, of a federation of worker and peasant States of Europe.

As a matter of fact, the broad masses have already taken the path of an international coalition of all victims of exploitation against capital. They have realised that the international front of the bourgeoisie, the international terror can only be combated effectively by a firm alliance of the masses who have been robbed of their political rights and placed on a starvation standard. The path to international trade union unity which has been chosen by broad proletarian masses who, until now were followers of petty bourgeois Social Democracy, is the first stage in the fight for the socialist way of restoring Europe, a pre-requisite of which is the creation of a worker and peasant government in every country.

In all countries the bourgeoisie is proceeding with similar measures against the working masses. With their Fascist organisations and measures of terror they cover their losses in the "rationalisation" of the factories and works by wholesale dismissals, and increase production by prolonging the hours of work. The consequences of these measures are wholesale unemployment and reduction of wages, by which women workers and wives of workers are most severely hit. In addition to this women workers are exploited as "cheap labour" in the place of the men who have been dismissed. The transference of the burden of taxation on to the masses of the population as consumers through indirect

taxation, the cutting down of social insurance again fall most heavily on the women.

For this reason, women especially must on May 1st. choose as their slogans: the fight against the Fascist terror, the demand for an 8 hours' day and equal wages for men and women, the protection of mother and child; further, against reactionary and clerical vitiation of schools, and finally trade union unity — for these demands can only be claimed successfully if broad masses join in a united fight.

The first of May 1926 must be a day of fighting for the unity of the proletariat, a day of international alliance of all those who are exploited to form a solid class front against the bourgeoisie!

Whilst the European bourgeoisie is relying on American capital to rescue it from the permanent crisis, and hopes at the same time to rationalise production by American methods of work, for which object, in common with the Reformist trade union leaders, it is sending delegations to America to study these methods of work and at the same time to become familiar with American forms of cooperation between exploiters and exploited with the help of the trade unions, more and more members of the proletariat in all countries are turning their eyes towards and basing their hopes upon Soviet Russia. The economic and cultural advance of the workers' State can no longer be doubted and disputed, in spite of the campaign of lies of all the counter-revolutionaries. For more than a year, innumerable delegations of workers from all countries have been convincing themselves of the enormous extent of the socialist work of reconstruction which is being carried out by the workers and peasants of the first proletarian State, in spite of the resistance and hostility of the imperialist States.

Broad masses of proletarians, are joining in a united front in sympathy for Soviet Russia. In the coming year, working women must also take part in the delegations to Soviet Russia, they must see with their own eyes and then report on the situation of the working and peasant women in the workers' State, where women have equal political and social rights with men, are encouraged to take part in the work of the community in the State and municipality and in the construction of the new social order, the State which, by its protective laws, has lightened the burden of motherhood which weighs so heavily on working women in the capitalist States.

The proletarian women of all countries must, on the May festival, stand for proletarian unity, in solidarity with the worker and peasant State, the first link of the united socialist States of Europe, and must be recruited in the great class and fighting front of all the exploited against the bourgeoisie.

Theses for May Day Speeches, 1926.

1. The observance of May Day originated as the celebration of international workers' solidarity, as an expression of their will to determined united **struggle against capitalism**. During the world war the Social Democratic leaders went over to the side of their belligerent bourgeoisie and dissociated themselves from the May strikes, from May Day as a festival of international class unity of the workers. After the war we have witnessed repeated attempts on the part of the reformists in Germany, Austria and other countries to transform May Day from a festival of class solidarity and struggle into a National festival, into a symbol of class collaboration. Only the May Day celebrations of the Communists preserved the best traditions of the May Day celebrations of the Second International in the pre-war period, when May Day demonstrations were actions against capitalism and for the class struggle.

At present it behoves all revolutionary workers to make May Day celebrations a demonstration of international working class solidarity, a demonstration of their unbending determination to struggle against capitalism. On that day the class-conscious Social Democratic proletarians must force their leaders to show their true colour and to express themselves openly either for the proletarian class and battle-front or for pacts and coalitions with the bourgeoisie.

2. May Day 1926 stands under the sign of an acute economic crisis in a number of capitalist European countries, of a general lowering of the standard of life of the European working class

and of a growing acuteness of the class struggle. The European bourgeoisie allowed millions of proletarians and peasants to perish on battlefields, it destroyed immeasurable material values and drove Europe into a blind alley. The bourgeoisie is now attempting to escape from this blind alley by drawing upon **American capital** for the exploitation of European workers, by lowering the standard of life of the working class and by throwing into the street hundreds of thousands of workers in all the countries and ruining by taxes and inflation millions of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie. Thus the capitalist method of "re-constructing" Europe places intolerable burdens on the shoulders of the workers and is inevitably combined with a **consolidation of capitalist dictatorship**. The 60 to 70 million European workers, who are the vanguard of the world's oppressed, cannot tolerate such a perspective. Against the attempt of capitalist reconstruction they must set the proletarian programme of European reconstruction through the establishment of the **united workers' and peasants' states of Europe**, a programme which can only be realised by the proletarian revolution in their own countries, by the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government in every separate country and by the amalgamation of all the countries into a **Federation of Socialist States**.

On May Day, which was originally intended to propagate the idea of the "Social Revolution", the proletarians of Europe must show their will to battle for the idea of the Socialist United States of Europe.

3. The first stage in the struggle for the Socialist road of European reconstruction is the struggle to close up the proletarian ranks, the fight for the international unity of workers' mass organisations — for the unity of the trade union movement. Regardless of Party membership on May Day proletarians must demonstrate their determination to fight for one united trade union international, they must give organisational and moral support to the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee. On May Day the workers of all countries must vow to make a reality the injunction of the great teachers of the proletariat, Marx and Engels "Workers of all countries unite!"

4. In connection with the approaching conflict in the British coal industry proletarian international solidarity is the most important question of the day. Having been driven into a blind alley, the British bourgeoisie is now endeavouring to raise production at the expense of the workers and to "rationalise" it by reducing the workers' wage. The contemplated attack on the miners is the preliminary skirmish, and at the same time the signal that the British bourgeoisie is going over to a large scale attack on the entire British proletariat.

It is in the interests of the workers of all countries, and particularly of the miners, that the struggle launched by the British miners against the capitalist offensive should end in victory.

On May Day the workers of Germany, France, Belgium, America and all other countries must pledge themselves to support materially and morally the British miners who will probably very soon have to go through one of the greatest wage struggles in the history of the international labour movement.

5. From the beginning the main task of May Day was to demonstrate the will of the working class to fight for partial demands, for the improvement of their economic position and for greater political rights. May Day in 1926 coincides in all the countries with the attempts of the bourgeoisie to reduce the wages of the workers, to lengthen the work day, to load new taxes on the shoulders of the workers and to restrict social insurance. This capitalist offensive against the most elementary rights of the proletariat finds already concentrated expression in the enormous unemployment which is drawing more and more countries into its orbit, which, spreading from Great Britain to the Continent, is becoming everywhere a permanent phenomenon in the history of Europe, a terrible scourge applied by the capitalist class of Europe against the proletariat of Great Britain, Germany, Poland and Austria, a brutal warning to all factory workers that they may at any moment share the fate of Europe's five million unemployed.

May Day 1926 will witness everywhere how, as the economic condition of the workers grows worse, fascist organisations develop and reactionary bourgeois parties intensify their shameful efforts to oppress, corrupt and mislead the masses. Therefore May Day 1926 must become a demonstration of the will of the working class to fight for daily bread, for the retention of the most elementary civil liberties, against the attacks of the bourgeoisie on all cultural achievements, against the growing power of the priesthood and obscurantism in schools and science.

On May Day 1926 the working class must unanimously reject further compromises with the bourgeoisie, it must most emphatically repudiate the coalition policy of the Social Democratic leaders — a policy which has failed utterly during the last 12 months. Against this treacherous coalition policy with the bourgeoisie must be set, on May Day, a revolutionary policy of class coalition of all Communist, Social Democratic and Non-party Workers, the unity of the working class in the struggle for its every day demands. Proletarians must emphasise and confirm this class unity, in joint May Day demonstrations and meetings.

6. May Day was formerly a demonstration against dynastic and bourgeois wars, it was a warning to the workers against the peril of the coming imperialist wars. May Day 1926 coincides with the world bourgeoisie's suppression of the Chinese Revolution, with the dispatch of the armies against Morocco and

Syria, with attempts to consolidate the League of Nations, whose bankruptcy the Communists foresaw, with the attempts of international imperialism to conceal its mighty war preparations behind the disarmament conference convened for May 17.

At this year's May Day celebrations the workers must render themselves a clear account of the peril of new wars, they must vigorously demonstrate against support of the Chinese counter-revolution and must put up a determined fight against the lying statements of all organisers and advocates of disarmament conferences. On May Day workers must bear in mind that only proletarian unity on a national and international scale enables the working class to combat the perils of imperialist wars.

7. On May Day 1926, which coincides with the lowering of the standard of life of the European working class, with attempts to crush the four million strong revolutionary movement of the Chinese people, the workers of all countries can proudly record the economic and cultural development of the Soviet Union as a bulwark of the proletarian revolution. Despite the tremendous difficulties, inevitable in the country of the first proletarian dictatorship surrounded by hostile imperialist States and their watchdogs, the toiling masses of the Soviet Union build up Socialism slowly but surely. This fact, which is already recognised also by the more far-seeing Social Democratic leaders, has been established and communicated to the world proletariat by the fraternal delegations of the British, German, Czecho-Slovakian, Swedish, Norwegian, Austrian and Belgian workers who were able to see for themselves the conditions in the U.S.S.R.

The European bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the reformist trade unions look for support to the American bourgeoisie and the reactionary American Federation of Labour. The bourgeoisie and the trade union leaders have sent their delegations to America to study the methods of collaboration between exploiters and exploited, the methods of the joining up and shackling of the working class with the bourgeoisie.

Against these attempts to collaborate with the American bourgeoisie and fascist minded trade union leaders of the Gompers type, the European and American workers must set a campaign for alliance with the country of proletarian dictatorship, Soviet Russia, a campaign for the sending of hundreds and thousands of messengers to the country where Socialism is really in course of construction.

8. May Day 1926 opens up a new era in the history of May Day celebrations. It is a day of agitation against coalition with the bourgeoisie, for proletarian unity. It is a day of agitation and propaganda for the slogan of the United States of Socialist Europe.

For all revolutionary workers the present May Day celebration must be carried out under the following slogans:

Long live the May Day festival of proletarian unity, the May Day festival of class struggle!

Long live the united trade union International!

Close up the workers' ranks in the factories and among the unemployed!

Effective fraternal aid for the British miners!

On with the struggle against the unemployment of millions!

Down with coalition between reformists and the bourgeoisie!

Long live coalition between Communist, Socialist and non-party workers!

Hands off the revolutionary movement of China!

Workers, beware of the peril of imperialist wars!

Strengthen the international unity of the proletariat — it is the guarantee for a real struggle against imperialism!

On May Day — proletarian greetings to the workers of the Soviet Union!

Down with the League of Nations of the Imperialists!

Long live the united workers' and peasants' States of Europe!

Agitprop of the E. C. C. I.