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The International Situation on the Eve of the XI. Anniversary of the October Revolution.

By D. Bennett (Moscow).

The chief characteristic of the present international situation is the accentuation of all international antagonisms, which brings with it the enormous development of the inner contradictions in the capitalist countries and at the same time arouses the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies. The present period, so we read in the Theses of the VI. Congress of the C. I., "in which the contradiction between the growth of productive forces and the narrowing of the markets has become particularly acute, inevitably leads to a new phase of wars against the Soviet Union, wars of national emancipation against imperialism, intervention of imperialism and gigantic class struggles."

The preparations for new imperialist wars, and in the first place for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, find striking expression, on the one hand, in all sorts of secret conferences and secret military agreements and, on the other hand, in loud and noisy peace demonstrations. It suffices to call to mind, on the one hand, the notorious Kellogg Pact, to outlaw war, which was no solemnly signed in France, and, on the other hand, to the secret agreement between Great Britain and France, which one cannot designate as anything else but an important stage in the work of preparing for the military campaign against the first socialist State. The ever-sharpening conflict between Great Britain and the United States has re-

sulted in the secret agreement between Great Britain and France being made public and its being discussed by all people in all parts of the earth. The asserverations of peace and the military agreements are everywhere accompanied by the unceasing growth of armaments on land, on the water, under the water and in the air.

The attitude to the Red Spectre in the East has been shown most strikingly in those preventive measures which British imperialism is adopting in India. The attempt of the British robbers to enact a special penal law against the Communists was directed not only against the Communist movement which is just beginning to develop in the richest colony of Great Britain, but against the whole national-revolutionary movement which is on the upgrade. It is not a mere chance that the law-abiding Parliament of India, which was to a great extent gerrymandered in order to express the will of British imperialism and to betray the will of the Indian people — that even this Parliament found the courage to reject the new penal law, as it rightly perceived that it was directed not only and not so much against the Communists, but much rather against the nationalist movement in every shape and form.

The ideas of the VI. Congress on the gigantic class struggles have been confirmed in all parts of the world. We observe at the present time huge struggles of labour against capital, both in the countries of imperialism and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The wave of strikes in the textile industry is highly characteristic of recent times. The crisis in the textile industry shows, on the one hand, that alongside the mining industry it is a second close belt of capitalist economy and, on the other hand, the growth of the fighting activity of the proletarians, who are embued with determination to defend themselves against the further attempts of the bourgeoisie to rationalise capitalism by worsening the position of the workers.

All these contradictions are undermining and disintegrating the vaunted capitalist stabilisation. In its furious struggle to realise its programme of rationalisation of capitalist industry at the cost of the working class, the bourgeoisie has a most powerful ally in international social democracy.

The Programme of the Communist International contains a clear characterisation of the betrayal by social democracy of Marxism and of the principles of revolutionary struggle, both in the sphere of theory and of practice. The Programme points out that the Social democracy has converted the threatening and flaming theory of class struggle into a contemptible advocacy of class peace. But social democracy by no means confines itself to preaching collaboration with capital. In all conflicts between labour and capital, in the preparations of imperialism for new wars, in the fight against the revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonies, social democracy plays the role of an active agent of capitalism.

Social democracy plays first fiddle in the general campaign of lies and calumnies against the Soviet Union. It supplies the whole bourgeois press with malicious inventions and vile forgeries. It conceals its mad hatred of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat with lying, hypocritical talk about socialism, democracy and peace.

In its work of throttling and suppressing the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies social democracy is persistently striving to create seats of corruption and deception in all those countries which are groaning under the yoke of imperialism. In India and in China, in Indonesia and in Egypt, everywhere social democracy is endeavouring to substitute its own missionaries for the Christian missionaries who are finally discredited and compromised in the eyes of the colonial and semi-colonial slaves.

But the treacherous role of social democracy becomes strikingly evident in the increasing fight between labour and capital. Social democracy has become in practice an international blackleg organisation which tries to mask its dirty business with high-sounding socialist phrases. In India and in Poland, in Germany and in Australia, everywhere the social reformists come forward as henchmen of capital who cause the collapse of the proletarian strikes and help capital to check the growing unrest of the proletarians.

The treacherous role of social democracy has resulted in the extension and deepening, of the fight within the working class between revolutionary Communism and the organised agents of capital who, supported by the trade union apparatus, still possess a certain influence over the working class. The

polarisation of the labour movement is becoming plainly evident in all countries without exception. In the United States the yellow Gompers people, together with the fascists of the Ku-klux-Klan, break up the election meetings of the Communists and kidnap and mishandle Communist speakers. In Poland the P. P. S. work together with the Polish secret police and proceed to beat revolutionary proletarians. The German Armoured Cruiser social democrats, true to the traditions of Scheidemann and Noske, wreck Communist printing works and convert their fighting troops into open fascist detachments.

The struggle against the offensive of capital, the fight against oppression in the colonies, and finally the fight for the protection of the Soviet Union against the imperialist war is everywhere becoming converted into a wide-spread fight against social democracy who actively carry out the behests of rotting imperialism.

The successful fight against social democracy naturally brings to the forefront the task of determined and ruthless fight against all social democratic remnants in the ranks of the Communist Parties.

The VI. Congress of the Communist International has already declared that

“as a result of the partial stabilisation of capitalism and immediately connected with the influence of social democracy, within the Communist Parties we have to seek the main deviations on the Right of the correct political line. . . These Right deviations are especially dangerous in face of the existence of relatively strong social democratic Parties, Hence, the fight against the deviations must be placed in the foreground, which presupposes a systematic fight against the conciliatory standpoint towards the Right tendencies within the Communist Party”.

The correctness of this general line has been shown in the weeks that have elapsed since the VI. Congress of the Communist International concluded its work. In the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia it is stated:

“The Right danger threatens the Czech Party not so much from outside as from within.”

The decision on the Situation in the Communist Party of Germany of 8th October states:

“The campaign for preparing the approaching Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany must be accompanied in all districts by an uninterrupted ideological fight against the Right tendencies within the C. P. of Germany and against the conciliatory tendencies towards the Right danger.”

These documents show, on the one hand, that the conciliatory attitude towards the Right deviations within the Communist Parties form, under the present conditions, the most serious danger and, on the other hand, prove that the Communist International, as well as the Communist Parties, are firmly and consistently keeping to the line of the VI. Congress of the Comintern in regard to the determined and persistent Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties.

The eve of the eleventh anniversary is characterised by a new campaign of the social democracy against the socialist homeland of all workers. All the social democratic papers are vying with one another in their incitement against the Soviet Union. It is quite natural that the Communist Parties on their part are increasing their campaign for the defence of the Soviet Union. The whole campaign against the Armoured Cruiser in Germany was directed not only against the social democracy, but had in the first place the task of defending the Soviet Union, and constitutes, so to speak, a preparation for the campaign in connection with the eleventh anniversary of the October Revolution. We see the same thing in other countries. The Communist Parties and the revolutionary proletarians sympathising with the Soviet Union are preparing for the festive celebration of the eleventh anniversary, whilst the social reformists are increasing the attack upon the Soviet Union.

The organ of the International Bureau of the Friends of Soviet Russia “The threatening war” remarks in its second issue that there is now taking place a mobilisation of all those delegations which at various times have visited the Soviet Union, and in particular of the delegations to the Congress of the Friends of Soviet Russia held in November last year, in order that they may suitably celebrate the eleventh anniversary

of the great victory of the international revolutionary movement of the proletariat. In Argentina and in Belgium, in Finland and in Mexico, in short, in all countries the suppressed and disinherited are preparing to celebrate the first permanent victory of the proletarian revolution; the socialist lackeys however, with the Ministers at the head, are building armoured cruisers in order to convert the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a colony of profit-hunting and predatory imperialism.

It would be a fatal error to minimise the importance of the base activity of the international social democracy. At the same time, when we sum up the present international situation, we can say with boldness and conviction that the revolutionary movement in the whole world is growing, that the Communist Parties are becoming strong, more bolshevised and are consciously preparing — if in spite of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the struggle of the international proletariat for peace the imperialist counter-revolutionary war should come — in accordance with the teachings of Lenin, to convert the imperialist war into a civil war against capitalism and for the victory of the world October.

POLITICS

On the Way to the Final Solution of the Reparations Question.

A Mercenary Project of the Imperialists.

By G. Reimann (Berlin).

This year there will begin for Germany the full reparations payments of 2,500 million marks per annum. There will, it is true, still be an addition of several hundred millions on the basis of the "welfare index".

The Dawes agreement makes no mention of a total indebtedness on the part of Germany. Both the German and the French imperialists are at present interested in bringing about a final solution of the Reparations question, establishing the total indebtedness of Germany on the one hand and "mobilising", or liquifying, part of the debt upon the other.

The German Government was under the impression that in consideration of its "Western Orientation" and of the Locarno policy it would be able to attain a favourable final solution of the Reparations problem. For Germany this question has become all the more vital, seeing that the Reparations payments hitherto made have to all practical purposes been rendered possible by American credits. Over against aggregate Reparations payments of 5,470 million marks since 1924, there has been an importation of capital of roughly 10,000 millions, approximately half of which was in the form of long-termed credits. With the cessation of capital importation, however, the Reparations payments will in future have to be made out of the "surplus yield of German economy". To what extent this will be possible in view of Germany's restricted possibilities of exportation, without incurring danger to the currency-stability of the mark, is an absolutely "moot" point.

True, the German Government would not need to harbour any particular misgivings if the transfer-clause in the Dawes agreement really entailed an automatic reduction of payment-transfers and liabilities in the case of an insufficiently favourable position of the commercial balance. This transfer-protection, which prohibits the transfer of payments in the case of a menace to the stability of the currency, is, however, of an extremely problematic value. For even in the case of symptoms of depression it would be possible to transform marks into foreign bills without endangering the currency stability, though in such an eventuality the dearth of credit in Germany and thus also the phenomena of depression and crisis would increase all the more to the detriment of the industrial capitalists.

The French Government is also in favour of an immediate definite regulation of Reparations payments. By virtue of the Mellon-Berenger agreement, which, it is true, has not yet been ratified, the French Government will have to repay its war-debts, plus interest, to the United States. Added to this, France will, apart from war-debts, be obliged in 1929 to repay roughly 400 million dollars on credit received from America in the last few years. By means of the "mobilisation" of part of the Re-

parations payments to which France is entitled, the French capitalists desire to rid themselves of their own American creditors. To this end, the French Government has suggested that a sum of at least 1,600 million marks be "mobilised", i. e. sold, in its favour out of the 11,000 million debentures of the German State Railways in the hands of the Reparations Commission.

The German Government offers no special resistance to the realisation of this suggestion, but it demands a reduction of the total Reparations payments from 2,500 to 2,000 million marks per annum besides a restriction of the entire Reparations debt to roughly 30,000 millions marks, whereas according to the French Government the total amount of Germany's indebtedness is alleged to amount to double that sum. The Reparations Agent, Parker Gilbert, suggests a total of from 35,000 to 37,000 millions. The German Government points out that the sale of the railway bonds on the open market has released Germany in regard to this portion of the Reparations payments from the protection of the transfer clauses.

While the German Government believed itself to be able to attain a favourable final regulation of the Reparations payments in return for its Locarno policy the French Government turned the tables upon it by demanding the mobilisation of larger amounts in its favour as a quid pro quo for the evacuation, long overdue, of the occupied Rhineland territory.

Every new regulation of the Reparations payments, meanwhile, is dependent not only on the consent of the French and German Governments, but also on that of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. The sale of the railway bonds is to a great extent only possible with the help of the financial capital of the United States. Thus the American imperialists have the ultimate means of coercion in their hands, and it was they who caused the frustration of the desire of the French and British imperialists to effect an immediate connection between the Reparations payments and their own indebtedness to America by transferring the Reparations payments to the direct service of this indebtedness.

Apart from France, Great Britain is the greatest Reparations creditor, receiving 22 per cent. of the total Reparations payments to France's 52 per cent.

The question of a solution of the Reparations problem is therefore immediately affected by the differences between Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain is not, like France, interested in an immediate mobilisation of part of the Reparations debt, which is only possible with the aid of American financial capital. True, the British Government has already agreed to pay off its own indebtedness to America. Every year 40 million pounds are sent to America in this connection, but in comparison with the onus of interest of 350 million pounds per annum due on the entire British State debt, this payment to America is not so particularly weighty.

If however, the French Government succeeds in clearing up its difference with the Government of the United States by means of a partial mobilisation of the Reparations payments due to it, an important point of friction between the imperialism of France and the United States, respectively, would have ceased to exist. That this should be so, is however of no interest to the British imperialists, who have just concluded an alliance for the purpose of armaments with the imperialists of France. Added to this, a partial mobilisation of the Reparations debt would only benefit the French capitalists at the cost of the other Reparations creditors.

This makes it comprehensible that Parker Gilbert, a representative of the imperialism of the United States, should be quite particularly interested in the final solution of the Reparations question and should have made an international tour in this connection. By the partial mobilisation of the Reparations payments, the alliance between the French and British imperialists, in so far as it is directed against the imperialism of the United States, would be loosened. It is indeed only in London that the suggestions of Parker Gilbert met with an icy reception. Representatives of the Government openly declare that the standpoint of the latter in the matter of a new regulation of the Reparations payments is altogether different from that of the French Government and that the British Government is at present not all interested in seeing the Dawes plan altered.

The German Government, however, continues to aspire to an alteration of the Dawes plan and to a restriction of its Reparation liabilities. To this end a new international Locarno would be necessary, at which the differences between Great Britain and the United States would be shelved, while the common policy against the Soviet Union would probably come all the more to the fore. At the same time, the German Government is agreeable to the partial transference of its Reparations liabilities to "private" account, for the elimination of the transfer-clause would mean a simultaneous retrenchment of the Dawes control in Germany, which would give the German imperialists occasion to concentrate without foreign hindrance or control on the task of strengthening the imperialist position of Germany.

The Capitulation of the Petty-Bourgeoisie in the American (U. S. A.) Election Campaign.

By J. Louis Engdahl (New York).

The so-called La Follette movement, that four years ago mustered more than four million votes as a petty-bourgeois protest against the great capitalist parties, has completely disappeared as a factor in this year's national election struggle that goes to the polls on Tuesday, Nov. 6th.

This outstanding fact, coupled with the more tightly clenched grip of finance capital upon the democratic party, constitute two of the main features of the present parliamentary campaign.

Thus with the two old capitalist parties for all purposes practically identical, and with all avenues of political expression closed to small business, the dissatisfied farmers and such liberal elements as have formerly followed "third party" banners, the way is cleared in the United States for new alignments, for an unscrambling of the present unstable condition.

Since the United States entered upon the field of imperialist expansion, clearly marked by its successful venture into the Spanish-American War (1898), there have been three broad movements of the petty bourgeoisie. The first was led by William Jennings Bryan, who had already in 1896 become the presidential candidate of agrarian discontent as well as the revolt of little business in the cities. The second rebellion was led by Theodore Roosevelt, who split with the republican party in 1912 and organised the progressive party, this split resulting in the first election of Woodrow Wilson. Both Bryan and Roosevelt had been colonels in the Spanish-American War. The third uprising was also in the republican party, in 1924, when La Follette led in the organisation of another "progressive" party. Wilson led the democratic party into the Wall Street camp, and "Al" Smith's Tammany Hall has safely kept it there, while the last four years have seen the republican party become more solidified than even under the control of great capital.

The La Follette revolt was based upon the agrarian discontent in the West, represented by the so-called "Farm Bloc" in congress, as well as upon the labour aristocracy, including the Gompers' regime in the American Federation of Labour, and small business generally. He also had the support of Farmer-Labour parties created in different sections of the country, especially in Minnesota, where it had assumed mass proportions, electing Magnus Johnson, the farmer, to the United States senate. The Socialist Party also found a place in this political net, refraining from putting up a candidate of its own for the presidency first time since it was organised in 1900.

With the 1924 election over, followed quickly by the death of La Follette, this movement quickly fell to pieces. It may be said that its elements are now divided equally in support of either Hoover (republican) or Smith (democrat). This has resulted in much of the confusion that characterises the present ballot war.

Senator Smith W. Brookhart, of Iowa, who fought the republican party because its vice presidential candidate was Charles G. Dawes, the framer of the Dawes Plan for Germany, and who was in turn denied his seat in the senate although elected on the republican ticket, is this year working energetically for Hoover and the whole republican ticket. In the neighbouring state of Nebraska, however, another republican, Sena-

tor Norris, the "Farm Bloc" leader, remains critical of the republican regime and is expected to come out with an endorsement of Smith before the campaign ends. Then again in North Dakota, which had a Nonpartisan League (Farmers) in power for years, through its two senators, Frazier and Nye, is now supporting Hoover, while in the neighbouring state of Minnesota, the Farmer-Labour Party has just made a political horse trade with the democrats, whereby the Farmer-Labourites will vote democratic in the national election, while the democrats will give their support to the Farmer-Labour state ticket. In La Follette's home state, Wisconsin, where La Follette, Jr. fell heir to his father's seat in the senate, the progressive movement has collapsed, the reactionaries again getting control of the party machine. At this writing La Follette, Jr. has taken no stand on national candidates. Senator Blaine, the second La Follette senator in the state, follows Norris in criticising Hoover and edging close to Smith. Thus the "Farm Bloc", with a slight improvement in agrarian conditions, has been effectively shattered. "Farm Bloc" leaders who denounced the two old capitalist parties, four years ago, as "agents of Wall Street", have thus returned to those parties.

Similarly the labour aristocracy is divided as between the two old parties symbolised by the elephant (republican) and the donkey (democratic). The A. F. of L. claims to be maintaining its "nonpartisan" attitude in politics by taking no definite stand either way, but permitting its membership to vote as they see fit, for "the best man". Thus William Green, president of the A. F. of L., is staunch supporter of Smith (democrat) while John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers' Union, endorses and works for the election of Hoover. The Socialist Party decided again to put its own national ticket in the field, selecting Norman Thomas, former protestant preacher, as presidential candidate.

Similarly, the situation in the old parties is fluctuating. "The Solid South", formerly a unit for the democrats, shows signs of defections, because Smith is pro-liquor, Catholic, and always dubbed by this section of the democratic party as "influenced by Wall Street". The discontented agrarian west, that was formerly almost unanimous for the republicans, now shows some sympathy for Smith because it feels he gives greater support than Hoover to the McMary-Haugen farm relief programme. Liquor, religion and corruption in politics, are the main issues in this campaign, not the domination of the nation by finance capital except as it is raised by the Communist Party. Senator William E. Borah, chairman of the powerful foreign affairs committee of the senate, and usually bitter foe of Wall Street's imperialist policies in Nicaragua and China, has not only been silenced, but he is one of the chief speakers for Hoover, trailing Smith's II-car "campaign special", through the West. Borah has forgotten all his former attacks on Hoover now lauding him as "an executive genius".

It is this situation that causes the New York Times, democratic organ, in its issue of Sept. 24th, to declare:

"For a long time past there has been no reason whatever for the existence of two such parties (democrat and republican). Each has contained a large element of so-called conservatives and each a large and growing element of so-called progressives.

"If it should have the effect of preventing those who have lately repudiated party affiliations from resuming them again and should thus bring about a readjustment of personnel among leaders in political life, it will have benefited the governmental structure of the United States in a very appreciable degree. The campaign promises to have several by-products that are of value."

It is usually urged that the conservatives get into a party of their own, with the progressives in a separate party. The Labour Party (usually called Farmer-Labour in the United States) movement is at its lowest ebb in ten years. The Socialist Party has less influence than at any time in its history. The Communist Party, as the result of its leadership in mass struggles (mining, textile and clothing industries especially), is developing an increasing influence, and will undoubtedly profit by any break-up in the old alignments, that will shake new masses loose from their old former moorings.

Our Party has managed to get the names of its candidates William Z. Foster and B. Gitlow on the ballot in 33 out of the 48 states. Several states have denied the Communists a place on the ballot.

Although Communist campaign meetings are frequently broken up and Communist candidates arrested, nevertheless, the capitalist candidates, Hoover and Smith, in their speeches, proudly and continuously proclaim their stand for "this land, dedicated to tolerance".

CHINA

Foreign Political "Victories" of the Nanking Government.

By Tang Shin She.

After the re-formation of the Nanking Government, its originators again found themselves obliged to undertake some sort of manoeuvre for the purpose of diverting the attention of the anti-imperialistic population. In the middle of October, the Government addressed to all Powers enjoying privileges in China a Note demanding the abolition of extraterritoriality. The answer of the Powers, the "friends" of the Kuomintang, is bound to be a flat refusal, just as it was after the entrance of the Kuomintang troops into Peking.

The Kuomintang leaders can now record a number of diplomatic "victories". They are proud of the fact that their Government has attained an understanding with the Washington, London, Rome, and Paris Governments in regard to the Nanking incident of March 1927, which relieves their present obsequious policy of a responsibility. In the exchange of Notes in settlement of this incident, no mention was made of the Chinese killed by the American and British men-of-war; on the other hand the Nanking Government expressed its regret at the injury, abuse, and material loss inflicted on foreign citizens by the Communists. A Chinese-foreign committee has established indemnity payments for these transgressions and these will be rendered on an instalment basis.

Such a settlement of the Nanking incident constitutes the absolute capitulation of China, a documentary recognition of the privileges and authority of the imperialists. In this way the Kuomintang has acquired the full confidence of the Powers that feed it.

The endeavours directed towards the settlement of this incident were no smaller than those in connection with the recent expedition to the north. After the first formation of the Nanking Government in the April of last year it at once declared that the Communists were responsible for the Nanking incident and issued orders for the arrest of a whole number of political commissaries in the army. At that time, however, the imperialists had not yet much confidence in the Nanking Government. When last January Chiang-Kai-Shek was again at the head of the Government, he once more issued warrants against the then army commissaries and had a few promiscuous Communists shot before the eyes of the imperialists for "participation in the Nanking incident". In the imperialist press and in the exchange of Notes between the Chinese and foreign Governments, these executions were discussed in detail, but the Chinese press made no mention of them for fear of exciting the population.

As has now been established, the Nanking incident was arranged by Chiang-Kai-Shek himself. As early as March 1927, he had made his preparations for a betrayal of the revolution, for he considered it essential that the then Wuhan front be disorganised and that the imperialists be enlisted on his side. It is a clear proof of Chiang-Kai-Shek's guilt that after his open treachery on April 12th the 40th army corps, which had effected the attack on the foreigners, immediately joined him and was even appointed to act as the Nanking garrison.

Upon the settlement of the Nanking incident a number of other diplomatic negotiations started. In July Kellogg addressed an aggressively worded Note of salutation to the Nanking Government, after which the latter concluded a tariff agreement with the American representative at Peking. This was celebrated by the Kuomintang people as their first "victory" in

foreign politics. As a matter of fact, the Kellogg Note was in contradiction to the American declaration of January 26th, 1927, when the Chinese revolution was at its height. The Note of January 26th, 1927, pointed out that the American Government was at all times ready to negotiate with China on the subject of a restoration of customs authority and of an abolition of extraterritoriality. The Note of July 24th, 1928, however, only says that the American Government is willing to appoint a representative to discuss the tariff question; not a word is said as to the abolition of extraterritoriality, it being pointed out, indeed, that American citizens must be allowed to enjoy the same rights in China as the citizens of any other Power. The much-applauded treaty concluded by MacMurray and T. W. Sung, is naturally of the same tenor. The attitude of the American imperialists by no means implies a renunciation of their privileges in China but rather a confirmation thereof. By virtue of their concealed most-favoured-nations clause, they have not even refrained from acting in concert with other imperialistic Powers. Thus America still keeps more than 2600 soldiers and 50 warships in China.

The second "favourable move" of the Nanking Government was the Chinese-German treaty of August 17th, 1928. This treaty guarantees Germany most-favoured-nation treatment, while the stipulation of the Chinese-German agreement of May 20th, 1921, according to which German import-duties were to be paid according to general customs rules pending the application of autonomous customs regulations, is finally repealed. This agreement gives the new German imperialists the same rights in China as other imperialistic States. Thus Germany has gained its point even without acceding to the Washington agreement with China which formed the object of Stresemann's ardent endeavours two years ago.

The British imperialists, meanwhile, have naturally also profited by the settlement of the Nanking incident. Against the wishes of the entire Chinese people, the Nanking Government newly appointed the British customs-director Edwardes, whose term of office elapsed in September. The notice of cancellation of the transition-duties, announced by the Chinese Government itself on October 1st, was given no further attention.

By its Note of August 1st, Japan achieved a particularly successful trick, declaring the Japanese-Chinese commercial treaty, which had lapsed in the year 1925 and in regard to which the Peking Government had given due notice of cancellation, to be valid for another ten years. Manchuria has quite officially become a Japanese protectorate. Kiowtchow and Tsinan have been occupied by Japan for an unlimited time. Japan simply turns down all the approaches of the Chinese Government and all attempts on the part of the latter to negotiate in regard to the Nanking incident. Contrary to its rival America, Japan thus shows the mailed fist.

In 1912 Yuan-Shi-Kai, the military autocrat of that time, negotiated a great loan from the imperialists for the "reconstruction" of China, his real object being the suppression of the revolutionary masses. Now, for the very same purpose, the militarist-mandarinist rotten Kuomintang intends to do likewise. British and American imperialists have got the money ready. Following on negotiations with representatives of the Kuomintang, a consortium was formed in London last September for the purpose of advancing a loan against concessions for railway-construction. A similar consortium was founded in the United States. Ford has been conceded a concession for the construction of automobile-roads in Kiangsi, in return for which the Kiangsi Government has received money with which it intends to start upon the extermination of the Communists who control two thirds of that province. Ford has this year built extensive new works at Shanghai, capable of turning out 500 motorlorries monthly.

The "Berliner Tageblatt", which is constantly making propaganda for the Kuomintang, recently published, under the sensational heading of "America's Hand at Nanking", a report from Shanghai to the effect that the Nanking Government intended to raise a big reconstruction-loan in the United States and that Ford, Seligmann, Harper, and other American financial magnates had been appointed advisers to the Nanking Government. The heading suffices to show the German envy of American imperialism. The Nanking Government, however, has at the same time invited Ludendorff, Colonel Bauer, and other German strategists to act as its military advisers. This will furnish the American press with an excuse for exclaiming that

"the Germans are grasping at China". Japan has already started a press-campaign against Germany on account of the nomination of German military advisers and on account of German munition supplies to Chiang-Kai-Shek. In China's foreign policy, therefore, we can already see signs of differences between the new German imperialism and the imperialism of other capitalist States.

The Shanghai Post-Office Strike.

By K. Yamagata (Shanghai).

October, 10th, 1928.

The Postal Employees Labour Union, one of the "seven big" in Shanghai, has been presenting wage increase and other demands to the Nanking Government four times since last spring. The Ministry of Communications, however, repeatedly ignored and sidetracked the demands though the cost of living in Shanghai has advanced enormously. This, coupled up with the reduction of a death gratuity, cuts in the wages of the employees engaged on draft desks as well as the deep sympathy with the Peking Postal Workers Union strike declared on the previous day against the handling of a local Japanese imperialist daily newspaper, precipitated the crisis.

The crisis had culminated into a general tie-up on October 2, when 3000 employees of the lower ranks struck work and the entire Shanghai postal service system came to a standstill. The strikers gathered in the compound of the Central Office and fiery speeches were delivered. The Municipal police outside were powerless to intervene. Hence in addition to the riot squad a detachment of the Chinese Garrison too were summoned. The Kuomintang soldiers dispersed the mass meeting of the strikers and ejected them from the post office compound with brutal force, while the imperialist police and "specials" received the strikers on the street and gave them an additional beating-up as well as stripped off the uniforms from the letter carriers and then chased them away half-naked or arrested them. The joining of the Kuomintang soldiers with the imperialist police and "specials" and the atrocities inflicted upon the striking Chinese aroused indignation among the masses.

Immediately the Strike Committee issued a Manifesto of protest against the armed force brutalities and called upon the masses for support of the strike. "The action of the Kuomintang and imperialist police is a direct insult to our national dignity" — declares the manifesto. Further, it urges the strikers not to be afraid but rather become bolder and remain firm to the end; not to compromise but fight for the attainment of the full list of the demands, which comprise 16 points, among others the revision of the wage system according to a uniform increase of 33.33 per cent.

The response of mass support were prompt. Thus the next day sympathetic mass meetings were held by the following Shanghai labour unions: The Newspaper Workers Union, the Commercial Press Workers Union, the British-American Tobacco Factory Workers Union, the Chinese Electricity Workers Union, the Chinese Seamen's Union, the Nanyang Brothers' Tobacco Workers Union, the French Concession Tramway Workers Union, as well as other labour unions pledged their assistance to the strikers. The Peking, Tientsin and Nanking postal workers too sent messages of sympathy and encouragement.

As early as 1925 the Shanghai Postal Employees Labour Union came into being, but owing to craft divisions and inner disputes the clerks and assistants or the so-called higher-grades did not join at the inception. The result was the establishment of an organisation of the "higher-grades" known as the "Shanghai Postal Employees' Association". This Association (400 members) refused to join the strike and performed the strike breaking work on the pretext that the public welfare must be placed above the individual interests and that a strike of government employees is impermissible. For this "loyalty" the Association was praised by the imperialist and Kuomintang press as well as by the Nanking government and Central Kuomintang offices.

The strike committee at once issued a statement denouncing the scabs.

A strongly worded Manifesto in support of the strike and sharp condemnation of the strike-breakers were published on the third day of the strike by the silversmiths, dye workers, rice, medicine, iron, cloth, match, food and silk industry workers unions and clubs. The Shanghai Post Office strike became very popular indeed overnight. It had rapidly assumed a mass and political character. In fact, the strike threatened to develop before long into a general strike of Shanghai, or a general strike of the post office employees of the country, or both.

Hence the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang became extremely nervous and alarmed. And, therefore, the Central Headquarters of the Kuomintang instructed the local Kuomintang to negotiate with the strikers. The imperialists, the Municipal Council etc. demanded unconditional surrender, or discharge and break-up of the union and the immediate employment of strike-breakers.

Of course, the four hundred scabs were far from being able to run the postal service. The assistance of additional scabs were badly needed. Not one of the strikers accepted the inducements to return to work. Finally it was agreed to utilise the Boy Scouts Association.

The next morning four hundred scouts, mostly British, White Russian, Japanese, American etc. and a few Chinese undertook the sorting-out and delivery of the mail. The imperialist press was full of joy and most lavishly praised the heroism of the Boy Scouts. Not much less sympathy was expressed to the Japanese Street Union (scabs, spies and shopkeepers organisation) for joining the strike-breakers. The imperialists shouted at top of their voices that the breaking of the strike — means to fight bolshevism. And with the most bitter hatred the imperialist press printed radical passages from "The Shanghai Postal Workers" in the hope to stir-up prejudice against strikers.

The local Kuomintang, in accordance with the instructions from the Central Executive, have been in negotiations with the Strike Committee for several days. Finally, on October 5th, an agreement was reached to terminate the strike on the following basis:

1. That the Shanghai Postal Employees Association (the organisation of the so-called loyal postal employees who refused to join the strike and scabbed) to be abolished.
2. That Liu Shu-fan, Director General be dismissed.
3. That the 16 demands the refusal of which by the authorities brought on the strike, be "favourably considered".

These terms were ratified by the strikers assembled in a mass meeting and likewise a decision was made to resume work the next day, October 6th.

The imperialist and the Chinese press as well as the Association of the so-called loyal postal employees in chorus condemned the terms of agreement and characterised them as the most outrageous conditions which the local Kuomintang could promise. "The North China Daily News", the official organ of the British diehards, commented editorially that "We have no hesitation in advising the authorities to reject the terms and discharge from the service all strike participants and fill their places with employees willing to work. It must be made perfectly plain that such a promise has no validity, because the local Kuomintang had no power to make it, and that in no circumstances will it be carried out.

In summing up we venture to draw the following conclusions:

A. The Shanghai Post Office Strike manifested a strong sentiment of mass unrest and general dissatisfaction. The causes of which are: the absolutely unbearable misery of the toiling masses, the rise of their class consciousness and the accumulation of fighting energy. And, therefore, notwithstanding the Kuomintang prohibition of strikes and the raging white terror, mass strikes are breaking out.

B. That the Kuomintang is losing its grip even on the workers employed in the government enterprises, not only postal but railway workers as well, is mainly due to the fact that:

that: the workers are becoming more and more enlightened that the Kuomintang is nothing but the running dog of the native exploiters and the foreign oppressors — imperialists; and because the Kuomintang government is not paying regularly even the existing miserable wages to the employed workers. Thus on the railroads the wages are from 2 to 4 months in arrears.

C. That although the working masses are leaving or discharging the Kuomintang leadership, and although they are in general sympathy with our aims and aspirations, they are still hesitating to come over organisationally to the Left, to adopt our fighting methods and accept our leadership. Precisely this very hesitation prevented them to turn the strike into a mighty political struggle. This very fear and vacillation accelerated if not actually caused the termination of the strike on the basis of empty words or local Kuomintang promises. It stands to reason that not even 10% of the agreement will be fulfilled by the Kuomintang government and the promises are nothing but illusions.

Our immediate task is therefore to gather and organise mass force under a revolutionary leadership for the daily struggles and for the overthrow of the Kuomintang government and the imperialists.

THE BALKANS

A Retrospect on the Peasant Meeting at Sisak.

By Dragatchevatz.

The mass meeting of peasants convoked at Sisak (near Agram) on October 21st by the allied Croatian Peasant Party and Democratic Party did not succeed in fulfilling the task which had been expected of it by public opinion in Croatia. It was nevertheless of great significance for the further development in Croatia and also in other parts of Yugoslavia and was a test of the reliability of the coalition between the Croatian Peasant Party in general and of the policy observed in the conduct of the Croatian Peasant Party in particular.

The coalition in question had not had the intention of making this meeting the starting-point of a clear and decisive policy in relation to the Government, and still less of making it the starting-point of an organisation of a mass-movement in favour of the demands already forcibly expressed by the masses. The bourgeois leaders of the Croatian Peasant (or Radic) Party had no such intention. This meeting was to serve in the hands of the leaders of the coalition between the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party merely as a manoeuvre for the acceleration of negotiations with the ruling Serbian parties and was, in particular, to lead to new elections. Both parties to the coalition, i. e. Macek and the other leaders of the Radic Party on the one hand and Pribitchevitch and the other leaders of the Democratic Party on the other, agreed on this point, though they could until the last minute not come to an understanding regarding the political demands to be submitted jointly to the masses and thus attended the meeting, so to say, with divided opinions.

Pribitchevitch is the leader of the Serbs living in Croatia and in the other Croatian parts of the kingdom, who have for years been adherents of the centralist Serbian ideology. He himself has, at bottom, remained a Serbian nationalist and centralist. In his speech at Sisak he therefore omitted to say a word on the question of the State or of the future of Croatia. He merely presented the immediate joint demands of the Coalition of the Croatian Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, viz. dissolution of the Skupshtina, retirement of the Government, formation of a neutral Government, and proscription of absolutely free elections.

Macek, the leader of the Croatian masses, who still look upon the Radic Party as an instrument of true national emancipation, was bound to say something definite on the subject of the future policy of the movement and of the independence of Croatia, a subject raised by the Party long ago. However, he

cleverly evaded the issue and juggled with phrases already employed on several occasions, such as "The Coalition will never set foot in the Belgrade Skupshtina". "Croatia will fight to the last breath for her national liberty and employ every means she can to that end." "Croatia continues to recognise the King and the People, but no longer the Serbian Parties, the Constitution, or the Laws." When Macek observed that the Croatian peasants did not share his full faith in the King, he went back on what he had said by making a distinction between the two "recognised" authorities. "The King", he said, "has hitherto done nothing for the cause of Croatia. The Croatian people, absolutely undivided, will now itself achieve its freedom."

This entire vacillating and vague speech of the leader of the Radic Party who had nothing to say on the subject of an independent Croatia, failed to satisfy the Croatian masses, so that finally the Croatian deputy Pernar, who had been wounded in the shooting affray at the Skupshtina, had, albeit unofficially, to instil more confidence in the leaders into the masses. The murders at Belgrade, he assured them, had regulated once for all the relations between Croatia and Serbia. Now only a free Croatia under its own Government was possible.

It is thus apparent that there is no uniformity of opinion in the coalition. The leaders of the Radic Party insist on the personal union, not because they desire to realise it but because they desire to preserve the favour of the masses by a declaration in regard to the freedom of a Croatia united with Serbia merely by the person of the King.

What is, however, most significant for the further development of affairs in Croatia is the open distrust the Croatian masses entertain for the King and the yet more apparent and pronounced demand for an independent Croatia. The small and middling farmers are everywhere raising this demand and are growing more and more active in the Radic Party, the more they are menaced by the general economic position of the country and by the taxation policy of the Government. The Radic Party is beginning to become the prey of the big-bourgeois and big-farmer elements.

Whether this differentiation in the Croatian peasant movement will proceed at a rapid pace and whether this activity of the working farmers will spread to the entire area of Croatia, depends before all on the active Left elements in the movement and on the activity of the Republican Workers' and Peasants' Bloc. It will now no longer be so difficult to expose the conciliatory, opportunistic policy of the coalition between the Croatian Peasant Party and the Democratic Party as also of the leaders of the Radic Party itself. In opposition to the clearly expressed will and intention of the great masses of Croatian peasants, to fight with all possible means for their liberty, the leaders have not yet announced or prescribed any radical measures, nor have they created any organisational forms of warfare. Before all, the leaders have failed to set up any political programme.

All these questions, that of the political platform, the independence of Croatia, of a fraternisation of all free Balkan peoples in a federation of workers' and peasants' republics, the question of a financial boycott against the State and the refusal of military service, the question of the foundation of defence committees among the peasantry and their provision with arms, as also of the united front with the revolutionary workers by means of action committees of peasants and workers, and the question of an election of representatives of the workers in each district and of the convocation of a meeting of representatives for the entire country — all these questions, which have long been discussed by the Communist Party and by the Republican Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, must be translated into practice.

The national and peasant movement in Croatia is beginning to tread revolutionary paths. In the interest of the revolution in the Balkans and of world revolution it must be promoted by all possible means.

The Result of the Klausenburg Mass Trial.

By D. F. (Bucharest).

After the proceedings lasting for 34 days, the verdict has been pronounced in the Klausenburg trial. Half of the accused (34) had to be acquitted, among them being the chairman of the Unitarian trade unions of Roumania, Koloman Müller, further the leading member of the workers' and peasants bloc, Dr. Eugen Rosvany and the radical Hungarian writer and secretary of the International Workers' Relief, Victor Arady. The other half of the accused were given sentences ranging from five days arrest up to nine years hard labour (all of them to ten years loss of civil and political rights), among them being Matvei, an editor, to nine years labour, and Haia Lipschitz, a women teacher, to seven years etc.

The acquittal of the chairman of the Unitarian trade unions undoubtedly means a success for the campaign which has been conducted in Roumania and abroad against the intentions of the government to dissolve the Unitarian trade unions. It was intended that the military court should prove by the verdict against the leader of the Unitarian trade unions that the latter are only a "tool of the Communist Party". The Public Prosecutor and the reformists, by means of the indictment and denunciations, made the dissolution of the Unitarian trade unions the chief purpose of the trial.

The indignation and the actions of the working class, on the one hand, and the solidarity of the proletariat abroad, on the other, enforced the dropping of this most important charge in the indictment. On the eve of the pronouncement of the verdict a big workers' delegation from all important centres of Transylvania handed to the Prime Minister a monster petition with 15,000 signatures. The military court was flooded with telegrams of protest which were sent by the staffs of numerous factories. The court rooms were literally besieged by the workers.

This action of the working class and the acquittal of the chairman of the Unitarian trade unions prove that, in spite of the terror and the persecutions, there still exist great possibilities for the activity of the unitarian trade unions. There must now set in a broad recruiting campaign for the unitarian trade unions in order to overcome the liquidatory moods which are noticeable among a section of the functionaries of the Unitarian trade unions, to increase the fight for the legal existence of the Unitarian trade unions and for the reopening and restitution of the locked-up and confiscated trade union premises.

Further, the acquittal of the secretary of the International Workers' Relief must be made the starting point for the extension of the activity of the I. W. R. throughout the whole country, especially in connection with the famine disaster among the peasantry; before all in Bessarabia and in other occupied and suppressed districts.

Finally, the acquittal of Comrade Rosvany offers an appropriate opportunity to increase the activity of the workers' and peasants' bloc, the more so because this bloc will be confronted with great tasks in the near future.

The verdict against the other workers and intellectuals is not only a new link in the bloody chain of white terror but, as even bourgeois and anti-Communist papers admit, a punishment for their courageous and brave behaviour before the military court. It is for this reason that they are being sent into the salt mines.

It is the task of the Roumanian and the international proletariat to enforce a revision and annulment of the barbarous verdict which is not even justified by the worst class and terror laws, as well as a complete political amnesty for the previously condemned workers, peasants, and intellectuals and for the ten thousands of soldiers who are still, now, ten years after the termination of the war, pining in the salt mines and prisons of Roumania on account of their "unpatriotic behaviour during the war" after the outbreak of the Russian revolution.

The verdict deprives the condemned of all their civil and political rights for ten years and therefore of the possibility of being official members of the trade union committees or filling any public position in the labour movement. The fight for the legalising of the C. P. and the Young Communist League of Roumania must therefore be increased.

ELEVEN YEARS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Before the Eleventh Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Beginning of the New Economic Year. — Observations of an Economist.

By N. Bukharin.

(Conclusion.)

The problem arising from all this form a complex in which the problem of capital investment and grain supply take the first place. With reference to this last question, the latest decisions of the Party have duly stressed its immense importance. Hence the correction of the price policy, hence the necessity for the greatest practical efforts in this sphere. It need not be said that it were not for the fact that our grain provision has fallen threateningly behind our requirements, were it not scattered, and had our grain not lost much of its character as a commodity, then it would certainly be more to the purpose for us to invest the money expended for Soviet farms in something else, in black metallurgy for instance, the most needy factor in our industry. But not even the "super-industrialists" venture to lay a finger on the Soviet farms. Why? Because the backwardness of our grain provision is so painfully obvious. The "pure production standpoint", that is, the standpoint of "increased production" (Lenin) coincides here with the standpoint of "class substitution", with the gradual substitution of the capitalist elements of agriculture by the growing collectivisation of the individual farms of the poor and middle peasantry, by the reorganisation of agricultural production on the basis of the large undertaking, and by the socialisation of agriculture. This is a new and vast problem, which does not by any means assume neglect of the individual farms of the working peasantry, but which, on the contrary, must be solved on the basis of the improvement of the individual undertaking. (Thus, and not otherwise, was the question stated by Lenin.) This problem demands special attention and special effort precisely for the reason that it is a new problem. The task before us consists to a certain extent of making extensive capital investments in agriculture, which requires both new technical appliances (tractors, mechanisation, chemistry, etc.) and new cadres of qualified workers. The rise of the individual peasant farm, especially in the direction of grain production, the restriction of the peasant farm, the establishment of new Soviet farms and collective agricultural undertakings in combination with a correct price policy, and in combination with the co-operative association of the peasant masses, etc., are all calculated to equalise the great economic disproportions which have found expression in the stability, and even the decline, of grain production, and in the weak development of agriculture in general. When drawing up our plans, we must remember the directives of the XV. Party Congress:

"It is incorrect to take as a starting point the demand of a maximum pumping over of means from the sphere of agriculture into the sphere of industry, for this demand not only signifies a political rupture with the peasantry, but an undermining of the raw material basis of industry itself, an undermining of the home market, undermining of export, and an upsetting of the equilibrium of the whole economic system. On the other hand, it would be incorrect to renounce the use of means drawn from agriculture for the furtherance of industry: At the present time this would mean a retardation of the speed of development and an upsetting of the balance, to the detriment of the industrialisation of the country."

III.

The pivot upon which our whole planned economic calculations turns, and our whole economic policy, must be the care for the steadily developing industrialisation of the country, and the Party will combat anyone intending to divert us from this path. The industrialisation of the Soviet Union is our law, from every standpoint (development of productive forces, development of agriculture, growing rôle of Socialism, firmer esta-

blishment of collaboration within the country, increase of our specific international weight, self-defensive powers, increase of mass requirements, etc.). At the same time we must never forget that our socialist industrialisation must differ from capitalist industrialisation, that it is pursued by the proletariat in the interests of Socialism, that its effect upon the peasantry is different, and that its "attitude" towards agriculture in general is different. Capitalism has led to the decline of agriculture. Socialist industrialisation is not a parasitic process in its relation to the village (under capitalism the elements of such a parasitism exist, in spite of the development of agriculture under capitalism), but a medium for the extensive re-organisation and advancement of agriculture. The industrialisation of the country, therefore, signifies at the same time the industrialisation of agriculture, and thereby prepares the way for the cancelment of the antagonism between town and country. It is comprehensible that the process of industrialisation cannot advance with equal smoothness in all stages of development. And it is equally comprehensible that it places us before extremely difficult problems. In a half beggared country we must raise enormous sums of fresh "capital" and apply these productively, converting it into new technics, new buildings, etc. The problem of capital investment therefore demands first attention. Here we encounter most complicated and difficult tasks, which cannot by any means be accomplished by shouting, by "intuition", or any similar means. Here a thorough study of the problem is necessary, here dilettantism is out of place; here we require a collective working out of the question; here we must calculate.

We must strive for the greatest attainable speed of industrialisation. Does this mean that we must employ everything as capital investment? The question is somewhat senseless. But this senseless question conceals within it another and entirely "sensible" question, the question of the limits of accumulation, the question of the utmost boundary of capital investment.

Above all, when drawing up our programme of capital investment, we must keep in view the instructions of the Party with respect to reserves of securities, money, grain, and goods. Of late it has become the fashion to preserve silence on the policy of reserves.

Although "silence is golden", and we are short of gold, in this case we must not play the game of silence. We have not only no reserves, but we have difficulties in providing adequate supplies; the "queue" has become a "form of life" which considerably disorganises the life of our production.

We are aware that the errors of our planned economy are unavoidable to a certain extent, that we have great difficulties, that the international situation is strained. Is it possible under such circumstances to manage without reserves? A policy of working constantly without reserves would be the policy of adventurers. Therefore, the Party has placed the question of reserves in the foreground.

This directive has, however, been followed very insufficiently up to the present. Here a decided change must be made. The resolutions passed by the Party are not for amusement. At the present time we have no cause to revise the decisions of the 14th and 15th Party Congresses on reserves. The whole situation imperatively demands that we execute these decisions. We are especially interested in the question of the extent to which this directive is being followed in the drawing up of our perspective plans. Let us take, for instance, the latest drafts of the Five-Year Plan for industry. I have the impression that the People's Supreme Economic Council, in drawing up its Five-Year Plan, has forgotten the policy of reserves altogether. It is to be seen from the report of the "Ekonomitsheskaya Shisn" that the excessive demands put on the budget by the Five-Year Plan impair its practical character. And when a plan is impracticable it is a "somewhat" serious fault.

It is easily comprehensible that the question of reserves is closely bound up with both the question of productive consumption (including capital investment) and the question of personal consumption (personal mass consumption). It is a generally known fact that here our bow is at a very high tension. To increase this tension still further, and to increase the goods famine still more, is impossible. The 15th Party Congress gave an entirely correct directive here:

"We must not take as a starting point either the one-sided interests of accumulation during the present period (as demanded by Trotzky), or the one-sided interests of consumption."

It is an unfortunate fact that the Five-Year Plans for industry deal with the question of goods famine just as they deal with the question of reserves. The report of the "Ekonomitsheskaya Shisn", speaking of the draft, observes that here the balance between demand and supply is lacking. (C. f. Comrade Meschlauk's speech). When, a plan drawn up during a supply crisis fails to analyse thoroughly the question of the balance between demand and supply, this is no "external" oversight, no "formal" omission, but a profound internal fault. The acuteness of the goods shortage must certainly be alleviated, and not in some remote future, but during the next few years. The first steps in this direction must be made at once.

It is further necessary to raise the question of the material elements of capital investment. In order that the industrialisation of the country is accomplished not only on paper, but in actuality, in order that capital investment may be a reality and not a mere bureaucratic "juggling with figures" (Lenin), we must not only secure the necessary money basis, representing the demand for building materials, but we must provide for a corresponding supply of these building materials, for their actual physical existence, and this not in the future but at the present time, since it is not possible to build a "real" factory, even after Böhm-Bawerk, with "future bricks".

A certain strange standpoint still prevails very often among us, a strange species of "money fetishism". It is assumed that, where there is money everything else must be there too. In reality money does not help us when this or that material (taking thriftiness into account) is not available in sufficient quantities, when a term is required for its production which exceeds the term in which it should be productively consumed. We may strike our chests as dramatically as may be, may swear by industrialisation and curse all our foes, but that will not help matters.

How does this question stand for next year?

The following table gives the answer:

Building material balance for 1928/29.

	Absorbent power	Production	Deficit or surplus	The same in %
Cement (in 1000 casks)	15,000	13,460	— 1640	— 10.8
Bricks (in millions)	2,677	2,445	— 232	— 8.7
Alabaster (1000 tons)	335	281	— 54	
Lime (1000 tons)	734	700	— 34	
Chalk (1000 tons)	250	252	+ 2	
Fireproof material (1000 tons)	758	683	— 45	
Sawn timber (1000 cubic metres)	10,368	10,191	— 177	
Window glass (1000 tons)	184.8	158.2	— 32	— 17.4
Beams (1000 tons)	208.8	147	— 61.8	— 29.7
Rolled wire (1000 tons)	157.3	122	— 35.3	— 22.4
Special and section iron, steel (1000 tons)	1,246.6	958	— 288.6	— 23.2

These data show that even if measures are being taken with respect to bricks and cement (although 8.6 and 10.8 per cent. still represent a more than "fairly large" deficit), still the shortage of glass, beams, wire, section iron and steel, is extremely great. The writer of the article (Barsky: "The building material industry", "Ekonomitsheskaya Shisn", No. 220) furnishing the above figures has unfortunately not stated on what physical growth of building work he bases his calculation. If this estimate of the deficit is correct, then we are faced with a somewhat complicated task: How are we going to build if we have 20 per cent. less building material than we need? Can we not make an exacter calculation, and draw up a more accurate programme, based on real and not imaginary beams and iron?

It is interesting to investigate the matter with reference to the most backward department of our big industry — black metallurgy. The "Control figures of the black metal balance for 1928/29" give us the following survey of three years of development:

	Percentage satisfaction of demand		
	1926/27	1927/28	1928/29
Transport service	95.1	91	87
People's Commissariat and authorities	97.5	96	78.5
State centralised metal industry	91.5	87.4	77.2
Local metal industry	75.2	87.2	66
Other branches of industry	81.3	81.8	77.5
Communal economy and building	79.4	73.6	57.7
Home industries, small crafts and trades	62.4	67.8	48.5
Personal requirements in town and country	68.2	60.5	56.6
Total	82.3	80	71

We see that the deficit (deficit!) is decidedly growing (growing!!) in every category of consumption.

In order to understand how such a paradox is possible, that the shortage increase in every direction — both in personal and productive consumption —, and has increased more acutely than ever in 1928/29, we must examine the question of how the figures for the growth of our capital investment have been planned.

What were the directives issued by the 15th Party Congress on this question?

"In the question of the rate of development . . . the extreme complicatedness of the task must be taken into account. We must not take as a point of departure the maximum rate of accumulation for the next year or years, but such a proportion as will guarantee the greatest speed of development permanently.

With respect to the relations between the development of heavy and light industry we must again proceed from the optimal combination of both factors. Whilst regarding the attaching of greatest importance to heavy industry as correct, we must at the same time remember the dangers involved in tying down too much state capital in the building of large undertakings, whose production cannot be realised in the market for many years. On the other hand it must be remembered that a more rapid circulation of the products of light industry (mass articles of daily use) permits capital to be expended for building up heavy industry whilst developing light industry at the same time."

We see that the 15th Party Congress was extremely cautious. It expressed itself as directly opposed to a wild overstrain on the speed of the first few years, with its inevitable resultant decline. How is this Party directive being executed in practice? We have unfortunately no new data on the preliminary estimates for the capital investment of the whole socialised sector. We append, however, the figures on the projected capital investment in industry (that is, about 35 per cent of total socialised building activity).

The increase of capital investment, in percentages of the previous year, as projected by the Five-Year Plan (which was fortunately rejected by the Supreme Economic Council) is as follows:

1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33
+ 29.6%	+ 7.3%	— 1%	— 8.3%

Here the entirely opposite course is taken. In 1929/30 we see a leap of almost 40%, followed however by a drop to 7 and then to 1 — finally landing at 8%. Is it not evident that this project is made without reference to the situation? What premises have permitted such an acrobatic somersault in so serious a matter as capital investment? We find no even approximately satisfactory answer to this question.

Can we not demand that here, too, the decisions of the 15th Party Congress in the question of the speed of development be exactly observed?

The overstraining in capital expenditure is 1. not accompanied by actual building activity to a corresponding extent; 2. it will lead in time to the stoppage of enterprises already begun; 3. it will react unfavourably on other branches in every direction, and 4. it will finally retard the speed of development.

Such a sabotage, under the conditions imposed by stable and semi-stable prices, has at the same time a damaging reac-

tion on the monetary system. This is a special subject, and a very important one.

Every communist can see plainly that we must go forward as rapidly as possible. It is natural to regret a slowing down of that speed already attained by means of a severe strain on the budget, the absence of any reserves, and at the cost of a reduction in the share of consumption, etc., and we must clearly recognise that if we want to maintain this speed (and not merely force it), and at the same time alleviate the goods famine, in the first place, secondly make some progress towards accumulating reserves, and thirdly ensure economic development free from crises, we must take decisive measures for securing more efficient building activities, a greater productivity of the new undertakings, an efficiency and productivity far exceeding the present.

The concrete investigations made by the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection have shown that we have a frightful amount of unproductive expenditure. These faux frais, connected with a number of organisational questions, must be reduced to a minimum. Every effort must be concentrated on the reduction of the building material index figures. The time of production must be greatly shortened (we take two years for buildings finished in America in two months). The type of building (the needlessly heavy building) must be greatly altered. We must be much more economical in the expenditure of building material (at times the amount of material consumed is 1½ to 2 times more than actually required). All this combined can achieve an immense saving, when we take into account that the capital investments in industry represent only one third of the total investments of the socialised sector (1.25 to 1.30 milliard roubles for industry without electrification, out of a total sum of 3.4 milliard roubles in the economic year 1927/28).

The sums thus released must be used for: 1. alleviating the tension of the market, so detrimental to industry and to the whole of socialised economy to the workers and peasants (as seen above in the analysis of the structure of the demand), and to our monetary system; 2. for the formation of reserves; 3. for the maintenance of the tempo really attained.

At the same time the productivity of our undertakings must be increased in every way, and the overhead charges reduced (an actual mass production must be secured). The latest inventions, the most important technical achievements, serious rationalisation work, participation of the masses, development and application of science (the importance of which must be many times increased) — all this must occupy the first place in our attention. We must do away with Russian provincialism: We must follow carefully every movement of scientific and technical thought in Europe and America and utilise every real advance; we must make our calculations on a scientific basis; we must put an end as quickly as possible to the confusion, the overburdening, etc. in the system of our economic administration. We must learn to administer economy culturally under the complicated conditions of the period of reconstruction.

It is only possible for us to fulfil this task if we first grasp the following: We have not yet realigned our ranks in the manner required by the reconstruction period.

The maximum of economic factors working for Socialism must be mobilised among us. This assumes a complicated combination of personal, group, mass, and state initiative.

We are much too centralised. We must ask ourselves, whether we cannot take a few steps in the direction of Lenin's commune state? This does not by any means signify "letting go the reins". On the contrary, the fundamental leadership, the most important questions, are matters which must be dealt with much more firmly and strictly (but with more thought) by the "centre". But the lower organs, whilst acting within the strict confines of the central decisions, are to be responsible for their own sphere of problems, etc. The over-centralisation in various directions has led to our losing additional forces, means, and possibilities, and to our being deprived by bureaucratic hindrances from utilising all our possibilities. We could act with much more elasticity, could manoeuvre much better, and attain much greater success, were we capable of adapting ourselves to real concrete conditions in our enterprises, from the individual state undertakings downwards, and not committing a thousand greater or smaller stupidities.

The grain supply crisis has been a signal warning us of great dangers. Economy has here shown its class aspect again.

These dangers are not yet overcome, and much work is still required before they will be. There is no doubt that hostile forces are at work in our country: the Kulak in the village, the remnants of the old and the groups of the new bourgeoisie in the town. Elements of bourgeois degeneration are creeping into the pores of our gigantic apparatus, and these are perfectly indifferent to the interests of the masses, to their lives, their material and cultural progress. Whilst the active ideologists of the small and middle bourgeoisie are stretching out their tentacles, and making tentative efforts to shake our political line (these are the opponents of industrialisation, the opponents of the Soviet farms, of the collective undertakings, etc.), on the other hand, the officials are ready to work out any plan whatever — even an over-industrialised one — and then to deride us among themselves to-morrow and to join forces with our opponents the day after.

The working class has, however, many trumps in its hand. In the struggle against the class enemies and their growing political power, the proletariat will rely for support upon the village poor and organise their forces against the Kulak, will intensify its self-criticism and thereby successfully overcome its own faults. We are growing, and we can and shall continue to grow, with fewer set-backs, when we have attained more culture and have learnt the work of administration better. It was just on this subject that Lenin spoke during the last few years of his life.

How is the Manifesto of the Soviet Government for the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution Carried out?

As is well known, the Jubilee Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union issued a year ago, on the eve of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, a Manifesto providing for a number of extraordinary important measures for the raising of the standard of living of the working masses of the Soviet Union.

These measures included the transition to a seven-hour working day, the increasing of the State subsidies for the erection of workers' dwellings, a 15 million rouble contribution for the erection of new schools, doubling of the funds for the insurance of invalids, the passing of a Bill concerning State support for poor aged peasants, etc.

How are these measures of the Manifesto being carried out?

Particular importance attaches to this question in conjunction with the circumstances that the eleventh year after the October Revolution, just passed, was characterised by increased pressure upon the Soviet Union brought to bear by the capitalist world and also characterised by the reanimation of the Kulak elements within the country and by difficulties on certain sections of the economic front.

But in spite of these difficulties the Soviet Government is executing all the measures contained in the Manifesto.

For 125,000 workers the seven-hour working day has become a reality.

In spite of the fact that the Manifesto provided for the commencement of the transition to the seven-hour day as at the end of one year after the publication of the Manifesto, actual transition to the seven-hour working day already began in February of this year in a number of concerns.

Since then the seven-hour day has been introduced in 27 enterprises, most of them textile mills; in these enterprises 125,337 workers are engaged.

Since October 1st a number of enterprises in other branches of industry have gone over to the seven-hour day. In the coming year the seven-hour working day will, according to incomplete data, be introduced into more than 200 factories and works employing an aggregate of 240,000 workers. In addition, the transition to the seven-hour day in the big railway workshops is provided for in the new year.

In conjunction with the going over of the factories to the seven-hour day, the increase in the number of shifts affords the

possibility of employing a greater number of workers in production, and in this way mitigates unemployment.

In general, the seven-hour day is being observed in the new factories from the moment they begin operations.

On the basis of the Manifesto of the Soviet Union 50 million roubles was transmitted from State resources for the erection of workers' dwellings to the special fund of the Central Communal Bank of the Soviet Union.

The special fund of this bank for the erection of workers' dwellings was raised through this 50-million State contribution in the year 1928 to 205,100,000 roubles.

The Manifesto provided for 15 million roubles out of the State budget for the erection of schools in villages and factory settlements. With these means considerable building of schools, was undertaken, especially in culturally backward districts. The sums allotted to this purpose in the sense of the Manifesto rendered possible the erection of 500 new schools.

In accordance with the Manifesto, the fund for the support of war invalids and their families was doubled, as compared with the year 1927.

The Council of People's Commissaries has prepared a Bill for the insurance and support of poor peasants in their old age; this Bill will come up for ratification at the next Soviet Congress. The law will come into operation in 1929. First of all the poorest peasants of over 65 years of age will be supported, and for this purpose 25 million roubles a year is required.

The Struggle for the Socialist Co-operatives.

Moscow, October 7th, 1928.

The rate of development of the various branches of the co-operative movement in the Soviet Union very considerably surpasses the expectations once entertained in regard to the progress to be made in the course of last year. Within that period the number of co-operatives increased by 40 per cent. At the same time, the number of members advanced by 41 per cent. and the aggregate turnover by 44 per cent. The sums paid in actually increased by as much as 146 per cent., so that in the last twelvemonth there was a greater accretion of funds to the co-operatives than in the entire preceding section of their existence. Nor has the increase of the agricultural co-operatives during the said time been less substantial. The collective farms, which form the most important section of the agricultural co-operative system, give evidence of a fundamental change. In comparison with the economic year 1926/27, the following development has been recorded: an increase of 62 per cent. in the number of collective farms, an increase of 71 per cent. in the number of peasant farms included in the collective farm system, a 180 per cent increase in the output of goods, and a 116 per cent. advance in the area under cultivation.

The past economic year may well be looked upon as a turning-point in the history of the co-operative movement in the Soviet Union. For the first time, all branches of the co-operative system were faced directly with the task of Socialist reconstruction.

In the coming economic year, the percentage of co-operative organisation among the total population is to increase by 11 per cent. The proportional absorption of the purchasing funds of the entire population is to reach the imposing extent of 70 per cent. The rôle played by the agricultural co-operatives in the task of raising the various agricultural raw materials in keeping with our plans, is to be greatly enhanced, which will at the same time advance the process of the co-operative absorption of agrarian production. In this respect, the increase will figure at 15 per cent., bringing the total quota of the agricultural co-operatives up to 55 per cent. The estimated increase of investments and the erection of new co-operative concerns are proportionately yet greater.

It must, however, be pointed out that the quality of the co-operative activity does not keep pace with the quantitative increase. The rationalisation of the apparatus, the methods of work, and the service of the masses are in the case of numerous organisations altogether unsatisfactory.

The question of cultural work among the masses continues to be a weak point. The rate of its development and the sum total of the funds set aside for this purpose still falls far short of the

programme of the cultural revolution, which the co-operatives are one of the main factors in attaining. But even the very first steps in this highly important work of cultural development, the penetration of the rural districts with books and films, have shown the tremendous importance of exploiting the independent activity of the co-operatively organised masses.

The fact must not be lost sight of, moreover, that the greatest difficulties are still ahead of us. What has hitherto been done by the co-operatives was in the first place the occupation of the positions formerly held by private capital. It is only with the inception of the reconstruction period that the co-operatives are faced with farther-reaching tasks. The co-operatives have now the possibility of guiding the economy and culture of millions into new channels.

In executing these tasks, the co-operative system inevitably clashes with the resistance of capitalist elements in town and country. The participation of the co-operatives in the class struggle becomes more and more apparent, and the co-operative system itself seems destined to become the arena of this struggle. It obviously follows that the Party must pay far greater attention than hitherto to the conduct of the co-operative system.

Conscious or unconscious distortions of the proletarian policy in this connection are now more dangerous than ever before. In view of our fight against international capital and of the situation resulting from the increased resistance of the kulaks, clarity and firmness in the class policy of the proletariat has become an indispensable presumption for the execution of all and every social enterprise and thus of every measure in the realm of the co-operative system.

But it is just in this co-operative system that we are still hampered by a not inconsiderable ballast of petty-bourgeois usages dating from the former epoch. Nor is bureaucracy completely overcome. In certain deteriorated sections of the co-operative organism an extremely dangerous process of the concretion of petty-bourgeois ideas with bureaucracy is to be observed.

The Party and the broad masses of the co-operative functionaries must therefore be alive to the fact that such phenomena must be combatted with no less energy than is applied in the case of embezzlements. Lenin's co-operative plan would be undermined if the proletarian co-operative principles were to be represented by persons who do not understand how to champion the interests of the working class and of socialist construction, who are isolated from the masses, and who substitute the necessary social management by an atmosphere of bureaucracy. The plan of Lenin and the co-operative policy of the Party have proved their worth. The resistance of the kulaks and of the "Nep" traders will multiply tenfold our strength for the fight, not only against them but against all who dare to oppose the policy of the working class directly or indirectly.

Slogans for the XI. Anniversary of the October Revolution.

(Agitprop of the E. C. C. I.)

1. In October 1917, eleven years ago, the proletariat of Russia forced a fundamental breach in the imperialist front. **Down with imperialism! Long live the World October!**

2. On October 1917, the victorious proletariat in Russia swept away the predatory dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and established in its place the proletarian dictatorship. **Long live the world proletarian dictatorship!**

3. The capitalists and their lackeys have unleashed the forces of reaction against the proletarian dictatorship and are preparing for a military crusade against the U. S. S. R. **Down with the organisers of counter-revolution war. All for the defence of the Socialist Homeland of the Toilers!**

4. The Great October Revolution is the first durable victory of the international revolutionary proletariat.

Long live the U. S. S. R.! Long live the World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

5. The First Socialist State, although surrounded by enemies, has managed to restore the country, exceed the pre-war level of development of productive forces and, while fighting obstacles inside and outside the country, is firmly and surely

laying the Socialist foundations of industry. **Hearty Greetings to the stalwart builders of Socialism!**

6. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the first to set an example of the revolutionary solution of the national problem and was the first to establish real national equality. **Down with colonial and national oppression! Long live the victorious struggle of the peoples of the Orient!**

7. The Soviet Republic emancipated its women and established real and complete equality of the sexes.

Make way for the working woman! Down with capitalist oppression and bondage!

8. The U. S. S. R. is the only country in the world in which the land and the factories belong to the toilers.

Down with the capitalists and landlords! Long live the fighting alliance between the workers and the toiling peasants!

9. The capitalists in all countries are stabilising the capitalist system at the expense of the working class by cutting down wages and lengthening hours. In the U. S. S. R. the working class is firmly and steadily introducing the 7-hour day and improving the material and cultural conditions of all the toilers.

Down with capitalist rationalisation! Long live Socialism!

10. The imperialists are preparing for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, which will be a war against the workers and peasants of all countries.

Unite for the defence of the U. S. S. R. and convert the imperialist war into civil war, under the standard of the October Revolution!

11. The Social Reformists are actively assisting the imperialists in their preparations for war against the First Socialist State.

Down with the Social Democratic flunkeys! Long live the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat!

12. The working class all over the world is raising the standard of revolt against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. The Social-Democrats are splitting the trade unions and striving to convert them into blackleg organisations.

Down with the social-blacklegs! Down with the social-imperialist splitters of the labour movement! Long live the revolutionary united front of the working class!

13. The Great October Revolution gave a mighty impetus to colonial revolutions.

Long live the fighting alliance between the rebellious peoples of the Orient and the revolutionary proletariat in capitalist countries!

14. In the Soviet Union, the widest scope is given for the initiative and activity of the toilers and genuine proletarian democracy is developing to the fullest extent. In capitalist countries, Fascism, and barbarous methods of combating the labour movement are developing.

Down with Fascism! Down with the white terror! Down with the Fascist executioners! Down with their reformist flunkeys and friends!

15. The Red Army of the Soviet Union, during the civil war, heroically crushed the armies of the internal and international counter-revolution. It is now vigilantly guarding the work of Socialist construction that is being carried on in the Soviet Union, ready to ward off the blows of the predatory imperialists.

Fraternal greetings to the Red Army, — the shield of the oppressed, the sword of revolt!

16. Imperialist armaments and pacifist declarations herald the approach of new imperialist wars.

Working men and working women be vigilant! Fight against imperialist armaments! Prepare to put up revolutionary resistance to imperialist war!

17. **Down with the cruiser socialists! Down with the social-imperialist accomplices in the preparations for counter-revolutionary wars!**

Long live the proletarian revolution, the surest weapon in the fight for peace!

18. **Long live the October Revolution — the beginning of the World Social Revolution!**

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Speech by Comrade Stalin at the Plenum of the Moscow Committee and Moscow Control Commission of the C. P. S. U.

held on October 19th, 1928.

I believe, Comrades, that we must in the first place set aside all petty and personal considerations if we are to be enabled to solve the question before us, viz. that of the deviations to the Right. Are we faced in the Party with a Right opportunist danger; are there objective circumstances which favour this danger; and how is this danger to be met? Those are the questions before us. We shall, however, not be able to solve these questions if we do not first purge them of all petty elements which have been introduced into them from without and which hinder us from understanding the nature of the matter in hand.

Comrade Zapolski is wrong if he believes the question of the Right deviations to be a matter of chance. He declares that it is not a question of deviations to the Right but of quarrels and personal intrigues. Let us assume for a moment that quarrels and personal grievances play a part here as is the case in every fight. But to explain everything as the outcome of quarrels and to fail because of such quarrels to see the nature of the actual question, means a deviation from the proper Marxian principles. It cannot be that such a great old united organisation as the organisation of Moscow undoubtedly is, should be brought into ferment from top to bottom merely through the endeavours of certain squealers and intriguers. No, Comrades, such miracles do not happen. To say nothing of the fact that it would be impossible to underestimate the strength of the Moscow organisation so grossly. It is obvious that deeper-rooted reasons were here at work, reasons which had nothing to do with quarrels and intrigues.

Comrade Fruntov, too, is wrong if, though recognising the existence of a Right danger, he is yet of opinion that it is not worthy of the attention of serious people engaged in more important work. In his opinion the question of deviations to the Right is of interest only to squealers, but not to people who are seriously occupied. I can very well understand Comrade Fruntov; he is so deeply engrossed in practical work that he has no time to think about the perspectives of our development. This does not mean, however, that the limited practical sense of certain among our Party workers is to become the dogma of our reconstruction. A healthy energy to work is a good thing but if it involves the forfeiture of our working perspectives and if the work in question is not subjected to the fundamental principles of the Party, it turns into a deficiency. It is, however, not difficult to understand that the question of deviations to the Right is the fundamental question of our Party, the question as to whether the perspectives of our development, as laid down by the XV. Party Congress are right or wrong.

Nor are those comrades right who in judging of the question of deviations to the Right limit the question to the individuals who represent the said deviation. Show us the men of the Right, say these comrades, show us the compromisers, so that we may settle with them. This is a mistaken way of putting the question. These individuals naturally play a certain rôle. But the matter itself lies not in the persons but in the circumstances and conditions which entail the Right danger. The persons may be removed, but that will not mean that the roots of the Right movement have been eradicated from the Party. The personal question does not settle the whole matter, although it is doubtless of interest. In this connection I must call to mind an episode at Odessa at the close of 1919 and beginning of 1920, when our troops were driving the army of Denikin out of Ukraine and caught up with the last stragglers of that army at Odessa. Some of the Red Guards sought furiously in all Odessa for the Entente, being convinced that if only they could catch the Entente the whole war would be at an end. (Laughter.) It is difficult to imagine that the Red soldiers could have found any representatives of the Entente at Odessa, but if they had done so the trouble with the Entente would not have therefore been at an end, since the roots of

the Entente are not to be found at Odessa, although that city was the last foothold of the Denikin army and of the international capitalists in Russia. The same thing may be said in regard to some of our comrades, who narrow down the question of the Right deviations to a mere question of persons representing the deviations in question, thus forgetting the conditions which brought the said deviations about.

We must therefore in the first place clear up the question of the circumstances under which both the Right and the Left (Trotzky) deviations from the principles of Lenin first arose.

Under capitalist rule, the Right deviations in the Communist Party consist in the tendency and inclination, albeit unexpressed and undeveloped, on the part of some of the Communists, to depart from the revolutionary directives of Marx in the direction of the Social Democrats. If certain circles among the Communists deny the practicability of the principle of "class against class" in the electioneering struggle (as is the case in France) or oppose an independent candidature of the Communist Party (as in England), or prove unwilling to accentuate the fight against the "Left" Social Democrats (as in Germany), this means that within the Communist Party there are people who are anxious to adapt Communism to Social Democracy. A victory of the Right deviations in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries would entail the ideological breakdown of the Communist Party and an enormous increase in the ranks of the Social Democrats. And what is meant by an enormous increase in the strength of the Social Democrats? It is a strengthening and consolidation of capitalism, seeing that the Social Democrats are the main prop of capitalism among the working classes. Consequently a Right victory in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries would lead to the development of conditions such as are requisite for the maintenance of capitalism.

The Right deviations in Communism under Soviet rule, in a country where capitalism is already overthrown but where the roots of capitalism have not yet been wholly extirpated, consist in a tendency and inclination, albeit unexpressed and undeveloped, on the part of some of the Communists, to depart from the principles of our Party in the direction of bourgeois ideology. If certain circles among the Communists desire to keep the Party back from realising the resolutions of the XV. Party Congress, by denying the necessity of an assault on the kulak elements in the rural districts, or else demand an arrest of our industrial development because they consider the present rate of advance fatal to the country, or if again they consider the Government subsidies for Soviet farms and collective farms to be impracticable and are of opinion that the money in question is being wasted in this way, or if they deny the advisability of a fight against bureaucracy on the basis of self-criticism, affirming that self-criticism is liable to undermine our apparatus, or if they demand the loosening of our foreign-trade monopoly and so on, this means that in the ranks of our Party there are such as are anxious, perhaps without knowing it themselves, to adapt the cause of our Socialist construction to the tastes and requirements of the Soviet bourgeoisie. A victory of the Right deviations within our Party would entail an enormous consolidation of the capitalist elements in our country. And what would such a consolidation mean? It would mean a weakening of the proletarian dictatorship and a strengthening of the chances of a restoration of capitalism. Consequently a victory of the Right deviations in our Party would lead to the development of conditions which are requisite for the restoration of capitalism in this country.

Are there conditions in this country which might render possible the re-establishment of capitalism? There decidedly are. This may seem strange, but I can assure you, comrades, that it is a fact. We have overthrown capitalism. We have set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we are rapidly developing our Socialist industry and connecting it with peasant economy. But we have not yet extirpated the roots of capitalism. Where are these roots to be found? They are to be found in the production of goods, in the small production of the towns and in particular in small peasant economy. The power of capitalism lies, as Lenin points out,

"in the strength of small production, for such small production has unfortunately continued to exist on a very large scale and daily and hourly to create the elements of capitalism and bourgeoisie."

It is obvious that inasmuch as small production is a mass-phenomenon in this country and is even predominant, and inasmuch as it produces capitalism and bourgeoisie — quite particularly during the N. E. P. period — there are conditions in this country which render possible the re-establishment of capitalism.

Are there ways and means in this Soviet country of ours to destroy the possibility of a re-establishment of capitalism? There certainly are. It is just on this fact that Lenin based his thesis of the possibility of a complete Socialist form of society in the Soviet Union. For this purpose we need the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship, the strengthening of the alliance between working class and peasantry, the development of our commanding positions from the standpoint of an industrialisation of the country, a rapid rate of development of industry, the electrification of the country, the re-adjustment of the entire economy on a new technical basis, the co-operative development of great masses of peasants and the increase of the productivity of their undertakings, the gradual combination of the individual peasant undertakings in the form of collective estates, the development of the Soviet undertakings, the ousting and suppressing of the capitalist elements in town and country, and so on.

Lenin speaks as follows on this point:

“As long as we live in a petty-bourgeois country, capitalism has in Russia a stronger economic basis than Communism. We must bear this in mind. Every one who attentively observes life in the rural districts in comparison with life in the cities, knows that we have not yet eradicated capitalism altogether and that we have not yet deprived our internal enemies of their foundation. They still depend on the small peasant undertakings, and to remove this prop there is but one means, that of readjusting rural economy, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, that of the great industries of the present age. Such a basis is **electricity**. Communism means Soviet authority plus the electrification of the entire country. Otherwise the country will remain a petty-peasant country and this must be fully recognised. We are weaker than the capitalists, not only in the world in general but also within our own country. That is known to all. We have recognised this fact and we shall succeed in turning the economic basis of the country out of a petty-peasant into a great industrial basis. Only then, when the country is electrified and when industry, agriculture, and transports are completely on the basis of the great industries of the present age, only then shall we have gained a definite victory.”

It follows firstly, that as long as we live in a petty-peasant country, as long as we have not extirpated the roots of capitalism, the latter will continue to have a firmer economic basis than Communism. There are cases in which a tree has been felled but omitted to exterminate the roots. The available forces did not suffice. There follows the possibility of a restoration of capitalism in our country.

It follows secondly that besides the possibility of a re-establishment of capitalism there is also the possibility of a victory of Socialism in this country, for we may succeed in destroying the possibility of a re-establishment of capitalism, we can exterminate the roots of capitalism and carry off the final victory over capitalism, if we develop a strenuous activity towards the electrification of the country and if we procure for industry, agriculture, and transports, the technical basis of our up-to-date industries. Hence there follows the possibility of a victory of Socialism in this country.

It follows, finally, that it is impossible merely to develop Socialism in industry and to leave agriculture to the arbitrary volition of an elementary development by starting from the assumption that the rural districts will approach the cities of their own accord. The existence of a Socialist industry in the towns is the main factor of the Socialist readjustment of the rural districts. That does not mean, however, that this factor alone suffices to enable the Socialist towns to lead the peasant villages in their wake, it is necessary, as Lenin points out, “to place the economy of the rural districts, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, that of the great industries of the present age”.

Does not this quotation from Lenin seem to contradict other of Lenin's dictums to the effect that “the N. E. P. completely guarantees us the possibility for a development of the basis of Socialist economy?” No, there is no contradiction at all. On the contrary, the two assertions completely concur. Lenin does not assert that the N. E. P. can provide us with a perfect state of Socialism. He only says that the N. E. P. guarantees us the possibility of developing the foundations of Socialist economy. Between the possibility of a development of Socialism and its actual development there is a material difference. We must not confound the possibility with the reality. For it is just for the purpose of turning this possibility into reality that Lenin suggests the electrification of the country and the readjustment of the technical basis of industry, agriculture, and transports on the lines of our modern big industries as presumptions for the final victory of Socialism.

But in one or two years the presumptions for the realisation of Socialism cannot be attained. It is not possible to industrialise the country in a year or two, nor to build up a powerful industry, to combine millions of peasants in co-operatives, to give agriculture a new technical basis, to unite the individual peasant undertakings in big collective ones, to develop Soviet farming, to oust and overcome the capitalist elements in town and country. For such a task years and years of strenuous construction of the proletarian dictatorship are requisite. As long as this is not done, and it cannot be done all at once, we must remain a petty-peasant country, in which small production is constantly creating capitalism and bourgeoisie and the danger of a re-establishment of capitalism continues to exist. And as the proletariat is not living in a hermetically closed room but in reality and in actual life with all its variety,

“the bourgeois elements created on the basis of small production envelop the proletariat on all sides with their petty-bourgeois anarchy, permeating and destroying it thereby and constantly calling forth within the proletariat a reversion to petty-bourgeois lack of character, disharmony, individualism, and the alternation of exaggeration and depression”.

In this way they cause certain vacillations in the proletariat and in its Party.

Such are the roots of all sorts of vacillations and deviations from the Leninist directives in our Party. Therefore the question of the Right and Left deviations in our Party cannot possibly be considered as a trifling matter.

What are the characteristics of the openly opportunist Right deviations in our Party? They consist in the fact that they underestimate the strength of our enemies, the capitalists, refuse to see the danger of a re-establishment of capitalism, fail to understand the dynamics of the class struggle under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, and therefore easily agree to make concessions to capitalism, by demanding the slowing-down of our rate of industrial development and facilities for the capitalist elements in town and country, thrust the question of collective and Soviet undertakings into the background, demand a restriction of the foreign-trade monopoly, and so on. The victory of a Right deviation in our Party would doubtless combine the forces of capitalism, shatter the revolutionary positions of the proletariat, and enhance the chances of a re-establishment of capitalism in our country.

And in what does the Left, Trotzkyist, deviation in our country consist? It lies in the fact that the representatives of this deviation over-estimate the forces of our enemies and the strength of capitalism, that they are blind to all save the possibility of a restoration of capitalism, especially blind to the possibility of Socialist construction on its own merits, and prone to comfort themselves with a lot of twaddle about the Thermidor of our Party. From Lenin's statement that,

“as long as we live in a petty-peasant country, there is in Russia a firmer economic basis for capitalism than for Communism”,

the Left deviators draw the mistaken conclusion that in the Soviet Union in general it is impossible to construct Socialism, that nothing can be attained from co-operation with the peasantry, that the idea of an alliance between working class and peasantry has been superceded, that if we receive no help from a victorious revolution in the West, the dictatorship of the prole-

ariat must necessarily come to grief, and that, if the fantastic plan of over-industrialisation, even if executed at the cost of a rupture with the peasantry, is not accepted, the cause of Socialism in the Soviet Union must be considered lost. Hence the adventurous character of the Left deviation and the tremendous leaps noticeable in its policy. There can be no doubt but that a victory of the Left deviation in our Party would have led to the isolation of the working class from its peasant basis, to a separation of the vanguard of the working class from the mass of workers, and to more favourable prospects for the restoration of capitalism.

(To be concluded.)

The Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. to all Members of the Moscow Organisation.

Dear Comrades. The development of our economy is characterised by a distinct upward tendency, by the growth of the productive forces in town and country, by an extension of the socialist elements of economy.

We have completed the process of the restoration of economy. We have entered on the period of reconstruction of economy, the period of the immediate socialist transformation on the basis of the new technique. The slogan of industrialisation was and remains the chief slogan of socialist construction. The key to the development of industry and to a certain extent of agriculture is, however, heavy industry, the production of the means of production.

"We know", said Lenin, "that Russia cannot be saved merely by a good harvest of the peasant economy — that is not sufficient — not only by the good situation of the light industry — this also does not suffice — we also need a heavy industry..."

Without the restoration of heavy industry, without its reconstruction we shall not be able to build up industry. Without it we are altogether doomed as an independent country."

But the period of reconstruction, the period of the transformation of industry and agriculture on the basis of the new technique has, under our conditions, special difficulties which sometimes cause vacillations in some sections of our Party, which must be overcome at all costs if we are to be successful.

Unlike the capitalist countries, we have built up our industry, both the heavy and the light industry, without any influx of means from abroad (without any loans from the capitalists), by means of our own inner resources on the basis of the common efforts of the working class and the peasantry of our country. But in view of our technical backwardness it is impossible to develop industry at such a rate that it does not lag behind the capitalist countries, but reaches and overtakes them — as Lenin has taught the Party — without the greatest exertion of the means and forces of the country, without great perseverance, without iron discipline of the proletarian ranks. The difficulties arising on this path — the straining of our material resources, the shortage of goods etc. create certain vacillations both in some strata of the working class and in some sections of our Party. On this basis there sometimes arise inclinations towards a revision of the course of the Party, towards a slowing down of the rate of development of industry in general and heavy industry in particular. In place of a Bolshevik overcoming of the difficulties there is a flight from them. These tendencies lead to a loss of the perspective of socialist construction and betray a failure to understand that the slowing down of the rate of development of heavy industry would result in the near future in still greater difficulties; that the material and cultural situation of the working class would be worsened and that the country would fall into a state of dependence upon world capital which would weigh heavily upon it. The Party, in defending the present rate of industrialisation, proceeds from the fact that without a systematic development of industry in general and of heavy industry in particular, a serious improvement of the material and cultural situation of the working class is impossible.

The industrialisation of the country, however, is not exhausted by the development of light and heavy industry alone. It means at the same time the development of agriculture upon

a new technical basis, the supply of the individual peasant undertakings with new means of production, the raising of their output capacity, their gradual combining into collective undertakings, the creation and development of powerful Soviet undertakings.

If agriculture cannot develop to the necessary extent without industry, without agricultural machines, without tractors, without fertilisers, in the same way industry cannot develop to the necessary extent without an increased rate of development of agriculture, which supplies industry with raw materials and food-stuffs. The rate of development of agriculture, however, lags behind the growth of industry and can hardly meet the growing requirements of the country. Agriculture does not furnish a sufficient amount of raw materials, of goods for consumption and export. This does not mean that with us agriculture is declining or that it is passing over to natural economy, for agriculture, including the grain cultivation, is growing and developing from year to year and increasing its output. But it means that the present rate of the growth of agriculture is no longer sufficient for us.

Hence the gradual transformation of agriculture on the basis of the new technique, the mass production of the collectivised peasant undertakings and, consequently, the increasing rate of development of our agriculture is a chief task of Soviet economy.

Of course, the great difficulties lying in this path arouse vacillations in the weakest sections of our Party. These vacillations find expression in the underestimation of the role of the Soviet and collective undertakings and in the efforts to revise the decisions of the XV. Party Congress on the reinforced attack upon the Kulak elements in the village. These vacillations show the failure to understand that without the transformation of agriculture on the basis of the new technique, without the co-operative and collective peasant economy, a powerful advance of the productive forces of the village is impossible, the million masses of the peasants cannot be freed from poverty and the victory of the socialist elements of economy over the capitalist elements cannot be ensured.

These difficulties, which are closely connected with the solution of the fundamental tasks of the reconstruction period in the sphere of industry and agriculture, are increasing with the accentuation of the struggle of the imperialist States against the first proletarian State. This is shown in the new attempts of the international bourgeoisie to disturb the socialist construction with all means — by preparation of an economic blockade and an attack upon the Soviet Union, by bribing the commanding staff of industry (Shakty affair etc.).

All these difficulties, as well as the development of socialist construction at the present period, stimulate the activity and the struggle of the capitalist elements of the country (Nep people, kulaks, bourgeois intelligentsia) against the policy of the proletarian State. At the present stage of socialist construction, which finally leads to the annihilation of the classes, there is proceeding an intensification of the class struggle, which is particularly noticeable in the village. The Party, in its policy, is proceeding and must proceed from the fact that the class struggle in the village is becoming accentuated and found special expression last year in the serious resistance of the Kulak elements to the economy of the proletarian State during the grain provision campaign. Under the inevitable pressure of the petty-bourgeois elements, which are still a great force in our country, some sections of our Party organisations lost the clear Party directive. Already in its letter of February 13th the Central Committee remarked, that

"in our organisations, both in the Party as in others, certain elements have recently arisen which are alien to the Party, which do not see the classes in the village, do not understand the reason of our class policy and wish to conduct the work in such a manner that nobody in the village is offended, which wish to live in peace with the kulak and in general wish to maintain popularity among 'all sections' of the village".

This underestimation of the role of the classes in our country is specially dangerous in view of the intensification of the class struggle, because it disarms the Party and deprives the working class of its fighting capacity.

This underestimation of the factor of the class struggle is an open opportunist deviation, a loophole for bourgeois-democratic tendencies.

Another deviation, which is also a result of the disbelief in the socialist construction and of the capitulation before the difficulties, is the underestimation of the importance of the alliance of the working class with the middle peasants (Trotskyism).

The Party conducted and is conducting a decisive struggle against both deviations. The Central Committee emphasised both in its February letter and at its April and July Plenums the necessity of the decisive struggle on two fronts, against both deviations.

"The Party must proceed in its policy from the decisive struggle, both against those elements which are the expression of bourgeois tendencies in our country and wish to sabotage the decisions of the XV. Party Congress with regard to the increased attack upon the kulak, as well as against those elements which by means of extraordinary and provisional measures, wish to abandon the systematic and firm course and thereby endanger the alliance between the workers and the main masses of the peasantry." (Resolution of the July Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.)

For only on the basis of the consolidation of the alliance of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the working class, can socialist construction be successfully completed.

The Party will therefore fight as decisively as it fought against the Trotskyism, also against the open opportunist Right deviation, as well against those who adopt a conciliatory attitude towards it.

In this fight of the Party against the deviations from the Bolshevik line, among them being the Right deviation, the Moscow organisation stood and is standing in the first ranks. It was and remains the strong support of the C. C. in the defence and the decisive carrying out of the Bolshevik, Leninist line of the Party. It has given the Trotskyist Opposition a decisive blow and has overcome the ideological vacillations in some of its strata. The Moscow organisation stood before the XV. Party Congress and is still standing fully and entirely upon the line of the Party; it fights uninterruptedly against all distortions of the Party line. Politically grown, matured in Bolshevik traditions, the Moscow organisation showed and still shows great soberness and makes great claims on the Party leadership in regard to firmness to principle; it offers decisive resistance to every attempt to blur the political attitude of the Party.

It is true that some members of the Moscow Committee and the leaders of some districts have recently shown a certain inconsistency and vacillation in the struggle against the Right deviations from the Leninist line by admitting an attitude unacceptable to the Bolshevik Party towards these deviations. This has aroused the dissatisfaction of a certain section of the Party functionaries of the Moscow organisation who wished to correct these mistakes. This dissatisfaction began after the September Plenum of the Moscow Committee and of the Moscow Control Commission, which, in their resolution on the question of the decision of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern and of the Plenum of the C. C. regarding the struggle against the Right deviations and the conciliatory groups, have not sufficiently clearly expressed themselves in favour of this struggle.

The C. C. records, however, that the Moscow Committee already in its letter of October 2nd has adopted all the necessary measures in order to correct this error. The C. C. declares that the Moscow Committee as a whole and its leading nucleus carried through and are carrying through the line of the Party and are unconditionally executing the decisions of its organs.

The C. C. repudiates as being contrary to facts, the rumours to the effect that the Moscow Committee is opposing the Central Committee of the Party.

The C. C. therefore expresses its firm conviction that the struggle which recently took place within the Moscow organisation will be immediately liquidated.

The C. C. appeals to all members of the Moscow organisation to secure the complete unity of the Bolsheviks on the basis of the Party decisions and the corresponding letter of the Moscow Committee regarding the new election of the Nuclei committees.

The C. C. is convinced that the new elections of Nuclei committees and the preparation of the Party Conferences will be conducted in comradely unity, accompanied by the broadest development of self-criticism and the mobilisation of the whole mass of the Party and the working class round the chief slogans of our Party:

For the unconditional preservation of the present rate of development of industry!

For the transformation of the village to a co-operative and socialist basis!

For the alliance of the workers and poor peasants with the middle peasants on the basis of securing the leading role of the working class!

For raising the material and cultural level of the working class and the toilers of the village!

Against the vacillations in policy, for a firm Leninist leadership!

For Bolshevik unity of the Moscow organisation!

On the Situation in the Moscow Organisation of the C. P. S. U.

Decision of the Joint Plenum of the Moscow Committee and the Moscow Control Commission of the C. P. S. U.

The Plenum of the Moscow Committee and the Moscow Control Commission, after having discussed the situation which has arisen in the Moscow organisation, approves wholly and entirely the appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. "To all members of the Moscow organisation."

The Plenum admits that some mistakes have occurred in recent times in the work of the Moscow Committee and of the Moscow Control Commission and also at the Plenary session in September. The political content of these mistakes consists in the unclear raising of the question of the Right danger and in the insufficient resistance to these Right deviations and the elements conciliatory to them. These mistakes have been intensified by the practical work of the leaders of some districts.

The Plenum at the same time records with satisfaction the enormous growth of the Bolshevik consciousness of the Moscow organisation, which found expression in the discontent of the functionaries of districts with the mistakes of the leadership of the Party in various district committees.

The Plenum of the Moscow Committee and the Moscow Control Commission approves the decisions of the C. C. and of the Bureau of the Moscow Committee regarding the removal, urged by the Party organisations themselves, of the secretary of the Party Committee of the Krasnaya Presnaya district who recently permitted various deviations from the Leninist Party line, as well as the removal of the Secretary of the Party Committee of the Rogoshskoye-Simonovskoye district who to a certain degree has permitted mistakes of the same kind.

The Plenum notes at the same time that the Bureau of the Moscow Committee has adopted measures for the rectification of the permitted errors, which measures found expression in the clear political attitude of the letter from the Bureau of the Moscow Committee regarding the new elections to the nuclei committees.

The Joint Plenum records the rectification of the permitted mistake, which have been overcome with the assistance of the C. C. and of the Party organisations of the districts, as well as the correct line which the Bureau of the Moscow Committee and the Presidium of the Moscow Control Commission have at present adopted, and at the same time expresses its political confidence in the Bureau of the Moscow Committee and the Presidium of the Moscow Control Commission.

The Plenum calls upon all members of the Moscow organisation to close their ranks round the Bolshevik general line of the Party and to proceed to united work on the basis of the appeal of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

The Plenum of the Moscow Committee and the Moscow Control Commission expresses the firm conviction that the Moscow organisation will remain as before an unshakable pillar of the Leninist C. C., that its ranks will not waver before any difficulties; that the Moscow organisation will lead, ideologically, united and strong in its iron Bolshevik discipline, the whole Moscow proletariat to the overcoming of the difficulties arising on the way to socialist construction.

Long live the Central Committee which realises the firm Leninist leadership!

For the Bolshevik unity of the ranks of the Moscow organisation!

Decision of the Plenum of the Moscow Committee and of the Moscow Control Commission of the C. P. S. U.

The Plenum of the Moscow Committee and of the Moscow Control Commission confirmed:

1. The decision of the Bureau of the Moscow Committee and of the Presidium of the Moscow Control Commission regarding the removal of Comrade **Moros**, in accordance with his request, from the obligations of secretary and member of the Presidium of the Moscow Control Commission.

2. The decision of the Bureau of the Moscow Committee regarding the removal of Comrade **Mandelstamm**, in accordance with his declaration, from the obligations of leader of the Agitprop Department of the Moscow Committee and member of the Bureau and secretariat of the Moscow Committee.

3. The decision of the Bureau of the Moscow Committee of the C. P. S. U. regarding the nomination of Comrade **N. N. Popov** as leader of the Agitprop department of the Moscow Committee and his co-option into the Plenum, the bureau and the secretariat of the Moscow Committee.

4. The decision of the Bureau of the Moscow Committee regarding the removal of Comrades **Rjutin** and **Penkov** from the obligations as members of the Bureau of the Moscow Committee.

The Situation in the C. P. of Germany.

By Walter Ulbricht (Berlin).

Since the middle of last year there has taken place a gradual intensification of the class struggle in Germany. This finds special expression in the mass movements against the capitalist arbitration policy and in the opposition to the economic class collaboration policy of the reformist leaders. This intensification of the class struggles is connected with the increasing activity of the **new German imperialism**. The independent role of new German imperialism requires increased capital accumulation in the country, i. e. intensified economic and political pressure upon the working class. In the interest of this imperialist policy the bourgeoisie is successfully attempting to make use of the reformist apparatus in its own interests to place it more than hitherto in the service of the new German imperialism. The last economic struggles prove that the Coalition government, and in particular its Minister for Labour **Wissell** is instructing the trade unions to avoid strikes under all circumstances. In those cases, as in Hamburg, where the workers in spite of it are taking up the struggle, the social democrats, and in particular the **Reichsbanner**, are directly supporting the police, are protecting the strike breakers and endeavour together with the police to drive the workers back into the factories.

In this situation the bourgeoisie and social democracy are no longer able to keep down the workers by means of democratic methods. They are therefore combining the democratic

and fascist methods of suppression. A component part of this offensive against the working class is the reformist **splitting policy in the trade unions**. In order to isolate the workers from the C. P. of Germany and to render it more difficult for us to bring the working masses into movement against the will of the reformist bureaucracy, the latter are attempting to oust the Communists from the mass organisations of the workers and even to split these organisations.

In accordance with the decisions of the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and of the VI. World Congress, it was therefore necessary to adapt our tactics to the changed conditions, because our struggle against social democracy had to be intensified, the united front tactics from below had to be applied and the Party had to become the leader of the working class in the economic and political fights. In this situation some functionaries of the Party yielded to the pressure of the bourgeoisie and social democracy and refused to carry through the tactics of the Party according to the decisions of the VI. World Congress. These are the roots of the present differences within the Party. The formal occasion for the intensification of the differences was the embezzlement of 1850 marks by the Hamburg secretary **Wittorf**. When the Party intensified its campaign against the imperialist war policy, the whole front, from finance capital to the S. P. of Germany, replied to it with a furious offensive of calumny against the Communist Party and the Comintern. Some functionaries yielded to this pressure of the class enemies and used the arguments of the "**Vorwärts**" against our Party.

After the Essen Party Congress of the Communist Party the Right fraction propagated the well-known action programme of **Brandler** as a counter platform to the Essen Congress decisions. This was the starting point of the fractional struggle against the political line of the Party. The differences are revealed in the following main questions:

1. The comrades of the Right group, which is a small group of leaders without a mass following, did not realise the intensification of the class struggle in Germany and favoured all sorts of passive and pessimistic moods in the Party. In the economic struggles these passive moods openly revealed themselves as opportunist conceptions towards an approachment to the social democratic policy.

2. In particular these comrades attempted to liquidate the Essen Congress decision regarding our tactics towards the Left social democrats. They demanded that we should beat the Right social democrats with the arguments of the "left" social democratic leaders. The outlook of these comrades was not directed towards developing a workers' opposition within the social democratic party, but upon winning the "Left" social democratic leaders. This wrong estimation of the "Left" is rooted in a wrong attitude towards reformism in general. **Walcher** and his friends designate the revolutionary policy as "inadequate"; they maintain that the "Left" reformist leaders are only objectively and not subjectively committing treachery. By this they assert that the policy of the reformists is correct in **substance** but that we must improve it. If the Party had pursued such a policy the result of the Reichstag elections of May 20th would not have been a victory but a crushing defeat. At present the same comrades claim that the reason why the numerical result of the plebiscite on the armoured cruiser question has been so poor was because we fought too sharply against the S. P. G. In reality, however the contrary is the case.

3. In the questions of strike tactics these comrades wished to abandon the fight for the strike leadership, for the preparation and carrying through of the economic struggles. Instead of applying the united front tactics from below, instead of making the demands and tactical measures of the revolutionary trade union opposition the demands of the masses, of appealing to the masses, they appealed to the reformist leaders. At the same time these comrades attempted to divert us from the concrete organisation of the struggle by propagating the slogan of "control of production" as a concrete task of the day.

In the same way these comrades opposed an offensive policy towards the expulsion and splitting campaign of the reformists. They demanded that the policy of the revolutionary trade union opposition "should remain within the confines of the statutes and decisions of the trade unions". This means subordination to the dictates of the reformist bureaucracy.

4. In regard to the inner-Party course the comrades of the Right group demanded, instead of the concentration of the forces which are standing on the basis of the Essen Congress decisions, to create a bloc without principle between the representatives of the Essen Party Congress decisions and those who want to "amend" them.

5. The comrades of the conciliatory tendency made the mistake of not estimating correctly and in good time the Right dangers within the Party. Before the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. they were against an intensification of the struggle against the Right dangers. They declared that the Right dangers must be combated concretely and did not perceive that the Right group had already developed a system of deviations and that the whole Party had to be made to realise the existence of this opportunist system. The adherents of the conciliatory tendency demanded with regard to the personal policy that the representatives of the Right fraction should be dealt with by "pedagogical means" and not by organisational measures. In a situation in which the Right fraction organised the fractional fight against the policy of the Party, the conciliatory group demanded that Right comrades should be put into important functions. They demanded that Brandler and Thalheimer should return to Germany and that these and other Right leaders should be put up as candidates to the Reichstag and Diet elections. Whilst, therefore, the Right group openly developed their opportunist platform, the conciliatory group attempted by a corresponding personal policy to create the preconditions for a change in the inner-Party and thereby in the political line.

Only by a correct estimation of this development can one understand that the Central Committee, in its decision of September 20th regarding Comrade Thälmann, yielded to the pressure of the Right and conciliatory groups. After the Essen Party Congress the C. C. attempted by every means to bring about the concentration of the forces of the Party according to the Essen decisions. In this mistakes have been made because the ideological struggle against the opportunist deviations has not always been conducted in a proper manner. This has enabled the opportunist elements to gain a stronger influence upon some parts of the Party apparatus. In connection with the corruption affair of Wittorf in Hamburg, the Right fraction openly organised the fight against the Party. The candidate of the Central Committee Hausen, who already before had propagated in the Party the action programme of Brandler, conducted the struggle with all organisational consequences. He declared at a Functionary meeting at Breslau on October 9th:

"In my attitude I do not pay regard merely to the decisions of the C. C. or even of the VI. Congress, but allow myself to be guided by my revolutionary conviction. Those who act differently are political helots."

And his fraction comrade, the Youth secretary, said with the approval of Hausen:

"Against this inner-Party course there must be taken up the struggle even at the cost of separation from the Party, because for us not the Party is the chief thing but the revolution."

At the meeting of the district Committee on October 8th Hausen declared:

"Fight against the C. C. and the E. C. C. I., complete regeneration of the C. C. and the E. C. C. I."

A speaker of the Youth district committee declared on the basis of fractional instructions the following:

"In the year 1919, at the First Congress of the International, the Spartacus League was against the Foundation of the Third International, because Rosa Luxemburg was of the opinion, that the Third International would not become an International of equals but would be subjected to the rule of one Party, that is in this case under the rule of the Russian Party."

These statements show how far removed this small group of liquidators is already politically from the line of the Party and of the Communist International. These elements talk of the fight against corruption, and in reality they are the typical representatives of political corruption, i. e., the representatives of the social democratic conceptions within the Party. They use the same arguments as Stampfer and Co. are daily dishing up in the "Vorwärts". The liquidators impute to the Party the abandonment of the united front tactics, while in reality they

consider the united front tactics as a collaboration with the "Left" social democratic leaders. They say, like Leipart, that the policy of the Communists is a splitting policy, while they are sabotaging the mass mobilisation against the reformist expulsion and splitting measures. They talk of a Maslow-Ruth Fischer course in the Party and in reality they wish to get the leadership into their hands in order to prevent the carrying through of the decisions of the VI. World Congress.

The decision of the VI. World Congress regarding the fight against the Right deviations and the conciliatory tendencies is an important pre-condition for the carrying out of the political decisions of the Congress. Whoever is against the inner-Party course adopted by the VI. World Congress, will also prevent the carrying out of the political decisions of the VI. World Congress. If, therefore, comrades with opportunist conceptions and a wrong attitude to the social democrats get the leadership of the Party into their hands, then the inevitable consequence is a rapprochement of the policy of the Party to the social democracy, which would mean the collapse of the Communist Party of Germany.

On the basis of the decision of the E. C. C. I. of October 6th and the decision of the Central Committee of October 19th the district committees and broad circles of the Party membership have discussed this situation. The judgment of the Party functionaries and the Party members is annihilating, both for the liquidators as well as for the followers of the conciliatory tendency. Out of 28 districts only two district committees, i. e. Thuringia and Halle-Merseburg, have declared by a majority against the decision of the E. C. C. I. But it is clear that in Thuringia the majority of the members are, contrary to the district committee, in favour of the E. C. C. I. decision. In Halle-Merseburg the district executive is undoubtedly conducting a fight against the liquidators, but it shows a certain tolerance towards those Party members who favour the policy of the Right fraction. The district of West Saxony has not yet taken up an attitude.

Owing to the necessity to inform thoroughly the whole membership of the Party of the decisions of the VI. World Congress and to discuss the concrete application of these decisions in Germany, a broad campaign will be conducted within the German Party regarding the decisions of the VI. World Congress. Every Party member will have the opportunity to put forward his view and to express it by vote. This broad ideological campaign is necessary in order to overcome the opportunist deviations in the Party and the conciliatory tendencies. It is at the same time the pre-condition in order that the Party in the coming struggles will be able to fulfil its duty as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

The attitude of the Party members already shows that the fight against the opportunist deviations in the Party is being conducted unitedly and unanimously. May some of the liquidators go the way of betrayal, the Communist Party will, on the basis of the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern, carry out its revolutionary tasks and, with greater success than hitherto, fulfil its duty as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

Declaration of the C. E. C. of the C. P. of America on the Decision of the VI. World Congress of the C. I.

regarding the Situation in and the Tasks of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The Central Executive Committee expresses its complete acceptance and full endorsement of the decisions of the 6th World Congress of the Communist International and the supplementary decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the situation in and the tasks of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

We pledge ourselves to execute these decisions energetically and without the slightest reservation. The Central Executive Committee has the utmost confidence that the entire membership will enthusiastically receive and vigorously carry out the decisions of the Comintern.

A Victory for the Party.

The Central Executive Committee is convinced that the above decisions of the Communist International are a **distinct victory for our Party**. We ask the membership to consider these decisions solely and strictly from the viewpoint of the **Party as a whole** and not in the light of any of the former, or possible present, tendencies towards groupings. We call upon the membership to study carefully the Comintern documents herewith presented and to approach their interpretation and application only in a true Party spirit.

These decisions of the Comintern indicate that the Party is on the way toward a new period in the history of the American section of the Communist International — the beginning of the complete liquidation of the remnants of the destructive group system in the Party. These decisions will prove a milestone for our Party, now well on the path towards becoming a unified mass Bolshevik Party.

The Theses of the 6th World Congress of the Comintern on "The International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International" clarify and establish the Party's correct position towards the present economic situation and estimate of American imperialism, the trade union question, the fight against imperialist war, the struggle against the Right danger, and the unqualified recognition of the absolute necessity for an immediate and complete cessation of all factionalism and factional opposition to the Central Executive Committee. It is high time that in our Party in place of factional opposition there should be a healthy spirit of Bolshevik self-criticism.

The Central Executive Committee Accepts Criticism and Corrects its Errors.

First of all, the Central Executive Committee welcomes and expresses its full agreement with the criticisms made of the Party by the Comintern relative to

1. Our insufficient energy in organising the unorganised;
2. Our weaknesses in our activities for the organisation of the Negro movement;
3. Our not conducting "a sufficiently strong struggle against the predatory policy of the United States in Latin America"; and finally,
4. In reference to "a number of Right mistakes committed in regard to the Socialist Party."

The Communist International is absolutely correct when it declares: "That these mistakes, however, cannot be ascribed to the majority leadership alone."

The Central Executive Committee feels that, in accepting these criticisms and in taking steps to correct these errors, the Party is further enabled to develop more speedily into a unified, mass, Bolshevik Party. It is the task of the entire Party organisation to give serious consideration to these criticisms and to take all possible measures to make impossible the recurrence of such errors.

VI. World Congress records main Party successes.

Likewise every Party member should welcome the Comintern decision in its registering the following successes of the Party:

1. The estimation of the present American economic situation and the role and trend of American imperialism given by the 6th World Congress "Theses on the International Situation" is the one made by the Central Executive Committee in its February and May Plenums.

2. The unanimous recognition by the Congress that our Party "has displayed more lively activity and has taken advantage of the symptoms of crisis in American industry".

3. The fact that "a number of stubborn and fierce class battles (primarily the miners' strike) found in the Communist Party a stalwart leader".

4. "The campaign against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was also conducted under the leadership of the Party."

5. The endorsement of the correct position adopted by the May Plenum towards the Labour Party as thus given in the "Theses on the International Situation and

the Tasks of the Communist International" unanimously adopted by the 6th World Congress:

"That the Party concentrate on the work in the trade unions, on organising the unorganised, etc., and in this way laying the basis for the practical realisation of the slogan of a broad Labour Party from below."

6. And last, but not least, the fact that within the Party there "is observed a weakening of the long-standing factional struggle".

Comintern rejects Opposition's attack on Party leadership.

The Central Executive Committee draws the attention of our Party ranks to the following declaration unanimously adopted by the Political Secretariat of the Communist International:

"The Polit Secretariat is of the opinion that the charge against the majority of the Central Committee of the Party of representing a Right line is unfounded. The Polit Secretariat does not want to imply hereby that some errors, among them Right errors, have not been committed by one side as well as by the other side; it thinks, however, that these as well as other contentious questions of the Party can be best examined and decided at the next Party Congress of the Workers Party of America."

This clear-cut statement should once and for all put an end to making a game of "Right" and "Left". It destroys beyond a shadow of a doubt the claims of comrades in opposition to the Central Executive Committee who charged that our Party has a Right wing leadership.

The unequivocal rejection by the Communist International of the Opposition's charge that our Party has a Right wing line should go a long way towards enhancing the Bolshevik ideological development of our membership and the complete unification of our ranks.

The Comintern resolution very properly speaks of mistakes which were made, but these mistakes were deviations from and not applications of the main line of the Central Executive Committee. Furthermore, these mistakes were made by the Party as a whole and were shared in by the entire Party leadership.

The Central Executive Committee holds that this clear speaking of the Communist International will help our Party considerably to ward off all Right errors. The Central Executive Committee recognises its task to continue and intensify this fight against the Right danger. In view of the fact that in the present situation the principal line of deviation within the Communist Parties from the correct political position is towards the Right, the Central Executive Committee declares emphatically that it will take every necessary measure to mobilise the entire Party membership to combat vigorously even the slightest manifestation of the Right danger.

World Congress demands end of all Factionalism.

The Central Executive Committee joins wholeheartedly with the Communist International in emphasizing that

"the most important task that confronts the Party is to put an end to the factional strife which is not based on any serious differences on principles and at the same time to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to lend a decided impetus in the direction of promoting workers to leading positions in the Party."

The time for factionalism is well over in our Party. Today our Party is too energetically engaged in important, big mass struggles to permit us the costly, demoralising luxury of factional struggle. We must do our utmost to help build a powerful miners' union, to wage a vigorous election campaign, particularly because of the successes we have already achieved in this drive, to work in a most determined fashion to build new unions in the textile and needle trades, to fight against the imperialist war and American imperialist aggrandisement, to increase manifold our activities to organise the Negro masses, and to redouble our efforts to strengthen our Party organisation. Under such circumstances, factionalism is a crime against the Party.

Every Party member and unit must take special note of the following categorical declaration of the Communist International:

"The Polit-Secretariat lays emphasis on the unconditional obligation of all members of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America to abstain from any fractional actions, especially during the election campaign: all the forces of the Party must be concentrated now on the election campaign and also on other important militant tasks."

The Central Executive Committee will continue to act as a Central Committee and will act firmly to execute this decision of the Communist International. We are sure that the comrades in the Minority will fully adhere to the decisions of the World Congress. The Central Executive Committee will eradicate all factionalism, no matter where it manifests itself.

We are certain that every Party member will loyally abide by the letter and spirit of the following line for inner Party relations, laid down by the World Congress — the highest organ of the International Communist movement, of the world's revolutionary proletariat:

"The Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the Communist International to employ all measures necessary to preserve the unity of the Communist International and all its sections. Only on the basis of good team work and on the condition that differences are removed primarily by methods of internal Party democracy, will it be possible to overcome the enormous difficulties of the present time and fulfil the great tasks of the immediate future. This not only does not exclude, but on the contrary presupposes the absolute subordination of the minority to the majority, the absolute subordination of the minor organisations as well as of other Party organisations (Parliamentary fractions, fractions in the trade unions, the press, etc.) to the leading Party Centres and of all sections of the Comintern to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The tightening up of proletarian discipline, the elimination of factional strife, etc., are an absolute condition for the victorious proletarian struggle against all the forces imperialism is mobilising."

To Intensify Proletarianisation of the Party and its Leadership.

The Central Executive Committee will take immediate, decisive steps to intensify its policy of drawing more proletarian forces into the Party leadership. Already a year ago, before the last Party convention, the Central Executive Committee undertook: "to establish a broad collective leadership representative of all sections of the country and inclusive of a number of additional proletarian elements".

The Sixth National Convention was guided by this policy in electing the present Central Executive Committee. And the Central Executive Committee, by centring its activities and recruiting in the basic, heavy industries, broadened the proletarian base of the Party. This process we will continue to push most energetically.

Let's Close our Ranks.

The time has come to close our ranks. There is much to be done. There are splendid opportunities for our building a mass Communist Party. There are enormous, important and difficult tasks confronting us and necessitating complete Party unity.

The Opposition has put forward the demand that the Congress should send an open letter of criticism to our Party, and change its leadership. This demand has been rejected. The Congress has not done this. This is an expression of confidence in the Central Executive Committee. The Comintern is continuing its policy of supporting politically the present Party leadership. Consequently, there is no basis for any factionalism. The group system — and this applies to all groupings or remnants of groupings — must be abolished. To this policy the Central Executive Committee is unreservedly committed.

The Coming Party Convention.

Besides, the Communist International has further removed the slightest possible pretence for factionalism by providing

the necessary machinery for deciding upon policies to be adopted by the Party in questions which may still be of a disputed character. The Polit-Secretariat of the Communist International has unanimously decided as follows:

"The preparation of the Party Congress must be taken in hand immediately after the conclusion of the election campaign. The Central Committee is requested to bring to the notice of the E. C. C. I. in good time the date, agenda and draft resolutions to the various points of the agenda, and also to lay before it, if there should be any proposals of the minority or individual Party organisations which differ from the views held by the majority of the Central Committee."

The Central Executive Committee greets this declaration of the Communist International which it will loyally execute. Immediately after the election campaign, the Central Executive Committee will proceed with Convention arrangements. The Party discussion will be opened as soon as the convention call is published. The Central Executive Committee desires and guarantees a discussion of the problems and tasks facing our Party in a Communist, in a truly Bolshevik manner. Personal recriminations, insults, attacks, quarrels, rumors, gossip, a factional spirit and a group attitude will be out of place and impermissible in the coming discussion. The Central Executive Committee will take steps to eliminate all sources of friction. It is the earnest desire of the Central Executive Committee to secure the loyal co-operation of all Party members and functionaries in the realisation of this task.

In the meanwhile, to work with redoubled energy! Party unity and mass work more than ever before! An inactive Party member is not a true Party member. Communist Party members are in good standing only when they are up to the hilt in Party activities, in the class struggle.

The present world situation, the sharpening war danger, the increasing aggrandisement of American imperialism, the multiplying attacks on the Party and the left wing, as shown in the attack on the Party in Kansas, the brutal attack on the recent miners' convention in Pittsburgh, the persistent effort to keep the Party off the ballot in Nebraska, the disruption and prohibition of Communist election meetings in Ohio and West Virginia — all demand complete Communist Party unity and most energetic mass activity.

The Central Executive Committee will carry out the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.

The Central Executive Committee will fight more sharply than ever against the Right Danger.

The Central Executive Committee will strengthen decisively the proletarian base of the Party and its leadership.

All Party resources are to be mobilised for making our Communist election campaign a real success.

No efforts are to be spared in throwing the full weight of the Party into the campaign to organise the unorganised, to build new powerful militant unions, and build a militant left wing in the existing unions.

Every vestige of white chauvinism is to be mercilessly stamped out. The Party must go full blast ahead in building a mass revolutionary movement among the Negroes.

The Central Executive Committee will permit nothing to stand in the way of the Party distinguishing itself in meeting the basic task before us today — through a brave, Bolshevik struggle against Wall Street imperialism in Latin America, in Nicaragua, in China and elsewhere — through an inspiring fight against imperialist war.

Forward to a unified Communist Party!

Away with Factionalism!

Let's redouble our efforts in all our Party campaigns!

Forward to a mass Communist Party in the United States!

Long Live the Leadership of the Communist International!

Central Executive Committee.

Workers' (Communist) Party.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Armaments of the Czechoslovakian Bourgeoisie.

By P. R.

The unfavourable geographic position of Czechoslovakia, with its long frontier-line, forces the ruling class in the Czechoslovakian Republic to increase their war-armaments even beyond the resources of the country. At the same time this country constitutes a natural link between the western powers and the capitalist "buffer" states bordering on the Soviet Union and therefore also an important basis for the political and military interests of the said powers.

The economic conditions in the Czechoslovakian Republic likewise make this country a suitable object for the war-aims of the imperialists. The significance of the wealth of the country, with its railway system, its coal mines, its electricity works, and its metal and chemical works, in the eventuality of a war against the Soviet Union, is well-known to the imperialist powers, which are therefore anxious to align Czechoslovakia in their "war front".

The growth of the reactionary regime in the army, the gradual transformation of the army into a professional fighting force, the close association between the requirements of the army and the economy of the country, the mobilisation of the entire population for war service, increased exploitation, protective laws, terrorist laws, administrative reform, social reform, taxation policy — all these are factors ultimately serving the purpose of war-preparedness.

Foremost, of course, among the factors serving this purpose are the actual armaments, the increase in the production of arms and munitions and the expansion of the air fleet. In the year 1926 there was, according to Government statistics, an exportation of munitions from Czechoslovakia to the value of 16 millions, directed primarily to the border States to the west of the Soviet Union. Immediate requirements were covered by the works at Prague, Brünn, Adamstal and Strakonitz.

For the purpose of developing the manufacture of nitrogen, without which the manufacture of explosives is impossible, the solution of the electricity question is envisaged. A water-power centre is being constructed on the River Waag, the surplus energy of which is to be used for the production of nitrogen. Here, too, a factory is to be erected for the production of nitric acid. At Marienberg near Ostrau a chemical works is to be put into operation, which in the very first year of its activity is reckoned to have an output of 15,000 kilogrammes of ammonium chloride, employed in preparing poison-gases. One of the partners in this enterprise is the factory of explosives at Semptin, which is establishing a plant for the burning of ammonium chloride to obtain nitrogenous acid and which likewise supplies the hydrates required in the manufacture of gunpowder. Within the first years of its activity this enterprise is also reckoned to produce 17,000 kilogrammes of saltpre-acid. There are thus four chemical works to cover the requirements of explosives and poison-gas. Besides the nitrogen works at Marienberg there will be another such works near Pardubitz.

The Skoda works have concluded a contract with the Roumanian Government for the supply of armaments during the next 40 years. The industrial enterprises required for war purposes are being concentrated and their share-capital is being increased, so that not only in the case of war but also at the present time they may serve as a basis both for the equipment of the Czechoslovakian army and also for that of the buffer states which are expected to fight against the Soviet Union.

The war preparations, finally, are reflected in the reactionary military budgets and in the enlargement of the army. In the space of eight years, Czechoslovakia has spent 18,541,000 Czech crowns. To this must be added the special fund of 3,000 millions, which for a period of 11 years is at the absolutely uncontrolled disposal of the State. According to the military budget of 1927, the Ministry of National Defence in that year consumed 1370 million Czech crowns. The pay of the officers and non-commissioned officers consumed roughly 363 millions or almost as much as the entire army expenditure of pre-war Austria.

The military expenditure for 1928 amounts to 1750 million Czech crowns. 9280 officers and 8609 non-commissioned officers draw an aggregate pay of 418 million Czech crowns per annum. On the other hand, 111,500 "common" soldiers receive in all no more than 85 million Czech crowns (without deductions and penalties). Needless to say, the War Ministry occupies some 706 superior officers, who alone consume 23.5 millions per annum. Besides this, there is still the French military commission, for the staff of which the yearly expenditure is 3.5 millions. The annual pay of the Minister of National Defence is 133,000 Czech crowns, apart from his salary as a deputy and from various other benefits. He thus draws 540 Czech crowns daily, which is just as much as a "common" soldier receives for a whole year. There is an expenditure of 24 million crowns per annum for the purchase and breeding of military remounts.

For hygienic and sanitary purposes the army budget provides an expenditure of 16 millions, though it is admitted that there is a dearth of doctors, that no fewer than 56,000 soldiers were on the sick list last year and that the surgeons were unable to cope with so many patients. One million has been allocated to the ambulatorium for venereal diseases.

The expenditure for air-defence amounts to 60.5 million crowns, this high figure being explained by the fact that the air system is developing wonderfully and gives great promise for the future. The entire old material is being replaced by new planes, most of them French. Increased attention is being paid to flying by night.

A further 1.5 million crowns have been voted for new buildings and other purposes, which sum is to cover the completion of the barracks at Freiwald, Turc, Sv. Martin, Lipt. Sv. Mikulas, Poprad, Trebisov, Huména, and Hust and the commencement of barrack-building at Mihlovec, Sillein, Jel-savam, Trutnov, Rusin, Hranice, Opava, Jihlava, Pilsen, Gebell, Letnani, Prossnitz, Pystany, and Kosice. There is a provision of 14 million crowns for small-arms, machine-guns, and the like. So that there may be a sufficient amount of powder for firing, blasting, etc., wellnigh 80 million crowns are to be spent on the purchase of explosives.

If we compare former expenditures with that for the year 1928, we shall observe that the pay item has been reduced by 10 millions and the item for soldiers' accommodation by 6 millions. On the other hand the item for the the breeding of army horses has been increased by 3 millions, i. e. to tenfold its former extent, that for the purchase of horses by 2 millions, that for munitions works by 0.5 million, and that for the complete military training by 5 millions. The sum of 1000 Czech crowns are thus spent annually on each horse, whereas the entire expenditure for one "common" soldier is 300 Czech crowns, including pay, food, and clothing.

Dividing the total military expenditure among the population, we get a sum of 100 Czech crowns per capita per annum, without regard to age or sex.

The above figures show that the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie is carrying on its armaments with particular care, preparing in the first place for military operations against the Soviet Union.

It is for the working classes of Czechoslovakia to place themselves under the lead of the Communist Party for the purpose of an increased resistance to these war-preparations of the bourgeoisie.

The Intelligence Monopoly — a War Weapon of British Imperialism.

By Nemo.

With the transference of economic and political preponderance from the European Continent to the oversea countries, the fight for the world's intelligence monopoly has become an essential factor in the struggle of the imperialist powers for world hegemony. In the interest of keeping intact the British Empire in particular, a strictly centralised and comprehensive intelligence service in war and peace is a pronounced economic and political necessity. Since the world-encircling bond, which at one time closely connected London with the oversea dominions, has been considerably loosened as a result of the industrialisation of the oversea regions, the rebellion of the

colonial peoples, and the national emancipation movements of the Dominions, a comprehension of the intelligence service in the British Empire came to be an urgent and imperative task. Last but not least, the intelligence monopoly of the British Empire was seriously threatened by the competition of the United States.

It was owing to the far-sightedness of the British Admiralty that the trustification of the entire British intelligence service marked a pronounced step forward on the road to its safety and further development. The economic stress of the British intelligence system afforded the British Government a long-desired pretext to place it under a political control and at the same time to form a new band around the creaking structure of the British Empire.

The rapid development of wireless telegraphy dealt a severe blow to the monopoly of the British cable system. The enormous capital invested in the cable system ensured huge profits until wireless telegraphy, with its unprecedented capacity and negligible costs, started undercutting the rates and securing most of the orders, to the dire distress of the cable companies. Suffice it to point out that the cost of installing and maintaining a wireless connection is no more than one tenth that incurred in the case of a cable connection. The strong depression exercised by wireless telegraphy on the profitability of the British cable companies finally led to a serious danger of foreign influence, mainly threatening from the United States.

The development of such difficult conditions for the cable companies led to intervention on the part of the British Government. The conference it convoked discussed the problem of a uniform regulation of cable and radio telegraphy for the whole Empire with the inclusion of the Dominions and colonies. How difficult the solution of this problem was is apparent from the fact that the **British Traffic Conference**, held in London early in the current year sat for months before arriving at a decision. The report of this Empire conference recommended the comprehension of the entire telegraphic service by one private company, to comprise all Government and private branches and to be controlled by a company of trustees to be appointed by the Government. The realisation of this equally sensational and far-reaching resolution was made dependent on the final decision of the Dominions.

After lengthy negotiations, the combination of all British cable companies, which had been keenly competing with one another, to form a single trust company with a capital of 53.7 million pounds was resolved. The following concerns were thus combined:

1. The **Eastern Telegraph Company**, together with its affiliated enterprises, the **Eastern and South African Telegraph Company** and the **Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Company**.

2. The **Marconi** group of enterprises, with their various lines to the colonies.

3. The **Pacific Cable Broad**, with its two cables from **Vancouver to Australia and New Zealand**, belonging jointly to the Governments of **Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada**.

4. The **State lines**, with the two Government cables to **Canada** and the wireless lines to the Dominions administered by the **British postal service**.

This transfer into private hands of the cable and wireless systems now under Government control was made dependent upon the consent of the British Parliament and of the different legislative bodies of the Dominions. Doubtless the trustification of the British intelligence system represents a great financial relief for the Government, placing the rates on a uniform basis, safeguarding the British cable service, and offering a better resistance to the competition of the United States, though at the same time also shifting the onus again onto the shoulders of the general public.

The committee appointed by the British Government to inquire into the economic position of the British cable and wireless companies published on July 27th a report which was at once submitted to the House of Commons. The suggestions of the committee have already been accepted by the British Cabinet and by various Dominions. On the other hand, **South Africa and Canada** appear to have made some serious objections.

The transfer of the Government plant into private hands, it should be remarked, does not in this case constitute actual decontrol of the telegraph and telephone system on the part

of the Government. By a relative representation on the board of the trust-company the interests of the British and Dominion governments can be safeguarded. The protection of political and military interests and the supreme control of the tariffs remain in the hands of the British Government, which will probably exploit these privileges even more energetically than hitherto. The British Government has reserved to itself the exclusive right of exercising control over the cable and wireless stations. In times of war and in all national emergencies, the British Government will exercise this authority directly and exclusively. Besides this, the military quarters are permitted even in times of peace to operate their own wireless and cable stations.

The trustification of the British intelligence service and the creation of a uniform wireless chain immediately linking up the mother-country with the colonies, cannot be too highly estimated from a political point of view. British Imperial Defence has now an intelligence apparatus at its command, which connects all parts of the Empire in the most up-to-date manner and under the most rational administration. That this apparatus will in the first place serve in the hands of the British Government as an instrument for the cultivation of imperialism and for the suppression of all independent opinion in the Dominions and colonies, is no less than obvious.

It was to be expected that the United States would increase their fight against the British intelligence monopoly. There have, as a matter of fact recently been amalgamations in United States intelligence circles which in their financial significance are even far in advance of the fusion effected among the British companies. Chief among them is the amalgamation between the **International Telegraph and Telephone Corporation** and the **Mackay Company**, the combined intelligence service of which covers practically all parts of the globe. The capital of this combine amounts to 300 million dollars. That the great concentration of the British intelligence service should have been effected so fast was in the first place the outcome of fear of further measures of expansion on the part of the intelligence service of the United States.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Dutch Social Democracy against the Independence of Indonesia.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

In the second chamber of the Dutch Parliament there took place in the middle of October a discussion of a Bill of considerable importance to Indonesian politics.

It is a question of an alteration of the Indonesian constitution, namely, of the "People's Council". The "People's Council", which has existed since 1917 has the appearance of a parliament, though there is little behind this appearance. At present it consists of 30 Europeans, 25 Indonesians and 5 Chinese, under a Dutch chairman. The members are appointed partly by the Government and partly elected by a very limited number of voters. They have no legislative but merely an advisory vote.

The original proposal of the Government, made in 1925, was that the People's Council should consist of 25 Dutchmen and 30 Indonesians and Chinese; through reactionary machinations this ratio was later altered and the proportion of Dutchmen to Indonesians was fixed at 30 to 25.

This mockery of the Indonesian population caused great dissatisfaction and the new General Government, de Graeff, therefore proposed that the original ratio should be restored. This proposal called forth a wave of protest from all the reactionary elements of Holland and, more especially, among the Dutch in Indonesia.

At the instigation of the director of the Bank of Java, Mr. Trip, a petition was got up and supported by all the sugar, tobacco and petroleum capitalists. However, the storm soon passed. The Government convinced the groups of interested parties that it was not a question of any very particular concession but merely of a clever class manoeuvre. The purpose of this sham reform was to split the Indonesian national movement and appoint part of it to work on the "People's Council", i. e. to co-operate with the Colonial Government.

In the second chamber of the Dutch Parliament, the Bill was accepted by a big majority, only ten votes being cast against it. Even the wire-puller of 1925, the Catholic engineer, Feber, who was loudest of all in his condemnation of the proposal, voted for it.

But the reactionary party is not inactive. It is now working on a new plan for the complete recasting of the Indonesian constitution, and according to this plan all "imperial" matters are to remain subject to the legislation of Holland. Under "imperial" matters will be classed all affairs which touch the interests of Dutch capital, i. e. everything essential!

Social Democracy was naturally in favour of the Government's proposal. In reality, there is not the slightest difference between the Social Democratic policy and that of the bourgeoisie, except that the latter is rather more far-seeing.

The Communist member, Comrade L. de Visser, voted against the Bill. He justified the view of the C. P. of Holland by stating that the Government proposal did not effect even a shade of improvement for the Indonesian masses and that the Communists therefore regarded it as their duty to point out the deception to these masses. At the conclusion of his comprehensive speech, in which he expounded the colonial programme of our party, Comrade de Visser proposed that parliament should declare itself in favour of the independence of Indonesia. No vote could be taken on the proposal, because it found no seconder, even among the Social Democrats, who thereby exposed themselves once more as opponents of the right of self-determination of the colonies.

The Indonesian nationalists organised in the P. P. P. K. L. or Federation of National Organisations, to which Sarekat Islam and P. N. I. belong, refuse to co-operate in the People's Council and take up an attitude of non-co-operation.

DOCUMENTS

The All-China Labour Federation to the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Dear Comrades!

The All-China Labour Federation sends comradely fraternal greetings to the toiling masses of India and wishes the Ninth All-India Trade Union Congress success. We wish your Congress the greatest success in its endeavour to express and define a revolutionary programme of action and to rally the rebellious working class and peasant masses for the struggles against exploitation and oppression.

The All-China Labour Federation is well aware of the enormous difficulties which are confronting your struggles for higher wages, shorter work-day etc. We are well aware, likewise, of the trials you must undergo in the course of your arduous fight to overthrow foreign domination, to crush the rule of British imperialism, and to attain complete national independence and the liberation of the Indian working masses from subjugation and humiliation. All this we comprehend fully because we are in the very midst of such a struggle. The Chinese working class and peasant masses are fighting a life-and-death struggle against the combined counter-revolutionary forces — the imperialists and the Kuomintang. The masses under the leadership of the All-China Labour Federation are determined to drive out from China the British, Japanese, American and French imperialists, and to overthrow the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government, the running dogs of the imperialists and the traitors to the Chinese revolution. Thus notwithstanding the raging white terror of the Kuomintang, the systematic and most ruthless mass executions and massacres of revolutionary workers and peasants, strikes and political mass demonstrations of ever-increasing dimensions are frequently taking place. Last but not least, the mass uprisings of the peasants are spreading all over the country and large sections of Southern China are already governed by the Soviets, established and controlled by the local revolutionary workers, peasants and Red Army soldiers.

Of course, not only our own and your struggles but also the revolutionary movements of all other colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and that of the workers and peasants in particular, will be greatly accelerated as soon as a revolutionary united mass front of all the oppressed and exploited against

the capitalists and landlords, the militarists and imperialists as well as against the working class traitors will be set up and coordinated. The oppressed and exploited masses of all countries, nationalities and races must realise once and for all that a united front with, or the leadership of such people as the MacDonalDs, Purcells, Citrines, Bunji Suzukis, Chiang Kai-sheks, Nehrus etc. inevitably lead the workers' and peasants' movements to the most crushing defeats. It is therefore, essential to expose before the masses the treacherous policies and activities of these people and eliminate them without fail from our class organisations. Unless such traitors are discarded and their reformist policies repudiated national independence in India or elsewhere is not attainable and the emancipation of the working class and peasant masses is impossible.

Hence with profound appreciation we learned the fact that the restless and rebellious masses of your country are in deep sympathy with Soviet Russia and its aspirations: that your Trade Union Congress took steps in the promotion of a revolutionary united front and trade union unity on the Pacific by selecting delegates to attend the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference in our country last year, and that it had condemned the British government in refusing passports to the delegates. The All-China Labour Federation followed with the greatest sympathy the determined fight of the Bombay Textile Workers in their strike, the brave struggles of the Railway and the Steel Workers: the boycott of the Simon Commission as well as the militant action taken by your delegates at the so-called "Commonwealth Labour Conference" at London and the Brussels Congress of the Second International. We rejoiced at their walking out of these social-imperialist gatherings which not only called upon the workers to pursue the so-called industrial peace policy "Mondism" but even went on record in opposition to national independence for India and other colonies, as well as most viciously attacking Soviet Russia, the only real friend of the colonial peoples and the stronghold of the world proletariat. Obviously the words uttered by your delegate, Chaman Lall, that "the British Labour Party, together with the Second International, are the advance guard of British and European imperialism in order to prevent and postpone the emancipation of the Colonial Peoples" are strikingly true and marvelous words which your Congress and all of us should take due notice of.

However, at the same time we learn with regret that many of your Trade Union Congress leaders have joined hands with the treacherous leaders of the British Labour Party, the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, the Second International and its tail-end the Amsterdam International (International Federation of Trade Unions with headquarters at Amsterdam). Indeed we were astonished to read in your official publication the urging by Mr. N. M. Joshi, General Secretary of your Trade Union Congress to the effect that the All-India Trade Union Congress should join the Amsterdam International, the systematic splitter of the world trade union movement and the most persistent saboteger of all efforts by the Trade Unions of Soviet Russia and the Red International of Labour Unions (with headquarters at Moscow) to bring about trade union unity the world over. We read with deep disgust your secretary's call to join and strengthen the Amsterdam International, the most cunning disrupter of mass strikes, liberation movement uprisings and the upholder of the counter revolution in China. Not less outrageous and treacherous is the proposal of Mr. Joshi that the All-India Trade Union Congress in co-operation with Bunji Suzuki, Matsuoka, Yonekubu & Co., the Japanese champions of the Amsterdam International and the bought agents of Japanese imperialism should through the so-called Geneva Labour Office convene an "Asiatic Labour Conference" thus purposely ignoring and undermining the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, established at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference last year as previously referred to, and composed of the Trade Unions of Soviet Russia, Australia, Indonesia, China, the Philippines, Korea, and the Left Wing Trade Unions of Japan, England, France, America and Canada. Yes, consciously and deliberately, Joshi, Bunji Suzuki & Co. are striving to disrupt the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress to be convened by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in the summer of 1929.

Evidently Mr. Joshi and his like are preparing to betray your Trade Union Congress as Mr. Nehru and his like did

it recently in your national independence movement or, as was the case with the Chiang Kai-Sheks in our country last year. The betrayal in our country took place as soon as the workers and peasants became class conscious and were fighting not only the foreign invader imperialists but the native exploiters as well. In other words, as soon as the Chinese revolutionary masses established the eight hour day, confiscated and redistributed the land, set up the workers' and Peasants' government, etc., the bourgeoisie, feudalists, militarists, social-reformists and weak kneed leaders of every description deserted the revolution and went over to the camp of the counter revolution and white terror. We presume that your revolutionary movement is rapidly approaching a somewhat similar stage of development.

The All-China Labour Federation hopes that the All-India Trade Union Congress' in session, and the local unions, or the rank and file in particular, will not follow the footsteps of Joshi & Co., but will formulate and promulgate fighting policies, and grasp our out-stretched hand for a revolutionary united mass front under the leadership of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. We sincerely hope that your Congress will not endorse social-imperialism nor join the Amsterdam International and thus permit the Joshis' to throw the weight of your trade unions on the side of the bourgeoisie and its running dogs, the reformists and traitors. On the contrary, we hope that your trade unions will rather strengthen their connections and bonds with the trade unions of Soviet Russia and the Far-East, and that we will meet your representatives at the coming Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress. We urge and call upon you to join hands with us in order to fight more effectively imperialism and the threatening imperialist war, to defend jointly Soviet Russia and with an increasing energy to foster the fight for the liberation of the oppressed colonial peoples and victory for the working class.

In conclusion the All-China Labour Federation extends to your Trade Union Congress a cordial invitation to pay a visit to our country and to be an eye witness to the brutal massacres of our comrades by the Kuomintang, the component part and friend of the Amsterdam and Second Internationals: to learn from the most authentic source the character and driving forces of the great Chinese revolution as well as to exchange with us views and revolutionary experiences.

Down With Imperialism and Its Running Dogs!

Long Live the Revolutionary United Mass Front of All Oppressed and Exploited.

All-China Labour Federation,

Son-Chao-Jen, Chairman,

Lou-Tan-hsian, Secretary.

Shanghai, October 10, 1928.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Working Conditions of the Women in Bulgaria.

By Blagojeva.

Concerning the working conditions of the women of Bulgaria under Fascist rule, the Bulgarian Labour Press publishes shocking reports.

The worker correspondent of the "Novini" contributes the following from the town of Varna:

"In the Nikolov textile mill in our town there are working 1100 girls between the ages of 10 and 20. They are brought in exclusively from villages in distant districts, so that they may not remain in touch with their relatives. For every working girl he procures the agent of the mill is paid 200 levas (3 levas equal 1 d.). The agents tempt the unhappy girls and their starving parents by telling them of the instruction in sewing and embroidering which is given in the mill and also by pointing out the conditions of the contract, which is concluded for a period of 2 years: For the first year 3000 levas and 60 yards of linen, in the second year 3000 levas and a

sewing machine. Whoever fails to fulfil the contract is not paid anything at all.

The factory is surrounded by a high stone wall. Strangers are not admitted. The gates are opened once a year — at Easter, and the building overseers lead out the mill girls for a walk and take them back again in the same order. In the mill itself sunlight and pure air are luxuries. The food is miserable and the meat, which is served three times a week, stinks. Breakfast consists of black bread and nothing else. There are ten working hours per day and the mill is run with two shifts. The mill girls look like scarecrows, for they are covered in dust and fluff. It is forbidden to wash often as washing wastes time. In order to simplify their toilet the girls get a jail crop. A special remedy is given to the girls to prevent menstruation, so that time may not be wasted on extra washing. When the medical authorities hold an inspection, the sick girls are hidden away in the attic of an old building.

So that they may have proper exercise in their leisure hours, the girls are forced to clean up and wash the yard as "recreation". If they make a single protest or mistake at work, they are beaten on the bare body with a stick. If a mill girl leaves her place to knot a broken thread she is beaten in the same manner. Within the last few months, those who do not finish the specific quantity of 170 yards a day are punished with fines in the form of deductions from their pay.

Meetings with relatives are permitted very seldom and only as great exceptions, and they take place in the presence of an overseer and then only after the respective girl has been threatened with punishment if she complains. The percentage of sick and dead is extraordinarily high. Relatives are not informed of deaths."

These communications were got by the worker correspondent from a girl who had got away on account of serious ill health. The factory in question is by no means an exception. Concerning the mill known as "Linen" in Sophia, another worker correspondent writes:

"This mill is a prison. It is operated by girls from 10 to 15 years of age, who are taken on by agents from far-off villages. Many of them do not get out of the mill throughout the year, because they are not allowed to leave the premises. Occasionally, but very seldom, the manager allows a group of girls to go out under the escort of a supervisor. There are two shifts per day of twelve hours each, beginning at two o'clock and ending at two. In their free time the girls do the washing for the manager and the foremen and clean up the mill. The girls get nothing to eat in the morning. At midday and in the evening they get bread and nothing else, for whatever else is offered is wormy. The wage is 10 levas per day. It is paid only at the end of the period contracted for, namely, two or three years. If the girls do not complete this period, they get nothing. Most of the girls run away from the factory. In case of sickness the mill girls are thrown onto the street, for sickness is regarded as breach of contract."

Working conditions are no better even in those factories in which there are no enslaving contracts. A worker correspondent of the trade-union paper "Unity" reports from Philippopolis:

"The foremen walk about continually cursing and threatening. Once a doctor came to inspect the mill, but he could not stand more than five minutes of the stinking and dust-laden atmosphere. He merely said: "Are you all satisfied?" and disappeared. He did not see that the drinking-water container stood under the steps and that when they were brushed all the dirt fell into the water. The floor is never washed but only sprinkled with water. The doctor had hardly left when two of the girls slipped and fell. There is no dining-room. For the 600 mill girls there is one solitary pump available, so that they cannot wash themselves in the dinner hour. We eat in the dust and dirt of the street."

The class organisations of the workers of Bulgaria must develop a wide-spread movement among the working women in order to expose all the facts of the slavish working conditions and to mobilise the working class, including the broad masses of women, against Fascism and capitalism.