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Capitalist Class Justice Triumphs: Sacco and Vanzetti Murdered!

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

"This is the very top, the height, the crest, or crest unto the crest, of murder's arms: this is the bloodiest shame, the wildest savagery, the vilest stroke, that ever wall-eyed wrath or staring rage presented to the tears of soft remorse.

All murders past do stand excused in this: and this, so sole and unmatchable, shall give a holiness, a purity, to the yet unbegotten sin of times; and prove a deadly bloodshed but a jest, exemplified by this heinous spectacle."

Shakespeare's "King John".

Class justice triumphs! In spite of a mass protest and an outcry of a hundred million as has seldom been raised in the last few years, in spite of the representations and remonstrances of numerous and eminent pacifists — scholars, scientists and men and women of international repute — the American bourgeoisie, in the night from 22nd to 23rd August, executed the two Italian revolutionaries Sacco and Vanzetti!

In the fight, which lasted for seven years and which in the last few weeks aroused the whole public, the brutal, barbarous American imperialism has been victorious. We communists, in the course of the fight and the action to rescue the two innocent murdered proletarian revolutionaries, have never permitted any doubt that it was not a question of Sacco and Vanzetti as individuals, but of the great fight between the proletarian revolution and the iron-clad American and international imperialism.

In the last decades, especially in the years since the war, international imperialism has, both legally and illegally, condemned, executed and murdered thousands and thousands of workers. What, however, distinguishes the case of Sacco and Vanzetti from all other murders of revolutionary proletarians, is the monstrous bestiality, the almost sadistic barbarity with which the bourgeoisie of the United States dragged the two workers to the electric chair.

Seven years ago Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned to death, and during this unendingly long time they were re-

peatedly dragged from the prison cell to the condemned cell, in order, at the last moment and after having experienced all the mental agony of an immediate execution, to be conveyed back to the prison cell; and this only in order, after a few weeks or months, to have to go through the same cruel business again, and then, in the night from 22nd to 23rd August — perhaps with the faint hope, remembering their former experiences, of being saved yet once again — to die. All the horrors of medieval torture pale before this atrocious bestiality, which could only emanate from the sick brains of insane criminals.

Sacco and Vanzetti have been executed, murdered. By their execution the imperialists of the United States give a blow in the face to the international working class and all sections and circles inclining to them, who for weeks past, in all countries and cities of the earth, demanded the release of the condemned. The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti is a demonstration of United States imperialism, which in the last few months demonstrated its power and military force by bombarding unfortified towns in Nicaragua and whose warships took part in the bombardment and destruction of Chinese towns and villages.

The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti is a fresh and the most provocative challenge to the American and the international proletariat. The murder of the two proletarian revolutionaries was possible because the bourgeoisie of the United States had placed itself determinedly and with all its power behind the cowardly murderers, in order, through the two murdered victims, to strike at the revolutionary labour movement of America.

With the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti the bourgeoisie of the United States has remained true to its "democratic" traditions. Like the five gallows in the prisons of Chicago on which, in the year 1886, the victims of the Pinkerton provocateurs were strangled, the electric chair in Boston today reveals the true countenance and the real content of the bourgeois democracy of the capitalist world. With this murder the bourgeoisie of the United States has shown in the most striking manner to the working class of the whole world, that in capitalist society there exist neither justice nor law, but only a naked, brutal and barbarous class law and class justice.

In former times the bourgeoisie had some sense of shame, and attempted to hide and conceal the arbitrary justice. Today, with the sharpening of class antagonisms and of the class struggle, it allows even the last flimsy veil to fall, and shows that for it the police, the judges and law courts are only obedient tools of its blindly raging hatred against the proletariat and against the revolutionary working class.

Like the cowardly and vile murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, like the murder of thousands of workers, so this bestial slaughter of the two workers in Boston will let loose the most profound indignation of millions of workers and peasants. This cowardly, bestial murder must not and will not be forgiven the American and international bourgeoisie. If the bourgeoisie of the United States believes that it can thereby weaken and intimidate the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, it will find itself mistaken. The indignation, the fury at this cowardly murder will lead millions of workers to the revolutionary front, and hundreds of thousands will spring to fill up the gap created by the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The attitude of the reformist parties and trade unions in the light conducted by millions in order to prevent the murder has been shameful. The International Trade Union Congress in Paris did nothing and did not even raise a finger in order to save the lives of the two condemned workers. The II. International, this despicable body of bankrupt social democratic ex-Ministers, was more deeply moved over the fate of Oudegeest at the Paris Congress than over the fate of the two revolutionary workers awaiting execution. The demand of the American Defence Committee for Sacco and Vanzetti that an international general strike be called in order to save the lives of the two workers, was printed in the social democratic "Vorwärts" of Berlin, this model paper of a degenerate and corrupt reptile press, under the cynical heading: "A Belated Proposal", instead of the editors blushing with shame at the fact that the representatives of the Social Democratic Party at the Paris Congress and their functionaries in the trade unions had not brought forward this proposal as a matter of course, and at least approved the proposals of the revolutionary orga-

nisations and workers' groups in Germany when the latter demanded the organisation of a protest strike.

The bourgeoisie of the United States wished to murder Sacco and Vanzetti as a demonstration in the great class struggle against the proletariat. The fact that they were able to carry out this intention is greatly due to the shameful and cowardly behaviour of the reformist and social democratic trade union and party cliques in the United States and in other countries.

Sacco and Vanzetti have died for the revolutionary class struggle and for the revolution. Their death must be a fresh stimulus to extend and to intensify the revolutionary fight against the bourgeoisie of all countries, as well as against all reformist agents and lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

The death of Sacco and Vanzetti will spur us on to increase a hundredfold our efforts in the proletarian class struggle, and not to rest until the capitalist condemned cells are stormed and the proletarian revolution is realised.

CHINA

After the Retirement of Chiang Kai-Shek.

By Tang Shin She.

For the Chinese bourgeoisie Sun Yat Sen's testament is obsolete and out of date. It has received a new legacy, more favourable for it, from the testament of Chiang Kai-Shek, the declaration, amounting to 5000 words, which he made on the occasion of his flight.

Chiang Kai-Shek places greater confidence in his new adherents, the leading people from the Wuhan group, than in his old Nanking followers. In his testament he plainly expresses the hope that the "Wuhan comrades" will carry out his teachings. He, the splitter of the revolutionary united front, the most unscrupulous betrayer of the Chinese workers and peasants, comes forward as the reconciling father between two children (Nanking and Wuhan) with the object of increasing the power of the younger.

"On my return from Russia I clearly recognised the difference between the two parties (the Communist Party and the Kuomintang; T. S. S.) but I did not succeed in persuading Sun Yat Sen to my view." With these words Chiang Kai-Shek best proves that right from the beginning he was of another opinion than Sun Yat Sen, whose teachings he only made use of as a cloak for his own dirty business. It is only now that he openly calls upon the people to follow his teachings as being the correct ones.

Sun Yat Sen endeavoured to gain the support of the workers and peasants; he led the way to co-operation with the Communist Party and concluded the revolutionary alliance with the proletarian State, the Soviet Union. By means of this co-operation, this united front, the international imperialists and their confederates, the Chinese militarists, in a very short time sustained tremendous defeats in China, and in the last year were almost completely swept away.

The Chinese bourgeoisie with Chiang Kai-Shek at the head, were afraid that the Chinese proletariat would gain the upper hand in the national revolution, and that they could thereby lose the working masses whom they wished to make their own coolies. They pondered how they could best prevent this, and came to what they thought was an extremely clever decision. They formed an alliance with the declining feudal militarists and with the imperialists, who were greatly weakened in China, in order to throttle the powerful mass movement and to gain the hegemony in China. The sudden and tremendous advance of the imperialist lackeys, Sun Chuan Fang and Chang Tsung Chang on Nanking and Shanghai, the flight of Chiang Kai-Shek and the squabbles among the generals who have freed themselves under the cloak of the revolution, prove that the plan of the Chinese bourgeoisie to gain the leading position in China with the aid of the oppressors of the country, whom they themselves wish to shake off, was an illusion.

The fact that the militarists, Sun Chuan Fang and Chang Tsung Chang, who had been almost annihilated, suddenly experienced a great accession of strength, is due to the fact that the imperialists are not inclined to tolerate either the hegemony of the proletariat or that of the national bourgeoisie in China. In order to annihilate Chiang Kai-Shek the imperialists caused great sums of money to be paid over to Sun Chuan Fang and Chang Tsung Chang through the Shanghai bankers (who are completely dependent upon the imperialists), had the railways torn up in order to prevent the retreat of the troops of Chiang Kai-Shek etc. The imperialists, who, under the revolutionary storm of the masses, had made many concessions and had almost hidden themselves, are insolently coming forward again with fresh demands. Thus they are demanding that they shall be allowed to use the whole town of Shanghai as a strategic place of defence, by means of which they wish to throttle the Chinese emancipation movement for many years to come.

A still more important cause of the defeat of Chiang Kai-Shek than the imperialist attack is the fact that Chiang Kai-Shek, by his treachery, declared war on the working class, the firmest support of the anti-imperialist front. Let us call to mind the powerful sweep of the Chinese revolution, proceeding from the strikes in Shanghai in May 1925 and the beginning of the permanent strikes in Canton and Hongkong. Let us remember, further, the expedition to the North, how the peasants in the country and the workers in the towns, as the advance guard, smoothed all the ways for the revolutionary troops. Hankow fell into the hands of the Canton troops thanks to the strike of the railwaymen and arsenal workers. In Shanghai the troops were able to enter the town after the workers had driven out the feudal military rulers by means of several revolts.

The power of the Northern military rulers was shaken. **Chang Tso Lin** in his fear saw in everybody an enemy. The peasants and workers flung all their energies into the revolution in order to obtain the land necessary for their maintenance, that is, in order to achieve social freedom. Just before the achievement of these aims the bourgeoisie flung themselves with all their fury against the workers and peasants and caused thousands of them to be shot or executed. A furious campaign was opened against the Left Kuomintang supporters who wished to preserve the teachings of Sun Yat Sen. The bourgeoisie declared their former allies, the Communists, to be their worst enemies; they represented the Soviet Union to be worse than the imperialists. This spirit spread from Chiang Kai-Shek to the so-called radical intellectual leaders of Wuhan.

The answer of the toiling masses, of the workers, peasants and city poor and the revolutionary soldiers to this policy, is increasing indignation and increasing anger. Everywhere in the territory hitherto in the hands of Chiang Kai-Shek it comes to stormy and spontaneous outbreaks. There is a ferment among the workers of Shanghai, Canton and Wuhan. The peasants of the provinces of Kwantung, Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi are daily taking possession of fresh villages. The red spears of North Hunan and South Chili, after having at the beginning of June rendered possible the entry of Feng Yu Hsiang's troops by driving out the army of Chang Tso Lin, at the beginning of July drove out Feng Ya Hsiang's troops again on account of treachery to the revolution. Tremendous confusion prevails in the former revolutionary armies. The generals who came over from the counter-revolutionaries are returning to their old camp.

All this shows that an emancipation from the imperialists and militarists without the workers and peasants and without their leader, the Communist Party, is impossible. It further shows that the proletariat is the driving force of the revolution, that the proletariat alone can take over the hegemony in this fight.

The groups of Wuhan and Nanking wish to form a joint government. Although they still continue to read Sun Yat Sen's testament at every meeting and every session, they will in a very short time fulfil the last wishes of Chiang Kai-Shek, that is, they will forget their sham revolutionary language and go over openly to the imperialists. The honest followers of Sun Yat Sen will not in this great turn of affairs deviate from the path, and will continue to co-operate with the workers and peasants and the Communist Party in order to annihilate Chiang-Kai-Shekism and to remove the imperialists and militarists.

Declaration of Chiang Kai-Shek on the Occasion of His Resignation.

Shanghai, 17th August, 1927.

Chiang Kai-Shek publishes a declaration with reference to his resignation, giving his reasons for this step. The declaration gives a survey of the whole of Chiang Kai-Shek's past activities, and contains many attacks on the Communists. One passage of the declaration is as follows:

"For some years I was held to be an advocate of friendship with the Soviet Union, and to be in favour of the admittance of communists in the Kuomintang. On returning from Russia, I recognised clearly the difference between the two parties. I was not however successful in persuading Sun Yat Sen of this. The policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, advocated by Sun Yat Sen, was based on the fact that the Soviet Union renounced the unjust agreements. If Sun Yat Sen had the opportunity of observing the activities of the communists and of Borodin, he would have demanded their removal even sooner. From the very beginning I demanded that Borodin should be expelled from the country, and co-operation with the communists abandoned. Now Borodin is gone. The Wuhan authorities, and the authorities in the provinces of Hunan and Kiangsi, have driven out the communists on their own initiative. This circumstance proves that I was in the right, and supports the view that the realisation by my demands has been a vital necessity for the interests of the Party, the country, and the whole movement.

My wishes culminate in the following points: 1. The members of the fractions must clear away the disagreements and the atmosphere of mutual distrust. The Wuhan comrades must come to Nanking and take into their own hands the leadership of the Party and the responsibility for its future. If I am regarded as the originator of the split, then I am prepared to make any sacrifice for the Kuomintang; 2. The troops now in the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi, must march to the North at once, concentrate their forces on the Tientsien-Pukau railway, and begin the advance on Peking; 3. I hope that the authorities in the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi will undertake a thorough cleansing of the Party. I believe that the campaign opened by the Wuhan comrades against the communists is sincere, but the unheard of sufferings of the people make it imperative that Wuhan should hasten to take every measure, and should shrink from no effort, in order to prevent the communists from resuming their activities in districts where communism has ruled at times. On these three wishes I set all my hopes.

The "Pravda" on the Union of Wuhan and Nanking.

Moscow, 17. August 1927.

The „Pravda“ comments on the joining of Wuhan and Nanking, and emphasises that politically Wuhan has capitulated to Nanking, and not vice versa. Chiang Kai-Shek's resignation, whilst perhaps satisfying the personal vanity of the Wuhan generals and facilitating their reconciliation with Nanking, cannot however alter the essential political fact that Wuhan has fallen into step with Nanking.

Chiang Kai Shek has retired, but "Chiang Kai Shekism" remains quite apart from the name of the general carrying it on, whether Feng Ju Hsiang or another. "Chiang Kai Shekism" is the brutal domination over the workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie. This is the path into which the Chinese bourgeoisie has permitted itself to be driven by fear of the revolutionary mass movement, and it will not be able to leave this path without abandoning the power to the workers and peasants. The policy of suppressing the workers' and peasants' movement will bring the leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie other defeats in the future at the hands of the feudal lords. These defeats on the one hand, and the surge of revolution from the heart of China on the other, will inevitably force the successors of Chiang Kai Shek to a reconciliation with the feudal lords and the imperialists. The amalgamation of Wuhan and Nanking consolidates the class forces of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the betrayers of the revolution. This must be replied to by the

mustering and consolidation of the forces of the workers and peasants of China, by the preparation of the renewed and greater advance of the revolution. ever under the unchanged slogans: **Revolutionary agrarian reorganisation, clearing the imperialists out of China, organisation and development of the peasants' and trade union movements, all round support of the fresh revolutionary rising in Nangschia by the masses of the workers and peasantry!**

Fresh Persecutions in China.

By H. Shaw.

Reports of the persecution of peasants in the province of Hupeh in the month of June throw additional light upon the recent events of Wuhan. When we separate the persecution of peasants in the districts where the reactionary troops have operated, from persecution in the districts where the reactionary troops had not advanced, the most remarkable difference to be noted is, that apparently there were more peasants murdered, wounded and ill-treated in the districts where the reactionary troops had not advanced! The persecution of revolutionary peasants was carried out by all the bourgeois groups with equal ferocity throughout the whole province of Hupeh, in which more than 3000 peasants were either murdered or severely wounded.

Equally, the disarming of the workers, arrest and imprisonment of the leading revolutionary elements among the proletariat and the suppression of Trade Unions is being carried out in the towns and cities.

Despite all the efforts of the imperialists, the counter-revolutionary generals and the "national revolutionary" generals, despite the betrayals by the Kuomintang, the Chinese revolution will proceed until the final victory of the Chinese toiling masses.

Meanwhile, the soil of China is drenched with the blood of the heroic fighters. Thousands are in prison. In Canton alone there are nearly two thousand prisoners. The brutalities of the Chinese executioners are almost unbelievable. Before execution prisoners are often beaten with rods until they are unconscious. The betrayal of the revolutionary workers and peasants by the Kuomintang leaders has resulted not only in intensified persecution in China, but in the persecution of Chinese in other countries also. In Java only recently 13 Chinese were killed and 27 wounded. In Singapore 90% of the inmates of the prisons are Chinese. They are frequently kicked and brutally ill-treated. Owing to the bad treatment and the bad food, the prisoners recently declared a hunger-strike. 200 refused to take their food. The result of the opposition was that they were compelled to eat at the point of the bayonet, and without distinction they were all badly beaten and tortured.

The following quotation from the British imperialist organ "The China Press", June 24th, gives an idea of the present situation in China and the bloody cynical cruelty of the imperialists.

"General Yang-Hu arrived at Ningpo yesterday accompanied by 12 executioners and a bodyguard of 200 men. His presence here is in order to clear out the local communists. He will be here for a week."

The cries of the wounded and of the dependent wives and children appeal to the workers and peasants of the whole world.

The task of assisting the victims of the Chinese revolutionary struggle is one which must be undertaken by the workers' and peasants' organisations in every land. Not only protests are needed, but material assistance at once. When it is realised that hundreds of victims are lying in the streets of villages unburied, because of the poverty of the Chinese peasantry, every worker will understand the urgent need for funds. In every meeting, every demonstration, in every Trade Union branch, collections should be made in aid of the victims of the Chinese Terror. The Chinese toilers themselves have organised a relief organisation called "The Chinese Aid Society". This organisation is illegal in most parts of China and meets with tremendous difficulties in relieving the victims. Despite the conditions of its existence, the "Chinese Aid Society" relieved many hundreds of prisoners and thousands of dependents, and has also provided for the burial of large numbers of the murdered workers and peasants. However, the poverty of the oppressed Chinese toilers makes it impossible for the "Chinese Aid Society" to raise one tenth of the

amount needed for the fulfilment of its tasks. The organisation calls upon the toiling masses in every country to come at once to its assistance in order that it may bury the dead, succour the wounded, provide food and legal defence for the prisoners and relieve the distress of the dependents of these brave fighters in the cause of the Chinese toilers.

All funds collected should be centralised and handed to the International Red Aid, which has received the urgent appeal of the "Chinese Aid Society" and has undertaken to carry out a wide collection of funds in every land.

POLITICS

The Triumph of Reaction in Austria.

By Willi Schlam.

Austria is at last ruled by the "strong hand". If the Seipel government succeeds in continuing its present course for some further time without encountering any resistance, then the democratic wonderland of Austria will become an integral part of the Central and South European bloc of counter-revolution.

Up to the present the offensive of the Austrian counter-revolution has not been held up at a single point. The capitulation of the Austro-Marxists is being repeated afresh every day, and often assumes grotesque forms, as for example in the case of the frontier gathering of the "Lake Constance International", i. e. the Austrian, German and Swiss organisations of the Second International lying on the shores of Lake Constance. This official demonstration of the II. International had been convened some months ago for the 14th of August in Bregenz, a small frontier town in the Austrian province of Vorarlberg. This entire "province" numbers scarcely more than 100,000 inhabitants. The governor of the province, Dr. Enderle, a notorious fascist leader, ventured to forbid the pompous frontier gathering of the II. International. And the pride of this International, the Austrian Socialist Party, capitulated in face of the whole world, and accepted the prohibition without resistance. The gathering took place in the little Swiss town of Arbon.

Yes, the "strong hand" is ruling in Austria, even if only because the Austrian model party of the II. International is cowardly retreating step by step. Seipel and his semi-fascist government colleagues are taking advantage of this circumstance in order to recommend themselves to the fascist provincial lords as the determined government of bourgeois law and order. For this purpose they need successes at all cost.

To a certain extent, for party political reasons, the government achieves these successes at the expense of the social democracy. Since the defeat of the Vienna workers, Seipel is depriving the Austro-Marxists of all prestige. The Socialist Party of Austria attempted, on two points, to save its prestige from out the debacle: by the creation of the Municipal Constabulary and by the setting up of an investigation committee by the Vienna Municipality, as Parliament refused to appoint a committee of investigation on the events of the 15th to 16th July.

We have already written as to how the swindle of the municipal police force ended. It is only necessary to add that on the 16th of August Herr Seitz, the social democratic burgo-master of Vienna, was compelled to inform Mgr. Seipel, in solemn form and quite publicly, that the municipal constabulary had been dissolved!

And now the second swindle, the municipal investigation committee, has collapsed. We Communists predicted right at the beginning that this would be the fate of this sham committee, and demanded, as the only possible means of ascertaining the parties responsible for the bloody events, that the investigation be conducted by a proletarian committee, consisting of representatives from the factories and workshops. The municipal investigation was the only satisfaction which the social democratic leaders had promised the working class. On the 18th of August, however, the police direction of Herr Schober informed the Committee that the police refused to answer any inquiries. Thereupon the municipal committee ended its "labours". The last semblance of an attempt to obtain retribution for the blood-bath has been liquidated by the social democratic leaders! The government has therefore succeeded in weakening to a very great extent the prestige of the Socialist Party of Austria. But a real weakening of his loyal opposition is by no means the intention of Mgr. Seipel. He needs the Socialist Party of Austria as a

party serving to paralyse the working class, and is therefore concentrating the really serious campaign of persecution against the Communist Party of Austria, which is making headway.

This campaign of persecution commenced on the 15th July and is being continued up to the present time. It was introduced by the official assertion that the notorious "first shot" had been fired by the "well-known Communist Fiala." It was thereby intended to insinuate that the person in question was **Gottlieb Fiala**, a member of the Central Committee of the C. P. But the one arrested was another comrade, named **Franz Fiala**, as nothing whatever could be brought against Comrade Fiala the member of the C. C. The entire action of the government was based upon this Communist "first shot". **Franz Fiala** was arrested on the 16th July. On the 17th of August the charge had to be abandoned and our comrade released, as an absolutely irrefutable alibi had been established. The anti-communist campaign has collapsed politically and juridically.

But not as an actual fact! The Communist persecutions by **Mgr. Seipel** are as savage as those in many countries of outspoken white terror. Arrests after arrests; Comrade **Koplenig**, the secretary of the Party, and other functionaries are in prison. Fresh workers are conveyed to prison every day, among them being social democratic functionaries, as for example a commandant of the Republican Defence Corps employed in the city electricity works. Class justice is reaping a rich harvest! Of the 26 numbers of the "**Rote Fahne**" which have appeared since the 19th July up to the present time, ten have been confiscated. There is no censorship in Austria so that a confiscation means the seizure of the entire edition. These systematic attempts to cripple and ruin the only revolutionary newspaper in Austria are to be perfected by the new press law. According to the government bill, which will without doubt be passed by Parliament, "neglect to exercise reasonable and proper care" in publishing statements — a crime which the **Rote Fahne** would commit a dozen times a month — is liable to a fine of 2500 Austrian Shillings (350 Dollars). With this means alone the government would be able to annihilate the "**Rote Fahne**"

A great number of the meetings called by the C. P. of Austria have been straightway forbidden, in the first place the anti-war demonstration on the 4th of August. **Herr Seipel** is continually sending his compliments to the London war-mongers. But the police have even searched and dissolved closed meetings of the nuclei and of the district committees of the Party. In short, the C. P. of Austria is not entirely prohibited, but its work is being hindered and combated with the aid of the entire government apparatus.

But the government is not succeeding! The Party remains and is working among the masses with the greatest success! In addition to the general polemics with the bankrupt Austro-Marxism, it has placed in the centre of its political action the campaign for the release of the arrested workers. In the factories there is ferment and indignation at the uninterrupted arrests. The movement is embracing ever larger strata of the workers. The workers in the factories are vehemently demanding the release of the arrested. The Committee for Trade Union Unity has placed itself at the head of the movement with an appeal signed by four social democratic functionaries.

But in this question also the social democracy has sold the working class. It merely promises to bring forward in Autumn a Parliamentary motion for an amnesty. For the rest, it has contended itself with warning the working class against Communist agitation with regard to this question and with a prohibition, issued by **Seitz**, of collections by the **Red Aid**, which is the only relief organisation actively supporting all victims of the 15th July without distinction of Party.

The S. P. of Austria has not organised a single meeting for the release of the arrested: neither for the arrested Austrian workers nor for **Sacco and Vanzetti**. The "strongest social democracy of the world" does not venture to hold any meeting whatever even in "red" Vienna! For **Sacco and Vanzetti** they did just as much as the Pope: they sent a protest telegram...

Such a complete capitulation on the part of the Socialist Party of Austria must naturally strengthen and increase the opposition which has been developing within it since the 15th of July. Although the party leaders are trying to stifle all discussion and hold practically no members' meetings and conferences — in those few which have been held the speakers as a rule were not able to get a hearing — an organised opposition is forming. As is to be understood, this opposition is not yet quite clear in its political views. In its announcements and pro-

clamations it does not yet see the fundamental failure of Austro-Marxism, but concentrates on defending it against the danger of a failure of the leaders, before all in the question of arming the workers. This elementary opposition movement is to be seen especially in the **Republican Defence Corps**.

An organised opposition group, which has set up a permanent secretariat, has appealed openly by means of a leaflet to the party members. This opposition has special connection with local social democratic functionaries and social democratic factory councils.

A certain political opposition to the party leadership is to be seen in a portion of the social democratic provincial press, which feels very perceptibly the results of the retreat in face of fascism and the excitement of the threatened provincial working class. The Vienna "**Abend**", in particular, adopts a fairly plain oppositional attitude to the party leadership in the question of the fight for the release of the arrested.

There is little doubt that the Social Democratic Party apparatus is strong enough to conceal outwardly the deep-going crisis. But this crisis, this ferment in the Social Democracy is there. And it depends in the first place upon the inner political development and the political effectiveness of the C. P. of Austria how rapidly and deep-going the process of clarification in the social democratic working class in Austria will lead to results which will be of importance to the entire international proletariat.

The Political Situation in Belgium.

By A. H A B A R U (Brussels).

Parliament has adjourned for the holidays. The Ministers have gone to the various summer holiday resorts. **Vandervelde** is recuperating at **Spa**, a bathing place rendered famous by its mineral waters and its roulette table, where he is enjoying the luxurious hospitality of a big banker who is closely connected with **Franqui**, the financial magnate and assistant of the Belgian Finance Minister. Another socialist Minister, **Huysmans**, is making a tour of the kingdom of **Primo de Rivera**. These holidays do not, however, mean any stagnation in the political life of the country. On the contrary, we see an increase of the intrigues behind the scenes; every day the signs of an approaching government crisis become more frequent. One can already say today with certainty that the approaching session of Parliament will bring with it the end of the present coalition government.

All parties wish to have their hands free for the election campaign in the year 1929, and are seeking a pretext in order to withdraw from the coalition under the most honourable conditions.

Two influential groups, the Socialists and the Flemish Catholics, have already adopted a position which leaves no doubt as to their intention to put an end to the coalition.

In the course of the last few months the growing influence of the Communist Party among the working masses has roused the serious fears of the socialist leaders. They have therefore undertaken against the Communists a constant campaign accompanied by calumnies and acts of violence. They are aware that the Communist Party, which at present has only two seats in Parliament, can reckon on a great increase of votes and seats at the approaching elections. They are also aware that their own party will lose many votes.

The activity of the Socialists in the Coalition government, which constitutes an unbroken series of renunciations of the main principles of the party and of secret and open betrayals of the interests of the working class for the benefit of the bankers, was inevitably bound to shake the prestige of the social democracy among the workers and to cause the peasant masses to turn from the party. The only course left to the Socialists in order to save the situation is to withdraw from the government. For this purpose a conflict had to be raised regarding a question not relating to the programme of the coalition government.

This question is the military question.

In the year 1921 the Socialists, six weeks before the elections, made similar use of this question as a pretext for withdrawing from the government of civil peace after having collaborated with it for three years. At that time the socialist minister **Anseele** came forward at a festive gathering on the oc-

casation of an anti-militarist flag dedication of the working youth. This time the socialists raised afresh the demand that the period of military service be fixed at six months, and before Parliament broke up introduced a bill to this effect.

The socialist press opened a campaign in support of this bill. Vandervelde, who in 1921 signed a secret military Treaty with France, must be fully aware that a period of military service of six months is perfectly incompatible with this treaty. The "Echo de Paris" has already come forward against the Belgian socialists, who are "disarming Belgium, betraying France and selling their country to Germany".

When Parliament meets again the "decisive battle" over the length of period of military service will take place, and the socialists will then have the opportunity, so eagerly desired by them, "to be driven out of the government as a result of the fight against the nationalist bourgeoisie". That is how the Socialists intend to deceive the workers. Some of the provincial socialist politicians do not make any secret of the fact that all this is only a manoeuvre in order to go over into opposition and to prepare more favourable conditions for the elections.

The Flemish Catholics are resorting to similar methods to the Socialists. They, too, before the elections, had made numerous promises to their followers, the Flemish peasants and the peasant trade unions of Flanders representing 200,000 workers. These demagogic promises included the introduction of the Flemish language into the schools, the transformation of the university of Ghent into a purely Flemish university, an amnesty for all those who have been condemned on account of active participation in the Flemish movement during the war etc. Like the Socialists they have of course not kept any of their promises, and also like the socialists they are afraid of the successes of the Communists and fear the growth of the influence of the Flemish nationalists, who at present have only six seats in Parliament.

The debates held at the Congress of the Flemish Catholic Union which recently took place clearly showed the manoeuvre the party is undertaking. During the last Plenary session no measures were adopted in order to carry out the amnesty bill brought in by them; yet this bill was adopted fully and entirely at the Congress, and a declaration was made that the party would not stop short at a government crisis should any alterations be made in the bill. In addition, a delegation of leaders of the Flemish Catholics recently visited the Prime Minister, the Walloon Catholic Jaspas, and submitted to him the demand that the Flemish language be used in the army and that the university of Ghent be converted into a Flemish university. The Flemish Christian Democrats, on the other hand, declare that in November they will introduce a bill for the transformation of the army into a Flemish army.

All this shows that the Flemish Catholics have decided, like the Socialists, to provoke a government crisis, because the present government cannot fulfil the demands brought forward by them.

Before the Convocation of the Consultative National Assembly in Spain.

By P. Noël (Barcelona).

Primo de Rivera is hastily preparing the convocation of his notorious Consultative National Assembly, which, according to his own statement, will be the crowning event of this first period of "illegal dictatorship". For this purpose he addressed to the Spanish nation a long proclamation, which was published a few days ago in the official newspaper "La Nacion". The proclamation calls for a reorganisation of the "Patriotic Union", i. e. of the political party, on the formation of which the dictator has been working ever since his coup d'Etat of September, 1923 — however, without much success.

Still, it would not be right to infer from this any weakening of the dictator regime. In Spain we have experienced a remarkable epoch of grave economic disturbances and fluctuations of class forces, which has considerably hampered the final gathering of the latter. It is only now that loose associations are beginning to emerge, and these are leading to the formation of correspon-

ding bourgeois political parties. This process finds its clearest expression in the reorganisation of the "Patriotic Union", arranged for September 10th, i. e. a few days before the publication of the edict whereby the Consultative National Assembly will be constituted.

The "Patriotic Union" has a clearly defined class programme. The proclamation states: "It is a true crusade of civilisation. One may be an adherent of any political idea whatever and still belong to this organisation provided one is a supporter of this crusade for civilisation".

It is a question of organising the united bourgeoisie with the object of overcoming the economic crisis in Spain at the cost of the working masses and by the ruthless suppression of any attempt on the part of the masses to offer resistance.

This "new policy" finds expression in the first place in the arrests of Communists which have been carried out within the past month in Biscay, in Asturia, in Galicia, etc., in connection with the secret preparation of an illegal brochure of the C. P. of Spain and of an illegal proclamation to the miners of Asturia, published by the Communist district organisation of Asturia.

The Consultative National Assembly, which will not be elected but nominated directly by Primo de Rivera, the large majority of the members being selected from the supporters of the "Patriotic Union", will, therefore, be merely a political instrument of the big bourgeoisie for the purpose of suppressing every movement of protest on the part of the working class. In reality, it will continue the same regime of dictatorship, as exists at present in Spain. The participation of the Socialist leaders in this body, a feature which nobody in Spain doubts, serves the purpose of helping the Government to mislead the country, to deceive the working class into the belief that some kind of parliament is being formed and that they are to be represented in it. The unconditional subordination of the Socialists to Primo de Rivera makes this scandalous treachery possible.

But the dictator government of Spain is mistaken if it believes that the working masses will suffer such deceit and oppression indefinitely. The partial strikes, which have taken place in Spain within the last three months, and especially the strike in the textile industry of Barcelona, which so enraged Primo de Rivera and the employers of Catalonia, prove that the workers of Spain are awakening out of the lethargy in which they have been since the coup d'Etat and that their will to fight is reviving in its old form.

The Communist Party of Spain, which is aware of this situation and of the necessity of mobilising broad masses of the workers in public demonstrations with the object of fighting for their main economic and political objectives, resolved at the last plenary session of its executive to undertake a widespread campaign throughout the country in order to prepare this mobilisation of the workers and thus bring about the fall of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. This campaign of agitation has already begun. The above-mentioned arrests of active collaborators were the first results of this brave fight of the workers against the government of reaction. From the standpoint of the organisation, considerable results have already been achieved, especially in Biscay, where the defence committees of the workers are gradually being formed in the big factories.

All these results show that the line taken by the Party is absolutely correct.

Still more important results will soon eradicate the recollection of these first tentative efforts.

THE BALKANS

Before the Parliamentary Elections in Yugoslavia.

By B. Boshkovich.

Yugoslavia is at present experiencing a serious crisis in agriculture, the products of which have fallen 38 per cent in price. As a result, a crisis is also developing in industry, which is at the moment practically at a standstill. The balance of trade for the first half of this year was in favour of imports.

The drought, which at present prevails almost everywhere in Yugoslavia, will aggravate the unfavourable balance of trade and reduce the purchasing power of the workers. The Serbian big bourgeoisie make the crisis still worse through their economic policy, a fact which gives rise to great dissatisfaction among the farmers and accelerates the process of strata formation in the village. The local elections in January of this year gave abundant proof of this.

In addition to all these economic difficulties there are political ones in connection with foreign politics. Among the government parties differences of opinion have arisen in relation to the policy to be pursued in regard to Italy. The Usunovich-Radich government was followed by the Usunovich-Korosec government, which was equally short-lived. These frequent changes of the Cabinet show that the government crisis still continues. And when one also takes into consideration the defeat of Serbian imperialism in Albania and the constantly increasing danger of war, it becomes clear why the court-militaristic camarilla ("Bjela Ruka", which means "White Hand") — this most pronounced exponent of the Serbian big bourgeoisie — was compelled to seek fresh ways and means of stabilising the Yugoslav State.

The Usunovich government was succeeded by the V. Vukichevich-V. Marinkovich government which is the twenty-seventh government since the world war. This government was formed without the knowledge and approval of the parliamentary club, and under the control of the court-militaristic clique. Representatives of the Right wings of both of the Serbian parties, namely, the Radical Party and the Democratic Party, belong to it. It embodies the conscious and systematic endeavour to solve the government crisis by means of a militarist-Fascist dictatorship. All the efforts of the dynasty, of the Serbian big bourgeoisie and of finance-capital take this direction.

The first stage of this policy opened when the Radich Party took office, compromised and disorganised the federalist and autonomist movements in Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia and Montenegro, and capitulated ignominiously to the hegemony of the Serbian grand bourgeoisie. The second stage of the policy will consist of the splitting up and decomposition of the Radical Party, of acceleration in the decay of the Democratic Party, of the regrouping of the Serbian bourgeoisie, of the militarist-Fascist dictatorship under the leadership of the dynasty and of the concentration of big bourgeois forces throughout the country. If the parliamentary elections, which are to be held on September 11th, do not bring satisfactory support for this policy, the new parliament will undoubtedly be dissolved, and this policy will be carried out by an overt militarist-Fascist dictatorship.

There can be no doubt that this policy, too, is supported by the international imperialists and by France in particular.

The Serbian industrial bourgeoisie, as representative of backward Capitalism and backward culture, have, since the State of Yugoslavia was founded, become counter-revolutionary. They are becoming ever more dependent on the dynasty and on Imperialism. This circumstance helps the dynasty to bring the big bourgeoisie of the oppressed nationalities into a reactionary alliance with the Serbian bourgeoisie. Vukichevich is already negotiating with the Magyar and Slovene bourgeoisie. The negotiations with the Slovene People's Party have already resulted in some success for the Government. Again, the leader of the Radical Party in Ljubljana, Dr. Ravnikar, maintains the necessity of getting the Slovenes and the Croats into the government.

The Vukichevich Government represents a great danger of war. With the help of French Imperialism, it has acted aggressively towards Albania and broken off diplomatic relations with that country. In regard to the Soviet Union, the Government has changed its former attitude. Whereas the previous Foreign Minister, N. Perich, stated in Parliament that the people of Yugoslavia anticipated with joy the day on which economic and political arrangements would be made with the Soviet Union, the present Foreign Minister, Dr. V. Marinkovich, informed a Belgrade journalist after the conference of the Little Entente at Joachimstal that commerce with the Soviet Union was nothing but trade in brochures, which Yugoslavia did not need. By means of such a change of front the Vukichevich government is also desirous of securing the support of Great Britain in the competitive fight against the aggressive policy of Italian Imperialism in the Balkans.

As regards the home affairs of Yugoslavia, the antagonism between Serbia, on the one hand, and Croatia, Montenegro and Dalmatia, on the other, is becoming acute. The fight between Zagreb and Belgrade has again become animated. The creation of the Croatian National Bloc heralded this fight. Zagreb is once more the rallying point in the fight against Belgrade. The revolutionary national movement in Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia and the Serbian parts of Albania is reaching a further climax. In the villages a fresh process of strata formation has set in, while the tendency among the workers and peasants towards the Left is becoming more pronounced. The Government is already anxious about the result of the elections and is, therefore, resorting to the present horrible means and methods of White Terror.

And the White Terror is exercised most particularly upon the representatives of the Republican Labour Bloc, the revolutionary worker, peasant and national organisations. Election meetings are broken up and the candidates of the opposition parties are arrested.

The bestial maltreatment of prisoners, the murders in the form of "attempts to escape", etc., employed by former governments in election campaigns in Macedonia and Montenegro, are now being used in other parts of Serbia, aye, even in Belgrade. The Belgrade policy recently arrested Comrades R. Vujovich, L. Kusovaz and S. Bros, who have all disappeared. It is highly probable that they have been killed after continuous torture.

In the present election campaign the leading political fighting forces are: 1. The coalition of Radicals and Democrats; 2. The Peasant People's Party (Radich); 3. The Slovene People's Party (Korosec); 4. The Association of Farmers; 5. The Independent Democratic Party (Pribishivich); 6. The Croatian National Bloc (Trumbich); 7. The Republican Workers' and Peasants' Bloc.

In this election fight the proletariat of Yugoslavia must bring its main force to bear upon the reactionary capitalist groups. Ruthless criticism must be levelled at the parties of Korosec and of Radich and at the Association of Farmers, whose anti-peasant, monarchist, treacherous leadership must be exposed. Influence must be chiefly exerted on the Left peasant organisation and the Left wing elements of the Radich Party and of the Association of Farmers, in order to bring them over to the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc.

The approaching parliamentary elections must be exploited by the vanguard of the working class in order to mobilise the working masses and to create the Worker-Peasant Bloc. The principal tasks of the bloc are: 1. A ruthless fight against the danger of war, for the defence of the Russian and Chinese revolution, against the monarchy, against the court-militarist camarilla and against Fascism; 2. Against the Law for the Protection of the State; 3. For political amnesty; 4. Against the offensive of Capital, for worker legislation, for the eight-hour day, etc. 5. Against the national yoke, for the self-determination of nations; 6. Fight for confiscation of land, together with buildings and equipment, without compensation; 7. For the creation of economic and political relations with the Soviet Union, for the Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

The Economic Directions for the Year 1927/28.

Resolution passed by the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., on August 9th 1927, after hearing the report of Comrade Rykov.

1. Fundamental Features.

1. During the coming year, and possibly in the next few years, economic development will be influenced by a number of new factors, greatly altering the situation as it has been during the last few years. The essential peculiarity of the new situation is the increasing acuteness of general international rela-

tions, and especially the increasing complication of the international situation of the Soviet Union. The rupture of relations with the Soviet Union on the part of the Conservative government of Great Britain pursues not only the immediate object of weakening the economic powers of the Soviet Union, but makes the organisation of a direct attack on the Soviet Union probable.

Our most important political task is therefore, apart from the necessity of defence against the direct attempts being made by the British Conservatives to organise a general economic blockade against the Soviet Union, and apart from the steady pursuance of a peace policy, the most rapid possible execution of the necessary measures for preparing the country for the possibility of an economic blockade, or of an armed attack upon the Soviet Union, by the imperialist powers.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. records with satisfaction that the rupture of commercial relations with Great Britain has not reacted on the realisation of our economic plans for the current year, and that the country is approaching the tasks of the coming period, in spite of the new and more complicated conditions, with heightened powers, and with the increased economic and political energy of the proletariat.

2. When discussing the new tasks imposed at the present time on the economy of the Soviet Union, our point of departure must be the recognition that the energetic pursuance of the course of the Party towards an all round increase in strength in the socialist elements of our whole national economy (the realisation of the industrialisation, the increased specific weight of the working class, aid to the poor peasantry and furtherance of the middle peasant strata of the village, accompanied by the greatest possible restrictions on the exploiting tendencies of the Kulak class) is the most important prerequisite for a successful economic and political preparation of the country for possible conflicts with the bourgeois world. The solution of the specific tasks involved in the alteration of the international situation must not, however, in the least affect the general plan of economic construction laid down by the Party.

The continued realisation of this programme of constructive socialism means, in these circumstances, the overcoming of a number of fresh difficulties, these arising mainly from the necessity of considerable outlay for the formation of reserves and for the increase of the defensive powers of the country. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. is nevertheless of the opinion that the successes achieved of late in constructive economics are such as to render possible the realisation of the programme for the development of the whole of our national economy on the basis of the industrialisation of the country, and of the steadily increasing specific weight of heavy industry and of the working class.

II. The most important Characteristics of the Current Year.

3. The most important fundamental features of the economic developments of the current year are the following:

a) The growth of production in state industries by 20 to 21 per cent on an average in the course of eight months, accompanied by a 29 per cent increase in the production of the means of production and a 17.8 per cent increase of production of articles of use (for a half year);

b) The expenditure of more than a milliard roubles for fresh investments in industry and for electrification, and the commencement of the building of such undertakings as the Dnyeprostroi works and the Semiretschensker railway;

c) The increase of real wages during the last nine months, averaging 11.5 per cent as compared with the like period last year, accompanied by a simultaneous improvement in the productivity of labour;

d) A turning point in the direction of a price reduction for industrial goods. (The index figures of the retail prices for industrial goods, according to the index figures issued by the central statistics office for the whole of the Union, sank by 9.5 per cent on an average for all goods in the period between January and June 1927);

e) The stability of the price at which grain supplies were obtainable during the whole year, and the reduction of the selling price of grain;

f) The increase of the area of land under cultivation for special plants in 1927;

g) The capture of a ruling position in the markets on the part of the co-operatives and state trade institutions, accompanied by a simultaneous supplanting of private capital;

h) The attainment of a favourable foreign trade balance, amounting to 102 million roubles for eight months, as compared with the adverse balance of the last two years;

i) The successful settlement of the state budget, in spite of a considerable falling off in the railway transport budget;

j) The increasing purchasing power of the rouble, the favourable development of the loan operations, and the increased depositing of the small savings of the population in the savings bank.

4. At the same time a number of negative results are to be recorded for the current year. Among these are:

a) Considerable miscalculations in capital investment, both with respect to planned economic activity and with respect to the costs of projected undertakings and the costs of the building materials;

b) The slow progress made in the building of dwelling-houses, and the high costs of these;

c) The extremely slow rate at which industrial cost prices sink;

d) The maintenance of a high general level of prices for industrial goods in spite of all efforts, and the great discrepancy between wholesale and retail prices;

e) Raw material difficulties, the result of the limitation of the area under cultivation for raw material and technical plants last year on the one hand, and of the low standards of yield of these plants on the other;

f) The too slight increase of the corn growing area;

g) The distorted interpretation of Party instructions in the actual practice of agricultural credits and in the activities of the agricultural co-operatives, expressed in a number of cases in the granting of too high credits to well-to-do large farmers, and in making use of pseudo co-operatives for obtaining agricultural machinery, etc.;

h) The inadequacy of the rate of development of railway transport;

i) The great disparity between the development of foreign trade in, comparison to that of the other coefficients in the growth of economics;

j) A considerable amount of unemployment, chiefly among unskilled workers and among the Soviet trade employees, accompanied by a simultaneous increase in the number of workers employed in the state industries, and by a shortage of qualified workers in various branches of industry.

5. Without seeking in the least to minimise the importance of these unhealthy symptoms, the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. is able to state that the general economic results of the current year, in so far as these can be judged from the available data, have proved favourable, and that the entire development of economic activity in the present year has been free from crises on the whole, bearing witness to a considerable improvement in the leadership of the planned economics of the country.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. is of the opinion that the economic successes of this year guarantee the possibility of a further improvement in the material and cultural position of the working class and of the peasantry, a firmer establishment of the alliance between workers and peasants, and the progress of our whole national economy on the road to socialism.

III. General Directions for the Ascertainment of the Control Figures for 1927/28.

6. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., proceeding from the new economic and political situation, considers the most urgent task of the coming economic year to be accumulation of adequate reserves in respect of budget, currency, grain, goods, raw materials, and fuel, required both for economic manoeuvres and as a security for the defensive powers of the country. At the same time the Plenum considers it possible and necessary to maintain the proposed speed of industrialisation. The laying out of capital in 1927/28 must be increased as compared with the current year, and must be directed in the main to heavy industry, transport, and the building of dwelling-houses.

The special circumstances of the coming year, which are inevitably bound to withdraw enormous means from economic intercourse, demand that the terms set for accomplishing undertakings be shortened and that the greatest caution be observed in beginning with extensive new undertakings; the expenditure for these last must be confined to the actual means remaining after all urgent requirements have been satisfied and the most rapid completion of all work which has been commenced has been secured.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. draws attention to the serious faults committed in the work of building new factories, works, etc. (the considerable over-stepping of preliminary estimates and the high cost prices, resultant on the bad organisation of the whole of the building work, especially its preliminaries, and on lack of machinery, comparatively high prices of materials, inferior quality of materials, frequent mistakes in the designs, negligent work, low standard of labour productivity), and emphasises that the guiding principle of new undertakings must be the decided reduction of the initial building expenses, and the improvement of the quality of production in the undertakings being erected and in those connected with them.

The enormous amounts of capital invested render the rationalisation of the whole of the preliminary work of building and equipment, the cheapening of the materials required, and the restriction of the costs, a matter of extreme urgency, of the greatest general economic importance. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. proposes that a great improvement should be attained in this direction at all costs and that to this end the index figures for the building of new undertakings should be reduced by no less than 15 per cent for the coming year as compared with the current economic year.

7. Aided by the achievements of industry during the current year, the endeavour towards a reduction of the cost prices of industrial production must be made the object of our further economic development. This endeavour must be made the centre of the organised influence of the Party, the trade union organisations, and the economic organs. In the course of the next economic year we must attain a reduction of not less than 5 per cent, as compared with the level of the economic year 1926/27, in the cost prices of industrial production. As the main factors of our common struggle for the reduction of the costs of production, we must aim at the attainment of minimum levels in the consumption of raw materials, fuel, labour, etc. per unit of industrial production, these standards to be laid down in indices limiting the consumption of raw materials, fuel, etc. per unit of production. Certain persons and organisations must be made strictly responsible for the successful reduction of the costs of production, and the masses of the workers themselves must participate in our efforts. The reduction of cost prices must go hand in hand with a qualitative improvement in the work produced.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. observes that in the matter of the rationalisation of production, only the very first diffident steps have been taken so far. We must realise that the rationalisation is the first prerequisite for the reconstruction of our whole economy, and for a radical improvement in the situation of the working class. Rationalisation demands that all economic organs should devote their utmost energy towards the attainment of technical progress in every sphere of production and to arousing economic initiative both among the technical cadres and among the masses of the workers. Definite measures should be taken for the realisation of rationalisation, in accordance with the resolution passed by the political bureau on this subject. Above all, exact instructions should be given for the exhaustive utilisation of the fresh working forces represented by the enlarged and newly built undertakings. At the same time the possibility of such a mistaken interpretation of a practical policy of rationalisation as that which we experienced during the first period of the realisation of the saving regime, must be foreseen and avoided.

The organs of the Party, the trade unions, and of economics, must organise the whole of their activities for rationalisation, without forgetting for a moment that rationalisation can only be crowned with success if actively participated in by the broad masses of the workers

8. Consistent with the directions laid down by the XV. Party Conference with reference to a systematic increase in working wages accompanying a general raising of national

economics and an increase in the productivity of labour, the further increase of wages must be secured in the coming economic year both by means of a rise in the nominal wages of the groups of workers who have not received a due rise, and by a further reduction in retail prices. The improvement of the material position of those employed in the process of production must be accompanied in 1927/28 by a number of supplementary measures for combating unemployment.

9. In forming judgment on the economic prospects of 1927/28, the following should be taken into account: As the success of agricultural undertakings is so greatly dependent on weather conditions, and as the reorganisation of agriculture has not yet been accomplished in the drought regions, it is possible that the three years of good crops which we have had will be followed in the next one or two years by crops below the standard, or even by failures. For this reason we must take preventive steps in 1927/28 against a possible shortage in the future (storing of grain and forage reserves, extension of the state seed funds, supplying the drought regions with seeds capable of withstanding dryness, promotion of extended grain cultivation in districts generally free from drought, etc). The financing of agriculture must be made to accord with these tasks, and with the general rate of increase of the state budget and the credit possibilities of the state and agricultural banking system.

The increased economic strength of the main mass of the peasantry is accompanied by the rise of the Kulak stratum of the peasantry. This being so, the special attention of the whole of the Party and Soviet organs must be directed to a consistent and persevering observance of the directions issued by the Party on the promotion of the economic uplift of all the poor and middle peasant masses, on the all round support to be given to the rural poor, and the protection to be accorded to their interests (especially with regard to taxation, co-operatives, credit, machine co-operatives, etc.). Energetic measures must be taken for such an improvement in the working methods of the agricultural and credit co-operatives that the wrongful application of the Party directions, with respect to the protection of the interests of the masses of the poor and middle peasantry, will be avoided. At the same time the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. proposes to increase in the coming year the fund maintained for the rural poor, both in the state and local budgets. Besides this, the system of agricultural credit funds for long term credits will be extended, especially for the provision of machinery.

10. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., assuming a probable average harvest (though somewhat smaller than last year's), considers it necessary for the coming grain supplies campaign to secure a state reserve of grain and forage of no less than 50 million poods.

Whilst on the whole the grain prices, as also the prices for special crops, must be maintained at their last year's level, we must recognise the necessity of a greater congruity among the prices of the various kinds of crops and in the various producing districts. In order to remove the great disparity between the purchasing and selling prices of agricultural produce, especially of grain, a reduction of the costs of transit must be achieved, and this to such an extent that the higher purchase price of some plants, or in some districts, is not only equalised, but a further reduction in the selling price is ensured.

The considerable stocks of grain in the villages following two satisfactory harvests permit us to extend our plans for the purchase of grain reserves in the present year; the first premise for the successful execution of this plan is, however, the provision of a sufficient quantity of industrial goods to satisfy the demand of the peasants in the grain districts, and the maintenance of low prices for these goods, even when sold to country consumers. Besides this, the work of the organisations collecting the grain reserves is to be supported in every way.

11. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., whilst recognising the successes gained with regard to the reduction of retail prices for the industrial products, is of the opinion that up to the present these successes have not been accompanied by any substantial progress toward the rationalisation of our commercial system. The rationalisation of the whole system of traffic in goods, and the greatest possible reduction of the costs of the turnover, are (in combination with the reduction of the

costs of production) of decisive importance for carrying out that policy of price reduction for industrial goods which will continue to be necessary in the future. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. insists most emphatically on the necessity of further success in the reduction of the prices of industrial goods, and commissions the Political Bureau to adopt practical measures in this direction for the year 1927/28. The Plenum points out the necessity of an extended control of the vegetable and meat markets on the part of the co-operatives, in order that lower prices may be obtained for these most important items in the worker's budget.

12. The changed prospects of foreign trade may exercise a profound influence on the realisation of our plans of import and export. In addition to various measures for the development of credit relations with abroad, we must therefore strive for the greatest possible extension of our export operations, and must intensify the measures already taken for this purpose (extension of the premium fund for export, compensating import). The organs of the separate Unions of the Republic, and the local organs, must be called upon to aid in forcing export.

13. The Plenum, recognising that a delay in the development of transport facilities would signify a danger for the realisation of industrialisation, and that the avoidance of this danger would involve increased expenditure (both original and working capital) for the extension of the present traffic system, for the construction of new roads, and for the improvement and development of transport has concluded that the necessary means for this end must be raised for the most part within the transport system itself, by means of a regulation of the whole organisation of the transport system, the reduction of working expenses, the improvement of the productivity of labour, etc. At the same time the Plenum considers the grant of supplementary means, through the budget, to be necessary for the carrying out of the basic work required in the transport system.

14. In view of the revision of direct taxation undertaken during the current year (agricultural, trading, and income taxes), aiming at the increased taxation of the better situated and richer strata of the population and an alleviation of the burden of taxation imposed on the financially weaker strata, the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. commissions the Political Bureau to study the results of the new system of taxation, for the purpose of gaining experience both in taxation legislation itself, and in the practical application of the measures best calculated to protect the interests of the proletarian state.

15. The successes observable in the saving of expenditure in various branches of the state apparatus, and in the rationalisation of this apparatus (retrenchment in excessive working expenses, staff, etc.), evidence the possibility of extending such measures to the whole of the state apparatus, and of thus reducing expenses of this kind for 1927/28 by an average of at least 20 per cent as compared with 1926/27. The same results must be attained by saving measures in the economic calculatory institutions and undertakings. A restriction of administrative expenditure is the more necessary in that the Soviet state will be obliged to expend more on transport, industry, and home defence in the coming year, in spite of a diminished increase in state revenues.

16. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. places on record that the pessimistic "prophesies" of the opposition, intended to discredit the leaders of the C. C. as national economists, have been entirely and definitely refuted by the results attained in the past economic year; this signifies the complete bankruptcy of the whole economic policy of the opposition.

Instead of the general economic crisis prophesied by the opposition, the past economic year has witnessed a considerable consolidation of state industry, an uplift of economics as a whole, the firmer establishment of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the execution of the plan of capital investment, the lessening of the tension in the markets, and — a point of special importance for the further development of constructive socialism — the strengthening of the socialist section of national economics.

"The threatening danger of an inflation" with which the opposition has endeavoured to alarm us, has proved a phantom of defeatist mentality: the chervonetz has been able to increase its purchasing power during this period, a really decisive proof of the actual economic success and of the correctness of the policy of the Party.

The prophesies of the opposition with respect to the inevitability of a rise in retail prices and a drop in real wages have proved equally untenable. As a matter of fact a reduction of retail prices has been attained through the agency of the state and co-operative organisations, and this has compelled private trade to follow with a fall in prices, so that real wages have in consequence not only not dropped, but have on the contrary increased. This has enabled the increases in wages projected by the Party, especially for the categories of workers whose wages had hitherto not been raised proportionately, to be carried out as a general rule.

The opposition "prophesied" special difficulties with respect to the obtaining of grain supplies, and to the export and import projects in connection therewith. The efficient leadership of the state apparatus by the Party has, however, enabled greater grain reserves to be stored than was the case last year; has enabled the work of collecting the grain supplies to be suitably regulated; and has enabled a correct class policy to be pursued in the grain supply question, especially by means of the maintenance of the spring and autumn grain prices at a like level.

17. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. at the same time places on record that the opposition, in their proposed draft resolution on the control figures of national economics, has been obliged to retreat into silence with reference to their deliberately slanderous assertion on the degeneration of the leaders, the so-called "Thermidorism", and thereby to acknowledge that the course taken by economic life in the year 1926/27 has clearly demonstrated the bankruptcy of the opposition and the correctness of the Leninist leadership of economics by the Party and the Soviet state.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. records the complete untenableness of the practical propositions made at the present Plenum by the opposition, propositions based on a distortion of the Leninist economic policy and on a deliberate misrepresentation of the facts of economic reality.

The Plenum rejects the insincere and contradictory proposals made by the opposition with regard to prices. These proposals represent a veiled repetition of the old theories of the opposition with respect to the raising or maintenance of the selling prices of industrial products at a like level, and support the theory of maintaining the quality of production at the same stage (non-deterioration) in place of the policy, accepted and carried out by the Party, in favour of an unreserved reduction of wholesale and retail prices, and of an improvement in the quality produced, a policy correctly representing the interests of the working class and the broad masses of the peasantry.

The Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., whilst approving the class taxation policy to be carried out by the Party and the state among the peasantry, and the considerable increase of taxation of private capital which has already been accomplished, by which the income of private capital is taxed to the extent of 40 per cent, rejects at the same time the absurd demagogic proposals of the opposition, calculated to place further obstacles in the way of economic development, to the effect that surplus grain should be seized by force, and private trade return taxed to such an extent that private trade would immediately cease to exist. The markets are not yet sufficiently in the hands of the State and co-operative trade institutions to permit of this. The C. C. and the C. C. C. are of the opinion that these proposals are, at bottom, aimed at setting aside the new economic policy resolved upon by the Party under the leadership of Lenin.

The opposition, taking as point of departure their pessimistic standpoint as to the development of our industry, have drawn up a draft of decree for our foreign trade, according to which the forced purchase of means of production and products abroad is recommended, even when these productions could be made in our own works. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., being however of the opinion that the policy pursued at present in this matter is correct, emphatically rejects this attitude of the opposition in relation to capitalist economics of the world, since the pursuance of the policy entailed would inevitably lead to a retardation of the industrialisation of the Soviet republic, and to an increased dependence on the capitalist countries with respect to the manufacture of the means of production.

In the present situation, characterised by the acute international crisis, and the preparations being made on all sides for an attack on the state of the proletarian dictatorship by imperialist capitalism, the realisation of the programme of constructive socialism, and the security of the defensive powers of the country, demand an all round improvement in the quality of the work done by the whole of the organs of the state, of economics, and of the trade unions. The bureaucratic excrescences in our apparatus must be removed, the forces of the Party and of the working masses must be exerted to the utmost, working discipline must be more firmly adhered to, and every worker must be made to feel his share of the responsibility, however small his task in the economic apparatus, in production, or in the Soviet apparatus, etc. The greatest possible degree of independence among the masses of the working class and of the peasantry, in their work for constructive socialism, is the main guarantee for the success of the economic and cultural growth of the Soviet Union, and for the increase of its defensive powers.

The Work of the C. C. C. and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

(Resolution passed by the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., after hearing the report of Comrade Ordschonikidze, 9th August 1927.)

1. Although the Party has been successful, in the course of the last few years, in accomplishing certain improvements in the Soviet apparatus — the lower apparatus has improved qualitatively, the extremely difficult planning work has been extended and has become qualitatively consolidated, the town and rural Soviets have been revived and developed, fresh cadres of Communists and non-Party elements advance into the state administration, and the system of bribery and embezzlement so prevalent at one time in the state apparatus is being driven out — still Lenin's description of our State apparatus may even now be applied to it, and corresponds to its present state.

"Conditions in our state apparatus are so wretched, not to say revolting, that we must devote ourselves with renewed energy to the question of how we are best to combat its defects. Here we must always remember that these defects originated in the past, and that this past, although dislodged from its position, has not been fully overcome, has not yet been relegated into the dim past of a lost civilisation." (Essay: "Better little and good.")

The apparatus of the proletarian state, composed for the most part, during years following the revolution, of the old officials, and supplemented to a great extent by the intelligentsia of the period preceding the revolution, proves (owing to the insufficient experience of the communist leaders, and to the economic and cultural backwardness of the country) inadequate for the accomplishment of the new tasks set by the reconstruction of national economy and by the "cultural" revolution. An intolerable hindrance is imposed (under the conditions created by the economic growth of the country by means of the socialist basis and the cultural progress of the masses) by such elements of bureaucratic degeneration of the state apparatus as for instance excessive centralism, the substitution of systematic guidance by bureaucratic tutelage, the high costs of the apparatus — swallowing up hundreds of millions of roubles more needed for developing national economy and spreading culture —, and the bureaucratic behaviour of various elements of the apparatus in intercourse with simple workers and peasants.

The whole of the class conscious masses of workers and peasants, headed by the Communists, must rise up against these bureaucratic degenerations.

"Every step which we are able to take upwards, towards the development of productive forces and of culture, must be accompanied by a perfecting and reorganisation of our Soviet system; and at present we are still at a very low level economically and culturally. We have a plenitude of reorganisations before us, but to permit ourselves to be irritated by this fact would be the top of foolishness,

if not worse than foolishness." (Lenin, Vol. XVIII, part I, p. 379.)

We have been successful, during the last few years, in reconstructing the economics destroyed by the imperialist war and intervention. We have now passed on to the work of reconstructing the whole of our national economics on a higher technical and organisatory level. The solution of the fresh problems imposed by the reconstruction of industry, the reorganisation of agricultural economics on co-operative principles, and the accomplishment of the tasks of the cultural revolution, demand from the Party a steady and growing struggle against the bureaucratic excrescences of the state apparatus. We find here the fullest confirmation of Lenin's prophecy that the new stage reached by us, in the course of our socialist, economic, and cultural constructive work, requires the perfecting, the reorganisation, of our whole Soviet system.

"3. "The most important task of today, and of the next few years — the most important task of all — is the systematic diminution and cheapening of the Soviet apparatus, by means of retrenchment, of more perfected organisation, of the introduction of prompt working methods, of the abolition of bureaucracy, of the reduction of unproductive expenditure." (Lenin, Vol. XX, part II, p. 528.)

The experience gained in the work of economic and cultural development during the last few years has shown that we shall not be able to solve the problems of constructive socialism with the necessary success and rapidity unless we determinedly restrict our unproductive expenditure, unless we carry on a daily organisatory struggle, in which the whole Party leads the working masses, against the bureaucratic excrescences of our apparatus, unless we continue to work unwearingly for the removal of every trace of "any excess" (Lenin, Vol. XVIII, part II, p. 128) from our social relations, unless we induce the non-Party workers and peasants to take part in our struggle against bureaucratism, and unless our energy is sufficient to overcome the resistance of the bureaucratic elements of our state apparatus itself.

Here again Lenin's words are entirely confirmed: Under the present circumstances the improvement and reorganisation of the whole Soviet System has become the main and most important task of the Party.

4. The experience gained by the work of the whole Party in the struggle against the bureaucratic excrescences of the state apparatus (activation of the Soviets, strengthening and improvement of the Communist leadership of the Soviets, etc.), and especially the experience gained through the activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (W.P.I.) show the entire lack of foundation of the declarations made by the opposition as to the growing bureaucratic degeneration of the state apparatus. The same experience shows that the Party is in a position to overcome any danger of bureaucratic degeneration in the state apparatus originating in the pressure exercised by the elements of the new bourgeoisie, of kulakdom, and bureaucracy.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. by approving of the activities of the W.P.I., in the fight against the bureaucratic excrescences of the State Apparatus points out that the experiences thus gained by the Party open out wide possibilities for the cheapening of the apparatus, its simplification, the improvement in the organisation of the whole of the work, and the approachment to the masses. The Plenum emphasises at the same time the extreme importance and the necessity of exercising a close control over the actual execution of the Party directions and the Soviet laws.

5. The work accomplished by the W.P.I. in dozens of central and local industrial, commercial, and transport institutions, enabling retrenchments to the extent of 20 to 40 per cent to be carried out, and excessive working expenses to be reduced at the same time by 50 to 70 per cent, shows that the task set the Party a year ago by the C. C. of the Party, the saving of 300 to 400 million roubles by means of a reduction of unproductive expenditure, can and must be fully accomplished in the course of the next year. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. considers it necessary to extend the results of the experience won by the work of the W.P.I. to the whole administrative apparatus of the country and of economics, and places upon the heads of the departments, of the executive committees, of the industrial, commercial, and transport under-

takings, the obligation of responsibility for the application of the results of the above experience to every institution of the Soviet state, in order that a retrenchment of no less than 20 per cent, as compared with 1926/27, may be attained in the costs of administration in the economic year 1927/28.

6. The common experience gained in the work of the W. P. I. and of the corresponding departments and organisations (the People's Commissariat for Traffic, the People's Commissariat for Trade, the People's Commissariat for Finance, the local Soviet organs, the management of the Kursk, Kasan, Katarina, and South West Railways) shows that the Party, by means of abolishing parallelism in its work, by means of the liquidation of superfluous centralism, the cancelment of unnecessary functions, by decentralisation of administration in connection with the centralisation and improvement of the quality of planned economics, by abbreviation and improvement of accountability, by safeguarding the necessary independence of activity for the heads of the institutions and undertakings (factory, trust, department of executive committee, hospital, school) — under such conditions, and further aided by the enhanced precision of its work in addition to the cheapening of its apparatus, can achieve a lessening of the red tape regime and bring the apparatus in close contact with the masses.

The decrees issued on the trusts, on the rights of the local organs, on the simplification of work in the central departments, and the decrees of the Council of People's Commissariats on the state planning commission, form the basis for further work for the simplification of the activities of the Soviet apparatus.

7. The control and supervision of the actual carrying out of these decisions continues to be the weakest point in the work of our whole state machinery. The experience gained with reference to the control exercised over the carrying out of the lease laws among the peasantry, with reference to the irrigation in Central Asia, and to the investment of capital, show that we shall not attain any real improvement in the work of our whole state apparatus until we have organised a systematic and competent control over the actual execution of Party decisions and Soviet laws, and until we have made sure that these Party and Soviet decrees are actually put into practice.

8. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. points out that the activities of the W. P. I., even where these have led to the discharge of a large number of employees, have met with the support of the overwhelming majority of the Communists, of the trade union organs, and of the best elements among the socialists and non-Party people, who have the cause of the Soviet state really at heart. The fact that the work of the W. P. I. has been carried out, in the central People's Commissariats, in the economic institutions, and in the executive committees, with the collaboration of the nuclei, the local commissariats, and the comprehensive non-Party functionary body connected with these organisations, shows the extent of the possibilities of improvement in the state apparatus placed in the hands of the Party.

9. For the purpose of the further development of the struggle of the Party against the bureaucratic excrescences of the Soviet apparatus, the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C.:

a) commissions the Party organisations, the W. P. I., and the C. C., the Soviet fractions, the trade unions, and the press organs, to extend their activities for inducing the participation of the broad masses of the workers and peasants in the struggle against the bureaucratic excrescences of the state apparatus. It is necessary that the workers and peasants should be aroused to intolerance against these bureaucratic excrescences, and should be made capable of fighting against every separate case of bureaucratic red tape. In the same manner the activities of the W. P. I. must ensure immediate and certain aid to every worker and peasant combatting this or that definite bureaucratic evil. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. commissions at the same time the W. P. I. — C. C., to persecute and punish all persons and organs (both Party and Soviet organs) guilty of repressive measures against those criticising the faults of bureaucratic methods, however energetic this criticism may be.

b) The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. points out the inadequacy of the press, which continues in spite of a number of suggestions having been made by the C. C. with regard to the struggle against the abuses of bureaucracy. The press must conduct this struggle as Lenin taught us to do, "without consideration of persons", without confining itself to trifles only, as is so often the case, but by actually organising

the workers and peasants for the struggle for the socialist reorganisation of the state apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship.

c) The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. commissions the W. P. I. to continue and intensify its work for the control of the actual execution of the decisions of the Party and the Government, with respect to the investment of capital, the reduction of trade and production expenses, and the security of realising proletarian Soviet democracy (activation of the Soviets, capacity for election, right of recalling, reciprocal relations between Party organs and Soviet or trade union organs, the participation of workers and peasants in state activity, etc.)

d) The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. points out to the W. P. I. and the Party organs the necessity of energetic resistance against those workers in our state apparatus who should attempt to oppose the struggle of the Party for the reorganisation of the state apparatus by a mechanical routine, inertia, and bureaucratic self-satisfaction, behind which the pressure of the classes hostile to the proletariat is often concealed. At the same time the activity of the courts of justice in the struggle against bureaucracy must be extended, and every worker accused of unjustifiable excess and bureaucratic conduct must be handed over to a people's court which must not admit of any possibility of a mild sentence, or of quashed judgment, on account of "worker or peasant origin", or "former services", "connections", and so forth.

e) In order that our state apparatus may appropriate the most valuable achievements of the technics and culture of Western Europe and of America, the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. commissions the W. P. I., conjointly with the corresponding departments, to make extensive use of the services of foreign experts for the furtherance of our industrial development, for the management of accounts, and for the conduct of business. At the same time our engineers, directors, book keepers, and rationalisers must be sent abroad to the most advanced capitalist countries for their further education, and to ensure that their services are properly applied. It is of special importance that the apparatus of the W. P. I. should be reinforced for this purpose by a group of the best foreign specialists, with whose help the W. P. I. will be better in a position to utilise the achievements of the more advanced states, especially of America and to incorporate these achievements in our Soviet apparatus, which is otherwise bound to retain the characteristics of pre-capitalist backwardness.

f) The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. commissions the Political Bureau, the Organisation bureau of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., the district committees, the national C. C., and the government committees, to reinforce the organs of the W. P. I. and the control commissions by the best of the Soviet, Party, and economic workers, holding hereby in view the necessity of the solution of the tasks set by Lenin. "We must make the W. P. I. the instrument for the improvement of our apparatus; a truly model institution." (Lenin. Vol. XVIII, part II, p. 117.)

"Either we do not occupy ourselves at all with a constant reorganisation of such a hopeless matter, as the W. P. I. is at the present time, or we set ourselves seriously to work, in a slow, difficult, and unusual manner, and not without numerous examinations, to create something really exemplary, something capable of gaining everyone's respect, not only because office and dignity require it." (Lenin. Vol. XVIII, part II, p. 120.)

The W. P. I. must be composed of co-workers "highly qualified, specially tested, and especially trustworthy".

g) The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. commissions the W. P. I. to draw up theses for the Party Congress on the question of the activity of the Party in the Soviet apparatus, taking as basis the indications given by Lenin on the ways and means of establishing contact between the administrative apparatus and the masses of the people, as also his indications on the ways and means of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, and on the organisation of the guidance of the peasantry by the working class by means of the Soviets, and holding in view at the same time that our task does not consist merely in the organisation of a smoothly running and cheap state machine, but in the constant preparation of the pre-conditions for the removal of the state apparatus, and its amalgamation with the masses.

Comrade Bukharin on the Results of the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow. 18. August 1927.

The "Pravda" publishes the report given by Comrade Bukharin to the meeting of the Leningrad Party functionaries on 11th August 1927.

Comrade Bukharin pointed out that the working-class and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are entering on a new phase of history, a phase which may be designated as one of extreme international difficulties. These international difficulties originate in a certain sense in the inner growth of the Soviet Union, in the danger which the fact of the growth of the Soviet Union constitutes for the enemies of the Soviet Republic. On the other hand the international difficulties have their effect on the inner life of the country. At this critical moment, when world imperialism is preparing for military action against the Soviet Union, vacillations have become observable in a certain stratum of the Party, and have found their expression in the sharp attacks made by the opposition against the Party leaders. The latest events of inner-Party life, and the discussion at the Plenum, have fully confirmed the correctness with which the line of the opposition has been designated as a line which has been dictated by alarm at the difficulties which have arisen, by fear that the Party and the working-class will not be able to overcome these difficulties.

Comrade Bukharin analyses the views of the opposition in the question of the direction being taken by the development of the Soviet Union, and shows that at the Plenum the opposition pronounced a definite formula, through the mouth of Comrade Pyatakov, which is even further removed from the general Party standpoint than the former formula of the opposition. With regard to the problem of unemployment, Comrade Pyatakov declared that unemployment is "due above all to the fact that industry, transport, and municipal economics are behind the general growth of national economics as a whole". This means that in the opinion of the opposition the socialist section of national economics has fallen behind the capitalist section in its development, that the power of the working class is sinking in general, and that the fundamental pillars of the proletarian dictatorship are being thereby undermined.

This thesis therefore contains an estimate of economic development implying, in the words of the opposition: "degeneration, Thermidor", etc. But it is none the less clear to the millions of the Party members, to the overwhelming majority of the Communist Youth League, and to every individual member of the Party, that the Soviet Union is passing through a period of very rapid growth. It is obvious to everyone that no country has ever experienced such a mighty forward surge of the creative energy of the masses.

It is clear that anyone who assumes that a Thermidoric degeneration is going on all along the line sees the whole development from quite another aspect. The opposition, on the threshold of a fresh war, has brought forward with the aid of Comrade Trotzky a new "philosophy of the epoch", based on the theses of "Thermidoric degeneration", "economic retreat", etc. Comrade Trotzky designates this philosophy as a "political twilight which must be dispersed", whilst the overwhelming majority of the Party, on the contrary, is of the opinion that the "philosophy of the epoch" is the philosophy of feverish socialist development. Characteristic of the opposition is defeatism, pessimism, want of faith in the progress of socialism in the Soviet Union.

It is only natural that such an estimate of the situation leads to very different conclusions with regard to war. If we estimate the Soviet State as the opposition estimate it, we cannot call upon the working class to fight unreservedly for this state. Lenin wrote long ago of the possibility of a second series of wars, and of the possibility of fresh wars against the Soviet Union. It will be well known to you that he laid down the thesis that the Communist Party will seek the way out of these wars in international revolution, and not in the bourgeois state, that is, by means of converting the struggle of the proletarian state against imperialist intervention into a process of international socialist revolution, and not by slipping down the path of the democratic bourgeois state. This view is absolutely correct, and anyone rejecting it ceases to be a communist. But for those who

are of the opinion that the Soviet Union is a semi-Thermidoric state, the conclusion is inevitable that this state will degenerate even further during a war, and will not seek a way of escape by means of international revolution, but in a number of concessions to the enemy, both at home and abroad, but especially at home. That it will sink to another class basis, and tread the path of self-transformation into an ordinary bourgeois state.

If everything were true which the opposition has adduced, we should naturally deem it our duty to seek for a radical cure for this state of affairs. From the standpoint of the true revolutionist we should be obliged in this case to split the Party, overthrow the government, and so forth. And though the opposition has not yet quite arrived at this conclusion, still it is on the way to it.

Comrade Trotzky's standpoint has been expressed with especial emphasis in questions connected with the war problem. His standpoint may be designated as the "standpoint of conditioned defence". This standpoint may be formulated as follows: If the C. C. will alter its present course into the course of the opposition, all will be well, for such a course, such a state, and such a Party, may be defended. But if it will not alter its course, then every worker and every peasant should ask himself if he will defend such a state. This will be the test. Comrade Trotzky, by his application of the case of Clemenceau, has graphically illustrated his conception of the preparation of the "defence" of the Soviet Union.

The opposition is not in agreement with the political line of the C. C., and therefore the "Clemenceau subversion" signifies a certain political shifting of classes. The whole of this Clemenceau philosophy collides with a fundamental question, the question whether it is true that state industry is retreating before private industrial undertakings. The great majority of the Party believes this to be absolutely untrue. It is a fact well known to all that the specific weight of state industry, state trade, and state co-operatives, has greatly increased during the past year, and has even supplanted private enterprise from well established positions in many places, for instance in the provision of grain supplies.

Comrade Bukharin, passing on to an examination of the roots of the oppositional ideology, emphasised that the united opposition, headed by Trotzky, is now repeating what Myasnikov and the "Rabotschaya Pravda", as also some groups of the labour opposition, especially the alleged extreme Left, which closely approached Menshevism, have already adduced. The repetition of these old Menshevist phrases does not show any very great understanding or originality in the opposition, but none the less it is politically of importance, since it occurs within the Communist Party.

The approach of the Opposition to Menshevism is attributable to the fact the Trotzkyist theory forms the basis of its train of thought, whilst Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others have followed in the wake of Trotzky. Zinoviev and Kamenev believe it to be absurd to assert that Trotzky has retained something of Menshevism in his ideology. In reality this is not so. There is no doubt that Trotzky is still the old Trotzky. These characteristics of his were less conspicuous in times of tempestuous revolution, in the period of insurrection or civil war. But now, in the period of steady constructive work for the development of socialism, Comrade Trotzky's old errors force their way to the front again, especially in the question of the peasantry. And the C. C., in defending its positions with such confidence at the present time, does so out of the profound conviction that, thanks to the adoption of a correct policy with regard to the peasantry, the relations between the classes have changed within the last few years in Russia, and not in the direction supposed by the opposition, but in a direction greatly advantageous to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is perfectly absurd to cherish any idea of a victorious defence of the Soviet Union against the imperialist powers without a firm establishment of the workers' and peasants' bloc. It is solely due to the Leninist standpoint on the workers' and peasants' bloc that the C. C. of the Party and the Soviet government have attained such success during the past two years, and have hence been able to prepare on Leninist lines for the defence of the country.

The opposition, in its declaration at the Plenum, beat a retreat in the question of Thermidorism, the question of the defence of the Soviet Union, and the question of Clemenceauism. The opposition was obliged to admit definitely that it is in favour of the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union. But it did

not dissociate itself with sufficient definiteness from Trotzky's Clemenceau thesis, for it did not want to abandon its leader. A complete and unreserved retreat on the part of the opposition in all these questions would mean the abandonment of the principles of Trotzkyism. The Party calls upon the whole of the opposition to abandon these principles.

Comrade Bukharin further dealt with the question of the standpoint of the opposition towards the policy of the Comintern, and towards the groups expelled from the Comintern. Bukharin reminded his hearers that the opposition, in its declaration of 16th October, solemnly undertook not to support, either directly or indirectly, the Ruth Fischer-Maslov, etc. groups expelled from the Party.

In actual fact the opposition has "kept" this promise by converting the central organ of this group into their own central organ. There is not a single important document, not a single speech by this or that leader of the opposition, which has not been published by the "Ultra-Left" and sold at reduced prices. The Ultra-Left has now become a Zinoviev-Trotzky Party, receiving its instructions from the opposition and guided by it.

On the other hand, the opposition supports the Right groups in France round Souvarine, Monatte, and Rosmer, and assists it to publish newspapers in which the French Right says practically the same as the German Ultra-Left. It has also been ascertained that Souvarine's organ receives material aid from bourgeois sources; this has been proved by documents.

It appears that the opposition is identifying itself with the anti-revolutionary elements which have been expelled from the Comintern, and which are fighting against the communists in France and Germany, and is employing the organ of an anti-revolutionary party for attacks on the C. P. S. U. and the Comintern. At the Plenum the opposition was obliged to retreat on the question of the support given to groups expelled from the Comintern, but emphasised at the same time that it did this on command, and that the expelled groups must be re-admitted to the Comintern, etc. On this point the declaration of the opposition cannot by any means be regarded as satisfactory. It must not be forgotten that here again the opposition "conceals a dagger in its cloak".

Speaking on the problem of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Bukharin emphasised that the most important point dividing the Party from the opposition is the fact that in the Chinese revolution it is impossible to proceed on the same lines as those adopted by the Bolsheviks in 1905. For the events in China raise, for the first time, the full extent and actuality of the problem of revolution in a semi-colonial country. The substantiation of their views offered by Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev, practically signifying a demand for the repetition in China of the Bolshevik tactics of 1905, provides from a superficial standpoint some reason for their convictions, but leaves entirely out of consideration the fact that it is not Leninist to carry out, point for point, the tactics of 1905 in the Chinese revolution of today. As early as the II. Congress of the Comintern, Lenin pointed out, in his theses on the colonial question, the difference between an imperialist and a colonial country. This objective difference must have its effect upon the tactics to be employed in each case, and the only question is — what form is the difference in tactics to take.

Comrade Bukharin reminded his hearers that Lenin condemned the standpoint of Comrade Radek, who regarded the insurrection in Ireland during the great war as a "putsch", and said that the proletarian Party, following the traditions of Marx and Engels, should support this insurrection, for it was the rising of an oppressed people against an oppressing people. China is not an imperialist country, but a semi-colonial country. Therefore the relations between the classes, at any certain stage of the revolution, cannot be compared with the relations between the classes in an imperialist country. Whilst in Russia the liberal bourgeoisie was never capable of decisive action against the Tsarist regime, the Chinese revolution actually passed through such a stage of development at the time when the Chinese bourgeoisie took up arms against the feudal lords and against the imperialists, as was the case in 1911, and again in the period of the first Canton government, at the beginning of the North campaign. The Canton government was not, as Radek once wrote, a workers' and peasants' government. Chiang Kai-Shek has been the bearer of the interests of the bourgeoisie, which was able to play a revolutionary rôle for a few years,

but has at last sunk to the position of executioner of the workers and peasants. There is a difference between the Russian "cadets" (liberal bourgeois party in Tsarist Russia) and the Chinese bourgeoisie. For in Russia the bourgeois democratic revolution took place in an imperialist country, whilst in China we have a semi-colonial country, where the bourgeoisie is anxious to throw off the imperialist yoke. It is perfectly natural that the masses had to be roused to a much greater extent, and this bourgeoisie thoroughly alarmed, in order to be induced to go over to the camp of counter-revolution as the bourgeoisie in Russia did.

Comrade Bukharin quoted Lenin, who had pointed out that the communists would have to support the bourgeois emancipation movements of the semi-colonial peoples, in so far as these movements remained really revolutionary, and their leaders did not prevent the communists from educating and organising the peasantry and the broad masses of the exploited in the spirit of revolution. The platform of the opposition, despite its outward radicalness, has in reality a social democratic tendency, for it fails to observe the necessity of utilising the national movements of the oppressed peoples against imperialism. "Were it even the devil who fights for the overthrow of the imperialist idols, we must be thankful to him."

We speak at the present time of the defeat of the Chinese revolution, but though we must admit that it is indeed a great defeat, still there are victories to record at the same time. In spite of the treachery of Chiang Kai-Shek, the imperialists have not improved their position in China; further, the mighty enthusiasm among the masses of the people could not have been possible without the existence of that temporary understanding of which Lenin spoke. As soon as it became evident that the Chinese bourgeoisie, in view of the revolutionary enthusiasm, was certain to go over to the enemy before long, we were bound to set to work at once to build new bridges, to unmask the traitors. This was done, but unfortunately we wrote less about our efforts in the Russian papers at the time than we were actually carrying out. We replied to the treachery by changing our slogans. There are three possible lines of tactics: 1. An understanding with the bourgeoisie in all circumstances; 2. The oppositional line: Never, under any conditions whatever, an understanding with the liberal bourgeoisie; and 3. the only true and correct line, the Leninist line, which lays down that the bourgeois emancipation movement is to be supported at certain stages of its development, so long as it is really revolutionary.

Comrade Bukharin further pointed out that after the Wuhan government had gone over to counter-revolution, members of the Left Kuomintang and the communists in Nanchang began a rising, in which it was possible to combine about 20,000 bayonets. The insurgents proclaimed their adherence to the Red Army and began their successful advance to the South. This desperate attempt, given a certain amount of success, in the best argument for our tactics. Doubtless errors have been committed at times, but in general the tactical line of the Comintern, and of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., is the sole correct line.

Referring to the question of forming Soviets during the Chinese revolution, Comrade Bukharin showed that it was impossible to form Soviets at the time before the Wuhan government had become counter-revolutionary and had not commenced to hinder the activities of the Communist Party in China. Now that the communists are being persecuted, and the Kuomintang cracks at every joint, the slogan of energetic propaganda for the Soviets has been proclaimed. The best elements of the Kuomintang will all chose the path of the Soviets, for the Kuomintang organisations are collapsing, and in all probability will not be able to bring the Left strata of the Kuomintang against the heads. Should the wave of revolution rise higher, then the transition to the direct organisation of Soviets will become the immediate slogan of the political struggle.

In the question of organisation the opposition has adopted the platform of Comrade Trotzky, which puts forward the slogan of the freedom of fractions and groups. Bukharin here quoted the Trotzky pamphlet on "Our political tasks", written in 1904, and showed the historical connection between the present views of the opposition and the old Trotzkyist Menshevik views designated by Lenin as the ideology of anarchist leaders.

Despite the increased acuteness of the struggle of the opposition against the Party, the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. has decided only to reprimand the leaders of the

opposition, and to retain them in the C. C. The Plenum has here been influenced by the fact that the opposition counts but a small proportion of workers amongst its adherents in the Party, and recruits its followers in the nuclei of the high schools, among the Georgian chauvinists, and finally among the old Trotzkyists. The opposition cannot count upon any great numbers in the Communist Party itself. Still there is a danger that the opposition, in spite of its limited numbers, forms itself into another party, and may become the mouthpiece of those forces fighting against the Soviet power. It is for this reason that the Plenum has made this final attempt at reconciliation with the opposition. The opposition has been defeated ideologically, but has only half capitulated, and still holds a dagger concealed against the Party. We have no guarantee that the opposition will keep its word, and therefore the watchfulness of the Party with regard to the opposition must not be relaxed. The C. C. has done literally everything possible for the maintenance of unity. The opposition bears the full responsibility for any fresh complications arising in the Party before or after the Party Congress. It is necessary that the Party create an ideological united front, for the sole real guarantee of perfect steadfastness in the ranks of the Party is the absolute certainty that the Soviet Union is a workers' state, and not a semi-Thermidorie premature birth. "We can only be victorious under the slogan: Long live the growing forces of socialism in our country!"

The Party Membership Supports the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P., S. U.

Moscow, 19. August 1927.

The press publishes resolutions passed by various local organisations of the Party in the Soviet Union with reference to the results of the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. The organisations approve the whole of the decisions of the Plenum, call upon all Party members to combat with increased energy the Trotzkyist line of the opposition bloc, demand the complete cessation of the fractional and disruptive activities of the opposition, and emphasise that the fresh declaration of the opposition is entirely insufficient for the guarantee of peace in the Party.

The V. Plenum of the C. C. of the Communist Youth League of the Ukraine states in its resolution that the anti-Bolshevist campaign carried on by the opposition among the Youth has met with no success, and that the juvenile workers rise like one man in defence of the unity of the Party against the inner-Party incendiaries.

The town meetings of the active members of the Moscow and Leningrad organisations of the Communist Youth League agree fully and completely with the decisions of the Plenum, call upon the Communist Youth to combat energetically the distortion of the Party line by the opposition, and appeal for the Leninist training of the cadres of the young Bolsheviks.

Similar decisions were adopted by the organisations in Samara, Saratav, Minsk, and other towns.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Growing Resistance of the Italian Workers.

By Guido Saraceno (Milan).

Italy gives the impression of a country into which an army of occupation has forced its way. Everywhere in the factories, in the street, in restaurants and cafés one has a feeling of being watched by gendarmes, police, members of the Fascist militia, etc. In Italy a kind of prison "order" prevails. But the terror, which Fascism would like to spread everywhere against the working people through its police and machinery of compulsion, fails constantly. Things proceed in Italy exactly as in an occupied territory: The people of the occupied territory get to know the weapons used by the enemy, they discover his weaknesses and the points at which he is vulnerable, and with time learn to fight against him. The greater the oppression exercised

by the immense exterior machinery of the Fascist police, the more intense becomes the underground fight against Fascism.

The eight hundred years of imprisonment passed in recent months by the extraordinary court of the blackshirts, the tremendous growth of the expenditure on the police in the State Budget, the rabid cruelty with which Mussolini's bandits hunt down the "insurrectionists" — all these drastic measures would be incomprehensible, if one did not take into consideration the growing resistance which Fascism is meeting in its work of oppressing and exploiting the workers and peasants. If this resistance, organised by the Communist Party, had not existed, the position of the workers in Italy would be much worse than it is.

The hundreds and hundreds of arrests made in the past and still being made are an answer to the activity promoted by the Communists by means of thousands and thousands of leaflets and illegal newspapers and to the lively organisatory activity of the Communist Party.

In nearly all the industrial districts important trade-union organisations were created. Through the participation of all workers who had remained true to the class struggle, the Labour Chambers (trades councils) of Turin, Milan, Rome, Trieste, Savona, Como, etc., were reconstructed. To-day the trade-union movement is seriously hampering the Fascist Government in the carrying out of its policy; the Fascist Government, in spite of all the terror it resorts to, is displaying more and more clearly its impotence to withstand the advance of this movement. The more Mussolini's heroes maltreat the "insurrectionists", the less success they have in their attacks upon the strongholds of the workers' resistance, which continue in their rapid development.

The first half-year of 1927 was full of activity. In Piedmont, in Lombardy, in Venetia, which was enlarged by the peace treaty, in Tuscany, in Sicily and Sardinia, etc., there was no lack of strikes. We shall mention only the revolts at the Fiat and Ansaldo concerns in Turin, the strike of the gas-workers and metal-workers at the Breda works in Milan, the strike at the match factory in Este, the strike at the Suzzara works near Mantua, the textile workers' strike at Gallarate, Legnano and Novate, near Milan, the strike of the tobacco workers in Venice, the strike of the metal-workers at the Breda works at Marghera in Venetia, the outbreak in the San Marco shipyards in Trieste, the strike of the sardine girls at Isola, near Trieste, the strike of the young glass-workers at Leghorn, the metal-workers' strike at the Lecco ironworks in the province of Milan, the strike of the sulphur-workers in Sicily.

We must not omit to mention the important movements among the agricultural workers in the districts of Pavia and Parma, nor yet the two strikes in the rice-fields of Vercelli and Novara. In addition, there were the demonstrations of the unemployed in the districts of Ferrara and Bologna, the demonstrations of peasants against the "Podesta" (mayors nominated by the Government) of Treviglio, Imola, in the districts of Lodi, Aquila and Pescara, the movements of poor peasants in Apulia, in the district of Mantua and Bergamo.

All these demonstrations prove that the masses are abandoning their old passivity and that a firm will to resist is forming among the toilers. In consequence, Fascism is losing its feeling of security and is stiffening its wild measures of reprisal in order to ward off the attacks of the working class. But the movements are so comprehensive and the fighting spirit is now so firmly imbued that every gap made in the fighting front of the anti-Fascists is filled immediately.

In order to destroy the centres of proletarian resistance, the Fascists are increasing their black militia. In addition to the militia for railways, harbours, forests, etc., a militia has now been created for the tramway service. Tramcar passengers are now accompanied and spied upon by members of the militia in the same way as the railway passengers. Furthermore, street cars are more frequently held up and passengers taken to the police stations to have their documents inspected. Those who are taken up are subjected to examination and are often detained while inquiries are made about them in their home towns. In this way, among others, the police are continually on the hunt for the "insurrectionists" who publish and distribute the illegal newspaper of the C. P. I., "L'Unita", ("Unity") and the reconstructed paper of the free trade unions, "Battaglie Sindicali" (Trade-Union Fights?), as well as the leaflets given out by the free trade unions and the C. P., who organise

strikes and try to articulate the dissatisfaction which is spreading to over widening strata of the Italian people.

The more Fascism is isolated, the more it will be necessary for the working people of Italy to improve their fighting equipment. As the Communists demand, this equipment must consist of organisation of the workers' resistance to the pressure from the Fascist bourgeoisie and their exploitation of the working-class in such a manner that the basis of action of partial struggles in defence of livelihood may be made broad enough finally to comprise all the workers and the other anti-Fascist forces.

THE WHITE TERROR

Against Dutch Imperialism!

Resolution Adopted by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference.

For The Toiling Masses Of Indonesia!

After hearing the reports of the Indonesian delegates, the first Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference protests energetically against the massacre of workers and the arrests of labour and political leaders by Dutch imperialism in Indonesia. Over three hundred labour leaders have been deported, many of them sentenced to ten and fifteen years, others even for life, to pestilent isles where these revolutionary leaders are doomed to certain death from black fever, malaria, typhoid, etc. The Dutch imperialist government apparently hopes to destroy the revolutionary labour and political movement in Indonesia by means of wholesale massacres, arrests and deportations.

We call upon all workers, peasants and intellectuals throughout the world to protest energetically against the barbaric acts of Dutch imperialism, and to demand the immediate release of all arrested and deported revolutionaries. At the same time we declare that only the overthrow of Dutch imperialism by the Indonesian and Dutch toiling masses will put an end to such oppression which is the natural product of imperialism.

We congratulate the Indonesian people on their heroic struggle for freedom, and we pledge the unconditional support of the millions of workers represented at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference to the Indonesian toiling masses in their struggle for liberation and independence.

Letter from Cyprus.

Limasol, July 27th, 1927.

British imperialism, faced with the continued awakening of the exploited workers and farmers, is taking every measure against the organised workers in the hope, by such terroristic means, to hold up the movement of the working masses.

The Asbestos Company at Amiandos is openly supported by the government in its efforts to stifle the working class movement. A few weeks ago the organised workers of Limasol distributed leaflets among the workers of Amiandos, urging them to organise. The Company discharged about 100 workers on suspicion of sympathising with the contents of the leaflets. The discharged workers strongly protested and distributed other leaflets, explaining the role played by the bourgeois government and the company and calling upon the workers to reply to the company and the government by forming strong organisations. Thereupon the Company again dismissed a large number of workers.

The exploitation of the agrarian population by the government, which imposes heavy taxes, and by the native landowners has resulted in thousands of peasants losing their holdings of land and having to seek work in the town. As a result there are at present thousands of unemployed workers in a little country with a population numbering no more than 350,000. The Asbestos Company is encouraged to take any action it wishes against the workers in view of the great number of unemployed.

The Communist Party of Cyprus has a very hard struggle. It has the task of organising the huge masses of non-organised workers and setting up a united anti-British front. A few days ago paid agents of the Amiandos Company raided the trade union premises, smashed all the furniture, pictures etc. and tore all the books. In making their escape the raiders

were seen by some workers who at once ran in pursuit, caught them and handed them over to the police. At the trial of the raiders the co-operation of the capitalist with the government was once again clearly demonstrated. Each of the accused got off with a fine of only five pounds.

The editor of the official organ of the C. P. of Cyprus "Neos Anthropa" was sentenced to two months imprisonment and fined 23 pounds for publishing an article criticising N. Lannitis, who, posing as anti-English politician, betrayed the people and is working together with the government and the exploiters. Many people were present at the trial and all applauded the accused when he addressed the court and denounced the behaviour of his accuser.

3rd August.

The reaction is becoming worse every day. On the 30th of July the police raided the offices of the C. P. of Cyprus, the printing office of our organ, "Neos Anthropa", the workers' centre and also the houses of many comrades in Limasol. The police also raided the workers' centre and the houses of many comrades in Nicosia, confiscating many books such as Lenin's "State and Revolution", Andriev's "For Bread and Freedom" etc. The government has issued a proclamation declaring that anyone found with one of these books in his possession will be liable to six months imprisonment and a fine of 25 pounds sterling.

The government is endeavouring by this means to stifle the movement of the masses of Cyprus and to annihilate the Communists.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Reminiscences of the Beginnings of the German Youth Movement.

By Heinrich Brandler.

The first Youth organisation was founded in 1903, in Offenbach, by a Youth comrade who had immigrated from Austria and who applied the experience which he had gained in Austria in his new sphere of activity. The founding of this first organisation was purely accidental. The need of a Youth movement in Germany was acute. The German labour movement which was spreading move and move, the growth of the trade unions and co-operatives since the end of the last century, the increased membership of the Party and of the masses of voters, the transition from propaganda for socialist aims and ideas to actual practical work in the parliaments, municipalities, trade unions, and co-operatives, led inevitably to a neglect of the great world of socialist ideology, to shallowness of theory, to absorption in practical daily tasks. The catchword of revisionism: "The movement is everything, the final goal nothing", coined at that time by Bernstein, expresses this tendency much more than we had any idea of.

Propaganda, enthusiastic and imparting enthusiasm, for the great aims of socialism, was replaced more and more by bureaucratic routine, by the trade unions and co-operatives, and the Party was guided more and more from above, instead of being built up from below, as it was at the beginning, by working masses enthusiastic for socialism. The trade unions, the young proletarian co-operatives, and the Party, were even well administered, but still they were only administered, and the initiative of the masses, the revolutionary elan, the enthusiasm and the bold offensive spirit of the movement, which had the task of shattering the capitalist world and building up the socialist, was killed off at its roots. The revolutionary German labour movement, in whose cradle Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had laid the Communist Manifesto, and whose development they had watched over until their death, became ripe for the 4th August 1914.

The slow but steady bureaucratisation of the whole German labour movement degenerated into that disease which killed revolutionary socialism, and helped the opportunism in the Party, trade unions, and co-operatives to gain the victory for bureaucracy, in spite of the victories won, by radicalism over revisionism at all the Party conferences and international congresses. The most capable administrators became the leaders of the Party, the trade unions, and the co-operatives, not the

best socialists and revolutionists. The bureaucrats of the German Party, trade unions, and co-operatives are 99 per cent of them workers, and the older ones among them, such as **Scheidemann** and **Crispien**, **Paeplow** and **Leipart**, **Kasch** and **Fleissner**, have all been really revolutionary socialist workers, true to their convictions; for only as such were they given their positions by the working masses, at the cost of great sacrifices. All of these were put in their positions in the place of vacillating petty-bourgeois.

Caught in the bureaucratic administrative apparatus, almost all have been converted from socialist Sauls to petty-bourgeois Pauls. The hydra of bureaucracy has devoured them, and they have drawn the Party and the labour movement down with them into the swamp of opportunism. It is true that certain objective causes lie at the root of the course thus taken by the German labour movement, but this does not alter the facts.

As the labour movement developed, a corresponding demand made itself felt for the furnishing of better opportunities of development for the rising generation of the German labour movement, and many efforts were made towards educational work, courses of instruction, series of lectures, and opportunities of gaining an insight into the world of ideas of scientific socialism. Here again German social democracy accomplished more, both qualitatively and quantitatively, than any other party of the II. International before the war. But the effect of these efforts was but a drop in the ocean in comparison with the bureaucratic tendencies and the sinking down into "practical daily work". The opportunist absorption in narrow daily tasks, losing sight of the revolutionary goal, cannot be corrected by even the best training in Marxism. And it must be remembered that thorough theoretical schooling has naturally been attained by an all too small proportion of the masses, whilst practical politics involve millions, and educational work is not carried on in a vacuum, but must be adapted to the needs of practical politics.

In the discussions on the subject matter of proletarian educational work held at that time by the Party Conferences, those who stood for the setting up of the Marxist aim almost invariably won the day. But in actual practice the administering bureaucrats exercised an influence converting the educational institutions intended for the revolutionary training of the masses into schools for good bureaucrats, well versed in the art of reeling off radical phrases calculated to render opportunist treachery palatable to the masses.

This fate was shared by the Youth movement. One of the first to propagate the idea of a proletarian Youth movement supported by the Party, but otherwise independent, was the Mannheim lawyer **Ludwig Frank**. At first he, too, was extremely radical. The "**Junge Garde**", the organ of the South German league of the young workers of Germany, began as a Youth paper edited in a revolutionary spirit.

At the first conference of the League, held on 30th September 1906, it was resolved to establish international relations among the Youth Leagues. The result was the First International Youth Conference, held in connection with the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, and attended by 20 delegates representing 13 countries. This Conference, at which the report of the International Secretariat was given by the Belgian **De Man**, who was living at that time as a student at Leipzig, and the Dutch comrade **Henriette Roland Holst** spoke on "The socialist education of Youth", the Hungarian **Julius Alpári**, who was also living in Germany, on "The economic struggle of the working Youth", and **Karl Liebknecht** on "The fight against militarism", gave the signal for the bureaucracy of the Party and the trade unions to take the matter into their hands.

The theses on the socialist education of the young workers set the Youth organisations exclusively educational tasks, and put "the struggle into the second place". But they demand independent Youth organisations, which "are to maintain an organic connection with the class-conscious labour movement". This, first of all, was impossible of acceptance by trade union bureaucracy. They protested against it at their trade union congress at Hamburg, and combated at the same time the resolution on the economic struggle of the juvenile workers, stating that this could only be the affair of the adult workers in the trade unions. In actual practice the trade unions did practically nothing for the improvement of the wages and working conditions of the young workers and apprentices.

The address given by **Karl Liebknecht** on the fight against militarism aroused the special indignation of the bureaucrats. Although no theses on this subject were accepted by the Conference, the bureaucrats made open protest against such propaganda, and declared themselves to be entirely opposed to "poisoning youthful minds with class struggle propaganda". Youth must be kept youthful, by means of games, rambles, reading from eclectic improving literature, and the like.

Ludwig Frank, who had kept aloof from the International Conference, attempted at the Darmstadt Conference, which took place at the end of 1907 or the beginning of 1908, to deliver the South German League of young workers into the hands of the general commission of the trade unions. He and **Robert Schmidt** of the general commission were successful in influencing the Conference. I, as delegate from Bremen, remained in a hopeless minority with the Hamburg delegates. The Bremen youth organisation, of which I was leader, then broke off relations with the Mannheim league, to which we had affiliated ourselves because its original statutes allowed more freedom for the work of political enlightenment than the Berlin league, which prohibited political work for reasons connected with the law of associations. Ludwig Frank further declined our invitation to explain his standpoint to us in Bremen, as we had "offended" him.

I may here quote from memory a few episodes out of my own experiences as living illustrations of the history of the development of the German Youth movement.

In 1901 I went to Hamburg. There I sought out the local workers' educational association and joined it. This association was, however, at that time in the hands of educational Philistines of a semi-anarchist type, petty-bourgeois, and worker aristocrats, whose conceptions of enlightenment for the workers did not go beyond dabbling in art, visiting museums, and recitation evenings. **Otto Ernst**, court and household author, played a great role. It was only the extremely instructive introductory course of lectures on political economy given by **Franz Laufkötter**, which gave what I sought. Before this I had made a trial of the Free-thinkers, but had been revolted by the description of free religious piety preached by these people, among whom not a trace of proletarian thought was to be found. I read much, but quite indiscriminately. Works on natural science, **Karl Marx**, difficult philosophical works which I did not fully understand, and the classics.

After much reading, and after attending the Party Conference debates, I began to read along more definite lines. I became interested in the questions raised by the Lübeck Party Conference in the course of its debates on piece-work in the bricklaying trade, and on revisionism. I subscribed to the "**Neue Zeit**", and the weekly articles by **Franz Mehring**, which always threw much theoretical and historical light on the most important questions of the day, were for me a guide to a thorough study of scientific socialism.

I made an attempt to form, in the continuation school society and in a special club, the "**Prometheus**", a circle in which young comrades could study the practical and theoretical problems of the labour movement. But here again we did not get beyond Philistine attempts at education and art. I made up my mind to leave the continuation school society, but resolved to tell them my opinion properly first. I therefore took the opportunity offered by a general meeting of the continuation school society, at which two differing aesthetic groupings were squabbling with one another, and expressed my opinion very forcibly in plain and blunt bricklayer's style. I fully expected to be thrown out. But quite the contrary. I got the majority of the meeting onto my side, the old committee was dismissed, I was elected chairman, and a majority of those in agreement with me formed the committee.

This went somewhat beyond my powers. I could not, however, turn back. We started to work, sought and found suitable teachers. I wrote my first leaflet, making propaganda for the reorganised continuation school society, and applied for help to the Party and the trade unions. This help was refused by the Party, but granted by the trade unions of the masons, metal workers, and wood workers. We arranged courses of instruction in the history of the present-day labour movement, national economy, and historical materialism, in addition to the courses which had been held before in book-keeping, history of literature, German, etc. This was still not a Youth organisation or Youth movement, but the history of this trans-

formation of an old and petrified workers' educational association into an association for the class training of young people shows how greatly the need was felt for the training of the rising generation of the labour movement.

At Christmas 1904 the Hamburg Senate acknowledged my activities for the development of proletarian class schooling by turning me out. Both in the educational association and in the meetings of the Party and the trade unions, I had supported the proposal made by Karl Liebknecht at the Bremen Party Conference for the formation of Youth organisations, and for a special anti-militarist propaganda to be carried on by the Party. He was not successful in having this proposal accepted. On the contrary, the whole Party Conference opposed him. I was, however, as much convinced of the necessity of the formation of Youth organisations, as of the necessity of anti-militarist propaganda. The sharp attacks made on me in the Party and trade unions failed to convince me that I was wrong, but apparently they convinced the Senate. After my expulsion in Hamburg I went to Bremen, where a more radical wind was beginning to blow in the Party.

The Bremen workers had begun to fight seriously against Fritz Ebert, who was a sort of uncrowned king in his capacity of labour secretary and chairman of the Bremen corporation fraction, and was guiding the Party and the trade union movement into the backwaters of revisionist opportunism.

Heinrich Schulz, a former elementary school teacher at Bremen, after working on revisionist lines in Erfurt, was called to Bremen by the press commission controlled by Ebert, in order that he might provide the "Bremer Bürgerzeitung" with revisionist theories in support of the opportunist practice of Fritz Ebert. But in Bremen Heinrich Schulz became converted from a revisionist Saul into a radical Paul. Under the influence of Alfred Henke, a former tobacco worker, the "Bremer Bürgerzeitung" gradually changed into an organ of radicalism, and developed courageously into a Left radical organ with the collaboration of Knief, whom I brought over to Youth and Party work out of the young teachers' group, and of Pannekoek and Radek, whom we called to Bremen. The "Bremer Bürgerzeitung" still held its standpoint firmly at the time when the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" began to slip back into centrism under the influence of Lensch.

During the first years of my sojourn in Bremen the fight against Ebert's opportunism, the fight on the questions of the mass strike, and on other tactical differences, absorbed the whole of my powers and those of my co-partners. Again we had to do with the question of education — class training or Philistine education — and this question became one of the greatest bones of contention both in the whole Party and in Bremen. Fritz Ebert, who lost more and more ground in Bremen, was thrown upstairs instead of down, and was accorded a place in the Berlin Party Committee. We were glad to be rid of him, and continued a successful fight against his adherents: Teichmann, first chairman of the tobacco workers' union, Winkelmann, first chairman of the coopers' union, and a number of smaller trade union bosses.

At the end of 1905 I founded a Youth Organisation in Bremen, in which undertaking I was supported by the radical majority of the Party, but violently combatted by the revisionist trade union leaders, whose open resistance we were, however, able to break in the members' meetings of the trade unions, at which I gave many addresses on the necessity of a Youth movement. At this time I entered into communication, by letter and personally, with Karl Liebknecht and Ludwig Frank. There are about 30 letters to me from Karl Liebknecht in existence, as also some from Frank, De Man, and Peters. I left these with the association when I left Bremen, and they can perhaps be brought to light again. They contained much that would give a detailed insight into the beginnings of the German Youth movement.

Besides the work of education based on the class standpoint, we made it our endeavour from the very beginning to support to the utmost the economic interests of the juvenile workers and apprentices. We had not, however, much practical success to record. Up in the attic of the trade union premises we were given a room for a Youth home, and this was open every evening and on Sundays. The existence of the Youth organisation was secured, the membership increased slowly but surely. But the object of the organisation, whether it was to be mere Youth welfare work or an independent Youth movement with the support of the Party and trade unions, remained the subject

of violent contention up to the time at which I left Bremen, at the end of 1908.

When the trade union bureaucracy could no longer prevent the formation of a German Youth movement, it endeavoured to gain influence over it by means of participation. The culmination of the independent German Youth movement was the International Conference of 1907.

After the International Conference, the trade union and Party bureaucracy intensified their efforts to undermine the independent Youth movement. At the Hamburg Trade Union Congress the trade union bureaucrats attacked us openly. This attack led to a compromise with the Party Committee, which placed the question of the Youth organisation on the agenda of the Nuremberg Party Conference, and then utilised the commission appointed for the purpose, without any discussion at the Conference itself, for placing the independent Youth organisation completely under the domination of Party and trade union bureaucracy. Henke, Wilhelm Pieck, and I were at the Nuremberg Party Conference in 1908, as delegates from Bremen. Before the Party Conference I took part in the Youth Conference held in Leipzig in August 1908, as representative of the Bremen Youth, who had commissioned me to act as spokesman for the Youth at the Party Congress. From Leipzig I went to Glatz, where Karl Liebknecht was still imprisoned in the fortress, having received a sentence of eighteen months imprisonment for his book on "Anti-militarism". I wished to consult with him on the way I should represent our standpoint at the Party Conference.

At the meeting of the plenum of the Party Conference I was given no opportunity of speaking on the Youth movement, for there was no discussion whatever, but I was elected to the commission. In the commission I came into violent conflict with Legien and Ebert, and was only supported by Klara Zetkin. The cause of disagreement was the ready-made compromise resolution, which had merely received a few alterations in style in a select editorial commission, and was to be submitted to the Party Conference, without discussion, as the result of the consultations of the commission.

After the Nuremberg Party Conference in the late autumn of 1908, we had another consultation in Karl Liebknecht's lawyer's office in Berlin. Liebknecht had contrived to obtain a fortnight's leave of absence for the arrangement of his family affairs, and was present. We talked over the latest facts created by the Nuremberg decisions. Ebert was chairman of the national Youth Committee, Korn the editor of the new periodical published by the central committee, the "Junge Arbeiter". The trade unions were beginning to form Youth sections. We resolved to take part in everything, and save what we could of the independence of the Youth movement and the proletarian class import of the educational work. We could not, however, prevent the backsliding into mere Youth welfare.

The old revolutionary traditions of the Youth movement were, however, never eradicated, despite all the measures taken by bureaucracy. This could be seen after the outbreak of the war, when we — many of us old acquaintances from the time of these old struggles for the Youth movement — met again in the Spartacus League, and then again when our revolutionary work against the war found its first supporters among the new Youth.

At the end of 1908 I left the German Youth movement, as I left Bremen to settle in Switzerland. I give you these reminiscences, in order that our young comrades under the more favourable conditions ruling today may learn how to do better than we did.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Bourgeoisie Arms for the "Moscow Conference".

Amsterdam, 23rd August. Meetings are being held in preparation of the "Moscow Conference" convoked by the Provisional Government. At one of these meetings, attended by members of the Duma, and by representatives of the municipal councils and Semstvos, speeches were held by various representatives of the military clique, the big bourgeoisie, and the landowners. They all unanimously complained that the govern-

ment is "ruled by revolutionary organisations" (the words of prince Trubetzkoi). Military discipline has been destroyed by the revolution. The socialist ministers are ruining the country, etc. The Moscow Conference, which will be opened on 25. August, bears the character of organised counter-revolution.

Reaction gathers around Kornilov.

Petrograd, 20th August. A Conference of the Georgian Knights' League passed a resolution declaring that "when General Kornilov is dismissed from office, the Georgian Knights' League will immediately issue a war-cry calling for joint action with the Cossacks. The Moscow organisation of the Georgian Knights' League has declared its agreement with this resolution.

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The head committee of the Officers' League have sent a telegram from the front, stating: "We place all our hopes for the coming order on our beloved General Kornilov... His name is the last ray of hope for the happy future of Russia... We are prepared to support him to the utmost of our power."

The Soldiers Deprived of their Right of Assembly.

Petrograd, 25th August. "Dyelo Naroda" publishes a circular issued by the government commissary of the army headquarters, Filonyenko:

"In accordance with the decree issued by the minister of war, Kerensky, and by the army headquarters, meetings are unconditionally prohibited for the army within range of the front. It is only permitted for the soldiers to meet together when the commissaries wish to make declarations to the troops, or the troops have to listen to such declarations."

The Trade Unions Mobilise against the Moscow Conference.

On 22nd August a meeting was held in Moscow by the leaders of 41 trade unions, the trade union council, and the representatives of the Moscow Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and of the socialist parties. The following resolution against the impending Moscow Conference was passed:

1. The Moscow Conference is composed, in its overwhelming majority, of the representatives of organs overthrown by the revolution, such as the Tsarist Duma, which is a seat of counter-revolution, and of the representatives of numerous organisations of the big bourgeoisie. Its task is to influence the opinion of the people, and hereby to deceive the great masses of the people. Whilst the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie is organising, in the Moscow Conference and by other means, the Soviets and the Soldiers' and Peasants' Committee are sinking down into mere tools for the mechanism of imperialism. The bourgeoisie pursues, obstinately and inexorably, its aim of preventing the Constitutional Assembly, in order to replace it by organs in which it possesses a secure majority.

2. The object of the Moscow Conference is therefore to sanction the counter-revolutionary policy and the continuation of imperialist war, to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie and the land owners, and to intensify the persecution of the revolutionary workers and peasants. The Moscow Conference is therefore at bottom a conspiracy against the revolution, against the people.

3. The session of the Moscow Trade Union Council, held conjointly with the leaders of 41 trade unions, considers it necessary to attend the Moscow Conference, in order to organise the whole of the revolutionary elements there present for the demands of consistent revolutionary democracy, and to make a declaration in which the counter-revolutionary character of the Conference and the policy of the ruling class is relentlessly exposed. The trade union delegates will then demonstratively leave the Conference.

4. Besides this, the Session considers it necessary that the Russian proletariat, above all the Moscow workers, should organise a protest campaign against the Moscow Conference convoked by the Provisional Government. Mass meetings are to be called for this purpose. The Session is also in favour of a one day's strike. The strike must be approved by the socialist parties and by the Soviet of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

5. The Session commissions the Central Council of the Trade Unions to send a delegation to the Conference of the Soviets, in order to represent there these forms of protest action against the Moscow Conference.

The Stockholm Question in the Soviet Executive.

Petrograd, 20th August. At yesterday's Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, an address was given by **Rosanov** on the Stockholm Conference. He reported that the majority of the English and French socialists have promised to take part in the Conference. The Belgian socialists have sent no reply as yet. The British National Labour Party has declined to participate. The Dutch-Scandinavian Committee is against the decisions of the Conference being binding. An unexpected obstacle has been raised by the refusal of the four allied governments to grant passports for the Conference.

Kamenev stated that although the Party of the Bolsheviki has not changed its point of view with regard to Stockholm, in his opinion it must do so. He pointed to the importance of the Stockholm Conference. He called upon the Soviet Executive not to abandon this position, etc. (The "Proletari" published a letter of Lenin commenting on this declaration of Kamenev, in which Lenin points out the erroneousness of Kamenev's views.)

The resolution moved by **Rosanov** was passed by a majority of votes, against the votes of the Bolsheviki and the Internationalists.

Kerensky Opens the Moscow "State Consultation" with Threats against the Revolutionary Proletariat and the Nationalities.

Petrograd, 25th August. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The State Conference was opened by a speech of the Prime Minister, **Kerensky**, to the following effect:

The government has called citizens of this great free country to Moscow, not for the purpose of political discussions or Party quarrels, but for the purpose of telling them the plain and straight-forward truth about what the country expects, and to make it clear to them how severely Russia is suffering. Any attempt to utilise the Conference for an attack upon the national revolutionary power embodied in the Provisional Government will be ruthlessly crushed with iron and blood. Those who imagine that the moment has come, declared the prime minister, to overthrow the revolutionary power at the point of the sword, are only deceiving themselves, and had better take care, for our authority is based upon the unlimited confidence of the people, and millions of soldiers defend us against a German invasion. It is not necessary to emphasise this, for every one of you is fully aware of it. But you all know, too, that the task falling to your share, especially the struggle against the powerful, irreconcilable, and organised enemy, is one demanding great sacrifices, self-denial, profound love of country, and a forgetfulness of inner quarrels.

Kerensky continued: In political life the process of disorganisation goes even deeper, and is even driving certain nationalities inhabiting Russia to seek their salvation in separatist endeavours, instead of in close unity with the mother country. And worst of all, we witness the ignominy of Russian troops at the front forgetting their duty to their country, and retreating before the enemy without resistance.

Kerensky further declared that the government will prove competent to protect the army against subversive influences which destroy all sense of military dishonour among the soldiers, and will combat with the utmost energy any attempt on the part of the Bolsheviki to destroy discipline.

Kornilov Tries to Enforce Severer Measures of Suppression against the Soldiers.

Petrograd, 28th August (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) On 27th August General **Kornilov** held a speech at the Conference in Moscow, in which he declared that the death penalty, whose reintroduction he had demanded, in combination with other measures taken in the army, had done much to cure the frightful diseases of lack of discipline and refusals of obedience from which the army had suffered, but that these evils still held the Russian soldiers in their clutches. **Kornilov** stated that in August the degenerated soldiers had killed four commanders of regiments and other officers, and an end had only been put to this by threats of bloody counter-measures. Only recently a Siberian rifle regiment, after having fought bravely before the revolution, now deserted the Riga front, and nothing less than the command to exterminate the whole regiment induced it to return to its position. We are fighting with inexorable determination against

anarchy, continued Kornilov, and doubtless it will be finally suppressed, but the danger of fresh defeats threatens the country. The situation at the front is such that we have lost whole Galicia, whole Bukowina, and all the fruits of our recent victories. The enemy has crossed our frontiers in several places, and threatens our fertile southern provinces. Our antagonists seek to destroy the Roumanian army, and are knocking at the gate of Riga. If our army does not help us to hold the coast in the Gulf of Riga, the road to Petrograd will be opened.

THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT.

General Strike against the Moscow Conference.

Moscow, 25th August. The overwhelming majority of the factories and works are on strike. The trams are not running. A number of restaurant and cafés are closed. Meetings are being held in the workers' quarters of the town and in many factories and works, at which the Moscow Conference is discussed. Bolshevik resolutions have been passed. Many resolutions demand the immediate dissolution of the Moscow Conference.

Protest Strikes in the Provinces.

Petrograd, 26th August. Yesterday, the opening day of the Moscow Conference, there were protest strikes of one day in Kiev and Kostrom.

The Bolsheviki Gain the Soviet Majority in Kronstadt.

Kronstadt, 24th August. The newly elected Kronstadt Soviet is composed of the following parties: 98 Bolsheviki, 96 non-Party, 73 S. R., 12 Mensheviki, and 7 anarchists. The new Soviet met for the first time today.

Wage Struggles of the Petrograd Workers.

Petrograd, 24th August. The Executive of the metal workers' trade union sent a letter to the minister for labour, to the management of the Putilov Works, and to the representative of the minister for the home department, in which they state that the Putilov Works are on the verge of a strike. The conflict has come about as follows.

On 7th March the management of the Putilov Works and the representatives of the workers signed a joint agreement, according to which the workers were to take up work again, whilst the management were to draw up a new tariff in collaboration with the trade union leaders. After the new tariff was sanctioned, the difference in wages was to be paid out back to 7th March.

Now, that the tariff negotiations have been concluded with a definite result, the factory management is only willing to pay the higher wages from 9th June onwards.

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Petrograd, 25th August. 18 Petrograd printing offices are on strike on account of tariff conflicts with their employers.

The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

The Strike Movement Spreads in Spain.

Huelva, 20th August 1917 (Lavas). The insurgents in the coal basin of Nerva fired upon the gendarmes, who returned the shots. Four insurgents were killed and 13 wounded. One soldier and one gendarme were wounded. Reinforcements have been sent to the provinces of Leon and Valencia, from where a similar movement is reported.

"Matin" declares that in France it is impossible to gain any clear idea of the events in Spain. The strike movement, however, does not appear to be dying but to be spreading in places.

The Attitude of the French Zimmerwald group on the Question of war guilt.

Stockholm, 24th August 1917. The reply of the French Zimmerwald group to the questionnaire sent by the Dutch-Scandinavian committee attributes the outbreak of war to inter-

national imperialism, and therefore declines to discuss the question of any individual blame. It points out that the French Socialist Party has invariably refused to enter into war for the restoration of Alsace Lorraine. Changes of frontiers mean fresh danger of war, and questions of alterations in territorial possession can only be solved on the basis of the right of self-determination of the peoples.

Chronicle of Events.

August 18.

"Rabotschi i Soldat" publishes a series of resolutions passed by general factory meetings against the counter-revolutionary policy of the provisional Government, and in favour of placing the power in the hands of the Soviets.

The Peasants' League sitting in Conference in Moscow passes a resolution on the land question. This declares in favour of the expropriation of the land without compensation. Solely the mortgages on estates are to be paid by the state.

August 19.

The Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet deals with the Stockholm question, and declares in favour of participation in the Conference. The Bolsheviki and the Internationalists vote against.

August 20.

A Conference is held in Moscow by the Trade Union Council and the leaders of 41 trade unions, the representatives of the socialist parties, etc. The matter of discussion is the campaign against the Moscow Conference convoked by the Provisional Government.

August 21.

The "Pravda" publishes the resolution passed by the Bolsheviki on the Moscow Conference.

The building workers of Moscow are on strike.

August 22.

The Moscow District Committee of the Bolsheviki resolves to organise mass protests on the opening day of the "Moscow Conference".

The National Conference of Manufacturers meets at Petrograd.

The Ukrainian Rada declines to participate in the Moscow Conference.

August 23.

Kornilov has arrived at Petrograd from the front, and has submitted an extensive report to the government on the catastrophic situation at the front.

The Central Committee of the Finnish Social Democratic Party has issued an appeal to the people for the reassembling of the Seym.

August 24.

The Provisional Government, in a special session, has laid down the lines of the standpoint which it will adopt at the Moscow Conference.

The Putilov Works are preparing for the strike.

The "Social Democrat" publishes protest resolutions from 14 factories against the Moscow Conference.

August 25.

The Bolshevik delegation members of the Soviet delegation are refused admittance to the Moscow Conference.

The greater part of the Moscow factories have started a strike of demonstration against the Moscow Conference.

Kerensky opens the Moscow Conference.