

- INTERNATIONAL -

Vol. 8. No. 62

PRESS14th September 1928**CORRESPONDENCE**

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

- The Results of the VI. Congress of the Communist International.
Wilhelm Koenen: The League of Nations' Imperialists Come Out in Their True Colours.
- China.**
A. Iwin: China under the Blessings of Peace.
- The Labour Movement.**
P. Merker: The Congress of the Labour Aristocracy.
Noel: Victory of the Seville Strikers.
Asargiri: The Labour Movement in Formosa.
- Union of Soviet Republics.**
V. V. Kuybychev: The Results of the Rationalisation of Industry in the Soviet Union.
- Sixth World Congress of the C. I.**
The Composition of the New Executive Committee of the Comintern.
- Workers' Sport Movement.**
Fritz Reussner: After the Successful Spartakiad.
- The Youth Movement.**
Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

The Results of the VI. Congress of the Communist International.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of September 4th, 1928.

The VI. Congress of the Communist International has finished its work. The resolutions of the Congress are of immense significance for the international proletariat and in regard to world revolution. It was a decidedly historic congress. Its resolutions penetrate the million-masses of the proletarians, they will be studied point by point by the proletarian revolutionaries and incorporated in living reality and daily work. These resolutions are beginning to encompass the masses and to convert them into a gigantic material power, which is tearing down the capitalistic order of society. The resolutions of the Congress are all the more significant as they represent an historic section, a new demarcation in the revolutionary world movement, and open up a broader range of tasks and a fresh stage of development.

Like a scarlet thread there runs through all the resolutions passed by the Congress a real, actual, essential fighting character. These are real resolutions for the warriors of the proletarian army. At the same time the resolutions of the Congress relate to a grand historic horizon; through deep Marx-Leninist analysis, they present specific tasks and directives for years to come, they illuminate with powerful torches the future path of the proletarian fight. The Congress explained the complicated network of the present world forces, it solved the burning and essential question of the revolutionary move-

ment, subjected the present stage of international development to a Bolshevik diagnostic examination, gave a decided answer to the question of the so-called "stabilisation", weighed on the precision balance of the scientific-Marxist analysis the perspectives which are opening, showed how capitalism, which in a number of countries is increasing its productive power, is producing on an extended basis tremendous contradictions, how the irrefutable logic of capitalistic development and of the development of the revolutionary fight is leading to an accumulation of inflammable material, pregnant with inevitable catastrophes, wars and revolutionary crises. Under such circumstances it is particularly necessary to make a thorough survey of the fight, to ponder the forces engaged in this fight: the forces of imperialism, which depends chiefly upon counter-revolutionary Social Democracy, and, on the other hand, the forces of international Communism. It is necessary that there should be a ruthless intensification of the fight against Social Democracy, a close-knit united front of the proletarians and of the oppressed nations against imperialism which is constantly becoming more insolent, against Fascism and against Social Democracy; it is necessary that we should carry through the tactical conversion already begun by a number of important sections of the Comintern and that a more determined fight should be waged against all opportunistic mistakes of the Right.

It was not by mere chance that the colonial question and the question of the danger of war took up such a great part of the work of the Congress. The historic process thrust these questions into the foreground. The Congress did not stop at merely pointing out the danger of war; it gave precise, concrete directives for the practical, every-day, revolutionary fight against the danger of war and war itself. The fight against the danger of war was treated by the Congress as the central slogan of the present period. The question of the revolutionary fight in the colonies and in semi-colonial countries was thoroughly elaborated by the Congress, whereby it should be remarked that the results of the discussion concerning the questions of the great Chinese revolution were co-ordinated and the so-called "Indian" problem was explained in all its detail. In regard to both groups of questions there was such fruitful discussion that its rich material will serve these problems for years.

The adoption of the programme of the Communist International was undoubtedly a fundamental resolution of the Congress, a resolution, which marked the Congress as a great historic stage. The programme incorporated a mighty collective thought and the fighting experience of the international revolutionary proletariat; it is one of the most valuable products of the revolutionary history of post-war times. The vanguard of the proletariat of all countries have long been waiting for this programme, and now they have got it. In it they have acquired a document which constitutes "a law unto millions" and it is not only a first-class weapon in the ideologic-theoretic fight against all the enemies of the workers, but also an excellent educative instrument for the barricade fighters of the proletarian revolution. To carry this programme to the masses, to the broad masses of the toilers, to explain it, to popularise it, to work conscientiously in this sphere, and not for one year only — that is one of the most important tasks of all sections of the Communist International.

The whole work of the Congress was carried out with unanimity and determination. The resolutions were passed unanimously. That is a fresh striking answer to all enemies who count upon a split in the ranks of international Leninism. It should be specially mentioned that all the representatives of the brother parties approved the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. To all the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union, who are working under the present difficult circumstances, this brotherly, comradely approval of the Congress will serve as a fresh impetus in the energetic, intensive work on all sectors of the broad front of Socialist construction.

The Congress passed a number of important resolutions concerning organisational questions and questions relating to individual Communist parties. It was the endeavour of the Congress to consolidate the Bolshevik leadership of the parties, to raise their theoretic-political level and their recruiting power among the masses. The statements of the Trotsky oppositional groups were unanimously rejected by the Congress.

The Congress energised the fight against the social traitors and thereby executed the tactical conversion: it naturally devoted serious attention to the purity and the Bolshevik determination of its rank and file and to the Rightward tendencies in the Communist parties due to the influence of opportunism. The Comintern is waging a most resolute fight against the danger from the Right, and will continue to do so in the future.

There are, of course, a few small-minded people who will be inclined to say: How quickly the Brussels Congress of the II. International got through its business, and how long the World Congress of the Communists had to sit! The fact that the Brussels Congress disposed so quickly of its shady business does not change the disgusting poverty and political debility represented by the sessions of the ossified bureaucrats and Jesuits of Socialistic opportunism. Even in their short common sessions the leaders of the II. International were unable to keep out "the scandals which arise in the best of families". On the other hand, the work of the VI. World Congress was distinguished throughout by its rich content and fruitfulness; every line of the documents accepted by the Congress was welded in the fire of the methods of revolutionary Marxism. The bold tramp of the international proletarian battalions found its echo in the hard work of the Congress.

The Leninist Comintern is faced by gigantic class events. The perspectives which are opening before it are undoubtedly favourable. "The mole of history burrows wonderfully!" is the way it is put in the manifesto of the Communist International. It is now a question of energetic revolutionary work to bring to fulfilment the resolutions of the Comintern. Therefore:

All the resolutions of the Congress must be carried deeper into the broad masses!

It is with this thought, with this slogan, that the representatives of the revolutionary parties left the Congress.

The League of Nations' Imperialists Come Out in Their True Colours.

By Wilhelm Koenen (Berlin).

At Geneva the imperialists were at last compelled to express openly and clearly their actual brutal and warlike intentions. The pacifist fog which enveloped the fifty meetings of the League of Nations has been torn aside. The imperialistic antagonisms stand out before us more glaringly than ever. Disarmament has been rejected with ruthless candour, with scorn and contempt. The competition in armaments and the threatening danger of war dominate everything. Incitement against the Soviet Union, which is accused of preaching civil war, comes to the front as the sole meaning and purpose of the capitalist League of Nations, as the only thing which unites the imperialist rulers. The social democrats of all countries stand in the pillory as the champions, as the most cunning spokesmen of the imperialist war-mongers.

After the clear imperialist declarations of alliance of the Japanese representative, and after the inciting imperialist speech of the Belgian Foreign Minister, which Breitscheid applauded, the speech of Briand, which was greeted with the same applause, created perfect clarity. It is characteristic of the situation that leading Liberal papers express their regret that this

brutal imperialist challenge was not brought forward by a socialist. The democratic papers mean that this belligerent speech is not in accordance with the spirit of the bourgeois angel of peace Briand, but is much rather in keeping with the standpoint of the leading social democrats of the Second International. The "Vossische Zeitung" writes:

"One would not have been surprised if Paul Boncour, as the representative of France, had today again expressed this standpoint which is essentially his. Paul Boncour, who is above suspicion in France, even by Prime Minister Poincaré, would have been able to say with much more courtesy and conciliation that which Briand had to express so bluntly and undiplomatically."

Rarely has the true role of the social democratic leaders been more clearly characterised at a turning point of foreign political development. Social democratic leaders as representatives of imperialists whose standpoint is the same as theirs, except that the former have greater capacity for veiling the war machinations by means of courtesy and conciliation!

This role of deceiving the working masses by concealing the actual state of affairs, has again been immediately taken over by the central organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The "Vorwärts" writes gently of a "polemic by Briand against Mueller" and of an "unfortunate speech". The rest of the press, from the "Left" democrats to that of the Fascists, dare not venture to **humbog their readers in such a manner**. They speak openly of the extreme sharpness of Briand's speech, describe it as crushing and as a **complete defeat for the foreign policy hitherto pursued by Germany**. While the German social democratic press only whines over the fact that Briand spoke so personally against Mueller; that he made use of several "unfortunate expressions", the bourgeois press unanimously declares that Briand's speech means a deliberate **abandonment of the Locarno policy**; that it represents a fundamental change in the entire foreign political orientation.

The background of Briand's speech is, as a matter of fact, the tremendous intensification of the imperialist contradictions in the whole world. It is simply the immediate expression of the fact that the **Anglo-American antagonism** can no longer be bridged over in the present imperialist phase. Briand expressly celebrated the **Anglo-French naval agreement** which has just been characterised by the American government as a hostile measure. Briand openly supported England's threatened world trade domination by characterising the rapid **reconstruction of the German mercantile fleet as preparation for war**. He pointed to the rapid growth of German big industry only in order to declare before all the world that the possibility of transferring this enormous industry to **war production** within a few days means a great increase in the danger of war. The new German imperialism is thereby placed by the French imperialist government in a position similar to that before the outbreak of war in 1914. This imperialist war attitude had now to be denounced so openly by Briand because the new German imperialism has in the last few months aimed openly at closer co-operation with American imperialism. That was bound to arouse the hostility of Great Britain.

With such an intensification of the imperialist antagonisms, along with an open rejection of any talk of disarmament, Anglo-French imperialism of course no longer thinks of abandoning its **positions of Power in the Rhineland** or giving them up before the stipulated time. Poincaré, already before the meeting of the League, as result of the premature enthusiasm of the German government for the Kellogg Pact, replied to Herr Stresemann that the evacuation of the Rhineland could only be discussed in connection with the settlement of debts due to America and with the security of the Polish corridor. This has had such a cooling effect upon the social democratic Ministers that Herr Mueller, in his Geneva speech, did not venture to utter a word regarding the evacuation of the Rhineland. All the more brusque, however, was the language of the opposing camp. The Belgian Foreign Minister, as the henchman of the new Anglo-French Entente Cordiale, added to the conditions of Poincaré that a **permanent control of the Rhineland** must be established. At the moment of the joint manoeuvres of English and French troops in the occupied territory this is an absolutely unambiguous standpoint.

The great agitational and propaganda campaign of German imperialism and its social democratic press hacks for the **immediate evacuation of the Rhineland has completely collapsed**. The new government of the Great coalition under social democratic leadership has not fulfilled also in this point its demagogic election promises. It has sustained a definite foreign political defeat the cost of which will have to be borne by the working population of the Rhineland and Westphalia.

The defeated German foreign politicians have only one hope left. Briand soberly told them that the international union of peoples, (i. e. the capitalist governments) must be upheld at all costs if its place is not to be **taken by another International**. He declared with emotion that then "Europe and the world would be swept by events which would be tantamount to a collapse of the present culture and civilisation". He supplemented this in his speech to the representatives of the Press with the remark that the Reichs Chancellor does not bear in mind the fact that "Russia considers civil war to be permissible".

That is the basis upon which the imperialists of all countries will, in the last resort, come together again. That is the basis upon which Briand and Cushendun will shake hands again with Stresemann and Mueller and Paul Boncour embrace Breitscheid. The "Vorwärts" has nothing else to say to this **attack by Briand on Russia** but that these declarations "render the question still more complicated". That is a **side issue** regarding which Briand had no need to speak, because there would of course have been complete unity on this common front.

The intensification of the imperialist antagonisms, the contemptuous attitude towards disarmament, the obviously increasing danger of war compel the proletariat to set up the united class front in every country and, in the fight against the threatening war danger, to rally still more closely round the Soviet Union.

CHINA

China under the Blessings of Peace.

By A. Iwin.

One of the characteristic phenomena of transforming China is the extraordinarily increasing activity of the Chinese bourgeoisie and of the bourgeois intelligentsia. Apart from the declarations, petitions, telegraphic circulars and various protests emanating from different chambers of commerce, there have been within the last few months numerous conferences, congresses and consultations, such as economic conferences, traffic conferences, financial consultations, the pan-Chinese conference of the organisations to manage the anti-Japanese boycott, the pedagogic congress, the conference of Chinese engineers, of lawyers and the V. plenum of the Executive Committee of Kuomintang.

"Of special note" — telegraphs the correspondent of the "Times" in a brief account of the results of this plenum — "is the sharp criticism on the part of the delegates from the circles of the workers, who point out that Chinese commerce and Chinese industry are being ruined by the greedy taxation..." "The merchants" — runs the concluding portion — "appear to have decided not to give up their campaign until an improvement has been achieved."

According to the "China Weekly Review", the valuable point in all these conferences, congresses and consultations is that Chinese civil servants and the leaders of the toiling section of the population have joined together in "common actions", a circumstance of extraordinary significance for the future unification of the country: The Liberal American organ naturally knows the true value of the broad resolutions, though it expresses the belief that, if only a tenth part of the accepted resolutions were put into effect, in the near future China would be treading "the path of national reconstruction", i. e., the path of construction of a bourgeois State.

If one takes only a cursory glance at the news from the provinces one is surprised at the amplitude of manifold projects, coming even from the darkest corners, chiefly projects touching the sorest spots not only of economy but also of politics in China, namely the improvement of transport. It is not merely a question of the building of highways and motor roads, of the laying of railways; in Kwantung, for instance, plans for a whole system of airways are being discussed. And when Chang Kai-shek waxes enthusiastic over the construction of a big fleet, he is, of course, flattering the national self-esteem of the Chinese bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact, if the years of revolution drew the Chinese working class together, aroused the Chinese village and drew great masses of the peasantry into the revolutionary stream, these years have also not passed without leaving some trace upon the bourgeoisie. Their class-consciousness has grown considerably, but their specific gravity and their activity have also increased. An exact study of all of the phenomena of this growth is just as necessary to objective knowledge of the immediate perspectives of the Chinese revolution as a proper light on the incessant fight of the worker and peasant masses.

This fight, of which we learn isolated episodes from brief telegrams, is in reality of fundamental significance in the whole of Chinese political life.

Here are a few facts:

Almost immediately after the plenum of Kuomintang had passed the resolution "to give the people complete freedom to organise within the provisions of the law", the Shanghai military and civil authorities issued the order forbidding all strikes, and their Peking colleagues — on the instructions of Yen Tsi Shan and Chang Kai-shek — suspended temporarily the activity of all the trade unions of Peking and Tientsin. According to official versions, the measure is the "result of the panic which seized the public on account of the possibility of disturbances made by the workers and of Communist movements".

Such feelings of panic are not characteristic of Peking and Shanghai only.

In Canton one hears constantly at present of "the preparations of a Communist conspiracy", and the whole town is in a state of siege, houses are being searched and executions carried out without trials, for, according to the cynical words of a respected member of the military staff, "the situation is so serious and the plans of the Communists so far reaching that the authorities have no time to waste on court proceedings." In Changsha, the capital town of the Province of Hunan, a state of siege is declared almost regularly twice a month. In Swatau the spectre of a Communist insurrection causes the Kuomintang authorities constantly to invent and resort to new means whereby to "intimidate the Reds". Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, has been trembling for two months before the partisans. Finally, in Hangchow, the capital of Chekiang, which is only a few hours' journey from Shanghai, a state of siege was recently proclaimed. As far as the country towns are concerned, where the gentry and landowners live within the walls, many of those which are outside the districts of the partisan movement go in constant fear of hostile villages. In the meanwhile the moment is constantly approaching when the question of the collection of rents will have to be faced by dozen of millions of families of Chinese tenant farmers.

On this basis we may expect a number of dramatic incidents from the further development of Japanese intervention, further aggravation of the competition among the imperialist powers, the further deepening of the fight within Kuomintang, finally the further intensification of the activity of the bourgeoisie in view of the noticeable general revival of the Labour movement, which incidents will again draw the world's attention to China.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Congress of the Labour Aristocracy.

By P. Merker (Hamburg).

The 13th congress of the German General Federation of Trade Unions (A. D. G. B.) is a valuable means by which the international working class can gauge the "process of Americanising" the German free trade unions. The opening session already showed what the result of this congress would be. The first words of the president of the Federation, Leipart, which he addressed to the delegates before the opening of the congress, referred to the fight against the revolutionary Opposition. By imputing to the supporters of the revolutionary opposition the shameful acts committed by the Reichsbanner, this "Defence Corps" of the Republic, against the members of the trade union youth, Leipart found a "reason" for excluding the Communist and Soviet Russian press representatives from the session.

Immediately after the scandalous action Herr Leipart greeted "with particular joy the representatives of the Government" (Herr Curtius, a heavy industrial capitalist and Minister of Economy, and the social imperialist Minister for Labour Herr

Wissel), as well as the "most esteemed ministerial officials" amidst the same tumultuous applause of the assembled labour aristocrats (among the delegates there are only eight workers from the factories) which he received when he had the representatives of the revolutionary press thrown out and abused the Communists as a gang of criminals.

The speeches which were delivered and the motions which were adopted on the two points on the agenda: "Report of the Executive" and "Realisation of Economic Democracy", clearly outlined the confines in which the "work" of the Congress would proceed. The Congress, which had not a single word to say regarding the necessity for international solidarity of the working class and of the fight against armaments and the danger of war, pursued the aim of binding the German free trade union movement still more firmly to the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie.

The close collaboration between the leaders of the A. D. G. B. and the capitalist State and economic organs was classically illustrated by the behaviour and the speeches of the three cabinet minister present, Herren Curtius, Wissel and Se-vering, as well as by the various speeches of the numerous ministerial officials who were present.

The very liberal effusions of the ministers, the declaration of their agreement with the task of "realising economic democracy" set by the Congress, the joint indication of the necessity of submitting to all measures of the trade unions for promoting the "general interests", prove that not a step was taken by the Federation Executive without the approval of these ministers. Therefore, the discussion was diverted in good time, by the pressure of the Executive of the German Social Democratic Party, into peaceful channels.

No discord was allowed to disturb the harmony at the Congress between the Federation Executive and the coalition government.

The report of the Federation Executive read out by Leipart, and later by Grassmann, was exceedingly poor and lacking in content. The "attitude" to the question of wages and working hours was settled by simply pointing out that this question is a matter for the conferences of the individual trade unions. There was no perspective regarding the future development and the tasks arising therefrom. The report showed nothing more than the various measures carried out in agreement with the policy of the Executive of the Social Democratic Party. With the words:

"The German workers stand by the Republic and the present people's State which they have helped to create... We want the German Republic to be a really new State, a State of social justice, a State of full, true, democratic freedom and culture"

recognition was again paid to the present capitalist State, in order thereby at the same time to form the basis for the theory on the "realisation of economic democracy" proclaimed in the second item on the agenda.

With regard to industrial arbitration, the present veiled attitude was maintained:

"We of course do not reject State arbitration... Binding awards must be confined to exceptional cases in which the public interests are really concerned... If the employers willingly stand on the basis of tariff agreements, then the tariff arbitration bodies will be able to a great extent, to take over the functions of the State arbitrator and make binding awards superfluous."

That is the same view as that laid down in the reform proposals of the employers.

With regard to the organisational relations of the unions the report refers to the three year-books of the A. D. G. B. for the years 1925/27. Since the Breslau Congress the number of affiliated unions has fallen from 40 to 35 as a result of various amalgamations. The membership has increased in the course of the year 1928. The membership at the present time is said to be 4,600,000. Thus the free trade unions, in spite of

the good business position obtaining in Germany, which created conditions favourable for winning new members, have not yet reached the membership figures of the year 1924, which averaged 4,618,000 for the year. The number of women members has declined; the number of youth members has increased but slightly.

In the discussion on the Executive's report fierce attacks were made on the arbitration organs. With the exception of the Communists, however, the speakers in the discussion were in favour of keeping to arbitration. The motions brought forward by the opposition were not even subjected to discussion, but were immediately rejected.

On the second point on the agenda a bourgeois economist, **Naphtali**, read a theses worked out together by a number of bourgeois doctors and professors under the leadership of **Sinzheimer**, **Hilferding** and **Nölting** on the "realisation of Economic Democracy", in which radical phrases were not lacking. In order to conceal from the workers the true character of economic democracy the speaker declared:

"The call for economic democracy has nothing to do with any industrial harmony swindle. We do not believe that any fruit will fall into our laps without a struggle. With this demand we call for a tenacious and intensified fight for the freeing and development of the cultural forces of the working class, for the realisation of Socialism."

The leading idea of the entire report can be summarised in the following formula: The realisation of Economic Democracy is the road to Socialism. Economic Democracy realised is the socialist system of economy. The way to this goal leads through work in the democratic State. It leads, step by step, over the democratising of economy, to Socialism.

The democratising of economy is to be achieved through the democratic State exerting influence over private capitalist monopoly and by the formation of an "economic leadership" in the shape of the National Economic Council and the District Economic Councils on a democratic basis. In these organs the representatives of the trade unions and the representatives of the employers shall control economy jointly. At the same time they shall, alongside of the State control, take part in the management of the monopolist organisations.

Eggert, of the Federation Executive, had to admit in the discussion that the only opponents of this standpoint are the Communists. Not a single bourgeois newspaper has opposed the "realisation of Economic Democracy." As on the first item of the agenda, so also against these bourgeois views regarding economic peace the three Communist delegates present upheld the interests of the revolutionary class struggle. In spite of the fierce resistance on the part of the labour aristocrats present at the Congress the Communist delegates adopted a determined attitude to the questions and declared that the Congress, which wishes to make the theory on the "realisation of Economic Democracy" the basis of the free trade union movement, is looking after the interests of the German imperialist bourgeoisie.

The Congress has completely confirmed the views and decisions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. regarding the role and development of the reformist bureaucracy towards social imperialism. From this there arise definite consequences for the revolutionary Opposition. It must increase its activity among the masses and set up as its immediate aim the creation of a new leadership of the proletarian class struggle by winning the confidence of the trade union organised masses.

Victory of the Seville Strikers.

By P. Noel (Barcelona).

The Strike in Seville has ended in a magnificent victory for the workers. In spite of the stubbornness of the employers, in spite of all the persecutions of the government, which in the first two weeks of the movement had 400 workers arrested and caused the civil guard to fire on demonstrating workers, the employers and the authorities had to climb down on the twenty-fifth day of the strike.

As is known, the employers had tried to reduce wages, which according to collective agreement were fixed at 7 Pesetas a day, to 6 and even to 5 Pesetas and in addition to compel the workers to work overtime without any extra pay, which was likewise contrary to the terms of the collective agreement. In the agreement concluded on the 1st of September the employers undertook to pay the following wages: 7 Pesetas a day for unskilled workers, 9 Pesetas for improvers and 10 Pesetas for the fully qualified workers. In addition, the agreement provides for the eight-hour day, and in the event of overtime being worked in connection with the erection of the Spanish-American Exhibition, such overtime must not exceed 120 hours in the year and must be agreed to beforehand by the workers. At the same time this overtime must be paid according to the extra rates provided by law.

As is to be seen, the building workers of Seville have won a complete victory such as had not been recorded in Spain since primo de Rivera's coup d'état. The movement owes its success to the following circumstances: In the first place the building workers' union, which is under Communist leadership, put forward demands which were most urgent for the workers and by means of which they were able to mobilise all the building workers. On the other hand, the union had conducted an energetic propaganda (in June and July) and so built up its organisation that, in spite of all the persecution which had to be reckoned with, it had the leadership of the movement at every moment completely in hand. Finally, the union chose the most favourable moment for commencing the movement by taking into account that the government and the employers had already officially announced the date of the opening of the Exhibition, on the erection of which the greater part of the building workers are at present engaged.

Another important factor contributing to the victory was the **political character** which the movement assumed right from the first moment and which led to the strike being supported by the declaration of a **general strike** on the part of the workers of the whole town.

The fact that the greater part of the building workers are engaged on the erection of the Exhibition buildings caused the government, immediately on the outbreak of the strike, to resort to the sharpest measures in order to throttle the movement. The governor of Seville, who had gone to Madrid in order to obtain orders from Primo de Rivera, published during the first days of the strike daily bulletins on the "revolutionary character" of the strike so as to justify the terrorist measures which he applied in order to suppress it. This action, however, did not by any means achieve the desired result. The strike, which commenced as an economic struggle, became converted almost automatically into a movement directed **against the government itself**. A second result was the awakening of the proletarian solidarity of the working class of the whole town, who came to the aid of the striking building workers in their fight against the government so that for a time 40,000 workers were involved in the struggle.

The general strike of Seville is a fresh proof of the reawakening fighting spirit of the Spanish proletariat which the dictatorship is unable to crush even with the sharpest measures.

The general strike of Seville further shows the increasing class consciousness of the Spanish workers. The political significance of this movement and the fact that the government and the employers have sustained a defeat will contribute to restore the revolutionary spirit of the Spanish working class.

Of considerable importance was the role of the Communist Party, which right from the first moment stood at the head of this movement and which every day is becoming more and more the leader of the Spanish proletariat in its fight for its economic demands and its first political battles with the dictatorship.

The Labour Movement in Formosa.

By Asagiri (Formosa).

The great island of Formosa is one of Japan's most valuable colonies. Its present population is about 4 millions. It supplies Japan with various raw materials (sugar cane, camphor, wood, ores). The economic policy of Japan, aiming at squeezing maximum profits out of its colonies, has effectuated an intense capitalist development of Formosa. The peasants' land has been appropriated for capitalist plantations. This has caused a rush of landless peasants to the cities, greatly increasing the supply of cheap labour.

Since about 1914, industry has developed rapidly in Formosa, and a considerable proletariat has already been formed. In 1921 this proletariat already numbered about 100,000, of whom 45,000 were employed in the industries. 55% of the persons employed are women. Besides these workers, there are more than 200,000 handicraft workers. The number of works and factories working with power driven machinery is 1266; further 1575 undertakings work without power machines. The total of undertakings is thus 2841.

Most of these workers are engaged in the foodstuffs industry, which employs 26,042 men and women workers, and possesses but little power driven machinery. The chemical industry, considerably mechanised, follows with 11,118 workers. The third place is taken by the machine building trade with 1478 workers, the fourth by the textile industry with 1091.

The workers are nearly all natives, only few Japanese (8.1%) being employed, and very few of these being rank and file workers, but generally occupying privileged positions as managers, foremen, etc.

The Japanese capitalists exploit their dominant position to the utmost, compelling the natives to work for much smaller wages than the Japanese workers. The native worker receives on an average only one half of the wages of a Japanese worker. Data received from the various districts show the average daily wage of the Japanese worker to be 1.73 yen as compared with 0.98 for the native. The native agricultural labourers receive only one third of the average wage of the Japanese worker.

Up to very recently, the prevailing political persecution has entirely prevented any organisation. Since 1926, however, a certain tendency towards organisation has been observable, and the first trade unions formed. At the present time the woodworkers have four unions, the builders two, the textile workers two, the metal workers two, the dye workers one, and the sugar workers one. Besides this there is a miners' union and a "Workers' Mutual Aid Society" recruited from various categories of workers. The process of organising the workers proceeds very slowly. The authorities do the utmost in their power to throw obstacles in the way of the movement, and are forcing the active elements among the workers to conspirative methods (they carry on their activities under the guise of photographers, pedlars, and the like).

During the last few years the revolutionary elements of Japanese youth, establishing contact with the masses in spite of all hindrances, have been attempting to arouse the native workers from their passivity, and to induce them to take part in active struggles. One of the movements resulting was the strike of the typographical workers of Formosa, which lasted one month (from 21st July till 21st August 1927). The strikers demanded higher wages and shorter working hours, which were refused by the employers. The workers held out heroically in the face of great privations, but the employers succeeded in obtaining Japanese scab labour, thus forcing the strike to be abandoned.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

The Results of the Rationalisation of Industry in the Soviet Union.

Comrade V. V. Kuybyshev's Report at the Plenary Session of the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Comrades!

The fundamental principles for the rationalisation of industry, establishing rules of guidance for the whole working class and for industry for a long time to come, were contained in the resolution passed by the C. C. of the Party in March 1927 on the question of the "rationalisation of industry". This resolution lays down the main lines of rationalisation as follows:

"The improvement of technics and the organisation of production must be carried on along three main lines: The first of these is the equipment of new works and factories with the latest achievements of technical science. The second is a fundamental reorganisation of the undertakings already existing, the improvement of their technical equipment and working conditions. The third is the carrying out of a number of practical measures for the most exhaustive possible utilisation of the existing machinery and for the reorganisation of production."

The first two of these provisions involve an increase in the basic capital of industry and the erection of new factories, the launching new undertakings. The re-equipment and reorganisation of existing undertakings, too, generally involves a considerable increase of basic capital. The 14th Party Congress, and later the 15th Party Conference, recognised this in dealing with the increase of basic capital as part of the process of rationalisation. The 15th Party Conference pointed out that:

"all the forces of the Party and the Soviet state must be harnessed in order to achieve this increase of basic capital, for it is the prerequisite for the gradual reorganisation of our whole national economy on a higher technical basis. We must strive to overtake and pass, in the historically comparatively shortest period of time, the level of industrial development attained by the leading capitalist countries".

The material foundation taken over from pre-revolutionary days is insignificant and the inability to obtain loans is a further handicap to our national economy, so that our progress on these two paths to rationalisation must therefore necessarily throw an enormous strain on our inner resources. Our poverty has here imposed very definite limits. However, the possibilities of industrial reconstruction are not exhausted by these first two. **The resources already existing are much too little exploited.** The third possibility referred to in the resolution of the Central Committee of the Party — the carrying out of a number of measures for the maximum improvement and most efficient utilisation of existing resources — is therefore of paramount importance for us.

My present report deals with the work being done towards rationalisation in this direction, that is, for the more intensive exploitation of what we already have, and for the more efficient application of the industrial basic capital at our disposal.

It must be admitted that at present our existing resources are being but imperfectly exploited, and that there is still much to be done in this direction.

The New Stage of Industrial Rationalisation.

The rationalised undertaking is distinguished by mass production, standardised quality, the application of the best methods of organisational technics, and uninterrupted working. So far our rationalisation has consisted chiefly of technological processes. Technical processes have been mechanised and improved and old methods replaced by new.

We are already able to observe the attainment of a new stage in our rationalisation work. **The rationalisation of the individual undertaking is dependent on the necessary rationalisation of its outer connections**, on its relations to other factories, to the trusts, to the whole national economy. If this or that factory is to introduce standardised and uninterrupted mass production, it is imperative that measures be taken extending far beyond the confines of this individual undertaking. **The undertaking must be specialised**; each separate link in the process of production must be accorded its place. Above all, production must be standardised if mass production is to be efficient. This means that the separate factories must collaborate, must organise a division of labour. The rationalisation of production is, therefore, a wide problem, which can be solved only by the strenuous mutual efforts of the whole working class, its State, and its Party organisation.

The Rationalisation of Technological Processes.

Although the work which we have so far accomplished towards the rationalisation of technical processes is but trifling (trifling in comparison with what we have to accomplish), we can nevertheless record much greater advancement in this direction than in other departments of rationalisation. The energy and initiative of the working class are directed in the first place to the technological process; for every step towards the organisation of work in any undertaking, towards the introduction of better methods of production, the better exploitation of the machinery, the attainment of greater speed for the machines, etc., is taken under the eyes of the co-workers in production, and their forces are devoted to a great extent to this part of the work.

In the coal industry this aspect of rationalisation is bringing with it the mechanisation of coal production. Efforts in this direction have been carried on for some years, so that here considerable progress is to be recorded. In 1926/27 the output of coal by mechanical methods was two and a half times greater than in 1925/26. This year (1927/28 21.7% of the total coal output will be produced by mechanised methods, as compared with 13% in 1926/27 and 3.1% in 1923/24. (It may be observed in parentheses that with this we exceed this year the mechanised coal output of Great Britain, where 20% of the total coal output is produced by mechanised methods.) The rate of development of mechanisation has been somewhat less this year than in the previous one, nevertheless one and a half times more coal has been produced mechanically this year than last year.

The number of mechanised pits has almost doubled. The machinery is more thoroughly utilised, and its productivity increased.

In the iron-working industry mechanisation is proceeding much more slowly.

In the electric industry not only the mechanisation of the various working processes is of importance, but the mechanisation of factories manufacturing electric apparatuses and insulators. Mechanisation has made most progress in the lamp factories. In many cases processes hitherto carried out by hand alone have been not only mechanised, but automatised. The working productivity of an automatic machine exceeds tenfold that of the women and girls hitherto employed on this work.

In the chemical industry many factories have been mechanised.

When we speak of the rationalisation of technical processes, we must keep in mind not only mechanisation but the introduction of new working methods. Such new methods have already been widely introduced in Soviet Russia. The naphtha industry especially has attained splendid results. Since 1925/26 the Asnepht and Grosnepht have been using the circular drill.

These instances suffice to show that our undertakings have already advanced far in the rationalisation of technological processes, and that the workers and technical staffs of the factories and works can boast of considerable achievements. These achievements are due to the overcoming of deficiencies and faults in the production process, thanks to the creative energy and will of the workers.

Continuous Working.

I have already pointed out that the most perfect method of production is that in which the working process is carried on continuously, without interruption. We have already achieved something in this direction, even if not a great deal. About 70—80 undertakings in the Soviet Union have introduced the method of continuous work. The factories of the Moskvoschvei Trust for instance, which have thereby greatly increased the general working productivity of the enterprise.

The introduction of the continuous working method has achieved surprising results in the factories manufacturing agricultural machinery. The factory "Kommunan", for instance, records an increase of production of more than 50%.

Continuous working has not only the advantage that production is increased, but it effectuates a greater working productivity and a reduction of the costs of production. Where the process of production proceeds uninterruptedly, the time required for production is lessened, a factor of great importance.

The practical results attained by the G. E. T. (State Electric Trust), by the shoe industry, and by the waggon building trade, in which the continuous working method has been partially introduced, show that the introduction of the method brings extremely favourable results.

Where the working process is carried on uninterruptedly, the working discipline and organisation of the whole undertaking is better. Many examples from actual practice show that idling and dilatoriness cease, that strict discipline is observed, etc.

Continuous working, as the most perfect form of organisation of the process of production, is in complete harmony with socialist rationalisation. Its advantages are a considerable cheapening of the costs of production, increased production, superior quality, and an improved material position for the workers. At the same time we must not forget those difficulties which still impede our progress towards production on the continuous working method. The undertakings here mentioned have by no means reached these favourable results all at once. Regarded from the standpoint of co-operation with spheres of work of the same industry, or with the industrial trusts or trusts concerned, this highest form of rationalisation is at the same time the most complicated.

The possibility of applying the methods of continuous production is further determined by the question of the sales market. This is the reason why we have not been able to introduce this method into every undertaking. A disparity between supply and demand must be avoided. In the textile machinery trade, for instance, our production has been such that our market is showing signs of being glutted.

Were we to introduce the continuous working system into every undertaking, this would lead to a glutting of the markets within three or four years. We must reckon with actual limitations. And yet the question of the market is not our greatest difficulty, for our goods shortage is still great. The greatest difficulty is **supplying the factories with raw materials and semi-manufactures**. Unless an undertaking is supplied with raw materials on rationalised lines, continuous production leads to stoppages and interruptions, even to closing down, which is disadvantageous not only from the standpoint of rationalisation, but from the standpoint that such a state of affairs compromises the idea of rationalisation itself.

Our raw material supply is a widely ramified problem, and united and determined work is required, not only from the factories of one branch of industry, but of all, if this important form of production is to function uninterruptedly. All this goes to confirm my assertion that the process of rationalisation has passed beyond the bounds of the individual undertaking. The questions raised by rationalisation concern not only the separate factories, but extend to the whole of that branch of industry, or even to all industries.

The Specialisation of Production.

The third form of rationalisation is the specialisation and concentration of the factories and undertakings.

Unlimited possibilities lie before us in the sphere of specialisation of production; here we possess immeasurable advan-

tages over the capitalist states. In capitalist countries any specialisation has generally been of a most elementary character, adapting itself to some competition in the market. It is true that the capitalist states have greatly concentrated their industries, especially in Germany and the United States in the last ten years since the war, and this concentration has made possible "systematic" regulation of the industries of the capitalist world, but on the whole the possibilities of this "systematic" regulation are much smaller in the capitalist world than in ours. We can go much further in specialisation and attain much more far-reaching results. At the same time it must be admitted at once that **this specialisation in works and factories is still in an embryonic stage in Soviet Russia.**

Specialisation is taking place in two directions: The specialisation of the products and the specialisation of the technical processes. Up to the present our most conspicuous achievements have been in the specialisation of products. That is, our factories or trusts have been specialised for one certain product, or for a limited number of products.

Comparatively speaking, the textile industry has made the greatest progress towards specialisation. Here we can record definite achievements. In some factories specialisation has become an accomplished fact. This specialisation has been greatly aided by the concentration of the trusts.

In the paper industry production has been increased by 48% by specialisation and rationalisation; we are producing one and half times more than before the war.

In the electric industry equal progress has resulted from specialisation. The G. E. T. has drawn up and carried out an extensive plan for the specialisation of the factories, each undertaking being allocated one certain product or a small number of products. The manufacture of tramway motors and generators for lighting trains has been concentrated in the "Dynamo" works, whilst the "Electric" works specialise in installation material, the "Electrosila" works in generators, etc.

The metal industry opens out wide possibilities, but up to the present little advance has been made here towards specialisation, although our national economy renders it so imperative. The reason for this is to be found partly in the great difficulties encountered by rationalisation and specialisation in the metal industry. As is known, we are suffering from a great shortage of metal. The speed at which the various branches of the metal industry develop does not suffice to meet the demands of the country. We must admit that in the metal industry the process of specialisation has just begun, and could not possibly have begun sooner, so great is the shortage of metal.

The Ural metal trust did not begin to specialise its factories until quite recently. The factories of the Southern Steel trust are somewhat more advanced. Much success has been gained in the manufacture of agricultural machinery, the pre-war level of output having been surpassed by means of restricting the separate factories to a small number of products. The first steps taken towards specialisation here have been attended by conspicuous success.

Specialisation plays an important part as a general factor in the increase of production. At the same time it has an immediate effect on the costs of production, and is one of the best means of reducing these. Therefore, specialisation has an important task to fulfil in the coming period of our industrial development.

It need scarcely be said that the question of the specialisation of our undertakings cannot be settled by a mere stroke of the pen, nor by merely weaving plans. It is a complicated problem, and every force tending to rationalisation must be focussed upon it. The most important institutions, the whole of the organs of the People's Supreme Economic Council, must devote the greatest attention to this problem. In the Five Years' Plans, and in one Year's Plans for the reconstruction of industry, the tasks of the specialisation of production must be clearly defined. The Five Years' Plan to be submitted next April to the government and the Party gives definite directions with respect to the specialisation of every branch of industry. It is equally necessary for the question of specialisation to be accorded due attention in the plan drawn up for 1928/29 for the utilisation of capital and the reconstruction of industry.

Standardisation of Production.

Standardisation is an indispensable condition for the rationalisation of production. The rationalisation of technological processes can be fully effectual only if combined with essential advancement in standardisation.

Much has been done already, but we must admit a lack of system, a lack of adequate connection between standardisation and the general work of rationalisation. I could adduce various figures showing that we are beginning to compete with the capitalist countries in standardisation, that we have overtaken Germany and the United States in our number of standards and have even passed other countries. This does not, however, decide the question. The introduction of a standard is not the most important point, but the adherence to it, especially to those standards important for the rationalisation of production. If those standards already set up are adhered to, we shall thereby be able already to comprise one-third of our production.

The main drawbacks of our work in this direction are, therefore, insufficient system and insufficient adherence to standards. In machine-building our standardisation is extremely slight, although this is one of the most important prerequisites for the rationalisation of the whole of our industries.

The factory "Russkiy Diesel", which no longer manufactures separate machines, but only standardised machinery, can record considerable success. Among other machine builders special mention may be made of the undertakings of the Ukrainian Trust for Agricultural Machinery, in which the number of machine types has been greatly reduced. The standardisation of a few types is becoming increasingly common in the textile trade. This process does not by any means clash with the interests of the markets. When at the end of 1927, the press began a campaign against the drawback alleged to have arisen from the standardisation of the textile trade, the Co-operative Central defended the efforts of the People's Supreme Economic Council. It is of course no easy task to meet the demands of the market with only a few descriptions of fabrics, and we must admit the existence of deficiencies here. Some factory managements complain that their machines are not being utilised to their full capacity, owing to standardisation. In spite of all this, the advantages of standardisation preponderate, and the restriction of the varieties of fabrics produced has made possible advancement towards rationalisation.

Standardisation is applicable both to quantity and quality. The standardisation of quantity may be observed in the forestry industry. Qualitative standardisation has been attained especially in the chemical, food and sugar industries, and in part in mining.

Both quantitative and qualitative standardisation are of extreme importance for our export.

Co-operation of the Undertakings.

The co-operation of undertakings among themselves is the highest form of rationalisation.

It is a regrettable fact that this co-operation among our undertakings is still very backward. Co-operation among undertakings is only possible when these are specialised and standardised, and our undertakings are still only at the commencement of this work. The individual factories are not to blame for this, for they themselves can scarcely take steps toward co-operation. It is impossible for one factory in the Soviet Union to go in search of another with the idea of combining forces to bring about a certain effect in production. These preliminaries must be effected by the leading industrial organs. The situation may be characterised in the main as follows: Co-operation among the undertakings — the highest form of rationalisation — encounters in actual practise a number of obstacles, as for instance, our low technical standard, the great geographical distance between our industrial districts, our low cultural level, etc. All these difficulties are of a somewhat serious nature. They must be overcome at all costs, and due importance attached to co-operation among our undertakings.

The Difficulties of Rationalisation.

There are objective and subjective difficulties in the way of rationalisation. Among the objective difficulties I already mentioned the low level of our technical basis, which forms one of the main stumbling blocks in the path of rapid rationalisation. But there are also other objective difficulties. One of these is the low stage of development of our technical education and general culture. The statistics of illiteracy for our country are in themselves ample proof of how far we are behind other countries, in spite of the huge strides forward which we have made of late years. In Germany the number of the totally illiterate is 0.04%, in England 0.7%, in France about 8.9%, in the United States 5.9%, but in the R. S. F. S. R., in 1926, 42.2%.

It must of course be taken into account that our country is a peasant country. If we take the city population by itself, the number of illiterate is considerably less. As regards technical education, there are 55,000 technical employees in the whole of the Soviet Union, of whom 30.4% have enjoyed higher technical training and 30.4% medium training, whilst 39.2% have received no technical education whatever, and have only learnt by actual practice. Not only is our industry as a whole very poorly equipped with technical staffs and engineers, but many important individual industries suffer from the same shortage — the chemical industry, for instance, which is confronted at the present time with the solution of complicated problems. A large number of our technical employees have received only a medium education, or have gained their knowledge in the works and factories themselves. Party members form only a small percentage of our technical workers; only 10.8% of the specialists, belong to the Party. If we take the engineers with high school education, we find only 0.81% are Party members. Among the old engineers in the Soviet Union, the best qualified are for the most part hostile and perform their work under compulsion. All this shows how poor we are in technical collaborators. We must strive to supplement our technical cadres by inviting foreign specialists to our country, and by educating our own specialists as rapidly as possible.

I do not bring forward all these difficulties for the purpose of excusing the defects of our rationalisation. The advantages of the Soviet system, as compared with the systems obtaining in other countries, are great enough to compensate for these difficulties. There is no sphere of rationalisation in which the Soviet administration does not give industry the possibility of removing these faults inherited from the old system: the low level of our industry, the shortage of specialists, etc. We have in our own hands every possibility for the rationalisation of our production; we possess possibilities of standardisation such as exist nowhere else in the world.

The Organs of the Rationalisation of Production.

It must be admitted there is a lack of efficient leadership in our rationalisation. We workers in national economy must confess, with Bolshevik candour, that we have not done all we should. Our rate of our work has been insufficient; in spite of all difficulties more might have been done. The problem of rationalisation, in actual practice, has not been given due attention by the trade union and Party organs, the specialists and technical staffs.

The People's Supreme Economic Council is organising special organs for the rationalisation of the factories, trusts, and leading institutions, and is enlarging the organ already existing alongside the People's Supreme Economic Council for this purpose. The system thus formed does not however, release the economic organs from the responsibility of rationalisation. Both trusts and factories must continue to share this responsibility.

The rôle played by the trade unions and the Party is extremely important. The production conferences and control commissions play a leading part. Much has already been achieved, but there is still much to be desired. The production conferences do not carry enough weight. The relations between the control commissions and the economic organs are not always correct, and the leaders of the latter do not always give sufficient support to the commissions. This must be determinedly combated and fundamentally changed. The production conferences must become one of the most important factors in the rationalisation of industry.

THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS

The Composition of the New Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Moscow, 6th September 1928.

The following is the composition of the Executive Committee of the Comintern elected by the sixth World Congress: Americo-Ledo, Barbé, Bell, Blenkle, Boshkovitch, Bukharin, Campbell, Carillo, Ghioldi, Chitarov, Dengel, Ercoli, Ferdi, Fermin-Araya, Foster, Furubotn, Gomez, Gottwald, Hsing, Humbert-Droz, Jacquemotte, Jilek, Katayama, Kato, Kilboom, Kolarov, Kopleng, Kun, Kuusinen, Lenski, Likuang, Losovsky, Lovestone, Manner, Manuilski, Mickievitch, Molotov, Musso, Pieck, Piatnitzky, Popescu, Pruchniak, Remmele, Rust, Rykov, Samuelson, Semard, Serra, Skryppik, Smeral, Spector, Stalin, Syphneios, Thälmann, Thorez, Chatergee, Tchiu-Vito, Wieser, Zetkin.

The following were elected as candidates of the E. C. C. I.: Asanow, Billoux, Bosnitch, Darsano, Dimitrov, Doriot, Ewert, Frachon, Garlaudi, Gillo, Gyptner, Guanli, Gussev, Hansen, Heckert, Horner, Huiswood, Kavanagh, Lopez, Lovitzki, Maloka, Moirea, Monmousseau, Maorodchi, Pasqual, Pollit, Purmann, Riasho, Schneller, Sillen, Sokolik, Thoegersen, Tchangpiao, Tchauki, Tchengkuang, Turni, Ulbricht, Varga, Verzik, de Visser, Yaroslavski and Zapotocky.

The following were elected as members of the International Control Commission:

Angaretis, Anvelt, Cachin, Codovilla, Eberlein, Flieg, Gorkitch, Hsuyen, Iskrov, Felix Kon, Maggi, Mondok, Murphy, Shargi, Sirola, Solz, Stefanescu, Stutchka, Tchengtchen, Weiss, Winestone and Tchakaya.

WORKERS' SPORT MOVEMENT

After the Successful Spartakiad.

By Fritz Reussner (Moscow).

The Spartakiad in the Soviet Union has been a success for the whole international sport movement. The twelve festival days of the Soviet Union workers' sports were at the same time twelve days of struggle against bourgeois sport, against the Amsterdam Olympic Sports, against the war armaments of the imperialists — and for proletarian solidarity, for the international unity of workers' sport.

All the calumniations spread abroad by the reformist sport leaders of the Lucerne Sport International have completely broken down. In spite of the Terror exercised, many members of the Lucerne Sport International took part in the festival of workers' sport. Most important of all is the fact that many social democrats insisted on seeing the Spartakiad with their own eyes, and forming their own judgment on how matters are looking in the Soviet Union. Two sections of the Lucerne Sport International, England and Esthonia, took official part in the Spartakiad in spite of everything done to prevent them. The foreign delegations, after a sojourn of several weeks in the Soviet Union, after visiting many works and factories, social institutions, etc., and after coming in close contact with people from every stratum of the population, resolved on their own initiative to make a declaration of solidarity with the Soviet Union. It was with heavy hearts that these delegates bid farewell to the Soviet Union, and many of them expressed their regret at having to return to capitalist serfdom after these few days in proletarian freedom. The delegations visited not only Moscow, but its environs, and had the opportunity of seeing other industrial districts. The French comrades visited Ural, some of the Finnish comrades Ukraine, and nearly all the delegations Leningrad.

Facts and figures best demonstrate the enormous success of the Spartakiad, in spite of some slight deficiencies in the technics of organisation.

A number of participators came to Moscow on foot or bicycle. Pedestrians came from Germany and Central Asia. Comrades cycled from Sweden. The Moscow trade unions undertook officially to provide for the foreign delegations.

41 nationalities took part in the Spartakiad. This characterises its really international character. Four continents were represented: Europe, Asia, America, and Africa. At the Lucerne Olympic Sports only European countries were represented.

The Spartakiad roused the interest of the masses of the people. About a million spectators visited the sports and celebrations during the 12 days of the Spartakiad. The great sport festival on the Moscow river alone was visited by about 300,000 persons.

The football matches attracted about 250,000 spectators, light athletics 40,000, the swimming matches 25,000. The rest of a million spectators was made up by those visiting the other mass festivals and sports.

3000 men and 879 women from the Soviet Union took part in the sports. 542 men and 70 women came from abroad.

The following interesting figures show the age of the competitors: from 17 to 21 years 37.8%; from 22 to 26, 35.9%; from 27 to 31, 13.9%; from 32 upwards 11.3%, etc.

It is of equal interest to note how many years the competitors have engaged in sport. 1 to 2 years, 18.8%; 3 to 5 years, 37.2%; 6 to 10 years, 2.7%, etc.

Among the sportsmen from the Soviet Union there were: 14% members of the C.P. of the Soviet Union; 19.1% members of the Youth League, and 66.9% non-party.

The trade union best represented numerically was the employees' union: 17.8%, followed by the metal workers' union with 17%, the railmen's union with 7.1%, etc.

505 umpires and 115 sport physicians attended the Spartakiad, 3827 competitors were subjected to medical examination. Of these 823 were women. 111 of the total number of competitors were excluded from the sports by medical advice.

80 new records in various branches of sport, were set up in the course of the sports. The technical efficiency shown was high, showing that our International, besides carrying the work of class education and participating actively in political and trade union life, accords due attention to the technics of sport. The results of the Moscow Spartakiad have surpassed those of the Frankfort Olympic Sports of the Lucerne International. We need only to glance at the light athletics results. The bracketed figures are the best results of the Olympic Sports held at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

Men: Flat 100 metres = 109 yards 10.8 secs. (11.2); 200 metres 22.0 (23.2); 400 metres 50.2 (51.6); 800 metres 2:00.9 (1:59.0); 1500 metres 4:08.8 (4:07.7); 5000 metres 15:42.2 (15:31.0); 10,000 metres 32:34.0 (32:21.5); 110 metres hurdle race 16.1 (16.4); 400 metres hurdle race 57.8 (58.0); 4 times 100 metre relay race 43.5 (44.0); broad jump 6.96 metre (6.88); high jump 1.85 metre (1.79); pole vault 3.60 metre (3.44); ball throwing 63.95 metres (55.96); putting the weight 12.76 metres (12.98); discus throwing: 41.55 metres (41.23); javelin 61.77 metres (55.07).

Women: 100 metres 12.6 (13.0); discus throwing 26.41 metres (20.39); weight putting 9.05 metres (8.59); broad jump 5.31 metres (4.96).

It will be seen from this that the Moscow Spartakiad can record considerable success from the technical aspect.

The results of the Spartakiad were broadcast all over the world in six languages. Labour papers in many countries sent their own correspondents.

The competitions between members of the Lucerne Sport International and members of the Red Sport International were of special interest. The days spent together in Moscow will linger long in the memories of all participants. The farewell evening will never be forgotten.

The class festival of the worker sportsmen is over. Our next task is to pass on what we have learned there to those who were not fortunate enough to be present. Steady and determined work is necessary if we are to guard against the chicane and expulsions of the reformist leaders. These days in Moscow have made the necessity of unity, of a common struggle against war danger, very clear to all taking part. And now we must make this equally clear to the broad masses.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

Moscow, 4th September, 1928.

The fourth plenary session of the Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International was opened to-day under the chairmanship of Comrade Young (E. C. Y. C. I.). The discussion upon the reports of Comrades Chitarov and Gorkitch was opened.

Comrade Blenkle (Germany):

The rationalisation has greatly increased the importance of the unskilled workers. The character of the training of the workers is becoming more and more one-sided. At the same time the political activity of the young workers is increasing. The qualified workers are being replaced by unqualified, and this considerably increases the role of the young workers in production.

The prophecies of the social democrats concerning the improvement of the situation of the working class to be expected from the rationalisation have not been fulfilled. Wage increases are brought to nothing by the steady rise in the cost of living. The statistics of the exhibition "Young Germany" proved the increased exploitation of the young workers.

Our chief opponent is the Socialist Youth International which still has influence in the trade unions, the sport organisations and in the Freethinkers organisation. The crisis in the S. Y. I. is an important factor in the youth movement.

The bourgeoisie is carrying on a sham struggle against the exploitation of the youth (Exhibition "Young Germany"), but at the same time it attacks the proletarian youth by the Trash and Smut Law, the National School Law and the Law for the vocational Training of the Youth. There are good possibilities for the youth policy, and a good example of this was the participation of the youth in the recent electoral struggle with their own programme and new methods of work. (Applause.)

Greetings were then brought to the congress by youth delegations from the Donetz Basin. A representative of the young workers organisation in Nishni Novgorod handed the representatives of the Czechoslovakian Young Communist League a wireless apparatus.

Comrade Rust (Great Britain):

The British delegation is in agreement with the reports and the political line of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. The congress must become the rallying point for all the forces, in the struggle against the danger of war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. For this the work amongst the masses must be strengthened. The Y. C. I. must improve its leadership and pay more attention to its connections with the league, and particularly with the leagues in the colonies. The Chinese league must receive greater support. The work amongst the young workers sport organisations is important and must be strengthened.

The British Y. C. L. has made progress and extended its influence upon the masses of the young workers. The League unreservedly supports the new policy of the party for the intensification of the struggle against the social democracy. The joining of the Y. C. L. by the left-wing of the British social democratic youth was a great success for the Y. C. I. To-day there is hardly a social democratic youth organisation in Britain. An important task is the practical support for the youth in the colonies. More attention must be paid to the League Against Imperialism. The left wing movement in Britain is again on the advance. The prospect is for the struggle to be intensified.

Comrade Botte (Italy):

In estimating the hostile organisations we must not content ourselves with counting their membership alone, but in

estimating their political influence. The social democratic youth organisations are declining, but on the other hand the social democratic childrens' organisations are growing. We must find out the reason why we have suffered set-backs in the illegal leagues. The Italian Y. C. L. loses many of its officials in consequence of the persecution. The reasons for our organisational weakness are to be sought for in ignorance of the real situation of the youth, insufficient participation of our lower organisations in the discussions and in directions, which are too abstract. Our newspapers must become mass organs.

Comrade Mehring (E. C. Y. C. I.), then read an appeal for a protest against the arrest of the young comrade **Peter Iskrov** in Vienna who was sentenced to death as a former member of the Y. C. L. in Bulgaria. The appeal concluded with a demand for a struggle against Austrian and Bulgarian fascism.

Comrade Fürnberg (E. C. Y. C. I.):

The first period of capitalist rationalisation caused mass unemployment amongst the working youth. The second period, however, drew the youth still more than previously into the process of production as unqualified workers. Technical training is declining. Apprenticeship in handicraft means for the employer an opportunity for gratis exploitation. The decline in the birthrate will produce fewer young workers in future years. The employment of unqualified young workers will result in wage cuts for the adult workers. Our perspective is the intensification of the struggle of the young workers. The S. Y. I. has proved that it is incapable of leading the struggle of the young workers.

Delegates of the first international youth excursion from Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Sweden then greeted the congress. Young comrades from the Berlin proletarian district of Wedding handed a banner from the Y. C. L. of Germany to the representatives of the Chinese Y. C. L. in Shanghai.

Comrade Grossen (Roumania):

Roumania is playing an important role in the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The Roumanian revolutionary youth has had to make great sacrifices. Despite the white terror the Roumanian Y. C. L. is developing well. We must systematise the struggle of the Y. C. L.'s in the Balkan countries.

Comrade Pionier (China):

An important problem for the Chinese Y. C. L. is the winning of the masses. The supplementary organisations are a great assistance for this purpose. The political level of the members must be raised by increasing the Leninist educational work (Applause).

A comrade from the Russian youth then proposed a resolution concerning the 14th International Day of Youth. The delegates rose in their seats in honour of the victims of the Day of Youth in Berlin, Warsaw and Shanghai.

* * *

Moscow, 5th September, 1928.

The fifth plenary session opened this morning under the chairmanship of **Comrade Barbé**. The discussion upon the reports of **Chitarov** and **Gorkitch** was continued.

Comrade Hrsel (Czechoslovakia):

The leftward development of the working youth is expressed in independent strikes, in the growth of the opposition inside the Socialist Working Youth organisations etc. The reformist leadership of the S. Y. I. is developing more and more to the Right.

We are not fighting practically enough against the danger of war. Up to the present we have not been successful in founding illegal military newspapers.

We are compelled to work illegally owing to the persecutions to which we are subjected. The inner-party crisis also affected our organisation and we have to admit that we did not criticise the Party early enough.

Comrade Leo (Germany):

The work in the factories is at a standstill. The best factory groups which we have in Germany arose in the political and economic struggles. The chief factor for our work in the factories is liveliness. We must introduce new methods of agitation adapted to the character of the factory. We must connect political questions and a special educational work for the youth with our activity in the factories.

We utilise our experiences in the factories by organisational conferences and by the publication of group newspapers and bulletins. We are planning to form an organisational school for the whole of Germany.

The best preparation for illegal work is to get a good foothold in the factories (Applause).

Comrade Billoux (France):

The Congress of the Comintern did not accidentally deal with the problems of the working youth. The bourgeoisie is preparing for war with a struggle for the winning of the youth. The bourgeoisie is receiving the support of the social democracy in this. The so-called left wing social democrats are also warning the working youth against the Bolsheviks. The schools are being ever more strongly militarised.

Our league has influence upon the masses of the young workers. We also have organisations in the colonies.

Our weaknesses are: insufficient influence upon the non-party youth, no organisational utilisation of our political successes, poor work in the mass organisations, insufficient utilisation of the split in the social democracy. We have had great success in the work amongst the recruits and the reservists (Applause).

An old Communard was then elected to the Presidium of the congress (storms of applause, the French delegation singing the "Carmagnole").

Comrade Adamtchik (Poland):

Our league fights actively against fractionalism both in the party and in the youth. We took part in the armed struggles with all our might. Our league has grown and is taking on a mass character. It has achieved bolshevist mass work.

We entered the election campaign independently and mobilised the young workers for their special demands. We are continuing a sharp struggle against right wing tendencies. The social democracy is playing the role of fascist agents. We must strengthen the fight against the danger of war and against the persecutions.

Comrade Sam (U. S. A.):

The militarisation of the youth in the U. S. A. is very important. The bourgeois youth organisations have mass support.

Rationalisation has increased the number of young workers in industry. The fight of the young workers against the rationalisation is increasing. The young workers strikes in California are an example of this. The activity of our league is growing and its membership has increased.

A letter of greetings from the Y. C. L. of Canada was then read to the congress.

Comrade Vartanyan (E. C. Y. C. I.):

The policy of increasing our attention to the bourgeois youth organisations is correct. We must fight against these organisations with special methods. The increase of our work in the supplementary organisations will increase our influence on the young workers.

Fractional struggles still exist in the U. S. A. and Poland. The Y. C. I. will continue in the future to hold the leagues back from fractionalism as far as possible.

The most important tasks of the leagues are the work amongst the masses and the fight against the right wing danger.

The dissolution of the leadership of the Polish Y. C. L. is an attack of the right wing fraction and we must oppose it energetically.

Comrade Nicolaou (Greece):

The Greek Y. C. L. has increased its membership. We have carried out various political campaigns and organised 15,000 young workers. We also have influence on the peasant youth. We have increased our work in the army. The same is true of labour struggles. The masses of the young workers participate in the strikes. We have a decisive influence in the sport organisations of the young workers.

Comrade Tinenlin (China):

Despite the winning of the masses of the Chinese youth, the Y. C. L. has not a sufficient basis in the mass organisations. The proletarian youth has increased its political activity and it is now carrying on a revolutionary struggle. We are also engaged in stirring up the peasant youth.

The students' organisations and the petty-bourgeois youth have played out their revolutionary role and have become counter-revolutionary.

An important task is the creation of international connections and the exchanges of experiences between the colonial youth and the youth in the motherlands.

The Y. C. L. of China must clarify the role of the Party and the youth. If we want to fight against war we must certainly capture the masses.

Comrade Stassowa (I. R. A.):

Up to the present the youth has not paid sufficient attention to the International Red Aid. The I. R. A. is important for the youth because it fights against fascism and white terror and fights for the release of the proletarian political prisoners. The social democrats have reserved a section of the Matteoti Funds for the youth. Your leagues must take up active connections with the I. R. A.

* * *

Moscow, 6th September 1928.

The sixth session took place yesterday afternoon under the chairmanship of Hrsel (Czechoslovakia). The discussion upon the speeches of Comrades Gorkitch and Chitarov was continued.

Comrade Lippe (Norway):

We must increase our work in the trade unions. We must found youth sections in the unions. The Norwegian League does not work enough in the sport organisations. It is necessary to found supplementary organisations. The co-operation between the leagues in the imperialist countries with regard to the anti-militarist work must be improved.

The Executive should send the leagues instructors in order to improve their work.

Comrade Miura (Japan):

In Japan there exists a State youth organisation which has over two million members, chiefly recruited from the ranks of the peasant youth. The Japanese league has made a start with the anti-militarist work. Social democratic youth organisations, both right and left wing organisations are now growing up. An opposition has been formed in these organisations and it is the task of our League to win this opposition.

Comrade Jurr (Red Jungsturm, Germany):

The chief aim of the bourgeoisie is to militarise and make fascists of the young workers. The fascist youth are getting a foothold in the factories. The "Young Banner" organisation

openly propagates the defence of the Fatherland. The vacancies in the Reichswehr are being filled up from the ranks of the fascist republican youth organisations. For this reason we have founded our organisation. Its chief task is the fight against the danger of war and the education of the proletarian youth for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. By lively methods of work we can win the masses of the youth and educate them for our aims.

Comrade Williamson (U. S. A.):

The rationalisation and the increased exploitation of the young workers has produced a left-wing tendency. Despite favourable opportunities the American league has won neither politically nor organisationally. The immigration increases the masses of the unskilled young workers. The working youth from the country districts are migrating to the towns where they increase the supply of cheap labour power. We must found youth sections in the new trade unions. The influence of the bourgeois youth organisations is growing, but there is no oppositional movement to be seen. The percentage of young workers in the American league is falling, whereas the percentage of students has increased in the last few years. This state of affairs must be altered. The party leadership fails to see the great changes which are going on in America and believes that the new policy of the E. C. C. I. only applies to Europe. From this idea right-wing errors result. The policy of the Y. C. I. is the only basis for a struggle against fractionalism. We must pay increased attention to the revolutionary movement in the Latin-American countries. (Applause.)

Comrade Achja (Esthonia):

Before the insurrection the Y. C. L. of Esthonia did good mass work. Its anti-religious, land and anti-militarist work were also good. At that time it was therefore impossible for the bourgeoisie to use the regular troops. After the insurrection we built up an illegal organisation and did mass-work in the sport organisations and in the cultural organisations and amongst the socialist youth. The Esthonian league is now increasing its anti-militarist activity and founding groups in the army for the struggle against imperialist war. (Applause.)

Comrade Boiko (Bulgaria):

The Bulgarian league approves of the policy of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. The bourgeoisie with its youth organisations is attempting to win back its influence on the working youth. With fascism and terror it is also working in this direction. The league is fighting against fascism by its mass actions, its work in the country, by forming supplementary organisations and by utilising all possible legal methods. The parties in the illegal countries do not support the leagues sufficiently. Examples of this can be seen in China, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. We must co-ordinate the work of the Balkan leagues better in the future.

Comrade Gross (Holland):

The Dutch league has led strikes of the working youth, organised conferences of the young textile workers, worked out a practical programme for its economic work and had fair success in its anti-militarist work, particularly in the harbours. The relations of the league with the revolutionary movement in Indonesia are very weak. The E. C. of the Y. C. I. must give the small leagues more support.

Comrade Gregoriev (Soviet Union):

Without first winning the masses of the working youth it will be impossible to turn the coming imperialist war into a civil war. The youth strikes prove that the influence of the social democrats on the working youth is declining. The bourgeois attack upon the economic situation of the working youth and upon their political rights results in a radicalisation of the youth. We must strengthen our political, economic and factory work as also our activity in the supplementary organisations.

In the Young Com. International also there is a Right wing danger. This expresses itself in the underestimation of the danger of war, the poor carrying out of the international actions and the right wing errors in the united front tactic.

Comrade Holmberg (Sweden):

The rationalisation can also lead to a reduction of the number of the young workers employed in the various factories and industries. Nevertheless, the role of the young workers is growing. The fighting spirit of the youth is also growing. We must strengthen our anti-militarist work. The Swedish league has commenced the work of reorganisation. Successes have been achieved in the formation of factory groups. We have been able to carry out a number of strikes. Our last congress which took place in May, decided to form revolutionary youth sections and to introduce new methods of work. The league is now taking part in the elections with its own programme and its own candidates.

Comrade Mitrovitch (Yugoslavia):

We agree with the corrections made by the fifth congress to the decisions of the second congress of the Y. C. I. concerning the supplementary organisations. For the illegal leagues the chief question is the connecting up of the legal with the illegal methods of work. The dangers of illegal work are: sectarianism, legalistic tendencies and a neglect of the illegal methods. The league in Yugoslavia has done much to liquidate the party crisis. The Balkan secretariat set up connections between the E. C. and the Balkan sections.

Comrade Williams (Belgium):

The social democratic youth organisations are declining, but the catholic youth organisations are growing. These latter organisations set up factory groups and groups in the army and put forward partial demands. We must strengthen the groups of the league in the large factories and introduce new methods of work.

Comrade Young (E. C. Y. C. I.):

The rationalisation makes it necessary for us to put forward wage demands. The introduction of large masses of unqualified or partly qualified young workers into the process of production causes the decline of apprenticeship. The scientific organisation of labour in industry alters the methods of youth training. The leagues must demand qualified trade training for young workers.

Comrade Wagner (Czechoslovakia):

We are in agreement with the general criticism made against our league. However, the positive side of the question must also be considered. Through our orgconferences we have had successes in our organisational work. Our aim is to win the young workers in the large factories. We have founded new factory groups and had success in leading labour struggles, for instance in the strike of the young workers in Bohemia. The youth movement has consolidated itself. Our chief task is to set ourselves concrete tasks and carry them out systematically.

* * *

Moscow, 6th September 1928.

The seventh session of the youth congress was opened to-day under the chairmanship of Comrade Benario. The discussion upon the reports of the Executive was continued.

Comrade Mahmud (India):

The difficulties of the work of the revolutionary youth in India are tremendous. 160 million of the Indian population have not yet attained the age of 25 years. Children of six years of age are being employed on a wide scale in the factories. Tens of thousands of children under ten years of age are employed in the coal mining industry. 22% of the workers employed in

the textile industry are children and young workers. The wages of the latter are from 25% to 50% of the wages of the adult workers. The youth in the country districts are also terribly exploited. The young workers are unorganised. The existing youth organisations are petty bourgeois, religious or militarist.

The communist youth have already carried on considerable activity and have organised meetings and demonstrations and an anti-war campaign in which the chief slogans were "Down with imperialism and down with imperialist war!" We must establish a closer contact with the Y. C. I. More attention must be paid to the supporting of the colonial youth, particularly in India. (Applause.)

Comrade Anderson (Finland):

After the destruction of the legal organisations by the fascists, our league recognised the necessity of founding illegal organisations. Our league works chiefly in the factories. Good work is also being carried out in the sport and youth organisations. The young workers are carrying on a campaign for the ratification of the Russo-Finnish-Norwegian agreement for trade union unity. They are conducting a permanent campaign for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Andrzejewski (Poland):

The Pilsudski government is persecuting the youth movement in Poland with all the means at its disposal. The main aim of the ruling powers is to militarise the youth in preparation for war against the Soviet Union. The winning of the leadership of the young workers is only possible with iron determination and discipline. Our league had achieved certain success in the building of factory groups and in conducting mass actions in the trade unions. Our central committee opposes the central committee of the party and supports the party minority. The fractional struggle has weakened the work of our league. We request the congress to put an end to this fractionalism.

Comrade Tapsel (Great Britain):

Next year the Boy Scouts are organising an international meeting. It will be the task of our leagues to work amongst the delegations to this meeting. Despite the growth of our membership, the number of factory groups have diminished. The chief reasons for this are: the terror of the employers and also of the trade union officials, the fluctuation, the mass unemployment and the lack of trained officials. We organised a national school with fair success. We have also strengthened our district committees. We have organised youth sections in the Labour League of Ex-Servicemen.

Comrade Leibbrand (E. C. Y. C. I.):

We must pay more attention to the work of our opponents. Our greatest enemy is the Socialist Youth International. Despite its numerical weakness, the S. Y. I. has still influence upon the young workers. It would be incorrect to exaggerate the crisis in the S. Y. I., because in some countries there has unfortunately been a consolidation of the socialist leagues. The number of social democratic organised children is also growing. In a number of countries the opposition is declining and we must therefore strengthen the leadership of the opposition. The bourgeois youth organisations are also dangerous opponents. We must pay more attention to the opposition inside these organisations, study their methods of work, find out the correct methods of struggle against them and react more energetically to their policy.

Comrade Vassiliyev (Tenth Army Division of the Y. C. I.):

We must spread and utilise the experiences of the Y. C. I. everywhere. We must strengthen the international connections, particularly with the Red Army. (Applause.)

Comrade Yakubovitz (Poland):

There is no political basis for the fractional struggle in Poland and it has taken on impermissible forms. The result

has been a weakening of the work of our league. The Y. C. I. and the C. I. must do everything possible to put an end to this situation. With regard to the split in the league in Western Ukraina, this is not widespread. The split off elements are mostly intellectuals.

Comrade Siegenthaler (Switzerland):

The small leagues are losing members. The Swiss bourgeoisie is now attacking the workers. The trade union bureaucrats are splitting the unions and expelling the revolutionary elements. We must commence to form red trade unions. The Y. C. I. must render more support to the smaller leagues.

Comrade Limanovski (Poland):

Our league has been strengthened under the leadership of the present C. C. It has become a mass organisation. Its activity has been increased. At the 4th congress of the Polish Comparty our league supported the minority in the party against the right wing errors of the majority. Our league is working for the consolidation of the party and against the attempts of the right wingers to split our league. This Congress will show the correct policy and we are convinced it will consolidate our league.

Comrade Geminder (E. C. Y. C. I.):

The stagnation in the leagues is caused by the unsatisfactory inner life of the leagues. Therefore it is necessary to introduce more youthful methods. Up to the present only the German league has introduced new methods. The rest of the leagues are only commencing to do so. We must utilise our experiences upon all fields of work. The educational work must be systematically carried out. We must train our officials for all fields of work as this has been done in the German league. Our propaganda in the league press is still very casual, it must be systematised.

Comrade Ilinski (Soviet Union):

The report of the E. C. Y. C. I. underestimated the work and the successes of the Y. C. L. in the Soviet Union. We have done good work in the national question, in the fight against the class enemy, against religion and against the counter-revolution. We must utilise the experiences of our league in the national question in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

* * *

Moscow, 6th September 1928.

The 8th session was opened this afternoon under the chairmanship of Comrade Gyptner. The discussion on the reports of the executive was continued.

Comrade Longo (Italy):

Italian fascism has built up strong youth organisations and is paying particular attention to the children's organisations in order to train the youth in militarism from their earliest years. Attendance at school means simultaneously the duty to join a children's organisation. These youth organisations are being trained upon military lines. The prohibition of all revolutionary youth organisations forced the young workers to enter the fascist youth organisations. We must therefore increase our work inside the fascist youth organisations.

Comrade Christensen (Denmark):

The Danish bourgeois youth organisations have won very few workers and recruit themselves mostly from amongst the peasant youth. The christian youth organisations on the other hand have a rather great number of young workers in their ranks. We must strengthen our work towards our opponents. Denmark represents the key to the Baltic Ocean. We did good agitational work by distributing leaflets and agitational material on the occasion of the visit of British warships to Danish ports.

Comrade Onofrio (Argentine):

The situation of the young workers under the rationalisation demands a very special sort of work from us. The work of our league was expressed in strikes on the part of young workers. We have also done good work in the sport organisations and in agitational work.

Comrade Schueller (E. C. Y. C. I.):

We must issue the slogan of self-criticism in our leagues. The change of tactics in the Comintern would have been impossible without self-criticism. The most important result of this congress must be the adoption of new methods of work more adapted to the youth by our leagues. We must increase our fight against the enemy organisations, especially the reformist youth organisations, and extend our supplementary organisations. The best way to fight the bourgeois youth organisations is offered by the colonial question and by the danger of war. We must found Y. C. L.'s in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. National-revolutionary youth organisations may exist parallel with the Y. C. L.'s but they are not obligatory. The Y. C. L.'s must retain their political character and introduce new methods of work.

Comrade Milano (Uruguay):

American imperialism is penetrating into Latin-America more and more. It is our task to develop the revolutionary movement.

Comrade Bohl (Austria):

The struggle against fascism is important. Bohl then dealt with the lessons of the Vienna insurrection on the 15th July as far as the communist youth is concerned.

Comrade Pereira (Brasil):

There are good prospects that the bourgeois-democratic revolution will develop into a social revolution. The rationalisation is worsening the economic situation of the working youth. The textile factories employ children of eight and ten years of age. The support accorded by the Y. C. I. to us is weak and must be strengthened. Our league has fine possibilities of speedy development.

Comrade Szuets (Hungary):

In consequence of the terror the communist youth in Hungary are compelled to work illegally. The bureaucrats sabotage the organisation of the young workers and denounce the opposition in the unions. The league must carry out mass work in the sport and cultural organisations.

Comrade Contreras (Mexico):

American imperialism has forced its way into Latin-America. The young workers and children are being terribly exploited. The revolutionary youth represents an active force in Sandino's movement. The fight against clericalism and the work for the enlightenment of the young workers is very important. We intend to form an anti-imperialist militia as a defence organisation.

Comrade Rossen (Bulgaria):

The work amongst the peasant youth is very important, because the army consists for the most part of young peasants. Our leagues do not work sufficiently in the peasant youth organisations. The illegal leagues do not work conspiratively enough. The Balkans represent a basis for war against the Soviet Union, therefore it is necessary to increase the mass work and the anti-militarist work. We must fight against the liquidatorial tendencies which have arisen as a result of the difficult illegal conditions of work. It is necessary to improve the work of the Balkan Secretariat.

Comrade Gallopin (France):

The French league has had successes upon the organisational field. It organised an orgconference to discuss thoroughly all organisational questions.

Comrade Ackermann (Latvia):

Since the fourth congress the illegal youth organisations in Latvia have increased their membership. Despite the terror, the executions and the imprisonments we are making progress. The Latvian league has learned to work illegally. The connections between the leagues in the Baltic states are very important.

Comrade Don (U. S. A.):

describes the effects of the rationalisation on the working youth. The rationalisation resulted in a leftward movement. The American league must liquidate the fractional struggle and fight against fractionalism in the party.

Comrade Matagu (China):

The Chinese young workers work from 12 to 13 hours a day. Many young workers join the mercenary army because they are unemployed. Chinese conditions are drawing the youth more and more into the class struggle. We must pay more attention to the mass organisations and connect general political questions with our partial demands.

Comrade Kaplan (U. S. A.)

dealt in his speech with questions of the Workers Party. He declared that the most important question for the party was to bring the fractional struggles to an end.

Comrade Vorings (Greece):

The Greek league is fighting against the white terror and strengthening its anti-militarist work. Many soldiers have refused to do strikebreaking work. The Red trade unions have commenced to organise youth committees.

Comrade Marriot (Canada)

described the progress made by the Canadian league in its anti-militarist work.

Comrade Sulimov (Corea):

The young workers in Corea are terribly exploited. The peasants of Corea are being pauperised and this produces good possibilities for the development of the revolutionary youth movement. The chief task of the league is to fight against the danger of war and to consolidate its organisation. The Corean youth is carrying on a struggle for the introduction of labour protection legislation.

* * *

Moscow, 7th of September 1928.

The ninth session was opened to-day under the chairmanship of Comrade Holmberg. The discussion on the reports of the Executive was continued. After declarations by the Czech and Mongolian delegations and by a Polish delegate,

Comrade Navara (Spain)

declared: The Y. C. I. has paid too little attention to the Spanish league. The Spanish league is working under the most severe conditions of illegality. We are beginning to adopt youth methods. We have had good success in the anti-militarist work.

Comrade Gorkitch (closing speech):

A deficiency of the discussion was the fact that important questions like those of the children's movement, the fluctuation of membership, the work in the mass organisations and the preparation for illegal work were not dealt with concretely

enough. The present situation is characterised by a certain stagnation. We must increase self-criticism within the leagues, consolidate the International leadership, prepare our congresses by more thorough discussion and control the carrying out of the congress decisions. Organisational questions can only be solved in connection with political questions. The improvement of the work of the fractions represents an important task. Not the membership but the political influence of the leagues is decisive. The illegal leagues are working with great self-sacrifice. We must prevent the work of the staff of instructors from being turned into a new departmental work. We recognised the deficiency of our work with regard to the Red Aid. We must pay more attention to the smaller leagues and for this purpose it is necessary to improve the reporting work of the leagues (Great Applause).

Comrade Chitarov (closing speech):

59 comrades from 36 countries took part in the discussion. There was a unanimity concerning fundamental problems. Our chief opponent remains the Socialist Youth International. We must pay more attention to the bourgeois youth organisations. The trade union question was insufficiently dealt with in the discussion. In all colonial countries where an industrial proletariat exists we must found Y. C. L.'s. We welcome the sharp criticism of individual comrades of the work of the Y. C. I. The improvement of the apparatus is necessary and the control of the carrying out of the decisions must also be improved. The Czechish league must participate in the party discussion and carry on a struggle for the policy of the Y. C. I. We must increase the support accorded to the leagues in Uruguay and Mexico. The speeches of the Chinese comrades here prove that they have correctly understood their problems. We must continue to give correct instructions. The Chinese Y. C. L. must increase its connection with the masses of the young workers. We must found a Y. C. L. in India. We welcome with great pleasure the representative of the Hungarian Y. C. L. which is taking part in the work of the congress despite the terror in Hungary. The task of the Hungarian Y. C. L. is to penetrate into the masses. We recognise the correctness of the declaration of the representative of Mongolia concerning the struggle against the Right wing danger. We hope that the Arabian youth will recognise the correctness of the policy of the Y. C. I. and realise the errors of its officials. The world congress must suppress the group struggle in the American league and create unity upon the basis of the Comintern policy. The fractional struggles in Poland have no political basis. We must put an end to the group struggle in the Polish league.

The Communist Youth must fight against the danger of war on the basis of the Comintern policy. Remnants of a Right wing danger still exist in the communist youth. Examples are: the underestimation of the danger of war, insufficient carrying out of international actions, deviations in the united front tactic, the Red Day action of the Czechish league, etc.

We must mark concretely the change in our work by altering our methods of work. Our new methods must be adapted to the ideology of the young workers and must show understanding for the needs of the youth. We must strengthen our work in the trade unions and in the mass organisations and strengthen our educational work. The reason for the stagnation in our chief leagues is that dry-as-dust methods have been used in carrying out our decisions. The congress has created all the preliminary conditions for the development of our leagues to Bolshevik mass organisations. (Great Applause.)

* * *

Moscow, 8th of September 1928.

The tenth session was opened yesterday afternoon under the chairmanship of Comrade Loverna (Italy).

Comrade Leibbrand (E. C. Y. C. I.)

then made a speech on the second point of the agenda: **The Agitation and Propaganda Methods of the Y. C. I.**

The discussion showed unanimity in the questions of applying new methods of work and in the question of youth policy. The youth leagues still have a party character. The

preliminary condition for good methods of work is a correct appreciation of the ideology of the youth. The chief cause of the fluctuation of our membership is the incapacity to bind the youth to our organisation. The varied interests of the youth demand various methods. With regard to our methods of work we can learn from the bourgeois youth organisations, naturally without taking over their system. We must base ourselves upon the social situation of the young working class and prevent the political character of the youth movement from being weakened. The new methods increase the political activity of the youth, as has been shown by the experience of the German league. It would be wrong to limit ourselves to agitation and propaganda. We must embrace all fields of work, in the trade unions, in the factories, etc. The character of the factory group work makes the introduction of new methods difficult because the sessions of these factory groups are illegal or too short. We must introduce Sunday sessions of the groups, and organise Sunday schools and excursions. It is very important that the local organisations support the work of the factory groups.

Our meetings and festivals must be made more interesting by recitations, music and theatrical performances. It is necessary, however, that these should be connected with topical political questions. A uniform clothing makes demonstrations more impressive. The parades on the International Day of Youth had a good psychological effect.

We must improve the internal life of the league by transferring administrative matters to the officials. We must supplement our lectures by stories, pictures and revolutionary entertainments.

In order to fight against the fluctuation it is important that new members should be accepted with some degree of solemnity. Interesting introductory courses concerning the role of the Y. C. L. must be organised, as also entertainment evenings. New members must not be overloaded with work, but it is important that they should be given something to do. We must consider that new members coming from the children's leagues are interested in entertainments. We must encourage light athletics and connect our country outings with the work amongst the peasantry and land workers. It is necessary to increase our educational work. The best way is to combine week-end courses with excursions, games, etc. Another important task is the organisation of young workers' clubs. As far as the illegal leagues are concerned we have no experience concerning the introduction of youth methods. We must collect and utilise these experiences. Dangers of the new methods are: Too much entertainment, concessions to the ideology of the petty bourgeois sections and the isolation of political questions in the cultural work. We must prevent these dangers arising by combining the youth methods with other fields of work. The carrying out of our new youth

methods demands a strengthening of our educational work for the training of officials, the issuing of political literature and the organisation of special courses. The Y. C. I. must improve its publishing activity. The introduction of youth methods will make it possible to win greater influence upon decisive sections of the young working class.

The first speaker in the discussion upon the speech of Comrade Leibbrand was.

Comrade Don (U. S. A.):

The American league has commenced to introduce new methods. It has organised factory circles, circles, clubs for sailors and soldiers.

Comrade Novakova (Czechoslovakia):

We must improve our work in the factories, the factory group newspapers and the work in the country. Our league has achieved good success in its recruiting work by arranging competitions. It is necessary to issue youth literature.

Comrade Massie (Great Britain):

The chief difficulty is the passivity of the British league and its Central Committee. We must introduce new methods upon all fields of our work.

TO OUR READERS!

The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

England	2 sh.
America	50 cents
Germany	2 schillings
Austria	2 schillings
Norway	1.50 crowns
Sweden	1.50 crowns
Denmark	1.50 crowns
U. S. S. R.	1 rouble

For all other countries the subscription rate is 3 dollars for six months.

Readers in the United States will please note that the sole agents for the "Inprecorr" in the U. S. A. are the Workers Library Publishers, 39 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y., to whom all subscriptions should be sent.

The Business Manager.