

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 8. No. 73

19th October 1928

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

CONTENTS

- N. Bukharin: Before the Eleventh Anniversary of the October Revolution.
- Politics.**
Valentin Olberg: The Elections in Latvia.
J. B.: Imperialistic Provocation in Palestine.
- China.**
Tang Shin She: Reorganisation of the Nanking Government.
- The Labour Movement.**
O. B.: The Fight of the Miners in Czechoslovakia.
Arne Swaback: The New National Miners' Union in America.
- In the International.**
Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia in Regard to the Czechoslovakian Problem.
- The White Terror.**
Appeal of the Young Communist Leagues of Persia and Great Britain against the White Terror in Persia.
- Union of Soviet Republics.**
Kuibyshev: The Economic Situation of the Soviet Union (Continuation).
- In the Camp of Social Democracy.**
K. Leski: Conflicts in the Camp of the P. P. S.
J. Louis Engdahl: MacDonald — Emigration Agent of the Empire.
- Proletarian Women's Movement.**
Lene Overlach: Mobilisation of the Women in Germany for the Fight against Armoured Cruiser Construction and the Danger of War.
Yvonne Robert: The Life of the Working Women in the Textile Industry of France.
- Obituary.**
E. Varga: Comrade Skvorzov-Stepanov.
Career of Comrade Skvorzov-Stepanov.

Before the Eleventh Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Beginning of the New Economic Year.

Observations of an Economist.

By N. Bukharin.

The new economic year is approaching. It is a matter of course that every thinking worker especially every communist worker feels the necessity of drawing a certain balance, of setting up certain perspectives, of making a general survey of our total economic development. We only need to read the letters sent by the workers, the communications handed in at numerous meetings, or to hear the speeches of ordinary proletarians. How vast is the cultural and political growth evidenced! How high the level of the questions and problems stirring the minds of the masses! What a burning need to "get to the bottom of things!" What discontent with the empty hackneyed phrases, so primitive, so everlastingly the same. It must be admitted that the disproportion between the demands of the masses and the "mental food" offered them is greatly the fault of our own special press (how often we dish up this food half cooked, unpalatable, scarcely warmed up). Can we maintain that the burning and "sensitive" questions fermenting in the heads of so many find a real echo among us? Can we assert that we deal in sufficient

detail with the doubts which so often arise? Or that the question of exact information on our economy is satisfactorily solved? That we unfold the most complicated plans of our economic organisation with adequate detail before the masses, above all the working masses? No, a thousand times no! Here we must admit is a huge gap, and this must be filled up before we have the right to speak of serious efforts for inducing the masses to take active part in the building up of Socialism.

It is of course not merely a question of propaganda. In our endeavours to learn the lessons taught by our own past, and to criticise ourselves unceasingly, we must arrive at the following conclusion: We ourselves have not yet sufficiently recognised what is actually new in the conditions of the reconstruction period. This is the reason why we are so "late". We did not tackle the problem of our specialists until after the Shakhty affair; the problem of the Soviet and collective farms was practically left till after the grain supply crisis and its resultant convulsions, so that it had then to be attacked from a dead point.

We have, in a word, acted pretty much in accordance with that characteristically Russian proverb; "Unless it thunders, the peasant does not cross himself."

At the time of our transition from war communism to the New Economic Policy, we began to regroup our ranks in the most courageous and decided manner. This gigantic regrouping of forces, combined with the determined propaganda of such slogans as: "Learn commerce", was the prerequisite for our economic successes.

The transition to the reconstruction period naturally brings with it no such fundamental change in economic policy as was the case in 1921. It is, however, of immense importance all the same, though from another standpoint. There is a tremendous difference between making repairs to a bridge and building one. The latter process demands knowledge of mathematics, of the laws of resistance, and thousands of other bits of wisdom. This parallel now applies to the whole of our economy. The reconstruction period confronts us with a number of the most complicated technical tasks (the planning of new factories, new technics, new branches of industry), with a number of most complicated organisational-economic problems (new systems of organising labour in the factories, the question of locality, of division into districts, of new forms of the whole economic apparatus, etc.), with a number of extremely difficult tasks in the guidance of economy as a whole (co-ordination of the main elements of economy under the new conditions, questions of socialist accumulation, questions of economy in their connection with questions of class struggle, again under the new conditions of this struggle, etc.), and, finally, with a number of problems relating to the personal apparatus (drawing the masses into the work of carrying out the process of rationalisation on the one hand, and the problem of the qualified cadres on the other). The great technical achievements of the capitalist world (especially in Germany and U. S. A.) and the growth of international production profoundly effect our inner problems. We have, however, not accomplished the necessary regrouping of our forces, or, more strictly speaking, we have not accomplished it at the speed and with the energy required by objective developments.

The economic year just passed closes the balance of the whole of the three years of reconstructive development in our economy. The country has taken a huge leap forward in its development. It is perfectly ridiculous to read the super-learned meditations of our emigrés, of Brutskus, Sagorsky, and various "shining lights" of foreign science, who have picked up a few newspaper sensations from the ample supply produced in Riga, and are now endeavouring, with an air of profound importance and utmost eagerness, to prove the "collapse of Soviet economy", the "collapse of Communism", the "collapse of Bolshevism", and various other "collapses", the while they discuss the theme: What Chamberlain and his like think of during their sleepless nights. And yet it is clear to every unprejudiced person, to anyone possessing even the minimum of objective powers of judgment, that however the matter be twisted and turned, the economy of the Soviet Union is none the less very evidently going ahead at a terrific pace in all main directions, and that even the zig-zag line of this tempestuous advance, and the apparently peculiar and sudden "crises" to which it has been subject, are anything but forerunners of the fulfilment of the longings of all White hearts, the "collapse of the Bolshevik system".

During the last few years we have arrived at an important turning point in a number of branches of production, especially in various branches of industry. Our naphtha industry, whose main network has been thoroughly developed in the Baku district, has passed through an actual technical revolution, and its fresh equipment raises it fairly to the American level. Our machine building industry the main lever for the further technical revolution in the industries of our country, has made mighty strides forward; the industry manufacturing agricultural machinery has reached three times its prewar level. An entirely new branch of industry, the electro-technical, has sprung up. The foundation stone of our chemical industry has been laid, and for the first time nitrogen is being extracted from the air on our territory. The electrification, the building of power stations, conquer one position after another. The technical and economic revolution is penetrating the villages. It is supporting and developing the co-operative associations of the peasantry, it has already sent 30,000 tractors into the fields and steppes of our country, and the tractor workers, these fighting troops

of technical revolution, are no longer rare guests in the most backward and truly barbaric regions of our Union. For the first time the steam plough penetrates the soil of the Ukrainian steppes, of the land of the Cossacks, and of the banks of the Volga.

Let us take a glance at the dry figures which speak to us, in their austere language, of the continuation of revolution in our Union.

The stock capital of the whole state co-operative sector of the national economy of the Soviet Union has increased in three years (1925/26 to 1927/28) by 4 milliard roubles, calculated by the prices obtaining in 1925/26 (a rise of over 14 per cent.).

The stock capital of the state and co-operative industrial undertakings, calculated for the same years and on the basis of the same prices, has risen from 6.3 milliards to 8.8 milliards, that is, by 2.5 milliard roubles (39 to 40%), whereby the rate of growth attained the immense figure of 15 per cent. during the last year alone.

These figures show the real accumulation, that is, the extended reproduction. If we take the sum total of capital invested, that is, including in the calculation the replacement of the worn out portion of the "capital", we arrive at the following figures:

Whole socialised sector: Here the annual capital investment rose from 2 milliard to 3.4 milliard roubles (calculated on the same prices).

State and co-operative industry: Here the corresponding figures are 890 million roubles in 1925/26 and 1.5 to 1.6 milliard in 1927/28.

The systematic growth of the whole of the new industrial structure is a further point of great interest. The share accorded to this building up work, calculated in percentages of the whole expenditure for industry, has increased steadily. In 1925/26 this share was 12 per cent., in 1926/27 21 per cent., in 1927/28 23 per cent. The specific weight of heavy industry is increasing rapidly in our national economy, as also the specific weight of the production of means of production in our industrial sector, and so forth. It is characteristic that the latest inquiries show the income of the peasantry to be derived up to almost one half from industrial sources (trade, building work, wood-working, etc.*).

All this shows how rapidly the process of the industrialisation of the country is proceeding, and how clearly the simultaneous process of the socialisation of its whole economy makes itself apparent. The figures showing how private economic elements are being supplanted are already known to you. The goods traffic of the country is growing, especially the intercourse between town and country. The transport service for goods is expanding. Our budget is growing. The numerical strength of the working class is growing from year to year, and with it its standard of living, physically and culturally.

At the same time, however, the growth of our economy and the indubitable advance of Socialism are accompanied by peculiar "crises", which, despite the obviously decided difference between the laws governing our development and that of capitalism, apparently "repeat" the crises of capitalism, even though as in a distorted mirror. Here as there, we see a disproportion between production and consumption. But in our case this disproportion is "turned upside down" (there, over production, here goods famine; there the demand of the masses far beneath the supply, here the demand greater than the supply). Here as there, vast capital investments, involving (under capitalism) specific crises, and with us certain "difficulties". Here again conditions are reversed there over-accumulation, here lack of capital. Here as there, disproportion between the various spheres of production. The metal shortage is typical of our conditions. We experience unemployment simultaneously with a steady increase in the number of workers employed. Even our "agrarian" crisis is reversed (insufficient amount of grain offered for sale). In one word: the past year especially has confronted us with the problem of our "crises", which are the result of the initial stages of transition economy in a country with a backward petty bourgeois population and surrounded by hostile countries. Marx gave us a theory of capitalist crises.

*) cf. control figures of the State Planning Commission for 1927/28. p. 16.

These crises he showed to be caused by the general lack of system ("anarchy") of the capitalist methods of production, by the impossibility of attaining correct proportions between the various elements of the process of reproduction under capitalism, especially between production and consumption. In other words, he showed the cause to be the incapability of capitalism to maintain an equilibrium among the various elements of production. This does not, of course, mean that Marx ignored the problem of the classes and of the class struggle. Mass consumption, its level, the value of labour power itself — all these included for Marx the factor of the class struggle. The whole mechanism of the contradictions developing between production and consumption, between the growth of production and the conditions of distribution, contains in itself the class struggle, taking the form of economic categories.

The well known bourgeois economist Professor Tugan-Baranovsky attempted to separate the classes and the class struggle from economic relations; and in his "Theory of Social Distribution" he emphasised only the factor of the "class struggle", throwing overboard its economic effect, whilst in his crisis theory he thrust entirely on one side the factor of mass consumption, and with this the factor of the class struggle. The sole correct theory is that of Marx, and not the bourgeois theory of Tugan-Baranovsky. Therefore, we can and must deal with the question of our "crises" with the methodology of Marx, and not with that of Tugan-Baranovsky's "Theory of Social Distribution", even though this latter may appear superficially to be "based" on the "class" principle. We must say at the same time that we find it ridiculous to accuse the schemes of reproduction in Vol. II of "Capital" of leaving the class problem out of consideration. To do this is to show a lack of comprehension of either the theory of the class struggle or of Marx' theory of reproduction.

During the period of transition (from capitalism to Socialism) the classes continue to exist. Indeed, the class struggle can even become more acute. Society in the transition period is, however, at the same time to a certain extent a unit, if an inconsistent unit. Therefore, schemes of reproduction analogous to those in Vol. II of "Capital" may be drawn up for this state of society (in fact with even greater "right"), that is, the conditions for the correct co-ordination of the various spheres of production, or, in other words, the conditions of dynamic economic equilibrium, may be ascertained. This is the essential part of the task of working out a plan of national economy which resembles more and more the balance of the entire national economy, a consciously drawn up plan, which is at the same time a prognosis and a directive.

Let us now proceed to the next question: If our "crises" possess apparently the character of capitalist crises "turned upside down", and if the effective demand of our masses has overtaken our production, then the question arises whether the "goods famine" is not perhaps a general law of our development. Are we, perhaps, condemned to periodical or non-periodical crises on the reversed basis of another relation between production and consumption? Are these "critical" difficulties not an iron law of our development?

Even the premises of this supposition are faulty, as we have already been able to point out in our economic literature. Two entirely different things are confused with one another: on the one hand the lagging — at the given movement — of the developing productive forces behind the still more rapidly developing needs (behind the "demand" in the wider sense of the word), and on the other a specifically acute "crisis" form of development, the form of goods shortage (the demand then being effective).

The first phenomenon simply expresses the fact that society is really going over to Socialism; that the growth of needs is the immediate motive power behind its economic development; that production becomes a means, etc. The crisis-like factors disturbing the process of reproduction are something very different. These can only arise from a failure to observe the conditions of economic equilibrium, that is, they are caused by the incorrect co-ordination of the elements of reproduction (including the factor of consumption). The "distorted" character of the "crises" as compared with those of capitalism is determined by the really fundamentally new relations between the needs of the masses and production. This relation is however not a developing antagonism (on the contrary, production is catching

up more and more with mass consumption, which goes on in front as the main driving spring of the whole process of development). Here there exists no basis for a "law of crises", a law of inevitable crises. There can, however, be "crises" arising from the relative anarchy, that is, the relative lack of system in economy during the period of transition.

The relative lack of system or relative system of economy in the transition period originates in the existence of small undertakings, of market connections, that is, of anarchist elements of considerable strength. Therefore, the plan itself has a character of its own: it is not by any means a more or less "complete" plan of a developed socialist state of society. This plan contains many elements of the prognosis of the anarchist factor (e. g. the estimate made of the crops, of the amount of grain available as a commodity, the amount of commodities represented by agricultural production generally, consequently the estimates of prices, etc.), and this prognosis becomes the starting point for this or that directive. Precisely for this reason an "ideal" plan is impossible for us. Precisely for this reason there may be errors up to a certain point. But the fact that an error can be explained, even an unavoidable error, does not thereby cease to be an error. This is the first point. The second is that grave violations of fundamental proportions (as happened in our grain supply question, with which I deal further on), and the resultant erroneous calculations, are by no means unavoidable. And thirdly: Even if the good plan is not omnipotent, a bad "plan", or bad economic manoeuvring, might bring even a good cause to ruin.

(To be continued.)

POLITICS

The Elections in Latvia.

By Valentin Olberg.

The elections in Latvia on October 6th and 7th took place at a time of fierce reprisals against the revolutionary working class.

The very first election results show that the elections have entailed a material strengthening of the Left, but also a strengthening of the Right. Their gains were at the cost of the Social Democrats and the Democratic Centre Party. List No. 22 of the workers and peasants (the Left-radical trade union list) secured five seats out of the total hundred. In Riga, the Left-radical trade-union list recorded 32,000 votes against 19,000 at the last elections. The Independent Socialists (radical intellectuals) will be represented by two members. There is therefore the possibility of a Left fraction of seven deputies in the new Diet.

The Social Democrats experienced a loss of six mandates and will thus be represented in the new Diet by 26 instead of 32 deputies. The Social-Democrat "Minimalists", a party allied to the Social Democrats and commanding four mandates in the old Diet, will hardly muster a single deputy. This fraction played rather an important rôle in the old Diet, since it connected the Social Democrats with the Democratic Centre Party. Its leader, Skujnik, acted as Prime Minister in the Government of the Left in Latvia. The Democratic Centre Party has retained its three mandates. The Peasants' Union, the biggest bourgeois party of Latvia (organisation of the big farmers) will again be represented by 16 deputies. The Fascist groups (house-holders, National Centre Party, etc.) record an accretion of six mandates, i. e. from 13 to 19.

The elections took place at a time characterised by an extraordinary accentuation of class differences. The bourgeoisie had done all in its power to be sure of having an obedient tool in the new Diet. List No. 22 was only admitted in three of the existing five constituencies. Terrorism raged pitilessly. The press organs of the revolutionary working class were systematically suppressed. The publications "Young Guard" and "Our Fight" were confiscated. The election appeals were annulled. Numerous arrests were made and many houses were searched. On the eve of the elections, the well-known writer

and poet **Linard Laizen**, the chief candidate of List No. 22, was arrested. The police prevented all agitation for List No. 22. And yet the revolutionary working class secured five seats.

The discontent among the broad masses of the population is very great. For the last two years agriculture has been passing through a serious crisis, by which the weak industry of Latvia was also affected. The bourgeoisie and the big farmers renewed their attacks on the working class. According to a statement made by **Vishnias**, the leader of the Social Democratic trade unions, the average wages paid in the textile and match industries is 25 lats. The minimum required to keep body and soul together is, however, 28½ lats. The eight-hour day exists only in theory; in reality 12 or 14 hours work are done daily.

The discontent and the activity of broad masses of workers have constantly been increasing since December 1927. One strike follows the other. In the summer of this year the Left trade unions succeeded in forcing a wage increase of from 10 to 15 per cent. The bourgeoisie replied with reprisals and the Left trade unions were dissolved. As a protest, the revolutionary workers instituted a general strike on August 22nd. The Social Democrats looked upon the general strike as an act of "Communist provocation". They still speak of the "sacrifices" made by the "poor police". It is obvious that if 75 per cent. of the police force are members of the Social Democratic trade union, the Social Democrats were not in a position to proclaim a strike.

Besides this, they denounce the Left workers as Communists. When a few days ago, on the occasion of the trial of the editors of Left publications before the Riga court-martial, the public prosecutor asked the police-sergeant **Stieglitz** how he knew that the Left workers were Communists, the official, in question professed to be in possession of ample evidence, including a confidential circular of the Social Democratic party leaders addressed to the local organisations and plainly stating that the Left trade unions constitute a Communist organisation.

The prestige of the Social Democrats has greatly decreased. In many assemblies a remarkable form of demonstration was employed against them. As soon as Social Democratic orators started speaking against the Communists, the workers would quit the premises singing the "International".

For the first time in the history of Latvian "democracy", the revolutionary workers will be represented in Parliament.

Imperialistic Provocations in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The report of an attack by British police on Jews praying at the so-called "Wailing-Wall" on the chief Jewish holiday, with an account of the brutal interruption of this religious ceremony and the maltreatment of numerous participants, including women and children, by the British detachment, must certainly have aroused surprise in all the world. Palestine is surely the country in which Great Britain is engaged in creating a national home for the Jews. A religious ceremony is no Communist demonstration, that it should be forcibly dissolved as such demonstrations generally are. And in Palestine the British are what might be called the allies and protectors of the Jews in general and the nationalistic and religious Jews in particular. And yet the report of the little "pogrom" in which the British police indulged at Jerusalem is quite true.

As a matter of fact, it was an imperialistic provocation, which can only be understood if we take the entire political position of Great Britain in Palestine during the last few years into consideration. Thanks to the absolute regime which the British have instituted in Palestine with the consent of the Zionists, the oppression of the people has greatly increased. The general discontent prevailing in the country made it possible for a tendency to arise among the Arab and Jewish

population in favour of a better understanding of the common Arab and Jewish interests in opposition to British imperialism. Even among the Zionists a group came forward advocating an understanding between Arabs and Jews on the basis of a parliamentary administration. The deep-rooted hatred between the Arabs and the Jews, which was the mainstay of British rule in Palestine, was undermined.

Thus the British policy had to be directed towards arousing national and religious fanaticism, providing a safety-valve for the Arabs and persuading them that it is not the British but the Jews who are their enemies, and forcing the Jewish population back into the discipline of the Zionist organisation.

The incident of the wailing-wall furnished the favourable pretext for action. For this wall is not only a Jewish but also a Mohammedan sanctuary. Despite Zionism and the Balfour declaration, the Jews are there merely as unwillingly suffered guests. They are only allowed to erect a certain number of lamps and benches there. This "status quo" was confirmed by the Zionists themselves, but it was, however, broken. This fact the British exploited for the purpose of saying to the Arab fanatics, "See here. The Jews want first to appropriate the wailing-wall, but later they will covet your sacred mosque of Omar. And it is only we, the British, that protect your interests. How then can we be your enemies, as the national leaders would have you believe?"

That in this interesting example of an establishment of the "pax britannica" between two races a few Jewish heads were broken, may be considered as no more than the inevitable penalty of a very cleverly managed imperialistic provocation. The British officers and men, trained to the task of thrashing workers and dispersing both nationalist and labour demonstrations (as in the case of the anti-imperialistic demonstration of the Arabs at Gaza last April, which ended in blood shed), may find it hard to distinguish between their friends and their enemies and probably look upon every native as an enemy.

This time the British had to risk a little family row with their Zionist friends. The Zionists, who approve smirkingly of attacks on Arabs and are ready to take an active part in the dispersion of labour demonstrations in co-operation with the police (as on May 1st, 1927), can yet not tolerate the application of such methods to pious and faithful Zionist Jews. Hence the mass meetings and protests against the Government in general and certain officials in particular, demonstrations which in some instances threatened to be carried over the heads of the Zionist leaders, a fact which shows how deeply-rooted the discontent with the British is even in those sections of the population which blindly obey the Zionist behests.

The wave of anti-Government protests, however, quickly subsided and now the British are free to pursue their provocation to its end. The Jews are told that it was only at the request of the Arabs that the raid at the wailing-wall was carried out, while the Arabs are assured that the Jewish demonstrations are directed not against Great Britain but against the Moslems. The result is an atmosphere of hatred and bitterness, which again guarantees to the British their rôle as umpires and enables them once more to play the part of the laughing third party.

In view of the present tense atmosphere in the Near East, the British cannot risk the possibility of a united anti-imperialistic movement in Palestine. If Palestine is to form a good strategic basis, the nations inhabiting the country must be incited to oppose and massacre one another.

For the Zionists, who, supposing a similar incident had happened in the Soviet Union, would probably have raised a hue and cry about oppression, blasphemy, barbarity, and Bolshevik inhumanity, but who still continue to lick the boots of the British lords, to idolise British civilisation, and to participate in their name in all sorts of counter-revolutionary conspiracies against the Soviet Union, for the Zionists, who claim for themselves the monopoly of representing the Jewish people, this new British provocation in Palestine should be a salutary lesson, showing them that in the eyes of the insatiable imperialists even the Zionist "allies" are nothing but pawns that may readily be sacrificed as soon as more important aims and political intrigues make such a sacrifice appear advisable.

CHINA

Reorganisation of the Nanking Government.

By Tang Shin She.

On October 10th, the 17th anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese Republic, the Kuomintang, now nothing but a clique of generals and mandarins, proclaimed a new constitution with new Government chiefs, in view of the "consummation" of the revolution. Allegedly in keeping with the ideas of Sun Yat Sen, the new constitution is to have five, instead of three, State authorities, viz. administration, legislation, justice, examination of civil servants, and control. After months of bargaining, the following persons are reported from Shanghai to have been placed at the head of the Government: **Hu Han Min** for legislation, **Tan Yen Kai** for administration, **Wang Chung Hui** for justice, **Tsai Yün Peh** for control, **Ta Chi Tau** for the examination of civil servants, and **Chang Kai-shek** as chairman over all the five authorities.

The new Nanking Government represents the dictatorship of the Kuomintang, a dictatorship of the agents in the interest of the imperialists. The testament of **Sun Yat Sen**, which is proclaimed by the Kuomintang as a sort of sacred commandment, calls for the immediate convocation of an assembly representative of the people. But after the "consummation of the revolution" the faithful adherents of Sun Yat Sen trouble little about this sacred commandment, desiring rather to exercise an unlimited autocracy under the cover of a "period of political guardianship by the Kuomintang".

The six new statemen are all generals or former imperial officials with the exception of **Ta Chi Tau**, who is a writer and has for many years been a member of the Kuomintang. **Wang Chung Hui** and **Tsai Yün Peh** were frequently among the opponents of Sun Yat Sen during his lifetime and often mocked at his ideas; it is only since the conquest of Wuhan by the revolutionary army that they have been in connection with the Kuomintang. Just as after the revolution of 1911 the monarchic emblem was merely exchanged for a republican one, while the State apparatus remained in the hands of the same persons who had one day fought against the revolution and had the next day become its ardent supporters, there has this time merely been the transference of the capital from Peking to Nanking, but the entire apparatus of officials has remained unchanged. The Kuomintang, which at one time designated the Peking Government as militarist and feudalist, has now instituted just such another Government at Nanking.

At the fifth plenary session of the Kuomintang in August last, both **Chang Kai-shek** and **Feng Yu Hsiang** urgently endeavoured to strengthen their position. Thanks to the intrigues and threats of the extreme right groups of Chi San and Kwangsi, the plenary session was dissolved without any resolutions having been passed. The left movement of **Chang Kai-shek**, that is to say the connection with **Wang Ching Wei** for the purpose of a re-animation of the Kuomintang, was thus brought to an end. The advocate of this movement, **Cheng Kung Bo**, was obliged to disappear from Shanghai and flee abroad. **Feng Yu Hsiang** had to his great regret to return to his head-quarters, seeing that several generals in his area of Honan, Shensi, and Kansu had mutinied. The well-known model governor, **Yen Shi San**, knowing very well that his forces were too weak, remained at Tayüan in the province of Shansi to reorganise his troops for the coming civil war. The most fortunate were the representatives of the extreme right wing, the Chi San and Kwangsi groups.

In the present Government the Chi San group has the lead, with **Hu Han Min** at its head and the Kwangsi generals to back him up. **Chang Kai-shek's** position as chairman of the authorities, or, as the bourgeois papers call him, as President, is nothing but a post of honour granted him by the right. Ever since the attack of **Feng Yu Hsiang** last June he has been aware that his political and military rôle is over. A left orientation could, as we have seen, no longer save him. After he had abandoned all his plans and had capitulated to the Chi San group, he demanded to be placed at the head of the admi-

nistration, while he desired that that eternal dummy, **Tan Yen Kai**, should remain at the head of the entire Government. As a matter of fact, exactly the opposite has happened. **Chang Kai-shek** is now the dummy of the Chi San group.

Early in the present year, the Chi San leaders **Hu Han Min**, **Sun Ho**, and others were ousted by **Chang Kai-shek** and proceeded to Europe and America to gain the confidence of the imperialists. They not only got into direct touch with Chamberlain and Coolidge; **Hu Han Min**, the instigator of the massacres of peasants and workers in China, was even fortunate enough to be addressed as "comrade" by **Hermann Müller**. When this connection had been made, the Second International invited the Kuomintang to its congress. The trip of the Chi San leaders was, indeed, not in vain. The British and American capitalists will grant them loans and the Second International will place its propaganda apparatus at their service. Thus the Chi San group is not only an ally of the Kwangsi generals but has also gained the full confidence of the imperialists. The new Nanking Government will no longer need to make "left" gestures and to put on an anti-imperialist mien.

Quite in keeping with the wishes of the imperialists, all "Bolshevist roots" have now been removed from the Kuomintang. The left wing members, **Wang Ching Wei** and **Chen Kung Bo**, have no more a say in the matter. **Chang Kai-shek's** left orientation has naturally ceased. This means that the national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie has no longer any influence on the Kuomintang, which merely represents the interests of the imperialists, militarists, and big landowners.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Fight of the Miners in Czechoslovakia.

By O. B. (Prague).

The rapid rise in the price of food has provoked a fresh wave of great wage movements and defensive fights on the part of the workers in Czechoslovakia. At the head of the wage movements march the miners of the **Kladno** district who declared a strike on October 1st and fought it to a finish. As a consequence of increasing prices the miners are able to buy still less with their wages than at the time of the last miners' general strike in the year 1923. The miners earnings per shift are now 12 per cent. less than in the year 1923, and the purchasing power of the miners' wages is at present only three-quarters of the average purchasing power of the last two pre-war years.

Furthermore, the conditions of the miners are getting worse and worse in consequence of rationalisation. Since 1921 37,000 miners have been dismissed from the mines in Czechoslovakia and, in spite of the fact that instead of the pre-war nine-hour day there is now only an eight-hour day, output has increased. The miners have increased their output over pre-war level by 50 per cent. and over that of 1920 by nearly 100 per cent. The insane speeding up methods of rationalisation cause a great many accidents, the number in 1927 being twice that of 1920, although 37,000 fewer workers were engaged in 1927 than in the year 1920. The wage item in the cost of coal in 1927 was 33.4 per cent. as compared with 42.1 per cent. in 1912.

The change for the worse in the conditions of the miners as compared with 1920 is not only a consequence of rationalisation and of the general offensive of capital, but also of the fact that the masses of the miners have been split up by their reformist leaders.

The **Kladno** miners, most of whom are members of the Red Miners' Section of the International Workers Federation of Czechoslovakia, responded with open fight against the worsening of their living conditions, as soon as the employers rejected their demands for a wage increase of 17 per cent. Instead of granting the wage increase demanded by the miners, the employers offered a wage increase of 2 per cent. for a fixed maximum output and prolonged working hours, which offer amounted to impudent provocation of the whole body of miners.

The strike at Kladno is of considerable significance. The Kladno miners gave the battle signal not only to the miners of other districts of Czechoslovakia, but to the whole of the working masses. The strike is complete. Altogether there are on strike 9000 miners from all the mines of the Kladno-Schlan district. The common strike committee, composed of delegates of all the miners' organisations of the district, is directing the strike. Under the pressure of the miners' fighting spirit the reformist organisations of the district were compelled to declare their solidarity with the strike and carry it on. The strike is becoming more serious from day to day, because the managements of the mines are resorting to various forms of provocation. For instance, at several mines notice was given to members of the mine committee and under the protection of the gendarmerie an action for the enlistment of strike-breakers was organised. At several places in the district there have already been collisions between the miners and strike-breakers. The wives of the miners are displaying particular energy in the fight against strike-breakers.

The example of the Kladno miners is influencing the temper and the fighting spirit of the workers in other districts of Czechoslovakia. In the Ostrau-Karvin district, where on the 9th inst. negotiations concerning the wage demands of the miners again took place, a demonstrative protest movement is starting among the rank and file against the reformist leaders, who are sabotaging and postponing the open fight. At the "Sophie" and "Trojica" pits in this district a demonstration of the miners has just taken place; the miners declared a fifteen-minute strike and sent a delegation to the reformist leaders to demand that the leadership of the reformist organisations should join the fight of the Kladno miners.

In other districts of Czechoslovakia, too, there is a keener fighting spirit among the miners, who everywhere declare their solidarity with the united fight for an increase of wages.

*

Prague, October 12, 1928.

The negotiations, which took place on the 9th October at the Ministry of Labour in Prague between the representatives of the miners' organisations and the coal barons, have not led to any result. The negotiations conducted in the Ostrau-Karvin coal field have also proved abortive. It is the intention of the mineowners, by means of terror and prolongation of the strike, to starve out the striking miners in Kladno and thereby induce them to make concessions. At the same time the mine owners reckon on the aid of the reformist leaders, who in other districts, above all in the Ostrau-Karvin coal field, where 45,000 miners are employed who are likewise in the midst of a wage movement, are sabotaging the proclamation of the strike. The revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are carrying out great agitation and propaganda campaigns, and in Kladno are at the head of the fight. On the 12th of October there was held in Kladno a district conference of all miners organisations which, after hearing the report on the fruitlessness of the negotiations in Prague, unanimously adopted a resolution in favour of further intensification of the fight until victory is attained. The district Conference addressed an appeal to the miners in the other districts to join in the strike and to enter the united fight for increased wages and the other demands of the miners.

The New National Miners' Union in America.

By Arne Swabeck.

With the organisation of the National Miners Union a new type of union with a new type of leadership and an entirely new conception of unionism has made its appearance in America. It developed to its definite formation out of the bitter struggles of the coal miners and it therefore takes as its basis the principles of the class struggle.

Striking fear deep into the hearts of employers and reactionary trade union bureaucrats alike, the movement for the building of this new union was met with the fiercest persecution.

Militant miners were pounced upon everywhere. In the Pennsylvania and Ohio strike the whole machinery of the employers' private coal and iron police, the government courts, state cossacks and national guards together with the treason of the Lewis machine at the head of the old union was thrown against the miners. This first convention convening on Sep. 9, to lay the foundation for the new union, they also hoped to drown in blood but failed.

The national miners convention, held in the citadel of the most ruthless union smashing employers, Pittsburgh, was greeted with blackjacks and guns from gangsters hired by the Lewis machine and clubs wielded by the city police.

These thugs, about 300 in numbers, led by the old union organisers, made an assault upon the delegates as they came to the hall but were successfully repelled taken their injured with them. Immediately police arrived, cracking heads and arresting all delegates they could lay hands on. About forty were hauled to the jails. The rest of the delegates were compelled for the moment to withdraw to their hotels. Police raids were repeated on these hotels and the first days casualty list thus showed 6 delegates in hospitals, one seriously injured, and over 125 in jail. The attacks, however, could not stop the convention which proceeded in another hall and finished its main business under the most trying difficulties.

A total of 650 delegates were elected to this convention. Many of them officially elected from locals of the old union, others representing embryo unions established in the unorganised territories and the balance representing left wing groups. The heavy assault not only reduced the convention forces by those kept in hospitals and jails but some entirely lost connection.

In its declaration of policy, adopted at the convention, the new union definitely rejects class collaboration and goes on record for militant struggle against the employers. It declares itself in categorical opposition to the capitalist parties and in favour of independent working class political action. It pledges its support to the workers' struggles in other industries and for the organisation of the unorganised masses into militant unions. It extends the hand of class solidarity to the workers of the world in the struggle for emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

The National Miners Union is a product of a period leading toward more sharpened struggles. It is a result of the increased imperialist pressure upon the workers which has been particularly felt in the mining industry. It was made inevitable by the innumerable criminal betrayals of the whole Lewis bureaucracy.

Ever since the war unemployment has been a terrible scourge lashing the mining camps. The closing up of many mines which were developed only for the extra war demand, the retrenchment of markets and substitution of other fuels played a heavy part in this. But later introduction and rapid extension of machine mining swiftly made a permanent phenomenon of the constantly growing army of unemployed coal miners. Loading machines, conveyors and mechanical devices are now being installed into all mines in the bituminous fields where the coal vein has sufficient thickness to make it possible and profitable. The small mines allowing only for pick and shovel operation are doomed. Even in the anthracite region with its dip veins the machine is being adapted for these special conditions. Loading machines have in some record cases increased the output per man almost 500 per cent. Thousand upon thousand of coal miners were displaced. One of these machine monsters installed in an Illinois mine, operated by nine men, holds a record output of 425 tons in eight hours. The old union officials failed entirely to do anything whatever to protect the interests of the men as the loading machine advanced, displacing labour completely destroying the once existing working conditions and the existing tonnage rate. The number of permanently unemployed coal miners today probably exceeds 300,000. Misery and want stalks the coal fields;

Adding insult to injury came the countless betrayals of the Lewis bureaucracy at the head of the United Mine Workers. This administration at its beginning took over a union which had become the pride and the backbone of the American labour

movement because of its militant struggle to organise the industry. 70 per cent. of all coal became mined by union labour. The Union had established working conditions which could almost be considered model in its protection of the workers' interests. It encouraged co-operative enterprises and established labour tickets in many local elections. The miners local unions became the economic, political and social centre of the camp.

The rank and file members were willing to fight at the cost of countless sacrifices for their union. Yet the atrocious crimes of the Lewis bureaucracy, the complete collusion with the union smashing attack of the operators finally left only a wreckage of the former proud union.

The most recent betrayals of the Lewis bureaucracy have been of the most far reaching consequence. In the surrender of the national wage scale, the Jacksonville scale of \$ 1.08 tonnage rate and \$ 7.50 for day work, and the decision made on July 18th, completely sanctioning the policy of separate agreements on whatever scale the operators would see fit to pay, the Pennsylvania and Ohio strike was stabbed in the back and definitely lost. The union in both of these districts was finally and completely destroyed.

In the state of Illinois, the last stronghold of the old union, the subsequent agreement signed, early in September, reduced that union to all intents and purposes to a company union with a 20 per cent. wage cut against which the miners rose in open revolt. While their strike could not under the conditions as yet become an organised one these miners are turning definitely toward the new union. Also in the unorganised territories further wage cuts set in. In the coke region of Fayette County, Pennsylvania 40,000 unorganised miners received an 11 per cent. wage cut. In the unorganised territory of the state of West Virginia wages at some points are as low as \$ 3.20 per day.

All these factors, from their very inception, had a distinct radicalising effect upon the broad masses of the rank and file coal miners. The left wing, led by the Save the Union Committee, swiftly gained immense following and was able to build the most dynamic opposition movement witnessed in recent American labour history. Both from the so-called organised and from the unorganised fields the masses of coal miners rallied to its support. The left wing conference, held in Pittsburgh April first gathered over 1100 delegates from all over the country. Its militant struggle to put new fighting policies into the Pennsylvania and Ohio strike; to broaden and extend it into a national one together with the slogan, "Lewis must go", aroused a mighty response. With the further programme of the six hour work day, five day week fight for a national agreement and for militant policies the left wing movement went on until the United Mine Workers became so far exterminated that there was no other course open than the building of the new National Miners Union.

Its foundation has now been laid at the Pittsburgh convention. However, the clash of policies between the left wing opposition and the right wing bureaucracy, formerly within the old union, will continue although assuming different forms. The operators still determined to wipe out all semblance of unionism and establish "open shop" conditions will certainly use the Lewis clique and their company union in very way possible to prevent the establishment of the new militant union. The government, pursuing the imperialist aims of Wall Street, has in the past in every mining camp been an active third force in joint collaboration with the other opposing the new union movement. It will in the future maintain that role.

The bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour, true to its historic role of lackeys of capitalism, are opposing this union. Their answer is a declaration of war upon the Communists, in an effort to prevent the Communists from taking the leadership over the working masses who are getting into motion.

Great are thus the obstacles in the way of the full and complete development of this working class union. Yet the objective conditions are now, and will become increasingly so, favourable for its development. The miners in the entirely unorganised fields are eager for organisation. The Lewis' company union can hold out no hope for the miners. That the

operators will continue their attacks to further reduce the present standard of wages and increase their own profits is quite inevitable, but this additional pressure will serve first of all to further solidify the ranks of the miners and make the new union more essential. The militant tradition of the miners; their understanding of and deep devotion to the cause of a fighting organisation will help secure future success.

Immense are also the tasks of the National Miners Union. First, to make the complete change away from surrender, away from class collaboration toward class struggle. Secondly, to organise all coal fields and restore the nationally fighting unit. To organise all the Negro miners and draw them into full participation and leadership of the union. Thirdly, to restore union conditions, to enforce regulations to protect the miners in operation of leading machines and mechanical devices, as well as to make an extensive fight to secure relief for the many thousand unemployed in the industry. Fourthly, in becoming a real factor to assist the workers every-where in their struggles and to help organise new unions in the unorganised industries. The solution of these tasks will help inaugurate a new era for the American working class in which it can face its real enemy more conscious of its true destiny.

It is no longer disputed that the Workers (Communist) Party plays a very definite role in working class movements of this character. Many attempts have already been made by reactionaries to give the National Miners Union a Communist label, hoping on that basis to frighten the rank and file away. In this they have not been successful, because the movement for the new union long ago made clear that it would be an organisation of coal miners, embracing all workers employed in and around the coal mines, excluding bosses. Our Party has participated very actively indeed in guiding the policies as well as doing the hard every day work to build the movement through our members functioning within.

Other new unions of this type will follow in America. Such are already in the making in the textile industry and within the needle trades. Wherever the old type of unions have become an obstacle to the organisation of the masses of workers in the industry new unions will be built over the head of these obstacles. In the industries entirely unorganised as well, new unions must be built. This is the further task of our Party.

There have been many shortcomings on the part of our Party in conducting this movement from which important lessons must be drawn for the future. Particularly have we been slow in fully realising the militant potentialities of the American coal miners and to an extent the working class as a whole. We have learned that in the future we must much more effectively make the Party's role clear to the workers and more effectively carry on the building of the Party simultaneously with the development of such movements. The movement had in its earlier stage and still has great organisational weaknesses. Yet despite all shortcomings, it holds real hope for the future.

The emergence of the National Miners Union, and the other new unions to follow, should become an important instrument of the American workers in the class struggle. They should become a real source of strength to our Party for only by actively building our Party can the successful organisation of new unions be accomplished.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia in Regard to the Czechoslovakian Problem.

We here reproduce such part of the resolution of the recent plenary session of the C. C. of the C. P. Cz. as has reference to the resolutions of the VI. World Congress of the C. I. in regard to the Czechoslovakian question. The Editor.

The estimation of the situation in Czechoslovakia, as established at the World Congress and the revolutionary tasks that resulted therefrom are wholly in keeping with actual facts in that country.

In the course of the process of reconstruction of the economic foundations, the Czechoslovakian capitalists have succeeded in general in attaining the pre-war level of production and even in exceeding it. Owing to the restriction in the standard-of-living of the working masses and to the rationalisation occasioned by foreign influence (British depression of 1926 and German business boom of 1927), a relatively favourable business position has resulted in Czechoslovakia, mainly based on exportation. In consideration of the peculiar conditions in Czechoslovakia as a State politically and economically dependent, of the great degree of indebtedness, of the small home market and of the vigorous development of industry, the question of foreign markets is a particularly vital one for the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie. This problem and the allied question of war-preparedness are at present the axis on which the entire policy of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie hinges.

In regard to its economic policy, the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to solve the question of its "competitive capacity" by securing the means for exploiting and extending its productive apparatus with a simultaneous increase of its profits, exclusively at the expense of the working classes.

To this end the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie has of late years been accelerating the process of concentration in regard to capital by the formation of trusts and cartels, by an increased participation in international cartel formation, by a coalescence between agrarian and financial capital, and by the inclusion of the farming interests in the sphere of financial capital with the aid of capitalistically managed co-operatives — all of which could be effected thanks to the unprecedented power of monopolised capital. The consequences of the policy of concentration and of the growth of power on the part of monopolised capital were especially apparent in Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine, where industry is being systematically reduced. The union, effected a few days ago, between the German and Czech associations of industrialists, respectively and the close co-operation of the organisations of the agrarians with those of the manufacturers, are the organisational manifestations of a change of structure within Czechoslovakian capitalism.

These facts, together with the consequences they engender, are at the present juncture characteristic of the economic situation in Czechoslovakia.

The economic pressure of monopolised capitalism on the working population of Czechoslovakia is now mainly actuated by the following directives.

It is in the first place directed energetically towards rationalisation, though less pronouncedly in a technical sense (by the introduction of new machinery) as in an organisational connection (elimination of small concerns, particularly in Slovakia, and concentration of output) and quite especially on social lines (increase of the individual working output of the workers, prolongation of working hours, premium system and the like, as may be seen by the example of the rationalisation demands of the coal-owners).

In the second place, the pressure takes the form of the price dictates of the cartels on the home market, as expressed in the increase of prices. Protected by high protective duties, the bourgeoisie monopolises the home market more and more, arbitrarily dictating the prices of commodities and thereby seeking to enhance its profits and to get the better of the risks arising from the competitive struggle on foreign markets. The recently effected increase in the prices of sugar, coal, and all other articles of daily consumption clearly indicates the rapid advance on the road to an unrestricted exploitation of the home market by the monopolies. The prospective new agrarian duties and the general changes intended in the customs system are to contribute to the acceleration of this process.

In the third place, the pressure is to be seen in the increased exploitation of the small peasantry. The growing power of financial capital and its fusion with agrarian capital are causing the latter to pass increasingly into the hands of the former, which aggravates the exploitation of the small peasant class not only by the general rise of prices, but also by the particular rise in the cost of the means of production (agricultural machinery and fertilisers), by raising the rents and the price of credit, by means of a class-protective taxation policy, etc. The economic organisations of the peasantry (co-opera-

tives and the like) are conducted directly by the financial capitalists, who with the aid of these organisations rob the broad masses of small peasants of the fruits of their labour.

Simultaneously with the growth of monopolised (financial) capitalism, we see the continuous growth of its coalescence with the apparatus of the bourgeois State, which increasingly loses the semblance of an instrument above the classes and quite openly manifests itself as a monopolistic tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie in all internal questions (against the proletariat and the other working classes) and in questions of foreign policy too (competitive fight against the bourgeoisie of other States). The intervention of the State authority, especially in the recent wage struggles (at Reichenberg, Kashau, etc.) on the one hand, the procedure in connection with the higher price of sugar on the other, are merely illustrative of this fact. The merging of monopoly-capital with the bourgeois State is likewise apparent in other ways.

The capitalist cartels appropriate part of the indirect taxes and revenues. These render all the necessities of life dearer and contribute greatly to the general price rise. Hitherto the greater part of the proceeds of these taxes accrued to the capitalist State itself, but of late we have observed that the State and the cartels have initiated a regular division of the hundreds of millions squeezed out of the population, the demands of the cartels for a reduction of taxes not purporting a reduction of prices but being merely put forward with the intention that the difference between the high prices and the reduced taxes may flow into their own pockets. A particularly scandalous instance of this shameless division is that of the sugar magnates, though these are by no means alone in their endeavours. The coal-owners, the textile manufacturers, the brewers, and other capitalists are just as unabashed and unscrupulous in their claims to a share in the booty. At the same time the direct taxes due by the capitalists are written off and reduced.

The bourgeoisie, moreover, arranges for its profits to be supplemented and increased out of State means, while at the same time successfully aspiring to the funds of such institutions as are in connection with national insurance. The demands recently again put forward by the federation of Industrialists for the institution of a State guarantee fund for export trade, the offer of the Government to introduce a "cheap", i. e. practically gratuitous, credit for the sugar magnates out of State funds, and finally the fact that national insurance is bound to provide the industrialists with "cheap" credits out of the funds of the workers — all these are facts working in the same direction.

In the interest of the capitalists the State apparatus is ruining and destroying what is known as social policy. The restrictions already put through in regard to national insurance, the intended repeal of what remains of tenants' protection, the increase in rents as from July 1st and the further 20 per cent. rise to be expected as from January 1st, 1929, the reduction of the invalidity annuities, the practical repeal of unemployment relief by means of the Ghent system, and the prevention of the social policy of the communities and "independent" corporations by virtue of financial legislation — was all effected under the device of a "facilitation of output", which means the facilitation of capitalist profits.

The fundamental directives of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie as regards their foreign policy are those of a preparation for war against the Soviet Union under the guidance of the British imperialists. Although the economic interests of Czechoslovakia require the closest possible connection with the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie has been impressed into the anti-Soviet front by its "broadest" class interests and by direct pressure on the part of Great Britain. In comparison with this fundamental anti-Bolshevist tendency of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, the "closer" conflict with Hungary, though important in itself, is of relatively secondary significance. The solution of the so-called Rothermere affair and of the St. Gotthardt incident is a characteristic proof of this fact.

The participation of Czechoslovakia in the anti-Soviet bloc is confirmed all the more by the increasingly amical relations between Great Britain and France, although these two Powers are keen rivals in the influence they aspire to exercise on Czechoslovakia. This fight, which is still in progress, is aggravated by the growth of the new German imperialism, which is also

commencing to influence Czechoslovakia. In consequence of the "Western", i. e. anti-Soviet, orientation of Germany, the growth of German influence on Czechoslovakia cannot, it is true, entail any difference in the present anti-Soviet policy of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it is just Czechoslovakia, which is the object of the policy of the great imperialist Powers and groups, that most clearly reflects the one common aim of all imperialists which is above all conflicts among themselves, viz. the war against the Soviet Union.

From the standpoint of internal politics, the most importance attaches to the continued radicalisation of the working classes, occasioned by the aggravated economic and political pressure of the bourgeoisie on the working population. This Left-orientation of the masses, which found expression last spring in the great fight for the improvement of national insurance and in a series of wage conflicts, is now mainly reflected in the campaign against the high cost of living and in a fresh set of wage conflicts, of which the movement among the miners is most symptomatic. The aggravation of class-differences and class-struggles is here again the inevitable fundamental characteristic of the "reconstruction" period and of the feverish war-preparations.

Parallel with the accentuation of class-differences and class-struggles we have the conciliatory attitude of the reformist leaders towards the capitalist organisations and the State apparatus. The active part taken by the reformist leaders in the construction of Czechoslovakian capitalism, the practice of industrial peace and peaceful-co-operation, does not only find utterance in hemming the economic struggles of the workers (metal-workers, miners, etc.), in the out-and-out destruction of this struggle, in the organisation of regular strike-breaking (building workers), in the attempt to place the economic organisations of the workers under the immediate command of financial (intended "collaboration" of the cooperative wholesale societies with the agrarian co-operatives), in the support of rationalisation, and the like. This fundamental tendency noticeable in the policy of the reformists, is in no way altered by their temporary tactics of "opposition", nor yet by their anti-price-appreciation and other demonstrations, instituted merely for the purpose of duping the increasingly radical working classes. The restrictions of national insurance, effected by the bourgeoisie under the device of a "modus vivendi" with the consent of the reformist leaders — which means in preparation for the entrance of the latter into the Government Coalition, is one of the many proofs that, even in the part of the political "Opposition", the reformists are trusty allies of the bourgeoisie and that the prospective "all-national" coalition will have the same reactionary character as the present international bourgeois bloc. That the reformists are ready to support all war preparations in the interest of a "defence of the country", is obvious in view of their entire attitude. This completely bourgeois orientation of the reformist leaders, whether of the bourgeois trade-union or of the co-operative direction, and their united front with the bourgeois State are connected with bitter attacks on the revolutionary section of the labour movement. The fight against the Red trade unions in the wage struggles, the attempts to exclude them from participation in the collective contracts, the exclusion of the Opposition from the mass organisations controlled by the reformists, the endeavours to destroy the trade-union movement, and the direct approval and support of the persecution of the Communist Party are likewise part of this campaign.

If the reformists are, in Czechoslovakia too, the "left" hand of the bourgeoisie, their right hand are the Fascists, at whose development the bourgeoisie does not cease to work. The demonstrations of the peasant cavalry in Prague, Brünn, and other places, the foundation of the First Rifle Corps at Prague, the growth of the rifle corps movement throughout the country, and finally the tendency towards a Fascist development of all mass organisations controlled by the reformists, are symptoms of the growing Fascist danger in Czechoslovakia.

Alongside the "social" stabilisation of its position with the aid of the Social Democrats and the Fascists, the bourgeoisie is at the same time increasing the persecution of the revolutionary movement. The invigorated censorship, the threats of a suspension of the Communist press, the prohibition of assemblies and demonstrations, the expulsion of the revolutionary railway-men and other employees from the State service, the threats of a dissolution of the Communist Party and of the mass or-

ganisations led by the Communists — all these are links in the chain of "political" preparations for war and measures intended to prevent the working class from continuing its class struggle. The shameful incident at Boronow in the Carpathians must be regarded in connection with this campaign. It is no mere coincidence but bears the stamp of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, the characteristics of the White Terror.

The Central Committee of the C. P. Cz. entirely agrees with the contents of the open letter of the Executive Committee of the C. I., which is the outcome of the careful and comprehensive discussions instituted on the Czechoslovakian question by a commission especially appointed for this purpose by the E. C. C. I. The Central Committee of the C. P. Cz. recognises that the resolution of the C. C. of July 11th, 1928, is in direct contradiction to the spirit of the open letter and therefore declares the said resolution to be invalid.

The chief mistake of the Party in recent times lay in the fact that it failed clearly to comprehend the change in the situation, that at a time of increasing class struggle, the growing danger of war, and the more and more pronounced activity of the masses, it remained inactive and failed to lead the said masses into a fight against the bourgeoisie. By this opportunist inactivity the Party lost touch with the masses, a circumstance which led to the failure of the Red Day, on which occasion the complete isolation of the Party from the proletarian masses became evident while at the same time it became fully apparent that the political line pursued by the Party was wrong.

The Central Committee establishes that the chief mistakes and shortcomings which led to the isolation of the Party from the masses, were of an opportunist character. This was fully proved by its trade-union activity and by the conduct of the economic struggle, by its inactivity in the question of resistance to the menace of war, to Fascism and persecution, by its stupid anxiety to secure a legal standing, by its vague and insufficient estimation of the rôle played by the Social Democrats, by its neglect of the national and peasant questions, by its conduct of mass organisations, and finally by the immediate reasons of the failure of the Red Day (April 4th, May 15th, wage movement of the metal workers, and wrong management of the Red Day itself).

The same symptoms of opportunist inactivity are apparent in the more recent mistakes which the Party has made since the Red Day. It ignored the anniversary of the great war, it remained inactive in the question of national insurance, was insufficiently energetic in conducting the anti-price-appreciation movement and in a number of other important questions, failed altogether to react on the growth of White Terror in Czechoslovakia (e. g. in the case of Boronov), and finally omitted to make preparations for the conference of textile workers of the International Workers' Union. All this is nothing but a continuation of the wrong political line of the Party. In regard to the anti-price-appreciation campaign in particular, the Party committed its old mistake, since its tactics differed at bottom in no way from the tactics of the reformists, the result being that the Party was not in a position to frustrate the cunning manoeuvres of the reformists, whose object it was to feign a struggle against price-appreciation and thus to detract the attention of the working class from the machinations on foot for the restriction of national insurance.

Within the ranks of the Party itself, no sufficient or fundamental fight was taken up against the opportunist danger from the Right, besides which there was a palpable lack of proper Bolshevik self-criticism. The Party apparatus is suffering seriously from bureaucracy and in a certain measure the leaders of the Party have been separated from the broad mass of the members. For this reason the C. C. repudiates the opinion that the principle of democracy within the Party has hitherto been adequately adhered to. At the same time, however, it must be pointed out that the principles of a centralised structure of the Party have not been adequately realised in practice.

All the circumstances above mentioned combined to bring about a crisis in the Party, aggravated by the growth of the Right danger within its ranks. This danger, which is deeply rooted in the entire constitution of the Party, in its Social Democratic traditions, in its lack of revolutionary experience, in the completely insufficient ideological and political attitude of

its membership and its cadres of functionaries and in the lethargy of a great number of the members, has been yet aggravated by the former and the more recent mistakes and is now the greatest danger confronting the Party.

The worst consequence of opportunism in the Communist ranks is the theory of the inactivity of the masses and the opinion that this inactivity has been caused by the success of capitalism in the direction of economic reconstruction and that there is "nothing to be done" for the time being, since broad masses of the Czechoslovakia proletariat are allegedly not ready for a fight against the bourgeoisie. This "theory", which is in drastic opposition to actual facts and to the consequent resolutions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern, is a theory of liquidation and found utterance in a document which was published by the political bureau of the first district as a contribution to the memorandum of the Prague functionaries under the heading "Attitude of the leadership of the First District". It cannot be too energetically condemned and repudiated.

The opportunist danger is moreover reflected in the underestimation of the measures of persecution, and in the efforts towards "safeguarding" the legality of the Party by a mitigation of its revolutionary character. A factor of considerable menace is the opportunist conception of the tactics of the united front; the same may be said of the incomprehension of the bourgeois character of reformism, of the inactivity in connection with the disintegrating tendencies in the trade unions, co-operatives, and other mass organisations, in the failure to grasp the Bolshevik tasks of trade-union work, and the like.

The Central Committee has established that the Right danger within the Party is not restricted to what may be called the historic Right, but that many of the leading comrades of the majority existing hitherto are instruments of such a menace in view of their ideology. The C. C. considers it a serious danger that pronouncedly opportunist elements should be endeavouring to hide behind a professed agreement with the open letter of the E. C. C. I. and to veil their opportunist character with "left" phrases. A formal agreement with the principles expressed in the open letter is no guarantee for their realisation. Similarly, it should be pointed out that the Trotzkyist danger is not yet altogether liquidated within the Party, so that the necessity arises of continuing the fight against all its adherents.

The Central Committee welcomes the resolutions of the Carlsbad district, in which the latter has charged its former mistaken standpoint of considering the C. C. anti-Leninist and demanding its substitution by another body. The C. C. expects that the other organisations occupying similar false standpoints will likewise alter them.

The C. C. condemns the attitude of the Bureau of the First District in the matter of its reply to the co-called memorandum of the Prague Functionaries, and that not only in view of the liquidatory contents of the said reply but also because of its pronouncedly fractional form and character, mainly expressed by the fact that the bureau, though incompetent for such an action, published the said document without the knowledge of the district committee, which has not yet had occasion to vote upon its attitude in this connection, although several weeks have passed since then. A further sign of the fractional character of the above-mentioned reply is to be seen in the fact that its contents were taken from a document which had been repudiated by the Political Bureau. Finally, there was the totally unfounded accusation that the majority of the Prague members were Trotzkyists. The C. C. most decidedly condemns the action of certain opportunist members at Bratislava, who, misusing the comprehensible dissatisfaction of the membership in general, wage a fight against the Party under cover of attacking certain individuals and thus threaten the unity of the Party. The C. C. is convinced that the truly revolutionary workers of Bratislava, who are fighting for the restoration of the Party to a really sound condition, will energetically repudiate all these opportunist and liquidatory individuals.

(To be concluded.)

THE WHITE TERROR

Appeal of the Young Communist Leagues of Persia and Great Britain against the White Terror in Persia.

One of the best and most fearless comrades in the Persian revolutionary working class movement has been murdered by the Persian Government. Comrade Hedjazi a member of the illegal Communist Party and Young Communist League of Persia, was imprisoned for his activities. While in prison he was cruelly tortured in order to compel him to reveal information with regard to the revolutionary movement, its work and members. This he steadfastly refused to do. His death came as a result of the police applying ice to his head for three successive days.

The torture and death of this comrade is but one incident typical of the reign of terror being conducted by the Persian Government against the revolutionary movement. Many revolutionary workers are at present languishing in jail for such "crimes" as participating in the last May Day celebrations, or as "suspected" of being members of the Young Communist League.

This brutal anti-working class terrorism is waged at the behest of and on behalf of British Imperialism, whose puppet the Persian Government is. British imperialist oil interests in Persia and the plan to use Persia as a base for military operations against the Soviet Union are responsible for collaboration of the British and Persian bourgeoisie against the Persian revolutionary working class movement.

The Young Communist Leagues of Britain and Persia unite in protesting against the murder of Comrade Hedjazi, the continued imprisonment of the Persian comrades and the White Terrorism exercised against the workers organisations. Unitedly we demand the release of all imprisoned comrades and call on the working class youth of Persia and Britain to sharpen the struggle against the White Terror in Persia and against British Imperialist domination.

Down with the white terror in Persia!

Young Communist League of Persia.

Young Communist League of Great Britain.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

The Economic Situation of the Soviet Union.

Report of Comrade Kuibyshev at the Meeting of the Leningrad Party Functionaries on September 19th, 1928.

(Continuation.)

The Prospects for the Economic Year 1928/29.

Though there have been many changes for the better in comparison with the state of affairs one year ago, the general economic position at the commencement of the economic year 1928/29 embodies certain specific difficulties, which must be mentioned here. It is a fact in our favour that we are entering upon the new economic year with the fourth satisfactory harvest in succession. According to the computations of the Central Statistical Office, the total of cereals exceeds last year's total by 312 million poods. In this connection, however, the following point must be taken into consideration. In the first place, the distribution of the entire harvest among the different kinds of grain is unfavourable, the result being that, in the case of a general increase of the harvested grain, there will be a certain recession in the total output of bread-cereals. This is the first unfavourable factor. The second consists in the unfavourable geographic distribution of the harvests garnered for the year 1928/29. An increase in the bread-cereal crops is precisely in

those areas which are far distant from the proletarian centres, while a diminution is to be observed in those districts which are wont to furnish the industrial centres with grain. The difficulties with which we are faced in our grain-provisioning work can and will nevertheless be overcome, if all the resolutions passed by the July plenum of the C. C. are realised and if the task of provisioning receives the degree of attention due to this economic operation. The attention of the Party must in this connection not be diminished by a single iota, for if this section of our front is broken there will inevitably be complications on all lines of our economic life.

In the coming year there will also be difficulties, but by organisation, discipline, and hard work we shall be able to overcome them, just as we overcame the difficulties of grain-provisionment in 1927/28. It is the present moment (the close of September and the first half of October) that proves the most difficult, since it is not until the end of October that the grain from Siberia, Kasakstan, and the Volga area will be available in the industrial centres. But a good organisation, together with the observance of all the measures worked out and accepted by the C. C. and the Government, will render it possible to weather the year now commencing without experiencing such difficulties as characterised the year 1927/28. We must, however, constantly be on the watch and the Party must concentrate its entire efforts on this section of the economic front.

As regards the agricultural raw materials, we shall experience every bit as great a tension, which will be yet enhanced by two moments. It is true, we shall have a greatly increased amount of technically farmed products at our disposal. We shall thus have 16 million poods of cotton and a great deal of flax (according to some calculations as much as 11 million poods) in excess of what we had last year. The position as regards oil-seeds, however, is worse than it was last year, for although there has been a great increase in the area under cultivation in this respect, the oil-seed crops are likely to fall slightly short of last year's total. The dearth of vegetable-fats will therefore also be felt in the coming year. With reference to cotton, the difficulties will arise in connection with the importation of foreign cotton, although our own production has increased very considerably.

In regard to linseed, we shall probably be in a much better position this year than last.

This, comrades, is the first circumstance we must take into consideration in regarding the economic year which is about to commence. The situation on the grain market will not be easy; there will be a certain tension. But the efforts of the Party and of all organs of Soviet authority must be directed towards mitigating it. This also applies to the raw materials. If we speak of the coming economic year, however, we must in the very first place will be increased. According to provisional and merely increase of supply and demand in connection with industrial goods.

As I have already pointed out, we shall increase our output by more than 20 per cent. The demand, however, grows exceedingly fast and outstrips the increase in the output of goods. In regard to those branches of industry which work for the broad rural markets, we are increasing our output by 9.3 per cent, since it is the output of means of production which in the first place will be increased. According to provisional and merely approximate calculations, it is to be assumed that the demands of the rural population will increase by about 14 per cent. in the coming economic year. Thus demand grows faster than supply. Naturally these figures may only be taken quite conditionally; but apparently we shall not be able to satisfy the demand for goods in the coming twelvemonth and our industrial output will not suffice. According to some computations, this deficit of industrial production will be even greater than was the case last year, in the first place in view of the rise in the prices of agricultural products which will tend to enhance the demand for industrial rather than the further output of agricultural goods. The latter is but slightly on the increase, while the peasants who sell their produce at higher prices are anxious to acquire more industrial goods for the money received.

The occurrence of a deficit in the coming year too forces us once more to return to the question of the rate of development of our industry. At any price we must absolutely accelerate the growth of our industry as far as possible. What are we likely to attain in the coming twelvemonth? We reckon with an increase of 20 per cent., i. e. 22 per cent. in the case of the industry producing means of production, and

18 per cent. in the case of the industry catering for direct consumption. The heavy industries manufacturing articles of production, will be the object of particular attention in this connection.

The question arises whether we are right in our programme. Is it right that we should particularly accelerate the rate of development of industry producing the means of production in regard both to the investment of funds and to an augmentation of the quantities produced, while the peasant question becomes more and more acute and there is an ever-increasing demand for mass-articles on the rural markets? I believe such a line of procedure to be absolutely correct, for he must be blind who does not notice that a very important change has come about in the rural demand and that the rural markets are calling for machinery and other means of production more than for anything else. The rural districts are gradually transferring their demands from the industries producing articles of daily use to those which produce agricultural machinery, corrugated sheeting, nails and other such objects, which the peasants require in ever greater quantities. Naturally we are ourselves regulating this demand to a great extent.

The further question arises, what form of alliance between industry and the peasantry would be most useful for the purpose of solving the tasks of Socialist construction. Surely such a form as remodels agriculture, and prepares the way for an introduction of socialism among the peasants by means of collective forms of tillage and an enlargement and industrialisation of the farms. Therefore we must ourselves so regulate the demands of the peasantry as constantly to increase their supply with means of production. If we increase the rate of development of the manufacture of the means of production more than that of the manufacture of other commodities, this greater acceleration means at the same time a more vigorous increase in the production of agricultural machinery, a greatly increased output of fertilisers, an increase in the metals required in the rural areas, etc.

The prospects of satisfying the rural population in this respect are not very good. In spite of a considerable advance on the part of the industries manufacturing means of production, in which regard even the rate of annual increase is augmenting, there is not only no diminution, but even a growth, in the deficit of articles of this kind. The percentage of satisfied requirements for unwrought metals is on the decline.

The necessity of giving prime consideration to the satisfaction of the demands for metal on the part of the armament industries, of transports, and of other industrial branches, renders the satisfaction of such consumers as the peasants and the artisans yet more precarious.

In the coming year we stand to increase the output of fertilisers by 74 per cent. No other branch of industry can record such an increase in output. And yet the agricultural requirements of fertilisers will barely be satisfied to 50 per cent. And this only refers to the demands of the central organisations and other State institutions in contact with the rural districts. It is obvious that if we are to satisfy the appetite of the peasants for fertilisers, the industry will never be able to keep pace with our requirements, not even if it doubles or trebles its output. The experience of the last economic year has shown that in a whole series of places prior to the seed campaign, the requirements of the peasants in the way of articles of a productive nature are far greater than we can hope to satisfy.

Finally, the problem of a radical technical reconstruction of the light industries arises again and again with increasing urgency. The rapidity with which this problem is solved is, however, directly dependent on the success and the rate of development of our machinery output. For it would be a great mistake to assume that the technical re-equipment of our light industries can simply be effected by the importation of machines from abroad. That would be a serious political blunder, a renunciation of all the resolutions accepted by the Party, entailing a fatal degree of dependence of the development and rapidity of our reconstruction on the industry of the capitalist countries.

The Difficulties with which we are Faced must not Hinder the Rate of Industrialisation.

All this tends to show that those assertions cannot be too energetically repudiated which speak of an "over-industrialisation" and accuse us of employing unduly great funds for the manufacture of means of production, i. e. for the metal industry, engineering, for hard coal, petroleum, and the like, also maintaining that the rate of development of our industry is exceeding our strength and must therefore be reduced. Such talk, which arises out of a feeling of panic in view of the difficulties with which we are faced and which can only be overcome by as great as possible an increase in the output capacity of our industry, are in direct opposition to the interests and requirements of our country. We are confronted with the immediate danger of a deficit in regard to metals. The Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council recently treated the question of an importation of cast iron. That suffices to show how disagreeable and anomalous is the position in which we are at present. It is altogether absurd to assert that part of the money we spend on great industrial constructions ought to be employed for the lighter industries.

Our engineering industry is advancing very rapidly and can show results excelled by no other branch. But the results are by no means such as we can for a moment content ourselves with. The dearth of machinery continues to be an obstacle to our economic progress. The want of machinery impedes economy in general and agriculture in particular. The importation of machinery is still the first item on the import side of our trade balance and contributes to the prevailing currency tension. We are, however, still dependent on these imports, seeing that the want of machinery was part and parcel of our heritage and could not yet be made good despite all our achievements in this direction.

How can people maintain that our engineering output ought to be reduced or that the rate of its development should be diminished? All this talk of our alleged "over-industrialisation" and of the necessity of slowing-down in this connection, is, as I have already pointed out, only the result of fear in view of the prevailing difficulties. Our economic development cannot be expected to proceed quite without failure, disproportions, or anomalies. We shall constantly be involved in anomalies, seeing that we had not the possibility during the first years of the existence of the Soviet Union to live in peace and to proceed smoothly and uninterruptedly with all branches of our development. We were deprived of this possibility because a great number of contradictions existed even in former times in our industry and in all other branches of our economy, in which connection it must be borne in mind that, the more successfully we progress in our socialist development, the greater will be the difficulties that will be laid in our path by our opponents at home and abroad. The elimination of class differences, which is the final aim of our entire development, will and must be effected in the form of ever greater class struggle. Naturally we shall need more than a decade to eradicate these differences and to ensure a smooth and harmonious development of our economic organism without disproportions and anomalies. These differences and anomalies are inevitable and we shall be occupied with them for a long time to come. They will lead to new difficulties and complications in our economic life. But they will not hinder us, they must not be allowed to diminish the energy with which we carry on development along the lines laid down by our Party. The industrialisation of the country and the enhancement of the rate of industrialisation are both tasks continually confronting us.

We have incurred a very great and serious task not only in regard to industry but also with reference to economy as a whole. We do not only desire to develop our industry but also to create a far higher technical basis; besides this, we desire to transform our rural economy. At any cost we must ensure the strengthening and further growth of the individual farms on the basis of a systematic improvement of the technical and material foundations of their production. We have taken in hand the organisation of great Soviet farms and grain works, which are intended to alter the entire system of grain provisioning on a very large scale. We are advancing towards a collective system of farming and towards the socialist development on the basis of an alteration of material and

technical conditions of production. This will involve a greater use of mechanical accessories, the electrification of agriculture, the employment of chemical products and the like. All these are tasks which it will be extremely difficult to solve, all the more so in view of the discontent of the kulak elements and of the peasantry in general. The kulaks, who will be harmed by the new forms of rural economy exercise a certain influence on the middle peasant strata in the rural districts. Seeing that in our programme of industrialisation we have most decidedly set ourselves the task of destroying local influences of this kind, we must be prepared to meet with discontent and active resistance in certain sections of the population, which will increase the difficulties with which we are faced in an economic respect. On the other hand, this same discontent penetrates through all sorts of channels even as far as certain parts of our Soviet apparatus, the result being doubts as to the possibility of executing such great tasks and as to the wisdom of aspiring to such difficult objectives as are involved in the industrialisation of agriculture and the industrialisation of our entire economy. By penetrating into our Soviet apparatus, such sentiments also find ingress in a small measure into our Party. The Party will have recourse to all available measures for the purpose of nipping in the bud such sentiments as pessimism or lack of confidence. The July plenum of the C. C. openly stated that, apart from its energetic struggle against pseudo-radical tendencies of the nature of Trotskyism, "left" tendencies which in reality hide a Social Democratic core, the Party must also combat such pessimistic currents as are occasioned by the existing difficulties and tend to diminish the energy and activity essential for the solution of the tremendous tasks with which we are faced. Seeing that the difficulties before us are very great and that the unity, discipline, and solidarity of our Party are our only guarantees of success, we must seek not only to combat the pessimistic tendencies, which are to a great part no more than the reflection of the discontent of the petty-bourgeois chaos at our policy of industrialisation, but also to combat the attitude of tolerance observed with regard to these tendencies. We are often told that these tendencies are exaggerated, that they do not really exist, or that they are far less dangerous than e. g. Trotskyism, which, as a counter-current to that of the Party, constitutes a very serious danger, while these tendencies are vague, but half formed, and innocuous, for which reason we may restrict our efforts to opposing Trotskyism. It is absolutely true that Trotskyism should be opposed as vigorously as possible and that there are in our Party certain remnants of war communism which become apparent in connection with the grain-provisioning campaign. That alone is, however, not sufficient. And therefore I am of opinion that the leading article published in the Leningrad "Pravda" of September 18th assumes a wrong attitude in this regard in speaking of Trotskyism as the very greatest existing danger and in completely ignoring the pessimistic tendencies which occur in certain degenerated sections of our Party organism. I second everything said in the article in question against Trotskyism, but to write an entire leading article against Trotskyism and not to have a single word to say about the other dangers — such as pessimism and defeatism — is a sign of short-sightedness, a sign of undue tolerance in regard to the said tendencies, and a failure to pursue the directives set up by the July plenum on the subject of a fight upon two fronts. We must be fully aware that it would be wrong from every point of view to speak of a reduction of the rate of industrialisation, just as wrong from the standpoint of the interest of the next few economic years as from that of the prospects of socialist construction.

In the next few years the industry of Leningrad will be faced with a number of highly important and responsible tasks, which must be fulfilled by the Leningrad proletariat at any cost. I may mention one or other of them. It is for you to lay the foundations of our production of tractors, which is as much as to say, the foundations of the industrialisation of agriculture. Can this be done without a technical adaption of the concerns which were formally not intended for such work or without the investment of certain funds? In the ensuing year we are earmarking a considerable sum, more than 7 million roubles, for the purpose of adapting the Putilov works to the construction of tractors.

Let us take another task you will have to fulfill. Let us take engineering in general and the construction of turbines in particular. We are now constructing the gigantic power-station "Dnieprostroy". This power-station will require dynamos and turbines. If you do not create the foundations for our native construction of machinery, we shall have to procure it from abroad, which is practically impossible in view of the present influx of foreign currency. The requirements of our economy in the immediate future will call for great investments, if our native construction of turbines is to be raised to the desired level. This task must be realised, and that not only from the standpoint of industrialisation and of socialist development. It must be realised in view of the demands of our economy in the future. And yet it is just in such instances that we are told we are "over-industrialising" and "biting off more than we can chew". History, however, will not permit us to proceed more slowly, otherwise the very next year may lead to a series of even more serious anomalies than are apparent to-day. Any careful student of our economy will, I am sure, agree with me that the most serious misproportion, which is most disadvantageous in its effect on our economy, is that between the output of the means of production and the requirements of the country. If we were to delay the rate of development in regard to the production of fertilisers, which calls for such tremendous investments, if we were to slow-down the output of agricultural machinery, we should not be solving the problem of an increase in our productive capacity, a problem which furnishes the key to the problem of our alimentation in general and the alimentation of the industrial centres in particular. If we do not promote and do not accelerate our development in this regard, we shall make no special progress in our task of placing agriculture on a collective basis, simply because there can be no co-operative system without machinery and without fertilisers.

If we do not properly ensure the rate of development of that particular branch of our engineering industry which works for the finishing industries, by a new construction and a new equipment of the respective works, we shall not be in a position to solve the envisaged tasks of a reduction of the initial costs and prices of finished goods, nor yet to realise our intention of increasing wages and raising the material and cultural level of the peasantry.

Thus it is in the relation between the output of and the demand for means of production, metals, chemicals, cast iron, machinery, and the like, that the fundamental anomalies of our epoch are to be sought. These are anomalies that we must eliminate at any price, since it is only thus that we can hope to guarantee a smooth and harmonious socialist development of our economy.

(To be concluded.)

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Conflicts in the Camp of the P. P. S.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

In spite of the numerous denials on the part of the chief organ of the P. P. S., "Robotnik" and of its editor-in-chief, Deputy Niedzialkowski, there is constant increase of evidence that the conflict in the camp of Polish Social Democracy, which has been in progress since power was seized by the Fascist Pilsudski Government, is becoming more acute.

All leaders of the P. P. S. are in complete submission to the bourgeoisie and Dictator Pilsudski. Their policy in parliament and outside — especially in the trade unions and during wage movements — serves exclusively Fascist stabilisation of capital by means of augmented exploitation of the working masses. The policy of the leaders of the P. P. S. is also directed towards keeping the peasant masses from fighting for the land. The P. P. S. helped and still helps Pilsudski in his use of new methods to keep the White Russian and Ukrainian elements in the chains of national slavery. All the leaders of the P. P. S. are, as the bloody murder of the Warsaw workers during the May demonstration proves, Pilsudski's henchmen. They all organise, in the interests of Fascism, the physical extermination of the vanguard of the

revolutionary movement in Poland, the Communists. All the leaders of the P. P. S. are on the job whenever it is a question of arming for war against the Soviet Union.

What is going on in the camp of the P. P. S.? About what is the quarrel in their ranks, which is gradually penetrating into the ranks of the party members and which has already led to open rebellion on the part of the Warsaw organisation under the leadership of Deputy Yavorovski against the executive? Episodes such as the beating of the P. P. S. deputy Zulavski at the meeting of the Warsaw metal workers under the leadership of the same Yavorovski, show that there is something rotten in the State of the "Socialist" bigwigs.

In these disputes it is merely a question of finding ways and means of deceiving the working masses in a still neater fashion than has so far been devised. The only difficulty is that the "Labour leaders" are not at one on the question as to which methods are most suitable for throwing the workers as willing prey into the maws of the bourgeoisie and Pilsudski.

The majority of the central committee of Warsaw and of the supreme council retain their old methods, as was proved by the September conferences of the party committees of the P. P. S. They want to continue to make a show of "opposition". Furthermore, they promise the masses a fight for daily bread and for elementary rights against the "autocratic Government", a fight in the interests of the defence of the "democratic institutions of parliament and of self-government". It is just this democratic pretence, which makes it so easy for the P. P. S. leaders to act as Fascist agents among the masses of workers and peasants.

But the successful advance of the Communists, their triumphs during the parliamentary elections, the welding together of the ranks of the worker masses in the wage fights under the leadership of the Communist Party (during the textile worker strike in Lodz against the scales of punishment), all goes to prove that the proletariat is steadily losing its illusions concerning the attitude of the "opposition". The trick of the opposition phrase no longer works in view of the workers' knowledge, and, this being the case, it is necessary in the interests of Fascism to chain the working masses directly and immediately to Fascism. This is what the Italian Socialists previously did and the same thing was done by Aragona, the reformist trade-union leader. This tactics of immediately linking up the working masses to fascism is to-day represented by the Yavorovski group, which is closely connected with the "suspended" members of the P. P. S., such as the Ministers Moraczewski and Holovko, the great potentate of the Fascist Government and one of the Organisers of the war against the Soviet Union and of the occupation of Lithuania.

Javorovski and other leaders of the Warsaw organisation do not want any opposition policy, nor even a verbal opposition. They demand an "objective" attitude towards the policy of the Pilsudski Government. The supporters of Yavorovski, who (before the workers) still carry on the pretence, speak of the "defence of the principles of the present regime", but they openly acknowledge themselves prepared to come to an understanding with "List one" (Fascist government election list), i. e. with the Fascist Party of Pilsudski. "Naturally", not with the whole of "List one", only with its "democratic" faction. As though the petty-bourgeois "working union of town and country" were not just as Fascistic, just as hostile towards the workers and peasants as the other portion of the same "List one", the association of landed proprietors and industrialists.

At the last national conference of the P. P. S. the Yavorovski group met with a defeat, but the supreme council of the P. P. S. has not succeeded in settling the quarrel which rages in the midst of the P. P. S. The two tendencies — open Fascism and veiled Fascism — will continue to fight against one another and increase the confusion prevailing among the working masses which still belong to them. The resolutions of the national conference of the P. P. S. are intended to persuade the workers that the P. P. S., in contrast to the Yavorovski group, is a group fighting against Fascism. The workers must be on their guard. The fight against this masked group of Barlicki, Niedzialkowski and others must be conducted with greater zeal than the fight against the Yavorovski group, which openly acknowledges its partisanship with Fascism. A masked enemy is a thousand times more dangerous than an enemy who has discarded his mask.

MacDonald — Emigration Agent of "The Empire".

By J. Louis Engdahl.

James Ramsay MacDonald, erstwhile "labour premier" to the British king and piteous adviser of imperialism on how to maintain its oppression in overseas possessions, urges another "commission", this time to unravel the knotty problem of emigration from Great Britain to Canada. This also involves the exodus of workers to such other domains as South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

MacDonald has been to Canada, the upper half of the North American continent. He has visited from Newfoundland in the Atlantic to Vancouver Island in the Pacific. In fact, his proposal for an emigration commission, half British and half Canadian, was made at Montreal on his homeward journey, after assuring the Canadian capitalist press of "the genial, hearty, and hospitable welcome of your people. I have never felt so much at home anywhere".

At the same time, however, thousands of unemployed British coal miners, who had been sent into the Canadian harvest fields, were facing the emigration problem in all its bitter realities. Great numbers found no jobs, others took what they could get at meagre wages. Hundreds poured back into the cities, hungry and starving; demanding to be sent home. Suicides of the most desperate became frequent. At the Immigration Hall in Winnipeg protesting workers were herded like sheep in a cage underground, with armed soldiers and policemen standing watch over them.

The last condition was even admitted by Labour M. P.'s attending the conference of the British Empire Parliamentary Association at Winnipeg, the gateway to the Canadian grain growing west.

The "Right Honourable" Thomas Shaw, Minister of Labour in the Ramsay MacDonald government, member of the "Parliamentary Association", admitting he knew of the conditions of the unemployed, nevertheless, declared that as a guest of the Canadian Government it would be preposterous for him to attempt to speak disparagingly. His expressed wish was that:

"We all want to see all the dominions of the Empire flourish, and that the decent, self-respecting Britisher will be able to get a decent living in any part of it, if they want to leave the Motherland."

Thus MacDonald with his plans for a "commission", reminiscent of commissions sent to India and elsewhere, and Shaw with his fond ambitions for "the empire", try to keep alive the fiction of "golden opportunities" in the colonies.

This is the same fiction that has lured tens of millions of workers, through several centuries, across the Atlantic. First the stream poured its main flood into the United States. But in later years it has been directed more into Canada and South America.

The unemployed British coal miner had to be presented with the rainbow picture of plentiful jobs in the harvest fields at \$4 and \$6 per day. He could stay, if he liked, in this "land of plenty", or return home with his "stake". But what he actually found was few jobs and these at \$1 and \$2 per working day from 4.30 a. m. to 8.30 p. m., with deduction for food and lodging and for rainy days when it was impossible to work in the fields. And the harvest would only last about six weeks.

Fully a quarter of a century ago there was a tremendous migration of desperate farmers that moved north out of the Mississippi Valley in the United States into the wheat raising provinces of Canada — Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan — where they were promised cheap land and abundant harvests. Even this migration has been halted for many years, because it offered no escape. Canada is "filling up".

It is significant that in Eastern Canada, many workers, mostly French Canadians, seek an escape from intolerable industrial conditions by migrating to the Eastern sections of the United States, especially to the New England States, where they endure the severest exploitation in the textile and shoe industries. These are now among the strikers in the bitterly fought struggles, at present being waged in New Bedford and Fall River, in Massachusetts.

It is a ghastly fact that the capitalist press of these two textile centres are carrying the advertisements of the same

"Canadian National Railways" that is luring the unemployed British miners to Western Canada. Similar publicity appears in the enemy press in other cities, all urging workers to "Help Canada Harvest Biggest Crop in Its History — Large Number of Men Required for Harvesting — Earn Money when Seeing Western Canada". All of which helps to create a labour flood into the harvest fields that places the worker at the mercy of the farm owner, who usually functions through local chambers of commerce and boards of trade. There is, of course, the regular standing army of seasonal workers, that annually looks for jobs in the autumn in the harvest fields, moving into the lumber camps for work in the winters, and in the spring and summer seeking employment in the great cities, especially as unskilled labour in the building industry.

The fraud foisted upon the jobless British coal miners, and abetted by the Empire-boosting Labour Party "leaders" in parliament, could have been easily foreseen. All the predictions of the British Communist Party and its press are being verified by the disappointed miner-harvesters being deported back to Great Britain, the Canadian ruling class being fearful of the discontent they were creating by remaining.

In the years since the world war the migration to Canada has consisted mostly of poor workers and farmers seeking an escape from the white terror rule of Finland and Poland. They have been compelled to work in the poorest paid and most difficult occupations or to settle on wooded and swampy farms.

Yet these workers command at least \$3 per day, while the miner victims of British-Canadian Empire schemes have been compelled to sell themselves at times for \$35 per month.

With the harvest season over they will drift back into the cities, in the words of the Alberta Labour News, (Edmonton, Alberta) Sept. 15, "lowering the standard of living by their willingness to work long hours at smaller rates of pay".

Even this official organ of the conservative Canadian labour bureaucracy contends that "sufficient labour is available in Canada without the necessity of importing Britishers for this seasonal work".

J. Ramsay MacDonald thus appears in the role of British imperialism's emigration agent, trying to relieve the pressure of the unemployed army against capitalism at home by beating down the standards of living of workers in the dominions. This is another anti-labour role of MacDonald, lackey of "the Empire".

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Mobilisation of the Women in Germany for the Fight against Armoured Cruiser Construction and the Danger of War.

By Lene Overlach, Berlin.

"Without the active co-operation of the women there can be no mass movement."

We were reminded of these words of Lenin during the big election fight of this year, when broad masses of women took active part; in which the C. P. G. and the S. P. G. reduced by 5 per cent to 10 per cent, the great advance of the bourgeois parties in regard to proletarian women's votes in the most important industrial districts.

We were reminded of these words of Lenin during the big economic fights of last year, in which, for the first time, there were relatively more women engaged than men. We are thinking of them during the present fight in the Rhenish textile industry, in which 45,000 textile workers, the greater part of women, are locked out. Even in the preliminary fights of this lockout the growing significance of the participation of the female workers in the present political fight was apparent. The working women at a spinning mill started passive resistance, when without notice 10 per cent was knocked off their wages. The police, who was summoned by the management, made two attempts to drive the women out of the mill, but were obliged to give up the job as hopeless.

The immense significance of drawing the masses of women into the battle front is more striking than ever before in the campaign for a referendum against the construction of armoured cruisers. In this case the proletarian women masses must be the deciding factor in the voting.

As in the case of the big mass movement against the compensation for the princes, the question is again so simple and comprehensible for the women that in this campaign, whose political significance as a more pronounced fight against imperialist war is much greater than that of the campaign against the royal houses, we can with a sufficient energy come in contact with still broader strata of women.

How do we put the political questions?

Armoured cruisers instead of bread, building of armoured cruisers instead of building of dwellings, 500 millions for armaments instead of meals for school children and proper care of mother and child; that is the simplest and most comprehensible way to put the question to proletarian women in order to wake them up. In this way the whole of the social privation of the working masses, especially of the women and children, is brought up; in this way the contrast is marked between the totally inadequate budgetary estimate for social work, which has this year been reduced by 400 million marks, with the 750 million military estimate, and a vivid picture is painted of imperialist Germany.

Who is going to pay for the construction of armoured cruisers? We place before the eyes of the women the bill, which will be presented to the proletariat in the form of taxes, duties, increases in railway fares and rates, reductions in regard to social needs, etc., for the building of armoured cruisers. Practical examples, such as the contrasting of the 10-million tax gift to the big capitalist tax-dodgers with a half pfenning wage tax reduction for the proletarian, throw a glaring light upon present-day class relations.

Why armoured cruisers? The proletarian women, the bulk of whom have so far given no credence to the Communist cries of warning concerning the war menace, are now beginning to pay attention to the increasing danger of war: "Armoured" cruisers are not built for pleasure trips, but for war." What is the purpose of the "wonderful Zeppelin", of its escort of aeroplanes, of the poison gases in Hamburg, of the military manoeuvres? Fact links to fact: armoured cruisers, Boncour Military Law, volunteer women's armies in Poland, Finland and Czechoslovakia.

By the recruiting of women workers in factory athletic clubs, as factory nurses and in Fascist associations not only does the employer today gain a willing, cheap object of exploitation, but the capitalist State to-morrow gains willing munition factory girls, women to make explosives instead of artificial silk, poison gases instead of chemical products and athletic women for war service.

The insane exploitation system in the factories, the speeding up, the constant endeavour to reduce the wages of the women in particular are closely connected with the imperialist aspirations of Germany to obtain sales markets through price-cutting at the cost of Labour.

The women at the meetings of the C. P. of Germany almost breathlessly listen to such utterances, and, under the weight of the evidence presented, it dawns dimly upon them how close the relation is between their exploitation and misery and the imperialist ambition of the bourgeoisie and the growing danger of war.

Who is responsible for the building of the armoured cruisers? Hereupon there follows the settling of accounts with the Social Democratic Party. We beat it with their own election slogans, and expose their lies and their unexampled treachery. We contrast their election cries and pamphlets with their actions. In this we are also supported by the fact that the Social-Democratic women's groups have not had a single word to say against the armoured cruiser.

The Centre, too, which published during the elections big placards with the promise: "I lead you to peace, justice and morality;" is stigmatised before the proletarian women as an armoured cruiser party.

The mobilisation of the women under these political points of view have been started by the C. P. G. through meetings, demonstrations, house and court yard propaganda. Everywhere in Germany there is a women delegates movement, as for instance, in Chemnitz, Stuttgart, Solingen, Berlin, the women delegates meet at conferences, at which they oppose the building of the armoured cruiser and make it their most important task at present to enlighten the working women in the factories.

The Red Women's and Girls' League, also, demonstrated at impressive Red Women's district meetings, to which proletarian women from the districts of Berlin-Brandenburg, Silesia, the Saxon districts, Wasserkante, lower Rhinlands flocked. Its members are all engaged in the work of enlightening and recruiting; but the organisation regards as its chief task the fight against imperialist war. In this connection it also tries with success to destroy the pacifist illusions of the women.

In view of the extraordinary significance of the mass mobilisation of women against the imperialist war, the C. P. G. must still greatly increase its work among the women. The question of the imperialist arming of Germany is now constantly on the agenda and we will accordingly steadily intensify our agitation propaganda among the masses of women in order to recruit them in the Red United Front, so that the mass movement against the imperialist war and for the protection of the Soviet Union may be considerably extended.

The Life of the Working Women in the Textile Industry of France.

By Yvonne Robert.

Capitalist rationalisation is constantly penetrating deeper into the textile industry of France. For the workers, and especially for the women workers and youths, this means very hard working days, unhealthy conditions and other changes for the worse in their conditions of life, which are already miserable.

A few examples taken from the life of the workers in the industry will illustrate the existence of these thousands of objects of exploitation.

In Bohain the women in the weaving mills get 12 francs (2 shillings) for nine very hard working hours.

In Amiens the workers earn 100 to 110 francs per week for 49 working hours, while the women get 80 francs and the youths from thirteen upwards get only 30 francs per week.

In Turcoing, at the mill of Mazurel, a rich industrialist and member of the trust, the young embroiderers must look after two embroidery-frames at the same time, and rationalisation, with the increasing speed it brings about, compels those engaged on crochet work to clean their machines while they are running. The consequence is that never a week passes without an accident.

In Roubaix, at Leporche and Mott's, the biggest textile concerns, youths from 13 to 15 years of age get from 40 to 45 francs per week and work nine hours a day. The industrialist, a great philanthropist, puts them up for 35 francs a month. What other fate can await these unhappy women than prostitution?

In Comines, in the ribbon mills, the over-production arising from rationalisation has led to a fifteen per cent drop in wages. While the cost of living index is going up, while rents, clothing, the cost of housekeeping are constantly becoming dearer, there is talk of reducing wages instead of raising them.

In St. Pol work is carried on in shifts from 5 a. m. to one p. m. and from one p. m. to 8 p. m., whereby the worker looks after two looms, in order to earn 9 to 10 francs per day. At this wage there is also a bonus system. Each year a bonus of 1000 francs is given to each worker who has not missed a single day's work. For the first week of absence 8 francs per day is deducted, later 15 francs a day.

In consequence of these deductions it is seldom that the women workers get anything out of the bonus.

Working conditions are shocking. In the over-heated workshops it is necessary to work in nothing than a shirt. The sweat and vapours which pour out glue the shirt to the skin. Young girls of 12 and 13, who enter these penitentiaries strong and healthy, leave them, for the most part, at 20 to 25 exhausted and tuberculous.

The majority of the women, who work in the damp atmosphere, remain childless. 60 per cent of the babies die in their first year, and most of the remaining 40 per cent are sickly or suffer from rickets and tuberculosis.

The day-nurseries, which are erected in a mill here and there, are filled with microbes and dust from the wool and the cotton. The mothers cannot clean themselves before going to feed their babies and, therefore, offer them the breast under most insanitary conditions.

Last year internal combustion in the cotton caused a fire at Motte's in Roubaix, and the mill and the day-nursery, with the children and the nurses, were burnt. Since that time the women have been afraid to make use of the day-nurseries erected in the midst of the factory and, for this reason, many babies remain at home while the mother is at work.

The dwellings of the workers are extremely mean. The employers own all the ground and all the houses and the dwellings they put at the disposal of the workers are mere dens. Rents are not high, but water, wind and cold drive through the hovels. The children, the parents and the old people of the household, numbering 6, 8 or even 10 persons, live packed together in misery in a stew of germs and microbes. It is true that there are new houses, but these are either very dear or they are given to those workers who are friends and loyal servants of their employers.

In certain factories in Roubaix, in order to earn a moderate wage, the workers must have their children baptised, send them to church schools, etc. Whoever evades this decree is exposed to innumerable annoyances and is finally dismissed.

In the fight against these miserable conditions, the textile workers of France met on September 2nd for their mill congress. They demand half a franc an hour with a supplement of a quarter franc for the workers in the spinning mills, the dying shops and the stores. The same wage is demanded for youths and for the women, whereby care of mothers in the mills is claimed.

The workers were aware that the breaking out of the strike would constitute a declaration of war to the trust. The trust is rich and well organised. It embraces all of the employers in the textile industry of Northern France, while the trade unions are weak and their funds are low as a result of previous strikes.

But the textile proletariat of Northern France are acquainted with these difficulties and will conquer them, they have seen the example of Red Halluin, whose workers get recognition of their demands by open fighting with textile capital and enjoy the best wages of all the textile workers of France.

The fight will be a hard one, for it is not against capital alone, but also against Social Democracy and against the reformist trade unions, who as the lackeys of the industrialists, oppose the strike and work for settlement by enforced arbitration. But the united front of the exploited workers will defeat the united front of the exploiters and of the treacherous leaders of the Socialist Party and of the trade unions.

OBITUARY

Comrade Skvorzov-Stepanov.

To the Memory of an Old Marxist.

By E. Varga.

In all spheres of his activity Comrade I. I. Skvorzov-Stepanov stood for the orthodox Leninist line. He advocated this line in his activity in all the various organisations with which he was connected. The many-sided activity of Comrade Skvor-

zov-Stepanov and his steadfast support of orthodox Marxism exercised upon the international labour movement an influence the ideology of which was to a great extent determined by the tendency indicated by the Russian Marxists.

The ranks of the Russian Comrades who collaborated with Lenin, whose knowledge of capitalism was based on their own experience and who studied it at first hand, are becoming continually thinner. It is true we now have a young generation of comrades who are trained in the Marxist school, which is more numerous than at the time of Lenin. But this generation which has grown up under the proletarian dictatorship, has gained its knowledge of capitalism more from books. For the generation, the oldest members of which are now 30 years of age, capitalism is a historical category, a form of society which they know mainly theoretically or from short journeys abroad. It is difficult to study capitalism in the shape of "our" Nep people.

With the departure of fighters of the old generation the leadership of the revolutionary movement and of the Communist International becomes more complicated. In this sense the death of Comrade Skvorzov-Stepanov means, although he did not immediately participate in the work of the Comintern, the death of one of the oldest theoreticians of Marxism, a severe loss to the international revolutionary movement.

The Career of Comrade Skvorzov-Stepanov.

Comrade Ivan Ivanovitch Skvorzov (K. Stepanov) was born in February 1870 as the son of a humble office worker. After passing through the Moscow Teachers' Seminary he became a teacher in a Moscow town school where he remained up to May 1895 when he was arrested and expelled from Moscow. In the year 1901 he was again arrested in Moscow, a few hours after he had been co-opted as a member of the Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. He was banished to East Siberia for three years. In the year 1905 he was put forward by the Bolsheviki as a candidate for the Duma. The years 1911 to 1913 were spent in exile. Since 1905 he was a member of the editorial staffs of various Bolshevik newspapers and periodicals.

After the October Revolution he took over the chief editorship of the organ of the Moscow Soviet. In the Summer of 1917, Comrade Skvorzov was elected chairman of the Bolshevik fraction of the Moscow town Duma.

Since the October Revolution he filled various responsible posts in the Party. At the 14th Party Congress he was elected as member of the C. C. Since June 1925 he was responsible editor of the "Isvestia".

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.