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Eleven Years of Proletarian Dictatorship — Ten Years of Bourgeois Democracy.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

Simultaneously in these November days the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world will celebrate the 11th anniversary of the proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class in the Soviet Union, and the bourgeoisie with its Social Democratic appendage the 10th anniversary of the inception of bourgeois democracy in the capitalist republics of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Latvia.

When in October and November 1928 the proletarian uprisings in the belligerent states of Central Europe swept away monarchy, two ways lay open to the workers. They could choose either the way which the Russian proletariat had gone with its rising of November 1917, the way of the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, or else the way of bourgeois democracy. Under the leadership of the Social Democrats the proletariat of the Central European states elected the way of

democracy, which was to lead, according to the promises of the Social Democrats, to Socialism, while the way chosen by the Russian proletariat must, it was asserted, inevitably lead to chaos and wildest anarchy. Men like Kautsky, Fritz Adler and Otto Bauer assured the workers that bourgeois democracy was the smoothest way to Socialism. Why, then, choose the thorny path of proletarian dictatorship and sanguinary revolution, while by means of the ballot box the Social Democrats could peacefully lead the masses to Socialism with the assistance of the great inventors of new social systems? Commissions of socialisation were appointed and it was loudly proclaimed on all sides that socialisation was on the march or that socialisation had come.

It was of little use that the Communists explained to the workers that the liberation of the proletariat from capitalist bondage was only possible by way of revolution, by means of

the revolutionary seizure of power, the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship; that the expropriation of the big capitalists and big landowners were necessary presumptions for the alteration of the conditions of production and thus also for the transition to Socialism. The Social Democrats stifled the voices of the revolutionary warners and mowed down masses of the revolutionary champions and leaders, in the firm conviction that they were thereby putting the axe to the roots of the proletarian revolution and ensuring the democratic way to Socialism.

Ten years, or eleven years, of development now lie behind us and clearly show which way really leads to Socialism, that of the proletarian dictatorship or that of bourgeois democracy.

The Soviet Union has not fulfilled the prophecies of the Social Democratic leaders of the workers by ending in chaos and in wildest anarchy; it has not succumbed to the attacks of its enemies; it has not only held its own against all the military, economic, and financial assaults of the bourgeoisie of all the world, but has also achieved a work of the most gigantic significance and of unprecedented dimensions; isolated from the bourgeois world, relying only on itself, it has restored the old production of pre-war times, and surpassed it, and commenced to proceed along the path of socialist construction.

The way of the Russian proletariat was no easy one. No other belligerent country was so shaken in its economy by the war as was Tsarist Russia. For years on end civil war raged in the cities, in the industrial regions, and in the innumerable villages of the immense country. A series of military invasions had to be resisted, in the north, in the south, in the west, and in the Far East. By reason of these struggles in the interior and in the border-districts of the country, economy continued to deteriorate, until it seemed as though Bauer and Kautsky were right in their predictions of the chaos which would be entailed by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But now facts speak an altogether different language. The big bourgeoisie and landowners have long since been expropriated and driven out and their resistance is broken. The bourgeois State with all its institutions has been destroyed. The workers are the masters of industry; they have occupied all the economic points of vantage and have all political authority at their disposal. The Red Army is the mighty defensive instrument of peace for the Soviet Union. The Russian proletariat has succeeded, without the brain-activity of individual pedants; without the Social Democratic inventors of new systems of socialisation, and without the twaddle of patent Socialists of the type of Bauer and Hilferding, in organising the productive forces of the country and in erecting a systematic proletarian economy, within the confines of which the proletarian masses develop the sphere of influence of socialist economy and oust the remnants of the capitalistic world with exemplary vigour and at an exemplary rate.

The yearly growth of industrial production in the years of reconstruction from 1920 to 1926 figures at from 40 to 60 per cent. In the reconstructural period in which Socialism is beginning to develop its foundations — by a socialist rationalisation of industry, by the construction of new works, and by the magnificent electrification of the country — the growth figures at 20 per cent. This is three or four times the rate of development at the most prosperous period of capitalism. The banks and the means of transport are now exclusively in the hands of the proletarian state. Foreign trade is a monopoly; state trade and the co-operatives command four-fifths of the entire circulation of goods; 80 per cent. of industry and almost all the heavy industries are the property of the proletarian state authority.

Now that the conquest of industry and trade by the ruling working class is practically completed, steps are being taken towards including agriculture in the system of socialist production by the formation of gigantic Soviet Union estates and by the co-operative combination of individual peasant farms with a view, so to say, to the industrialisation of agriculture and its elevation to a higher level of production.

The pre-war level of wages has been surpassed, in many branches of industry very considerably so. The eight-hour day is the maximum of daily working hours. In the mines below the surface the six-hour day prevails and in the rationalised industries the seven-hour day has been introduced. The social insurance and social legislation of the Soviet Union far surpass all institutions of the kind in the capitalist countries. The pro-

letariat takes part, not only legislatively but also administratively, in all institutions of the state. The management of the factories is passing more and more into the hands of proletarians; the factory councils control the production in the factories and workshops and the entire life in the industrial enterprises. A powerful advance is noticeable in cultural life throughout the Soviet Union. The proletariat is conquering the high-schools and wiping out illiteracy. The proletarian power ensures to the working class its material existence, a social foundation and a cultural development, unrestricted by any fetters and advanced by all possible means.

But not only the proletariat has advanced to Socialism and to a higher level of culture by means of the proletarian dictatorship. The same thing applies to the mass of small and middle peasants and especially to the national minorities, which were oppressed by the Great Russian predominance under Tsarist rule and have only now, in the Soviet Union, acquired the possibility of an unhampered development of their national culture and their economic progress.

How far the path of proletarian revolution, the path of proletarian dictatorship, has led, may be seen clearly in the case of the Soviet Union.

But no less clearly may we see by the development of bourgeois democracy, in what direction the peaceful path to Socialism, via bourgeois democracy, so greatly lauded by the Social Democrats, has actually led. With the aid of bestial military elements the revolutionaries of the working class were massacred in the democratic countries which arose in November 1918. The Finnish revolution was suppressed by Mannerheim, the representative of democracy, and by the imperial general Von der Goltz. 80,000 proletarians paid for this victory of democracy with their lives. In Esthonia the same forces of reaction ensured the victory of the bourgeoisie over the working class. Since 1924, Esthonia has witnessed the most atrocious terrorism. In Latvia the former revolutionary bourgeoisie, in collusion with the leaders of the capitalist Powers, has established an unparalleled arbitrary rule. The toiling masses, peasants and workers alike, have been plunged into abject misery; the class trade unions of the proletariat have been dissolved. In Lithuania the Fascist Woldemaras rules supreme. Countless workers and peasants have there been massacred by the democrats. Needless to say, the Communists are altogether outlawed in these democratic countries while the Social Democrats are the aiders and abettors of the establishment and maintenance of these "democratic" conditions.

In Poland the Democrat Pilsudski started on the peaceful path to Social-Fascism with his attack on the Soviet Union in 1920. He has since then continued this policy by his unscrupulous violation of the national minorities, by his creation of a band of military conspirators, who lower like a nightmare over the country and whose rigorous tax-collections ruin the lower classes. Quite in keeping with the old Tsarist laws, great numbers of the proletariat are thrown into the prisons and jails if they dare to lift a finger in defence of their most primitive rights. The landowners and the bourgeoisie have the entire power in their hands. An unprecedented corruption reigns in the state apparatus. The manner in which the workers are peaceably led to Socialism is illustrated by the great strike at Lodz and the other centres, a strike into which the workers were driven by their misery and by the brutal arbitrary rule of the employers and the police. In this country the Social Democrats are the faithful henchmen of Pilsudski and of the bourgeois and aristocratic circles behind him.

Czechoslovakia, the democratic country of the Democrat Masaryk and the Socialist Benes marks its advance on the peaceful road to Socialism by its national oppression of the Slovakian population and other national minorities and quite particularly of the proletariat. The only progress in the way of a liquidation of national contradictions is the alliance between the Czech and German bourgeoisie for the military preparation of the country by the organisation of military bands of desperados with the help of French officers and for the purpose of an increased exploitation and political violation of the working masses. This democracy has taken over the old censorship of Metternich from the former Austrian Empire. Batta is the name of the social apostle who with his famous system is engaged in leading the workers to the Socialism of the graveyard.

The suppression of the Communist newspapers at Prague and Brünn are the last steps on the way to this democratic paradise.

In Austria, the country of Otto Bauer, Renner, and Adler, the model country of the Social-Democratic way to Socialism, is face to face with the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship under its parson-minister Seipel. The standard-of-living of the working classes is constantly on the decline. The arbitrary rule of the reaction grows more and more insolent and the persecution of Communists has become incessant. With a view to securing a peaceful development, Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch advocated and carried out the voluntary disarmament of the Republican Defence Corps. On July 15th last year they helped to drown the rising of the Vienna proletariat against Fascist justice in its own blood and calmly looked on while hundreds of sincere proletarians were being sent to prison for their defence of democracy. On October 7th of this year the Fascist bands paraded undisturbed through Wiener-Neustadt, while the Social Democratic leaders demobilised the Vienna proletariat, which had desired to stem this advance of Fascism by a counter-demonstration.

Finally, let us consider the advance towards Socialism in the "freest democracy of the world", in the Germany of Ebert. It started at Christmas 1918 with the murder of young workers and sailors in the Berlin palace. Noske organised the monster of militarism. The victims were Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and Leo Jogiches. The Munich murders, Mechterstädt, Mansfeld, and Bremen are other milestones on the way. The Kapp putsch, the entrance of the Reichswehr into Saxony and Thuringia, the massacres in Upper Silesia, the "Feme" murders, the Phoebus scandal, the transformation of the "democratic" police and military organisations into institutions for the bludgeoning of workers, bodies all conducted by undisguised reactionaries, such as the Technical Emergency Aid, the Railway Defence, the Citizen Guard, the "Steel Helmet", and the Factory Policy — all these are achievements on the way to Socialism via democracy. Deprivation of the eight-hour day, immeasurable increase of exploitation by capitalist rationalisation, systematic price-appreciation of commodities for the masses, impoverishment of the working class, frustration of strikes by the arbitration-guillotine — all of them steps towards Socialism. Princes' indemnity, surrender of the schools to the clergy by the concordate in Bavaria, prospective concordates in the other parts of the country, suppression of the freedom of opinion and of cultural development by publication laws, presentation of 715 million marks to the Ruhr industrialists, armoured-cruiser policy — all steps in the same direction.

Upon this path to Socialism lie the corpses of 15,000 murdered workers, while tens of thousands of years of jail and imprisonment have been meted out to revolutionary fighters, while the upper classes have grown inordinately rich and the working class has been rendered powerless. The trade-union organisations have been misused by the reformist leaders for strike-breaking purposes, as in the case of the Hamburg dock strike. By a class collaboration policy, by coalitions and the humbug of economic democracy, the proletarian class is split and diverted from the class struggle. The whole campaign is crowned by the wholesale unscrupulous offensive of the employers for the purpose of openly setting up their economic and political dominion. At a time when the German democratic republic is celebrating its tenth anniversary, 220,000 foundry workers are locked out, the binding arbitration-award of the Social Democratic Minister Wissell not serving to deter his bourgeois coalition-partners from their ruthless policy. These foundry workers are shortly to be followed by half a million textile workers. "Through strife to peace", cry the employers; "no compromise", "the workers must be crushed, so that the capitalistic development may be secured", "— so that there may be law and order in the land".

Eleven years of proletarian dictatorship, ten years of bourgeois democracy. It is for the working class to say, which of these ways leads to Socialism. We Communists declare, "There is but one way to the liberty of the working class and only one way to Socialism. That is the way of the proletarian class-dictatorship. That is the way chosen by Lenin and by the Russian workers and peasants. The Soviet Union is the example which the workers of all the world must follow".

POLITICS

The Elections for the Swiss Federal Council.

By M. Bode mann (Basle).

The Parliamentary elections in Switzerland, which took place on October 18th, entailed no very perceptible change either in the composition of the Federal Council or in the strength of the individual parties. In the electioneering campaign, moreover, no very important political or economic questions were subjected to the decision of the electors.

An outstanding feature of the campaign is the fact that the Social Democrats have not by so much as a word put forward or defended their programme or their socialist principles. Their electioneering propaganda is of the very lowest conceivable. Towards the Communist Party it takes the form of a stupid and mendacious agitation. In relation to the bourgeois parties, meanwhile, it does not place the fight against capitalism in the foreground, but limits itself to attacks on individuals. No rousing and training of the masses, but merely a cadging for votes is its guiding motive.

The bourgeois parties on the other hand have done their best to wipe out the impression of their reactionary doings in relation to the working class and to pose as „socially-minded“ elements. If they have succeeded in this attempt to a considerable extent, it is only because the capitalists have been able to refer to the attitude of the Social Democrats with regard to their anti-Labour actions. The most reactionary Bills of the former Parliament, outraging and violating the proletariat, also enjoyed the support of the Social Democrats.

The accretion in the number of votes for the individual parties corresponds in the main to the greater participation in the elections. The Social Democrats went into the fight with the intention of gaining at least half a dozen new seats, so as to become the strongest fraction in Parliament. This hope has proved vain. The Social Democrats failed to win a single seat from the bourgeois parties. On the other hand they have lost their two representatives in the Town Chamber.

The Communist Party of Switzerland made use of the electioneering campaign for the purpose of an intensive agitation for Communist ideas among the working masses. It must be looked upon as an essentially practical achievement of the Communists that they should have succeeded in increasing the number of subscribers to the Party's newspapers in all districts. As a result of the existing voting system, the C. P. had from the very outset a prospect of gaining one seat in each of three cantons only. In a number of other cantons the Communists put up candidates only for the sake of obtaining the possibility of propaganda and of counting the numbers of their adherents.

In Schaffhausen, where three years ago the workers first returned a Communist representative to Parliament, the Social Democrats attempted by setting up a list of their own and by splitting the votes to deprive the Communists of this seat and return it to the bourgeois parties. Our comrades have brilliantly frustrated this attack. The Social Democrats sustained a defeat, the Communist Party became the second-strongest party in the canton, and Comrade Bringolth, who was violently attacked from all sides, has been re-elected. In Schaffhausen the Party recorded a 25 per cent increase in its vote.

Great importance attaches to the result at Basle. For more than six months the reformists have here been attempting to destroy the trade unions, so as to undermine the influence of the Communists on the working class. The attacks on the oppositional trade unions are in reality directed against the Communist Party, which has rallied around it the better part of the active class-conscious workers. In Basle the Communist Party has recorded an increase of 34 per cent in the number of its votes. In the typical workers' quarters the Communists have for the first time defeated the Social Democrats. At those polling booths, too, where the Federal workers and employees register their votes, the Communist Party gained considerably,

while the Social Democrats lost proportionately. By refusing to combine lists, the Social Democrats saved for the bourgeois parties a seat which would otherwise have fallen to the Communists. The defeat of the reformists and the advance of the C. P. in Basle are the recompense for the destruction of the trade unions by the Social Democratic leaders.

Once again Zurich proved to be a weak point in the Communist front. Here the Party lost 450 votes compared with the last election and thus also forfeited its seat. In the city itself the regression is slight, but it is all the more noticeable in the industrial hinterland.

In the other cantons in which the Party organisation is weak, the Communists practically everywhere recorded a small gain. In all these places the Social Democrats waged the fight against the C. P. with the argument that a vote given to the Communists would only benefit the bourgeois parties, seeing that the Communists had no prospect of winning a seat. If the number of Communist voters nevertheless increased, it shows that even in these regions where the Communist Party is quite weak, the policy of the Social Democrats meets with disfavour in the eyes of some of the workers.

The representation of the parties in the new Parliament remains practically unchanged. The Social Democrats have merely gained the one seat lost by the Communists at Zurich. Two gains in other cantons are balanced by losses to the bourgeois parties. In this connection it is characteristic that in the canton of Berne, which is the centre of the trade-union bureaucracy and where the Social Democrats have their headquarters, the latter should have lost a seat to the Peasant Party.

The Communist Party can record an increased vote of 11 per cent. in the whole country. This is nothing extraordinary, but we are gradually advancing. And the advance is owing to the systematic and reliable work of the Party.

FASCISM

The VI. Anniversary of Fascism in Italy.

By Aquila.

I.

Italian Frontier, October 26th, 1928.

The occupation of the factories by the workers in Northern Italy and of several estates by the agricultural workers and peasants in the South (August/September 1920) marked the height of the revolutionary wave of the early post-war period in Italy. After the evacuation of the occupied factories and estates, which was enforced by the reformist party and trade union leaders, in accordance with their — subsequently admitted — secret pact with Giolitti, through deceit and threats of open resistance to the institution of proletarian rule, the decline set in rapidly. An independent Communist Party was not yet in existence, and the half measures of the "left-wing" Social-Democratic leaders, who still did not want to have anything to do with a purposeful organisation of the revolutionary forces, led to disastrous consequences.

The political and organisatory destitution of the proletariat and the lack of a purposeful revolutionary party left the way clear for reaction. The fairy tale that Fascism is the consequence of the circumstance that Labour went "too far" is being abandoned even by such right-wing Social-Democrats as Pietro Nenni. The fact is that it was after the evacuation of the factories that the bourgeoisie gave its fullest support to the previously insignificant Fascist group of Mussolini. The newly established Communist Party (January 1921) could not possibly reorganise the revolutionary ranks with the speed which the situation demanded. The proletariat, disorganised through the treachery of the reformists and the no less treacherous half-heartedness of the "left wing" Social Democratic leaders, could consequently not put up the requisite resistance. The Fascist movement swelled under the pseudo-radical, petty-bourgeois,

"anti-capitalistic" slogans and constantly pressed forward against Labour and the poor peasantry to the accompaniment of bloody terror, supported and protected in every way by the machinery of State.

The year 1922 saw the triumph of the Fascist bands, which triumph ended in the latter part of October of the year 1922 — over the ashes of hundreds of demolished and burned-out trade-union buildings, party premises and co-operative stores and over the corpses of many hundreds of workers and peasants — in the so-called "March on Rome" and with the taking over of the government by Mussolini and the reinstating of big capital as the absolute ruler of the country.

On October 27th Mussolini issued the order to all the Fascist formations in the country "to march on Rome". In every locality they occupied the police headquarters, barracks, railway stations, post offices, town halls, etc., without meeting any resistance whatever from the State. On the next day, October 28th, the Facta Ministry, which had in the meantime retired but still carried on the government business, proclaimed a state of siege; but the king refused to put his signature to the decree and the state of siege was, therefore, suspended an hour after it was declared. The national association of industrialists had, in the meanwhile, telegraphed from Milan to the king demanding that Mussolini should be nominated prime minister immediately. The nomination took place on October 29th and Mussolini hastened from Milan to Rome in the saloon car of a special train, where the extremely radical "republican" greeted the king with the words: "Your Majesty! Your most humble servant stands before you!"

On October 31st the government composed of "personalities" of the Fascist, Nationalist, Liberal, and Democratic parties and of the Catholic People's Party (centre) was formed. Mussolini wanted to take the reformists, too, into his government, and, in the name of the reformist leaders, Baldeci officially promised his entry into the government. But the radical underlings of Mussolini, with Farinacci at their head, protested against taking the Social-Democrats into the government, and Mussolini finally had to give way to them.

II.

Six years of Fascist rule have brought about a huge change in Italy. Not the "Revolution", which the Fascist Press is still trying to convince the world is actually complete or, at least, partially accomplished, without, however, meeting with credulity from any passably reasonable being: the "unification of the whole nation" on the basis of — class peace. No; quite the contrary. The six years of Fascist rule have given to the class struggle in Italy an unparalleled bitterness and raised it to a higher level: They have not only split up the Italian nation into two camps, separated by a gulf which cannot be spanned, but they have made everybody in Italy conscious of this gulf; on the one hand, the small minority of exploiters ruling through the intermediary of Fascism — on the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the exploited who are chained down through the intermediary of Fascism.

Therein lies its weakness, which impresses Fascism with the sign of death; but therein also lies its present strength, which must first of all be broken by the revolutionary proletariat. Fascism is a rule by violence on the part of the bourgeoisie. But this it is only from a general standpoint, insofar as it secures or tries to secure for all exploiters a profit out of the exploited. If, however, we take a closer look, if we examine the policy of the Fascist government in all its detail, we then recognise that Fascism is particularly the rule by force on the part of big capital or, more exactly, domination of high finance and of industrial big capital in alliance with agricultural interests. In practice this means that Fascism assures a profit out of the exploited to all exploiters in town and country, but within the camp of the exploiters protects chiefly the interests of big capital — even against the interests of the lower and middle strata of the bourgeoisie itself. In other words, it fosters in every way possible the accumulation of big capital, even at the cost of small and medium capital.

The logical consequence of this glaring fact is that these lower and middle strata of the Italian bourgeoisie, aye, at times even of certain groups of big capitalists, whose interests

are also sacrificed to those of the paramount strata of big capital, are even to-day anything but "enthusiastic Fascists".

Upon this phenomenon Italian Social Democracy of all shades (Maximalists, Turatians) is setting up its policy. It goes even a "slight" step further and stupidly maintains that Fascism is the rule of a handful of daring criminals, who "oppress and exploit" all classes: the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie of both town and country, as well as the whole of the bourgeoisie; but — our Social-Democratic leaders do not bother about such "trifles". In reality their hope lies with those middle and lower strata of the bourgeoisie — as also with the monarchy, or with the officers' corps — whom they implore to "introduce" "Democracy" again in place of Fascism. In return they offer, for their part, to curb the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, either by soft-soaping the workers by means of a coalition government or by suppressing every armed movement among the proletariat, if this should be necessary.

This "real" policy of Social Democracy, which aims at a well-meaning rescue of the capitalist "order", is wrecked upon the granite rocks of reality. On account of the economic and political conditions, the whole of the Italian bourgeoisie — in spite of all individual dissatisfaction — actually sees in the Fascist regime, in the brutal oppression of the exploited, the only guarantee of profits. And though the Fascist regime has become and must be a mere synonym for the capitalist regime, the reverse would mean that the breaking up of the Fascist regime, in the present state of affairs, would amount to a breaking up of the capitalist order of society in Italy. The fear of this danger makes it impossible for those who are not particularly satisfied with the Fascist government or even for the dissatisfied strata of the Italian bourgeoisie to toy with the thought of "abolishing" the Fascist regime. On the contrary, this common danger causes them to back up Fascism "like one man" as soon as the regime appears to be menaced.

Naturally, this does not hold good for all times and not for all eternity. If the revolutionary forces in the country become so strong and so well organised that they represent a more or less immediate danger to the Fascist and, consequently, also to the capitalist regime, all those strata of the bourgeoisie and probably also a great portion of the big bourgeoisie will discover a marked inclination in themselves towards "anti-Fascism" and advocate "Democracy" with glowing enthusiasm, in order to make one more attempt to rescue the bourgeois order of society. It is not the curbing of the growing revolutionary forces of the Italian proletariat, nor the appeal to the bourgeoisie to "abolish" the Fascist regime voluntarily, it is not the bourgeoisie, but solely the revolutionary pressure of the proletariat and of all toiling strata in town and country that can and will overthrow the Fascist regime.

Does this mean that the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat may succeed Fascism in Italy? No, this does not yet mean so much. The fall of the Fascist regime will involve a shock to the capitalist order of society in Italy. But only a shock. Whether the Italian bourgeoisie in conjunction with the reformists and the church will stave off for a while longer the collapse of the bourgeois order of society by means of "Democracy", aye, by means of a military dictatorship, or whether the shock to the bourgeois order of society can be converted by the proletariat into the collapse of the bourgeoisie depends — as does the precipitation of the overthrow of Fascism — upon how far and at what pace the vanguard of the Italian revolutionary proletariat, the Communist Party of Italy, succeeds in overcoming all democratic, Social-Democratic and petty bourgeois-pacifist illusions among the decisive strata of the Italian proletariat and peasantry and leading the proletariat and peasantry to the fight for the overthrow of Fascism and of the bourgeoisie.

The C. P. of Italy is moving indefatigably and dauntlessly towards this objective. This is the explanation of the pitiless persecution of Communists by Fascism and the bourgeoisie; hence the executions and the hundreds of years of imprisonment; but all this will not avail to obstruct the march of the Communist Party of Italy.

CHINA

The Massacre of Peasants in the Kiangsu Province.

The Rage of Feng Yu Hsiang.

By Tang Shin She.

The big European and American bourgeois telegraphic agencies reported that the Christian general, Feng Yu Hsiang, slaughtered a million peasants within a few months in the province of Kiangsu. In this way the public has at last learned, after a quarter of a million persons had been quietly murdered in the coastal provinces and particularly in open ports, without any notice appearing in the capitalist Press, how the Kuomintang generals exercise their rulership in China.

The imperialist agencies represent the unparalleled massacres as originating from religious hatred. The real cause, however, we are able to grasp from the lines of the big Shanghai journal "Shun Pao", which states:

"In March of this year the Mohammedan population upon a pretext of burdensome taxation caused great trouble to a military commissioner at Hochov, nominated by Feng Yu Hsiang. They asked for a reduction of taxes, which request was courteously refused by the commissioner. Thereupon the Mohammedans sent a delegation of eight members to the capital town of the Kansu Province to negotiate with a general serving under Feng Yu Hsiang. This general had, in the meantime, instructed the commissioner at Hochov to court-martial every man who refused to pay his taxes. When the delegation arrived at the capital, all of the eight members were shot on the spot. As soon as the population of Kansu heard this news, indignation rose high. In the Hochov district especially the excitement was intense and more than a hundred thousand Mohammedans made an attack on the town of Hochov which lasted a day and a night." (August 17th, 1928.)

This report states clearly that it was merely great indignation against the terrible measures of extortion enacted by the Kuomintang regime and against the bloody measures of suppression on the part of the generals that had broken out among the Kiangsu peasantry.

In Feng-Yu-Hsiang's massacres religious feeling indeed plays a part, but it is not the Mohammedan population which turns upon the Christian general; it is the Christian general who shows hatred of the Mohammedans. A new agency of Feng Yu Hsiang, "Da Tsung She", published an interview with the propaganda manager of the army in Kiangsu, wherein it states:

"The Mohammedans incite one another against us Chinese by means of the following three arguments:

1. If the Kuomintang troops settle here, there will be no living here for us.

2. The Lord has ordered that every 30 years a minor rebellion shall take place and every 60 years an important one. This year is the 60th since our last big rebellion. In accordance with God's will we must, therefore, rise and defeat the Chinese.

3. We Mohammedans are God's good children and the Chinese are the perfidious children of God. Each Mohammedan must kill with his bare fists eight to ten Chinese in order to ascend to heaven after his death." (Published in the Shanghai "Shun Pao" of October 13th 1928.)

It is quite obvious that through such "arguments" the Kuomintang general, Feng Yu Hsiang, let loose the lowest of instincts upon the Mohammedans.

But religious incitement is not enough for the Kuomintang generals, so they dub the Mohammedans as Communists. A circular telegram from Feng-Yu-Hsiang's general in Kansu dated September 17th, concerning the events in Kansu says after a satisfying religious incitement:

"The Communists make use of the stupidity and credulity of the Mohammedans for purposes of propaganda among them and induce them to plunder and murder throughout the province."

If the rebellious peasants of Kiangsu are officially called Communists, it is not astonishing that in this out-of-the-way province a million men have been slaughtered. They have not

even shied at murder in the coastal districts and in the ports; for instance, in Shanghai, Canton and Hankow, a quarter of a million of workers and peasants have been murdered as Communists. In any case, Feng Yu Hsiang has done his utmost for the imperialists and among the Kuomintang generals he has created a record of murder of revolutionary workers and peasants.

According to a report of the Peking journal "Shuntien Shihpao", the Feng Yu Hsiang massacres were of the crullest:

"When the riots began to spread through the whole province, Feng Yu Hsiang sent in 120,000 soldiers, infantry and cavalry. ... All Mohammedans, men and women, old and young, were killed. Bafangdjin, which is the centre of the Mohammedans and the repository of the riches of the whole province, was completely plundered. Four towns, each more than thousand years old, were destroyed. The material loss is estimated at 30 million Chinese dollars."

These words depict a world of horrors. Nevertheless, the newspaper "Shuntien Shihpao" is not a paper in sympathy with workers and peasants, but a big official journal of the Japanese imperialists at Peking, which has for months been paving the way for an understanding with Feng Yu Hsiang.

Every Kuomintang massacre has up to the present been converted by imperialist lies into a Communist horror. The so-called "International Relief Committee", which has endeavoured by wide-spread action to create anti-Communist feeling has distinguished itself in this connection. The wily Feng Yu Hsiang later turned to the Relief Committee, reporting Communist and Mohammedan plunderings, and asked for help for the starving population. It is the duty of the international proletariat and of all people, who refuse to be mercenaries of imperialism, to counter the shameful lies and calumniation of Feng Yu Hsiang and of the imperialist institution called "International Relief Committee".

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Attack of the German Heavy Industrialists.

By F. David (Berlin).

The iron-producing and iron-working industry in the Ruhr district is shut down. 230,000 workers are locked out; together with their relatives this means, at least, 500,000 individuals. The significance of this fight, however, goes far behind the number of those locked out and beyond the sphere of the western iron industry. The metallurgical industry in the Ruhr district is the leading industry of the whole of industrial Germany and the decisive industrial branch in regard to German armaments. Ruhr capital is the best concentrated and plays the leading role among the industry powers of Germany.

What is the objective of the employers? Why do they organise a fight of such dimensions now, after the trade unions have declared their unreserved willingness to maintain class peace? Do the employers not desire peace among the classes? The "Boersenzeitung" (Exchange Journal) has answered these questions very clearly. It formulated the answer in the pregnant phrase: "Trough strife to peace". The bourgeoisie want to be sure of quietness for some time to come, but it is the quietness of the grave they appear to want. They want to secure wage rates fixed for a lengthy period in order to compete successfully on the world market. They do not object to the fact that Naphtali is a member of the State Economic Council and that trade-union bureaucrats of various ranks get allowances from economic boards. First of all they intend to aim a blow at the whole of the working class, so that class peace may be solidly established.

The "Vorwaerts" and the Democratic Press are at present talking about the "blow aimed at the State". The employers are said to be desirous of breaking up the compulsory arbitration system and for this reason they resorted to a lock-out. In the discussion between the employers and the trade-union representatives which took place last week before the Minister of Labour, Wissell, with the object of "reforming the compulsory arbitration system", the employers clearly and openly declared that they were by no means opposed to the compulsory arbitration system. It would, indeed, be ridiculous to suppose that the employers would seriously advocate the abolition of

this system. The course of the economic fights of the two last years has shown that every more or less important economic fight has been broken off by a binding award of a court of arbitration or in view of an expected declaration of the validity of the arbitration award. Felix Pinner states under date of October 20th in the "Berliner Tagblatt":

"During the last few years with the assistance of this compulsory arbitration system labour fights have been nipped in the bud. In many cases this was advantageous and gave peace to the German economy, at least, for a certain measure of time, to carry on undisturbed by big labour fights its technic and economic reorganisation of the reconstruction period following the inflation period."

In spite of the hypocritical statements of the employers, it is not a fight against the compulsory arbitration system which is being carried on, the big offensive of the bourgeoisie is being carried out in accordance with the plan announced at the meeting of bankers and recently developed more or less openly in the bourgeois Press. A further 50,000 textile workers are already under notice and threatened with a lock-out.

The object of the employers' offensive is to secure quietness for some time to come. On the occasion of the throttling of the Munich-Gladbach textile-workers' strike the official journals of the employers stated that the award of the court of arbitration is, however, a burden to the textile industry, but it is advantageous in that it guarantees peace for the next 18 months. In all the declarations of the employers' association of North-West Germany made during their negotiations with the trade unions, the metal magnates again and again emphasized: Under no circumstances a settlement without fixed rates; Modern economy is not able to work without wage rates fixed well into the future. The vanguard of the employers is just now fighting to gain security for the whole of the exploiting class.

The reformists speak about "legal aspects". They intend to create among the workers the illusion that capitalist judges could possibly decide in favour of labour. Whatever the legal aspect may be, the fight on the Ruhr is not a juridical fight, but a trial of strength between labour and capital. The talk about expropriation is merely intended to divert the attention of the workers from the fight. However, the "Vorwaerts" does not speak so categorically about expropriation as it did last year, when the lock-out was only in the air. It was then possible to speak in bolder terms, as the lock-out was not an accomplished fact. But even to-day a stunt writer still expatiates here and there in the right or left Social-Democratic Press on the nationalisation of the iron works, in order to make some show of radicalism and, at the same time, to divert the workers from their fighting tasks. In the real theatre of war, however, the reformists will do all they can to reduce the fighting strength of the workers and to deliver them into the hands of the employers.

The free trade unions, the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker trade unions created independent strike committees elected by trade-union members only. At the time, when the trade-union opposition issued the slogan concerning factory strike-leaders, they were ridiculed by the reformists and threatened with expulsion. Now, under the pressure of facts, the reformists themselves must take refuge to this slogan. But they use it in their way, in order to split the workers, to compel the non-union workers to break the strike and by these measures to prepare the ground for the subjecting of the workers to the dictates of the employers.

It is incumbent upon the trade-union opposition to make clear to the working class, in the Ruhr district and in the whole country, the immense significance of this lock-out. This lock-out is not at all a local affair or one concerning the West-German metal workers only. The blow is aimed at the whole of the German working class. The whole of the German working class must, therefore, retaliate. In innumerable fights the employers have seized upon some little strike as a pretext for locking out tens of thousands of workers. Now the time has come for the working class to wield the same weapon. The counter-attack of the working class upon the employers, the machinery of State and trade-union bureaucracy can only be organised through the trade-union opposition.

The slogans of the revolutionary trade union Opposition are: Fight until the following demands are fulfilled: 15 Pfennig wage increase per hour; eight hour day for all metal workers; three shifts for the foundry workers.

ELEVEN YEARS OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Achievements of the Cultural Revolution.

By A. Lunacharski.

The slogan of a "Cultural Revolution" was most emphatically proclaimed at the XV. Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but it is no novelty for the Communist mentality.

Lenin frequently expressed his ideas on the subject and declared in his famous theses that the chief and only obstacle in the way of Socialism in the territory of our Soviet Union lies in the low cultural level of the masses. If this level is sufficiently raised, so Lenin assumes, nothing more would stand in the way of the realisation of our Socialist aims.

True, Lenin immediately went on to declare that culture itself costs money and that the provision of sufficient means for the cultural work in the country can — in view of the great demands made by the revolution — only be attained by further achievements of our economy and a further growth of our budget.

At times we encounter the fortunately not very widely-spread opinion that these reflections on the part of Lenin are not a direct proof that he considered the construction of Socialism possible in a country and wished to underline the immense importance of the fundamental presumption therefor, in the shape of a high cultural level; on the contrary, the relative passage is interpreted as follows: Seeing that we are culturally backward and that our economy is backward and does not provide sufficient means for culture, we should harbour no illusions regarding the construction of Socialism. It is hard to imagine a cruder distortion of the leading ideas of Lenin.

Meanwhile, however, practice has made clear the real sense of this idea even to such circles of economy as allow immediate economic needs to blind them to the requirements of the so-called "third front", i. e. the cultural struggle.

At the XV. Party Congress all the leaders of the Party, with the full support of the Congress itself, declared what was subsequently reflected in the relative resolutions, viz. that, in comparison, let us say, with the growth of our industry, our cultural development is proving backward and that it is necessary that lost ground should be brought in on this front and that our culture must be developed at a "revolutionary" rate if an uninterrupted development of the industry of our country and an improvement of our agriculture and its transformation into a collective agriculture are to be ensured.

The budget of popular education increased in the course of this year (I speak of basic figures, as the details are not yet known) by 40 per cent. as regards its central, Governmental section. It must, however, be pointed out at once that this increase in the budget was made to a considerable extent for the sake of higher technical institutions and industrial high-schools. If this sort of growth of the budget appears one-sided at first sight, seeing that the other branches of the cultural campaign make relatively smaller progress, this first impression must not engender the opinion that our development is actually one-sided. For surely the tasks of industrialisation are our foremost tasks. The disproportion between the training of the specialists needed for industry and the general growth of economy was quite particularly obvious. There can be no doubt but that in the near future — in the next few budgets, at any rate — agricultural education, followed by other forms of education, will receive due attention.

In the present year the budgets of the municipalities can provide but little for cultural purposes, seeing that the present year is an extraordinarily difficult one. But it cannot be denied that the local organisations, too, have done much to put through the principles announced by the Party.

A second presumption for the realisation of the slogan of a cultural revolution should be a widespread and general movement in the circles of the Party, of the young generation, of the trade-union organisations, the various cultural organisations, and among the population in general.

Of late such a movement has been clearly apparent. Thus of late years the attention paid to the liquidation of illiteracy

among adults has fallen off regrettably. Now we can again see an increase of attention to this task; the trade unions and co-operatives have set aside substantial sums out of their cultural funds for this purpose and a whole number of organisations in the provinces and in the Moscow district have set themselves the task of a rapid and complete liquidation of illiteracy. Finally, the young generation recently started and carried through a big campaign, known as the "campaign of culture" and is preparing Sunday work throughout the country on behalf of the schools.

The growing attention paid to cultural work is everywhere decidedly noticeable. "Contribute to education" is now one of the daily demands whenever the workers come into immediate touch with the Government.

The urge towards knowledge, which has at all times been strong, is more and more enhanced. The independent initiative of the population in this connection cannot be doubted for a moment. In the circles connected with the People's Commissariat for Education the laudable idea has arisen, that large funds be provided next year in support of cultural work, funds which would form the basis of collections among the population.

Naturally far too short a time has elapsed since the XV. Party Congress for the achievements of the cultural revolution to be available in detail with reference to last year. I intend rather to give a general characterisation of the achievements of the cultural revolution during all the ten years, for the XV. Party Congress merely represented an acceleration of the rate of progress and perhaps a certain accentuation of the class character apparent in our cultural development, but not the beginning of our cultural creation itself.

On the contrary, I was already in a position to speak of our achievements in this direction on the occasion of my report at the festive session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on the tenth anniversary of the revolution. The said session then expressed in a special resolution how far we still are from our objectives and from the satisfaction of the requirements of the population but how far we have nevertheless progressed along certain lines of cultural development.

In respect of elementary education, which is effected in this country by the four-grade primary schools frequented by children between the ages of eight and twelve, we may compare the following figures: Before the war there were in the whole country 104,000 schools; now there are 115,000. But our success lies not so much in the number of the schools as rather in the number of children frequenting them. In this respect we can record an increase by 45 per cent., for in the current year 10,500,000 children are being taught as against 7,200,000 before the war. The percentage of children taught in the elementary schools has increased by at least 20 or 25 per cent.

The Government has worked out a plan for general compulsory education in the four-grade elementary schools, which will affect the first grade, i. e. the children of eight years of age, in the course of the school-year 1932/33. At Moscow, Leningrad, Ivano-Vosnessensk, in the Crimea, in Georgia, and in the Kama district, almost 100 per cent. of all children are comprised in the educational system. In other regions the situation is less favorable; in the Republic of Dagestan, e. g., only 26 per cent. of the children are included. It must be pointed out that no effort is being spared to widen the educational system and to comprise the children of such Republics and regions of the R. S. F. S. R. as are inhabited by undeveloped nationalities.

In regard to the secondary schools we may witness the same development. Before the war there were 1790 such higher schools for general education (Latin schools, grammar schools, etc.). We now have 1811 such schools, no very great number, especially if it is remembered that under the influence of the first great revolutionary enthusiasm in 1920 we increased the number of these schools to 4163, a figure which exceeded our capabilities, as regards both the financial means required and the qualified teachers. If we transfer our attention to such figures as reflect the increase in the number of pupils, we can record a more satisfactory result. Before the war these higher schools comprised 564,000 pupils. At the time of the great enthusiasm just after the revolution the number rose only to 569,000. Now we have a total of 869,000, that is to say an increase of more than 50 per cent.

It must be added that very great progress has been made in the direction of vocational schools. In pre-war Russia there were some 3000 such establishments. In the current year the R. S. F. S. R. alone comprises almost 6000 schools of this type, so that the total may be said to have doubled. In regard to the number of pupils the result is still better. In the ten years since the revolution the number of pupils in the vocational schools has advanced from 266,000 to 638,000.

Less satisfactory conditions obtain as regards the remuneration of the teachers and the available funds for the requirements of the schools. Our budget is still poor, but we expect it to increase rapidly during the next few years.

Mere figures, however, do not give a proper conception of the actual growth of our schools, whether primary, secondary, or vocational. The aims and objects of our schools are directly opposed to those of the schools under the Tsarist regime. A great deal has been done in the direction of the complete methodical pedagogic transformation of the schools, their social composition has been changed, the former material has been replaced by altogether different elements, and our schools have been brought nearer to the ideal of a uniform technical working school. It is not possible to enumerate the achievements effected in this direction in a short article. Celebrated foreign pedagogues who have visited us have delineated them in full.

Creative work in the schools is being continued. The increasing means and the growing attention of the Party, of the young generation, and of the entire Soviet publicity, together with the growing care of the economists for the enlightenment of the population, provide the possibility of making big strides forward in the course of the next few years.

In regard to schools, increased attention is being paid to the seven grade working schools. In the school-year 1932/33, simultaneously with the introduction of compulsory education, especially as regards the rural districts, all the municipalities thickly inhabited by the proletariat will be provided with such seven-grade schools. These schools will have a decidedly industrialised character and will approach that type of proletarian school which was roughly outlined by the hand of Marx.

Colossal changes have also been brought about by the revolution in regard to the high-schools. The social composition of the student staff has completely changed, now consisting to 70 per cent. of workers and peasants. A new type of high school has been established which did not exist before the war and which enables the workers to acquire the most essential knowledge in four years, sufficient to qualify them for a high-school training. These are the so-called workers' faculties, a peculiar creation of our popular educational system.

In the whole Soviet Union there are 129 high-schools as against 91 before the war. A growth of more than 40 per cent. The number of students has meanwhile advanced by more than 25 per cent., from 124,000 to 157,000. In this connection it must be remarked that the 124,000 students of pre-war times were recruited exclusively from the privileged classes of society, including at most the poor intelligentsia. At present our students derive mainly from worker and peasant families. It is obvious that such a change called for the provision of great sums for the support of our students.

Great interest attaches to certain types of schools, such as the schools of the young peasants (of which there are now more than 500), training the peasants in particular for the co-operatives and for the collectivisation of agriculture, and the working schools for apprentices which have become (and will, it is hoped, remain) the most important institutions for the training of the main cadres of the working class and which approaches the Marxian type of a proletarian school.

An important factor in the cultural struggle is the method employed in the free education of the population. Under Tsarist rule this was altogether unimportant. The so-called enlightenment of the people is a creation of the revolution. The education of the population outside the schools consists mainly in the liquidation of illiteracy. In this respect we have attained considerable success but we must not rest on our oars. As a result of the great backwardness of the female population, there are in the R. S. F. S. R. still some eight million illiterate adults. Added to this it must be remembered that after learning to read and write a great number of people very speedily forget what they have learnt. For this reason we are now applying the more expansive but more thorough system of reading and writing instruction in one-year schools.

For the development of knowledge among adults there is a growing system of the most varied instructional establishments; at present they number about 1000 and comprise 150,000 pupils. In the first place we have the workers' universities, of which there are about 40, with 100,000 students.

One of the innovations of the revolution are the reading-rooms. Of these there are about 22,000. They are small centres of culture, dispersed in the most primitive villages.

Our political education and the improvement of the cultural level of the population owe much to **broadcasting** and to the cinematograph. In this respect we have naturally not got so far as would be in our interest, but nevertheless our achievements are most significant. Broadcasting and the films have not only conquered the towns but have to a great extent penetrated into the rural districts. Both the Party and the Government have of late been paying great attention to the furtherance of the penetration of the country by these two factors of culture. In the near future a remarkable advance in this direction may be expected. Though the reproaches we hear in regard to the ideological contents of our films are sometimes merited, they are yet far and away in advance of those of western Europe. The bourgeois, but decidedly progressive and enlightened German critic **Kerr**, who has written a preface for the book on "The Russian Film", deals with the question as to how it is possible that in spite of its backward technique and the small means at its disposal in comparison with American and other European productions, the Russian film can yet surpass these productions in its artistic effect. He finds the answer to his question in the explanation that in the capitalist countries the commercial consideration is paramount in the production of a film, while in the Soviet Union the film is intended to serve cultural aims and the discussions of the great problems with which the country is occupied. There is no lack of ideas and of sentiment. In the Soviet Union the cinema is in every sense of the word an artistic means in the service of enlightenment.

What has just been said in regard to the cinema also applies to other realms of art. Our theatre is likewise showing signs of a rapid recovery and evinces a pronouncedly revolutionary aspect. Its great achievements in the direction of representative technique and stage management have been recognised in all the world. The repertory of our theatre, too, has improved, being influenced by the requirements of the country. True, our dramatic literature still falls short, both in quantity and in quality, of the requirements of the country and even of the requirements of the theatre and of its possibilities, but ideologically it is infinitely superior to that of the rest of Europe or of America.

Russian fiction has of late been giving signs of a remarkable rise, but at the same time of a variegated ideological surface. We are gratified to say proletarian literature is increasing. In the realm of poetry and the drama it has achieved remarkable successes and has particularly developed in regard to novels. We can already boast a considerable library permeated by a sincere proletarian spirit and bearing comparison with the best productions of Russian literature in general. I may point to three novels which have appeared almost simultaneously and all of them quite recently, "Bruski" by Panserov, "Tichij Don" by Sholochov, and "Lieso-Zavod" by Karavayeva. These three novels deserve to be translated into all civilised languages. They are, however, by no means single instances; there are a number of products which at times attain the same level. I may call to mind the highly artistic works published by the proletarian writers Fadeiev, Lebedinski, Gladkov, and others.

A less important reflection of the cultural revolution is to be found in the realm of the **creative arts** and of **music**. We may point to the recently apparent interest of the masses in art exhibitions, concerts, and museums. This broad contact with the main masses of the working and peasant public is the guarantee of a further sound development of these branches of art.

Great interest attaches to the statistics regarding our press. As early as 1922 we surpassed the circulation totals of the best pre-war years. Before the war there appeared in the whole country 2,500,000 copies of newspapers in the aggregate. As early as 1926 we had 8,000,000. Our book-production in 1927 was as great as before the war in regard to the number publications, but the actual number of volumes was 5 per cent. grea-

ter. The returns of scientific editions are particularly instructive and interesting. In 1910, 464 works of scientific interest were published, comprising 8000 printed pages and an aggregate edition of 19 million copies. If we take the year 1927, we shall see that there are detailed statistics in this regard. In that year 945, purely scientific works were published with a total edition of 16 million copies. In 1910, the number of technical books of instruction published was 3,500,000 copies. In 1926, the total was 35,000,000, or just ten times as many. Pavlov's "Functions of the Great Hemispheres of the Human Brain" was published in 10,000 copies at three roubles each. Many collaborators of the State publishing works declared that such a large edition of so difficult and expensive a book would suffice for many years in a backward country such as ours. However, the first edition was sold out within the year and a second is about to appear. This shows that many of our cultural workers, students among them, save their copecs for the purpose of buying and studying first-class and important works.

Our scientific work has not only not ceased, but has rather constantly been developing since the revolution. A series of international congresses have shown that our scientists can record important and interesting results of their research work. Particularly instructive in this respect was the Congress of Geologists in America. Alongside the development of sciences in general, we have in particular cultivated Marxism. In this direction we have achieved much and the number of our publications, both scientific and popular, is very great.

It is the classics of Marxism in particular that are published. The Marx-Engels Institute, founded in 1922, has become a first-class scientific institution of world-wide importance. The sections and the work of the Communist Academy, of the All-Russian Council of Scientific Institutions, and of the Academy for Material Culture have likewise augmented.

Our Scientific Academy is now being reformed; new forces are being enlisted, and the institution is being brought into line with the times. There can be no doubt but that the Academy is about to enter upon the most brilliant period of its existence. Together with the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Ukrainian Academy has developed, while a White Russian Academy has just been founded.

In my report in the Central Executive Committee a year ago, I also had occasion to speak of certain factors characterising yet another side of our mass-culture. I refer to the important progress of women in public work and the great advance in the consciousness of women, even of the most primitive among them, such as the peasant women and the women of the East. The Women's Congress which took place last year showed some surprising achievements in this respect. It is only for lack of space moreover, that I refrain here from speaking of the rapid development of physical culture among us, of its qualitative and quantitative success, and of the important achievements of the Health Protection League, which recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. Added to these results, we have the undeniable fact of the regression of infant mortality and in consequence a satisfactory development of the population.

The growth of the Party and of its influence, the development of the Young Communist League and of its activity, the rising cultural level of the working masses and of the young peasants — all these factors are reflected in thousands of satisfactory circumstances.

The principle of self-criticism demands of us that we should be circumspect and that we should not cease to control and report. If a widespread development of self-criticism were to show up all shorts of things which are faulty about our development — seeing that criticism must in the first place reveal the unsatisfactory side — this would discourage none that has really a proper conception of the internal character of this process. It must be pointed out, however, that the realisation of Gorki's idea is now at hand, for a special publication, to be known as "Our Achievements", is shortly to appear and will confront a sound self-criticism with the enumeration of the results attained. Such an enumeration must be thoroughly healthy; it must reveal the character which distinguished the resolution of the Central Executive Committee following on my report on our cultural work, delivered on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the revolution. Without forgetting our achievements, we must always remember that they are still slight in comparison with what the population and our great cause demand.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Village.

By E. K wiring.

The past twelvemonth represented a great step forward on the way to a Socialist transformation of the Soviet villages. It is only now that we can fully understand, how timely was the slogan of the XV. Party Congress, which pointed the way to collective economy in the rural districts. This slogan met with much approval among the peasant masses. During the sowing time last spring the collective movement grew to such dimensions as had not been experienced in past years, extending above all to broad masses of the village poor.

Suffice it to point out that in the past economic year the number of collective farms was doubled. This tendency among the poor peasants to collaborate on collective farms is in the first place to be explained by the fact that they have been convinced by the collective farms already in existence of the advantages of big agricultural enterprises over small ones and also by the fact that the material support afforded the collective movement was greater this year than last.

In the press indications have frequently been published showing the superiority of harvest yields on the collective farms in comparison with individual farms, so that we can here restrict ourselves to a single instance.

In the year 1927 the harvest yield of 1021 collective farms on the one hand and of the individual peasant farms on the other figured as follows:

In the case of collective farms	Rye	Wheat
Ural District	67	71
North Caucasus	121	66
Middle Volga District	59	51
Crimea	69	72
In the individual peasant farms		
Ural District	64	55
North Caucasus	82	59
Middle Volga District	42	35
Crimea	62	57

Such an obvious difference of crops must necessarily be a powerful incentive for the poor peasant class to join in collective enterprises.

As a result of the extremely poor provision of the poor peasants with agricultural implements by the Government, substantial capital investments for the support of the newly formed collective enterprises are required. In this respect great progress was made last year. The collective farms were accorded long-termed credits to an extent of 61 million roubles, which is an increase to more than three times the former extent. These important capital investments enable the collective farms to increase their area under cultivation very considerably and to augment both the total output and the marketed portion thereof.

This is confirmed to the full by the following figures:

	1926/27	1927/28
Area under Cultivation in 1000 hect.	876	1700
Total production in millions of roubles	103	189
Commercial quota of output in mill. of r.	35	64

As we see, the area under cultivation has in one year been doubled, with output increasing in about the same proportion. Absolutely speaking, these figures are naturally still small, but the rapidity of their advance opens a very satisfactory prospect. As regards the estimates for the economic year 1928/29, there is a prospect of no less than 100 million roubles long-termed credits, while we hear that the area under cultivation is to be increased to about 3 million hectares and the value of the total output to be raised to 260 million roubles.

The slogan of support for the collective estates in the rural districts does not refer only to the step-by-step remodelling of the individual farms but also to the greatest possible extension of the State farms (Soviet estates).

In the past economic year the Party set itself the task of creating large granaries, so as to have reserves of at least 100 million poods of grain available upon the lapse of the five-year plan. This task is extremely difficult but the Soviet Government has set about it with the utmost energy. In the districts in question fallow land was staked off and formed into new

Soviet estates. If the above-named task is to be fulfilled, Soviet farms aggregating at least 5 million hectares must be created. In the Soviet Union there is no lack of suitable fallow land for this purpose, so that the ground already in the hands of farmers need by no means be touched. The creation of new Soviet estates has from the very first been carried out on a large scale, particularly as regards the introduction of machinery into these estates. Tractors were immediately ordered in America, and of these 800 are already in use on Soviet farms. This fact alone suffices to show how rapidly the creation of the Soviet farms is advancing.

Hand in hand with the creation of granaries, due attention was paid to the promotion of such Soviet farms as already existed. One of the weak points in the work of the old Soviet farms was their insufficient supply of the means of production, which meant that these enterprises were unable adequately to exploit the ground at their disposal. As in the case of the collective farms, the investment of capital in the Soviet farms was increased in the year under review. In 1927/28, 36 million roubles were invested against 17 millions in the preceding year. Together with the increase of investments, the cultivated area increased from 1,230,000 hectares in 1926/27 to 1,300,000 hectares in 1927/28. At the same time the total output rose from 195 million to 206 million roubles and the commercial quota of this total from 111 to 124 millions.

These figures show that in regard to both the collective farms and the Soviet farms fairly considerable achievements have been made. We have already pointed out that, taken absolutely, these results are still insignificant, but that there is a great field of activity before us in this respect. The results attained show that we are absolutely on the right path.

The successful construction of Socialism in the open country naturally met with increased resistance on the part of the kulaks, for which reason it is comprehensible that the last twelvemonth should have entailed an increase of the class struggle in the rural districts.

This was reflected chiefly in the grain-provisioning campaign. The kulaks hoped to be able to frustrate the price policy of the Soviet authorities last winter by retaining the grain they ought to have surrendered. They did not succeed in doing this. The Government initiated a series of measures to ensure the provisioning of the industrial centres with grain. Thereupon the kulaks tried to revenge themselves during the spring seed-time by agitating for a decrease of the area under cultivation. But here again they failed, although in certain districts a great part of the autumn seed perished. The area under cultivation, however, was not reduced. The poor villagers were undeterred in continuing the development of the new Socialist villages and their movement was supported by the great majority of the middle peasants.

The results of the last economic year enable us to say that the Soviet villages have made great progress in their fight against the kulaks and in their advance towards Socialist construction.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The National Conference of Party Functionaries of the C. P. of Germany.

By Hermann Remmele (Berlin).

On the 3rd and 4th November there took place in Berlin a broad conference of the Party functionaries of the C. P. of Germany which dealt exclusively with the report and the decisions of the VI. World Congress and adopted a number of resolutions and working plans serving the purpose of carrying out the decisions of the VI. World Congress. With this Conference the C. P. G. initiated a broad inner-Party campaign which will find its continuation in the discussion of all lower Party organisations in order to bring the decisions of the VI. World Congress and their application to the concrete situation in Germany and the inner political line of the German Party to the last Party member.

The whole report on the VI. World Congress was given in a great three-hour speech by Comrade Thälmann on the world situation, the war danger, the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the Communist International and on the tasks of the Party; in the speeches of Comrade Lenz on the Programme of the C. I., Comrade Heckert on the revolutionary trade union tactics and the economic struggles, of Comrade Remmele on the revolutionary movements in the colonies and Comrade Neumann on the situation in the Soviet Union and the C. P. S. U. Comrade Ewert, for the conciliatory group, obtained an extended time of an hour for a speech in the discussion. The discussion was extremely lively; 41 speakers took part in it.

The decisions of the VI. World Congress have special importance for the German Party. The economic and political development in Germany, especially in the last months, demonstrates with all clearness the correctness of the analysis of the world situation as given in the political resolution of the VI. World Congress. The great economic struggles, the brutality with which the German magnates wish to crush, by means of huge lock-outs, the resistance of the German proletariat, the increase in the imperialist tensions and the eagerness of the trust magnates for new war preparations show how the German bourgeoisie also is aspiring to a world position. The intensification of the class contradictions and the intervention of the State apparatus in the economic struggles show the whole critical state of capitalist stabilisation.

The growing aggressiveness of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, the increasing offensive of the employers in the economic struggles and, on the other hand, the growing radicalisation and fighting determination of the German proletariat compel the agents of the bourgeoisie within the camp of the working class, the leadership of the German S. P. and of the trade unions, which is grafted with the State apparatus, to adopt a sharp counter-revolutionary policy by applying fascist methods against the working class and its Party, the C. P. of Germany.

The attitude of the VI. World Congress towards an intensified struggle proves especially for German conditions to be a compelling political necessity. This intensification of the struggle against reformism called forth in a small but historically grown up Right group of the C. P. G. the resistance to the policy of the Comintern and of the Party majority. The Right fraction, at the head of which stand the former leaders of the Party, Brandler and Thalheimer, who have returned to Germany by a breach of discipline, have in a few weeks slid into liquidatory theories and, in their fight against the policy of the Comintern and of the Party, converted themselves from liquidators into renegades. This Right group, which for years has lost touch with the working masses, has no considerable following in the Party.

More important is the group of the conciliators headed by Comrades Ewert and Gerhart. The ambiguous policy of this group enabled the Right group to develop their liquidatory theories within the Party. The bloc relationship of conciliators with the Right, which has grown stronger in the course of the inner-Party discussions, brought the conciliators close to the liquidatory tendencies. The inner-Party development of the C. P. of Germany, especially the development of the oppositional bloc of the conciliators with the Right liquidators, confirmed the correctness of the decisions of the VI. World Congress, especially the political theses which stated that in the present period the Right danger is the chief danger within the Comintern. The appeal of the Comintern theses for a "consistent fight against the Right deviations and the complete liquidation of that tendency which adopts a conciliatory attitude towards these deviations" was for no other Party more important than for the C. P. of Germany.

The course of the National Conference of Party Functionaries shows that the whole Party has realised quite clearly the great danger threatening from the Right. The passionate discussion, the sharp accusations, especially of the workers from the factories, against the liquidators and conciliators showed that the Party is no longer willing to become paralysed in its fighting capacity by the opposition of the bloc of the liquidators, and that the Party, in view of the great political tasks which confront it, will not allow itself to be hindered

in the free development of its forces against the class enemy. The National Conference of Party Functionaries unambiguously stated that an end must be put to the oppositional fractions if the striking force of the Party is not to be hampered.

The most important decision of the National Conference of Party Functionaries was made by the vote on the resolution regarding the decisions of the VI. World Congress. The resolution submitted by the Central Committee was adopted by 221 votes against 4 votes of the Right liquidators without any abstentions. The conciliatory group, which in the Central Committee voted against the same resolution, adopted another tactic at the National Conference of Party Functionaries by now voting for the resolution but at the same time submitting a declaration, the reservations of which meant the cancelling of their approval of the resolution. The actual figures of the vote are as follows: 202 comrades (Bolshevik majority) voted unconditionally for the decisions of the VI. World Congress, 19 comrades (conciliators) voted with reservations and 4 comrades (liquidators) voted against.

When a vote was taken on a resolution regarding the Brandler-Thalheimer case, the liquidators and the conciliators formed a united bloc as is usually the case. This resolution was adopted by 202 votes against 19, 2 comrades abstaining from voting.

The decisions of the National Conference of Party Functionaries showed that the overwhelming majority of the C. P. G. is unitedly and decisively opposed to both the liquidators and the conciliators and that the inner-Party discussions in the C. P. G. will create the strongest guarantees for the carrying out of the policy of the Comintern and of the decisions of the VI. World Congress.

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

held on October 19th 1928.

(Conclusion.)

As you see, Comrades, both these dangers, the Right and the Left, danger and both these deviations, to the Right and to the Left respectively, though starting from different points, lead to the same result.

And if you ask me which of these two dangers is the more serious, I cannot but answer that they are both equally so. From the standpoint of their successful combating, the difference between these two deviations consists in the fact that the deviation to the Left is more tangible to the Party than is that to the Right. The circumstance that we have already for some years past been waging an energetic fight against the Left deviation, could naturally not be without influence on the Party. Obviously the Party must have learnt much in the long struggle against the Left (Trotskyist) deviation, and that it is therefore no easy matter now to employ phrases such as the Left wing was fond of using. As regards the Right danger, which also existed in former times and which has now taken a more tangible form in the shape of an aggravation of the petty-bourgeois chaos in connection with the grain-provisioning crisis of last year, it is, I believe, not clearly known to certain sections of our Party. Therefore it is our duty, without of course diminishing our vigilance in regard to the Left (Trotskyist) danger by one jot, to lay the most stress on the fight against the Right danger and to bring all efforts to bear on making this danger as apparent to the Party as the Trotskyist danger now is.

The question of the deviation to the Right would not be so vitally important as it is, were it not connected with the general difficulties of our development. But the great evil lies in the fact that these Right deviations increase the difficulties of our development and make them more difficult to overcome. And it is for this reason that we must concentrate on the problem of eliminating the danger in question.

A word as to the character of our difficulties. It must not be forgotten that our difficulties are not difficulties of a standstill or decline. When economy is at a standstill or on the decline, difficulties likewise occur; then all efforts must be directed towards making the standstill less disadvantageous or the decline less pernicious. Our difficulties, however, are of quite a different sort. The characteristic thing about them is that they are difficulties born of progress and advance. If we speak of difficulties, it is mostly a question as to the percentage increase in industry, the percentage augmentation of the area under cultivation or of the yield per hectare. And just because our difficulties are such as arise in progress and not the outcome of regress or stagnation, the Party need not consider them particularly serious. But difficulties they are and remain. And seeing that all efforts must be directed towards their elimination and that perseverance and fortitude are requisite to this end, qualities which not all of us possess in a sufficient degree — either owing to tiredness and exhaustion or else because of a preference to live quietly, without trouble or unpleasant incidents — it is just here that vacillation and hesitation set in, a tendency towards adopting the line of least resistance, towards playing with the idea of a slowing-down in the rate of development of industry, towards contemplating facilities for the capitalist elements, towards opposing the foundation of Soviet and collective farms and everything else that surpasses the limits of ordinary, every-day work. But we cannot move forwards without overcoming the difficulties before us. And to this end we must in the first place attack the Right danger and overcome the Right deviations, which are hindering us in our task of overcoming the difficulties and attempting to undermine our volition in this direction. In this connection, moreover, the fight must be a real fight and not only a fight on paper, a campaign of words. There are people in our Party who are not disinclined to preach against the Right deviations for the sake of relieving their consciences, much in the style of parsons shouting "Alleluiah", but who fail to do even the very slightest practical thing for the purpose of starting a fight against the Right deviations in the necessary way and of effectively overcoming them. This tendency may be called a conciliatory tendency in relation to the Right, openly opportunist, deviations. It is not difficult to understand that the fight against such conciliatory tendencies must form an essential part of the general fight against these deviations themselves and the danger they represent, for it is impossible to overcome the Right opportunist deviation without a systematic fight against the conciliatory elements which take the opportunists under their wings.

The question as to the representatives of this Right deviation is undoubtedly of interest, though not decisive. In the lower organisations of our Party we encountered such representatives during the grain-provisioning crisis, when a whole number of Communists in the sub-districts and villages opposed the policy of the Party and contemplated a fraternisation with kulak elements. You will remember that such members were expelled from our ranks last winter, as was expressly pointed out in the well-known document of the C. C. of our Party in February. It would, however, be wrong to assert that no such elements had remained in our Party. If we search higher up in the regional and governmental organisations of the Party and subject the Soviet and co-operative apparatus to a strict investigation, it will not cost us much trouble to find representatives of the Right deviation and of the policy of conciliation in relation to this danger. The "letters", "declarations", and other documents of a number of functionaries of our Party and Soviet apparatus, in which the tendency towards deviations to the Right is reflected beyond the shadow of a doubt, are well known, and it will be remembered that mention was made of them in the stenographic protocol of the July plenum of the C. C. If we continue the search yet higher up and consider the C. C., we must admit that even among the members of that body there are some, albeit altogether insignificant, elements who entertain conciliatory sentiments towards the representatives of the Right deviation. The stenographic protocol of the July Plenum of the C. C. is the best proof of this fact. As to the Political Bureau, there are deviations neither to the Right nor to the Left, a fact I should wish particularly to underline. It is high time that an end was put to the rumours, spread abroad by oppositionists and by such as are anything but friendly to our Party, to the effect that there is a deviation to the Right or a con-

ciliatory attitude towards such a deviation to be found even within the Political Bureau of our C. C.

As regards the **Moscow organisation** and the **Moscow Committee**, it would be foolish to attempt to deny that vacillation and uncertainty actually obtained in that quarter. The open-hearted speech of Comrade **Penkov** is a direct proof of the fact. Comrade **Penkov** is not the least of the members of the Moscow organisation and of the M. C. As you have heard, he admitted quite openly the mistakes he had made in a number of most important questions of our Party policy. That naturally does not mean that the entire M. C. was subject to vacillations. That is by no means implied. Such a document as the appeal of the M. C. to the members of the Moscow organisation in September last shows quite plainly that the M. C. has succeeded in overcoming the vacillations of all its members. I do not doubt that the guiding spirits of the M. C. will succeed in clearing the whole situation satisfactorily.

Some members are displeased with the fact that the district organisations should have interfered in this matter by raising the question of a liquidation of the mistakes and vacillations of certain leaders of the Moscow organisation. I do not know how such "displeasure" is to be justified. If certain Party-workers of various districts of the Moscow organisation raise their voices in favour of a liquidation of mistakes and vacillations, what is there bad about that? Do we not carry on our work on the basis of self-criticism from below? Is it not a fact that self-criticism enhances the activity of the broad Party membership and of the proletarian masses in general? What is there bad or dangerous about it, if the Party-members of the district proved ready for the occasion?

Was the procedure of the C. C. right, when it intervened in this matter? I believe the C. C. was altogether right. Comrade **Bersin** considers that the C. C. did not act rightly when it approached the question of the dismissal of one of the leading Party-members of a district, to whom the Party-workers of the district in question objected. That is altogether wrong. I might remind Comrade **Bersin** of certain episodes of the years 1919 and 1920, when certain members of the C. C., who had been guilty of certain, I believe not very weighty, mistakes in connection with Party directives, were punished with exemplary severity at the suggestion of Lenin, one of them being sent to Turkestan and another being all but excluded from the C. C. Was it right of Lenin to act thus? I believe it was altogether right. The position in the C. C. was not then what it is now. At that time half the C. C. supported **Trotsky** and the attitude of the C. C. was anything but stable. At present the C. C. proceeds far more cautiously. Can it be that we desire to be kinder than Lenin was? No, that is not the nucleus of the matter. The reason is rather that the situation within the C. C., is far more stable to day than it was then and that the C. C. has now the possibility of proceeding more cautiously. Comrade **Sacharov**, too, was wrong in asserting that the C. C. intervened too late, obviously because he did not know that the intervention of the C. C. commenced as early as February last. Comrade **Sacharov** may convince himself of the fact if he is so inclined. It is a fact that the intervention of the C. C. did not at once engender positive results, but it would be strange if the C. C. were to be blamed therefor.

We are led to the following inferences: 1. The Right danger within our Party is a serious danger, being rooted in the social-economic conditions of the country. 2. The danger of a Right deviation is enhanced by the presence of difficulties which cannot be overcome without a victory over the Right deviation itself and over the conciliatory attitude observed towards it. 3. In the Moscow organisation there were signs of uncertainty and vacillation and elements of instability. 4. With the aid of the C. C. and the Party workers of the districts, the nucleus of the M. C. has adopted all possible measures towards the liquidation of these vacillations. 5. There can be no doubt but that the Moscow Committee will succeed in overcoming the mistakes apparent in its midst. 6. Our task lies in the liquidation of internal strife, in the uniform consolidation of the Moscow organisation, and in a successful execution of the new election of nuclei committees on the basis of an increased self-criticism. (Applause.)

Resolution of the Polit Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on the South-African Question.

At the meeting of the Polit Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. of October 19th, 1928, among other things, the South African question was dealt with and a corresponding resolution adopted. The South African question has already played an important role in the discussions of the VI. World Congress, both in the colonial and in the Negro question. Proceeding from these discussions and former resolutions of the E. C. C. I. it was only necessary to establish the tasks of the C. P. of South Africa. A clear elaboration of the slogans under which the C. P. of S. A. has to take up the fight, was the more necessary as just in this regard the majority of the Central Committee of the South African Party represented a view deviating from that of the Executive and also of the VI. World Congress. The main question was the slogan of an independent South African Republic of natives. In regard to this slogan, Comrade **Bunting** (South Africa) declared in his speech at the VI. World Congress in the discussion on the colonial question that "this formulation is combated by the majority of the C. P. of South Africa chiefly for practical reasons".

It is clear that this opinion, as represented by the majority of the C. P. of South Africa, shows a lack of understanding for the tasks of our Party regarding the revolutionary struggles of the native masses. This is precisely the reason for the weak influence of our Party upon the native masses in spite of the objectively favourable circumstances.

The resolution of the Polit-Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. proceeds from an estimation of the economic and social development and the situation in South Africa and emphasises as the most important point the disproportion between the living conditions of the working class of the black and white race. Passing on to the political situation the resolution records the political disenfranchisement of the Negroes, which is rooted in the colonial character of the country and the great social contradictions existing between the black and white population.

With regard to the policy of the Nationalist Party, it is stated that it has long ago abandoned its struggle for separation from the British Empire and has capitulated to British capitalism.

"This party of the white bourgeoisie already openly comes forward as defender of colonial expansion of English capitalism and is propagating an extension of the territory of the South African Union."

The policy of the Labour Party, the resolution goes on to say, aims at demoralising the white workers by a white race ideology. But the influence of the Labour Party is already counter-acted by other forces which originate from the deterioration of the material position of the white working masses. The resolution then deals especially with the policy of the African bourgeoisie, which is not only aiming to corrupt a portion of the white workers but also the leaders of the Negro trade unions and to guide the trade union movement of the Negroes into the channel of reformism.

The bourgeoisie have already been able to record a certain success with the trade unions of the industrial and commercial workers. This corruption policy of the bourgeoisie, which is being conducted in close alliance with the Amsterdam Trade Union International, forms the characteristic feature of the present political situation. This fact

"creates for the Communist Party of South Africa an extraordinary complicated but favourable situation, as it is the only Party in the country which is rallying the white and black proletarians and the landless black peasantry in the fight against English imperialism, against the white bourgeoisie and the white and black reformist leaders".

The last and greatest portion of the resolution deals with the Communist Party and its tasks. Proceeding from the organisational position of the Party and its organisational growth, it is pointed out that the work of the Party must be increased chiefly in regard to the native peasants and workers.

The resolution then mentions the point of difference, already referred to, regarding the slogan of an independent South African native Republic and says:

"Whilst the C. P. of South Africa is continuing the fight against all customs, laws and privileges which are to the disadvantage of the native black population and in favour of the white population, the Party must combine this fight with the fight against all laws directed against the natives and with the general political slogan of the fight against English rule, with the slogan: an independent South African native Republic as a stage towards the workers' and peasants' Republic, guaranteeing all national minorities protection and complete equality."

This slogan is then dealt with in detail and it is stated that the 'Communist Party, if it rightly understands its political tasks, can become the leader of the national agrarian revolutionary movement of the native masses'. The opposition of the majority of the Party to this slogan shows "a lack of understanding for the tasks of our Party in regard to the revolutionary struggles of the native masses. On the contrary it is necessary

"to say to the native masses, that in view of the existing political and economic disadvantage suffered by the natives and their ruthless oppression by the white oppressors, the slogan of the Comintern: native Republic means before all the restitution of the soil and of the whole country to the black population of South Africa. This slogan does not mean that we should disregard or forget the non-exploiting elements of the white population".

It is then pointed out in the resolution that the white working masses of South Africa must understand that they represent a minority, that it is their task to support the native masses and to fight together with them against the British bourgeoisie and white imperialism. These circumstances render it necessary that the Communist Party exploit the national movement of the natives and develop it towards the national agrarian revolutionary movement against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism.

The resolution further deals with the concrete forms of agitation and propaganda of the Party, declaring that the E. C. C. I. entirely approves of the agitation of the Party against the native law enacted by the government, that this agitation must be increased and connected with a campaign against all the laws directed against the natives. The Party must consolidate its influence before all among the existing tribal organisations. For this purpose it is necessary that the Party elaborates an agrarian programme.

In the sphere of trade union work the chief task of the Party is the organisation of the native workers in the trade unions and

"propaganda for the formation of a South African trade union centre combining the white and black workers. The principle that the Party has to direct its chief attention to the native population is also valid in the sphere of trade union work. But at the same time the Party must not neglect its work in the white trade unions".

In connection therewith is the energetic struggle against the influence of the Amsterdam International in the black and white trade union movement and the propaganda for the unity of the trade unions of the whole world upon the basis of the policy of the R. I. L. U.

In pointing to the existing danger of war the resolution emphasises in conclusion that the Party must energetically and with all means combat all support of the British war policy on the part of the South African rulers and conduct appropriate agitation in the army.

The resolution thus forms an important guiding line for the whole activity of the C. P. of South Africa in the present period.

Expulsion of Antonio Graziadei from the C. P. of Italy.

Decision of the C. C. of the C. P. of Italy.

At its last meeting the C. C. of the C. P. of Italy dealt with the literary activity of Antonio Graziadei, former Communist parliamentary deputy, who recently published some books in which he criticised Marxism.

In the year 1923, Antonio Graziadei, who at that time was a member of the C. C. of the Party, published his first book in which he systematically criticised the fundamental principles of Marxian economic doctrine and gave these remarks the character of a revision of this doctrine. This revisionist attempt was expressly condemned in the discussion at the V. World Congress of the Comintern. Antonio Graziadei, who meanwhile had retired from the C. C. of the Party, was called upon to abandon his intention to expound his revisionist ideas in a number of books. He was only allowed to bring his views to the knowledge of the Party and of the International, which led to their refutation on the part of some comrades of the Italian Party and also comrades from other Parties.

After the events of November, 1926, and the prohibition of our Party, Graziadei considered himself justified in violating the obligation placed on him by the Party. He published two new books in which he resumed the above-mentioned views which he had formerly expounded and continued the attempt to refute and revise some of the fundamental theses of our economic and political doctrines.

The value of these books which Antonio Graziadei has published at this moment and which he is attempting to distribute under the extraordinary conditions in which the Italian labour movement is at present, is not very great. In some of his books there is nothing else but a number of attempts to lay claim to newness and originality for some of the criticisms which have been brought forward by the representatives of official bourgeois economic science. It will be the business of the Party to prove once again, in the strictly theoretical sphere, that the so-called revisionism of Graziadei is scientifically untenable. This does not alter the fact that the views expounded by Graziadei are in absolute contradiction to our whole scientific conception, and that advocacy of these views is incompatible with the maintenance of any relations, be it only ideological, with our movement and the revolutionary, Marxist movement in general.

The Central Committee of the Party has further directed its attention to the fact that Graziadei chose precisely the present moment in order to resume his attempts at spreading his views,

Already before November 1926 the activity which Antonio Graziadei devoted to our movement had noticeably declined. After November 1926 the Party did not consider Graziadei as its functionary or even Party member. From this however it does not follow that the fact that Graziadei chose just the present moment for an attack on the Marxist doctrine, on the ideology of our Party and by it on our Party itself, should not be condemned with the greatest sharpness from every point of view, including the point of view of personal decency. The alleged criticism of Marxism which Graziadei pretends to make in publishing his books, the publication of which is permitted by fascism at the same time as it throws our leaders into prison for twenty years and attempts to annihilate physically our ranks and to "render harmless" the workers who follow us with unshakable fidelity — this alleged criticism of Marxism undertaken at this moment by Graziadei, surpasses the limits of ideological discussions and becomes a piece of open treachery, a base crime against the cause of the proletariat.

For these reasons Antonio Graziadei is to be considered as expelled from the ranks of the Communist Party of Italy and of the Communist International.

The Central Committee of the C. P. of Italy.

October 1928.

THE BALKANS

Letter from Bulgaria.

Sofia, 26th October, 1928.

The terrorist action of the Bulgarian government against the working class is conducting and developing in two directions: in the intensification of the government reprisals, which finds expression in permanent arrests, and in the resurrection of the fascist arbitrary acts. Just as in the worst time of white terror, the activity of the "responsible" organs is supplemented by the cruelties of the so-called "irresponsible" elements, i. e. the fascists.

Thus recently the workers' club of the Workers Party in **Varua** was set on fire during the night. The fascist organisation "Kubrat" at the same time placed a poster on the charred walls of the building. Great indignation prevails among the working class of this city, which in the Parliamentary elections of February of this year gave more than 4,000 votes to the Workers Party and thereby sent a deputy into the fascist Parliament.

The incitement of the government and the arrests are continuing. In order to stifle the voice of the workers the organ of the workers' Party "Rabotnitchesko Djelo" is being continually confiscated. The following facts give a picture of the cruel tortures to which the arrested are subjected: The Central organ of the Democratic Party "Zname" of 20th October reported that the Sofia lawyer Dr. Schelerov is being cruelly tortured in prison. The charge brought against this tortured man is that he wrote in a christian newspaper opposing the ill-treatment of prisoners by the police.

The inner-political situation is becoming more and more acute. On the 11th November of this year there are to take place new elections for half of the seats on the district and town councils throughout the country. The preparations of the government for these elections find expression in a further intensification of the terror. The oppositional press quite openly speaks of the new feverish preparations for a new military putch.

The permanent arrests, the fascist provocations and the precarious position of the arrested and the organisations represented by them are calling forth a protest action among the working class. The last copy of "Edinstvo" the organ of the independent trade unions, is full of protest telegrams from the towns, factories and workers organisations throughout Bulgaria. The paper further remarks, that numerous protest telegrams have been withheld by the authorities.

All the protests culminate in the demands: hands off the workers' Party and the independent trade unions! Immediate release of the arrested! Investigation and cessation of the tortures! Reopening of the closed workers' premises! Restitution of the right of coalition of the working class! Down with the censorship! Complete, unconditional amnesty! Repeal of the law for the protection of the State! Down with the fascist Liapitcheff government!

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Imperialism in Cyprus.

The signature of the King of England has already been set to the Order in Council by which an abominable and oppressive law comes into force. Frightful tyranny and disgraceful barbarity are ready to be let loose against the people of Cyprus as soon as this law comes into force. The laws and decrees which have been drawn up in England and the great interest shown by the huge metropolis for small and insignificant Cyprus show very clearly that British imperialism can find no way out of the crisis in which it is involved owing to the boycotting of British goods in the most important markets as a result of the awakening of the huge masses of slaves in the colonies.

British imperialism, in order to maintain its rule, determined that the **Communist Party of Cyprus**, which is carrying on a ruthless war against every oppressor should be dealt a severe blow; it was determined to stifle the awakening of the masses, in order to render Cyprus safe for the investment of British capital.

With the coming into force of this odious law "Neos Anthropro" (New Humanity), the only paper in Cyprus which is struggling heroically against capital and for the emancipation of the proletariat, will be suppressed. The C. P. of Cyprus, the young but vigorous leader of the working class, will be outlawed. The mouths of all those will be shut who dare even to speak or write against any "civilized" nation. Under the new law anyone writing or speaking against the fascist regime of Mussolini or against the actions of the charlatan and swindler Venizelos in Athens, will be liable to be flung into the dark and miserable cells of the prisons of Cyprus, there to remain for two years. No words can adequately describe the hideous wave of terror which is about to sweep over Cyprus.

The C. P. of Cyprus has issued a stirring manifesto to all the Cyprian people, denouncing the foul and shameful plans which the imperialists are preparing and summoning the people to united, mass resistance. It is impossible to express in words the great reception accorded by the working masses to the Manifesto. The fighting spirit which the Manifesto has aroused among the people augurs well for a successful mass protest action. No matter what course events may take, the C. P. of Cyprus, either as a legal, semi-legal or illegal organisation, will not cease its struggle, hand in hand with the working class of the colonies, for the emancipation of the Cyprian people from the domination of British imperialism.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Position of the Peasantry in France.

By J. Desnots (Paris).

In spite of the relatively great importance of its agrarian population, France is one of those countries in which the actual situation of the peasantry is altogether unknown to the outer world and is depicted by different quarters in widely different colours. The small interest of the public in these problems, moreover, is the reason that the far-reaching changes in agriculture and the political and social consequences thereof which have become apparent since the war, have not yet been subjected to any serious sociological investigation whatever.

The reasons of the upheaval in agrarian economics are connected with the reasons of capitalist concentration. This phenomenon became clearly apparent shortly before the war and has now already assumed dimensions, which, under the pressure of financial imperialism, foreshadow a far-reaching re-formation of the social structure of our ancient society, based on the peasant family.

The lengthy agricultural crisis which lasted from 1882 till 1896, caused an impoverishment of the peasantry which in its turn led to an increase in the migration to the cities, already in progress in consequence of the constantly growing requirements of industry and of the administration. The demand for labour continued to aggravate this migratory movement. The imperialist war of 1914, in which 680,000 farmers and agricultural workers lost their lives and an incalculable number of war-victims were deprived of the possibility to earn their living, made the position even yet worse. Whereas in 1861 no less than 75 per cent. of the total population lived in the country, the rural population now amounts to no more than 40 per cent. of the aggregate number of inhabitants.

In spite of the undeniable promotion of agriculture by means of scientific research, new methods of organisation, a progressive division of labour, a widespread use of fertilisers, and other factors, agricultural production is on the decline. The area under cultivation is decreasing in favour of pasturage, while the fallow area has increased by 878,730 hectares over the last pre-war year. The total extent of fallow land is at present 6,226,000 hectares, a tremendous area for a country enjoying

the reputation of extreme fertility, a country in which the farmers complain of lack of acreage.

Nor are conditions visibly better in regard to forestry. The deforested areas exceed the afforested in the proportion of 7 to 1. Periodical conflagrations, the precautions against which are notoriously insufficient, devastate such of the woods as escape the ravages of caterpillars.

This misproportion between industrial and agricultural output must necessarily cause the subordination of the latter to the former. Agriculture is increasingly an appendage of industry, and the peasant an industrial bondman. As to the forms which this subordination of agriculture assumes, it is sometimes apparent in the undisguised form of an expropriation of the peasant family. In the north the coal-magnates covet the land of the peasants, with a view either to camouflage their profits or else to turn them into material values. In many districts three quarters of the ground belongs to the mining enterprises, which let it out to the expropriated farmers. Such leases can be cancelled at any time at one week's notice! All these cases constitute a capitalist exploitation of the peasantry, seeing that the fertilisers, the agricultural machinery, and the means of transport are all in the hands of the capitalists. In regard to the working-up of the products of peasant economy, again, we find the unfortunate peasant family yet more intricately in the meshes of capitalism. The manufacturers have the villages under their thumbs and generally dictate them their wishes.

The instance of the sugar-factories may serve to illustrate this fact. In 1884 there were 433 sugar-factories producing 406,008 tons of sugar. In 1904 the number of factories was only 292, but their output had risen to 562,736 tons. In 1926 the number of sugar-refineries had receded to 107, but with an aggregate production of 750,280 tons. France has, however, more than 15,000 farms growing sugar-beet, and two thirds of this total are at the mercy of five big sugar-refining enterprises, united in a trust. So as to prevent the farmers from entering upon a "cultivation strike" — practically the only weapon of the peasants in the constant struggle between producers and refiners — the latter have acquired the ground all around their plant on usurious terms. The sugar refining works of the Nord and Somme departments thus control from 20,000 to 30,000 hectares. This is only one instance of the antagonism we may encounter, in varying intensity, in all branches of agricultural production.

Finally, mention must be made of the shifting of French agricultural economy to the colonies in general and Northern Africa in particular. In Algeria, 250,000 Europeans till 500,000 hectares of land with wheat, while four million natives have only one million hectares at their disposal. The European settlers possess numerous silos, with an accommodation capacity of 200,000 centals, which permit them to store their grain in safety and speculate with it, thus enabling them to pay the interest on the loans which play such an important rôle in North-African economy.

The capitalist bourgeoisie respects the proprietary illusions of the small farmers as far as possible, just as general suffrage serves to maintain him in the illusion that he is the master of his own destiny, whereas in reality the peasant family this year forfeited the last remnant of that independence which caused the farmer of the fifties of the last century to say that he lived "on his own ground, always poor, but never a beggar".

Like all other producers of post-war times, the post-war farmer was able to net certain profits, thanks to the depreciation of the frank, which aroused in him the illusion of increased property. Thus the fairy-tale of a general enrichment of the peasantry and of an elimination of class differences in the country gained ground. The real position of the farmer, as it appears in 1928, and a careful study of the last few years make it possible to refute this inaccurate assumption.

Three millions of agricultural workers continue to lead the life of the least favourably situated section of the proletariat, since the increase in the fundamental capital necessary for the purpose of carrying on a middle-sized enterprise, makes it just as impossible for them as of yore, to acquire any property of their own.

300,000 tenant-farmers must continue to bow under the yoke of the draconic working conditions prescribed by the landowners. The tenants can now experience the results of the law on the revision of rural leases, one of the results of which was a trebling of the consideration money to be paid in advance under long-termed lease-contracts.

Two million farmers, possessing no more than 2.5 per cent. of the total area under cultivation, seek to eke out their incomes by working in the factories. Such farmers must be regarded as semi-proletarians. Two million of them till from 5 to 10 hectares per farm, without employing wage labourers.

Finally, there remain 900,000 middle and big farmers, most of whom have also invested part of their capital in industry or are combined with the industrial exploiters of agriculture in enterprises (big mills, refineries, distilleries) for the first working-up of agricultural products. Since 1918 there have undoubtedly been certain changes, without any essential alteration having come about in the general distribution of the soil.

What then is to be said as regards the enrichment of the peasantry and their alleged delivery from bondage to mortgagees?

In the first place it should be pointed out that the employment of bank-capital in the purely agricultural companies is a myth. All attempts in this direction have failed, even when undertaken by companies in the form of co-operatives, enjoying Government advances free of interest. These repeated failures, at an apparently altogether favourable time, seem to prove that agriculture does not yield a sufficient return on capital thus invested, if the farmer does not at the same time attach himself to an industrial enterprise or engage in commerce.

In 1919, it is true, certain tenants, attracted by the high prices of cattle, liquidated their cattle-leases at five or six times the prewar figure, with a view to netting a small fortune, albeit in paper franks. Thereupon they acquired land and movable agricultural assets at the instigation of the real-estate speculators, who at the same time forced up the real-estate prices. To acquire these possessions, the farmers had recourse to all possible resources and even drew on their working capital. The result was that they not only failed to liberate themselves from their hypothecary indebtedness but in many cases became further involved. It is therefore altogether wrong to estimate these land purchases as signs of prosperity. The mortgage debts amounted in 1914 to 2,497 million francs, whereas in 1923 they exceeded 2,730 millions.

An investigation into the yield of the turnover-tax on real estate (36,056 million francs between 1918 and 1922) by no means contradicts what has just been said. If we assume the sum total of real-estate sales to have been 18,000 millions, an amount which was in reality not reached, and analyse the said sales, we shall see that they were by no means effected to the advantage of the working population of the country. "Newly rich" elements, on the strength of fortunes made in industry, acquired much agricultural real-estate; the acquisition of large vineyards was possible only for capitalists and not for vintners, while in the liberated territories the transactions effected in connection with the indemnity payments turned out to the disadvantage of the peasant families, who gave way to the big landowners. In summing up we may say that though in general there has been an advance in the standard-of-living of the peasantry, there can be no talk of the fabulous enrichment of which we have heard so much.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Socialist Party of America — a Party of Professors and Millionaires.

By John Pepper.

There is a "renaissance" of the Socialist Party of America.

We have to believe it, because no less an authority than McAllister Coleman, Socialist candidate for United States Senator from New York, so announces, when he writes:

"For Frederick Vanderbilt Field, descendant of one of the world's richest men, joined the Socialist Party a week ago and in the manner with which he is pitching in, there

is something of the old capitalist's and financier's swift-paced organising ability."

There is a real renaissance of the Socialist Party. Workers are getting very scarce around the headquarters of the honourable and respectable followers of the Second International, but what does that matter? The single fact that a "descendant of one of the world's richest men" joined the Socialist Party will make up for the running away of thousands of workers from the worthy fold.

The Socialist Party is a lucky bunch. Mr. Coleman tells us, terror-stricken, of the narrow escape the Socialist Party had with the young Vanderbilt Field. The young man studied in Great Britain, and did not make up his mind until the last minute whether to join the Democratic or the Socialist Party. To quote Mr. Coleman's own words:

"But as the Democratic workers whom he met did not strike him as being one whit more 'liberal' than their Republican fellow-workers he went home and slept over the matter and the next morning awoke."

And so he became a Socialist!

And Mr. Coleman assures us further that "going in and out of headquarters, not only in New York, but in Kansas City, Chicago and Los Angeles as well, are youngsters who think and act very much like young Field".

But our fairness compels us to tell the workers of the steel mills, textile towns, and coal mines that, despite the fact that the Socialist Party is fast becoming a party of young millionaires, there is still real democracy in the Socialist Party. The inimitable Mr. Coleman relates in his narrative:

"Today he carries the red card of membership in the Socialist Party, which he joined last week, pays his fifty cents monthly dues, and is addressed as 'comrade' by needle-workers, house painters and machinists."

Certainly there is no other party in this country which can offer such an attraction to prick-fingered needle workers, paint-besmeared house painters, and greasy machinists as that of buying for fifty cents monthly dues the privilege of addressing a Vanderbilt (mind you, a genuine, living, gilt-edged Vanderbilt) as "comrade",

Young Vanderbilt Field is the first result of the urgent appeal of Mr. Thomas and his fellow Socialist leaders for the support of the young generation of millionaires. We do not know how much financial aid that support will mean to the Socialist Party, but certainly young Vanderbilt Field will not be stingy. He knows very well that the Socialist Party is today the best, most effective weapon of capitalism against the working class, against the Communists, against the organisation of the unorganised millions, against a militant class struggle. It pays young Vanderbilt Field and the other rich young idlers to support the Socialist Party as the most clever defender of their capitalist property. But young Vanderbilt Field brings along with him also the best traditions of the late William Vanderbilt.

It is a spectacle for the gods — the Socialist Party as the heir of the best robber traditions of the most notorious financier and railroad magnate in the history of American capitalism!

There is a true renaissance of the Socialist Party. Not only millionaires but professors — entirely respectable, law-abiding, God-fearing, regular professors — are beginning to realise that their place is in the Socialist Party. The millionaires are attracted by the fact that there are very few workers in the Socialist organisation, and there is not a very big danger that many needle-trade workers and house-painters and machinists will address them as "comrades". The professors, on the other hand, are attracted by the fact that the Socialist Party has abandoned the very last remnants of revolutionary Marxism.

A Chicago professor, Paul H. Douglas, has contributed an article to the October 24th issue of the New Republic, in which he explains "Why I Am For Thomas". The main reason he gives is the stripping off of Marxism from the theory and practice of the Socialist Party.

Professor Douglas is a well-known liberal. He is a professor of political economy; therefore, an expert ex-officio on economic theories. He has his own economic theories of vulgar truisms, and there is no reason to disbelieve him when he says that the present Socialist Party has nothing at all in common with Marxism, which he calls with the brazen pretensions of a capitalist professor "economic theology".

And Professor Douglas is not an isolated phenomenon. In the Nation's straw vote no less than 2,542 prosperous intellectuals and small businessmen expressed their endorsement of Thomas as against 2,526 for Hoover and 6,317 for Al Smith.

Mr. W. E. Woodward, the well-known novelist and cheap "humaniser" of George Washington and General Grant, confesses that he is "a Socialist of the deepest dye", despite the fact that "my books are read in the most respectable homes". Mr. Woodward, who is not only a writer but a very well-to-do ex-businessman, gives his own reasons for supporting Thomas, characterising him in the following way:

"Proletariat' and 'bourgeoisie' are words that rarely appear in his speeches. He has somehow got hold of the idea that farmers in Iowa, and workers in Detroit factories, are a bit uneasy when they are addressed as 'the oppressed masses'... He refuses to talk to them about their troubles in the manner of Marx preparing *Das Kapital* in the British Museum in 1867."

This statement by Mr. W. E. Woodward appeared in the official campaign book of the Socialist Party.

And if there are still "doubting Thomases" who don't believe that the Socialist Party is facing a veritable renaissance, they ought to be convinced by the fact that Charles Edward Russell has rejoined the Socialist Party. Yes, the same Charles Edward Russell who left the Socialist Party during the war, because the Socialist Party at that time did not serve the imperialist masters obediently enough. Yes, the same Mr. Russell who served as a member of the infamous special mission which President Wilson sent to Russia in 1917 in an attempt to keep Russia in the camp of the Allies. Russell, the Wilsonian jingo, considers the Socialist Party as it is today jingoistic enough for him to re-enter its ranks. Russell has not changed, but the Socialist Party has undergone a fundamental transformation. From a working-class party it has become a party of small businessmen and prosperous intellectuals.

Millionaires, professors, prosperous writers, notorious servants of imperialism are joining the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is becoming so very respectable that even in the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution (that notorious organisation of counter-revolutionary enemies of every revolutionary movement) it found defenders.

The Socialist Party of today is an acknowledged institution of American capitalism, is rather the party of millionaires, professors, well-to-do professional men, and blue-blooded aristocrats of counter-revolutionary organisations than a party of the working class. There is only one party of the working class in this country, and that is the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Millionaires are our deadly enemies. Well-known professors ridicule and combat our fundamental theory of Marxism-Leninism. The "Witches" of the American Revolution are yelling for the prosecuting attorney against the Communists. Communist leaders are jailed everywhere. Election campaign meetings of the Communist Party are broken up everywhere.

The Socialist Party may receive a large vote on Election Day, but that will not be an expression of the support of the working class. But every vote the Communist Party receives on November 6th will be a vote for the proletarian class struggle, against Negro oppression, against imperialist war, and for the overthrow of capitalism.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Resolution of the V. World Congress of the Y. C. I. on the Report of the Executive Committee.

1. The V. International Congress of the Y. C. I. fully concurs with the directives pursued by the Executive Committee since the VI. Congress and approves of its practical activity.

2. The juvenile question is undoubtedly one of the most important questions of the present time. The present period is characterised by the growing participation of the young workers in the social production and in the class struggle on the one hand and by the extremely keen fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the control of the young workers upon the other. The increasing significance of the young workers is occasioned by two factors, viz.

a) Capitalist rationalisation, which frequently entails the substitution of juvenile for adult workers and leads to an increase of the juvenile share in production (e. g. in connection with the conveyor system); and

b) The increased preparation on the part of the bourgeoisie for new wars and class struggles, which force them to pay increased attention to the young generation as the decisive factor in the approaching inevitable conflict both between the individual imperialist Powers and between the imperialists on the one hand and the Soviet Union, together with the emancipation-movement of the oppressed colonial peoples, on the other. These preparations bear a more pronounced class character than ever before.

The position of the workers in general and of all the juvenile workers in particular has undoubtedly deteriorated during the last few years. In none of the capitalist countries have new achievements recently been recorded in the direction of juvenile and child welfare. On the other hand we may witness a common attack of the employers and other reactionary elements, tending towards a general deterioration in the standard-of-living of the juvenile workers (especially in connection with rationalisation) and towards an ever greater deprivation of rights. The reactionary laws in Great Britain, Germany, and other countries, the terrorism exercised by the employers in the Fascist countries and in the colonies, and the general strengthening of repression are instances in point.

This pressure on the part of the employers and on that of the reaction rouses the activity of the masses of juvenile workers, spurning more and more of them to fight and thus effecting their radicalisation. The patent proofs of this growing activity are to be seen in a whole series of spontaneous juvenile strikes during the last twelvemonth in quite a number of countries, in the active participation of juvenile workers in the strikes of the adults, in disturbances in the bourgeois armies of a number of countries, in the undeniable fact that a great number of juvenile votes have been given to the Communist Party at the elections, in the existence of frequently serious oppositional currents in the ranks of the Social Democratic and even of the bourgeois youth organisations, and finally in the decline of the Young "Socialist" International.

In its fight against the growing radicalisation of the juvenile masses, the bourgeoisie makes use of two means, viz. an increased pressure on the revolutionary youth movement, a pressure heightened to the stage of a regular white terror, and an increased ideological assault on the younger generation. These means embody a Fascist and militarist training of the youth and a reaction in school and culture. Particular importance attaches to the attempt of the Fascists to gag the young workers by all possible means. The most tried weapon of the bourgeoisie in its attack on the young workers is the widespread system of bourgeois youth organisations, which are constantly improving their methods and attempt under the most varied masks (ranging from Fascism to Social pacifism) to inveigle the young workers into the bourgeois ideology. The last few years have been characterised by an unprecedented increase in the activity of these organisations, which enjoy the greatest measure of support on the part of the capitalists

and their Governments. In this connection there is an obvious tendency towards uniting these organisations under the general lead of the bourgeois State.

In this fight for the youth, the so-called Young "Socialist" International plays the rôle of an aider and abettor of the bourgeoisie. The leaders of the Y. S. I., who have long since renounced the class struggle, have now definitely assumed the farthest possible Right position within the Second International and are engaged exclusively in propaganda for class peace and co-operation with the bourgeoisie.

In connection with the growing rôle played by the young generation and with the constantly developing fight for control over the young workers, the tasks of the Y. C. I. and its responsibility for one of the most important sections of the revolutionary front are naturally augmented.

3. Since the occasion of the IV. Congress, the Y. C. I. can record a series of considerable achievements and successes in various realms of activity. The most important of these achievements are the following:

a) The political activity of the Y. C. I. in its entirety and in its individual sections, which finds expression in its active participation in all the campaigns and actions of the Communist Parties (the Chinese revolution, the armed fight in Indo-China, Esthonia, Greece, Poland, and Vienna, the fight against war and the war menace, especially as regards the war in Morocco and Syria and the intervention in China, the strike in Great Britain, the anti-Fascist fight, etc.); in the widespread anti-militarist activity, which comprises an ever growing number of associations and also embodies the fight for the partial demands of the soldiers; in the participation of the Y. C. I. in all Party campaigns, whether international or appertaining to particular countries (electioneering campaigns, the sending of workers' delegations to the Soviet Union, etc.) and in the independent execution of such campaigns; in the active fight for the realisation of Comintern directives, especially against the opportunist deviations in individual parties (China, France, etc.); and in the decisive opposition to Trotzkyism, which has suffered a complete defeat in the Young Communist movement of the whole world.

b) The first successes of the widespread mass-activity of the organisations, which are passing from words in a general to deeds in a particular sense. We make special mention of the commencement of a serious economic and trade-union activity in a number of countries, of a united-front campaign and attempts towards the disintegration of the hostile ranks, and of the employment of means towards the organisation of the young workers ("youth front", youth commissions, and youth sections in the trade unions, sports-organisations, etc.).

c) The development of the Young Chinese League, which has developed out of a small organisation of revolutionary students into a mass-organisation of the young workers and peasants and which throughout the entire Chinese revolution has played the part of a decisive political factor.

d) The further development of the Y. C. I. into a world-organisation by the creation of a number of new leagues (Corea, Palestine, Australia, a number of leagues in Latin America).

e) The heroic fight put up by the illegal organisations, working under conditions of an infamous White terror and yet developing a mass-activity (Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, etc.) and in part also increasing in numbers.

f) A pronounced internal consolidation of the Y. C. I., improvement of the connection between the Executive Committee and the sections and international leadership, recruitment of new cadres in a number of countries, ideologic consolidation of the organisations, ideologic growth of the programme of the Y. C. I., a more critical treatment of its problems, a search for new ways in its activity, improvement of the methods and new forms of work in a whole number of branches of activity. These new forms bring our working system ever nearer to the type of work appertaining to a mass movement of the Communist Youth:

g) The work of the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, one of the most powerful props of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, drawing millions of young workers into active participation in the construction of Socialism.

(To be continued.)

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

The Tasks of the International Workers' Correspondence Movement and International Communication between the Worker Correspondents.

(Resolution passed by the conference of the delegates to the VI. Congress of the C.I., convened by the editorial staff of the "Pravda" and the Agitprop of the E. C. C. I.)

1. The Workers' Correspondence movement and the factory newspapers are steadily gaining in importance for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries and are becoming one of the most powerful means towards the establishment of a closer connection with the broad masses of the workers and towards the organisation of these masses. During the last few years the workers' correspondence movement in the capitalist countries has made noticeable progress both in qualitative and quantitative respects, but its development is still inadequate.

2. The following grave defects must be recorded in the development of the workers' correspondence movement in the capitalist countries:

a) The majority of the communist newspapers have not yet gathered round them a cadre of constant worker correspondents.

b) Those newspapers which have established a connection with worker correspondents still do not reach to a sufficient extent the non-Party, social-democratic and other workers, or the women, peasants, and young people.

c) The real workers' correspondence movement is substituted in many places by the organisation of worker reporters of the old social-democratic type.

d) The local organisations have only a weak organisational hold on the movement and on the factory newspapers and do not guide them efficiently enough, so that the workers' correspondence movement dies out suddenly, letters from worker correspondents disappear from the columns of the communist newspapers for long periods, and the connection with the worker correspondents is weakened.

e) The quality of the comment supplied by the worker correspondents is not very high.

3. The necessary pre-requisites for the continued unhindered numerical development and qualitative improvement of the workers' correspondence movement are to be found in better organisation and better leadership. The leading organs of all sections must in the near future draw up practical measures for strengthening the workers' correspondence and factory newspaper movements. (Questions of leadership, working methods, budget, etc.)

4. The immediate leadership of the workers correspondents is the work of the editorial staff of the communist parties under the general guidance and control of the Party Committee, to be exercised by the Agitprop sections of the Committee.

The chief editor is responsible for the general lines to be observed by the workers correspondents; for the daily work with the workers correspondents one or more comrades of the editorial staff must be entrusted with the guidance and organisation of the work in detail (recruiting and instructing of worker correspondents in the factories, convocation of consultations and conferences, arrangement of educational work, organisation of courses of instruction, lectures, etc.).

5. In places where there is no local party press, the work of directing the worker correspondents falls to the representative of the editorial staff of the Communist newspaper circulating in the locality, the functionary of the Agitprop of the local Party Committee.

6. It is the task of the Communist newspaper to form a network of worker correspondents in every workshop and factory in which the newspaper in question circulates. The leading slogan of the communist newspaper must be: To en-

sure a number of worker correspondents in every large undertaking, especially in the heavy industrial undertakings, in the chemical industry, the aeroplane industry, and in the main railway and dock centres. At the same time increased efforts must be made to recruit village correspondents from among the peasantry, especially among agricultural labourers.

7. The editorial departments must maintain steady and close contact with the worker correspondents, set them tasks, get them to participate in campaigns, carry on individual correspondence with them by means of regular answers to the observations made, and comments on the faults contained in the letters and observations.

8. The organisation of the movement must be based on the principle of perfect voluntariness. The election and appointment of worker correspondents, their classification into "permanent" and "non-permanent", the issue of special credentials for worker correspondents, etc. are to be immediately done away with.

9. It is necessary that the network of factory newspapers, which are of immense importance for the organisation and political education of the masses, and represent the first school of the worker correspondents, should be extended and improved in quality. Every workshop or factory possessing a Party nucleus must achieve a factory newspaper. Up to the present the factory newspapers are too weak in many cases, are insufficiently in contact with the masses, only feebly reflect the lives and struggles of the masses, and appear very irregularly. It is important to establish the closest contact between these newspapers and the central and local Communist press and to attain the collaboration of the worker correspondents of these newspapers, the organisation of educational work for the worker correspondents of all newspapers.

10. In order to enliven the movement, and to gather around it even larger circles of the proletariat, worker correspondents' clubs must be formed, in which evenings in which the workers themselves take part are arranged, exhibitions, competitions in newspapers, etc. organised.

The worker correspondents' clubs are organised by the editorial departments of the Communist newspapers and set themselves the task of gathering the worker correspondents around the editorial staffs, instructing them before important campaigns by means of regular lectures and circles aiming at improving the qualifications of the worker correspondents. Propagandist activities for the workers' correspondence movement among the masses are greatly furthered by prize competitions for the best letters on definite subjects, and by exhibitions.

11. In order to popularise the movement and to carry on the work of education among the worker correspondents, necessary auxiliaries are the publication of popular worker and village correspondent literature dealing with all the questions of the movement, the wide distribution of this literature, and the publication of a large number of articles on the workers' correspondence questions in the columns of our newspapers and periodicals.

12. Endeavours must be made to pool the experience gained by the workers' correspondence movement in all countries by means of mutual exchange of information on the experience won and on the development of this movement in the separate countries and by means of the publication of articles in the organs of the different sections of the Comintern. Where this is possible, periodicals leading the workers' correspondence movement must be published for one or more countries. The exchange of experiences gained in the workers' correspondence movement must be better organised between the Soviet Union and foreign countries.

Here mention must be made of the interesting experience gained by the immediate and actual contact realised in the exchange of delegations between the editorial staffs and worker correspondents of the daily paper "Rabotschaya Moskv" (Workers Moscow) and the Austrian "Rote Fahne".

13. Another necessity is the publication of an international workers' correspondence periodical undertaking the task of appraising and elucidating the experiences of the workers' correspondence movement and of the newspapers in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union. This periodical must at the same time guide the international relations of the worker correspondents.

14. In view of the enormous importance of the maintenance of international contact among worker correspondents, as a factor towards the formation of a united front of the workers of all countries, towards the combating of the calumnies spread by the bourgeois and reformist newspapers, war danger, etc., the establishment of this contact is to be accorded the utmost attention, it is to be popularised to the widest extent among the working masses of the different countries, and its guidance improved by the newspapers.

15. This contact is to be strengthened not only between the foreign worker correspondents and the worker correspondents of the Soviet Union, but between the workers of the capitalist countries, which will result in a considerable furtherance of both the mutual exchange of information and of the establishment of brotherly relations among them.

16. The best form of international contact is the collective connection organised and guided by the editorial departments of newspapers. Here experience has shown that the best results are obtained from the correspondence of whole undertakings with one another, or at least from the correspondence between workers of similar or related branches of production (railwaymen, miners, metal workers, etc.). The individual connection between workers of different countries — maintained by Esperanto among other means — must likewise be subordinated to the guidance of the newspapers or of circles of worker correspondents, the letters received in this manner being utilised to the utmost for the press, both in the central and in the factory newspapers, and for reading aloud in the works and factories.

17. The establishment of international contact requires that the separate newspapers of the Soviet Union and other countries maintain connections with one another, whereby at first more effort is to be directed to the high quality of the work accomplished by the connection maintained than to the inclusion of a large number of newspapers in the connection. The editors to whom the conduct of the correspondence among the worker correspondents is entrusted must take great care that the letters are answered without delay, and that the writers of the letters are informed when and in what foreign newspapers the letters appear.

18. The organs of the sections of the Comintern draw up periodical questionnaires for the international exchange of letters and send these in good time to the newspapers with which they are in communication. This is necessary if the correspondence is to be most effectually organised and the most interesting and up-to-date material obtained and utilised for the carrying out of campaigns of very description.

19. The international contact among the workers of the different countries, like all other branches of the workers' correspondence movement, must be widely popularised in the Communist press (newspapers, periodicals, popular pamphlets, etc.), not only of our "own" country, but of other countries. The experiences of the "Worker and Peasant Correspondents", the leading central organ of the workers' and peasants' correspondence movement in the Soviet Union, must above all be made thoroughly known.

20. For the international exchange of letters among worker correspondents the letters are translated into other languages by the staffs of the newspapers, and the original letters published accompanied by the translations. It is necessary to popularise the learning of at least one foreign language among the workers (especially those of the Soviet Union). This is much more useful than learning Esperanto.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

For the Imperialist War — or for the Soviet Union?

By G. G. L. Alexander (Moscow).

It is just a year since there gathered in Moscow for the anniversary of Red October, in addition to the delegations of workers and of the "Friends of the Soviet Union" from all countries, a great number of women of all classes and condition from almost every land.

Before their return to their various countries and after they had learned something through travel and sight-seeing

of the huge Soviet country, they gathered together for a common conference with the object of talking over what they had seen and experienced, in order to report thereon at the Congress of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Finally, it came to a spontaneous demonstration against the menace to the Soviet Union by the imperialistic powers. All were united in the vow to take up the ruthless fight against the imperialist enemies of the Soviet State and to call upon the broad masses of working women of all countries to stand shoulder to shoulder with them.

This mobilisation of the women of all countries against the imperialist war is of special significance in view of the bourgeois mobilisation of women, which is constantly proceeding more purposefully and winning over masses of proletarian women for the class front of the bourgeoisie, aye, even using State and law to press them into the ranks. In what measure and with what subtle means this is happening is still but little known to many. The result of this ignorance is that even to-day broad masses of working women still surrender themselves to the illusion that a fresh war is impossible.

Loudly and irrefutably all those laws, hatched out in recent years in the parliaments of France, Poland and Finland with the object of mobilising women in the auxiliary corps, bear their message to the women. These laws are, however, not only meant to provide for the States the most brutal of measures in case of emergency, they serve even now as sanctions for all those active preparations which have long been carried on below the surface by parties and by bourgeois nationalist and Fascist organisations: Mainstays of militarism and war policy.

Nothing is said openly to the broad public about the big military organisations of women in the border States, with Finland and Poland at their head. Their members, already numbering tens of thousands, are put up in barracks and given military training: they are to help to strengthen the imperialist attacking front against the Soviet Union. Their example is being followed by Sweden and Norway, where "Lotten" are being established as sections of the territorial forces in imitation of the huge Finnish association, "Lotta Swerd". The general Press, as also the leading bourgeois women's Press, is silent as regards these Amazon Associations of capitalist society; there are no brochures about their character, just as there are none about the Fascist and nationalist women's associations in nearly all countries, which have long ceased to be harmless societies for pleasure tours and become regular fighting units of more or less veiled military nature.

In Germany we have nationalist associations, such as the Queen Louise Federation, which ideologically and with the most subtle art of bribery decoy the workers through the medium of all kinds of social institutions, such as crèches, advice centres in the factories, evening entertainments, children's festivals, etc. In the United States and Italy all the Fascist organisations have women's sections. In the United States the women are not being left behind by the men: they exercise lynch justice and "vehmic murders" on white women or negroes, just as the men do. In Great Britain there is a strike-breaker organisation, the "Women's League of Empire", which, in case of big demonstrations, use their members for strike-breaking service (miners' lock-out 1926).

When in conclusion we state that there are no fewer than thirty bourgeois organisations of women in the United States, with a membership numbering hundreds of thousands, won over through humanitarian entertainments and institutions and subjected to "patriotic" influence, when we take into account the Scout movements in all countries, which are also veiled military organisations, we can form an idea of the present condition and possibilities of the mobilisation and of the military preparedness of the bourgeois women.

We must strain every muscle in order to paralyse the fighting preparedness and war preparations of the bourgeois women, we must do everything we can to find out about the activity of existing women's organisations and win over the members, and especially the proletarian members, for ourselves. We must keep a watchful eye upon the work of the bourgeois women, of the Social-Democratic women pacifists and reformists, and upon the zeal with which they win over and mislead the working women, in order that we may show their tricks and methods for the fostering of "class peace", their fables of "peace among nations", in their proper light.

The only bulwark against the imperialist war is the workers' and peasants' State. The disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union were rejected with scorn in Geneva and the plans of war were unequivocally supported in Brussels by the Social-Democratic women leaders. The increased armaments and the armoured cruisers of "disarmed" Germany, built with the help of the Social Democrats, are a pregnant answer.

We can prevent war, so long as it has not become a fact, now, to-day and to-morrow. But the broad masses alone are able to prevent it by closing their ranks in defence of the Soviet Union, by beginning now consciously to organise the resistance on all fronts. The women must take part, each in her appointed place, to shield the only country in the world in which women enjoy equal rights and recognition with men in living reality, and whose example and experience are already helping to achieve more tolerable conditions of living and labour.

The Fight for the Working Women in Yugoslavia.

By Blagojeva.

The ruthless exploitation of female labour, the depriving of the women of their political and juridical rights, the national yoke and the survivals of feudalism in various districts of Yugoslavia are making more profound the contradictions in the life of proletarian women and waking them to activity. The Yugoslavian bourgeoisie, which considers the role of women in production as cheap and poorly organised labour, in view of their role in the economic front in times of war and also on account of the revolutionary force of the rebellious masses of women, is trying to master the growing dissatisfaction and to exercise influence upon the working women not only through terror but also through systematic work. This work is being done by the humanitarian educational organisations, by the feminist, clerical and reformist organisations.

In districts where the population is not particularly religious — chiefly in Serbia — the humanitarian and educational women's organisations are at work. The nature of these societies is national-chauvinistic. They have employment agencies for women and homes for unemployed women. The employment agencies are under the State labour exchange and are most frequent in Serbia. These societies receive subsidies from various State departments and are also supported by royalty for the purpose of consolidating the political hegemony in Serbia. In consequence an unemployed woman can get an allowance of 2.50 to 5 dinars a day in the homes of these organisations in Belgrade, and as much as 15 dinars a day in Zagreb, Croatia. In Croatia, if a woman has lived on credit in such a home during a period of unemployment, she must pay the money back as soon as she gets work again.

On the initiative of this society the State has created throughout the country so-called trade schools for home workers. The work of these schools is under the protection of the societies of these humanitarian organisations.

Recently the work of these societies has been extended to the villages. Under the slogan of protection of widows and orphans, through instruction in sewing, cooking, hygiene, etc., through courses for illiterates, through getting their children apprenticed in small work-shops, these societies ingratiate themselves to the proletarianised peasant women, who have a bourgeois-nationalistic-chauvinistic ideology and supply the town with cheap and unskilled female and youth labour.

The clerical organisations are chiefly in Croatia, Slovenia and the Voivodina. On the one hand, they organise the wor-

king women in religious societies and thereby strengthen the power of the church; on the other hand, through these religious organisations they draw the working women into the bourgeois-feminist movement and make them clerical.

Formally, there are two kinds of these organisations: the Congregation of Mary and the Third Order of St. Francis. Each of these organisations has a number of sections.

The working woman, who is a member of one of these organisations, is also a member of all sections, which sometimes number from 10 to 15. She must buy a badge and an amulet, which the priest himself puts on her and which she cannot take off; she must pay membership contributions and is obliged to subscribe to the newspaper and a periodical, to give twice a week "a small offering for the Holy Father" and "a small offering for the baptising of non-Christian peoples" and, in addition to this, she must make various contributions to the church.

The money which is squeezed out of the female workers is used among them for "educational work". The church covers only the expenses for the humanitarian work of giving meals to unemployed and to the poor. The cultural work is carried on by the secular women's organisations. Every clerical organisation has a "cultural" section: music and vocal societies, athletic organisations for the young, courses for illiterates, dress-making and cooking courses, instruction in hygiene, etc.

To what extent the work of these organisations has recently affected the women workers is apparent from the following: after religious events a female worker speaks about the work and the plans of the women's organisations, plays are given, dealing with the lives of the saints and also with the lives of the working women; and the women workers sing in the concerts and recite works of their own dedicated to some saint. Women workers who have completed these propaganda courses are sent into the factories and shops to work among the women under the slogan "achieve the rights of women with the help of the Church!" On most festive occasions they make speeches.

Well organised reading rooms and libraries, twenty periodicals, which have a circulation of 100,000, chiefly among women, and of which five are special periodicals for women, supplement the broad net of the clerical organisations and are used to entice the women, and especially the working women. As decoy for the female workers, their children are provided with clothes and shoes, or sent away for holidays, through the intermediary of these organisations.

In consequence of this work the majority of the Yugoslavian women workers are enrolled in clerical organisations.

The work of the reformists supplements the organisatory net of the bourgeoisie for catching the women workers. The State permits the reformists to monopolise the State workers' institutes (the so-called Labour Chambers and the organisations for social insurance). They use them to favour their members and for propaganda for the reformist trade unions, which are protected by the police. Cynically and openly they co-operate with the Serbian bourgeois humanitarian societies in the management of the trade-union schools in Agram and advertise, in exactly the same way as the bourgeois Press, the cheap labour.

In Slovenia the Social Democrats created a special "Association of Working Women and Children" of the feminist type.

The C. P. of Yugoslavia must devote close attention to work among the women. The Communist Party must, by concentrating its attention upon the work among the working women in the factories and among the working peasant women, take all measures to expose and discredit in the eyes of the working masses the whole of the bourgeois-clerical, humanitarian, educative, reformist and feminist organisation and its activity.