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The Franco-Italian Antagonism.

After the Trial of Modugno.

By G. Peri.

On the 28th of November the Italian worker **Di Modugno** was sentenced by the Paris Jury Court to two years imprisonment for killing the Italian vice Consul **Nardini**, who in a brutal manner refused to issue him a passport for his wife.

The trial provided an opportunity to expose once again the anti-proletarian spying activity carried on by the fascist Embassies and Consulates in France, and at the same time to reveal the incapacity of the social democratic leaders to put up a fight against fascism. The witnesses called by the Defence: **Modigliani**, **Caporalli**, and **Pietro Nenni**, confined themselves to lauding French democracy, at the same time forgetting that this democracy expelled 15,000 foreign workers during the last few months. Only our Comrade **Di Vittorio**, an Italian Communist deputy, could have given a real presentation of the inhuman persecutions in Italy. But he was rejected as a witness.

The Italian press received the news of the sentence of the French court with a howl of rage; demonstrations have taken place in front of the French consulates in Italy. Italian officers sent their French decorations and orders back to **M. Doumergue**, the President of the French Republic.

The French government reacted in an extremely characteristic manner to these happenings. When the first news arrived from Italy, the French Ministerial Council, on the proposal of **M. Sarraut**, adopted a decision to increase the persecution of Italian workers who have been driven from their country by fascism. This decision is all the more contemptible when one bears in mind the activity which the Italian Consulates are carrying on in France. Irrefutable documents, which have been published in the "Humaité", prove that members of the Italian fascist formations abroad meet at the Italian Consulates.

But that is not all. The press of the "National unity" has made use of the Modugno trial and commenced a fierce campaign for the abolition of trial by jury. In one of his speeches in Parliament **M. Briand** gave it be understood that he is quite willing to accede to the wishes of the Duce.

We must wait and see whether these measures will satisfy the appetite of Italian imperialism. There is good reason for doubting it, as this sentence is only a pretext. The real reasons for the Italian "excitement" lie deeper. The present dispute brings to the front the whole of the Franco-Italian relations.

Fascism describes Italy as a nation which has been "shabbily treated". Italy has 42 million inhabitants with an annual increase in population of 500,000. These 42 millions live in a territory 300,000 square kilometres in extent, part of which is unhealthy while another part is completely uninhabitable. On the other hand, 39 million French live in a territory of 551,000 square kilometres, and have a yearly increase in population of only 70,000. Imperialist France, which is rich in raw materials, faces fascist Italy, which is lacking in raw materials and has a surplus of free labour power.

The peace treaties and the post-war development have only increased the tension between these two States. If Italy managed to grab a portion of Tyrol and a strip of the coast of the Adriatic Sea with the big harbour of Trieste, it is compelled, on the other hand, to endeavour to prevent an increase in the strength of Yugoslavia, which appears as a serious rival in the Balkans. In addition, Italy was completely passed over when the former German colonial possessions were distributed. French imperialism has, in an unmistakable manner, expressed its determination to consolidate its colonial possessions. The desire for colonies is the chief motive actuating fascist policy.

More than a year ago the Italian Minister **Italo Balbo** made a journey to Tunis, and this provided the occasion for the local Italian population to hold noisy demonstrations for the inclusion of Tunis in Italy's colonial possessions. The position of the Italians in Tunis is clearly defined by the treaty of 1896, under which they retain their *statuts quo*. This treaty, however, is renewable every three years. By numerous naturalisations, often also by the employment of means of compulsion, France has endeavoured to promote the sale of landed property to Poles and Yugoslavians in order to bring the Italians into a minority. The Italians who are settled in Tunis are now demanding a fresh settlement of their position. In place of the Treaty of 1896 they desire the conclusion of a long-term treaty permitting the Italians, in a relatively short space of time, to become the real masters. In addition, Italy has demanded, and obtained, participation in the administration of Tangier.

The fascist lust for power, however, extends beyond the area of the Mediterranean and the Red sea. The "Tribuna" wrote in this connection that Italy cannot permit a big western power to set up a system of small States on its Eastern frontier.

In fact it is precisely in the Balkans that the struggle between these two imperialist powers assumes its sharpest form. Since 1919 France has been endeavouring to create in the Balkans an anti-German bloc out of the States which have arisen since the war. One of these powers is Yugoslavia, which is striving after Salonika and the Aegean Sea, and thereby threatening the intentions of Italy in this sphere. Italy is attempting to shatter the Little Entente which France considers to be necessary for the maintenance of the present situation in the Balkans. Italy is negotiating in Roumania with Averescu, so France favours Bratianu against Averescu, to which Italy will reply by supporting king Carol against Bratianu.

When Italy seeks to gain a foothold in Greece, then France incites the movement against Pangalos. If France attempts to approach Sofia and Belgrade, Italy allies itself with Protogerov, with the so-called autonomists who exercise their terror in Yugoslavian Macedonia. The Albanian-Italian Treaty of Tirana, concluded in 1926, was replied to by the Franco-Yugoslavian Treaty of 11th November, 1927.

The conclusion of the Franco-British naval agreement has increased the grounds of the Franco-Italian antagonism. Yesterday the British Foreign Office was still the patron of Italy in the latter's undertakings in the Balkans; today London and Paris are uniting against the Macedonians, who are allied with Mussolini. Yesterday England and France regarded each others colonial territories with mutual distrust; today they are meeting the Italian endeavours with united forces. Poincaré demands in Parliament the granting of a further 1,000 millions for the military budget, accuses Italy of imperialism and declares that France will not give up its Syrian mandate.

From this constellation there follows clearly the policy which the Communists must pursue. They reject anti-Italian chauvinism as advocated by the socialist leaders. The Franco-Italian antagonisms are not based on the opposition of democracy to fascism, or vice versa. Two equally hateful imperialist powers are fighting each other: two powers which in the same manner are preparing a fresh imperialist robber-war. It is the task of the Communists of both countries to combat in the first place the imperialism in their own country. The Com-

munist Party of France is pursuing the policy of the common fight of the French and Italian workers against imperialism, which suppresses the colonial peoples and the national minorities. It calls for active support of the suppressed colonial peoples and the national minorities; it is fighting for the defence of the right of asylum, for the defence of the Soviet Union, and for the united front of the French and Italian workers in the revolutionary struggle.

POLITICS

A Comment on the Outcome of the Czechoslovakian Elections.

By V. Stern (Prague).

The total outcome of the elections is now known and renders possible a more complete estimation of the situation.

The losses of the Communist Party are smaller than at first appeared to be the case. The Communist Party received 823,000 votes. At the Parliamentary elections in 1925, when three youth classes and the soldiers were allowed to join in the voting, the Party recorded 933,711 votes, or 110,000 votes more than this time. At the Senate elections in the same year, when two youth classes less took part, the Party polled 774,500 votes, in comparison with this latter occasion, therefore, the Party would now appear to have advanced by 49,000 votes.

The heavy losses of almost all the Government parties have been confirmed. Only the Czech Agrarian Party gained new votes, which is partly due to the fact that the Fascists voted for this party. The heaviest losses were those of the Slovak Hlinka Party, which receded from 489,000 votes at the last Parliamentary elections to 326,000 votes on the present occasion and is even at a great disadvantage in comparison with the Senate elections, when it registered 417,000 votes. Relatively speaking, this party has lost almost one third of its total number of adherents. Very serious losses were also suffered by the Czech and the German Clericals and fairly serious losses also by the German Agrarians. The National Democrats have more or less held their ground. All the Government parties together received only a minority of the total number of registered votes, even if they are assumed to include the new party of the deputy Rosche, which posed during the elections as oppositional for the purpose of catching votes for the German "activist" camp. All in all, the Government parties registered about 3,300,000 votes and the other parties together some 3,500,000.

All the reformist parties can record advances, both absolutely and relatively. The gains are smallest in the case of the German Social Democrats, where, relatively reckoned, they amount to 2 or 3 per cent., and greatest in that of the Czech Social Democrats, where they figure between 20 and 25 per cent. The Czech National Socialists, whose gains appeared to be particularly great on the basis of the first reports, advanced by about 10 per cent., in which connection it must be remembered that the Bourgeois Labour Party helped them with their votes.

The decisive point in estimating the outcome of the elections is the relation of forces between the Communists and the bloc of bourgeois and reformist parties. From this point of view it must be established that the elections did not fulfill the hopes of the bourgeoisie and the reformists nor the fears of many Communists. On the basis of a far smaller total of votes, the Communist Party with its 800,000 votes may be said to have maintained its ground fairly well. In the German regions, especially in the Carlsbad area, a stronghold of the Social Democrats, it made absolute and relative progress. In the Reichenberg district and in certain other German regions the German Social Democrats even lost votes. In Slovakia the Party had a relative gain of about 5 per cent.

It must be taken into consideration, moreover, that these votes were given to the Communist Party at a time of pronounced persecution and in the face of the most serious limitation of Communist agitation by Government terrorism. Our leading papers were confiscated, many of our agitators were arrested, and the elections took place at a time of a great crisis

in our Party, after a whole series of defeats and errors. At present both the bourgeois and the reformists must admit that the Communists held their ground far better than had been expected and that they have themselves been rather premature in dividing the skin of the bear. The Communist Party still remains by far the strongest among those parties which are competing for the leadership of the proletariat, it remains the second-strongest party in the country, and the 800,000 odd votes it was able to secure weigh more than usual in view of the persecution to which it is subjected.

These satisfactory features, however, must not cause us to err in our estimation of the position. The main point is that the bourgeoisie is doubly strengthened by the outcome of the elections, firstly by the weakening of the Communist Party and secondly by the strengthening of the reformist allies of the bourgeoisie. It is, moreover, an important fact that, it is just in the great industrial centres like Brunn, Prague, Kladno, and Mährisch-Ostrau, that we have suffered the greatest losses, as indeed, our losses have been mainly in pronouncedly Czech districts. Very serious losses, too, have been sustained in Carpatho-Ukraine, where we receded from 75,000 votes at the last Parliamentary elections to 45,000 on the present occasion and have even to record a considerable falling-off in comparison with the Senate elections. Our relative losses in that district may be put at about 30 per cent.

These losses have been sustained at a time when objective circumstances should have made possible a considerable strengthening of the Communist Party. The bourgeois offensive is more virulent than ever, the imperialist war danger is more and more apparent, the Fascist preparations for war and for an aggravated offensive proceed more and more rapidly, and the methods of the reformists in their support of this entire bourgeois policy are increasingly shameless. The radicalisation of the masses obviously increases, as was to be seen in the outcome of the elections.

The mistaken policy of the Party, which led to the failure of the Red Day, the fact that the opportunist mistakes of the Party were continued after the Red Day and after the Open Letter, and finally the fact of serious opportunist mistakes and shortcomings in the election campaign itself, are the reasons of our want of success. In its entire policy and in the conduct of the election campaign our Party failed to differ pronouncedly and fundamentally enough from the reformist parties. This enabled the latter to dupe part of the working class by appearing under the mask of opponents of the bourgeois and Government policy.

Our Party, it is true, issued correct slogans for the election campaign, duly emphasised the final aims and established good directives for the political conduct of the fight. But in practice neither the Central Committee nor the Party itself conducted the campaign along the lines laid down. The false political direction of the Party was also apparent in the way in which electioneering was conducted. Therefore the outcome of the elections, which certainly showed how much confidence there is in the Communist lead, may not blind us to the fact that the chief task, as laid down in the Open Letter, is not yet fulfilled and that we have not yet succeeded in establishing a proper connection with the masses themselves and with the fight which the masses are engaged in waging.

The bourgeois press makes no attempt to hide the fact that it considers the strengthening of the reformist parties as a gain for the bourgeoisie. The "Prager Presse", a Government organ, writes that the elections have strengthened the principles of fidelity to the State and love of order. What the Government parties have lost has been gained by other parties which are just as faithful to law and order as are the Government parties themselves. The organ of the Czech Agrarian Party, the strongest Government party, which made progress at the elections, expresses regret that the Social Democrats should have gained too few votes from the Communists. The "Landpost", the organ of the German agrarians, finds comfort in the reflection that "radicalism" has been weakened, a fact which refers in the first place to the German National Party, many of whose members have joined the new "activist" direction of Rosche.

The attitude adopted by the reformist press is that of satisfaction that the Government parties should be in the minority and that therefore a new policy, that of coalition with the reformists, must take the place of the bourgeois bloc. They imply that if such a line is not adopted, they will oppose the Government with a demand for new elections.

The governing coalition parties have held council, though without arriving at any result. The relative discussions will have to be continued. Some papers disclose that on the occasion of these deliberations the opinion found general expression that the elections have by no means entailed the necessity of any change in the Government or other political consequences.

The outcome of the elections, however, means a strengthening of the bourgeoisie. The latter will not hesitate to make use of this fact, in order to continue, at an accelerated rate, its policy of attack upon the political rights of the workers, upon the proletarian class organisations and, in the first place, upon the Communist Party.

On the day of the elections the press published announcements in regard to the standing order of the provincial and district representations. These regulations surpass even the recent administrative reforms in their Fascist tendencies. Inter alia, the Presidents appointed by the Government have the right to deprive elected representatives of their mandates and to refuse a hearing to motions which appear undesirable (all motions must be submitted at least a fortnight earlier). On December 4th, i. e. immediately after the election defeat in Carpatho-Ukraine and after the publication of the entire election results, the only organ of the Ukrainian proletariat was confiscated for six months — the same fate which had shortly before befallen the "Kohautek", the organ of the Czech pioneer movement.

These facts clearly show the trend of events. They also show the chief tasks of our Party after the elections. The Communist Party must open the eyes of the working masses in regard to the dangers that threaten them and mobilise them against such dangers. The presumption for such a policy lies in the radicalisation of the masses. The wage movement in Czechoslovakia is on the advance. 130,000 textile workers are ready to strike, besides glass-blowers, metal workers, and others.

In all these struggles an increased fight against the reformist leaders must lead to a formation of the united front "from below", while the General Congress of Factory Councils must be put through.

To be able to fulfill these tasks, the Party must resolutely pursue the path prescribed in the Open Letter and ruthlessly oppose all deviations therefrom. The elections have shown that all presumptions exist to ensure the successful termination of the struggles necessitated by the general position, if the Party manages to overcome the "Right" dangers and keeps resolutely to its revolutionary course.

The Situation in Hungary.

(Letter from Budapest)

By Peter Feher.

The "consolidation", which appeared to be wonderfully well founded, is beginning to shake.

On the one hand, the fluctuating and difficult economic situation is undermining the existence of the urban petty bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the conclusion of the so-called land reform and its approaching financial regulation is causing an ever increasing ferment among the broad masses of the peasants. The Legitimist-Fascist "Magyarsag" has for months been publishing series of articles, describing the growing discontent in the villages. The seat of this fermentation is among the agricultural labourers, but the gap between the lower strata of the peasant land-holders and the landed proprietors is constantly getting wider. Simultaneously with this loosening of the relation between the leaders and led of the Bethlem regime, the alliance between the urban bourgeoisie and the big landowners is also beginning to get shaky. The circumscribed home market is forcing upon both farmers and industrialists a tendency to promote exports and protect the home market. Here, however, the opposing interests become ever more apparent as each fresh trade treaty is concluded, as each alteration of customs duty or freight tariff is contemplated. Although every dispute up to the present has ended in a compromise, a number of groups have split off from both sides and formed oppositions. On the one hand, there is the legitimist, extreme-agrarian wing of the big landowners (Apponyi among others); on the other hand, important portions of the commercial bourgeoisie and representa-

tives of the "light" industries, which are not completely under the influence of the big banks. The political exponents of this group enjoy steadily increasing influence upon the dissatisfied portions of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and are trying, through the mediation of Social Democracy, to get even the workers under their leadership.

This loosening of the economic basis of the class alliances, which is the foundation of the Bethlen regime, of the "national united front", is greatly accelerated by the failures of the "realistic foreign policy". As is well known, this was based upon an unconditional adherence to the Anglo-Italian alliance and the hope that Hungary's good service against the Little Entente would one day meet with its reward in the shape of territorial concessions and a revision of the Treaty of Trianon. The Anglo-French rapprochements completely cut the ground from under this policy. Apart from its dependence upon Italy, Hungary is now as completely isolated as it was before the Bethlen regime at the time of the petty-bourgeois "policy of adventure". This isolation is forcing upon the Bethlen Government a more zig-zag course than ever in regard to both home and foreign policy. Bethlen is trying frantically but vainly to escape from this isolation and to find a place among the groups of Powers. He endeavours to disguise this manoeuvre by once more giving the foreign-political announcements of the Government the tone of the "policy of adventure". In Geneva Apponyi spoke of Hungary as a "danger to Europe", and Bethlen's West-Hungarian speech proclaimed the demand for revision in regard to Burgenland, whereby the usually clever tactician employed a provoking tone even in regard to Germany. In home politics Bethlen, on the one hand, tries to divert public attention from the fiasco in foreign policy by bringing up the question of the throne (alternating with denials of the urgency of the question); on the other hand, the parliamentary and ex-parliamentary positions of power in the government are being feverishly strengthened. As early as last summer, Gömbös, the Fascist leader, was nominated Secretary of State for War (chief of staff of the illegal military formations), then followed the concentration of the economic departments of State under a Minister of Economy, and, again, a new order of procedure is to render impossible all criticism from the opposition, the autonomy of the capital town and of the countries is to be done away with, etc.

All these efforts cannot, however, prevent the decline of the government block or the strengthening of oppositional tendencies. The Bethlen Cabinet is trying to manoeuvre between left and right, and for this purpose the Minister of Education, Count Klebelsberg, has made several concessions to the middle-class Jews in the question of the "numerus clausus" (limited admission of Jewish students to the universities). The response thereto was a revolt of the young Fascists. And even though the fighting spirit of the young Fascists was somewhat curbed by the menacing appearance on the streets of crowds of workers, the Government nevertheless decided to beat a retreat. Bethlen's devious course in the Kállay case was still more striking. The former Minister of Finance, Tibor Kállay, leader of the "Liberal" wing of the Government party, withdrew from the party in early autumn and stood for fresh election in his old constituency. On the other hand, the Government is tacking cautiously and taking the feeling of the public. It is true that it uses the election methods usual in Hungary, but only in a "normal" measure, so that Kállay could be elected again. Apponyi stated in a big speech on policy that the existence of an opposition "capable of governing" was of decisive importance for the "welfare of the country".

Naturally, these parliamentary groupings reflect only in a very inadequate and distorted manner the fermentation among the masses and the loosening of the class basis of the Bethlen Government. The attitude of the Social-Democratic leaders, too, belongs completely to this series of distorted reflections. When the Kállay affair began, the parliamentary fraction immediately scented possibilities of a new coalition, of a "suffrage bloc", and in spite of all the deplorable phenomena, briefly sketched above, of the "movement to the left" of the "progressive" bourgeoisie, they continually boost Kállay as the future dragon-slayer of reaction and offer the liberal opposition a coalition on any terms.

The workers made their appearance on the streets in the interests of a coalition policy of the Social-Democratic Party executive, but in a very aggressive manner, and the Fascist

students were very soon obliged to retreat with broken heads to the protection of the police. When we add that this was not the first time within the last few months, and that on the occasion of the big strike of the wood workers the workers administered bloody beatings to the strike-breakers, the Fascist "eagles", it will be seen that there is a decided resuscitation of the fighting spirit of the Hungarian workers. This is, however, shown chiefly in the circumstance that the strikes still continue in individual factories; sometimes, as in the wood-workers' strike, extending over the heads of the bureaucracy into strikes of whole industries. It is a notable fact that non-union workers participate with marked solidarity in such strikes and that strikes are not infrequent even in industries which are hardly organised at all (The textile strikes in Győr and Szeged. Of the 40,000 or more textile workers in Hungary only a few hundred are organised.).

This leftward development of the working class is causing the bureaucracy to make a fierce offensive against the workers. The collision between the temperance association and the bureaucracy of the Party and the trade unions was a kind of skirmish. The executive of the temperance association, in which, as in most cultural organisations, a considerable number of young, active, left-wing workers participate, took up a sharp attitude against the bureaucracy's supporting the brewing interests. Thereupon the bureaucracy proclaimed a boycott of the association. Under the pressure of the workers, however, they were obliged to withdraw; they succeeded, it is true, in arranging a favourable compromise, as the totalitarians do not yet understand how to put up a fight on a broad basis and get the whole of the workers interested in the contest.

The recent split in the metal-workers union is of much greater significance. As is well known, the turners left the union years ago and formed an independent union under the leadership of Hacksbacher. This union, although it includes a good number of more revolutionary workers, has not yet proved to be any better than the old union and has never been able to get beyond narrow craft interests. The recent split shows a very different front. The metal-worker bureaucracy removed the rather radical organising committee of factory smiths, expelled them from the union and, by a kind of coup d'Etat, got their own creatures "elected" as the new executive: the union paper denounced the members of the organising committee as Bolsheviks in a fashion unheard of even in Hungary. The result was that the smiths ceded and went over to the Hacksbacher union. The leaflets of the new group show increasing clarity in regard to demands. Though at first they concentrated on the fight against the bureaucracy, they are recognising in increasing measure that the demands bear a close relation to the class-struggle character of the trade unions and they are constantly putting their demands forward in this light.

The crisis in the Hungarian trade-union movement consists not only in the dwindling membership, not only in the great number of splits (Budapest smiths, the miners at Salgotarján, etc.) but is almost threatening a collapse. As soon as the class-struggle attitude was given up, most of the trade-unions turned to speculation (house building, co-operative production, etc.). The building trade union established a productive co-operative society (Foundation Stone), which went bankrupt on account of lax management and corrupt speculation. Insolvency had to be declared publicly, and there then occurred the unprecedented case of the contributions paid in by the members being confiscated for the benefit of the creditors.

Under such circumstances, it is clear that the cleft between the bureaucracy and the workers must constantly widen.

Naturally, the leftward movement of the working masses is by no means proceeding along a straight line, but is pursuing a somewhat zig-zag course. The open appearance of Austro-Marxism is such a zig-zag course. Moreover, the leftward tendency is clearly shown by the growing sympathy of the broad masses of the workers for the slogans and the illegal journals of the C. P. of Hungary and by the increasing political influence of the Party upon the progressive elements among the workers.

Taking the situation as a whole, the progressive decay of the class basis of the government, the growing dissatisfaction of the middle classes, the increased fermentation and leftward tendency among the workers, all goes to show that the "consolidation" of the counter-revolution in Hungary has passed

its prime and that the period of crisis has set in. This will, of course, be accompanied by increased pressure from the police, by an attempt to infect the trade-unions with Fascism, but in spite of this all the objective and subjective signs indicate that the Hungarian Labour movement has entered upon a fresh period of big fights and big mass movements.

THE BALKANS

An Infamous Lie of the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" about the Roumanian Communists.

By G. Dimitrov.

Under the sensational heading "Communists, Vote for the Bourgeois Parties! — A Moscow Wireless Message to the Communists of Roumania", the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of December 2nd, 1928, publishes a "telegraphic report" from Bucharest, according to which the Roumanian Social Democratic newspapers state that

"towards midnight a message broadcast by the Soviet-Russian press wireless transmitter of Moscow (?) was received, calling upon the Roumanian Communists to vote for the Liberals at the coming elections wherever they had no lists of their own, but by no means for the joint lists of the National Peasant Party and the Social Democrats."

The Secretariat of the Balkan Communist Federation is in a position to declare categorically that this sensational report is an infamous lie invented by the Social Democrats. As is well known, the Communist Party of Roumania, the leader of the Roumanian proletariat, has at all times waged a stubborn and consistent fight against the Roumanian bourgeoisie and the Roumanian Liberal Government and has in this connection made innumerable sacrifices, while the Roumanian Social Democrats have acted the part of the meanest accomplices of the bourgeoisie against the Communist movement.

In the present electoral fight the Communist Party of Roumania is fully at one with the Communist International and marches at the head of the Roumanian proletariat. It has its own absolutely independent proletarian class-line, making for the mobilisation of the working masses in town and country against both the big financial bourgeoisie, represented by the Liberal Party, and the national-Zaranist Government, which is a bourgeois-kulak government and a tool in the hands of the imperialists for the purpose of preparing a war against the Soviet Union.

In reality, the Roumanian proletariat and the Roumanian poor peasantry are rallying under the flag of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, the chief slogans of which are as follows:

Repeal of the Liberal legislation and of all laws hostile to the workers, the peasants, and the national minorities.

Restoration, guarantee, and extension of the rights and privileges of the working masses and the minorities.

Abolition of the state of siege and of the censorship throughout the territory of Roumania.

A general political, military, and agrarian amnesty.

Expropriation without compensation of all landed property and of all farming implements and their gratuitous distribution among the poor peasantry.

Introduction of the eight-hour day and of a social legislation in the interest and under the control of the working class.

Repeal of all taxation encumbering the working class, the poor peasantry, and the small tradesmen.

National self-determination, even to the extent of territorial separation.

Annulment of all debts contracted during the war and for the war.

A policy of peace with all neighbouring peoples.

Cessation of expenditure for armaments and closing of all factories serving the purpose of preparing war material.

Substitution of a militia of the working population for the bourgeois standing army.

Recognition of and resumption of diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet Union.

For the workers' and peasants' government.

For the Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics, etc.

In fighting for this class programme under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Roumanian proletariat is naturally opposed by the entire bourgeoisie and the big-peasant or kulak class, together with their aiders and abettors, the Social Democrats. Any direct or indirect support of the Liberals on the part of the proletariat and of its vanguard, the Communist Party, is absolutely out of the question.

The Communist International and the Communist Party of Roumania, which are altogether in favour of the consummation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Roumania and its further development into a victorious proletarian revolution, are at the same time the most pronounced opponents of the Liberals, the Roumanian financiers and big-bourgeoisie, as also of the so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie now represented by the national-Zaranist Government. They are likewise opposed to the Social Democrats as being a prop of the bourgeois dictatorship and paving the way for Fascism. Finally, they are opposed to all deviations to the Right within the workers' movement and in the Communist ranks themselves, deviations which weaken and render difficult the revolutionary fight of the proletariat and of its ally, the poor peasant class.

The Social Democratic lies of the Roumanian Social Democratic press, taken up with such satisfaction and commented upon in such a dirty manner by the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", can merely be intended to serve as a political manoeuvre for the purpose of masking the treacherous rôle played by the Roumanian Social Democrats. The stupid report of a "wireless message transmitted from Moscow" is a fresh proof that the Social Democrats are blind and zealous agents of the imperialists in their warlike and provocative policy against the Soviet Union, the sole State of the workers and peasants.

IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

The Fairy Tale of Soviet Spying.

A New French and Belgian Sensation.

By L. M. (Moscow).

The calumny campaign of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic Press against Communism is a permanent affair. Their slogans and sensations, however, are changed from time to time or rehashed.

One of the latest sensations of this kind lies in accusing the Communists of spying. This slander was concocted during the autumn season in Paris, but is now being spread to other countries.

On this occasion the tone is being set by the Paris "Matin". Recently this paper has frequently published articles and "reports" under such titles as "Everywhere in France spying is being carried on on behalf of Moscow" — "The Communists are spying for the Soviets".

The "Matin" publishes "quotations" from secret "special" reports, said to be addressed to the headquarters of the French Communist Party and alleged to contain various data concerning the French war industry and proposals for the establishment of special nuclei for commercial spying. Furthermore, the Communists in France are reported to have invented an absolutely new spying system consisting of the posting to headquarters of ordinary post-cards with photographs of important strategic points in all parts of France, which post-cards are compiled by experts at the party offices. The post-cards are all said to be marked with the hammer and sickle (!!!). The "Matin" is of the opinion that the Communists will in this way shortly have the whole defensive system of France in their files. All the material is then to be sent to Moscow for the use of the Soviet Government.

These examples suffice to show with what stupid and malicious methods the "Matin" desires to abolish Communism. It is not worth while spending much time on refuting these crack-brained allegations of the "Matin", as nobody in his senses would take seriously the Pinkerton stories about the post-cards with the hammer and sickle and about special units for industrial espionage.

The allegations of the "Matin" are, however, true in so far as the organs of the C. P. F., especially "Humanité", actually get from factories letters telling of the intensive war preparations of the French bourgeoisie. This is no secret, and "Humanité" has often published in its columns such letters from workers. The worker correspondents of "Humanité" have grasped the fact that the fight against the danger of war is by no means to be confined to mere talk, but that it is important to fight against the concrete forms of preparation for war. On the 14th anniversary of the world war and afterwards they illustrated by concrete facts at their works the recent extremely intensive war preparations of the French bourgeoisie. For instance, from a "civilian" aeroplane factory they wrote that the manufacture of big bombing planes has begun there; from another "civilian" ship-building yard that they are hard at work on submarines for Poland; from another "civilian" chemical-works that preparations are being made for transition at the proper moment to the production of phosgen and other poison gases, etc.

On account of these simple workers' correspondence the bourgeois Press sounded the alarm. They write about "high treason" and "spying". All this outcry only goes to show that the worker correspondents have hit French militarism in its sensitive spot. The imperialists and their lackeys are indifferent to an abstract agitation against war, but when it comes to having concrete cases indisputably proved to show that preparations for war are being carried on in this and that particular place, the affair gets a little too "concrete" for the rulers and their flunkies.

As to the statement that the alleged espionage material is destined for the Soviet Government, the "Matin" refutes itself in this regard by saying that it is not necessary to produce any proofs. Once more we have here a new trick of the bourgeois press hirelings: An allegation is set out in big headlines, but in the text itself no effort whatever is made to prove it.

From the headlines of a number of Belgian papers we learn that "the economic spying practised by the Soviets is also being carried on in Belgium". As the most important proof of this statement they cite a document, alleged to be a circular from the headquarters of the C. P. of Belgium, in which district committees are requested to answer the following questions:

1. What big factories have you in your district?
2. How many hands do these factories employ?
3. In which of the factories have we members of the Party and sympathisers?
4. In which of the factories have we started work?"

In addition to this circular, which, by the way, may be either genuine or fabricated, another "proof" is brought forward: A German Communist, who is allegedly a representative of the Communist International has been seen in Belgium (!).

The reader will notice the same tactics again: A spying affair in the headlines and then something quite different in the body of the text.

In the border States of the Soviet Union, the bourgeois and Social Democratic Press are making use of the same conjuring trick: Huge headlines about big peasant revolts and bloody street fighting in the Soviet Union, and in the body of the report no mention of anything of the kind.

These sensations and tricks may meet with enthusiastic recognition in the camp of the bourgeoisie, but the extensive use of such "technics" goes to illustrate how utterly feeble our opponents are in the war of ideas with Communism.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Armaments of the French Imperialists in the Light of the Painlevé-Montigny Conflict.

By F. Fontenay (Paris).

The latest debates in the Chamber of Deputies throw light on the feverish measures of the French imperialists towards strengthening their military position.

It is well known that the Radical Party is at present waging a demagogic campaign against the expenditure for armaments.

Relative discussions took place recently in Parliament, though in reality they have been in progress for some time past. At the Party Congress of the Radical Party at Angers, which took place shortly before the resignation of Poincaré, Jean Montigny, one of the best-known among the Radical leaders, opened the "offensive".

Paragraph 4 of the resolution passed by the said Party Congress contains the following demands:

One-year military service. Restriction of expenditure for army and navy. Limitation of the standing army to the conscripts of the year 1928, etc."

This entirely satisfied the petty-bourgeois delegates to the Party Congress. Let us now have a look at the figures which Painlevé and Montigny hurled at one another on the occasion of the highly agitated Parliamentary session.

What were the military expenses of the last pre-war years? We must be guided by the year 1912, seeing that the year 1913 saw the introduction of the three-year military service and entailed particularly large expenses in view of the approaching crisis. It appears that in 1912 the army and navy alone consumed 1,350,000,000 gold francs. The imperialist France of today, whose diplomats at Geneva speak with such unctious of peace, certainly spends no less than this. On the occasion of the discussion mentioned above, a brochure was distributed among the deputies, the title of which was "Communications by the Ministry of War: The Truth about the Status and Expenditure of Armaments". In this brochure Painlevé published the following statistical returns, allegedly drawn up by his opponents, for the purpose of refuting them:

	Paper Francs
Budget of the Ministry of War	6,814,000,000
Contributions of the Home Office and of the City of Paris to the Expenditure for the Gendarmes and the Republican Guard	391,000,000
Upkeep of the Army of Occupation on the Rhine	508,000,000
Military Expenses in the Colonies	490,000,000
Yield of Sale of Real Estate and Army Stores	164,000,000
Contributions of the Colonies for the Military Expenses of France	46,000,000
	8,413,000,000

These are, however, by no means the actual expenses of the French imperialists. And how does Painlevé think he can refute these statistics? He assures his hearers quite seriously that the 508,000,000 francs for the army of occupation on the Rhine cannot be counted since it is Germany that has to pay this charge. This, however, does not alter the fact that such a sum is actually expended for military purposes. But Painlevé's opponent Montigny makes common cause with him for the purpose of hoodwinking the workers. He, too, refrains from including in his calculation the following expenses of which he is naturally fully aware:

Powder Budget	400,000,000
Measures to Preserve Order (extraordinary?)	79,000,000

Added to this, the actual expenditure of the French imperialists in the direction of armaments also includes the budget

for the fleet and air-service, which may be said to figure as follows:

Air Fleet	1,710,000,000
Naval Fleet	2,960,000,000

This brings us to the gigantic sum total of 13,562,000,000 francs.

As regards the real status of the army and of armaments, Montigny has obviously falsified the statistics with a view to making his line of argumentation more forcible, whereas Painlevé falsified them with a view to enhancing the effect of his refutation of Montigny's statements. Both of them lied. We may reproduce some interesting admissions from the relative debate.

The total strength of the army for 1930 figures, so Painlevé admits, at 654,000 men (officers, non-commissioned officers, privates, colonial troops, special troops, foreign legion, gendarmes, Republican guards, and military police). That alone is not so bad. But even this big total can only be attained by the Minister by the intentional suppression of certain items. Let us merely take the instance of the professional soldiers. The application of the law of one year military service reckons for 1930 with a professional army of 106,000 men (non-commissioned officers and privates).

Unemployment and increased propaganda have caused the recruitment of professional soldiers to experience a pronounced rise from 9,500 in 1926 to 27,000 in 1927 and 30,000 in 1928, so that at the end of 1928 there will already be a professional army of 120,000 men (petty officers and privates). For 1930 we may thus reckon with a professional army of 150,000, as soon as the one-year military service begins to take effect. There are thus even now 36,000 more professional soldiers than figure in the budget.

If we look at the standing army in its entirety (officers, petty-officers, gendarmes, colonial troops, and all), we shall see that in 1930 it will not total 400,000, as the "oppositional" Montigny would have us believe. The aggregate must then be much greater, since it even now amounts to 400,000.

This policy of a continuous development of the army is carried on with the support of the Radicals and Socialists. At one time the Socialists introduced a military suggestion into Parliament which was even more reactionary than the proposals of the Government. This fact was established with satisfaction by Painlevé, who remarked that the Socialist counter-project called for an even greater number of professional soldiers than the original project. The Socialists could not deny this charge. And Paul Boncour, so valued by the Socialist Party, continues to be vice-chairman of the Supreme Council of National Defence while Renaudel is still reporter on the air budget which is the budget for aerial warfare.

In issue No. 42 of the periodical "La Renaissance", an organ of the Radical Party, the Radical deputy Pierre Cot discusses the project of frontier defence, as worked out by the French general staff from the standpoint of a good patriot and zealous militarist. We may here cite certain passages from this article so as to put the whole "oppositional" comedy of the friends of Herriot and Daladier into the right light.

"It is a question of guaranteeing France a maximum security at a minimum expense. If we engage in such a costly adventure as the erection of great works of defence, it is uncertain whether we shall have the necessary means at our disposal to provide ourselves with up-to-date arms and munitions such as we require; in such a case we should not know whether we shall be able to erect the laboratories which will be just as valuable in a coming war as the arsenals were yesterday.

"The conception of the general staff is limited to the experiences made during the war and neglects the progress which has been made since the armistice in the art of warfare.

At our frontiers we must have all materials in readiness which are required for the speedy erection of fortifications. We repeat the cry of 'Cannon and munitions', and add to it the rider 'but in the first place machine-guns'."

The Radical deputy forgot poison-gas.

The workers of France will not allow themselves to be led astray by the demagogues of the "Left", but will unite under the lead of the Communist Party and thus continue their fight against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Soviet Election Campaign and the Class Struggle in the Soviet Union.

By L. Vinov.

For several weeks past, the preparations for the Soviet election campaign have been the centre of interest in the inner political life of the Soviet Union. The preparations in question have culminated in the Soviet campaign of control, which commenced on December 1st. This control campaign means the initiation of a gigantic wave of self-criticism on the part of the working masses in town and country and a wholesale attack on bureaucratism and other shortcomings which still impede the work of the Soviet organs and which can only be gradually eliminated by the co-operation of the broad masses in this fight of self-correction.

Nothing could be more characteristic of the difference between bourgeois and proletarian democracy than a comparison between the elections in the Soviet Union and those in the countries of capitalist democracy.

In the capitalist countries the election serve the purpose of excluding the working class elements by the single registration of a vote for years from any further intervention in the administration of the country. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the elections are exploited for the purpose of an increasing participation of the workers in the active and positive co-operation in economic, administrative, and other functions of the proletarian state. The registration of a vote represents only a relatively small part of those rights and duties which the working electors of the Soviet Union have to exercise at the elections. In the Soviet Union, the elections merely represent the periodical culminating point of the influence constantly exercised by the masses on their Soviets, which again influence the policy of the higher Soviet organs.

In the second place, the elections in the countries of capitalist democracy have the object of hushing up class differences, hoodwinking the masses by means of "general suffrage" in regard to the class character of the bourgeois state, making the latter appear in the light of an institution above the classes and thus consolidating its authority. The election campaigns in the Soviet Union serve to make the class character of the state all the more pronounced and predominant, to mobilise the masses against their class enemies, and to strengthen the alliance between the proletariat and such classes as fraternise with it, in particular the poor and middle peasantry.

The fairy tales told by the bourgeois and Social Democratic press to the effect that the elections in the Soviet Union are a mere empty formality, are unmasked by nothing more drastically than by the importance which even the opponents of the proletariat attach within the Soviet Union to the periodical elections and the zeal with which they mobilise their forces in the hope of dealing a blow at the Soviet system here and there. Rarely does the class struggle in the Soviet Union come so openly to the fore as just at the time of the election campaign.

In the towns and great industrial centres the power of the proletarian masses is so overwhelming that the isolated capitalist and other anti-Soviet elements cannot make their influence felt at all. In the open country, however, which is populated by a majority of petty-bourgeois elements of no stable class character, the capitalist circles (kulaks, etc.) make use of every mistake on the part of the Party and Soviet organs for the purpose of attacking them in the interest of their own class. Since the village and district Soviets enjoy a relatively far greater autonomy and exercise a far greater political and economic influence on the lives of the population in their respective constituencies than do the corresponding administrative organs in the capitalist states, the kulaks direct their efforts mainly towards gaining influence on the Soviets at the elections. The fight of the kulaks against the proletarian policy of the Soviets is waged by two means, partly openly, by murder, arson, etc., and partly clandestinely through an abuse of the legality of the Soviets.

A few instances may serve to illustrate this fight.

A new element in the present election campaign is the increased fight of the kulaks against the collectivisation in

agriculture. How greatly the policy of the C. P. S. U. and of the Soviet Government towards increasing the collectivisation of agriculture and increasing the establishment of new Soviet farms has come to be a thorn in the flesh to the kulak elements, may be seen by the fact that the attempts on the part of the kulaks to set fire to Soviet and collective farms and to destroy their cattle and machinery, have become quite frequent occurrences of late months. The fight of the enemies of Soviet authority against his fundamental factor in the progress of Socialism in agriculture, by which they feel menaced in their class existence, has temporarily relegated the fight against the proletarian policy of taxation and against other individual measures of the Soviet authorities to the background.

This fight is accentuated by the attempts made by kulaks on the lives of leading functionaries of the village and district Soviets and of the collective farms and co-operatives. Thus within the last few days, the chairman of the district soviet of **Atchinsk** was murdered by kulaks in the vicinity of **Novosibirsk**. At **Orlovsk** in the Soviet Republic of the **Volga-Germans**, two agricultural workers who had been prominent in the conduct of the electioneering campaign, were likewise murdered by kulaks. At **Chaltyr near Rostov**, an active member of the Young Communist League was seriously injured.

As regards the legal forms of the election campaign, the kulaks have no prospect of exercising a direct influence on the result of the elections since they have no right to vote. All the greater are their efforts to influence the result of the elections indirectly. By bribing or bullying they attempt to bring pressure to bear on poor and middle peasants who are entitled to vote, naturally including such agricultural workers as are dependent upon them, and to bring about the election of the parties they have thus bought or coerced. Or else they formally divide their estates among their relatives, sell their live-stock, which they subsequently repurchase after the elections, and thus figure as "poor" peasants. Let us take a few concrete cases which occurred recently.

In the district of **Lugansk** in **Ukraine** the kulaks arranged illegal meetings at which they drew up election lists of their own. It occurs on all hands that shortly before the elections the kulaks alter their tactics towards the agricultural workers they are accustomed to exploit. They facilitate the conditions of work, distribute presents, and the like.

The most artful means were adopted by certain kulaks in the **Volga-German Republic**, who by means of their followers suddenly came forward with the cry "Elect only poor peasants, and no middle peasants, to the Soviets". The object of this manoeuvre was obvious; they desired to drive a wedge between the poor and the middle peasants, so as to win over the latter to their own side.

Naturally these and similar attempts on the part of the kulaks meet with decided opposition on that of the proletarian and other poorer elements in the rural districts. The very fact that the grain-provisioning campaign is advancing satisfactorily without recourse to any extraordinary measures shows that the relations between the broad masses of the peasantry and the Soviet authorities have greatly improved since the spring. The cultural level of the proletarian and other working classes improves from year to year and their fighting strength likewise advances. From year to year, too, the number of those increase who take part in the work of the Soviets not only by voting and by criticism but also by active creative work. This development of true proletarian democracy at the same time tends to strengthen the social and political basis of proletarian dictatorship and the spread of the Socialist elements in the rural districts.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Struggle against Trotzkyism and the Right Danger.

Declaration by Central Committee of Workers (Communist) Party of America.

On October 27th the Political Committee of the Central Executive Committee unanimously expelled from the Party **James P. Cannon**, member of the Political Committee, **Martin Abern**, member, and **Max Shachtman**, candidate of the Central Executive Committee, on the following charges:

"The Political Committee declares that the statements made by Comrades **Cannon**, **Abern** and **Shachtman** and the statements made by other comrades, prove without any doubt that the comrades mentioned are sharing the views of the Trotskyist Opposition outside the Comintern, are trying to make an attempt to organise a Trotskyist faction within our Party; therefore the Political Committee expels Comrades **Cannon**, **Abern** and **Shachtman** from the Party, stating at the same time that the comrades have the right to appeal against the expulsion to the Plenum of the C. E. C., to the Party Convention and the Comintern."

The C. E. C. refrained from publishing the facts regarding the expulsion, until now on account of the election struggle. Now the C. E. C. presents the facts regarding this new outbreak of Trotskyism within the Party and the leading committee of our Party.

Recurrence of Trotskyism in the Workers (Communist) Party.

On October 16th Comrades **Aronberg**, **Bittelman** and **Foster** submitted a statement to the Political Committee in which they declared, that Comrade **Cannon**, supported by Comrades **Abern** and **Shachtman**, is carrying on activities, leading to the crystallisation of a Trotskyist faction in our Party. Comrade **Cannon** is making a political platform of such propositions as: keeping an open mind on the question of Trotskyism, studying the question, spreading doubt as to the correctness of the C. I. attitude on the question and urging the need of re-examining it. Comrade **Cannon's** variety of Trotskyism in the U. S. constitutes a tendency to develop a right wing orientation for the American Section of the C. I., under cover of reopening for discussion the C. I. attitude on the question of Trotskyism.

The main dangers in our party, as in the C. I., come in the present period from the right. The minority is committed to an uncompromising fight against the right danger in our Party no matter from where it comes or under what covers it makes its appearance.

The minority therefore completely disassociates itself from Comrade **Cannon** and those who hold similar views. The minority decides to wage a merciless fight against this Trotskyist manoeuvre of Comrade **Cannon** and to wage this fight as an organic part of its general struggle against the right danger and the right wing of our Party (the Lovestone group).

The Political Committee demanded that **Cannon** and his associates should give a straight-forward answer to the question: Are they in agreement with the views of the Comintern or do they share the opinions of Trotsky? **Cannon**, **Abern** and **Shachtman** at first evaded giving an unqualified rejection of Trotskyism. Thereupon the Political Committee decided to remove them from some responsible tasks and to carry on a further thoroughgoing investigation to find out all the ramifications of Trotskyist propaganda and any attempt to crystallise a Trotskyist group within the Party.

The investigation, in the course of which **Cannon** and his associates had unlimited possibilities to express their views, revealed the following outstanding facts:

Already for some months previous **Cannon** had shown a leaning towards Trotskyism. Growing pessimism, scepticism, and cynicism characterised his attitude in the Party organisation. He showed a growing lack of interest in the affairs of the Party, a failure to contribute anything to the deliberations of the leading bodies. He absented himself from voting on the Trotsky question at the 6th World Congress.

After his return from **Moscow**, **Cannon** and his associates began a more or less open propaganda for the re-opening of the Trotsky question, despite the final decision of the 6th World Congress confirming the expulsion of Trotsky from the Communist International. They raised the slogan of a fake "study" of Trotskyism. In caucus meetings, **Cannon**, **Abern** and **Shachtman** proposed the issue of Trotskyism as a basis for the coming Party discussion.

In the beginning of the hearings **Cannon** and his associates continued their tactics of evasiveness, because they hoped to be able to continue their secret Trotskyist propaganda and organisation in the Party. But later, under the pressure of evidence, they came out unreservedly, brazen-faced for Trotskyism. Part of their joint declaration reads:

"The opportunity which has come to us in the recent period to read a number of these documents, dealing with some of the most disputed problems of the Comintern in the

past five years, together with the rapid confirmation of their correctness by the whole course of events, have shaped our views and convictions. We consider it our revolutionary duty to defend these views before the Party.

"The struggle led by Trotsky since 1923 for Party democracy and against bureaucratism as the pressure of another class upon the Party of the proletariat, was absolutely correct then and is even more so now.

"The attempts to revise the basic Marxist-Leninist doctrine with the spurious theory of 'socialism in one country' have been rightly resisted by the Opposition led by Trotsky."

The Political Committee thereupon unanimously expelled Cannon, Abern and Shachtman.

The Opposition's Break with Cannon.

The leading comrades of the Opposition who in past discussions in the Party associated themselves with Cannon unquestionably rendered a service to the Party by exposing Cannon's open embracing of Trotskyism. But at the same time we have to state that some of the leading comrades of the Opposition committed grave political errors by withholding for several weeks their information about the outright Trotskyist attitude of Cannon from the Political Committee, by taking action in regard to the outbreak of Trotskyism first in a caucus, instead of immediately bringing the whole matter to the attention of the Political Committee of the Party, by the failure to inform the Communist International and the Party delegation to the World Congress of the fact that Cannon absented himself from voting on the Trotsky question in the World Congress; further by the mistake committed by Comrade Aronberg and Costrell in making a joint declaration with Cannon in the Polcom, expressing reservation on the Comintern decisions regarding the American question, although they had already, as their own testimony states, some misgivings about Cannon's Trotskyist attitude. This was done in the absence of Comrades Foster and Bittelman.

The unanimous selection by Comrades Gomez, Costrell, Aronberg, Douglas, Hathaway, Gorman, Frankfield and Wagenknecht of Cannon as a member of a steering committee consisting of Comrades Wagenknecht, Hathaway and Cannon and as spokesman of the Opposition at the membership meeting of the biggest district of the Party on October 2nd, although in their group meeting, held on the same day, Cannon had already revealed himself as an enemy of the Comintern and the comrades had already full knowledge of Cannon's Trotskyist policies.

These actions of some of the leading comrades of the Opposition had the effect of weakening and retarding the fight against Trotskyism, which is an organic part of the right wing danger in the American Party.

At the same time, the Central Executive Committee of the Party declares itself most emphatically against any attempt to link up the Opposition with Trotskyism. The C. E. C. warns every Party comrade against such a mistake and declares that it will not refrain from taking disciplinary measures against anyone who violates this firm policy of the Central Executive Committee.

The Basis of the Recurrence of Trotskyism.

The coming out of Cannon for Trotskyism is all the more dangerous, because there are certain factors in the objective conditions of the country and of the working class and in the situation of our Party which make a new outbreak of Trotskyism possible. The strength of American imperialism, the contradictions of the simultaneous development of reformism and the radicalisation of certain sections of the working class tend to create confusion in some sections of our Party.

We are at a turning point in the life of our Party. In the process of transition from a mere propaganda organisation to a political party of action the Party has become a leader of working class mass activities.

The growing attacks against our Party have had the effect of filling some members of the Party with pessimism. A wrong estimation of the international role of the Soviet Union, the growing pressure of the imperialist powers against the sole working-class state, has also had its effects in some sections of the working class in the form of a retreat before this pressure.

Crass examples of this fundamentally wrong attitude are to be found in the declarations of Cannon and his associates.

The Comintern and Trotskyism.

The Ninth Plenum as well as the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern condemned Trotskyism as an outright counter-revolutionary anti-working class ideology. Trotsky and his group were definitely expelled by the World Congress as bearers of a social democratic ideology.

Cannon and his group have linked themselves up organically with international Trotskyism. Their declaration says:

"The problems of the American Party are organically bound up with the fundamental questions confronting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and cannot be solved separately from them."

Cannon puts forward the "charge" that the present leadership of our Party is:

"The logical American banner-bearer of the demagogic and unscrupulous international campaign against the leaders of the Russian opposition."

The C. E. C. pleads guilty to this charge of the renegade. Cannon is absolutely right when he declares that the present leadership of the American Party is the logical American banner-bearer of the general struggle of the Communist International against the leaders of the Russian and international Trotskyist, counter-revolutionary, social-democratic opposition.

The Right Danger in the Comintern and in the American Party.

In the present international situation, the Right danger is the main danger within the Communist International and in its American section. The Right danger has its roots in the stabilisation of capitalism and in the existence of reformism in the labour movement which retains its hold on large sections of the working class. The Right danger within the Communist International manifests itself in numerous forms.

Trotskyism is definitely defeated in all the leading parties of the Communist International. Trotskyism is nothing but opportunism covered with left phrases. In the leading parties of the Communist International today, after the smashing defeat of Trotskyism, outright opportunism is the main danger.

To the American Section of the Comintern, Trotskyism, as a challenge, has now come in its last stages of development, in its open counter-revolutionary, in its open Social-Democratic form.

In the Workers (Communist) Party of America, in the present situation Trotskyism is an organic part of the right danger. In our Party we must concentrate the fight against two dangers: first, the right danger, against outright opportunism and then against its Trotskyist variation, which is opportunism covered with left phrases. Both come to a head and converge into a common attack against the Party and the Comintern.

The Right-wing danger in the Workers (Communist) Party of America assumes the following features:

1. A wrong attitude toward the Socialist Party.
2. A wrong attitude toward the Labour Party.
3. Insufficient energy in organising the unorganised.
4. Under-estimation of Negro work.
5. Lack of faith in the Party and a wrong estimate of its rôle.
6. Insufficient proletarianisation. There is a lack of emphasis on shop nuclei, insufficient concentration on factories. Under-estimation of the importance of Party fractions in non-Party workers' organisations.
7. Capitulation before difficulties.
8. Pacifism and an underestimation of the war danger.
9. Wrong attitude toward the Communist International. On the part of certain comrades there is a tendency to accept the C. I. decisions only with reservations, to speculate on alleged differences within the leading group of the Russian Party, etc.
10. Trotskyism is the most comprehensive developed system of opportunism with an international basis still seeking to hide its Social democratic character by covering itself with left phrases.

Trotskyism, in its last stage of development, is the summing up, is the unifying force of all these opportunistic, Right dangers.

Estimate of Right Danger and the Tasks of our Party.

The C.E.C. declares that never before did the Party interests make as imperative as today the complete unification of all Communist forces in our ranks. The C.E.C. warns most emphatically against any underestimation of the Right danger in our Party. Cannon is travelling very fast in his attack on the Party and the Comintern. It took him but a few days to reach the same stage of treachery that it took Fisher, Maslov and company months to reach. The first issue of his sheet, "The Militant" is proof of it. The anti-Party activity of a number of former and partly now expelled comrades (among others, Dr. Konikov, Sulkanen, Askeli, Ohrn, Baski, Lore, Max Eastman, Salutsky, Galverton etc.) has recently greatly increased.

The likelihood of a concentrated attack against our Party by all the forces of capitalism will be exploited by them to sharpen their onslaught against the Communist Party.

The Right danger in the American Party is specially great, because our Party has not yet gone through a really revolutionary situation.

The following basic tasks confront us in connection with the recurrence of Trotskyism and the Right danger in the Party:

1. No tolerance of Trotskyism in the ranks of the Party. We call upon all District Executive Committees and all subdivisions of the Party to expel all followers of Trotsky.
2. The C.E.C. will wage a broad, thorough, ideological campaign against Trotskyism.
3. A broad ideological campaign is necessary against all other manifestations of the Right danger and against the slightest tolerance of the Right danger in the Party.
4. Energetic defence of the C.I. and unreserved acceptance of all its decisions.
5. The frankest, most thorough self-criticism is necessary from the top to the bottom in the Party.
6. Merciless struggle against any manifestation of bureaucratism in the Party.

An absolutely prerequisite for a successful fight against the Right danger, whether it comes in the form of open opportunism or camouflaged with left phrases in the form of Trotskyism, is the unity of all Communist forces under the leadership of the C.E.C. for the line of the Communist International.

The C.E.C. herewith expresses its most determined, most sincere wish to achieve Party unity.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon all Communists to unite in defence of the Comintern and the Party against Trotskyism.

The Communist International has clearly pointed out in the Resolution of the World Congress the urgent need for dropping the factional fight in our Party, for which, in the judgment of the C. I., there is today no basis in principle.

The C.E.C. calls upon the comrades in the opposition, who broke in a decisive way with the Trotskyist Cannon, to drop their reservations towards the C.I.'s thesis on the estimation of American imperialism, radicalisation of the working class, and the estimation of the C.E.C. of the Party.

The Communist International rejected the charge of the Opposition that the present C.E.C. is a Right group. To continue the fight against the C.E.C. as a Right group is, therefore, a fight against the C.I. decision, and most seriously weakens the fight against the Right danger, especially in its sharpest expression, Trotskyism.

The C.E.C. call upon all comrades, regardless of their former groupings, to unite on the basis of unreserved acceptance of all the decisions of the Communist International.

The C.E.C. earnestly pledges itself to take every possible measure to facilitate the realisation of this end.

Unity against the Right danger and against any tolerance towards the Right danger must be the order of the day.

Unity against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.

Unity for the line of the Communist International on the basis of unreserved acceptance of the decisions of the C.I.

Unity before the attack on the Party by all forces of capitalism — from the government and Ku Klux Klan to the reactionary labour leaders, renegade Social Democrats and Trotskyites.

Unity, iron Leninist discipline and full Party loyalty in the face of the growing war danger.

Central Executive Committee of the
Workers (Communist) Party of America.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Crisis in the British Coal Mining Industry.

By Arthur Horner (South Wales Miners' Federation).

The extremely critical condition which has prevailed in the British Mining Industry for the past eight years, is the surest and most fundamental indication of the real state of affairs in Great Britain's economic life.

The history of coal mining, and the sale of manufactured articles made possible by reason of the possession of huge deposits of easily accessible coal, is really the story of the growth of the British Empire, and the march to its position as a leading world power.

The drive for colonial possessions as sources of raw material only had purpose insofar as the material gotten could be utilised and transformed into finished products for sale at home and abroad and the main transforming medium has up to recently been almost wholly Coal.

Thus Coal mining in Britain has always been regarded as being a thing apart from other Industries, for it was at the basis of them all.

It is true that today, many of the operations which demanded coal can now be carried on by other means of power production — Oil, Hydro-Electrical power, etc., but this does not meet the monopoly need of Great Britain.

In the past many countries were purchasers of British Coal, and in consequence of this independence upon outside means to carry on, were conservative in the development of their own heavy Industries, whilst in the very nature of things British Industry occupied a favoured position. This in its turn was used to secure greater competitive power on the world markets.

The new forms of power generation, i. e., Oil, Hydro Electrical power, etc., are equally at the disposal of the previously coal-purchasing countries, which of course enables these countries more equal opportunities for the building up of their own heavy Industries in opposition to Britain on the home and foreign markets.

Thus it is necessary to recognise that the loss to Britain through the coal crisis is much greater than the actual and immediate effects upon the mining industry as such.

In addition to the above-mentioned causes, markets have been lost for coal as a raw material, by reason of the impoverishment of purchasers, the development of new coalfields, Reparations deliveries from Germany, and the fall in home consumption, which is the most serious factor of all.

The first effect of lost foreign markets is to force up the price of imported articles, due to increased freightage charges. This of course comes about by reason of the fact that four-fifths of the volume of exports prior to 1926 was made up of raw coal, which always provided an outgoing cargo for ships leaving to return with Timber, Wheat, Fruit, etc., Now many have to carry ballast instead.

The second immediate consequence has been to impoverish the whole of the mining population, and as there were 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ million men employed, who, with their families, approximate to 6 million, or roughly one-eighth of the total population, this is very serious.

The third and perhaps the most serious phase of the problem is the dislocation of consequential industries, i. e., iron and steel, ship repairing, etc., etc., and the unemployment which is the result. For apart from mineworkers, who number 300,000 unemployed, there are approx. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ million other workers in the same position.

Therefore, owing to the practical collapse of huge portions of the British Mining Industry, the whole economic life of the country is menaced.

The situation in the Mining Industry as such is more serious now than it has ever been in living memory.

The 1926 lock-out terminated with the 8 hour day, and a broken army, prepared to submit to any procedure which the coalowners declared necessary for the re-establishment of the Industry.

The re-start of work at the pits was accompanied by the creation of a huge horde of more or less permanently un-

employed men, many of whom were deliberately victimised for past militancy, and this constituted a menace to those who returned to work, and every step was taken by the coalowners to inform these men that any sign of discontent would quickly result in dismissals.

Intimidated and without faith in the Federation leadership, or in fact anybody, these broken-spirited men were prepared for a time at least to tolerate almost anything so that they could get bread, and were easy instruments in the plans of the coalowners to save Capitalist industry at the expense of the workers.

Notwithstanding all, however, the coalowners have failed to stabilise the mining industry of Britain, for with each day that passes, more and more Collieries are closing, many because of bankruptcy; wages are continuously falling, whilst the mere request for the application of the Safety Regulations, under the Mines Acts, is met either with the closing of sections of workings, or the dismissal of the complainants, and on the grounds of the prohibitive cost of safety provisions, according to the standards laid down in law.

Wage Agreements are broken daily, and even where legal enactments provide that certain wages be paid or conditions observed, no real notice is taken by the Employers.

The output per man-shift has been increased by approx. 25% as compared with 1925/6, and this has been accomplished mainly by the longer working day, the elimination of the less prolific Mines and sections of Mines, the introduction of labour-saving machinery, and the wholesale intimidation of the workers.

The aggregate output for the whole country, is, however, reduced. In 1927, Jan. to Dec. the output was 21,284,800 tons per month, and in the eight months, Jan. to Aug. 1928, it was 20,102,387 tons per month, a fall of 1,182,413 tons per month.

This has been brought about by deliberate restriction on the part of the owners as part of their rationalising efforts.

In Scotland, a coalowner's scheme was determined upon which had for its purpose the deliberate amputation of all relatively uneconomic pits, and the partial compensation of the owners of such undertakings.

In the whole of central England, including Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, etc., etc., another scheme calculated to reduce output and to subsidise export coal is in operation and this is the cause of considerable unemployment, and more especially under-employment.

In South Wales no rigid bargain has been entered into by the individual coalowners, except that for some months a minimum selling price was agreed to be observed, but this has broken down, for there is no honour among thieves. But there is a proposal which has been drafted by a sub-committee of the coalowners, which, if accepted, will have the immediate effect of placing 50,000 out of work in South Wales alone, and there are 80,000 so placed already.

The total effect of unemployment and short time working can be seen in the fact that in 13 main districts of the British Coalfields in Jan. 1928, 17,435,618 manshifts were worked, whilst in July 1928, only 14,242,619 manshifts were worked; a reduction of 3,193,000 manshifts per month.

Altogether it is estimated there are 323,000 mineworkers totally unemployed, whilst in many parts only 4 days' work per week is provided, in some cases only 3 days' per week.

The wages of those at work are continuously being forced down by local attacks, until in Northumberland the average wage is 7/3d per shift, Durham 7/11d per shift, Scotland 9/2d per shift, South Wales 9/6d per shift, Yorkshire 9/11d per shift, etc., all of which are less than what was paid in 1927, and very much below the pre-1926 stoppage.

The differences are largely the result of the operations of the various district agreements which terminate at different times, and as each District Agreement is replaced by a new one, wage cuts are imposed. This explains the fact of Durham and Northumberland being so much below the rest, for their Agreements have expired once since the 1926 stoppage, and are about to come to an end again in Dec. 1928, and March 1919, respectively.

Yet in spite of all the schemes of Rationalisation, including Selling Agencies, Restricted Output, and increased output per man shift, longer hours, lower wages, victimisation, neglect of safety in the mines, and mass of unemployment, the coalowners have failed to find a way out, and they now declare through

the various Ascertainments under the District Agreements that the mineworkers of Britain are in debt to the tune of £ 50 million. Half of this amount is alleged to be dead loss on working, and all of it has accrued since Dec. 1926.

All of these facts reveal the necessity for the British Miners, employed and unemployed, to rally once more to save themselves from the worst consequences of the collapse of capitalism in the Mining Industry.

Failure to do this must place us all in the position, that, in April of 1929, at least 100,000 Miners will be refused unemployment benefit under the Unemployment Insurance Act, based upon the **Blanesborough Report**, which was endorsed by Margaret Bondfield, Hodges and Holmes, all well known members of the **British Labour Party**.

This mass of starving humanity is intended to provide the material of a blackleg army, when the coalowners attack, as they intend to do, over a wide front in 1929.

The Agreements now operating in South Wales, Yorkshire, Lancashire etc., expire at the end of next year, 1929, whilst the larger half of the coalfields will be working under Agreements which terminate at various times up to 1931, unless something is done and done quickly to rally the Miners into a fight for a National Agreement, and the simultaneous ending of all the existing District Agreements.

The **Minority Movement** and the **Communist Mineworkers** are advocating the following programme of action.

1. Immediate Conference of the Miners' Federation of Gt. Britain to arrange participation in National March to London.
2. To decide upon Strike Action to prevent operation of new unemployment act against unemployed in April, 1929.
3. National support for Durham and Northumberland when their Agreement expires in spring 1929.
4. Liquidation of all separate District Agreements, and a fight in 1929 for one National Agreement.
5. Liquidation of all present District Miners' Associations and Unions and the formation of One Mineworkers' Union, the initiative to be taken by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.
6. Preparation for struggle for 7 hour day, pensions of £ 2 per week for all mineworkers over 55 years, allowances for boys up to 16 years at 10/- per week, and their non-employment in Mines. Rigid application of safety laws, and the compulsory employment of workers necessary for this purpose.
7. More vigorous preparations to secure Nationalisation of Mines and Minerals, without Compensation and with workers' control.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Murder of Lala Lay Pat Ray.

By Mag a r a b.

The death of Lala Laj Pat Raj was due, according to Reuter, to heart failure, but according to the press interview given by his son his death was due to deliberate murder on the part of imperialism in order to suppress the radical independent movement of India. According to a Lahore telegram in the "Bombay Chronicle" of October 30th, a large crowd had assembled outside the railway station to demonstrate against the **Simon Commission**. The police made special attacks upon the leaders, selecting them out individually for this purpose, and Lala Laj Pat Raj, who became the special object of their attention, was severely injured. The telegram states:

"The Simon Commission arrived here this afternoon by special train. The arrival and departure at all stations were private and police precautions were taken all along the line. The entire Lahore station area was closely guarded by the police and barbed wires were used to keep out the demonstrators. Demonstrators numbering several thousands, headed by Lala Laj Pat Raj, took up a position against the barbed wires, carrying black flags and crying: 'Go back Simon'. The police charged the unarmed crowd, in spite of its non-violent character, injuring Lala Laj Pat Raj and other leaders like Hans Raj, Dr. Gopi Chand and Dr. Satya Pal."

The same evening a huge protest meeting, attended by over 15,000 people, of whom more than half were workers from local factories and workshops, was held in the Lahore municipal gardens. Lala Laj Pat Raj, though severely wounded, attended the meeting and described the attack.

The nationalist world of India is extremely indignant at these murderous tactics of imperialism, and this has considerably strengthened the boycott of the Simon Commission.

The injuries sustained by Lala Laj Pat Raj proved to be more serious than was at first supposed. He was also suffering from lung trouble contracted in prison in 1924, and his general health being weak he finally died as a result of his injuries.

Lala Laj Pat Raj had become the object of attack by British imperialism because he was one of the most class-conscious bourgeois leaders in the Indian nationalist movement. He had succeeded in forming a strong nationalist bloc against imperialism in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Lala Laj Pat Raj was about 50 years of age. He was a lawyer by profession and entered the nationalist movement thirty years ago. For the last 26 years he was the centre of the radical nationalist movement for Indian independence. He was twice in prison on account of his activities — in 1907 and in 1922—24. During the imperialist war he was compelled to go to the United States in order to escape the persecution of the British police in India. He was a writer of considerable ability and has left behind him a number of scientific works relating to Indian politics and economics, among them being "England's Debt to India". He was President of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1920. He was also a well-known social reformer and did a great deal for the abolition of the caste system, the enlightenment of Indian womanhood and the spread of elementary education among the masses.

Since his return from the exile in the U. S. A. he was active in the organisation of the trade union movement of India. He was President of the First All-India Trade Union Congress held at Bombay 1920. In 1925 he attempted to start an Indian Labour Party, but he was not successful in this. Lala Laj Pat Raj, however, regarded the Indian labour movement from the philanthropic bourgeois standpoint which wishes to utilise it for its own ends. He was undoubtedly a stubborn enemy of the revolutionary mass movement and the Communists. In spite of this he opposed and succeeded in defeating the imperialist "Anti-Bolshevik bill" introduced into the Central Legislative Assembly in October last and aiming at giving extra power to the police to crush the Communist movement and the labour movement in general.

The Indian proletariat strongly condemns this deliberate and brutal murder of Lala Laj Pat Raj and calls upon the world revolutionary proletariat to take action against the bloody reign of imperialism.

NOVEMBER PLENUM OF THE C. C. OF C. P. S. U.

On the Control Figures of National Economy for 1928—29.

The Control Figures of National Economy for 1928/29.

(Resolution on Comrade Rykov's report, passed unanimously by the Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. on 24th November, 1928.)

1. The total figures of the past economic year bear witness to the great successes achieved by the working class, the Soviet government, and the Party. The production of state large-scale industry has increased by 22.5 per cent. (as compared with 18.2 per cent. last year and the 15.8 per cent. of the planned control figures). The share taken by the primary capital of socialised economy has increased to the extent of 52.4 per cent. (as compared with 51.4 per cent. last year). Investments in socialised fixed capital amounted to 54.6 per cent. as compared with 45.7 per cent. in the past economic year. The numerical strength of the proletariat has increased correspondingly, as also the proletarian participation in the national income. The material basis for the further reinforcement of its class position has been created. The strengthening of the socialist position has furthered the first important changes in the direction of the socialisation

of agricultural production: the area cultivated by the collective agricultural undertakings and Soviet farms has increased from 0.87 million to 1.70 million hectares, and from 1.26 million to 1.30 million hectares respectively. The gross production of the collective undertakings has increased correspondingly in value from 103 million chervonetz roubles to 189 million roubles; that of the Soviet farms from 195 to 206 million chervonetz roubles. At the same time steps are being taken, in accordance with the decisions of the last Plenum, for the organisation of new Soviet farms for the cultivation of grain.

2. The main task of the Party. The general line of the Party is directed towards the further industrialisation of the country, towards the most rapid possible growth of the socialised section of our national economy, towards the comprising of the peasant farms in co-operatives, towards the promotion of the collective forms of agricultural production (collective agricultural undertakings, Soviet farms) etc. The development of the smelting industry, of machine construction, of power plants, of the chemical industry, the industrialisation and mechanisation of agriculture by all available means, the systematic increase of the share of the production of the means of production — these are the obligatory prerequisites for the further progress of the country, including agriculture, and render especially necessary for us to ensure the steady and progressive rationalisation of the whole process of production, the steady and progressive application of science, and the most complete possible utilisation of the experience and scientific achievements of Western Europe and America. On the basis of the comprehensive participation of the masses in the work of building up socialism, on the basis of the increasing prosperity of the masses, of the systematic observation of the seven-hour day, of the improving quality of the work of the technical cadres, and of the ever closer collaboration between science, technique, management of production, and all economic practice in general — the Party must continue to steer its course determinedly and steadfastly towards the industrialisation of the country.

The international situation, the striking technical achievements of the capitalist countries, the war danger, etc. render the accomplishment of these tasks imperatively urgent. The Plenum of the C. C., whilst stressing the necessity of overtaking and outstripping the capitalist countries technically and economically, points out that the accomplishment of this task is only possible when the rate of our industrial development is increased to the utmost, the industrialisation of the whole country accelerated, and the Party of the working and peasant masses mobilised to a maximum degree.

3. The tremendous achievements of socialism during the last economic year have, however, been accompanied by great difficulties and signs of crisis, which must be overcome at all costs by the Party and the working class. The ultimate cause of these dangers is to be found in the extreme backwardness and low rate of development of agriculture in general and of grain cultivation in particular. The July Plenum of the C. C. has already stated that the "extremely low level of agriculture, especially of grain production, involves the danger of a breach between the socialist town and the petty bourgeois village, and therefore the danger that the fundamental prerequisite for the socialist reorganisation of our whole national economy may be destroyed". The grain problem, the extreme shortage of iron and steel and building material, the whole question of the lack of commodities, the problem of reserves, the backwardness of export chiefly due to the shortage of export grain, with resultant falling behind of imports, and finally the problem of maintaining the value of our currency — these are most important sectors of the economic front, to which we must devote our special attention.

4. Of all economic questions, the central question is that of agriculture. Our grain production falls considerably behind our planned assumptions. The gross output of every kind of grain cultivated has been calculated as follows: 1926/27 4747 million poods, 1927/28 4464 million poods, and 1928/29 4535 million poods. The gross production of bread corn (rye and wheat) is, however, 200 million poods less in 1928/29 than last year, owing to the destruction of the winter sowing in the Ukraine and North Caucasus. The dynamics of the centralised grain collecting service also show a falling off: 1926/27 662 million poods (of which 152 million poods were exported), 1927/28 627 million poods (of which practically nothing was exported).

All these processes in grain production are going on at a time when the area under cultivation for bread corn, in 1928, is still 90.1 per cent. of the area cultivated before the war, the gross output of the grain crop approximately 80 per cent., and the proportion of market grain 56 per cent. (average of whole Union), whilst the population of the U. S. S. R. is growing at the rate of 2.3 per cent. yearly — the city population 4 per cent. — and the standard of consumption per head is increasing steadily, especially in the village.

A slowing down of the tempo of development is further observable in another important branch of agriculture, live stock breeding. The total live stock of the peasant farms, calculated in cattle, shows the following percentage changes in comparison with last year: 1926/27 106.5 per cent., 1927/28 104.9 per cent., 1928/29 102.3 per cent. In many districts in which live stock are raised for the market (Ural, Viatka, North East regions), the number of animals reared on the peasant farms has not increased. The lessening of the market output of the dairies, a result of the extremely scattered nature of our dairy farming undertakings, is especially noticeable. All this pushes into the foreground the task of aiding the peasant farms on the basis of the production co-operatives, and of utilising the Soviet farms for developing live stock breeding.

Undoubted progress is to be recorded in the cultivation of technical plants: the value of the gross production of technical plants from 847 million roubles (on the price basis of 1926/27) in 1925/26 to 756 million roubles in 1926/27, and to 901 million in 1927/28. The present area under cultivation for technical plants exceeds the pre-war level by 58.5 per cent. In spite of this increase, the cultivation of technical plants still plays an absolutely insufficient part in our whole peasant farming, and does not by any means cover the raw material requirements of our industry; an increased cultivation of technical plants is therefore an urgent task.

It is, however, important to realise that grain production represents the most important department of agriculture. Therefore the exponents of grain production are decisive for the whole of agriculture. The fact that our agriculture has fallen behind to such an extraordinary extent in its development, especially our grain production, threatens to bring about the collapse of the socialist industrialisation of the country.

On the other hand, numerous factors of positive reconstruction have been observable in agriculture of late years. The percentage of winter sowing has increased, from 29.1 per cent. in 1926 to 32.1 per cent. in 1927. The area cultivated on the multiple course system increased from 3,664,000 hectares in 1925 to 9,429,000 hectares in 1927. The middle and poor peasant farms are growing more corn, and are therefore gaining in economic importance. The socialised section of agriculture is beginning to play a conspicuous rôle. Agriculture is being better furnished with draught animals and machinery. In 1926/27 an average of 25.6 head of draught animals fell to every 100 hectares whilst for 1928/29 this figure will be 27.4. For agricultural machinery the equivalent figures (expressed in monetary values) are 9.90 roubles and 11.94 roubles (1928/29). The value of the agricultural machinery manufactured in 1926/27 was 93 million roubles. In 1928/29 this sum will increase to 190 million roubles (on the pre-war price basis), so that the production of agricultural machinery will reach the figure of 280 per cent. of pre-war production.

Therefore the Plenum of the C. C. considers the assertion (made by Comrade Frumkin) that agriculture, especially the production of grain, in the Soviet Union, is passing through a process of retrogression to be entirely unfounded.

Despite all these positive processes, the unfavourable tendencies are so strong that we must exert every effort to equilibrate the plan of grain collecting and grain provision for 1928. The diminished harvest is due in part to the slow increase of the grain area during the last two years, and to the fact that in 1928/29 5 million hectares of winter seed were destroyed, of which, it is true, thanks to the timely and energetic help given by the state, over 3 million hectares were resown. Besides this, the southern districts of the Ukraine and of North Caucasia, where the winter crops had already been destroyed, suffered again in July, this time from drought.

The satisfactory results of the work of the grain collecting organisations during the first quarter opens up the prospect that the year's plan drafted by the grain supply centres will be carried out in its entirety. The C. C. imposes on all

local organisations the duty of devoting not only undiminished but increased attention to aiding the grain supply centres, in order to ensure that the provisioning of the country with grain may be improved and the accumulation of seed reserves secured, enabling the small peasants and economically weak middle peasants to be helped in the spring.

The Plenum, in recording the extreme tension of the food supply balance in the country, and in calling upon the Party to exercise a watchful control over our grain collecting activities, and to strive determinedly for economy in consumption and against any waste of our grain reserve — at the same time records the far-reaching fundamental political importance of the fact that the Party and the Soviet government have been successful in reorganising our grain provisioning with sufficient rapidity from emergency methods to normal methods.

The Plenum of the C. C. is able to state that the measures proposed by the July Plenum, especially the enactment raising the grain prices, have proved to be entirely justifiable, and have furnished the prerequisite conditions necessary for the satisfactory outcome of not only the present grain supply campaign, but for the more rapid progress of peasant farming. The Plenum points out to all Party organisations that the further successful progress of our grain provisioning is only possible if the whole Party, especially the subordinate Party organisations in the village, devote the utmost effort to this question, carry on comprehensive political agitation among the decisive masses of the peasantry in connection with the grain collecting work, and organise for the grain collecting centres the active support of the poor peasantry and of the Soviet and co-operative functionaries, enabling the attempts being made by the kulaks to agitate for the holding back of grain to be frustrated.

The tension in the food and raw material balance of the country makes the extension of the cultivated area by 7 per cent. and the increase of production per land unit by 3 per cent. in 1929, to one of the most important and urgent tasks of our economic plan.

The Plenum of the C. C. calls the attention of the whole of the members of the Party to the special importance of these directives, and appeals for a maximum of energetic effort to ensure the carrying out of all the necessary measures.

Among these measures, apart from the greatly extended supplying with agricultural machinery and the greatly extended financing of various agronomic measures, and apart from the steps to be taken in 1928/29 for forcing the improvement of the cultivation of the soil, a special and important part is played by the new method of combination with the economy of the village, and the influencing of this economy by means of the system of buying up future harvests by contract, for which purpose up to 300 million roubles are to be employed this year.

The Plenum of the C. C. emphasises the necessity of maintaining, and where possible extending, the grain production of the steppe regions (Ukraine and North Caucasia), which have suffered greatly from frost and drought. It instructs the Polit-Bureau to include the necessary measures in the plans for 1928/29.

6. Agriculture is the basis of industry. Its growth implies the extension of the food and raw material basis of industrialisation. Unless agriculture grows correspondingly, the permanent growth of industry is an objective impossibility.

The planned estimates are being realised by industry with a surplus, whilst agriculture falls far behind the plans. Grain production especially has fallen into arrears. The energy going to waste in the textile industry (no import of flax and cotton, owing to the falling off of grain export), the signs of a certain disorganisation in numerous other industries (the queues before the provision shops, the deficient bread supply, etc.), the upsetting of the export plans so highly important for industrialisation — all these negative symptoms are the concrete expression of those difficulties being experienced by industrialisation as a result of the backwardness of agriculture. The threatening further widening of the chasm between the development of industry and its agricultural basis is the main danger in the present situation. The causes of this deficient agricultural development lie in centuries of backwardness, in the isolation of the many scattered units, in the extremely low technical level, and in some economic factors of considerable moment. These economic factors hampering the requisite rapid development of agricultural development have already been re

moved, to a great extent, by the decisions of the July Pleum (raising of grain prices, annulment of the emergency measures, improved supply of goods for the village, seed supply for the peasantry, etc.).

At the same time 1928/29 will witness the first great advance towards the removal of those defects in the structure of our agriculture which form the main cause of its backwardness — the individual peasant farms are to be combined on the basis of production co-operatives, the production per land unit increased, the scattered peasant farms merged in large-scale undertakings on a higher technical basis, the old Soviet farms extended, new ones founded, etc.

The danger of an increase in the disparity between the development of industry and that of its agricultural basis has a double claim on our attention, for this disparity, seen from the standpoint of class relations, threatens the alliance of the working class and the decisive masses of the peasantry.

The present difficulties are closely bound up with the increasing acuteness of the class struggle in the town, and even more in the village, with the increasing resistance offered by the capitalist elements in the country (by the kulaks who have risen to their present position under the conditions given by the N. E. P., for instance) to the socialist offensive. An indispensable first premise for the success of the Party in the village is the strict observance of the class line in every sphere of work. The small peasant as support, the close alliance with the middle peasant, and the further strengthening of the offensive against the kulaks — these form the unshakable foundation of the policy of the Party. It is especially imperative to secure the execution of the measures decided upon by the Party and the government for the relief of the village poor.

The question of the relations between the proletariat and the poor and middle peasantry, therefore, come once more to the forefront of Party interests, but under new conditions and in another way. At the present time the working class has greatly enhanced opportunities of exercising a revolutionising influence both on the technique of agricultural production and on the reconstruction of economic relations in the village, in the direction of socialisation.

This revolutionising influence upon agriculture can only be exercised by the proletariat when industry develops rapidly, and when the leading and reorganising influence of socialised industry is further strengthened. In this regard heavy industry and the production of the means of production are the key to the socialist reorganisation of our whole national economy, including agriculture. The production of the means of production and the development of heavy industry form the starting point for the industrialisation of the country.

7. The strict pursuance of the course towards industrialisation, by means of ensuring increased investments in fixed capital as provided for in the decisions of the government, in the course of the present year, renders it necessary at the same time to take every measure for attracting agriculture in general, and the production of grain and bread corn in particular, by means of promoting the productive forces of the village and at the same time placing severer restrictions on the exploiting capitalist elements, by organising Soviet farms, by lending general support to the collective forms of agriculture (collective farms, communes, artels, etc.), and by increasing the economic incentive of the masses of poor and middle peasantry.

The Plenum of the C. C. emphasises that the Party and Soviet organs have not yet by any means applied every measure for stimulating the growth of the individual peasant farms, which could secure definite progress for the decisive mass of peasant farms.

At the same time the Plenum of the C. C. points out that, in spite of the initial successes achieved in the organisation of Soviet farms and collective undertakings, our achievements in this direction are obviously still insufficient. Not only must new Soviet farms be established in larger numbers and the old ones improved, but much effort should be bestowed on the continued numerical and qualitative advance of the collective undertakings. The Plenum of the C. C. approves the measures provided by the control figures for the increased support of the socialist section of agricultural undertakings.

The demands made on agriculture by the enormous growth of industry and of the towns can only be fulfilled if agricul-

ture develops, if its production grows, if the exchange of commodities between town and country expands and quickens, and if agricultural export is restored and increased.

The Party and the Soviet government, whilst promoting the improvement of the individual middle and small peasant farms by means of opening out wide possibilities for the development of their productive powers, must steadily increase their influence over the peasant undertakings — by economic collaboration with the village (advancement of heavy industry, of construction of agricultural machinery, of the chemical industry, etc.), by the improvement of its technical basis, by aid given to the efforts being made towards the enlargement of peasant farms on the basis of production co-operatives, by the organisation of the cultural and agronomic influence of the Soviet farms on the individual agricultural undertakings, by the setting in action of new levers of influence (for instance, the system of contracts for future harvests, etc.).

8. every department of agronomy and live-stock breeding is of the greatest importance, but at the same time it must be emphasised that any technical measures adopted can only yield effective results when actuated by the economic interests of the peasants themselves.

Therefore, one of our chief tasks at the present time is the stimulation of every aspect of the economic interests of the decisive masses of the peasantry. This task comprises the following questions: 1. Supplying the village with goods; 2. Stabilisation of the monetary system; 3. Agricultural taxation; 4. Revolutionary legality and the improvement of the forms employed for exercising influence over peasant farming.

9. From the standpoint of the correct policy promoting the industrialisation of the country, the village should be better supplied from year to year with means of production and commodities for consumption. The production of an increased quantity of goods for the peasant market is the sole means by which we can secure corresponding offers in bread corn and raw materials. The relatively insufficient output of finished goods, failing to cover (in spite of increased production from year to year) the rapidly growing effective demand, and due to a great extent to the fact that great sums are invested in fixed capital (new factory buildings and dwelling houses, which represent extensive requirements in articles of consumption and industrial goods, but do not produce any commodities for the market), cannot and must not overstep certain limits, as this again may threaten the progress of industrialisation. This is the reason of the course steered towards the alleviation of the goods shortage, and aiming at its final disappearance.

10. This directive assumes the following for the coming year:

a) The absolutely assured attainment of the speed of development laid down for the industrial group "A" (heavy industry, machine building, chemical industry, etc.); here the available means should be concentrated as far as possible in such a manner that the sums expended are distributed over as narrow a front as can be contrived, in order that buildings may be rapidly completed and new or reorganised works and factories set working with as little delay as possible. Works, the accelerated completion of which is especially necessary are the Stalingrad Tractor Factory, the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Factory, etc.

b) With regard to light industry the decisions of the 15th Party Congress are to be observed:

"In accordance with the policy of the industrialisation of the country, the production of means of production must be increased above all, in order that our growing heavy and finished goods industries, transport service, and agriculture, that is, their requirements, may be substantially covered by the industrial production of the Soviet Union.

"In transferring the centre of gravity to the sphere of the production of the means of production, a step recognised to be correct, the danger of excessive investment of state means in fixed capital must be taken into account, for the capital thus invested cannot be realised in the market for several years. On the other hand it must be remembered that the quick returns of the finished goods industry (production of articles of consumption) enable its capital

to be used at the same time for purposes of investment in heavy industry, provided that the finished goods industry develops."

c) Careful examination of the investments in fixed capital of a non-industrial character, in order that the corresponding budget amounts may be reduced.

d) **Maximum improvement of quality exponents** (reduction of costs of production, effective use of new buildings, increased productivity of labour, etc.) in the course of the current economic year.

e) Support of domestic industries, handicrafts, etc., and prevention of their development being hampered by the measures of the authorities.

All this, combined with redoubled effort for the maintenance of the purchasing power of the chervonetz, by carefully elaborated plans of banknote issue and credit grants, and by a general development of export, is the prerequisite for both the normal progress of economic development and for the alleviation of the commodity shortage.

11. The questions of increased economic incentive, and of the improvement of the forms of influence exercised over peasant farming, are closely bound up with the question of **revolutionary legality**. Without this, without properly regulated and strictly observed standards known beforehand to the population, there can be no certainty in any economic enterprise, in any economic calculation or individual plan, that is, no growth of the productive forces of peasant farming. The question of revolutionary legality has not arisen accidentally. It is has been raised by **economic necessity**. Seen from this standpoint, it is of equal importance that the economic directions issued after mature consideration be carried out without vacillation, in order to secure for the individual producer the possibility of making a definite economic calculation.

12. The question of agricultural taxation is also involved here. The experience gained during the last few years has shown that this important instrument for influencing peasant farming must be so reorganised, that, whilst retaining its present principles, it does not promote the splitting up of agricultural undertakings, and consequently does not call forth a certain tendency to reducing the productive forces of the village. This requires that the agricultural tax, a progressive income tax, be altered on the following basis:

1. Strict prohibition of an extended application of the law on individual taxation, with the proviso that this tax is only to be imposed on the richest section of kulak undertakings, especially upon such whose gains are not adequately subject to the general taxation, and is to be imposed at most on three per cent. of all peasant undertakings.
2. Obligatory consideration of not only the sum total of the earnings of the undertaking, but of the number of persons it supports.
3. Obligatory stability of the taxation standards, and severe penalties for excessive taxation.
4. Improvement of the method of collecting agricultural taxes and better adaptation to the peculiarities of the separate districts.

The Plenum approves the measures taken by the government with reference to the lightened single agricultural tax for the middle group of the peasantry.

13. The Plenum, passing over, within the confines of the central tasks of economic policy outlined above, to the special tasks of industry, places on record the considerable successes attained in the direction of quantity exponents (growth of gross and market production), as also some achievements with respect to quality exponents (the increase in the productivity of labour exceeds for the first time that of wages, reduced costs of production, increased investment in fixed capital, accelerated circulation of capital, organisation of new branches of production, etc.), but emphasises the absolute inadequacy of the qualitative advancement of industry.

The reduction of costs of production hitherto attained does not correspond to the enormous sums invested in industry. The technical reconstruction and rationalisation of production still lags behind the statistic growth of industry. The slowness with which the latest achievements of international technics are taken up, is reflected, to give one instance, in the slow and irrational utilisation by our enterprises of imported equipment. The saving regime is not carried out with sufficient insistence in

our undertakings, and is not as effectual as it might be and ought to be.

Further considerable success is to be recorded in the smelting and machine-building industries in 1927/28. The manufacture of **combustion engines** had risen by 403 per cent. over pre-war production by 1927/28, that of agricultural machinery 201 per cent. This was, however, accompanied by a **retrogression in the output of crude iron** to an extent endangering the whole economy of the country. As compared with the pre-war period, the production of crude iron in 1927/28 was only 79 per cent., of open hearth iron 93.5 per cent., and of rolled iron 91 per cent.

The essential task of our economic plan is the diminution of this disproportion in the current year 1928/29, and its complete abolition during the next few years by means of the forced development of the metal founding industry. At the same time the greatest possible saving must be effected in the consumption of metals, especially by their substitution by other materials (roofing tiles, slates, etc.).

A striking success for **light industry** is represented by the introduction of intermediate working shifts, the enormous strides forward in production, the shorter working day of seven hours, the rationalisation of production, etc.

The shortage of agricultural raw materials forms, however, a serious obstacle to the development of the finished goods industry along these lines. It is therefore of great importance to develop such new branches of industry as the production of artificial silk, wool, leather, etc.

The **building materials crisis**, too, was not ameliorated to any noteworthy extent in 1927/28. The general development of raw material production, the cheapening and improvement of every department of building activity, are therefore among the most important tasks of the economic plan for 1928/29. Building must be cheapened by 15 per cent. in the current economic year. The rapid rate of industrialisation of the last few years is maintained in the economic plan for 1928/29.

The amounts invested in fixed industrial capital will amount to 1650 million roubles in 1928/29 as compared with 1330 million roubles last year. The gross production of large-scale industry (calculated on the price basis of 1926/27) will attain a value of 16,180 million roubles in 1928/29 as compared with 13,833 million roubles in 1927/28 and 11,379 million roubles in 1926/27. This includes the production of the state industry economically planned by the People's Supreme Economic Council, which has increased in value during this same time to 8721.3 million roubles (price basis of 1926/27).

The railways in use in 1925/26 comprised a total length of 74,600 kilometres, in 1927/28 77,200 kilometres, and will increase to 77,700 kilometres in 1928/29. The working capacity of the transport service has increased from 94,000 million kilometre tons in 1925/26 to 105,200 million in 1926/27, and 112,100 million in 1927/28.

Besides the high speed of development in the machine building industry, special mention must be made of the pace at which the electrification of the Soviet Union is proceeding. In 1913 the electric current generated amounted to 1945 million kilowatt hours; in 1927/28 it increased to 5140 kilowatt hours, and will increase to 6600 kilowatt hours in 1928/29. The great advance made in the industrialisation of the country may be seen by a comparison of the following figures: In 1925/26 the value of the gross production of agriculture and industry amounted to 17,370 and 12,448 million roubles respectively, whilst in 1928/29 the gross proceeds of agriculture and of our whole industry, expressed in monetary value, will amount to 18,624 and 19,040 million roubles respectively. The enormously increased importance of industrial production for the economy of the country is an obvious and incontestable fact, but it is precisely this increased importance of industry, this rapid industrialisation, which demands a rapid broadening of the food and raw material basis of industry, in other words, the more rapid development of agriculture.

The growth of socialist industry is accompanied, and is bound to be accompanied, by the growth of the working class, and by the raising of its material and cultural level. In 1927/28 the number of industrial workers increased by 5.7 per cent. The average income of the wage workers had increased by 11.2 per cent. by 1927/28, this including the eleven per cent. wage rise falling to the industrial workers. For 1928/29 special attention will be devoted to the directives referring to the wages

of the workers who have fallen behind in this respect, especially the workers in heavy industry.

The Plenum points out that 1927/28 has been a turning point in that this year witnessed the considerable reduction (5 per cent.) of the costs of production. In 1928/29 a further and even greater reduction of initial costs must be accomplished at all costs. A seven per cent. reduction of the costs of production is the decisive prerequisite for the fulfilment of not only the plan of investment in fixed capital, but for the whole of the plans for our national economy in the current year. This can only be accomplished by a maximum concentration of forces on the realisation of the planned intensification of the productivity of labour, by an energetic struggle for better working discipline and for the rationalisation of the whole process of production. It is a task which can be carried out only with the united efforts of the whole of our economic, Party, and trade union organisations.

At the same time the Plenum of the C. C. stresses the urgent necessity of the active collaboration of all these organisations in the rationalisation of production, in the efforts against absence from work without proper cause, against negligence and lack of discipline in the works and factories.

The gigantic tasks set by the socialist reconstruction of our industry demand for their accomplishment the maximum exploitation of modern technical and scientific achievements. From this standpoint it is extremely important to train new cadres of experts and economists, who are politically in closest contact with the working class and at the same time capable of the practical application of modern technical knowledge, and simultaneously to ensure a considerate attitude towards the old experts who are serving the Soviet Union faithfully, and working loyally in its organs and undertakings. The Party emphasises the necessity of combating any description of relapse into a persecution of experts.

14. The conditions obtaining in 1927/28 have affected the export problem more unfavourably than any other. Our foreign trade balance for 1927/28 was adverse. The situation in the home markets during the last few years has not permitted the forcing of export at the expense of agriculture, and this has rendered necessary the increased export of other groups of commodities, chiefly industrial articles.

15. The economic plan for 1928/29, laid down in the control figures, is within our powers of accomplishment, but requires utmost exertion. The finance plan is correspondingly at a high tension.

The state budget has been balanced at 7,694,800,000 roubles, that is, it has increased by almost 20 per cent., whilst the national income has increased by 10 per cent. The execution of the financial plan assumes the maintenance of strictest discipline in carrying out the provisions of the economic plan and of the state budget, and at the same time the maximum acceleration and improvement of rationalisation, and the most conscientious observance of the saving regime.

The Plenum of the C. C. lays special emphasis on the immense importance of the savings of the population and their utilisation. The Plenum of the C. C. points to the great success of the state loans, especially among the workers, and stresses the necessity of their further extension, especially in the rural districts, where great possibilities still remain unutilised.

The Plenum of the C. C. further emphasises that the savings of the rural population can be employed in advancing the industrialisation of agriculture not only by means of loans, but can and must also be furthered by the utilisation of the business shares of the agricultural producers' and consumers' co-operatives, of the savings banks, etc.

The high tension, which will be an unavoidable accompaniment of the economic plan for 1928/29, must not in the least slacken the attention to be accorded by the Party, state, and economic apparatus, to the further development of work for the purpose of preparing the country for defence.

The first premises for the accomplishment of the whole economic plan are, on the one hand, the raising of the cultural level of the broad masses of workers and peasants and, on the other hand, the progressive training of the cadres guiding the work of socialist construction. The Plenum of the C. C. points out that despite the tension in the budget for 1928/29, a considerable advance may be recorded in the financing of socially cultural efforts. The sum of 335 million roubles, from various sources, are to be expended on the education

of the people, as compared with 270 million roubles last year. Investments in fixed capital serving educational purposes are planned at 184 million roubles as compared with 96 million roubles in 1927/28. The data on expenditure for public health are still incomplete, but show so far an increase from 513 million roubles to 610 million for the whole Soviet Union. The effect of the decisions of the July Plenum may be seen in the changes provided for in the sphere of vocational training. Even if these sums are still insufficient, they nevertheless represent a very considerable advancement in the measures taken for raising the cultural level of our country.

16. The C. C. calls upon all the members of the Party to concentrate their attention on the questions of economic development. Nothing but the utmost conscientiousness in carrying out the tasks set by planned economics, and by the problems of economic guidance as a whole, nothing but an entirely objective investigation of the questions of economic policy, nothing but the increasingly strictly scientific character of economic policy, can obviate errors and false calculations likely to increase and complicate very greatly the difficulties of building up socialism in a petty bourgeois country surrounded by imperialist enemies. The qualitative improvement of work in every department of Party, Soviet, and trade union activity, and the improvement of the guidance of planned economy, presume both the possession of objective and timely information by the Party on the economic position, and the devotion of careful consideration to economic questions within the Party. The complexity of the problems raised by the period of reconstruction, the numerous difficulties to be overcome in the course of industrialisation, the strain placed upon the working class and the peasantry by industrialisation (an undertaking whose actual effect will not be felt until after the lapse of a certain time), the resistance offered by the capitalist elements and the aggravation of the class struggle characteristic of the present juncture, the vacillations of the petty bourgeois masses, the pressure exercised by the petty bourgeoisie on certain organs of the Soviet apparatus and of our Party, etc., all this on the one hand and on the other the expansion of the state apparatus and, consequently, the growth of various bureaucratic excrescences on the broad front of the state structure — encourage multifarious deviations within the Party. We encounter the Right (openly opportunist) deviation, which finds expression in the endeavour to retard the speed and development of heavy industry, in a depreciative or negative attitude towards the collective agricultural undertakings and Soviet farms, in an under-estimation and concealment of the class struggle, especially the struggle against the kulaks, in bureaucratic inattention to the needs of the masses, in the under-estimation of the struggle against bureaucracy, in the under-estimation of the war danger, etc.

At the same time social democratic, anti-Soviet, and super-industrialisation (Trotskyist) tendencies raise their heads once more, hiding their semi-Menshevik Right content behind Left phraseology, and leading in actual practice to the same disastrous results as the openly Right deviation.

This faces us with the necessity of the struggle on two fronts, against both the Right, openly opportunist deviation, and against the social-democratic Trotskyist "Left" deviation, i. e. in reality also Right, but concealing its deviation from the Leninist line behind Left phrases.

If we are to overcome these deviations, the first premise is the systematic combating of that Philistine tolerance which is the outcome of lack of principle (the conciliatory tendency).

The Plenum points out that at the present time the chief danger in the Soviet Union is the danger threatened from the Right openly opportunist deviation arising from the present social-economic situation and the fact that the Party can already record numerous definite successes in the struggle against Trotskyist ideology.

The Plenum of the C. C. records with satisfaction that the Right deviation and the conciliatory group are encountering the unanimous Bolshevik resistance of the whole Party, which has furnished ample proof of its readiness to fight for the Leninist Party line.

The Plenum of the C. C. fully approves the October appeal of the C. C. to the Moscow organisation.

The successful overcoming of the deviations demands comprehensive self-criticism, the maximum participation of the

masses in the building up of economy and of the Party, the determined and consistent advance to inner Party democracy, the participation of the broad masses in the deliberations on questions of economic reconstruction. It is at the same time necessary, in the interests of comprehensive criticism and free discussion, to "secure the freedom of inner Party criticism, excluding such methods as the rejection of independent opinion, or any critical observation, in advance as a 'deviation', etc." (Appeal of C. C.).

The Plenum of the C. C., in continuing its determined struggle against all these deviations, emphasises for the present juncture the urgency of a comprehensive and principally ideological struggle against the Right danger — this not being permitted to lead to the slightest weakening of any kind in the fight against Trotskyism —, and at the same time draws the attention of the whole Party to the necessity of a non-sensational but thorough consideration of the questions raised by economic reconstruction as such; this presumes a sober Bolshevik analysis of the whole situation, an analysis free from either the tendency to veil difficulties or to fall into bureaucratic embellishments of realities on the one hand, or, on the other, to rush to the extreme of panicky exaggeration of the dangers, an analysis having nothing whatever in common with the unprincipled follow-in-the-wake policy of practicalism, losing sight of the general line of development, the fundamental aims, and the tasks of the Party, or with the Utopian quasi "principledness" which simply soars over the specific tasks of the present and thereby breaks the first principle of Leninist tactics: combining the fundamental line with the necessities conditioned by the exigencies of the moment.

The Leninist Party has always overcome the difficulties which it has encountered, with the aid of maximum active participation on the part of the masses, and of maximum enlightenment of the work of the mass organisations, by gathering together and combining the broad masses of the proletariat. The new and complicated tasks, set us by the work of socialist reconstruction impel the C. C. to call upon the whole of the members of the Party to concentrate their entire forces on overcoming the economic difficulties, and upon the mobilisation of all the creative forces latent in the working class, in order that the rate of development planned for our industrialisation and socialisation may be secured at all costs, and the plan drafted for our economy realised.

On the Recruiting of Workers and the Regulation of the Growth of the Party.

(Resolution on Comrade Molotov's Report, passed unanimously by the Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. on 24th November, 1928)

The Political Premises to the Question of the Growth of the Party.

The transition from the period of restoration to the period of socialist reconstruction, of reorganisation of our whole economy on a foundation of the most advanced technics, enabling industry — thanks to the growing importance of the rôle played by heavy industry, and to the actual mass development of the co-operative and collective system in the village — to exercise influence upon economy, has confronted our working class with the whole extent of the problems of immediate socialist construction. Our Party, as ever, marches in the foremost ranks of the working class, in the vanguard of socialist construction. The period in which socialism is being built up is one filled with special difficulties, for the working class is culturally backward, and in the rural districts the poor and very poor peasant undertakings preponderate. The difficulties are the greater owing to the fact that international imperialism shows increasing determination to exercise pressure from outside, and threatens the Soviet Union not only with the immediate economic blockade of the capitalist Powers, but with military intervention. Under these circumstances the part played by the Party, as the communist vanguard of the proletariat, and as the leader of the whole work of building up socialism, is extremely difficult and responsible.

The Soviet power, despite the gigantic obstacles lying in the way of revolutionary struggle and socialist development, has secured the first great successes for socialism. These successes have been obtained with the aid of the increasing utilisation of the inner resources of the country, and it is solely due to the heroism and devotion of the working class, supported by the ever closer alliance with the millions of the masses of the peasantry, that socialism has been able to make this advance. The Soviet order has ensured the participation of broad masses of workers and working peasants of all nationalities in the Soviet Union in every department of the work of building up socialism, and the once suppressed and backward peoples have been enabled to take an active part in our progress under the Soviet system. The Party, as the true leader of the workers and the working peasantry, marches inflexibly forward at the head of the Soviets, leading the way to the new socialist state of society.

Under present conditions, the conditions given by the fundamental socialist reconstruction of the economy of the country, the work incumbent on the Soviets increases to enormous dimensions. It becomes necessary to alter and greatly improve in many respects the working methods of the Soviets in town and country, and above all to intensify the struggle against bureaucracy in the state apparatus, an evil which must be combated both practically and determinedly. The present Soviet apparatus is still permeated to a great extent with elements of old officialdom, and with representatives of the former ruling classes, in whom the hatred against the Soviet order still lives. Bureaucratic degeneration, disregard of the needs of the workers, incredible slowness in grasping essentials, and criminal waste of time, not infrequently undermine the work of the state organs. There are some links in our state and co-operative apparatus which have completely degenerated, even to a condition of merging with the bourgeois capitalist elements of the population, and making the thorough purging of these organs an imperative necessity. Here it must be remembered that the state apparatus, in the shape of its stratum of old officials, stamps its characteristics even upon a certain section of the communist collaborators working in this apparatus. The Party, following the slogan of strict self-criticism, calls upon all workers to take up a relentless struggle against the facts of degeneration and bureaucracy in all our organs. The bold and consistent pursuance of proletarian self-criticism is indivisibly bound up with the advancement of new tens and hundreds of thousands of workers to work in the state organs, and with the active participation of millions of workers in the whole work of the Soviets; this implying, of course, the general raising of the cultural level of the masses of workers and peasants. This mass participation of fresh and extensive cadres of the working class in the work of the state apparatus is the sole effective means of emancipation from bureaucracy. At the present moment this is one of the most important tasks of our Party as the true leader of the proletarian dictatorship.

In this, and in all other work, the Party relies on the support of the mass organisations of the proletariat, and especially upon the trade unions. During the period just elapsed, the latter have been able to record immense success, and they undoubtedly represent the most important connecting link between the Party and the working masses. The greater therefore is their responsibility for the accomplishment of the extremely difficult tasks set the proletariat by the period of socialist reconstruction, a period requiring, on the one hand, the work of an ever-broader stratum of highly qualified specialists of every kind, and on the other, in comparison with the period just past, a mighty increase in the active participation of the real masses of the millions of the workers in the task of building up socialism.

Our mass organisations (among them the trade unions) do not, however, always show the necessary grasp of the needs and demands of the working men and women; in many cases they fail to keep pace with the growing activity of the masses, and thus make an entirely inadequate use of their vast possibilities for the mobilisation of the forces of the working class for the fulfilment of its immediate and important tasks and for the overcoming of the obstacles blocking the path to socialist development. The trade unions are far behind with their work among the new cadres of workers pouring into the works and factories during the last few years; and it is even more in

arrears with respect to the mighty and ever growing mass of seasonal and agricultural labourers, the majority of whom, without the opportunities of the school of proletarian education, cannot become, in the trade unions, real co-workers in the task of building up socialism. Under present conditions, one of the most important tasks of the trade unions and other mass organisations is the relentless combat against that loss of contact with the masses inherent in officialdom, against bureaucratic indifference to the daily interests of the masses, against any tendency to yield to the trends in the backward strata of the masses, and against every one of the still numerous elements of bureaucracy in mass work. Only when the slogan of self-criticism is followed and trade union democracy actually developed, only then shall we witness a decisive upward movement.

The existence of a broad non-Party active cadre in the mass organisations, especially in the trade unions, represents a highly important and mighty reservoir of new and active forces, new leaders for the various branches of economic and cultural development in the proletarian state. The Party, supported in its work by this proletarian non-Party active cadre, furthering the expansion and at the same time the cultural and political growth of this cadre in every possible way, and drawing complementary material from it for its organisations, finds here a highly important branch of work for the promotion of the increasing activity of the workers in the advancement of industry and in the whole work of building up socialism, for the real stimulation of the mass organisations, for the development of a truly proletarian democracy, and finally, for the all-round firmer establishment, of its contact with the masses of the working class.

The period of new construction means not only the intensest development of all industry, of light industry and above all of heavy industry, accompanied by a complete reorganisation of industry on a higher technical basis, but it means a universal promotion of the development of the individual peasant undertaking, a reorganisation of our agriculture on the basis of improved technique and collectivism. This period of socialist reconstruction is that epoch of proletarian revolution in which the working class, closely allied with the peasant masses and fully taking into account the extreme difficulty and long duration of the task, proceeds to exterminate, at every point of the fighting front, including the backward village, those roots of capitalism which thrive in the soil of small-scale production of and traffic in commodities. This entails the increased supplanting of capitalist elements by socialist elements, and can signify nothing else but the intensification of the class struggle in our country.

The conditions brought about by the unceasing attacks made from outside on the Soviet Union by imperialism, have the effect of enabling the increased resistance offered to socialist reconstruction by the bourgeois capitalist strata (kulaks, Nepmen, bourgeois intelligentsia, counter-revolutionary saboteurs) to bring about, at certain moments, this or that vacillation even in the ranks of our allies in the petty bourgeois masses. These vacillations find expression in the petty bourgeois trends of feeling observable among the least steadfast elements of the working class, and in the opportunist waverings in some strata of the Party. Besides attempts at reviving Trotzkyist ideology (concealed by the "Left" phraseology of the ideology of the Menshevik type), there is in the Party at the present time a considerable strengthening of the Right, openly opportunist danger (leading to the abandonment of the positions of the Party under the pressure of petty bourgeois elementary forces). This means that at the present time the Party has to fight with special vigour on two fronts, against two different kinds of deviation from the general Bolshevik line, and against any conciliatory attitude towards these two deviations, both utterly foreign in nature to Leninism. The Party, having been decisively successful in overcoming Trotzkyism, must now devote special attention (without in the least abating its efforts against Trotzkyist ideology) to combating the Right deviation. The irreconcilable struggle against the Right deviation in the Party is one of the most important prerequisites for effectually warding off the class enemies of the proletarian dictatorship and for the successful advance of socialist reconstruction in town and country. Advance towards socialism will be made with maximum success on the basis of the further raising of the ideological and political level of the Party masses, on the basis of the growing grasp of Marxist theory among the leading cadres, of a bold

and consistent development of inner-Party democracy, and of an all-round reinforcement of the Party organisations by a fresh influx of the most advanced and most active cadres of the proletariat, devoted to the cause of socialism.

Our Party, standing inflexibly in the ranks of the vanguard of the Communist International, in the vanguard of the international proletarian revolution, must now review most carefully the whole of its work, and eliminate the elements of inefficiency, degeneration and decay. It is only by the adoption of such measures with respect to itself, and only by an intensified and stricter re-examination of its own weak spots, that the purged and strengthened Party thus emerging will increase its capability of leading forward millions of workers and working peasants to active co-partnership in the work of building up socialism, and will thereby provide that first premise without which the socialist reconstruction of the economy of the country is impossible.

This involves the necessity of a really determined struggle against the bureaucratic methods and against the manifestations of bureaucratic compulsion in the work of the Party. Inner Party democracy is the basis upon which we must work, and the rule of electing persons and bodies must be correctly and rigidly adhered to, so that any secretary and any leading Party organ (bureau, committee) can be replaced in accordance with the real wishes of the organisation. It involves further that the leading Party cadre greatly strengthens its contact with the masses by taking part in the workers' meetings, by giving reports to the workers and peasants on its work in the Party, Soviet, trade union, co-operative, and economic organisations, by personally undertaking the practical leadership of the subordinate organs, by transition from leading positions to long periods of work in the shops or factories, and by the increased advancement of cadres of workers from the works and factories to leading functions in all organs, etc. At the same time energetic efforts must be made against such abuses, such positive abscesses in the ranks of the communists, as the facts of "moral decay", dissipation and drunkenness, fawning upon the "heads", hushing up of obviously wrongful actions, and the coalescence of certain elements in our organs with the kulak and capitalist stratum of the population. All this requires the cool and unswerving pursuance of the slogan of self-criticism, in the ranks of the Party as elsewhere. In this regard the Party must lead the way. And therefore the Party must resist with the utmost energy — as one of the crassest manifestations of bureaucracy — any tendency to shrink from the development of self-criticism, of creative criticism from below from the masses.

The Tasks Entailed by the Regulation of the Composition of the Party.

The question of the composition of the Party, of the regulation of its growth, and of the recruiting of its ranks from the masses of working men and women, must be dealt with from the viewpoint of these tasks of the present period.

During the last few years, and especially since the Lenin enrolment, the Party has grown rapidly. Many hundreds of thousands of advanced proletarians have joined the Party, and now form a considerable part of the leading communist cadres. These new cadres of communist workers have already proved their Bolshevik soundness at times of particularly severe conflicts in the Party against the opposition, and have shown themselves to be an invaluable auxiliary in the ranks of the active co-workers in the task of building up the socialist state of society. At the present time the growth of the Party is chiefly due to the increase of its proletarian constituents. At the same time there has been a considerable influx of employees, and especially of peasants, to the Party. The natural advancement and resultant transference of a certain section of the workers from the process of production to work in the organs of the proletarian state and to further education, is again reflected in the composition of the Party. Therefore the considerable preponderance of the proletarian section of the Party (61 per cent.) is accompanied by the fact of a considerably smaller proportion (42 per cent.) of Party members who are actually workers in the shops and factories.

At the same time the Party possesses in the working class great reserves for its future growth. These reserves are the broad and ever-growing **non-Party proletarian active cadres** in the trade unions, in the Soviets, in the co-operatives, in the Young Communist League, in the working women's delegate meetings, in the voluntary societies, in the clubs, and the like. Some strata of industrial workers, especially of skilled workers, are very insufficiently represented in the Party. A very decided change must also be made with respect to winning over working women for the Party, a sphere of work very far behind until recently; a state of affairs entirely unallowable under present circumstances. Great importance must be attached to gaining for the Party the working youth who have already passed through the serious schooling of the Young Communist League in the industrial undertakings. Another extremely backward sphere of work is the winning over of agricultural labourers and workers, and it is most necessary that the Party devotes immediate attention to this. The work of recruiting among working men and women must be carried out with the strictest observation of the conditions imposed for the admittance of employees and others to the Party, and the needful selection must be made of peasants really at one with the Party, above all from among the poor peasantry, especially those numbering among the active co-workers in the collective economic movement.

In accordance with the aims of the work of winning over more workers for the Party, and in accordance, therefore, with the main tasks of the period of socialist reconstruction, the really most **advanced elements** of the working class must be induced to join the Party, those capable of leading the way as the vanguard of the working masses in the practical task of overcoming the difficulties of socialist development, of warding off the attacks of petty bourgeois irresolution, and of increasing the confidence felt in the Party by the whole mass of the workers and working peasantry. It is our most urgent and definite task to gain as members for the Party those working men and women who have proved their political steadfastness in times of difficulty, who are real proletarian internationalists, who furnish a personal example of increased productivity and working discipline, who fight ardently and tenaciously against bureaucracy, who work actively for their cultural development, and who are therefore capable of closing more firmly than ever the Leninist ranks. The Party cannot but take into consideration that the composition of the proletariat has been supplemented during the years of war and revolution by new and extensive strata, especially from the village, but at the same time to a certain extent by persons from a social environment foreign to the working class. The Party is the more justified in accepting into its ranks consciously revolutionary elements of the proletariat devoted to socialism, especially working men and women who have worked for a long time in large scale undertakings. We must accomplish the practical task of ensuring that by the end of 1930 at latest, **no less than one half of the Party membership consists of workers from the works and factories.**

The extensive campaign for winning over more workers must be combined with a strict investigation into the present state of the Party, and with a thorough purging of all elements found to be socially alien to, or who have brought reproach upon the Party, or are bureaucratized or degenerated. On the one hand, there are all manner of measures to be taken, especially ideological ones, for preventing the withdrawal from the Party of workers who, whilst backward, have the revolution really at heart. On the other hand, stronger measures, and measures of a much firmer nature than those applied during the last few years, must be taken for the purging of the Party organisations of those elements who exploit their membership in the ruling Party for their own selfish and place-hunting aims, of those degenerate petty bourgeois elements who have joined forces with the kulaks, and the like.

In the village organisations there is still only a very slight proportion of proletarian elements, and the cadre of collectively farming peasants is in fact diminutive. In some cases these organisations even contain a larger proportion of well-to-do peasants, or of elements anxious for a rapprochement to the kulaks, degenerated, utterly alien to the working class. Therefore the task of effecting a decided improvement, of thoroughly

purging and extensively renewing these organisations, is imperatively urgent. In the national republics, and in regions where the proletarian cadres are still small, the increased participation in these organisations of the agricultural labourers and workers, especially those belonging to the regional nationalities, and at the same time the corresponding improvement of the social composition of the organisations, are the decisive prerequisites for the building up of socialism.

The **broadest masses of the non-Party workers** must be induced to take part in both the work of winning over more workers and in the work for the thorough purging of the Party of elements ideologically and socially alien to it. This participation of the non-Party workers, and in the village of non-Party peasants, especially agricultural labourers and the village poor, must be really active in nature and bear a really mass character. For the Party this aid from the non-Party masses of the workers is of extremely great importance; it is the supremely important support required by the whole work of socialist construction now proceeding with the Communist Party at its head.

Practical Conclusions.

1. By the end of 1930 at latest, no less than one half of the Party must be made to consist of workers from the shops and factories. In order to ensure the attainment of this aim, the members newly admitted to the Party during the next two years must be at least 80 per cent. workers from works and factories, especially workers who have been employed for some time in such undertakings. Suitable practical organisational and ideologically educational work is to be organised among the working masses for this purpose.

2. During the next two years the admittance of elements other than workers is to be restricted to a minimum, and employees applying for membership must have amongst those recommending them at least some workers from shops or factories (in the village agricultural labourers and workers).

3. The admittance of agricultural labourers and workers, and of the best active elements from the ranks of the village poor and collectively farming peasants, must be decidedly and rapidly promoted. This requires the thorough and rapid improvement, purging, and renewal of the village organisations.

4. Admittance to the Party, and the regulation of its growth, must not by any means be carried on along mechanical lines (as for instance the setting of tasks to be completed by a certain date and the like), nor must they be made the subject of mass campaigns, but should be closely bound up with the intensification of the whole of the work of the Party and mass organisations.

5. The re-examination of the organisations, and their cleansing from all foreign elements, whether degenerate, bureaucratized, or the like, must be carried through on much more decided and systematic lines, and the C. C. C. and the local Control Commissions must help to a greater degree, with all available means, in guiding this work.

6. The admittance of new members, and the purging of the organisations, must be undertaken with the widest and most active participation of the non-Party workers and working peasantry (in public Party meetings, the lists of applicants for admission and of those expelled being published beforehand etc.).

7. The regulations conditioning the admittance to the Party, and for the transition from candidature to membership, must be simplified for working men and women; the number of bodies by which the admittance is to be approved must be reduced to a minimum. The district and regional committees of the Party must complete their investigations into the questions arising in connection with applications for membership within a fortnight at most.

8. The measures of an ideological and political character to be taken for combating the withdrawal of backward men and women workers from the Party, or of agricultural workers and poor peasants, must be carried out with intensified energy.

9. The promotion of new Party cadres from the ranks of the workers to every branch of state work must be boldly pushed forward, whereby the further raising of the ideological and political level of these cadres and the development of educational work in the working masses must be ensured.

PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

The First Anniversary of the Canton Revolt.

These of the Agitprop of the E. C. C. I.
(1927—28)

1. On the 11th of December, 1927, the Red banner of the Soviets was hoisted over Canton, the capital city of South China. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party the heroic proletariat of Canton had taken up arms against the rule of the bloody bourgeois and landlord reaction, in order to establish for the first time in colonial Asia the rule of the Soviets, the rule of the workers, peasants and the urban poor. In the Canton revolt the Chinese proletariat came out as a mighty revolutionary force, as the hegemonious leader of all the oppressed classes of China. The proletariat of Canton pointed out to the hundreds of millions of the exploited people of China, India, and other Eastern countries, the real, the only correct road to freedom. The Canton revolt was appreciated by the VI. Congress of the C. I. "as the example of the greatest heroism of the Chinese workers".

Regardless of the fact that the Canton revolt was a rear-guard action of the Chinese proletariat upon the background of the receding tide of revolution, it constituted at the same time the banner of the new Soviet phase in the Chinese revolution. After the Canton revolt the great class battles of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry can be unfolded only under the banner of the struggle for Soviet rule, for the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry.

2. The formation of Soviets at Canton, the progress of the Chinese revolution to the Soviet stage, constitutes a conquest for the whole world proletariat, insasmuch as the Chinese revolution is one of the decisive sectors of the world revolution, insasmuch as the struggle of the Chinese proletariat is part and parcel of the struggle of the international proletariat against world imperialism. The Canton revolt was immediately directed against the imperialist yoke in China. Therefore, the imperialists on the very first day of the revolt inaugurated an undisguised struggle against Soviet Canton, extending every aid to the Chinese counter-revolution in the organisation of its forces for crushing the advanced Red post and the hearth of the Chinese revolution. British merchant ships engaged in the transportation of reactionary troops whilst British, American and Japanese gunboats landed marines to help the army of the Chinese generals, and the armoured vessels of the imperialists covered the operations of the Chinese fleet, and so on.

A great role in crushing the revolt was played by Hong-Kong, the base of British imperialism in the Far East situated opposite to Canton. All the counter-revolutionary elements of Kwantung, having fled from the just wrath of the rebellious workers and peasants, flocked to Hongkong for shelter. It was at Hongkong that the leading forces of the Chinese reaction were gathered and organised.

After the crushing of the revolt, the British imperialists of Hongkong and Shamin (the foreign quarter of Canton) day by day inspired the Chinese reactionaries to the most ruthless and brutal destruction of the workers and toilers of Canton. They incited the Chinese white guards against the U. S. S. R. Consulate at Canton which had not taken the least part in the revolt. The representatives of the only Workers' and Peasants' State in the World, the first which had recognised the full independence and equality of China, died like heroes under the bullets of the Chinese hangmen who took revenge for the revolutionary solidarity which unites the whole of the international proletariat with the toilers of China.

3. The December revolt in China had been prepared for by the whole march of events during the preceding period of the Chinese revolution. The counter-revolutionary coup d'Etat at Wuhan in the summer of 1927, which signified the final desertion of the Chinese bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang (including its so-called Left wing) to the reactionary camp, had weakened the aggressive energy of the working and peasant masses, but had not curbed their resistance to the imperialist-feudal-bour-

geoisie bloc. Following upon the attempt of the revolutionary section of the army to create a basis for gathering and organising the scattered revolutionary forces by means of capturing one of the southern provinces of China (the march of Ye Tin and Ho lun on Kwantung), mass revolts of peasants against the landlords and the Kuomintang authorities broke out in a number of provinces in Central China during September-October 1927. Since that time the protracted guerilla warfare was started in the villages, which the Kuomintang has so far been unable to dispose of. Gripped in the vice of the Kuomintang terror, the tide of the labour movement is subsiding. Particularly ferocious is the white terror at Shanghai where the proletariat has marched all the time in front of the revolutionary forces and has sustained the severest blows of the counter-revolution. In spite of this, in a number of towns the proletariat continues to resist the onslaught of reaction, organising strikes which frequently assume the character of armed revolts. The isolated actions of the working class the depression in the ranks of its principal detachment — the Shanghai proletariat, the lack of coincidence in these actions (as regards time and place) with the most important revolts of the peasantry, coupled with the weakness of the Communist Party, have led to a number of serious defeats.

The highest pitch was reached by the class struggle in the province of Kwantung — the cradle of the organised mass movement in China. Since April 1927 Kwantung and Canton were the arena of the most brutal white terror. Thousands of workers, peasants and revolutionary students were subjected to the most cruel persecution for the sole offence of defending the freedom of the workers' and peasants' organisations, of having asked for the amelioration of the unbearably precarious conditions of the toiling masses.

The autumn months were marked by a sharp economic depression; a decline in trade, increased burdens of taxation, a financial crisis, and a growth in the cost of living. Along with the crisis of the Nanking Government (the war between Nanking and Wuhan) the political chaos in the Kwantung province became more profound owing to the outbreak of a war of generals between the two rival general cliques contending for the possession of Canton (the Kwantung clique led by General Chang Fa-kui, and the Kwangsi clique led by Li Tsi-sheng), reflecting the struggle within the Kuomintang between the bourgeois and the landlord-comprador wings.

4. Under the conditions of the relentless white terror the Chinese workers, led by the Red Seamen's Union, organised in the course of October mighty demonstrations and mass meetings under the slogans of the restoration of the Red Trade Unions and the defence of the Communist Party of China. The demonstrators seized the buildings of the police trade unions, and right there in the street they murdered the reactionary hirelings — the leaders of those "trade unions".

On the 7th November, the workers of Canton organised a mass demonstration to celebrate the X. Anniversary of the October Revolution. On the same day there was a political strike of the printers.

The subsequent period, accompanied by a general coup d'Etat in Canton and the increased warfare among the generals throughout the province, was characterised by the stormy revival of the labour movement, by numerous demonstrations and strikes, and by the growing prestige of the Red trade unions and the Communist Party. This revival caused the most cruel repressions, this time on the part of the "Left" Kuomintang general Chang Fa-Kui who captured power at Canton, which served to expose utterly the counter-revolutionary nature of all the shadings of the Kuomintang before the masses of the workers.

5. Never had Kwantung seen such a mighty swing of the peasant movement as it did in November-December 1927. On the Isle of Kainan — in the southern district of the province — the peasant leagues had taken power in the rural districts into their own hands already in the summer of 1927. In the autumn, in the same districts, the peasants began to divide up the landowners' estates and to destroy the landlords and the gentry. Embittered by the terror of the landlords, the peasants rose in the districts of the Northern River and in the

districts adjacent to Canton. The insurgents of the famous revolts in the history of the peasant movement in China — in the districts of Haifeng and Lufeng — raised the standard of revolt for the third time in the course of 1927, which led to the establishment of Soviet rule in 5 districts. The peasants of the Hai-Lu-Feng district retained power in their hands in the course of the following three months, distributed the land taken away from the owners, and either destroyed or expelled all the landlords and gentry. All these important peasant revolts occurred upon the borders of the province, at a relatively great distance from proletarian Canton, so that subsequently they were not able to render timely aid to the beleaguered proletarian city, which was one of the decisive causes of the defeat of the Canton Commune.

Even considerable masses of the urban petty-bourgeois population, the lower ranks of the tradesmen, artisans and intellectuals, smarting under the burden of the economic depression and the political oppression of the militarists, and disappointed in the Kuomintang, sympathised with the spread of the workers' and peasants' movement and with the slogans of the Communist Party. Some sections of the army, the most advanced ones, were under the influence of the Communists. In other sections discontent against the existing regime was brewing. The revolutionary sentiments increased, and the Party developed vigorous activity in the preparations for the revolt.

6. On the 26th November, the Kwantung Committee of the C. P. of China addressed a manifesto to the toiling population in which the basic slogans of the revolt were launched: "bread for workers", "land for the peasants", "down with the power of the Kuomintang", "all power to the workers, peasants and soldiers", "all power to the Soviets". The Party, placing itself at the head of the revolt, kept direct touch with the illegal revolutionary trade unions during the whole of its preparatory political and organisational activities. Through the trade unions there were organised, shortly before the revolt, the militant labour detachments, the Labour Red Guards composed of the Hongkong strikers, seamen and rickshaw-men, who played a tremendous role on the 11—13 December. Through the trade unions there was formed on the eve of the revolt the Canton Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies composed of 16 members: 10 labour deputies, 3 from the soldiers, and 3 from the peasants.

7. The general postulates of the revolt — the weakening of the ruling classes and the anger of the masses of the people had become fairly clearly revealed towards the end of November. The direct impulse to the upheaval was the threat to disarm the revolutionary regiments which constituted the chief military force of the Canton proletariat. The revolt started during the night from the 10th to the 11th November. Thanks to the exceptional valour of the rebels the essential points in the city — the police administration, the barracks, the post and telegraph building — were seized within a few hours. Great help to the fighting squads was given by the transport workers who had placed at the disposal of the revolutionary headquarters about a hundred motor trucks which enabled the rapid despatching of revolutionary forces to various parts of the city. Part was also taken in the struggle by the peasantry in the adjacent villages who captured the railway station. Towards noon, the whole city, except the embankment, was in the hands of the proletarian rebels. The authority had gone over to the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies and to its administrative organ — the Council of People's Commissaries.

8. From the very first day of the revolt (December 11) until the end of the Commune on the 13th December, the insurgent workers and soldiers had to wage an incessant and strenuous armed struggle against the advancing forces of the counter-revolution. On the second day of the revolt there was a fresh division of Kuomintang troops brought in, and the city was subjected to barbarous bombardment by the Chinese fleet. The reactionary troops had already broken into the city and were advancing upon the revolutionary headquarters when, by straining all the forces of the Labour Guards, and with the heroic assistance of the unarmed workers, and even women, the enemy was beaten back from the city. However, on the following day — the third day of the revolt — the Commune was defeated, as it could not withstand the forces of the enemy which outnumbered it many times. On 13th December the Red

City was hemmed in by an iron ring of 3 army divisions, the fleet, and landing forces of the imperialists; yet the Labour guards and the revolutionary soldiers of the training regiment, by dint of boundless courage, managed to break through the enemy ranks and retreat from the city into the villages. About 4,000 workers, including a great many women and children, were the victims of the brutal reaction and white terror within a few days.

9. Already prior to the Canton revolt the Kuomintang had fully revealed its counter-revolutionary nature. Yet even during the period when the Kuomintang was fighting against the Northern militarists, the Kuomintang government never dared take a determined stand against the land monopoly of the feudal landlords nor against the most outrageous forms of the exploitation of the workers in the towns. Under the pressure of the working and peasants masses, under the threat of the growing agrarian revolution, the Kuomintang government was repeatedly forced to come forward with projects of agrarian reforms, with promises of improving the conditions of the workers. But it took advantage of the least pretext to protract the realisation of such reforms. Even such a small concession to the peasantry as the decision to reduce the land rent by 25%, which had been confirmed by numerous conferences of the Kuomintang and by plenary meetings of its leading organs, was never carried into effect. The whole course of the Chinese revolution until that moment pointed to the fact that only a government directly representing the interests of the working class and the peasantry would be able to solve the questions which had caused the Chinese Revolution, and in the first place, the agrarian revolution.

The history of Soviet rule in Canton can be measured in hours, yet in spite of this, the new revolutionary authority succeeded in showing itself as the real authority of the oppressed classes of the country. The first Decrees of the Soviet Government were: the eight-hour day, the increase in wages, the law of land nationalisation, and the annulment of all unfair loan and lease contracts. During the very first hours of its existence the Soviet Government addressed a manifesto to the workers, peasants and soldiers of the whole of China and to the international proletariat. The first measures of the Workers' and Peasants' Government were: the organisation of the Red Army, the restoration of all the gains of the Hongkong strikers, and the order for the confiscation of the houses of the big bourgeoisie to accommodate the toilers. The Government decreed the obligatory allotment of land to the soldiers of the revolutionary army, state relief for the unemployed, control over production, the abolition of the old urban taxes, etc. Immediately after the capture of the key positions, about 3,400 political prisoners were set free from the prisons. The Extraordinary Commission for the combat of the counter-revolution, formed on the first day of the revolt, effected numerous arrests among known reactionaries with the aid of the workers, particularly of the women. There were executed about 700 enemies of the people. The organ of the Soviet, "The Red Flag", which printed the decrees of the Government, gained wide circulation among the people. The very composition of the government, which comprised leaders of the workers' and peasants' movement well known to the masses in China, indicated the character of the new authority.

10. In spite of its revolutionary policy, in spite of its brave defence, the Canton Commune fell after 3 days of heroic resistance.

The fundamental causes of the defeat were: the isolation of Soviet Canton from the districts of the peasant insurrection, the treacherous role of the leaders of the large yellow trade union of Canton (the Mechanics' Union) which openly sided with the reaction, the numerical superiority of the armed forces of reaction which managed to mobilise a big army with great rapidity, the open aid given by the imperialists, the weakness of the insurgents in point of military technique and some serious defects in the preparations for the revolt, e. g. the insufficient attraction of large masses of the workers, of the peasantry of villages adjacent to the city, and of soldiers in the Kuomintang troops; the incorrect tactics in regard to the yellow trade unions which did not know how to get at the masses in those unions which had repeatedly shown their sympathy for the new government of the workers and peasants, confusing them with their counter-revolutionary leaders; the feeble political mobilisation of

Canton's toiling population, the absence of wide political strikes, the absence of an elected Council as the organ of the revolt. The defects and mistakes in the leadership of the revolt, which indicate that the Kwantung Party organisation itself was weak and insufficiently prepared for the armed revolt, will not in the least be able to weaken the historic significance of the Canton Commune.

11. The Chinese proletariat is celebrating the first anniversary of the Canton Revolt under the conditions of the slow maturing of the forces of the revolution which is marching on through numerous defeats to the inevitable new revival. The first wave of the workers' and peasants' revolution ended in the weakening of the revolutionary organisations of the workers and peasants, in the physical destruction of a considerable portion of the vanguard of these classes. The failure to solve the main contradictions which gave birth to the Chinese revolution is the fundamental factor which hastens the advent of the new revival of the revolution. The inability to solve the agrarian question by reformist methods, the difficulty of emerging from the economic crisis, the conflicts within the ruling classes, the inevitable intensification of the imperialist conflicts, the increased exploitation and the worsening of the living conditions of the large masses, — such are the general conditions which inevitably lead to the new revolutionary revival. During the last months a fresh revival has been observed in the ranks of the labour movement (a series of important economic strikes throughout the country). In a number of provinces a mighty peasant movement is in progress. The failure of the crops in many Chinese districts, the high cost of living and the famine, are even further fanning the movement of the worn out masses, urging them on to new revolutionary battles.

12. The Chinese Communist Party should meet this revival fully armed and equipped. The fundamental task of the Party, as laid down by the VI. Congress of the Comintern, is "the struggle for the masses", i. e. the mass activity among the workers and peasants, the restoration of the organisations, taking advantage of every manifestation of discontent against the landlords, bourgeoisie, generals, and foreign imperialists, to develop the revolutionary struggle, and to this end it is essential to strengthen the Party itself in every way. The slogan of the mass revolt becomes transformed into a propagandist slogan, and only to the extent of the real preparation of the masses and the maturing of the new revolutionary upheaval, it may again become the slogan of immediate practice upon the highest basis, under the banner of the proletarian and peasant dictatorship, upon the basis of the Soviets.

13. The Communist Parties throughout the world, including our own Party, should at the present time carry on serious preparations for the forthcoming revival of the revolutionary wave in China. "Defence of the Chinese revolution" should become a constant slogan of agitation and propaganda in the C. P. It is necessary to explain to the workers of the U. S. S. R., and of the West, the importance of the Chinese revolution to the overthrow of imperialism, to the cause of their own emancipation. It is necessary to expose the bloody crimes of the British, Japanese, French, and the other imperialists in China, it is necessary to expose the social-democrats who aided and abetted these crimes. The world bourgeoisie and its helpers — the social-traitors of all shades — are depicting the Canton Revolt as a "putsch" engineered by Bolshevik agents, etc. The best reply of the toilers throughout the world to this filthy calumny on the part of the social-democrats, is to transform the day of the anniversary of the Canton Revolt into the day of the international solidarity of the working class, into the day of the fraternal unity of the proletarians of the West with the oppressed workers and peasants of the East. On the day of the Canton revolt our Party organisations should also check up their activities that are directed towards helping the Chinese Revolution. With the aid and active support of the world proletariat the Chinese Revolution will achieve the decisive victory over the native and foreign oppressors of the toiling masses of the Chinese people.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

London Girls Fighting Rich Clothing Employers.

A strike has been going on in North London (**Edmonton**) since the beginning of October, which by its spirit and tenacity has compelled the admiration and support of wide sections of London workers, and aroused attention all over England. The strikers are the factory employees (over 800 in number, the great majority women and young girls) of a well-known clothing firm, **Rego Clothiers, Ltd.**, which has increased its profits every year since 1921, and now have an ordinary capital of £ 252,000, six sevenths of which consists of bonus shares.

Until five months ago the factory of this firm was established in another district of London, Shoreditch, and the conditions there were sufficiently tolerable to ensure smooth working. The workers were members of the **Tailors and Garment Workers' Union**, and were able to secure some consideration of grievances as they arose. A girl striker describes the atmosphere of this period as one of "contented slavery".

Lately, however, exploitation in the factory has been intensified, by subdivision of processes and other means, and complaints have been systematically ignored. The transferring of operations to the Edmonton factory, which is part of a re-organisation that will increase the firm's profits by 75%, necessitated the girls spending out of their lower wages about 4 s. a week in extra fares. The girls demanded that their union should take these matters up, and at the beginning of September a trade union representative accompanied a deputation of machinists to the management. The result was a temporary increase, very reluctantly conceded, of 1/2 d per garment, to be reviewed in a month's time. Such an advance was of course ridiculously inadequate. The average wage earned during that month was still from 5% to 15% less than before the reorganisation. An experienced presser, for example, a typical case, earned 25/- a week, out of which she would have to spend 3s 9d in fares, and 9/- in rent. Many girls earned very much less.

In spite of this, at the end of the month the firm repudiated their promises to review the wage question: refused to meet any representatives of the union, struck a blow for non-unionism by supporting the action of certain renegades from the union who refused to continue their membership. Naturally the workers expected their union to fight this attack, which not merely perpetuated the present bad conditions, but aimed at destroying the organisation with a view to facilitating further attacks. To their extreme indignation the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Executive would not sanction a strike; so without official recognition they came out, and under the leadership of a strike committee, with the Communist London organiser of the T. G. W. U. at the head, have fought for six weeks against the employers and the bureaucrats. They are demanding, as preliminaries to the establishment of better wages and conditions, recognition of the union and no employment of non-unionists.

It took a week to perfect the strike machinery, and from that time all London, and soon the provinces, were made aware of the strike. All the shops where Rego Clothiers retail their goods are being continuously picketed; in addition, a motor lorry full of girls has made tours of the shops, broadcasting through a megaphone a call "to have no dealings with the firm until it pays trade union rates and recognises the union". Deputations to other factories (London Woollen Company, and Schneiders') where work was being sent from the Rego, induced the workers there to refuse to handle it: two truck-loads of work sent to Leeds (in the North of England) came back untouched. The newspapers were watched, and deputations visited those (including the labour "Daily Herald") which printed false statements about the strike, to demand corrections. Recruiting for the trade union is being successfully carried on among sympathetic workers in other shops. The greatest enthusiasm prevails among the girls. By open-air meetings, and bands of singers (singing not only their own

special songs, but international revolutionary songs as well) they carry their message to all parts of the city and collect funds for the strike. Good contributions have been made by the transport workers at the tram and bus garages, and by other workers at their shops, at the cinemas and in the street; and sums have been voted by union branches of electrical workers, shipbuilding — draughtsmen, blind workers, compositors, and others.

The police have of course attempted in many places to hamper their movements, prohibiting their marches, following them round on bicycles and endeavouring to drive them home, but have met with unexpectedly spirited resistance on the part of the strikers. No pains have been spared by the employers to bully the girls into submission. They have tried employing blacklegs (a girl striker was arrested for throwing flour over one of them): but it is not pleasant to go to work at the Rego factory and face the scorn of the pickets. They have sent foremen to the homes of some girls, but in every case they have been sent about their business. They sent each individual employee a registered letter of dismissal and intimated that any applications for re-instatement must be made early, or it would not be considered; the net result was that one girl returned!

And the Executive Committee of the T. G. W. U.? While the workers have been fighting for the preservation and recognition of the union which they have built up for their defence, and from which the officials draw their salaries, the Executive has not only refused strike pay but has withheld from the branch conducting the strike the sum of £ 70 due to it for its current expenses. At the same time it has demanded the immediate payment of a portion of local union funds (£ 37) which in the ordinary way would go to headquarters, but in the circumstances has been used to sustain the strikers. It is due to the solidarity of other sections of workers that strike pay has been forthcoming, and is even increasing.

Rumours are circulating that the treacherous officials have been conducting conversations with the Masters' Federation, with a view to issuing a joint statement repudiating the strike; and in the light of their conduct throughout, it appears highly probable that the rumours are well-founded.

The Labour Party, true to its reluctance to be associated with the militant class struggle, has been very niggardly of support. It was only after considerable pressure that they allowed a party of thirty Rego workers to appear at their big rally at the Albert Hall, to sing and collect for the strike; and though the audience gave them a magnificent reception, not a word appeared in the „Daily Herald” about it.

In sharp contrast stands the role of the Communist Party and Young Communist League in the strike. As already mentioned, the leader of the strike committee is a Communist: Communist speakers actively assist at their meetings, branches of the Party have collected and voted funds for the strike. And the Communist press, together with that of the Minority Movement and Left Wing, has given prominence to the struggle from the beginning, calling upon men trade unionists to give active help to the young girl pickets.

The Rego strike, although not comparable in dimensions to the great strikes which have riveted world-wide attention recently, has all the characteristic features of the struggles of the present period, when the workers have to fight not only the employers and the police but reactionary officialdom also, and can only find the necessary leadership in the Communist Party and the Left Wing. If the strikers maintain their present militant tactics there is every prospect of a victory that will encourage other sections of the exploited needle-trades workers to do likewise.

The Position of Working Women in Roumania.

By K. P., Bucharest.

The lot of the working women in Rumania is a hard one; economically, politically and socially they are oppressed; moreover, they are exploited in a most shameful fashion.

A working woman correspondent has written to the trade-union womens paper "The Woman Worker", in Temesvar, to the following effect concerning this exploitation:

"The working day in the knitted-goods factory in Aros is 11 to 12 hours long. The wages are a mere pittance. A working girl, who has been three years in the factory, gets from 8 to 10 lei an hour (1 lei equals a farthing). The management decides how much each girl has to produce in a day. The treatment is very bad. If a girl in the sewing department looks up from her work, she is bullied and fined. The girls are often beaten; indeed, the manager himself takes a hand in this when a case is brought to his attention. There is no place reserved for meals. The water tap runs only for an hour or two per day.

"No extra pay is given for overtime. The girls work on piece rates, without, however, having any possibility of checking their pay. The sanitary arrangements are abominable: No ventilation, the closet may be used only in the dinner hour, the girls are forbidden to eat in the factory. When dinner-hour comes, the girls must go into the street to eat or into the nearest tavern, which is a hotbed of prostitution. The starvation wages paid to the girls promote the rapid spread of prostitution. In Rumania people say: 'Prostitution has ceased to be a specific profession'."

Public care of mothers and children exist only on paper. In the whole of Rumania there is only one textile mill with a crèche; this is in Temesvar, and the crèche is used by the management for advertising purposes. The only district in which there are kindergartens is Transsylvania, where they are vestiges of the Soviet regime, but these are not accessible to the working women, as a uniform must be bought and other costs defrayed. The children are obliged to go to church.

In spite of the terror exercised by the police and the secret police, poverty and starvation are causing a movement among the working women and the wives of workers. In the strikes at Klausenburg, Grosswardein, etc., the women were the most active element. In Grosswardein they made an attack upon the reformist strike-breakers, an act for which many of them had to suffer long imprisonment. In the street demonstrations the workwomen and the workmens' wives by no means lagged behind the men. The same thing happened last year at the demonstration of the unemployed of Arad, led by the revolutionary trade union, in which demonstration 500 women attacked the Labour Inspectors. Such was also the case last year in the mining district, where the miners wives, deceived by the reformist leaders and by the leaders of the national peasants' party after the conference at Alba Julia, destroyed the factory stores, which had been closed owing to the procession of ten thousands miners to Alba Julia.

Poverty and the burden of taxation and the remnants of the feudal system are also causing the peasant women of Rumania to stir. Highly indignant, the bourgeois papers have asked the National Peasant Party what the women wanted in Alba Julia. The peasant women appeared there and clamoured for the satisfaction of their demands. Last year there was a spontaneous movement of peasant women and war widows for an increase of pensions, a movement which developed into mass demonstrations of peasant women, who met in the towns and, unfortunately, came under the influence of the big peasants.

Recently the Hungarian Party of the landed proprietors, whose estates were, in conjunction with the colonisation policy of the Rumanian bourgeoisie in the territories allocated to Rumania after the war, distributed among Rumanian peasants for colonisation, started systematic work on roping in the working women and the peasant women. The newly founded Association of Evangelical Women in Torda already has a number of groups among the Hungarian working and peasant women. The slogan used is: union with Hungary.

There is also at work a big movement of all the organisations hostile to us towards mobilisation of the women: womens' organisations of the national minorities, Catholic peoples' organisations, Orthodox Rumanian Womens' Association. The last named has set up in Bucharest a soup-kitchen for unemployed working women; this year it is organising for the first time a "Mothers' Day", and is arranging a course for the training of nurses.

The Communist Party of Rumania, which is one of the most important sections of the front of the approaching imperialistic war, must consider not only the animation of the movement of workwomen and peasant women, but also pay heed to the work of hostile organisations towards taking up this movement, and properly direct the work of the Party among the masses of work women and peasant women in order, on the one hand, to get these masses into the united front of the workers and peasants and, on the other hand, to expose and discredit the bourgeois nationalist and clerical womens' organisations in the eyes of the working masses.

The Female Political Prisoners in the Central Prison of Sofia.

(Letter to "Inprecorr".)

On the occasion of the last mass arrests many women were, as usual, affected. These are chiefly the wives of political prisoners and emigrants, as also the widows of the murdered, women, who, associated in the general amnesty committee, have repeatedly carried on campaigns for the execution of an immediate complete amnesty and for the abolition of the "State protection laws".

Below a few of the most outrageous cases are enumerated, cases, which once more bring before the eyes the inhuman conditions in the prisons of Bulgaria. The women kept in the central prison of Sophia are:

Giuka Beltsheva, from Chepelare, 45 years old, was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for keeping her brother-in-law, who "vanished completely", in hiding. She was a widow with 5 children, of whom 4 are still minors. Her house was set on fire.

Adele Nikolova, born in Grenoble, France, 44 years old, was sentenced to be hanged for hiding Grancharov, member of the peasants federation, and Friedmann, a Communist, and others. She is a widow and the mother of a son who was released under the amnesty in February 1926 and went to France. First of all she was sentenced for life, but the sentence was later reduced to 15 years, of which she has already served 3½ years. Her flat and all her valuables were confiscated by the police and sold.

Ditka Todorova of Ochrid, 40 years old, was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for keeping in hiding her husband's nephew, Borimechka. She has already served 3½ years. She is a widow and the mother of two young children, whom the authorities have left to their fate. Her house was attacked and fired upon, whereby Borimechka, who had till then lain low, succeeded in getting away to a neighbouring wood, where he fought for hours against the whole garrison of Sophia, and finally met with a heroic death. Ditka Todorova's husband and the seventeen years old son of Borimechka were murdered in the building of the political police, after being terribly maltreated.

Zola Dragojcheva (Sonja), 30 years old, a teacher from Bela Slatina, was sentenced to death by hanging, as an organiser, which sentence was commuted to life-long imprisonment, on account of pregnancy, and was later reduced to 15 years. Her little son Tuchavdar, who was born in prison, is now two and a half years old.

Kunka Apostolova, a girl student, 24 years old, was sentenced, as an organiser, to 12½ years' imprisonment, of which she has now served 3½ years, her sentence has been reduced, it is true, but she still has 5 years to serve.

Of the five political prisoners still kept in the central prison of Sofia, three are accessories after the act and the other two have been condemned to severe punishments for their political activity. These courageous and honest women have been repeatedly put into dark cells or otherwise punished, and constantly terrorised on account of trifling offences, aye, often on account of bad humour on the part of the warders, who never lose an opportunity of showing their "strong hand".

A female prisoner who was recently discharged from the central prison describes the state of affairs there in the following manner:

What is the condition of the cell? A cave in the basement, dark, damp, and cold, with heavy iron door and grating. The women are confined here for special punishment. In this cave some of the female political prisoners have remained as long as 15 days on the bare cement floor, on bread and water. On many occasions these women and others have been given one to three days' dark cells for defending their rights or protesting against inhuman treatment.

Comrades Adele, Zola and Ditka, with their heavy sentences, are allowed to receive visits from relatives for a period of ten minutes once a month, behind double iron gratings. These visits are a torture rather than a joy. The prisoners stand like wild beasts behind the bars and are not allowed to shake hands with their friends. As there is always a warder present, it is naturally impossible to speak a frank word. The two other prisoners, who are sentenced to shorter terms, are allowed to receive visitors every Wednesday, but under the same miserable conditions.

Now, in winter, the cell doors are unlocked at six in the morning and the women take their breakfast at the common table assigned to them, and afterwards they clean up their cells. In the afternoon, the cells are again locked until three o'clock, and at six o'clock they are locked again. The whole night the prisoners remain locked up in their cells. The two walks permitted each day take place in the small court yard, which is six yards by five. The prisoners are allowed to write only one letter a month, and even this letter has many delections by the censor.

In the cells adjoining those of the political prisoners there are criminals, among whom there are always some suffering from venereal disease. The danger of contagion compels the political prisoners to keep still more aloof from the other prisoners. The wash-room and the closet are hotbeds of disease. The fixtures in the wash-room are handled by prisoners suffering from leprosy, syphilis, gonorrhoea and other diseases of all kinds. The food is abominable. It is nearly always beans, and occasionally beans and meat or onions or rice, but the diet in general is an unsavoury mess, which must often be thrown away. The prisoners prefer dry bread to the disgusting slops.

The delivery of money, sent by the international proletariat, to imprisoned comrades is strictly forbidden by the prison administration. The selection of books, too, is severely restricted by the administration.

The life of the prisoners is a hell, but they suffer their heavy punishments with heroic patience. The international proletariat must help these unfortunate ones through manifestations of solidarity.