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CONTENTS

Palme Dutt: The Peace of MacDonald and Hoover.

Fang Shin She: Fresh War Confusion in China.

L. Schüller: The Party Congress of the Austrian Social Democracy.

P. Dragachevatz: The Situation in Afghanistan.

The Balkans.

P. Dragachevatz: The Yugoslavian Proclamation.

Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Harry Pollitt: The C. P. of Great Britain and the Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The White Terror.

Alex G. Richman: The Gastonia Trial Resumes.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.

V. Molotov: The Internal Position of the Soviet Union and the Tasks of the Immediate Future (Conclusion).

R. O.: The Volga-Don Canal.

Hands off the Soviet Union.

Fresh Murders and Torture of Soviet Citizens in Manchuria.
The Trial of the 38 Soviet Citizens in Harbin.

In the Camp of Social Democracy.

Idris Cox: The British Labour Party Conference at Brighton.

Fascism.

Fritz Rück: The Heimwehr Fascists in Carinthia. IV.
Trade Union Movement.

Paul Merker: Two Congresses of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

A. J. Smolan: The Finnish Social Democrats are Splitting the Trade Union Federation.

Against Colonial Oppression.

Gore Graham: Japanese Repression in Korea.

Henri Ch. Rosemond: U. S. A. Imperialism in Haiti.
In the International.

The Constance Conference (Conclusion).

Children's Movement.

Ernst: The Fight for the Rising Generation.

Fight against Right Danger.

A. Leontiev: Characteristics of Soviet Economy. III.

The Peace of MacDonald and Hoover.

By R. Palme Dutt.

The two chief Imperialist Powers have proclaimed once again a "peace" between themselves and to the world at large. The "Labour" MacDonald and the Conservative Hoover, at the head of the two most powerful systems of armed force and world brigandage in history, have proclaimed the continuation of their "moral force" for the maintenance of world peace.

Thus to the "peace" documents which have littered the diplomacy of since the war, to the League of Nations Covenant, to the Locarno Pact, and to the Kellogg Pact, all proclaiming eternal peace, is added now this "historic" MacDonald-Hoover Declaration. The abundance and frequency of these declarations of pacific intentions may well arouse the suspicions of the most indifferent; were war really "unthinkable", it would not be necessary at such frequent intervals to profess the intentions of peace, nor to receive each successive profession with such a blazon of trumpets as the dawn of a new era. Behind these loud professions of peace sounds unmistakably the music of the coming war.

This declaration of pious generalities is the total outcome, so far as the published results go, of the much boomed MacDonald-Hoover Conference. What more took place in the actual discussions is still only the subject of speculation and unofficial reports. All more concrete approach to actual problems was wiped out in the final version of this agreed document,

which, press correspondents inform us, was heavily censored, Bowdlerised and stripped of practically all positive contents, before even this measure of agreement could be reached.

What is the significance of this MacDonald-Hoover gesture? It has a twofold aspect, and both aspects need to be sharply distinguished and analysed. First, as a diplomatic manoeuvre in the world of imperialist blocs and antagonisms. Second, as a typical form of social-democratic and bourgeois pacifist propaganda, performing the role of covering the realities of war preparations with the phrases of peace.

For Social Democracy, the significance of the event is the proclamation of war as "unthinkable" (the surest evidence that it is being thought of), the guaranteeing of world peace, the triumph of "organised world capitalism". It is a "revolution in diplomacy", declares the Daily Herald. The fact that the Kellogg Pact has already proclaimed the outlawry of war, and should therefore, if taken seriously, make further declarations superfluous, does not disturb these prophets of the new era. The Kellogg Pact, points out the Daily Herald, was only an oath to refrain from war. But now MacDonald and Hoover have "sworn that the two nations will keep their oaths to refrain from war" (11. 10. 29). This little sophistry is solemnly offered to the millions of the Labour Party as the "revolution" achieved by the MacDonald-Hoover declaration.

This propaganda of hypocritical phrases of peace, when backed by all the pomp of state ceremonial, by the million-tongued chorus of the capitalist press, and by the ramifications of the social-democratic machine, may for a period succeed in shutting the eyes of masses of workers to the danger of war. But the realities are so sharply contrary that they cannot but increasingly break through in the consciousness of ever larger numbers of workers; and it is the task of our propaganda to bring out these realities and awaken this consciousness.

The two Powers which now proclaim their pacific intentions are the two most strongly armed Powers in the world. If we turn to the Labour Party's own "Yearbook" for 1928, we learn that the expenditure of the British Empire on armaments, in the latest year there recorded, amounted to no less than £ 176 millions, and of the United States to £ 120 millions. Next to these came France with £ 53 millions, Italy with £ 45 millions and Japan with £ 43 millions. Of the total world armaments expenditure, amounting to some £ 650 millions, Britain and the United States represent no less than 45%. These are the two Powers which, thus armed to the teeth, preach "peace" to the world, and their aim "to gain security, not by military organisation, but by peaceful means rooted in public opinion".

The "peace of the Anglo-Saxons" which these two world brigands and warlords preach to the nations at large is the passive acceptance of their own world domination and exploitation in every quarter of the globe, leaving the field clear for their own ultimate conflict for the final spoils. "I am not afraid", declared recently the Labour Cabinet Minister, Lord Passfield, better known as the hero of Fabianism, Sidney Webb, "of the British Empire being considered as British domination of the world. In spite of mistakes that may have been made, it is rather a wonderful instrument for the progress and good of the world, and I want to see it continue and endure". (Lord Passfield at the Canada Club dinner at the Savoy Hotel, Daily Herald 10. 10. 29).

But what of "disarmament"? It is notorious that the provisional Anglo-American Naval Agreement reached represents in fact, not the decrease, but the increase of armaments. A show of decrease may be made by the non-replacement of obsolete capital ships. But in the crucial competitive category, cruisers, the agreement openly provides for an increase. The present cruiser strength of Britain is placed at 300,000 tons. The "parity" to be reached in 1936 is fixed at 340,000 tons. The United States is to carry out practically the whole of its enormous naval building programme. And if France, Italy and Japan are to reach the prescribed levels, they will have to enter on heavy building programmes. The responsible British bourgeois organ, the "Economist", writes of the agreement:

"To represent this provisional agreement as an important step towards naval reduction is sheer mystification" ("Economist" 21. 9. 29).

What, then, is the practical significance of the MacDonald-Hoover Conference and declaration?

The "pacific" negotiations and gesture are in fact the reflection of the sharpening of Anglo-American antagonism, and a specific stage in its development (comparable to similar gestures of Anglo-German "friendship" before the last war). They hold the possibility of a temporary period during which British and American Imperialism may work together for certain purposes, at the same time as their major antagonisms develop within this process.

The sharpening of Anglo-American antagonism is based inevitably in the economic situation, in the ever intensifying commercial and financial rivalry of the descending British Imperialism and the ascending American Imperialism throughout the world. It has shown recently at sharp points in the D'Abernon South American Mission, in the Young Plan and the question of the International Bank, in the new American Tariff proposals, and in the whole financial fight of the pound and the dollar and the gold offensive against the City of London. The accompanying strategic rivalry reached a dangerously rapid ripening under the Conservative Baldwin Government, with the breakdown of the Geneva Naval Conference and the Anglo-French Naval Agreement. "It is only a few short months" writes the Daily Herald (11. 10. 29), endeavouring to

point the contrast with the Labour Government, "since the possibilities of an Anglo-American war were being seriously considered by every Foreign Office in the world."

But neither Power was ready for so rapid an advance to ultimate conflict; and the world situation, particularly the continued growth in strength of the Soviet Union, gave pause. Britain was still economically and financially exhausted and needing a period of attempted restoration. The United States had still to complete its strategic preparations and to carry through its building programme. It was thus in the interests of both Imperialisms to establish a breathing space, or stage of Armed Truce, during which the strategic rivalry and antagonism would take a measured form. The negotiating of an Armed Truce became the special and appropriate rôle of the MacDonald Labour Government, whose replacing of the Baldwin Government has suited the interests of the bourgeoisie at the present period.

This Armed Truce, insofar as it opens out the possibility of even a limited measure of Anglo-American co-operation in certain spheres (at the same time as the antagonism develops in other spheres) is likely to weigh heavily on the world. The power of Anglo-American armaments, combined with the American finance, is the power of the heaviest world oppression against every rising force, against the working class, against the colonial peoples and against the Soviet Union. The main principal retarding forces to the outbreak of inter-imperial war, is enormously intensified. Unofficial reports refer to the question of relations to the Soviet Union as figuring prominently in the conversations of MacDonald and Hoover. This aspect of the whole negotiations is the dominantly important aspect to the world proletariat.

At the same time, the deepening of the imperialist antagonisms, even within the negotiations and agreement, is evident at every point. The naval agreement has already revealed the triumph of strategic war calculations over even the prospect of disarmament. And the negotiations of MacDonald and Hoover have opened up a whole further series of acute questions, not one of which was it possible to reach an agreement in the joint declaration, but all of which have had to be remitted for further discussion. In particular, the question of the "freedom of the seas", which is now being pressed hard on the American side, raises once again the questions of sea-power. With the ending of "the era of British supremacy at sea", declares the New York "World", the question can no longer remain. MacDonald has taken the question to "study". At the same time, America has pressed for the demilitarisation of the British naval bases in Bermuda, Jamaica and Halifax. "The effort to reduce American cruiser strength", writes the Chicago Tribune, "below the minimum advised by naval authorities makes the maintenance of foreign bases along the American coast incompatible with the principle of parity and inconsistent with any theory of confidence in peace co-operation". But the Daily Telegraph reports that, to Hoover's demand to demilitarise the British bases in the Caribbean, MacDonald countered with the demand to demilitarise the Panama Canal Zone. On the other hand, the British attempt to raise the question of the debts and the tariffs are reported to have met with a blank wall of American opposition. On these questions, writes the Daily Herald, "no hopes can be held out to the British public". Through all these interchanges can be seen the manifold continuance of antagonism through the forms of negotiation.

When the Five Power Conference meets in London, to discuss Anglo-American issues will be added the complications of French, Italian and Japanese policy. "We shall do well to moderate our expectations of the Five Power Conference", writes the English journalist, J. A. Spender. Not only does the semi-official expression of these three Powers already excite the liveliest suspicion to the whole Anglo-American approach, and, in particular, opposition on the submarine question, but well as against simple relegation to categories provided for by hand by Anglo-American dictatorship, but in addition there arises the special Franco-Italian rivalry on the naval question. French policy is further preparing to take up the question of the "freedom of the seas". At the end of last year the Soviet Naval Commission passed unanimously a resolution against participation in any conference for the limitation of naval armaments.

its unless the question of the freedom of the seas were first led. The "Matin" writes:

"We shall have at London an interesting hand to play — the freedom of the seas. And we shall have in it powerful partners. We can force certain players to lay down their cards" (Matin 11. 10. 29).

Through all these manoeuvrings and negotiations alongside parade of "pacific" gestures, the sharpening of imperialist agonisms and war calculations on every side shows ever clearly. For Social Democracy, the pacific gestures provide basis for their propaganda of the "new era of peace"; is their most important rôle in the preparation of war, MacDonald's whole tour in America is in essence a large picture of the rôle of Social Democracy. It is for the Communist Parties to tear aside the hypocrisies of the gestures, phrases of "peace", and awaken the consciousness of the workers to the realities of growing antagonisms and the imminence of war, which is evidenced no less in these "pacific" manoeuvres than in the direct war preparations.

CHINA

Fresh War Confusion in China.

Opening of the Fight by the Feng Yu-hsiang, Wang Ching-wei and Chang Hua Kui Bloc against Chiang Kai-shek.

By Tang Shin She.

By his heroic acts, the raid on the Chinese Eastern Railway and the war provocations against the Soviet Union, Chiang Kai-shek not only wished to prove his allegiance to the imperialists but before all to bring about a solution of the inner crisis, i. e. to do away with the alliance against him of Feng Yu-hsiang, Yen Hsi-shan and Chang Hsueh-liang and the bloc of the politicians, the so-called Reorganisationists. The actual result was the exact contrary. Already at the beginning of August the whole of the functionaries of the Kuomintang wished to lay down their offices. The capitalists in Shanghai refused to subscribe to the new armament loan. As a result Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law, the Minister for Finance Sung Tse Wen, and the Minister for Railways Sun Chuan-shan were compelled to remain for weeks in Shanghai and to resign.

Chiang Hua Kui's declaration of war, the demonstration of Wang Ching-wei, Kuo Min Yu and others against Chiang Kai-shek, and the demand by Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan that Sun Fo and other high officials be removed all serve to express the serious form of the crisis.

It is known that Feng Yu-hsiang has long desired to win over the so-called Reorganisationists, such as Wang Ching-wei and others from the side of Chiang Kai-shek. Shortly before the third Party Congress of the Kuomintang the demand for the return of Wang Ching-wei became very loud in the Kuomintang apparatus of Feng Yu-hsiang. Since then the Reorganisationists have become the mouthpiece and the advance troop of Feng Yu-hsiang. When Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to incite Yen Hsi-shan against Feng Yu-hsiang only resulted in these two lords joining forces, Chiang Kai-shek suddenly declared that Feng Yu-hsiang was not at all hostile to either the party or the government but that the Reorganisationists alone were responsible for the conflict. As a matter of fact Chiang Kai-shek is perfectly aware that before the Party Congress the Reorganisationists did just what he wished, but that after the Party Congress they do what Feng Yu-hsiang orders. Thus the declaration of war on Chiang Kai-shek by Wang Ching-wei and his associates affects not only southern China but the whole country.

After Chiang Hua Kui's declaration of war on Chiang Kai-shek in Ichang, the latter immediately had the president of the Anhwei Government, General Fang King Wu, arrested as the instigator of the whole business. Fang King Wu is an old Chinese militarist and has been for years a good and faithful archman of Chiang Kai-shek. Although he was a general without soldiers, Chiang Kai-shek, after the defeat of the Kwangsi group and the retreat of Feng Yu-hsiang from Shanghai and Honan, made him governor-general of Anhwei. What is the reason for Fang King Wu's suddenly abusing this con-

fidence? Here the case is similar to that of Yen Hsi-shan and Chang Hsueh-liang. Both are in reality enemies of Feng Yu-hsiang; but as they feel their very existence threatened by Chiang Kai-shek's strivings for power, they prefer to throw in their lot with the former.

A special danger for the old militarists under the flag of Chiang Kai-shek is the disarmament, which is particularly directed against their own troops. Fang King Wu has no direct contact with Chang Hua Kui and his associates. If Chiang Kai-shek designates him an instigator, then this cannot be solely in connection with the action of Chang Hua Kui, but we must understand it as meaning that he is an instigator of a conspiracy among the old Chinese militarists who are under the flag of Chiang Kai-shek, which conspiracy is directed against the latter and has behind it an army of nearly two hundred thousand men. The numerous mutinies of the soldiers in the armies of the old militarists are a clear proof of this. It is therefore clear that behind the declaration of war on Chiang Kai-shek by the Reorganisationists there stand also the old Chinese militarists.

The Reorganisationists Wang Ching-wei, Chang Hua Kui and Co. have still a narrower basis for the fight against Chiang Kai-shek. The ruler of south west Fukien, General Chiang Kin, was the first to demand of Chiang Kai-shek the return of Wang Ching-wei in order that he might take over the leadership of the party. Chiang Kai-shek is, therefore, conducting a fierce struggle against him under the pretext of "exterminating the Communist partisans". Owing to the defeat of the Kwangsi group a secret supporter of the reorganisationists, General Yu Tso Peh has now taken over power in the provinces of Kwangsi. He is openly carrying on propaganda for this group. In addition, Cheng Hua Kui is rallying the remaining troops of the Kwangsi group in the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung. Finally, there is Tang Sen Dji, who wishes to shatter the power of Chiang Kai-shek and regards Wang Ching-wei as his ally.

This grouping, which possesses in the territory under its control favourable strategical points for a march on Canton, forms the basis for the creation of a new government of the Reorganisationists in South China. Chang Hua Kui's call for the return to Canton has created tremendous confusion in the ranks of Chiang Kai-shek.

The news emanating from Nanking regarding the fight between Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hua Kui in Hunan and Hupeh speak of a defeat of the latter. Whether these reports are true or whether they are intended for propaganda purposes by Nanking is another question. As a matter of fact Chiang Hua Kui is not marching to Hankow and Nanking, but wishes to arrive with the least possible hindrance via Hunan at Kwangsi. The present Hunan ruler, a follower of Tang Sen Dji, is highly dissatisfied with Chiang Kai-shek and will certainly offer no serious resistance to Chiang Hua Kui. Shortly after Chiang Hua Kui's declaration of war on Chiang Kai-shek the troops of the former were already in Changteh, from which place they can in a few weeks reach the frontiers of Kwangsi, and here, on the march from Kwangsi to Canton, will it come to real fighting. The allies of Chiang Hua Kui who are still able to remain silent, will of course not reveal their real attitude. On the contrary! True to their old methods, they are making a final attempt to squeeze money and arms from Chiang Kai-shek.

It goes without saying that there is nobody now who believes that Chiang Kai-shek is bringing any benefit to the people. In view, however of their beautiful speeches and phrases there will still be people who believe the Reorganisationists. For this reason the Chinese Communists must launch a great campaign against them, against Wang Ching-wei, Chiang Hua Kui and their associates, who finally wrecked the revolution of 1925/1927 and had hundreds of Canton communards shot on the occasion of the December revolt of 1927. The rôle of the bloc of the reorganisationists would only intensify reaction and worsen to the extreme the economic situation of the toiling masses, a fact which is guaranteed already by the composition of the bloc, i. e., old Chinese militarists up to the leaders of the third party, the renegades Tang Pin Shan etc.

POLITICS

The Party Congress of the Austrian Social Democracy.

By R. Schüller (Vienna).

The eagerly awaited Party Congress of the social-democratic Party of Austria met immediately before the Schober government was to submit to Parliament its proposals regarding the fascist dictatorial constitution. This Party Congress was thus faced with the question, whether the social-democratic party is for or against the alteration of the Constitution, for or against the fascist Schober government, for or against collaboration in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship.

The social-democratic Party Congress has answered these questions loudly and emphatically in the affirmative.

The Party Congress has brought the triumph of social fascism. Summing up in his closing speech Otto Bauer declared himself expressly for a compromise in the Constitution question, that is for the acceptance in principle of the main proposals of the Schober dictatorial constitution.

We cannot better characterise the import and content of the social-democratic party congress than by quoting the words of the chairman of the Party, Seitz:

"And thus there came the Schober Ministry, a Ministry which now has the great task of establishing order, before all in economy... The sooner the new government recognises what a great and powerful factor the working class is, the better and sooner it will succeed in bringing peace and order to the country."

It was the task of the Party Congress to declare what is meant by the collaboration of the social democracy in the restoration of law and order in the country. The Congress plainly and clearly pledged itself to do everything to solve the crisis in Austria in the sense of social fascism in collaboration with the fascist Schober government.

The crisis in Austria has assumed such forms that the classes are confronting each other with weapons in hand and the class struggle has already assumed the form of civil war. The chief hindrance in the way of the setting up of the fascist dictatorship lies in the determined will of the masses of workers to resort to arms against fascism and the establishment of the fascist dictatorship.

The main problem of the Party Congress was the question of arming and disarming. On this point the Congress declared in its resolution:

"The Party Congress regards complete disarmament, the complete dissolution of all defensive formations as the most effective means of securing the peaceful democratic development of the Republic and therewith the undisturbed development of the national economy and the steady advance of the working class."

The Party Congress considers any reform of the Constitution as perfectly futile if it is not connected with internal disarmament."

Social Democracy, at its Party Congress, went so far in its readiness to support the fascist Schober government as to declare that it is prepared to dissolve the Republican Defence Corps. It is prepared to free the bourgeoisie from the uneasiness which it feels, not, it is true, on account of the Republican Defence Corps itself, but in view of the fact that this body has in its ranks tens of thousands of workers. The discipline of the social fascist leaders has again and again proved too weak to hold back individual members of the Republican Defence Corps from revolutionary actions.

The decision of the Party Congress on the question of the reform of the Constitution was clear and unmistakable.

"The Party Congress rejects any limitation of the suffrage; it rejects the reactionary demand to confer on the Federal President the right to issue emergency orders altering existing legislation, and to proclaim a state of emergency; it unconditionally rejects any restriction of the equal rights of the province of Vienna.

While not rejecting the formation of a Federal Economic Council according to the German model, the Party Congress

rejects every attempt to limit the powers of the representative assembly elected by the people by the introduction of a Chamber of States possessing equal powers with the National Council."

That means: The Party Congress is for the alteration of the Constitution, for the dictatorial extension of the rights of the Federal President and only rejects the emergency orders in the state of emergency.

The Party Congress is for an alteration of the constitutional rights of the province of Vienna and only rejects the restriction of its equal rights.

The Party Congress is for the acceptance of the demand for a State constitution and is only against this class of states receiving more powers than Parliament.

As is to be seen, these are only minor objections. In the Party Congress attaches so-called positive conditions to Constitutional reform, these are in fact presents to the bourgeoisie. Thus for example, the electoral reform, according to which each constituency shall return only one member, proposal mainly directed against the Communists.

And Otto Bauer actually declared:

"It is tactically correct that we already in the transition distinguish which of the bourgeois reform proposals are absolutely unacceptable for us and which can be subject of compromise negotiations... There are, of course, in the constitution things which can be the subject of compromise negotiations, for a law which must be decided by a two-thirds majority cannot be passed otherwise by way of compromise."

The social-democratic Party Congress has abandoned the Linz Programme, which states that the working class, if the bourgeoisie abandons the basis of democracy, may do likewise and set up its dictatorship. Today it is declared the only task of the working class is to defend democracy and only democracy. If the bourgeoisie abandons the ground of democracy, then it is necessary to save the bourgeoisie from its own foolishness (Renner), to repel the undemocratic attacks, cause democracy, i. e. bourgeois rule to continue intact. The S. P. poses as a better guardian of bourgeois law and order than the bourgeoisie itself.

Truly, a party of law and order!, a party of social law! The transition to the positions of social fascism is however not easy, particularly at the present time, in view of the revolutionary mood of the working class; and Otto Bauer endeavored to conceal this by risky demagogic manoeuvres. The Party Congress concluded his speech, in which he declared his readiness to co-operate with the fascist Schober government with the following high-sounding phrases:

"If those who govern destroy the basis of law in the country, then there is no longer any basis of law. And where there is no longer any basis of law in a country, the country is in a state of revolution!"

These phrases sound revolutionary, but they are only the voice of the social-democratic leaders who are concerned with law and order and are imploring Schober not to increase further the revolutionary counter-movement in the ranks of the working class, and for this purpose to avail himself of the assistance of social fascism, and in establishing the fascist dictatorship to keep as far as possible to democratic and legal forms.

But even this demagogic indication by Otto Bauer of a "state of revolution" serves to show the true situation.

It is quite out of the question that the constitutional crisis in Austria will be solved by peaceful Parliamentary means. To regard the question would mean to fail to see the dynamism of the class struggle; to fail to distinguish between the revolutionary minded masses of the working class and the social-fascist leaders, and to underestimate the possibilities of the Communist Party. The radicalisation of the working class has repeatedly proved to be greater than the discipline with which the social-democratic leaders seek to hold them in check. The social fascist leaders are not capable of checking the revolutionary upsurge in the working class.

The bourgeoisie knows how to distinguish between the social fascist leaders and the revolutionary working masses. It is seeking the support and the co-operation of the former and is openly preparing for a fascist coup d'etat against the latter.

The Parliamentary voting machine will not solve the constitutional question in Austria. It will be solved by the weapons the Heimwehr and the coup d'état on the one side, and the revolutionary mass action of the working class on the other. They are faced in Austria with great mass struggles.

The Communist Party of Austria must and is adapting its line to these mass struggles.

The Situation in Afghanistan.

By P a g m a n s k y (Moscow).

After a long respite which was used both by **Habibullah** and **Nadir Khan** in order to collect their forces, operations recommenced in the middle of September and led to the taking of **Kabul**. **Nadir Khan** occupied **Kabul** on the 8th October while **Habibullah** withdrew to the Citadel. Only a short while later **Nadir Khan's** troops suffered a defeat in the East and were compelled to evacuate **Jalalabad**. This defeat was, however, more than made good by the insurrection in **Kandahar** which won the district for **Nadir Khan**. In the absence of exact information, it is difficult to say whether the taking of **Kabul** was a final victory for **Nadir Khan** or only a temporary success. It would appear, however, that **Nadir Khan** has won an important victory.

According to our press reports, the evacuation of **Jalalabad** and the insurrection in **Kandahar** which compelled the **Kudistan** troops to retreat, took place almost simultaneously. The **Kudistan** forces were thus engaged on two fronts, and this weakened **Habibullah** in **Kabul** very much. **Nadir Khan** seized the opportunity, crossed the river **Logar** and made a drive along the quickest way to **Kabul**, whereby he divided the **Kudistan** troops engaged in **Kandahar** and **Jalalabad**. It is unclear why **Habibullah** withdrew to the Citadel instead of leaving **Kabul** and going to **Kudistan**. Possibly he was unable to do the latter or he reckoned with assistance from his troops in **Jalalabad** and **Kandahar**. The immediate future will clear up the mysteries surrounding the real situation and the division of forces. Only one thing is clear, and that is that the protracted civil war has reached its culmination point.

Nadir Khan won important successes recently by obtaining the support of the Southern and Eastern tribes. We have not sufficient information in order to judge the actual position of **Nadir Khan** towards **Ammanullah**. According to the **Exchange** **graph** on the 28th February, **Nadir Khan** declared in connection with a demonstration of Indians in **Lahore**, that he would not rest until **Ammanullah** was once again on the throne. Other reports also state that **Nadir Khan**, who is in **Chosta**, is doing his best to win the priests and the tribes for **Ammanullah**. According to other reports, however, **Nadir Khan** is said to have declared that the throne question should be decided by the National Assembly after the taking of **Kabul**. In any case, irrespective of **Nadir Khan's** attitude towards **Ammanullah**, it may be assumed that **Nadir Khan**, who belonged to the moderate wing of the Afghan nationalists, represents those forces which make for unity and independence of Afghanistan.

The **British** Ambassador in **Kabul**, **Humphries**, declared at a time in an interview in **Bombay** that it was "a matter of course" whether **Habibullah** or **Ammanullah** would win. We, however, are of the opinion that the ultimate victory is not a matter of luck, but the result of the organised activity of all those forces which make for unity and independence. We are not aware of **Nadir Khan's** attitude towards the most important problems of home and foreign policy, and we must therefore wait for the programmatic declarations of the new government which will be formed if **Nadir Khan** retains control of **Kabul**. One thing is certain: The government which wants to maintain itself must learn from the lessons of the civil war, must conduct an energetic struggle against the feudal-clerical reaction, must broaden its social basis by fulfilling the most important demands of the Afghan peasants and by guaranteeing the interests of the national minorities (in particular the interests of **Kudistan**). With regard to foreign policy the government must pursue a consistent policy making for the complete independence of Afghanistan.

THE BALKANS

The Yugoslavian Proclamation.

The Crowning of the Great-Serb Policy of National Oppression.

By P. D r a g a s h e v a t z.

The proclamation of "Yugoslavia" in the place of the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes" hitherto in existence and the simultaneous new administrative division of the country introduced on October 2nd, represent the most important political act since the inception of the dictatorship on January 6th of this year. The administrative division of the country sets the crown on the policy of national oppression practised by the Great-Serb regime.

In his manifesto of January 6th, **King Alexander** declared that he would relentlessly punish any attempt to disturb the creation of national unity. Since then the dictatorship has continued to carry on with undiminished vigour and brutality the Great-Serb policy of strengthening the Serb bourgeoisie while economically and culturally oppressing the non-Serb nationalities and persecuting, terrorising, and destroying entire non-Serb provinces.

Quite recently the State Bank published its balance-sheet, which showed that the city of **Belgrade** alone had received more credits than all the rest of the country together. Subsequently the yet more characteristic report of the State Mortgage Bank was published, showing that in 1928 the Serb branches of the Bank at **Nish** and **Belgrade** distributed credits totalling 1,603,937,088 dinars and all the other branches an aggregate of no more than 704,590,806 dinars. If we consider that practically all the credits at **Novisad** (75,077,094 dinars) and at **Skopje** (130,285,154 dinars) were distributed to Serbs, the Serb share in the credits grows to about 1800 million dinars or from 75 to 78 per cent. of the total of 2308 millions. What a privileged treatment of the Serb bourgeoisie this implies is all the more apparent in view of the statistical proportion of the population in Yugoslavia, of which 4.5 millions are Serbs and 8 millions non-Serbs.

A Government decree in the first place abolishes a series of secondary schools, the majority of them being **Croat** schools. The **Croat** community of **Krizevci** determined to reopen the school thus closed down at its own expense, but the relative application to the Ministry was turned down. The latest issue of the **Belgrade** Fascist newspaper "Les Nouvelles Yugoslaves" publishes statistics regarding the schools of the national minorities in Yugoslavia, from which we quote a few figures. At the close of 1928, the Germans had only 30 elementary schools in which German was the language of instruction as against 236 elementary schools in which the language of instruction was Serbo-Croat, while German was taught as a secondary matter. The "Deutsches Volksblatt" publishes a contradiction of this statement, asserting that one third of the German school-children never hear a word of German at school. According to the official statistics of the "Nouvelles Yugoslaves", there are 80 elementary schools with instruction in both the Hungarian and the Serbo-Croat languages. Purely Rumanian schools there are none; only 45 schools with mixed Rumanian and Serbo-Croat or Czecho-Slovak and Serbo-Croat instruction. There are said still to be special national departments in the Serbo-Croat elementary schools, 604 for Germans, 616 for Hungarians, 121 for Slovaks, and 28 for Russians. There are no statistics at all in regard to the schools of the Albanians, Turks, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Greeks, and Rumanians on the territory of pre-war Serbia and Montenegro.

The economic oppression of the non-Serb population is practised mainly in the **Voivodina** against Germans, Hungarians, and Rumanians. With few exceptions, these have been excluded from benefiting under the agrarian reform laws. The feudal lands in Macedonia were not distributed at all among Macedonian peasants but were to the main part appropriated by Serb agents and politicians, the latter including the **King** and **Pashitch**. Part of the land remained in the hands of the old proprietors if they were loyal to the Serb regime. An area of 100,000 hectares was reserved by the dictatorship for the exclu-

sive purpose of being colonised with Serbs, the Government voting for a credit of 30 million dinars for the cultivation of part of this territory.

The most brutal of all was the manner in which the Kossovo region was colonised and "Serbified". Here the authorities force the Albanians to emigrate by accusing them of high treason and selling their property for the purpose of paying their debts and defraying their legal expenses. Every barrister in the Kossovo district must engage to abandon the defence of Albanians in lawsuits as soon as there is any prospect of their succeeding. The Albanians are taxed extraordinarily. For strategic reasons entire villages near the Albanian frontier were expropriated, the Albanians being ousted and the farms being given to Serbs. The expulsion of the Albanians from the interior of Kossovo is effected in a special way, the Serbs being settled not only on land confiscated from landowners but also on free peasant land. Serb settlers enter the Albanian houses and take possession of the land, which is rarely more than from 5 to 10 hectares per farm. After a while the native Albanians are completely ousted by the colonists and driven out of house and home.

From statistics of the national-revolutionary organisations, published in 1929 by the "Balkan Federation" under the heading of a "Memorandum on the Situation of the Oppressed Peoples in the Balkans", it may be gathered that in the course of the last ten years there were more than 600 political murders in Macedonia and 2692 in the district of Kossovo.

The Great-Serb regime has set itself the task of expelling as soon as possible all the Albanians of the Kossovo region and of replacing them with Serbs, so that in time Albanian Kossovo may become completely Serb. Since 1918, more than 10,000 Albanian families with a total of more than 100,000 persons have been forced to emigrate. (The Albanian families are all very numerous, with from 8 to 20 members.) 6500 of these families fled to Albania.

The new decree aims at the full centralisation and standardisation of the country in the Great-Serb sense, which means the utter annihilation of all national characteristics of the non-Serb nationalities. The administrative distribution of the country coincides mainly with the military division. Each of the administrative districts, which are to be known as "Banovinas", comprises from two to three of the old national provinces. Due care has been taken that in the majority of the administrative districts there is a relative Serb majority so that on the occasion of any elections that may take place the Serbs may be sure of a majority. Thus, for instance, the district of Vrbas (Banialuka), comprises parts of Bosnia and Croatia, the district of Podbrezje (Spalato) parts of Croatia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, the district of Drina (Sarajevo) parts of Bosnia, Serbia, and Kossovo, the district of Zeta (Cetinje) parts of Montenegro, Dalmatia, and Hercegovina, the district of Morava (Nish) parts of Serbia, Macedonia, and Kossovo, the district of Vardar (Skoplie) parts of Macedonia and Kossovo, and the district of Dunav (Novisad) parts of Serbia and the Voivodina.

By this division, which does away with all the old national borders and names, the dictatorship intends to destroy all possibility of a fight for national emancipation. At the head of each administrative district there is to be a "banus" or grand prefect appointed by the King and the Prime Minister and endowed with enlarged powers under the immediate control of the Prime Minister.

The great reform of the dictators has been accepted very quietly by all the oppressed nationalities. This silence is alarming for the dictators at Belgrade, for it serves to mask preparations for the emancipatory struggle of the oppressed and exploited nationalities.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the national-revolutionary organisations are faced with the task of organising the masses of the proletariat, poor peasantry and oppressed nationalities in Yugoslavia and leading them to fight against the Belgrade dictators.

TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The C. P. of Great Britain and the Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Harry Pollitt (London).

The Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution will be the occasion of the Communist Party of Great Britain carrying out a great campaign throughout the country. This campaign will assimilate all the experiences we gained through the May 1st and the Anti-War campaign of August 1st. The essence of the campaign will be the sharpest exposure before the masses of the war danger and the necessity of the defeat of the Soviet Union.

The magnificent development of the Five Years Plan of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union, the accelerated industrialisation and socialist transformation of agriculture, the unparalleled initiative and enthusiasm shown by the working masses of the Soviet Union in overcoming the tremendous difficulties that lie in the path of their constructive development have seized the imagination of the most active section of the British working class movement. The workers everywhere are interested in this Five Year Plan because they are in a position to contrast what is happening under a Revolutionary Workers' Government in the Soviet Union, where as a result of socialist construction and rationalisation the standards of the workers are increasing, with the capitalist rationalisation, worsening the workers standards, and war preparations carried out in England under the rule of the pseudo-"Labour" Government. Within the last months miners and textile workers have suffered wage reductions as a result of the policy of the Labour Government, and in the period immediately ahead the railwaymen and miners will have a practical example of how ardently the Labour Government supports the capitalist class in their efforts to resist the demands of these two sections of the working class for higher standards.

The unemployed situation grows more acute, and figures that have been compiled by the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement have actually revealed a greater number of workers in a given period disqualified from receiving Unemployed Benefit during a Labour Government than took place in a similar period under the old Baldwin Government.

The British workers will not fail to understand the significance of this vital contrast between the two governments in Britain and in Russia. The success of the Five Year Plan has even compelled many important capitalist newspapers to draw attention to the meaning of this success, and its menace to capitalism. The introduction of the five-day week, the spirit of socialist competition between the workers in the factories engaged in producing similar products, the methods of increasing productivity are all received with lively interest. Practical experience in explaining the Plan, however, shows that the greatest enthusiasm is engendered amongst the masses when the cultural sides of the Plan, as well as the estimates for increasing wages, shorter hours etc., are dealt with. The workers have the feeling that here for the first time in the history of the world is a tremendous piece of socialist construction being carried out in face of the most formidable obstacles, and admiration and sympathy is the keynote of the workers' response to any exposition of the Five Year Plan.

The Communist Party of Great Britain is naturally using the Five Year Plan as the central point in explaining why the war danger against the U. S. S. R. increases in intensity. Our Party is endeavouring to get this feature of its propaganda across by every means of publicity possible. All our factory papers are featuring some aspect of the Five Year Plan, special leaflets are being distributed in connection with the campaign of the Friends of Soviet Russia for a large delegation to participate in the celebrations of the Twelfth Anniversary.

It is interesting to note that comrades who have participated actively in this campaign of the F. O. S. R. are all convinced that, although the delegation will be smaller than that which went in 1927, yet on this occasion it is not an artificially selected demonstration but one that has been elected

and paid for by the workers themselves as a result of financial sacrifices they have made, and the whole basis of the F. O. S. R. campaign has been upon the explanation of the Five Year Plan and its meaning for the British workers.

Arrangements are being made for the holding of an exhibition at which practical demonstrations can be given before the workers in the large industrial towns of what the Five Year Plan means. This exhibition will be rendered interesting because of the charts, photographs, etc. that will be part of the exhibits, and it will do much to bring vividly before the mass of the workers what is being accomplished in the U. S. S. R.

A special pamphlet is in course of preparation in connection with our anniversary campaign, and we are confident that it will have a big circulation and influence throughout the working-class movement.

The Party recognises in all its literature dealing with the Five Year Plan how the policy of the Labour Government, under a screen of recognition, will be intensifying against the U. S. S. R., for the very successes that have already been achieved are naturally the basis upon which the war preparations will be intensified.

One of the propaganda lessons we are drawing from the spirit of socialist competition is that our Party is endeavouring to show that, whilst in the U. S. S. R. under a Revolutionary Workers' Government the workers are in friendly competition in order to increase productivity, here we must get our Communist Locals in the same spirit of friendly competition to recruit new members, to observe more strictly all financial obligations to the District and Centre, to increase the circulation of the Party paper, to win readers for the daily paper which the Party is to publish on January 1st. This has been seized upon by many Locals and is having a very good effect throughout the Party.

We are confident that the campaign that will be undertaken by the Party in connection with the Twelfth Anniversary will be the most thorough and productive of results that we have yet undertaken. Every opportunity will be taken to show the workers that the plan of socialist construction being put into operation at such a rapid rate is only possible because of the magnificent unity that prevails in the ranks of the Russian Party, which has entered upon its present gigantic task as it entered upon the October Revolution in 1917, with the same singleness of purpose and energy which alone can accomplish the productive achievements that the Five Year Plan has laid down as being a requisite of the basis for Socialism.

Our Party will endeavour to bring to bear in the present campaign the same spirit of sacrifice and energy in order that we shall build up a mass party, organise a powerful Workers' Daily newspaper, and, along the lines of these concrete measures, conquer the majority of the working class and under our leadership lead them to the overthrow of capitalism and to the establishment of a Revolutionary Workers' Government.

This is the obligation the Communist International lays upon its British section, and it will go into the heavy tasks immediately ahead more confidently than ever because it has to inspire it the achievements of the Russian workers under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Gastonia Trial Resumes.

By Alex G. Richman (New York).

The trial of the 13 defendants facing murder charges, and the other Gastonia victims facing assault charges has been resumed as this article is written. Nine of the original 16 defendants have been released with the beginning of the retrial, and the charges against the remaining seven have been reduced to second degree murder — involving a sentence of 30 years if they are found guilty. That they will be convicted seems certain — unless the waves of protest throughout the world rise even more effectively than when Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered.

Here we shall review some of the happenings since the mistrial of a month ago. First, however, it would be well to look into the motives behind the reduction of the charges. This seeming liberality is a very clever move on the part

of the millowners and their government. It is a retreat forced by mass pressure and intended to stop the increasing protests throughout the world by creating the illusion that the bosses admit defeat and drop the attempt to electrocute these workers. Legally it makes the chance of conviction far greater, with the victims sentenced to rot away their lives in jail, in that it reduces the number of peremptory challenges allowed the defence from 168 to 28, while those of the prosecution are reduced from 58 to 14. The state needs no challenges, since their lynching mobs have probably so effectively terrorised the community that the chances of getting as favourable a jury as in the first trial are almost impossible. With only 28 challenges for the defence, a packed millowners' jury is extremely probable.

The frame-up character of the reduced charges is shown by the fact that first degree murder, involving an electrocution sentence, is based upon premeditated conspiracy, whereas second degree murder must by law be without premeditation. How the prisoners could conspire to commit unpremeditated murder is quite easy for capitalist justice to explain. The first trial proved that it was impossible to convict the defendants of murder, even in this barony of textile and power capitalists, since 11 of the 12 jurors were for acquittal, and the twelfth, who favoured conviction, went insane — or at least, so it was said.

The trial judge, Barnhill, refuses to admit to bail the seven defendants, admitting that they would be probably lynched if let out of prison. He never "thought" of calling to guard the defendants the companies of state militia and scores of deputy sheriffs summoned to guard the mills. That might interfere with Solicitor Carpenter's organising lynching and flogging mobs, and just now that gentleman is too busy prosecuting the case for the state.

Barnhill showed his "fairness", by insisting that veniremen who openly admitted prejudice against the defendants could serve as jurors, thus forcing the defence to use up their few challenges without the possibility of getting favourable jurors. He insisted, after the first panel of 100 from Charlotte was exhausted and fifteen of the defence's challenges used up in selecting five jurors, that the rest of the veniremen be chosen from rural sections and none from such industrial centres as Charlotte, where the I. L. D., W. I. R., Union and C. P. has done much work. He also changed the procedure so that the prosecution had the last word in selecting the jurors, whereas in the first trial the defence had the right of final acceptance or rejection.

Besides this case, there are pending the farcical trial of seven fascists for flogging Ben Wells, union organiser, with no date set for the trial, and the likelihood that none will be set; the trial of other gangsters for the murder of Ella May Wiggins, mother of 5 children and Union organiser; the trial of "unknown" persons for the bestial flogging of Cleo Tessneair, union member, in which 4 investigations have resulted in not one apprehension of those responsible; the trial of Liston Oak, Daily Worker correspondent, for carrying a gun etc. The attempt to frame up 8 workers for attempting to overthrow the government was dropped as too patent a frame-up, and that against Caroline Drew, W. I. R. organiser, on a liquor charge also had to be dropped.

On the night the mistrial was declared, September 9, the Black Hundred mill thugs, led by the Manville-Jenckes lawyer, Major Bulwinkle, and the state solicitor, Carpenter, began the campaign of murder, dynamiting, flogging and attempted lynchings. They kidnapped Wells, textile organiser from Lancashire, England, and almost beat him to death. Two days later another attempt to lynch an organiser, F. Fortner, at Dallas, was frustrated by his driving the mob away with gunfire. On Sept. 12, 8 organisers were arrested charged with sedition, but the case was later dropped for lack of evidence. On Sept. 14 Ella May Wiggins was murdered at the South Gastonia mass meeting, preceding which the local press incited to murder and the sheriffs publicly stated they would not stop any attempted murder.

On Sept. 18, mill gangsters kidnapped Tessneair and brutally beat him in a neighbouring state. On Sept. 28 they shot another organiser, Bellows. Nightly union members and organisers and C. P. and W. I. R. and I. L. D. organisers are hunted as wild beasts, in an attempt to terrorise them and all prospective jurors in Mecklinburg County, where Charlotte, the trial city, is situated. The latter are visited, spied

upon, with intent to corrupt or terrorise them, so that no fair juror shall sit in the trial.

For the murder of Mrs. Wiggins, six thugs were held, but soon released on a charge of technical manslaughter, upon bail furnished by the millowners. When Mrs. Wiggins was murdered, 50 officers as special deputies were present aiding the mob, and Major Dolley of the state militia has also been a leader of these mobs. Her brother was fired from the Loray mill, for union activity. In the murder and flogging campaign, police who are witnesses against the 7 defendants led the mobs on motorcycles. Major Bulwinkle, mill lawyer and state trial attorney, solemnly asserts, "Violence is the last thing Gastonia wants...", and the capitalist press of the entire country prints the statement, though they know full well it is he who organised the mobs.

It will be worth to look into the role of the A. F. of L. in this strike and trial. After inciting the business elements against the C. P. and National Textile Workers Union, after betraying the Elizabethton rayon strike and that at Marion, North Carolina, as well as the militant car (tram) strike in New Orleans, etc., these fascists urged that the Gastonia victims be shot without a trial. Mathew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., in his International News Service, advocated "some quiet shooting" to get rid of the Communists. The N. Y. Times admits that the future of the A. F. of L. United Textile Workers Union is black in the South unless the bosses call them in to prevent "constant outbreaks of trouble". (Sept. 29.)

The liberal press has played a particularly vicious role during the strike. The Evening World sent one of their dirtiest reporters to withewash the millowners, and to write of happy, contented workers. The Nation, which at first attacked the Communist leadership of the strike bitterly, now is forced to write that it has done more in 6 months than the A. F. of L. would have done in a decade.

The proletariat of the world is awakening to this new attempt to railroad to rot in jail the leaders of the six-months Gastonia strike. Protests have been received from the Profintern and Krestintern, which are rallying their members to fight this dastardly attack. The W. I. R. and the Communist Parties, Left wing unions and defence organisations of Germany, Italy, France, England, Italy, Denmark, Latin America, the U. S. S. R. — to mention but a few of the countries — are on the job, ready to repeat and even surpass their demonstrations of solidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti.

The slogans of the National Textile Workers Union and the C. P. U. S. A. in this struggle which cover the main issues involved are as follows: The organisation of the unorganised, Negroes as well as whites, into industrial unions; the 7-hour, 5-day week; higher wages, decent working and living conditions; against the speed-up, stretch-out system of rationalisation; abolition of child labour; social insurance (workmen's compension, unemployment insurance, sick and death benefit insurance, etc.); organisation of workers' defence corps in the mills, to disarm the fascist thugs of the millowners; fight against imperialist war, for which rationalisation is a means of securing of the rear; defence of the U. S. S. R.; building of the Party and its press in the South.

As this is written the news is published of the murder of three textile workers and the wounding of fifteen others at Marion, North Carolina on Oct. 2, as they struck and picketed. Here the A. F. of L. union, the United Textile Workers Union, betrayed the workers who struck for two months, and then returned to work early in September, sold out by their leaders, as the workers in Elizabethton, New Orleans and dozens of other strikes have been betrayed. The A. F. of L. class collaboration policies and subservience to the bosses and hostility to struggle made the millowners and their local government feel that with such leaders they could slaughter the workers at will. Whereas in the Gastonia strike it was six months before they dared murder a striker, here they paid their respects to the supine leadership of the A. F. of L. by starting with murderous attacks. The workers throughout the country, under the leadership of the National Textile Workers Union and the Communist Party will avenge these murder in Marion, as in Gastonia, by intensified struggle, by mass mobilisation and demonstrations, by committees of action in the factories and workers' defence corps, and by joining the Communist Party in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Internal Position of the Soviet Union and the Tasks of the Immediate Future.

(Conclusion.)

By V. Molotov.

The above indicated facts must needs induce us to redouble our struggle against the Menshevist and social-revolutionary influence in the activity of our State organs. Of late it has become increasingly apparent that there is such an influence at work, and that behind it is concealed the pressure brought to bear by the kulaks, N. E. P. men, and bourgeois intellectuals on the weaker links in our State system. This is also a result of the increased struggle between the Socialist and capitalist elements. This pressure even makes itself felt in such a realm as that of our State statistics, as some examples will show.

For the purpose of drawing up our plan of grain-provisioning, we are obliged to rely on certain scientific and statistical material in regard to the peasant farms in general and to grain cultivation by the peasants in particular. Fundamental scientific and statistical data in this regard we do not yet possess. In many cases statistical publications are compiled in such a way that the allegedly "objective" data are adapted to the political inferences of the bourgeois-kulak writers. In this connection certain works published by our Statistical Bureau prove altogether worthless from a scientific standpoint, reflecting as it did the conscious or unconscious interests of a bourgeois-kulak policy. Indeed, in some cases this practically worthless statistical material even confused our comrades. Had a formal attitude towards statistics been observed and had the conclusions of certain experts been uncritically taken for granted, the result would have been that this year we should have had not to enlarge but to diminish our plan of grain-provisioning in comparison with last year. Our Bolshevist experience in the struggle with bourgeois influence in all its aspects, and also the more or less favourable outcome of the grain-provisioning campaign, fortunately enabled us to abandon these figures-fashioned in the interest of a bourgeois policy, and, on the basis of established factors in the development of the respective districts and the experience of Party and other organisations and that gained in the actual campaign, to solve the question of the plan, contrary to the decisive conclusions of the bourgeois-kulak ideologists to be found both in the central offices and in the provinces. This difference permits of practical conclusions, which are not limited to only a few individual statistical functionalities.

A further example, referring to wages. The Liberal-Menshevist influence to be seen in the estimation of the changes of wage-levels in the Soviet Union is still very strong. In various offices engaged in the statistical treatment of wage changes, there was a patently Menshevist tendency, directed towards proving that in the current year the actual wages of the workers had sunk. Although these nonsensical inferences were flatly in contradiction to facts, not a few of our comrades uncritically set themselves to operate on the basis of such figures. In refuting the absurdly Menshevist statements in question, it sufficed to point out that at the present time the wage question is no longer one of the burning questions of the working class and that no voices are to be heard in workers' circles as to a decrease of actual wages, although proletarian self-criticism is encouraged and invited in the Soviet Union. After examining the statements in question, the C. C. established in a special resolution that, even if the objective envisaged in regard to a wage increase had not been fully attained, real wages had nevertheless risen by 2 or 3 per cent. An examination and analysis of the facts is as usual the best method of unmasking all Menshevist calumny directed against our Party and the Soviet Union.

The examples quoted from the activity of some of our statistical organs must remind us of the duty of every Com-

munist to be very cautious in approaching figures in general and in particular the data and material furnished us by our bourgeois experts and those that march in their wake. They also serve to remind us of the great importance of the problem of forming our own cadres of Red proletarian experts. The lack of experts for the solution of the great tasks of Socialist construction is noticeable on all hands. It is not without good cause that of late more and more Communists have been recruited for various branches of practical construction.

(Comrade Molotov next outlines the following fundamental tasks: (a) Cleansing of the State organs, (b) determined recruitment of new proletarian cadres, (c) increased work in training the young cadres and in improving the qualifications of the old functionaries.)

Self-Criticism and the Line of the Party.

As regards the internal life of the Party, attention must centre on the question of a practical application of the principle of self-criticism. This principle has become decisive in the mobilisation of the masses for the fight against bureaucracy and its abuses in our State, economic, co-operative, trade-union, and even Party organisations.

The very cleansing of the Party which is now being effected is, when you come to look at it, an example of the practical execution of the principle of self-criticism. This cleansing of the Party, moreover, is in itself not absolutely faultless. Thus attention should be drawn to the fact that the percentage of those who have been weeded out is smaller in the Soviet nuclei than in all others and quite particularly smaller than in the workers' nuclei. We must ascertain whether this fact does not reflect an insufficient amount of attention on the part of the organisation for the control of nuclei in the Soviet apparatus. At any rate a fight must be initiated against such methods of Party cleansing as do not pay sufficient attention to the necessity of recruiting as many workers as possible (non-party workers included) for the control of our Party ranks.

(The report goes on to discuss the growth of the principle of self-criticism.)

In the beginning this principle was applied mainly in regard to the economic organs, after which it came to be employed with particular energy for a control of the work of the trade unions.

A speciality of this latter period is the application of the principle of self-criticism to the Party organisations themselves. The principle of self-criticism prevails in our organisations to a greater degree than ever before. It suffices to point to the examples of Baku and Leningrad, where the fire of Bolshevik self-criticism has caused a renewed rise in the work of the Party organisations. In this connection, however, the difference between Baku and Leningrad must not be overlooked.

At Baku we had an instance of a wrong attitude of the Party leaders in regard to the principle of self-criticism. The former leaders of the Asserbeidjan organisation also recognised the necessity of self-criticism but did not put their words into practice. It was just this that caused the leaders to remain behind in relation to the growing activity of the working masses and the growth of the Party organisation itself. As a result of not understanding the significance of this principle, the old Baku leaders were doomed to failure. The C. C. was obliged to appoint other leaders, which it did with the most active support on the part of the mass of Party members. Now, with the most energetic collaboration of the workers, the Asserbeidjan Party organisation is rallying on the basis of a realisation of the main objectives of the Party.

In Leningrad the situation was quite different. The main difference between the state of affairs at Baku and in Leningrad, respectively, lay in the fact that in Leningrad the Party leaders responded to the attack on its shortcomings (initiated by the "Pravda", the central organ of our Party) by not only immediately recognising the faults in question but also by placing themselves at the very head of the campaign of self-criticism in its practical form. The Leningrad district committee recognised that "of late a certain falling-off of self-criticism had been noticeable in the organisation". At the same time, it applied to the organisation with the request "to disclose its shortcomings more boldly, to be more determined and inexorable in

liquidating the abuses of bureaucracy, to exercise a wider proletarian control of the work of all our organs and institutions, and to effect a speedier and more wholesale recruitment of the cadres of the proletariat straight from the workshops for participation in the work of leadership. The realisation of this principle ensures an improvement in the work of the Soviet, trade-union, and Party organs and a more general support of this work by the working masses. We may establish the fact that the Leningrad Bolsheviks, headed by their leading Committee, have rightly approached the execution of their new tasks. This good beginning must be followed by a further development of self-criticism in practice, ensuring a still broader basis for the working masses in the improvement and consolidation of the local organs of the State apparatus, in the enhancement of production and the increase of working discipline in the factories and workshops, and in the consolidation of the Party organisation itself. All this is a necessary presumption of a truly consistent, truly proletarian, truly Bolshevik fight against the opportunist distortions of the Party directives in practice.

How often and to what a degree these opportunist distortions of the Party directives occur in the practical work of our organs, may easily be seen by a series of examples, two of which I may quote here.

(Comrade Molotov here cites an example of a pronouncedly opportunist distortion of Party directives in the execution of agrarian taxation, which was reflected in the fact that the assets of the kulak leaders of a village, liable or not liable to taxation, were not properly estimated. He then goes on to a second instance.)

I should like to make mention of a preposterous circumstance in connection with the construction of our collective estates. To-day I was visited by Comrade Frolov, a student at the agricultural academy of Timiriasevo, who had spent more than three months on a collective estate in the Kamvshin circuit. There he had witnessed the following facts. The collective estate of "Krasnii Meliorator", where he had worked throughout the summer, covers 3500 hectares of land, 3000 hectares of which are under cultivation. This collective estate has been in existence for the last five years. In the spring of this year four other collective estates were joined to it, and it now enjoys the reputation in the lower Volga region of being conducted on model lines. Indeed, the chairman of the collective estate, one Panasenko, was rewarded for his "exemplary work" by being elected into the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Council of Collective Estates. As a matter of fact, however, this collective estate was in the hands of a group of social-revolutionary elements, which included six former merchants, a former rich house-owner, a proprietor of tractors, seven kulaks, a former landowner, a former bailiff, an ex-constable, etc. Panasenko, the chairman of this collective estate, was himself a member of a circle of Left social-revolutionaries and had been arrested in 1918 at the time of the revolt of the Left social-revolutionaries in the "Bolshoy Theatre", together with the entire Left social-revolutionary fraction. Obviously he had never got the better of his social-revolutionary kulak tendencies. Nay, he was actually at the head of the anti-Soviet bourgeois-kulak elements, whom he had enabled to get the management of the collective estate into their hands. So as to illustrate the economic activity of this collective estate, Comrade Frolov underlined the following facts:

(a) The collective estate and the kulaks granted each other mutual credits.

(b) On the pastures of the collective estate, the cattle of the kulaks was allowed to graze at a price which even fell short of the cost-price of the fodder.

(c) 150 hectares of land had been sublet to the kulak Maliakin.

(d) An industrial enterprise had been founded in collaboration with a kulak named Wolf. The agricultural labourers and poor farmers were literally scorned by the kulak-social-revolutionary gang controlling the collective estate, where anti-Soviet propaganda was carried on pretty openly. I cannot refrain from mentioning that one of those that took part in the organisation of the Krasnii Meliorator estate was Comrade Suchanov, the manager of the land administration department of Nikolovskaia. Thus, in the 12th year of the revolution, such incredible things are allowed to occur through the negligence of certain Communist leaders.

Does this instance not show that the distortions of the Party line caused by Right deviations serve in practice the interests of social-revolutionary and kulak elements? Does it not show that the all-round development of self-criticism, directed against these abuses, is one of the main presumptions for the success of Socialist development in the Soviet Union? It is obvious, meanwhile, that the fear of employing self-criticism — sound Bolshevik self-criticism for the purpose of opposing bureaucracy and the petty-bourgeois distortion of our directives in practice — is merely an outcome of petty-bourgeois disbelief in the power of the working class, of disbelief in the capability of the Bolshevik Party to surmount all and every obstacle in the path of Socialist construction.

The fight against the Right deviations and against the conciliators was and is the main task of the Party. Of late, however, the necessity has become apparent also to direct our energies against semi-Trotskyist tendencies inspired by petty-bourgeois radicalism.

Quite recently a resolution of the C. C. of Young Communists (approved by the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.) was published in regard to the article of Comrade Shatzkin, Sten, and Kostrov, which appeared in the "Komsomolskaia Pravda".

Both the Party and the Young Communist League refuted the accusations of Shatzkin, who declares that the leaders of the Party are allied to the "political slough" in their fight against Right deviations. No hushing-up of these libellous attacks on the Party can veil the fact that Shatzkin's whole article "Down with Party Snobbishness" is replete with distrust of the general Party directives and really represents a reflection of one or other of the many petty-bourgeois vacillations.

The same may be said of the article of Comrade Sten, "Up with the Flag of Marxism and Leninism", in which he declares that every Young Communist must on the strength of his own experience work out every problem and thus ascertain the accuracy of the directives of our Party. This admonition, that every Young Communist should on the strength of his own experience control the accuracy of the general directives of the Party, is a typical example of the intellectual "superiority" which is so characteristic of the petty-bourgeoisie. Comrade Sten forgot one trifle — that agreement with the general directives of the Party is a fundamental precondition for admission into the ranks of the Bolsheviks, and that therefore the above admonition can be understood only from the standpoint of a **non-party worker** and not from that of a **member of the Party**.

Comrades Shatzkin and Sten opened fire on the Leninist general directives of our Party policy under pretence of a formal agreement with those directives. In doing so, they give themselves an extremely "Left" air. As a matter of fact, they are only repeating — under the pretence of a fight against "snobbishness" and "boastfulness" — the hackneyed formula "Do not fear the Deviations from the General Bolshevik Directives". Thus the conception of Comrades Sten and Shatzkin "happens" to coincide with that of Comrade Bukharin, who at the recent congress of free-thinkers particularly underlined that Marx' favourite slogan was at one time; "Submit everything to Doubt". If in their attacks on the Party, Comrades Shatzkin and Sten hide behind an alleged fight against "snobbishness" and "boastfulness", Bukharin, who is continuing the attack, hides behind Marx. His reference to Marx, who applied the above slogan to the destruction of capitalism and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is in this case mistaken, quite apart from the fact that Comrade Bukharin is treading the dialectics of Marx under foot. The attempt to create distrust of the general directives of the Party, is naturally common to the Right and Left deviations. All the more energetic will be the Party's Bolshevik resistance to these vacillations. The persistence of Comrade Bukharin in his opportunist errors caused the E. C. C. I. to make his attitude the subject of a special resolution, which also furnished the reason for the removal of Comrade Bukharin from the presidium of the E. C. C. I. In discussing the resolution in question, as passed by the April plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., the E. C. C. I. had naturally to reckon with fresh attacks on the Part of Bukharin, which were embodied in the article on "The Theory of the Organised Mismanagement" and in his speech to the free-

thinkers, in which he continued his fight against the Party. True, he tried on these occasions to employ Trotsky's trick of masking his opportunist tendencies by a few phrases, by silence on certain points and reservations in regard to others, but this did not make the inaccuracy and inaptitude of his remarks any better. His unanimous condemnation by the plenum of the E. C. C. I. only shows how obvious the grave opportunist errors of Bukharin really are; they show that he has gone much too far in the direction of an opportunist opposition to the Party's general directives and to the Comintern. This was expressed in the resolutions of our Party and also in the resolution of the Comintern.

In summing up the results, I must again underline the complicated and difficult character of the internal and external position in which our Socialist development is now being effected. The decisive inference, however, lies in the fact of the victorious progress of Socialist construction in spite of growing internal contradictions in the country and of accentuated international differences, especially that between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. The results of our Socialist construction are on the increase. But the Party continues to point emphatically to the necessity of self-criticism. The slogan of self-criticism embodies the principle of a control of all practical work and the principle of more assiduous study. The conclusion which we can thus draw is that there should be neither fear nor self-satisfaction, but a greater control of all our work and an increased study of Marxism and Leninism! This is the flag under which we shall advance on our way!

The Volga-Don Canal.

By R. O.

The following contribution is the first of a series of articles on some of the great technical-economic creations of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The Editor.

In previous years, in the so-called "reconstruction period" the basis was laid for a thorough technical, economic and geographic transformation of the Soviet economic system with a view to developing the whole social structure of the country in the direction of industrialisation and socialisation. The great achievements of the past period with regard to electrification are generally known. The most obvious expression was the fact that in the economic year 1927/28 over five milliard kilowatt hours of electrical energy were produced as compared with two milliards in 1913. The technical reconstruction and transformation does not limit itself to the immediate processes inside the individual factories or branches of industry. With the growing economic strength of the country tremendous projects are ripening which will fructify more or less large sections of the whole economic system and which will alter the economic picture of the country in the direction of planned economy and the opening up of new productive forces. The most important of these great projects, many of which are already being carried into execution and which are meeting with respect and mixed feelings from the capitalist world, are the tremendous hydrolic power station Dnieprostroi plus the giant industrial combination which will receive its power from the Dnieprostroi; the Siberian-Turkestan railway line, the tremendous "grain factory" "Giant" and other Soviet farms, the great new automobile factories in Nishni-Novgorod and the Volga-Don Canal whose significance will be dealt with briefly here.

The swift development of the Soviet economic system, the increased exchange processes between the various parts of the country etc., result in an increasing demand upon the means of transport and a great strain upon the railway system which was only weakly developed under Tsarism. It is true that the Soviet government has increased the railway from about 58,000 kilometres in 1913 to 77,000 km. in 1927/28, or about 30%, but still, urgent tasks still remain to be performed in this connection. The Volga-Don Canal will now reduce the strain upon the railway system and at the same time open up economically out-of-the-way districts. The Volga-Don Canal will connect the two great rivers the Don and the Volga near Stalingrad.

where they approach within a hundred metres of each other. The work for the building of the canal will probably be commenced in 1931/32 and will take 6 years to build and will cost together with the byworks approximately 20 million pounds. When it is completed the canal will have established a direct waterway connecting the Caspian Sea and the Volga with the Don and the Black Sea. This will make possible tremendous changes in the economic life of the country. The fruitful hinterland to the left side of the lower Volga will be emancipated from its present unfavourable transport situation and, by developing its grain production, can send increasingly large masses of grain for export over the Black Sea. The gain for the agriculture of this district will be seen from the fact that the cost of transport to Rostov on the Don, the harbour town on the Sea of Asow will be reduced by about 12/- per ton. Here the Siberian-Turkestan Railway will play a great role because it will transport Siberian grain to the Central Asiatic Soviet Republics and thus make any grain transport from the left bank of the Volga unnecessary, freeing this district for the export of its grain to the West and the world market.

The new canal will also facilitate the transport of timber from the forests of the Ural districts for the mines of the Donetz basin and also cheapen the prop problem, and at the same time transport Donetz coal to the developing industries of the Volga district up to Nishni-Novgorod, thus replacing the expensive Naphta fuel which is customary there. The canal will of course also make free the way for the transport of numerous other commodities, for instance, phosphate salts, sundry products and various other industrial commodities. It is reckoned that the year 1925 will see the transport of something like 7 million tons along this canal. German experts who have been called in to examine the project have expressed their appreciation of the plans. In conclusion it must be mentioned that the canal is of great importance as a section of a tremendous waterway from Europe to Central Asia in connection with the Rhine-Maine-Danube canal. In common with the other great building achievements of the Five-Year Plan, the Volga-Don Canal will open up new land and new economic possibilities and offer a new and convincing proof of the economic constructive capacities of the proletariat.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

Fresh Murders and Torture of Soviet Citizens in Manchuria.

Moscow, 11th October 1929.

Citizens of the Soviet Union who have arrived from Harbin via Japan and Khabarovsk, give new facts concerning the situation of Soviet citizens in Manchuria and confirm the former reports of executions without trial, of tortures, maltreatment, and the frightful conditions in the concentration camp in Sumpei.

The citizen of the Soviet Union, Filipovskaya who visited a concentration camp in order to supply the arrested with medicaments, declared that despite previous agreements with the German consul, she was not permitted to deliver the medicaments. The prisoners still receive no warm food and live chiefly on poor quality bread and garlic. The huts are unlighted and unheated. A section of the prisoners have gone on hunger strike.

The employee of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Ivachno, confirmed the report that the Soviet citizen Petushkov, was beaten to death at the railway station of Kwangtchentsi. A nurse at the hospital in Kwangtchentsi told Ivachno that Petushkov had been taken to hospital with his head bound up. The doctor who examined Petushkov, was compelled by the police to give the cause of death as meningitis. The Soviet citizen Alexander Ustersky was buried in Harbin in the middle of September. The Chinese authorities declare that he committed suicide by hanging himself on a tree near the railway station, but witnesses declare that Usterski was tortured to death and his body hanged up. His body showed signs of frightful maltreatment. The German Consul Stobbe, a representative of the Japanese Consulate and the police doctor Migidisov were present when the corpse arrived in Harbin. When the corpse was first found, the authorities forbade its transport to Harbin and demanded that it should be burnt on the spot, but in the end the corpse was finally transported to Harbin.

An employee of the Chinese Eastern Railway named

Dashkov, declared that whilst in Harbin, he saw photographs of headless bodies which had been found outside the town. He also declares that he read letters of imprisoned Soviet citizens complaining about having been tortured.

Amongst those Soviet citizens who have disappeared, are: Vladimir Mursakov, Peter Suslov, Tretyak, Melnikov, Usov, Borovinsky and others.

In many cases tortures have been proved to have been administered such as pouring petroleum or pepper into the nose, blows with bamboo canes, the tearing out of toe and finger nails, etc. In many cases prisoners were driven through the streets in a most humiliating fashion.

Moscow, 14th October 1929.

A correspondent of the Japanese newspaper "Nitzu Ditzu" in Harbin who visited the concentration camp in Sumpei, gives the following picture of the life of the internees: "The buildings in the camp are nothing but ruins. In view of our arrival, the prisoners were provided with something which was described as vegetable soup. We examined the boiler in which the soup was made, but we could find no trace of any vegetables. The women in particular complain of the severe conditions in the camp and showed us mouldy black bread which they received as food. The women sleep on wooden benches and their clothing is frightfully dirty. The Chinese official who accompanied us attempted to stop the prisoners from making complaints. Whilst the American Consul who was with us questioned the woman concerning the conditions in the camp, the Chinese official continually interfered and offered his own answers to the questions, although no one had asked him. The windows of the buildings in the camp are covered with boards so that no day-light can penetrate into the buildings. The conditions in the camp are having a serious effect upon the health of the prisoners. The presence of the Chinese official obviously prevented the prisoners from being quite frank. Many of them looked pale and miserable. They are subjected to the mental torture of not knowing the reason for their arrest and how long they will be kept here. An old man who was lying on a bench and tried to rise when we entered the room, was unable to do so in consequence of complete exhaustion. The interned students complain bitterly that they are permitted no reading material of any kind. The camp buildings have no heating arrangements and great anxiety prevails in view of the coming cold weather. In the middle of the camp there is a building with an inscription 'Judicial Authorities'. We tried to discover how this bureau was dealing with so many cases, but we did not succeed in obtaining any satisfactory information. As far as we know, not one single case is really in hand for settlement. The prisoners themselves express complete ignorance regarding the causes of their arrest. A number of prisoners expressed the opinion that the camp administration had not even a proper list of the prisoners. Common humanity demands that the horrors of the concentration camp in Sumpei, where so many internees are suffering, should not be ignored."

The Trial of the 38 Soviet Citizens in Harbin.

The "Pravda" publishes an article entitled: "The Fiasco of Chinese Justice" which reads as follows:

In preparing the process against the 38 citizens of the Soviet Union who were arrested during the police raid upon the Consulate General of the Soviet Union in Harbin, the Chinese military clique had far-reaching aims. It wanted to prove that the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union in China were agencies of the Communist International and that the excesses in connection with communist propaganda had compelled the Chinese government to exceed the limit of international treaties. The raid in Harbin aimed at preparing the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway and in justifying it in advance. This explains the fact that the authorities in Mukden decided to place the Soviet citizens on trial instead of murdering them outright, as the bloody "victors" did in 1927, following upon the suppression of revolutionary Canton. At the trial the militarists wish to prove to a friendly public, the correspondents of the bourgeois newspapers and the Consuls of the capitalist powers, that China was acting in self-defence when it seized the Chinese Eastern Railway and attempted to provoke the Soviet Union into a military conflict.

It turned out, however, that the preparations of this farce of a trial were unsatisfactory. The evidence offered against the accused contained such clumsy and naive forgeries that it was not difficult for the defending lawyers, to convict the organisers of the trial of deliberately forging documents. The first "document" to be exploded was the notorious "Comintern telegram" which had obviously been put together by some semi-illiterate white guardist who had overlooked the fact that the Soviet Union has adopted a new form of spelling which has been in use for many years. The "list of those present", signed allegedly by those who took part in the "secret sessions of the communists" in the cellar of the Consulate, turned out to contain names which had nothing to do with the accused. The photographs allegedly taken by the police immediately upon forcing their way into the Consulate and which allegedly showed the burning of papers by the accused, prove to be photos of persons unknown and having no connection with the trial. Obviously, this photograph was faked at the request of the police. All other "documents" turned out to be copies of unknown originals. The evidence of the police officer in charge of the raid showed that the ten people who were arrested in the cellar of the Consulate where its canteen is situated, were not engaged in any "secret session", but were peacefully eating a meal. This evidence caused the prosecutor to withdraw the documents which had been placed before the court and to withdraw the accusations based upon these documents.

Although the indictment has turned out to be an obvious frame-up, and although even the bourgeois press admits that the trial was a mockery even of Chinese law, this gives us no firm ground for optimistic conclusions. The acquittal of the accused is by no means certain. The process was a political process and therefore the Chinese militarist clique will not lightly admit the bankruptcy of its intrigues to the world. The whole way in which the trial was prepared, shows clearly that it was a put up job and that the verdict was already prepared in Mukden.

But no matter what "verdict" the Chinese militarists will pass, they will not succeed in cloaking their utter defeat. The attempt to justify the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by proving Soviet citizens and diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union guilty of "propaganda" has failed miserably. If the Harbin trial has any political result, it will only be that the imperialist powers, which refused to abandon extra-territorial rights for their citizens in China, will draw arguments from it in order to support their refusal to abandon extra-territoriality.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The British Labour Party Conference at Brighton.

By Idris Cox (London).

Although there were over 1000 delegates present at the twenty-ninth Annual Conference of the Labour Party, the proportion of workers present as delegates was less than at any previous conference. It is doubtful whether there were eighty working class delegates out of the total number of delegates. The vast majority was composed of Trade Union Officials and Labour Party functionaries, with a large proportion of professional middle class delegates.

The Chairman's Speech was cunningly devised to serve two main purposes. The promises for the workers were intentionally indefinite; the only positive features were the re-assurances to the bourgeoisie that the Labour Government would continue its imperialist policy. The chairman, Herbert Morrison, declared that "Mr. Snowden's great success at the Hague has been acclaimed by the whole nation", and that the "Labour Government has a mission to preserve the very foundations of civilisation". It was clearly stated that the task of the Labour Government is to ensure that "industry shall be reasonably efficient" and that a grant of £ 40,000 for capital works, as well as £ 1,000,000 a year for development works, had already been made. But on the question of legislative reforms for the workers, the chairman had no achievements to record, and even the promises were intentionally vague. Factory legislation was "being prepared", workmen's compensation should be improved, the Trades Disputes Act was "being dealt with", the miners'

working day was "being dealt with", pensions for aged workers was "being examined", etc., — but none of these statements commit the Labour Government to the repeal of the Trades Disputes Act or the restoration of the Seven Hour Day for the miners. After all this, the chairman concluded with a demagogic reference to Socialism.

A new feature of the conference was the presence of three Cabinet Ministers, Thomas, Henderson and Snowden. It was however, made clear by Henderson that these speeches were merely in the nature of a report and that under no circumstances were the Cabinet Ministers responsible to the conference. J. H. Thomas made a frankly imperialist speech. He was most emphatic in declaring that unemployment could only be dealt with "by getting customers for the goods to have to sell" and it was their duty to help in "getting orders". He believed there was common agreement that the Government should spend money "in making industry more efficient and the only condition to be fulfilled by the employers was that they must also provide work for people unemployed and definitely show acceleration". Not a word was said of wage "Task Work", which means that unemployed workers have work for Poor Law Relief previously received from Boards of Guardians. This means working for less than the Trade Union rates of wages. But despite all the publicity given to the work schemes of the Labour Government, Thomas was obliged to admit that an expenditure of £ 1,000,000 would only find work (directly and indirectly) for 4000 unemployed workers. But the number of unemployed workers in Britain in the month of August was 50,000 more than in June, without taking into account the 500,000 textile workers locked out in August. Since the government has only sanctioned grants to the extent of £ 6,000,000, this means additional work for 24,000 only — less than half the increase since the advent of the Labour Government. The increase of 50,000 is for registered unemployed workers and does not take into account 190,000 unemployed workers deprived of benefit since the advent of the Labour Government. The total increase in unemployment is therefore, 240,000 — ten times as many as will be found this year by Government Work Schemes. For the next five years a total sum of £ 10,000,000 has been sanctioned for Work Schemes which will provide work for 160,000 unemployed workers. Thus, in five years, the Labour Government proposes to find work for only two-thirds of the additional workers rendered unemployed in three months, without even touching the problem of 1,250,000 workers previously on the unemployed registers and about 500,000 not registered.

Henderson dealt with the foreign policy of the Labour Government in the manner of a British capitalist statesman, except that he was careful to clothe this policy with pacifist phrases. He made it clear, however, that the Government stood by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 with regard to Palestine and would enforce this by armed force; that the Government would support Iraq's admission to the League of Nations in 1932; that the Draft Treaty would be offered to "any Government whom the people of Egypt had cared to choose"; and that although the Government was anxiously working for "Peace" it was utopian to think of disarmament during the present time of the Labour Government. This member of the last British War Cabinet concluded his speech by appealing to all the delegates to "help in the crusade" for disarmament. And the conference applauded loudly!

Snowden was given a rousing reception by the delegates. He is the "strong man" of the Labour Government — strong in his defence of the financiers. Apart from a general review of his imperialist policy at the Hague Conference, he dealt mainly with the increased Bank Rate in Britain. For four days the I. L. P. had been boasting of the fight it would conduct on this question at the conference, and the *New Leader*, was loud in its protests. Even the *Daily Herald* protested against the Bankers destroying the "good work" of the Labour Government. But Snowden declared he had consented to the increased Bank Rate, although he was prepared to agree it was necessary to have an inquiry into banking and finance. After this, the sharp opposition of the I. L. P. collapsed, and they withdrew their resolution of protest. Next day, the *Daily Herald* made a clumsy retreat by endeavouring to endorse Snowden's justification for the increased Bank Rate. The additional 25,000 workers (who it was claimed would be rendered unemployed by the increased Bank Rate), were now forgotten!

The I. L. P. made a futile show of its hypocrisy. Every I. L. P. delegate was loud in his praise of the Government's foreign policy, but implored the Government to carry out the same policy in Britain! This artificial separation of foreign policy and home policy has a certain value for the I. L. P.; it enables a show of sham opposition to the home policy of the Labour Government, but never to fight the Government (or even vote against it in Parliament) because of its valueable (!) foreign policy. This attitude of the I. L. P. was shown particularly in the Conference discussions upon Children's Allowances and upon Unemployment. The I. L. P. had tabled a resolution calling upon the Government to grant Children's Allowances and to extend social services as a step towards socialism. Most of the trade unions were opposed to the resolution, claiming it would be a means of enabling the employers to demand a reduction of wages. Maxton took part in this discussion and treated the question of Children's Allowances as part of the I. L. P. Living Wage policy. In opposing the trade union speakers he put forward the view that there would have been no reduction for the Lancashire cotton workers if the General Council and Labour Party had been "armed" with the Living Wage policy! This is surely the most ingenious defence of treachery to the workers. The resolution was, however, defeated, on a card vote.

Almost a whole day was spent in discussing the attitude of the Ministry of Labour towards unemployed workers. The Unemployment Insurance Act is surrounded by several administrative regulations calculated to deprive unemployed workers of insurance benefit. The most vicious of these regulations is commonly known under the title of "Not Genuinely Seeking Work" and was first introduced definitely by the Labour Government in 1924. The use of this regulation by the Tory Government was criticised before and during the General Election in May, and the promises to remove this regulation brought considerable support from the unemployed workers to the Labour Party in the General Election. But instead of removing this regulation, it has been used to deprive 190,000 workers of unemployment benefit in June, July and August, alone — 60,000 more than in the same three months last year under the Tory Government. The unemployed workers are, therefore, beginning to realise the policy of the Labour Government, and the Labour Members of Parliament in industrial areas with a large percentage out unemployment fear to lose the support of the unemployed workers, especially if another General Election takes place shortly. This is the main reason why the Ministry of Labour was criticised at the conference. But the I. L. P. did not attack the Government's policy on this matter; it confined itself to criticism of Government administration. The chairman had made it clear that the policy of the Government could not be questioned by the Conference, but only the policy of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Some of the trade unions were also concerned about the discontent of their unemployed members, but on a card vote, the motion to refer back the paragraph in the Parliamentary Labour Party's report on the question of unemployment, was narrowly defeated.

There were no Communists as delegates at the conference; neither was there present a revolutionary fraction. The new rules and constitution of the Labour Party, endorsed by the conference after two days' discussion, will prevent in future the attendance of any delegate connected in any way either with the Communist Party or any of its sympathetic organisations. It must, however, be admitted that the Party neglected to make adequate preparation for mass work outside the conference.

Successful efforts were made, however, to get comrades in the visitors' gallery to make demonstrations of protest. On the second day a comrade in the gallery disturbed the smooth tenor of the conference by shouting "Release the Meerut Prisoners", "Release the Nine Mile Point Miners", "Down with the capitalist Labour Government of Persecutors". After a short struggle he was forcibly ejected by the stewards. On the fourth day, comrade Hannington, leader of the militant unemployed, accused the Labour Government of starving the unemployed and scattered a bundle of leaflets among the delegates on the floor of the hall; further, two women comrades chained themselves to the gallery and shouted similar slogans referring to political prisoners. Comrade Hannington was forcibly ejected after a short struggle, but the women comrades could not be removed

for a considerable time; meanwhile, they were shouting slogans exposing the Labour Government. Finally they were removed forcibly from the hall, arrested by the police, and taken in a prison van waiting outside the hall to the police station. The next day they were charged at the Police Court with obstructing and assaulting the police, and were fined £ 3 and £ 1 respectively. When the verdict was given there was a hostile demonstration in the Police Court and the singing of the Internationale. While the treatment of the two women comrades created a division among the delegates at the conference, the value of such demonstrations can only be achieved by linking them up with mass protests outside. This was the chief failing.

A significant feature was the number of Scotland Yard Detectives at the conference who assisted in the forcible ejection of the four comrades from the gallery. After the demonstrations they were re-inforced by uniformed police at each door. On the last day the conference was like an armed camp. This was a clear indication of the use which is made of the State forces by the Labour Government, and is an indication that the spirit of Zörgiebel lives in Britain.

The demonstration inside the conference, Poster Parades outside, chalking of slogans on the streets, and the literature distributed to the delegates — all these measures had little influence upon delegates composed of the upper strata and closely bound up with the policy of the government. But the response of the Brighton workers at meetings held outside by the Party was very different. Here it was possible to convince the workers of the character of the Labour Government and the lessons of the Labour Party Conference. At each sitting of the conference a statement by the Party was distributed to each delegate. The first was a manifesto upon the Labour Government, exposing its imperialist policy. There were several others, including anti-militarist work, exposure of the I. L. P. and the sham lefts, the Labour Government and the Meerut Trial, Snowden and the Hague Conference, the Labour Government and the increased Bank Rate, and Maxton and the League Against Imperialism.

It would, however, be a mistake to expect any real opposition from a Labour Party Conference where the delegates are so carefully selected because of their support of the Labour Government. In our campaign against the Labour Government it is only from below that there is any possibility of mobilising the disillusioned workers for action against its Imperialist Policy. To win the support of the workers in the factories, the unemployed workers, and the lower strata of the Labour Party, the trade unions and the I. L. P. in the fight against the capitalist Labour Government, and for a Revolutionary Workers' Government, — this is our primary task. It can only be done by the energetic application of the Lenin Decisions, by a ruthless struggle against the Right Danger and all who bar the way to revolutionary struggle, and by demonstrating to the workers, in words and in deeds, that the Communist Party leads the workers to victory over capitalism.

FASCISM

The Heimwehr Fascists in Carinthia.

By Fritz Rück.

IV.

Lienz, 2nd October 1920.

In a little town not far from the Italian frontier, we walked through the streets late in the evening and came into a square. An old cloister wall formed one side of the square and in the middle stood an old and huge lime tree surrounded by a wooden bench exactly as it is in novels and in folk songs. To-day, however, the matter in hand has nothing to do with the pangs of rejected love. Around the lime stand about a dozen 18 to 20 year old youths. One of them wears a cape and carries a rifle.

It makes a rather ridiculous impression when these dozen youths now form into line in obedience to loud and sharp military commands whilst one of them complains audibly: "It is nonsense to march there this evening". However, they march off. It all reminded me of the time when I was about twelve years

old and we used to play Red Indians. And it is certain that youthful romanticism, strengthened by the fact that these youths receive rifles without the necessity of using them against armed opponents, contribute very much to the great role played by the Heimwehr in such little provincial towns.

The role of the Heimwehr in the frontier districts is very often different from that in the other parts of Austria. To a certain extent this little crippled State which was all that remained under the name of Austria, after the wild appetite of the hungry imperialists had been satisfied, is nothing but one great frontier district in which all the great imperialist powers and the neighbouring smaller imperialist robbers have a finger.

Carinthia is squeezed in between Italy and Yugoslavia, and in consequence of the strained relations between these two States, questions of foreign and internal policy play a large role. The Heimwehr movement in Carinthia flourished even at a time when there was nothing much to be seen of the Heimwehr movement in the rest of Austria. It grew out of the defensive struggles of 1918 and 1919 and was strong in consequence of the fact that after the demobilisation large supplies of arms and ammunition remained in Carinthia. At one time it seemed as though the Heimwehr movement in Carinthia would determine the further development of political events. But this was not the case. The formation of a coalition government between the social democrats and the bourgeoisie prevented the open seizure of the State apparatus by the fascists and this situation has not altered in the meantime. In Carinthia the Heimwehr has not the open support of the legal State administrative apparatus, as for instance in the Tyrol, and the bourgeois parties are not so much under the influence of the Heimwehr as in the other parts of Austria. The coalition policy is a better guarantee for the maintenance of their interests than is Heimwehr fascism which they, however, support, in order to exert pressure upon the social democracy.

In the last few months there has, however, been a growing activity on the part of the fascist organisations in Carinthia, and, as everywhere else in Austria, the employers have energetically supported the formation of fascist trade unions. In Carinthia also, the employers have succeeded in organising sections of the workers into company unions and similar organisations. The fascist trade unions have gained ground amongst the officials, the clerks, the foremen, etc., but also amongst the railwaymen, and this means a strengthening of the Heimwehr.

The working class in Carinthia is badly organised. The economic structure of the country favours disorganisation. Most of the 5,000 factories are on a small scale. Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, is a definitely petty bourgeois residential town, and around the town there is a ring of proletarian suburbs.

The wages are low, even for Austria, the average hourly wages are from 30 to 50 Groschen, and a Schilling (34 Schillings equals one pound approximately) is the wage of a highly qualified worker. In addition, there is much unemployment.

Carinthia is one of the beauty spots of Europe and tourists from all countries come to it both in summer and in winter. The workers, however, live in miserable dwellings and do not earn enough to eat properly. And then they are told that it is their duty to defend this country against the greed of the imperialist powers.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Two Congresses of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

Critical Observations.

By Paul Merker (Berlin).

The Congress of the British Minority Movement (Aug. 24th and 25th in London) and the Congress of the C. G. T. U. (from September 15th to 20th in Paris) have recently taken place. Both the congresses were of great significance to the development of the revolutionary trade-union movement in Western Europe.

At both congresses the problems of the fight against imperialist rationalisation, against the danger of imperialist war

and Fascism were the main points under consideration. At both congresses there was revealed a remarkable growth in theoretical clarity in the revolutionary trade-union movement and of understanding for the significant turn taken by the Communist International and the Red trade-union International (R. I. L. U.) in accordance with the general aggravation of the situation and its policy and tactics.

The Congress of the British Minority Movement was attended by a great number of active and militant workers. A splendid fighting spirit was present. In their behaviour the delegates expressed very clearly the growing radicalisation of the masses, which is going on in Great Britain in the same manner as in other countries. At the congress the MacDonald Government was unanimously condemned as a government of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and Cook, Maxton and company as loyal servants of the MacDonald Government and imperialist principals. The congress declared its readiness to fight for the defence of the Soviet Union and to co-operate with the colonial slaves, who are fighting for their freedom. As a consequence, the congress set the Minority Movement the task of forming independent fighting organisations and fighting leaderships.

The Congress of the C. G. T. U. was of the same character. Here, too, great animation and activity prevailed. In the resolutions of the congress the closest collaboration of the revolutionary trade-union movement of France with the R. I. L. U. and with the Communist International was apparent, as was also the earnest desire to carry out their decisions.

The significance of the revolutionary trade-unions of France and their growing influence may also be judged by the attitude of the bourgeoisie, who ordered the arrest of the most prominent leaders, Comrades Dudiellaux and Monmousseau, and persecuted many others. The fury of the bourgeoisie was directed against the revolutionary trade unions of France, while the resolutions of the congress of the reformist trade union taking place in Paris at the same time were warmly welcomed.

In spite of the conformity of both congresses in regard to general political lines, there was considerable difference in their procedure and in the views upon the various problems.

Rightly estimating the approaching big revolutionary mass fights, the leadership of the C. G. T. U. very decidedly took as the central point of the discussion the problems of giving political content to the workers' fights and of the activity of the revolutionary trade unions, and, in conjunction with them, the question of the role of the Communist Party in the proletarian mass fight and the relation of the Party to the revolutionary trade-union movement. This clear and consistent facing of the question forced the opportunist and syndicalist elements present at the congress to make their attitude clear. It also led to a very valuable discussion serving the political enlightenment of the masses, the matter being thrashed out thoroughly by the groups holding divergent views.

From the standpoint of organising revolutionary mass fights and imparting a political character to the whole revolutionary trade-union movement, the organisational problems (the role of the strike committees, of the factory councils, the unorganised, etc.) were made more easily comprehensible for the masses. The role and the significance as well as the authority of the Communist Party were enhanced among the masses by the activity of the majority of the congress and their plain and open solidarity with the Communist movement.

At the Congress of the British Minority Movement questions were not dealt with so clearly. The most influential leaders of the Minority Movement evaded the questions of the revolutionary mass fight, of giving political significance to workers' struggles and of the role of the Communist Party and its relation to the Minority Movement.

Our comrades avoided an earnest and sharp discussion for fear it might destroy the very brotherly and harmonious feeling of the congress. This appears to be a rather peculiar attitude to take. Naturally, at the Congress of the C. G. T. U. there was not much to be seen of unity, harmony or brotherliness among the groups representing the various political tendencies. It was a bitter and ruthless fight. But that is all to the good for it shows that the majority of the revolutionary trade unions of France (in view of the aggravation of the class antagonism)

and of the radicalisation of the masses) is really the vanguard and is not lagging behind.

At the Minority Movement congress in England there was also an opportunist wing. But as the leaders of the Minority Movement did not bring up, or passed lightly over, the important problem (giving political significance to the fights) and the question of realising the hegemony of the Communist Party in the Minority Movement and the British working class generally, the secret supporters of Cook and company were able to keep themselves in the background. They were allowed to keep silent and to consent without scruple to the resolutions proposed. The unanimity and harmony of the congress was maintained, but only at the cost of a clear revolutionary class directive for the British proletariat.

The Congress of the C. G. T. U., as is quite natural, reflected the fierce fight of the majority of the C. P. F. against the Right liquidators and against the conciliators. The differences of opinion at the Congress proved that the majority of the French Party is seriously conducting the fight to overcome opportunism in the Communist movement. On the other hand, the Congress of the British Minority Movement proved by its peaceable, harmonious course that in the British Party, in spite of the fact that its leaders themselves agreed to the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress and of the Tenth Enlarged Executive, the fight for the overcoming of opportunism is still only at the very commencing stage.

The blame for this state of affairs is by no means to be placed on the numerous Communist and opposition workers present at the congress. This portion of the delegates expressed general approval when the main problems were raised by the delegate of the R. I. L. U. The revolutionary forces from the factories pressed for greater clearness and more decided action on the part of the Party, they demanded realisation of the slogan: "Go to the masses!" The blame for the fact that the congress passed off without being seriously made use of for working out the revolutionary class line of the proletariat and the leading role the Communist Party lies with the leaders of the Minority Movement, who do not sufficiently understand the general situation and the consequences arising therefrom and who, therefore, do not push forward, but hold things up.

We consider it our right and duty to be so candid in our criticism, for only by plainly laying bare the defects of the British Minority Movement can there be created the conditions under which the British working class, in view of the general intensification of the world situation — with its extraordinary importance for and the fight against imperialism and the defence of the Soviet Union — shall not lag behind the international revolutionary proletarian fighting front.

The Finnish Social Democrats are Splitting the Trade Union Federation.

By A. J. Smolan.

After month-long preparations the Finnish social-democrats held a so-called "trade union Conference" on September 30th in Helsingfors. Immediately after the Congress of the Trade Union Federation which was held in June of this year and where the social-democrats represented only an insignificant minority, their press started propaganda for this splitting conference.

The social-democratic "Arbetarebladet" in Helsingfors wrote in an article of greetings on 27th September:

"If the approaching Conference resolves not to form any new trade union federation, this does not mean that our work should come to an end, on the contrary, it must be enhanced. It is very probable that some unions which are not under Communist lead will consider it necessary to leave the trade union federation. There is nothing to prevent them from doing so, because the unions have nothing to lose by leaving the Federation, and they can re-enter the federation so soon as conditions permit this. The individual members, however, must remain in their unions, no matter whether the latter belong to the Trade Union Federation or not..."

This was the plan according to which the social-democrats intended to proceed. The few small unions which are in the hands of the social-democrats, such as the printers' union and the union of commercial employees were willfully to destroy the up to now united trade union movement, because it is evident that the overwhelming influence of the class-conscious Left cannot be removed by democratic means. Thus the Conference decided in this sense "to break off relations with the Trade Union Federation in which the Communists have usurped the whole power for themselves". At the same time it was decided that "new social-democratic trade unions should be established where necessary". A committee was elected which should act as the link between the unions which had left the Trade Union Federation. "This Committee shall in addition maintain the connections with the Amsterdam International".

Thus the social-democrats in Finland also have carried out a split, although they cannot put forward any justification for this step, as they had had the greatest freedom of movement within the unions and the federation, although they represent only an insignificant minority. In order to maintain peace and unity at any price the leaders of the Left majority have again and again made new concessions to the pretentious social-democratic minority. They conceded to them a representation in the Federation Executive, which was not at all in keeping with their real influence, and in order to please them they sent a representative to the International Labour Office in Geneva. It has now become obvious that this policy of permanent concessions to the inner enemy has been a great mistake, because this enemy is insatiable and demands everything for itself and considered the policy of concessions on the part of the majority as a sign of weakness of which it skillfully made use for its own ends.

At the Congress in June the Left majority had offered the social-democratic minority several seats on the Federation Executive, and even the post of the first President, but the social-democrats rejected this proposal; they wished to have the whole Executive in their hands in order to be able to impose their policy of industrial peace and of class collaboration on the overwhelmingly class-conscious majority. At the same time their press is constantly making an outcry over the "disruptive activities of the Communists" in the Scandinavian neighbour countries, although there the Communists, in spite of the repression measures of the social-democratic leaders, have remained in the trade unions and nowhere voluntarily left the trade unions.

The Finnish social-democrats, who are voluntarily leaving the revolutionary trade unions, considered it quite in order that the leaders of the Swedish trade unions this Summer expelled whole local branches because they were in favour of the revolutionary trade union unity programme. On the other hand the reformists in the other countries find it quite in order if an insignificant minority is splitting the Finnish trade unions in the name of democracy and justice, solely because this minority consists of Mondist social-democrats who wish to affiliate to the Amsterdam International, on whose behalf they are acting.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Japanese Repression in Korea.

By Gore Graham (London).

Lack of raw materials, together with the feudalist peculiarities of the Japanese State, has led to Japanese capitalism having pronouncedly imperialist tendencies. In very quick time this young imperialist power has acquired a decent-sized Empire, consisting of 100,000 square miles and a population of over 24,000,000. The principal part of this Japanese Empire is Korea with 85,000 square miles. Over this colony great rivalry existed between the two imperialist robbers, Tsarist Russia and Japan, before, in 1910, it was officially annexed by the latter.

The country was then placed under the rule of a governor-general, who was given absolute power. He was independent of Cabinet and Diet, responsible only to the Emperor, by whom measures could be approved but not vetoed. Every foreigner was put under Japanese law; extra-territoriality was abolished. Ja-

panese soldiers and police were sent to control affairs, and under an iron rule material progress was rapidly advanced. Roads were re-made, public buildings erected, agriculture, sanitation and transport systems improved. And all to the greater glory of the Japanese Empire. The following data will show the reader to what extent industry in Korea developed.

Year	Factories	Capital in million yen	No. of workers
1911	252	10.6	14,575
1918	1,700	48.3	46,749
1924	3,841	168.1	73,454

The number of factories in 1924 was fifteen times that of 1911, capital 12 times, and the number of workers five times. To-day all big Japanese enterprises are engaged in extensive plans for future vigorous development of the country. Nevertheless the aim of the Japanese in regard to Korea has always been to make of it an agrarian hinterland supplying raw material and serving as a market for Japanese goods. Principally it supplies Japan with rice (for 80% of the population is agricultural), on account of which the Koreans have to live on inferior food. (Manchurian millet and a cheap grade of Indo-chino rice.) Despite the foregoing figures on industry real industrial development of the country is retarded by the imperialist policy of Japan, which, as already stated, keeps Korea as an agrarian and raw material base.

The aim of the imperial power has been one of Japanizing Korea. The Japanese have not even formally shared their power with any of the native classes in Korea. In Korean schools the Korean language, the history of Korea and of Western nations, or any subject that might encourage patriotism is strictly prohibited. A vigilant censor demands to see any book or paper before it allows publication, a demand which is also made of foreigners. Spies are engaged specially to watch Korean scholars. Anyone can be arrested by the police without warrant. In the year 1916 the total number of cases by police summary judgment was over 56,000, being an increase of 14,000 cases over the previous year. Flogging, imprisonments and exile in inaccessible islands are common punishments.

The Korean has no individual freedom. Of whatever class he is, the poorest Japanese coolie can beat and cuff him. In public offices, Customs Houses, shops, etc. the Korean must always wait until every Japanese has been attended to. The peasant masses are pauperized, and likewise the Korean business community is subjected to severe economic oppression. Over one-fifth of the richest lands are already owned by Japanese settlers who are moving into Korea in increasing numbers. The Koreans are being forced to withdraw north into Manchuria and Soviet Russia. 45,000 Koreans migrated into North China in the year 1919 alone. The Korean receives no payment for labour on road construction, etc. The tax obligations which have to be met reduce the Koreans to actual slavery.

Every movement for real Korean independence is immediately drowned in blood. In 1911 the Japanese arrested many leading Korean intellectuals and charged them with conspiring to assassinate the Governor-General. Nine were exiled, three died under secret tortures and 106 were sentenced to imprisonment. With no press, use of mother tongue, free speech, etc. the movement for independence laboured against great odds.

In 1919 the Koreans rose in revolt. But it was unarmed, unorganized revolt. Over 200,000 people gathered on the streets. Thirty-three men, professors, writers and religious representatives, drew up a declaration of independence. For this they were goaled. But the movement spread throughout Korea. The Koreans, however, being unarmed were easily imprisoned by the hundred. No violence was shown in any demonstration — such was, indeed, impossible — but the Japanese fiercely attacked them. Within two weeks thousands were imprisoned in Seoul alone, and in prison subjected to horrible tortures. Between March and the middle of July 11,000 were flogged.

When the movement was suppressed, the military autocracy was strengthened by reinforcements of soldiers and police from Japan. A new decree giving ten years' imprisonment to anyone participating in the movement was promulgated.

The Japanese had evidently been learning the art of ruling from their experienced friends, the British ruling class. In 1919

they gave one or two apparent concessions to Korean independence. They allowed three respectable daily newspapers to be published, and gave a few Korean students passports to study in America and Europe (not Moscow!). The use of uniforms and swords by officials and teachers was also abandoned!

But nevertheless when the great earthquake occurred in Japan in 1923, it was thought that the Koreans would take the opportunity of rebelling. Japanese imperialism remembered the Irish difficulties, experienced by its fellow imperialist, Britain during its national crisis. A movement was, therefore, started to suppress the revolt by killing all the Koreans living in Japan. In Tokyo and its vicinity alone 9000 Koreans were massacred.

The national movement is still carrying on. Since the experience of the Chinese revolution the Japanese are, so it seems, beginning to resort to certain safety measures, such as winging over to its side a section of the Korean bourgeoisie. The near-sighted Japanese rulers openly support such a policy but it has not yet evolved to any great extent.

The "Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea" has headquarters in China. The nationalist movement is actuated by three different types comprising those who want to achieve a bourgeois-military overthrow of Japanese imperialism, those who, like the Korean Commission in Washington, seek to secure independence by appeal to the humanity of other (capitalist) nations, and finally those who seek to lead the working and peasant masses in a struggle which will, in the words of a recent Comintern resolution:

"By its social and economic content, be directed not only against Japanese imperialism, but also against Korean feudalism. It will be directed towards the abolition of all pre-capitalist remnants and survivals, towards a cardinal change in the agrarian relations, towards a cleansing of the land from pre-capitalist forms of slavery."

U. S. A. Imperialism in Haiti.

By Henry Ch. Rosemond.

First Adviser of the Haitian Patriotic Union in U. S. A.

United States imperialism is proceeding in the Negro Republic of Haiti more and more in the same manner as in the countries of Latin America. This gigantic system of wholesale exploitation is gradually converting the workers into slaves in the true sense of the word. All the peasant products are now turned over to a few companies working for a larger concern controlled by the Wall Street Bankers. Every month fresh taxes are imposed in order further to increase the income of the American capitalists in Haiti. The representative of the United States in Haiti, John W. Russell, demanded of the puppet president Louis Borno the issue of a new land law which shall immediately come into operation.

Under the provisions of this proposed law the American are given the right to dispossess the Haitian workers and peasants who cannot show any title deeds to the lands held by them and of which they have been in undisputed possession for generations. Further, the workers and peasants must produce state certificates giving particulars of the date of purchase, the area, and the price of their lands.

Many of the peasant families acquired their land during the revolution which took place in Haiti in January 1804. Jean Jacques Dessaline, who led the revolutionary army against the army of Napoleon, carried out in every detail the programme of the famous Black revolutionist, Toussaint Louverture, distributing in just proportions the lands of the exploiters and the overthrown government among the leaders and the soldiers of that historic revolution.

The proposed law will increase still further the misery already existing. The Haitian peasants are receiving 50 per cent less for their products since the U. S. A. intervention in Haiti in July 1915. The workers are not even getting enough to live on. Hundreds of Haitians who are working for the biggest concerns in Haiti, the Haitian & American Sugar Co. in Port-au-Prince, are earning only 20 cents a day.

In the Civil Service Americans are employed in every department. American engineers receive from 200 to 500 Dollars

month, while the Haitian engineers, who have just as much or even more experience than most of the Americans, receive from 40 to 200 Dollars a month. It is a well-known fact that most of the Haitian engineers have received their training in France, Germany, or England and one or two in the United States.

In the military departments the so-called U. S. A. officials in Haiti draw two salaries a month: one from the U. S. A. government and one from the Haitian government, amounting to 100 Dollars, to which are added many other perquisites.

The idea behind the proposed land law is to expel the peasants from their lands, because they are not prepared to sell them to the agents of Wall Street in Haiti who wish to start new rubber and sugar plantations in the mountains of Haiti, specially in the mountains of Petion-Ville, the coolest State in East Haiti.

If the penetration of Haiti by U. S. A. imperialism proceeds without resistance the result will be the creation of a naval base in the Mole St. Nicholas, which will enable American imperialism to dominate central America. Haiti will thereby be involved in the next imperialist war. The population of Haiti are beginning to perceive the implications of imperialist domination; they are recognising more and more that the fight against the threatening dangers can only be conducted side by side with the other suppressed peoples and the international proletariat.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Constance Conference

against Austrian Fascism and the Military fascist Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

THE DISCUSSION.

The first speakers to discuss the situation were two Austrian comrades, who supplemented the reports in various respects.

A German comrade spoke as follows:

In the leading circles of our brother-Party in Austria there have been liquidational tendencies, which stand in the way of a proper solution of the problems at issue.

In regard to economic struggles, the Party is way behind events. Two years ago it had plenty of influence in the Alpine Mountain works; this influence it has forfeited. No importance was attached to the economic struggles. Thus it was impossible to wage a political one. The Party must rally around it all honest workers who are willing to take an active part in the economic struggles. Communist factory councils who are merely hangers-on of the policy of the Social Democrats, must be expelled from the Party.

The main thing is, in the first place, an active ideological fight for the extermination of the defeatist elements in the Party and, in the second place, an energetic development of the economic struggle, which must be raised to the level of political mass-strikes.

A comrade from Czechoslovakia gave voice to the following opinion:

It is not to be expected that the solution of the crisis in Austria will be possible without violence. It is wrong to place Fascism and Social-Fascism over against one another; it is wrong to assume that the Austrian Social Democrats aspire to a peaceful solution of the problem. When the class struggle is more advanced, the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and of the Republican Defence Corps will go hand in hand with the Fascists against the workers. Our positive slogan must be that of **proletarian dictatorship**. The Communist Party of Austria must not only mobilise the Party itself but effect, on the basis of a tangible programme, a mass-mobilisation of the workers and peasants, especially in the works.

An Italian comrade discussed the situation in the following terms:

The situation in Austria is of particular importance from the standpoint of its effects on the European working class.

The central fact is the breakdown of Austro-Marxism, which had brought "Left" Socialism to a greater degree of perfection than even the old Socialist Party in Italy. The ultimate abandonment of Austro-Marxist ideology will entail an acceleration of the Fascist development of the Social-Democratic parties and an acceleration in the process of radicalisation among the workers.

It is not right, however, to identify Social Fascism and National Fascism, standardising everything and refusing to recognise differences in the capitalist camp.

The Austrian Social Democrats cannot completely amalgamate with the Fascists and make common cause with them in every respect, since this would mean a surrender of their typical political functions in the bourgeois-State. On the other hand, they cannot consistently fight against Fascism, since they would then logically be forced to fight against the entire capitalist order of things. The consequent crisis must be turned to account by the Austrian proletariat, which under the leadership of the Communist Party, must direct its attacks against this weak point.

One of the analogies between the Austrian position and the development of Fascism in Italy, is the Social-Democratic endeavour to suggest a compromise, or armistice, in the shape of a Schober Government, similar to the Facta-Bonomi Government in Italy. Such a respite, however, merely benefits the Fascists, who in the meantime organise their ranks and disarm the workers. This is the way in which Social-Fascism smooths the way for national Fascism.

Some concrete questions in point. The Austrian comrades describe their Party as being very weak. The leaders pursue correct lines of action, which are, however, not sufficiently reflected in practice. For the fight against Fascism, the main thing is the strengthening of the Party in the works, since otherwise the proper directives of the Party remain without consequence. The realisation of these directives in practice can only be effected in an actual struggle.

Contrary to the original development in Italy, the Austrian Fascists are already finding a footing in the works. Nevertheless, it is the peasant adherents of Fascism who represent its main strength. With regard to anti-Fascist agitation among the peasantry, the Italian Party in particular has certain experience which might be turned to account. Perhaps it would be possible to found a "peasant centre", which would be more than merely an enlarged department of the Party. Such a centre would comprehend also Social-Democratic and non-party peasants and propagate the creation of a workers' and peasants' bloc.

A plan should be worked out for rendering the relief campaign international and starting it at once. An important point is also the financial support, collections for which must immediately be commenced in the brother Parties.

A representative of the West European Bureau of the C. I. spoke as follows:

In the first place it is necessary that the C. P. A. be provided with exact directives and that its tasks be accurately defined. In Austria a rapid process of regrouping and concentration of all bourgeois forces is in progress as a result of the rapid rate of radicalisation among the masses, of the revolutionary development, and of the incipient counter-offensive of the workers. In the specific circumstances of Austria, the fact of this counter-offensive of the Austrian proletariat leads immediately to a decisive upheaval of the foundations of the bourgeoisie and opens up the prospects of a proletarian revolution. Fascism is an undisputable necessity for the Austrian bourgeoisie if it is to continue its offensive against the proletariat, overcome the revolutionary proletarian upsurge and assault, and prepare Austria for a war against the Soviet Union. Fascist dictatorship in Austria is to serve as a preventive measure against proletarian revolution. Therefore the crisis is maturing with enormous velocity and the class-fight already assumes the forms of a civil war. In Austria we are approaching an immediately revolutionary situation. The decision lies between a Fascist dictatorship and a government of the workers and peasants, i. e. proletarian dictatorship in alliance with the working peasantry. This is the obvious prospect of the further development of the extraordinarily accentuated class-struggle in Austria.

Contrary to the demagogic parole of the Austrian Social Democrats ("For 1848"), we must confront the Austrian proletariat clearly and emphatically with the parole "For the Red October of 1917".

A confrontation of Fascism and Social-Fascism in Austria is mistaken, as is also a simple identification of the one with the other. Between them there are certain differences and conflicts, which, however, do not amount to a fight between two classes (bourgeoisie and proletariat) but to a dispute between two groups of the bourgeoisie on the basis of the capitalist system. The Austrian Social Democrats are for the present still

opposed to a pronounced Fascist dictatorship, i. e. to a dictatorship of financial capital by means of the Heimwehr, but they favour a dictatorship against the revolutionary proletariat, in which they hope to play a decisive rôle. They are carrying on a vigorous competitive fight against the Heimwehr for the salvation of their own Party positions in the State apparatus of the bourgeois Republic. The fight against Fascism must therefore at the same time be a merciless fight against Social-Fascism.

The Party must mobilise and lead the proletariat in its fight against industrial peace, against capitalist rationalisation, for higher wages, for the seven-hour day, and the like. In this respect the revolutionary opposition in the trade unions must be rendered as active as possible. It is only in such a tangible struggle of the masses against Fascism that the class-conscious Social-Democratic worker can also be gained, the gulf between them and the Social-Fascists enlarged, the inevitable breakdown of the Social Democrats accelerated, the militant Social-Democratic workers separated from Social-Fascism and recruited for the revolutionary anti-Fascist front. Only in such a fight can our Party grow speedily and develop into a party of the masses.

It is just in this respect that we see the main weakness of the C. P. A. and the chief reason for its slow and feeble development into a mass party. The C. P. A. has altogether neglected the question of the peasantry which even under the present circumstances in Austria is of great significance. It is a well-known fact that the Heimwehr Fascists find their main support in the suffering peasant masses. The Party must speedily work out a tangible programme of action for the working peasantry, popularise it energetically, and by means of peasant committees mobilise the peasants for the fight for possession of the land and against taxation and usury, in connection with the fight against Fascism, and place them under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. It is particularly necessary to do energetic work among the agricultural labourers, who must be the main prop of the class struggle in the rural districts. Without an alliance between the proletariat and the working peasantry, a successful fight against the menace of Fascist dictatorship and for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

Furthermore, the Party has neglected the fight for influence among the young peasants and workers and propaganda among female workers. Both the Fascists and the Social-Fascists pay a tremendous amount of attention to activity among these sections of the population, which are of such obvious importance for the revolutionary class-struggle. All this must be made good without further loss of time. In the present situation, anti-militarist agitation and work in the army, which is of paramount importance, must be increased. In striving for the revolutionary fight against Fascism in collaboration with the entire revolutionary proletariat the Party must also succeed in gaining the adherence of the militant elements in the Republican Defence Corps.

The Austrian sector of the world-revolutionary front is at present very weak. The opportunist Social-Democratic traditions among the Austrian workers are extremely strong. The C. P. A. still suffers in a certain sense from the effects of these morbid traditions. It is faced with tremendous difficulties. Therefore it is all the more necessary that it be supported by our entire international Party and that the fight against Fascism in Austria be made an international matter. In all countries we must carry on a large-scale campaign of enlightenment regarding the serious position in Austria, grant the Austrian proletariat all-round political and material support, arrange political strikes and demonstrations, send workers' delegates to Austria, found an international fund for the fight against Fascism, and the like.

The C. P. A. will not be able to fight Fascism successfully until by energetic, bold, and practical work, by conquering opportunism and the Social-Democratic traditions, by unflinching faith in the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, and by initiative and activity — it has worked itself up to be a true leader of the Austrian working masses of the proletariat and peasantry.

A comrade from Germany made the following remarks:

All the decisive problems in Austria result from the fact of virtual civil war. In Austria there is not yet any Communist Party of the masses; the C. P. A. is ideologically not yet uniform. Nevertheless, the prospect is that of a choice between Fascist or proletarian dictatorship.

The relations between Social-Fascism and National Fascism are still very vague. It must be considered a dialectical process. National Fascism is also directed against certain positions of the Social Fascists. The more energetic the demeanour of the

National Fascists, the more "Fascist" do the Social Fascists become and the more speedily do the two varieties of Fascism approach one another. In the S. P. A. there are vigorous tendencies towards a "pacific" solution of the crisis. These attempts will fail because the Austrian bourgeoisie has no intention of establishing a dictatorship in community with the Social Fascists.

An Italian comrade expressed the opinion that the attempt at a Fascist "putsch" in Austria was imminent. The main question was, what tangible measures the Communist Party should adopt to mobilise the workers internationally, a step which must be taken at once so as to benefit our Austrian comrades.

The Austrian question is an international question. The most important task of each individual Party is that of impressing every comrade the significance of the events in Austria on his own country. A Fascist dictatorship in Austria would have a direct effect on the position of the proletariat of all countries, especially Germany and Czechoslovakia. In all countries, therefore, an alarm must be raised and actions initiated without delay.

CONCLUSION.

In summing up, the reporter of the W. E. B. first turned against the expatiations of the Czechoslovakian comrade in regard to the thesis of Social Fascism. Undoubtedly Social Fascism is an instrument of financial capitalism, just like Fascism. But it is wrong to place them entirely on a level. If things were really as the Czechoslovakian comrade made out, the fight in Austria would be utterly senseless. If we do not underline the special features of Fascism in contradistinction to Social Fascism, we cannot recognise the true class-reasons underlying the superficial differences between Social Fascism and National Fascism.

If the question is put in the way chosen by our comrade from Czechoslovakia, the only possible course for us is that of inactivity. If it is quite indifferent whether Fascism or Social Fascism exercises authority for financial capitalism, the fight now brewing in Austria need not concern us at all, since we would be indifferent to us whether the bourgeoisie reigns or means of the one form of Fascism or the other. But even he who sees no more than the mere outline of things cannot but recognise that this theory, as set up by our Czech comrade, is extremely dangerous and may find no utterance in our resolutions.

Just the opposite is the case. The more pregnantly and tangibly we are able to distinguish between the peculiar characteristics of Fascism and those of Social Fascism, the more shall we be in a position to give a concrete form to the tasks and methods of fighting with which we are now confronted and to make them familiar to the workers. This very play of forces in the case of Austria must induce us to formulate our analysis of the position, the existing forces, and the elements of the class struggle most conscientiously, tangibly, and exactly. The formulation desired by our Czech comrade we must reject. We can, however, so far agree with him as to change two passages in regard to which he made correct critical observations.

The reporter agreed with the criticism of the German comrade in regard to deviations in the Austrian Party and also underlined the fact that the social position of the proletariat in Austria, the general agrarian crisis, and the situation of the peasantry are the foundations of the class struggle at present in progress in that country. In regard to the peasant movement our Austrian Party has almost completely failed, not having recognised that the elements of the class struggle also exist in the rural areas and must be utilised by us for the mobilisation of the poor peasants.

The reporter especially endorsed such suggestions in the discussion as pointed to the leading rôle of the Communist Party in the economic struggles and in the struggles for better wages and working-hours. The Fascists have succeeded in gaining a footing in the factories and even in conquering entire industries, seeing that the Communist Party almost completely failed after the failure of the reformist trade-union bureaucrats and paid no further attention to a respective activity. If the Party does not succeed in playing a leading rôle in the economic fights of the proletariat, it is impossible that it should do so in the present acute crisis, which has a pronouncedly revolutionary character. It will then leave the victory to the Fascists to counter-revolution and reaction. All depends on whether the Party will be strong enough to organise and carry out the economic struggles of the proletariat.

The organisation of the economic struggles of the proletariat, the organisation of the struggles of the poor peasantry

against the landowners and against exploitation by the State, and the organisation of the poor peasants and the workers against the danger of Fascism — these are the three main tasks to which the Communist Party must devote itself with all its energy.

At the present conference we have to adopt some very serious resolutions, on the rectitude of which it will depend whether we are able to carry through the revolutionary class-struggle not only in Germany but in all Europe in a Bolshevik spirit. For the first time since 1923, we are again faced in a central European country with the problem of an immediate decision of the question of power for the proletariat. We shall now see whether the West-European Parties have so far developed in the direction of Bolshevism as not to repeat, in this second period of revolutionary convulsions in Europe, the catastrophic mistakes of the first period. We shall see whether the revolutionary fight is to end in a defeat, or, thanks to a correct Bolshevik strategy and proper tactics, in a victory, of the proletariat.

At the first step we take in this direction — on the occasion of to-day's conference — our entire revolutionary experience in regard to strategy since the victory of the Russian proletariat must find attention and consideration. In the present resolution we believe we have found the right means to this end. The many suggestions made during the discussion must find consideration in the final form of the resolution, and therefore, in view of the Austrian occurrences, the entire spirit of our appeal and our activity must be directed towards the mobilisation of the proletarian masses in Europe.

After the concluding speech of the reporter, a resolution was passed, on the basis of the draft submitted by the W. E. B., supporting an appeal to the international proletariat and instructions to the Communist Parties. The W. E. B. was instructed to introduce the amendments and suggestions made into the resolution.

On the second item of the agenda, a speech was held by a comrade from Yugoslavia, who made the following remarks:

The military-Fascist upheaval in Yugoslavia, which had the full support of the British and French bourgeoisie, has removed the last traces of democracy.

The Zivkovich Government is a government of the big bourgeoisie and the financial capitalists, a government of war on the Soviet Union. The Fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia is an expression of the stabilisation of capital. On the contrary, it has only entailed a further demoralisation of the economic and political state of the country.

The economic crisis has been aggravated. The prices of agricultural products have fallen tremendously. The taxation of the toilers has been enormously increased. At present the peasants pay 311 per cent. more taxes than before the war. The united front of the capitalists and landlords against the peasantry is particularly noticeable in the liquidation of the agrarian reform. The Fascist Government takes the land from the poor peasants and gives it back to the landlords. The crisis affects not only the poorest sections, but also the middle sections of the peasantry.

With the aggravation of the agrarian crisis, there is also an accentuation of the crisis in industry. It is only the industries working directly or indirectly for war purposes that prosper. Commerce is at a standstill. The epidemic of bankruptcies is drawing ever wider circles. The creditary difficulties are more and more acutely felt. In the first half of 1929, the foreign trade of Yugoslavia showed a deficit of 670 million dinars.

The workers of Yugoslavia are in receipt of lower wages than the workers of any other European country. Unemployment is on the increase, also as a result of the expropriation of the peasants. All proletarian organisations have been forbidden, while the organisations of the national minorities are likewise suppressed.

The Social Democrats have become the conscious agents of Fascism; their organisations are being abandoned by the workers.

The discontent of the working masses finds utterance in numerous strikes and in the refusal of the peasants to pay taxes. Such peasants as have been ousted from their property in some cases form partisan bands, plundering the farms of the usurers and doing away with the agents of the dictators in the open country. Under the pressure of the peasant masses, the bourgeois leaders of the peasant-democratic coalition were forced to renounce their negotiations with the Monarchy in regard to a

participation in the Fascist government. Some of the leaders of the Raditch Party emigrated, but not so as to support the revolutionary fight but only so as to solicit of the League of Nations an intervention and a peaceful solution of the crisis in Yugoslavia. The social basis of the dictatorship is narrowing markedly.

The campaigns for May 1st and August 1st prove that the broad masses of workers, peasants, and "minority nationals" warmly sympathise with the struggle of the Communists and support it. On May 1st from 70 to 80 per cent. of the workers were at a standstill in the larger industrial centres. At Sisak the Party succeeded in arranging a big demonstration, in which mainly peasants took part. The agrarian workers eagerly read the May pamphlets of the Party. On August 1st the Party succeeded in arranging demonstrations and assemblies in a number of towns.

In the execution of its murderous policy, the government of knouts and bayonets meets with the energetic resistance of the workers under the lead of the Communist Party.

The development of a revolutionary situation in Yugoslavia is advancing at an accelerated pace. The Yugoslav Party is faced with the prospect of a decisive struggle. In its hard fight, a fight of international importance, it looks to the help of all other Communist Parties and of the revolutionary proletariat and working peasantry.

After short speeches on the part of another German and another Austrian comrade and after the final speech of the representative of the W. E. B., the Conference determined to accept as a basis the resolution and the appeal for the defence of the workers' and peasants' revolution in Yugoslavia.

The Conference appeals to the workers of all countries, to render active aid to the Austrian and Yugoslav proletariat in its fight against Fascism.

THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

The Fight for the Rising Generation.

(The IV. International Conference of Leaders of the Communist Children's Associations.)

By Ernst.

Ten thousand young pioneers from all parts of the Soviet Union came to the "Sijot" in Moscow. For a whole week the Red capital city was commandeered by the young generation and all the streets rang with their songs and demonstrations. The first International Congress of the Proletarian Children, which was attended by 250 child delegates from over 100 different races and nations, many being from capitalist countries, such as Germany, England and America, was a tremendous international counter-demonstration against the Boy-Scout jamboree in England and the Youth Day of the Social Fascists in Vienna. Immediately afterwards the IV. International Conference of the Leaders of the Communist Children's Association, assembled under the auspices of the Executive Committee of the Y. C. I. It was a real working session. All of the important capitalist countries were represented by delegates, and comrades came even from America and China.

The new period is setting new tasks for our Communist Children's Associations. In conjunction with the capitalist rationalisation, greater and greater masses of children are being drawn into the process of production. At the same time, the schools are being more and more adapted to the war preparations of the imperialist governments, a fact which is observable from the increased war propaganda and the military drill in the schools.

Further, greater attention is also being given by the authorities in the capitalist States to the training of children apart from regular school education, with the result that the Social-Fascist, professed Fascist, the clerical and the chauvinist sports organisations for children are developing within and outside the schools an intensive activity with strong support from the organs of the capitalist governments. It is an important fact that the general process of radicalisation and the leftward tendency of the proletarian masses is extending to the children, who are becoming active in politics and playing a more and more important part in political life.

The representative of the Y. C. I., Comrade FURNBERG, spoke about the political situation in conjunction with the tasks of the children's movement, the growing significance of which he

pointed out. The representative of the International Children's Bureau, Comrade Ernst, spoke of the state of the children's movement and its tasks, while Comrade Ruth Kahn of the German association spoke of the system and working methods.

Self-criticism of a ruthless nature was exercised at the conference, and we may say without hesitation that the present condition of the children's movement is highly unsatisfactory. There is not a single country in which we have a mass movement of children, and in Germany, England and France the state of the movement is critical. It is true that in a number of countries new associations have been founded, so that pioneer organisations now exist in every part of the world. The total number of pioneers has increased, but the organisations in the individual countries are very weak and their activity is totally inadequate. This unsatisfactory condition of things was attributed to weak leadership of the Communist Children's Associations by the Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties. In the first place, our parties, with few exceptions, devote absolutely no attention to the children's movement. In the question of Communist militant training very many opportunist Social-Democratic views obtain in the parties.

At the same time, it was, however, ascertained — and herein lies the chief significance of the IV. International Conference — that the present working system of our children's associations is wrong and that it does not afford any possibility of penetrating the masses of the children and mobilising them. If our children's association wish to develop into mass associations, they must depart from the present wrong system and create a uniform working system on the basis of the experience they have now gathered. The outstanding features of the new line to be taken must be a daily systematic fight in the interests of the children and particularly of the exploited strata of the children, participation of the children's associations in the most important political fights and actions, formation of auxiliary organisations, greater penetration of schools and factories, revival of the internal life of the pioneer organisations, greater development of the self-initiative and activity of the Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties.

The conference was followed by a weeks school, at which were concretely treated in sections the chief questions which confront the individual countries. The school was an excellent supplement to the conference. In conclusion it may be said that our children's movement has excellent prospect of good development. It must be added, however, that our Young Communist Leagues and our Parties must devote the necessary attention to winning over the rising generation.

FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT DANGER

Characteristics of Soviet Economy.

By A. Leontiev.

III.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that a serious cause for misunderstanding and for an uncritical application of categories of capitalist economy to conditions of Soviet economy may be found to lie in the suggestion of Comrade Bukharin of establishing for the transition period schemes of reproduction "analogous to those of Volume 2 of 'Capital', that is to say, the conditions of dynamic economic equilibrium". As we have just seen, Comrade Bukharin considers this establishment of equilibrium to be tantamount to the realisation of the plan. There results a comparison of the plan itself to the schemes of reproduction, to be constructed "according to the analogy" of Volume 2 of "Capital".

It is altogether obvious that the Marxian schemes of reproduction, as indeed all other parts of the Marxian economic system, are of tremendous value also for an investigation of transitional economy. But this value can only be realised if we maintain full clarity as to the fundamental difference undoubtedly existing between the Marxian schemes of reproduction and the economic plan subject to the conditions of the transition period. The main characteristic of this difference is that Marx' schemes of reproduction are intended theoretically to represent the anarchic process of capitalist production and reproduction in its entirety, whereas our economic plan is engaged with the realisation of a number of extremely practical tasks, which must be fulfilled, moreover, in a very complicated concrete situation, in which the main factor is that of a conscious influence on the

entire course of economic development. It clearly follows that a comparison between the plan of Soviet economy and the Marxian schemes of reproduction is just as incorrect as the attempt to solve the complicated problems of systematized economy "according to an analogy" with these schemes.

This is not the first time that Comrade Bukharin has approached the problem of equilibrium in transitional economy. But the answers he once gave to these questions not only differ essentially from his present answers but flatly contradict them. In his work on "The Economy of the Transition Period" written during the era of "War Communism", we find the assertion that in an analysis of transitional economy the "concept of equilibrium" is not applicable. "Neither between production and consumption nor among the various branches of production is there any proportionate relation." (p. 132/33 of the Russian edition.) Since the transition period "will last only a time", this social system may for the time being remain an "abnormal condition", i. e. outside the condition of equilibrium.

Reality has shown the inaccuracy of this standpoint. It is, however, appear surprising that precisely Comrade Bukharin who at that time assumed that there was a proportionate relation "neither between production and consumption nor among the various branches of production", now considers the essence and import of the plan to lie in "establishing the conditions of a proper combination of the various spheres of production and consumption and of the various spheres of production in relation to one another". We must assume, however, that there is nothing curious about this. The root of the mistake in both cases lies in the undialectic and mechanical conception of stability.

In a presentation of the economic teachings of Marx in the article on Marxism contributed to the "Granat" encyclopedia Lenin quotes the following utterance of Marx, taken from the preface to Volume 1 of "Capital": 1. The final aim of a book is that of discovering the economic law of motion of modern society..

In the "Economy of the Transition Period" we may recall the following passage):

"Here (in capitalist society) there can be all sorts of deviations and fluctuations; the entire system may be enlarged, complicated, or expanded; it is in a constant state of motion and change, but nevertheless all in all in a state of equilibrium. I discover the law of this equilibrium is just the fundamental problem of theoretic economics." (p. 128 of the Russian edition.)

Thus we have a very eloquent confrontation. Lenin follows Marx in defining the task of political economy as consisting in the discovery of the law of motion of modern society; Bukharin considers this task to lie in the discovery of the law of equilibrium. Is this merely the question of a different formulation? By no means. It would naturally be ridiculous to assume that, in speaking of motion, Marx and Lenin completely ignore the factor of equilibrium, or that Bukharin, in speaking of equilibrium, completely forgets the influence of motion. But the confrontation of these two definitions furnishes a clear example which is highly characteristic of the difference in attitude. The difference in treating the same problem, dialectically or mechanically. In the one case equilibrium is considered a frequent occurrence but subordinate to the idea of motion, which dialectically taken to be the general condition of matter, in the other case motion is considered no more than a fact complicating the mechanical conception of equilibrium.

In the solution of the main problem of a systematized conduct of Soviet economy, the difference between these two attitudes is very plainly felt. If we start from the dialectic attitude which provides for a "priority" of motion, it is obvious that the constituting (i. e. determinative) factor of the plan is its direction towards an aim, consciously determining the character of motion. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the significance which is attached to the idea of equilibrium in a mechanical conception, there is thorough consistency in the inferences made by Comrade Bukharin in regard to the plan, which he reduces completely to conditions of dynamic equilibrium.

This shows the danger of a mechanical attitude towards the solution of the fundamental problems of Soviet economy.

¹⁾ This refers, as did the foregoing remark, to Chapter 1, which, as a footnote states, was mainly contributed by Comrade Piatakov. The opinions there expressed, however, naturally coincide to the full with those of Comrade Bukharin.