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The Treaty between the Soviet Union and Turkey.

By Irandust.

On the 17th of December two noteworthy events took place which affect the international situation of Turkey and the whole of the Near East. In Geneva the League of Nations adopted a decision sanctioning the occupation of the Turkish province of Mosul undertaken by England in 1918. On the same day in Paris, comrade Chicherin and the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik-Ruschdi, signed a treaty which definitely formulates the friendly political relations existing between the Soviet Union and the young Turkish Republic.

The synchronizing of the two events and the import of the above-mentioned international documents are not the result of mere chance. The decision arrived at in Geneva, to hand over Mosul to Iraq, that is to England, was a good illustration of the declarations recently made by Chamberlain regarding the intentions of the English government to extend the "Spirit of Locarno" to the East. Although the Turkish press described this decision as "an act of brute force and arbitrariness", the

English Foreign Minister in his recent report to the House of Commons had the brazenness to declare, that in the Mosul question the British government was seeking to proceed by way of an understanding with Turkey, "of course within the limits of the decision adopted by the League of Nations".

The meaning of this declaration is, however, exposed by the "Daily Herald". According to the latter there is a conflict going on in the English Cabinet between two schools of Asiatic policy. One of these wishes to arrive at an understanding with Russia in order to isolate Turkey, while the other would prefer to come to an understanding with Turkey in order to complete the isolation of Russia. As is to be seen, here the "spirit of Locarno" of Chamberlain aims in the first place at weakening the resistance which the imperialist policy of England encounters in the East, by bringing about a split in the close alliance existing between the countries of the East and the Soviet Union.

The decision of the League of Nations in the Mosul question does not in any way solve the question, so long as Turkey does not recognise this decision or agrees to yield up a portion of her territory to England. Public opinion in England is highly disturbed by the firm attitude which Turkey is adopting in the Mosul question. The tremendous fuss which the imperialist press of all tendencies (including the French press) is now making regarding the danger which threatens Turkey if she does not acquiesce in the decision of the League of Nations, is an indication of the great uneasiness which prevails in leading English circles.

Not so very long ago the official organ of the French Foreign Ministry anxiously remarked that one must perceive in the recent events in Persia the commencement of the formation of a close grouping, consisting of the Soviet Union, Persia and Turkey, which constitutes the first stage in the organising of the States of the East in order to resist the broad grouping of the States of the West. This newspaper pointed out, that this policy of approachment of the Eastern peoples constituted a very great threat not only to British power in Asia, but also for the entire European influence.

For this reason the entire apparatus of imperialist diplomacy has recently been set in motion in order to avert the danger of an approachment of the Oriental peoples. The English and American newspapers are publishing fictitious stories regarding an alleged agreement concluded between Italy and the Soviet Union, one of the clauses of which is said to be directed against the interests of Turkey. In this respect the "Morning Post", the chief organ of English reaction, is, as usual, playing the leading role. A few days ago it also published a sensational report as to a secret Treaty between Turkey and the Soviet Union, according to which Russia is to support the Turkish demands in the Mosul question, and which is at the same time directed against Persia, in so far as the Soviet Union has agreed in this Treaty that Turkey shall have possession of Persian Azerbaijan. At the same time this worthy organ of English imperialism tried to frighten Turkey by declaring that the Soviet Union would not only not support Turkey in the Mosul question, but was cherishing plans of attacking Turkey, as Russia was striving to obtain possession of Constantinople (!)

The Paris Boulevard press eagerly corroborated this "information" and declared that the Soviet Union did not wish to tie its hands by an agreement with Turkey, as the Soviet Union itself was thinking of coming to an agreement with the West. The bourgeois press hope by means of all these contradictory and incoherent rumours to create a breach between the various countries of the East, and to sow mistrust among them regarding the Eastern policy of the Soviet Union.

The press of the Soviet Union has not wasted much space in refuting these lying reports of the kept imperialist press. In fact this was not necessary. The Treaty between the Soviet Union and Turkey, which has been published, constitutes a model of our Eastern policy in general and of the relations of the Soviet Union to Turkey in particular. In an interview given by comrade M. M. Litvinoff, the latter emphasised that the Soviet Union is prepared to conclude a similar treaty with any other country which aims at establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union. In this connection our new Treaty with Turkey stands out in sharp contrast to the methods of the Locarno policy in the East which are being employed by Sir Austen Chamberlain. The decision of the League of Nations in the Mosul question, which is to be regarded as a sanctioning of the English robber policy, destroys all the illusions of Locarno which the British suppressed peoples of the Near East."

A few days ago the Turkish official organ summed up the situation as follows: "The imperialist character of the League of Nations renders necessary the formation of a new League, aiming at freeing the Asiatic peoples from the League of the Imperialists. This League must be created on the initiative of the suppressed peoples of the Near East."

Our Treaty with Turkey is not directed against any third State, but will appear to the entire East as an example of a sincere policy of peace and approachment between the various peoples.

POLITICS

The Crisis in Czechoslovakia.

By V. Stern (Prague).

The outer symptoms of a severe crisis usually attract much more attention than the underlying causes. Thus, the stormy beginning of the session of the newly elected Czechoslovakian parliament has aroused the greatest sensation among the entire population, although it is nothing else than one of the many signs of the severe crisis which has for long existed in the Czechoslovakian Republic, which has only been rendered visible by the election result, and which has entered on a new stage which is forcing the Czechish bourgeoisie to face serious issues.

The scene of this opening of parliament was, however, very impressive and at the same time characteristic of the whole situation. Half of the National Assembly demonstrated in the most passionate manner their hostility to the government, which by fraudulent election methods had obtained a small majority of the seats in Parliament and behind which there only stands a minority of the electors. The stormy scenes commenced with the opening of parliament and were continued when the members of the house were taking the oath. They reached their culmination during the declaration of the Prime Minister, Svehla, and lasted during the whole government debate. The clerical Slovakian Hlinka Party, that is the members of the alleged ruling so-called "Czechoslovakian" people, behaved in a particularly excited manner; the German Bourgeois Parties banged the lids of their desks and played toy trumpets; and the greatest indignation was created among all the supporters of the government when the Slovaks sang the "Hej Slovane" the Slav national song, which the Czechs at one time used to sing in defiance of the Habsburg Monarchy and which was now directed against the Czechish government. The Germans followed this up with "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles", the Germans and the Slovaks applauding each other. Later, after the declaration of the Communist Party, the strains of the "Internationale" were heard in the bourgeois democratic parliament: a symbol of the fact that only the proletariat will really create order.

It is clear that the fuming and ranting of the clerical Slovaks and of the German bourgeoisie is to a great extent mere stage-thunder, aimed at demonstrating to the present government its weakness and in this way to obtain at the earliest possible moment an invitation to participate in the government. But in spite of this, these scenes are also an expression of the tremendous indignation and bitterness which has accumulated among the suppressed nationalities, before all among the Slovaks and Ukrainians who are ill-treated in the most brutal and ruthless manner.

The election defeat of the Czech bourgeoisie rendered it very hard for the latter to make use of the democratic swindle to overcome these difficulties. The new and pure Czech government which has been formed by including the Artisans' party (the last Czech reserve), does not possess a majority among the electors, and the parliamentary majority (160 against 140) which it has managed to gain by the most unscrupulous election frauds, is not sufficiently stable. The differences within the old coalition of five Czech Parties (Agrarians, Clericals, National Socialists, Social Democrats and National Democrats) were so great that they finally led to a premature dissolution of the old parliament. The differences between the present six parties, two of which have suffered severe defeats, must of course lead to constant and even greater difficulties and conflicts. The strength of the Communist Party, as well as the general situation, is compelling the Czech bourgeoisie to seek a basis for the formation of a stronger and more durable government.

In this situation the Czech bourgeoisie is faced with the alternatives: either to seek a way out by means of an understanding with the bourgeois-social-patriotic camp of the suppressed nationalities, or to employ fascist methods. But both these possible solutions involve the greatest dangers for the Czech bourgeoisie. The dangers involved in the fascist experiment are perfectly obvious, especially if this fascism were to be employed simultaneously against the proletariat and against the non-Czechish nationalities. But on the other hand, an understanding with Hlinka or with the German opposition is not so simple, although both have declared their readiness to participate in the

government, and would be content with concessions which in no way would alter the system of national suppression. But the Czech bourgeoisie cannot bring itself to grant even such sham concessions, and such an understanding can easily lead to serious conflicts within the Czech bourgeoisie itself. The Czech bourgeoisie is considering whether it would be better to come to an understanding with Hlinka or with the Germans. An understanding with the Slovaks is specially advocated by the Kramar Party, which is furiously opposed to the German's participating in the government. The inclusion of the clerical Slovaks in the government is desired by the Czech Clericals, but they have not raised any objection to an understanding with the Germans. The winning of the Slovaks is more favourably regarded by the entire Czech camp than the inclusion of the Germans. But the difficulties here are greater. The Germans are to be bought more cheaply. The Slovak demand for autonomy alone is a hard nut. The demand for legal recognition of the Slovak nation means the abandonment of the ideological basis of the Czechoslovakian government.

In this difficult situation the Czech coalition is seeking in the first place to gain time. While the weakness, under present conditions, of a pure Czech coalition government is fully recognised, such a government is nevertheless being formed in order to demonstrate to the opposition that one can do without them, and in this manner to be in a better position for bargaining. The preparation for these negotiations is already in full swing. The German Landbund, the Party which is pressing most eagerly to enter the government, has obtained a seat in the Presidium of the Parliament, while the German Social Democrats have been granted a seat in the Presidium of the Senate. At the election of the president of the house of deputies a part of the German opposition voted with the Czechs, while the German Social Democrats withheld their votes. In their declarations the entire opposition, with the exception of the Communists, carefully avoided every word which might prevent them from taking part in the government. On the other hand, the government declaration of Svehla expressed in the first place the idea of an "understanding" and of "common work which is demanded by 90% of the electors". Even the national chauvinist Kramar delivered a "conciliatory" speech, in which he appealed to the Slovaks to act in a brotherly spirit upon the basis of the unity of the Czechoslovakian nation, but remarked that he considered as a possible solution of the Slovak problem the granting of national autonomy to the Slovaks to the same extent as the Czechs desired it for themselves. The social democratic "Pravo Lidu" is energetically advocating an understanding with the Germans.

The Czech bourgeoisie is therefore seeking a "national understanding" which would leave its predominance undisturbed. This understanding, when it is brought about, will be praised by the whole bourgeoisie and the social reformists of all nations as an enormous advance and be made use of in order to pacify the working masses. It will, of course, be nothing else than an understanding between the various bourgeoisies for the purpose of being able the more easily to ward off the threatening proletarian revolution, and to strengthen the offensive of the bourgeoisie. But in spite of this, it will contribute to the revolutionising of the masses. As soon as Hlinka enters the government the poor peasants in his party will be driven to Communism, because they will then be forced to recognise that only the Communists are honestly fighting against the suppression of the Slovaks. Similar effects are bound to follow in the German districts if German Ministers sit in the government, while national suppression still continues, and in particular if the German Social Democrats become an open or secret government Party and their responsibility for the anti-labour regime is more easily recognised than it is with their present sham opposition.

In any event the idyllic times of governments of long duration in Czechoslovakia have passed. As in other capitalist countries, crisis follows on crisis. The formation of a provisional government alone occupied several weeks, and was then only rendered possible by completely renouncing any attempt to draw up a government programme. The Parties could not even agree regarding the election of the President of the Senate. In order to overcome this difficulty the old state of affairs was for the time being prolonged. Already in the first sitting of the budget commission, the national democrats, who wished to show that, in spite of their defeat, they must be respected, arranged to bring about a small palace revolution by moving a number of amendments to the government's proposal, so that the sitting had to be interrupted in order to hold a meeting of the government parties. The amendments were, of course, rejected, but the

incident is significant enough. During the government debate Kramar declared that his Party would not undertake responsibility for all the acts of the government, and would only vote for those government measures which the "interest of the State" demand. The only thing which can prolong the life of this coalition government is the fact that the bargainings necessary for a new combination will take up a good deal of time.

This situation confronts the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with great tasks. It must know how to manoeuvre skilfully in order to make use of every incident and every situation for the enlightenment of the masses, for revolutionising them and increasing their fighting unity. Our Party has therefore quite rightly introduced a motion along with the whole opposition, which demands that the government be impeached. 140 deputies, who have behind them the majority of the electors, accuse the government of being a criminal government. During the debate our speakers, in spite of the outcries of the rest of the opposition and before all of the German Social Democrats, exposed in a most ruthless manner the hypocrisy of these parties. In order to conceal their treacherous policy the government socialists are making use of a catch phrase. They declare that the conduct of the opposition, and before all the struggle of the communists, the seriousness of which they fully recognise, will conjure up the danger of fascism. But it is now already clear that the Czech socialists would follow the path of fascism if the Czech bourgeoisie considered it desirable. The social democratic Minister Bechyně declared at a meeting that there must be another electoral reform, if it should prove that without it there can be no "capable government". The chief speaker of the Social Democratic party in the government debate declared that it must be rendered impossible that a Minister cannot speak in parliament, that the election laws must be so arranged that parliament is capable of countending business and setting up a government, and that the parliamentary franchise and parliamentarism can be maintained if they prove to be effective.

The fascist danger exists without a doubt. But it will only be increased by the flunkey policy of the Socialists. Only the Communists are opposing the offensive of the bourgeoisie, as well as the danger of fascism, by advocating the idea of the uniting together of the workers of all nations, of the fighting united front of the workers and peasants; and in spite of all the manoeuvres and counter measures of their opponents, they are meeting with ever wider response among the broad masses.

The Perspectives of the Pact of Locarno and the United States of America.

By Karl Radek.

The Pact of Locarno has been signed. The time has now arrived to judge the same not only from the point of view of the plans of England, but also from the point of view of the entire international situation. In considering the causes which led to the Pact of Locarno it is necessary, in the first place, to concentrate the attention of the masses of the people on those aims which English diplomacy pursued when striving to win the approval of Germany and France for Locarno*). But it is also necessary to consider carefully the attitude of American imperialism to the Pact.

American imperialism itself and the American government have avoided any open interference in the course of the negotiations and not revealed their participation to the same extent as in the case of the negotiations in the year 1924 which led to the London Agreement, which formed the basis of the Exports' Report. The hero of the Agreement of London was the notorious American General Dawes, who had never smelt gun powder, but is the representative of the Morgan bank group. The hero of the Locarno Agreement is the English Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chamberlain. But the Agreement of Locarno would have been impossible without the Exports' Report. The Guarantee Pact is, as one of our publicists rightly remarked, the political superstructure over the economic foundation created by the Exports' Report. It is therefore clear that

*) See Karl Radek, "Inprecorr." Nos. 79, 80, 81, 83, and 85.

the Guarantee Pact, which has come about as the result of the efforts of English diplomacy, cannot constitute only an English victory, or more correctly said: if Locarno is a victory for English diplomacy, it will have to change its character in the future. This becomes perfectly clear when one bears in mind the aims which England is pursuing, and when one asks whether these are in accordance with the interests of American capitalism.

If the aims of American and English capitalism run parallel, then Locarno can be a victory for England and America at the same time. Contrariwise, if the aims of England and America run counter to one another, this contradiction will have to be removed by the further development of events.

American diplomacy supported the efforts of England to bring about the Guarantee Pact. A proof of this is not only furnished by the statements of the American Ambassador Schurmann when handing over his credentials to Hindenburg, not only by the pressure of the American Ambassador in London, Houghton, upon Briand, not only by the attitude of the American press, but in the first place by the fact that France and Germany hoped that, as a result of the conclusion of the Treaty of Locarno, there would be a flow of American capital into France and Germany. This conviction arose from the negotiations with the American banking world.

The United States of America supported the policy of the Guarantee Pact, for American capital, which has an appetite for Europe, requires a certain stabilisation of political conditions in Europe; before all the removal of the danger of war between France and Germany.

If American capital is striving to penetrate into the economic life of France and Germany, if it is endeavouring to gain control over this economic life, then it is evident that it requires the stabilising of relations between these two states. To the extent to which England requires her hands to be free in order to devote herself to the struggle in the East, to the same extent the aims of the United States and of Great Britain coincide. The case is different as regards the efforts of England to set up a united front of European capitalism for the fight against the Soviet Union and against the revolution in Asia. In this respect there exists no community of interest between the United States and Great Britain, and this is becoming more evident every day.

Let us begin with the question of the attitude of Great Britain on the one side and of the United States of America on the other side to the revolution in Asia. In Asia England is defending her dominating commercial and colonial interests. England is the ruler of India; half of the trade of Asia is in her hands. Every strengthening of the Asiatic States, every growth of their independence threatens English interests in India. England is crying "wolf" on account of the danger of the Bolshevising of Asia; it goes without saying that this is only a cloak for her fear of the growth of the National self-consciousness of the Asiatic States.

England had regarded Persia and Afghanistan as countries which should merely vegetate; for their development would create a centre of revolution in the neighbourhood of India. If Afghanistan and Persia develop as independent countries, if they can create their own armies and their own industry, why then should India remain dependent upon England? In fact the Asiatic countries could then support the revolutionary development in India. The imperialist interest of England as ruler of India even outweighs the commercial interests of the English bourgeoisie, which could have derived profits from the economic development of the countries of the East. If England is for the moment prepared to promote certain factors which go to strengthen the efforts of one or the other of the Asiatic countries for independence, as is the case at present with regard to Riza Khan, the Persian leader, this is a zig-zag deviation of English policy, but not its direct line.

English policy is revealed most clearly in the case of China. In this country England has entered on a relentless struggle against the Chinese revolution. Apart from her imperialist interests, the fact that England is defending economic positions which she won at a time when there was no competitor in the Far East, plays a decisive role. Now, with the meagre export of English capital, even these positions are threatened by the United States of America, and therefore England cannot abandon her diplomatic privileges which support her economic positions.

What is the attitude of the United States of America to the revolution in the East? The policy of the United States is not

yet clearly defined. At present there is a conflict of opinion between those American capitalists who live in the East and fear the revolutionary wave, and the more far-seeing capitalist circles of America who do not judge events from the point of view of today, and under the influence of the fear of unrest. They do not believe that the revolution in Asia will assume the character of a proletarian revolution. They do not fear the proletarian revolution at home, in spite of the enormous industry of America, and they fear just as little the proletarian revolution in those countries in which there exists no proletariat at all, or in which the proletariat constitutes an insignificant minority in comparison with the enormous masses of peasants. They are convinced that the struggle in Asia aims at the setting up of centralised bourgeois-democratic States which will expedite the economic development of these countries.

America is staking its cards on this development. She has enough capital to equip these young industries of Asia. Profoundly convinced of the power of her money, America can renounce the diplomatic privileges to which Great Britain is clinging. Not only that: the desire to capture the leading positions in the market of Asia is causing the United States to coquet with Chinese and with Asiatic nationalism in general. This game is a means for ousting Great Britain.

We have already pointed out that there exists a conflict of opinion within American imperialism. American imperialism has not yet decided openly to stake its cards upon the support of the revolution in the East. But it is doing this in a concealed form by, from time to time, pushing to the forefront certain groups which are capable of conducting such a policy. Without the support of Standard Oil or without at least the promise of such support, Turkey would hardly have decided to conduct a struggle against England in the Mosul question. It is not yet known whether the reports, to the effect that the American Oil Trust has withdrawn from the Concern which is to divide up the Turkish oil wells, are in accordance with the facts. The "Courrier des Petroles" of 21st of November maintains that negotiations regarding the prolongation of the business agreement between England and America will be continued. But the mere possibility of a threat to this agreement implies a support of Turkey.

The sending of a considerable number of American experts to Persia is, of course, a step preparatory to the penetration of American capital into this country. But at present this step is an imperialist attack not against Persia, but against England, to whom the economic progress of Persia is dangerous.

The attitude of the American press towards China is actually strengthening the national movement in China. The United States of America have not yet openly and unequivocally broken away from English policy in China. But this vacillation is arousing fears in certain American capitalist circles. In the American organ, "Transpacific", (published in Tokio) of 7th November, there is an article entitled: "The growth of China's doubts regarding the United States" which says:

"The events of this winter will decide whether America, which for a long time has been considered the best friend of China, will be replaced by Soviet Russia in the good opinions of the Chinese; that such a process is beginning, not a single attentive observer can doubt; such a process has already long ago taken place in the feelings of the radical Chinese... The Chinese believe that America is playing the game of Great Britain".

We do not know whether American capitalism will soon decide upon open and permanent support of the national movement in Asia, upon a support which would only be afforded to the bourgeois elements and not the workers and peasants. One thing however is certain: The United States of America will not actively participate in English policy, which aims at suppressing the revolution in China at all costs. In the event of a sharpening of the struggle America would endeavour, by supporting the bourgeoisie of Asia, to prevent the revolution in the East growing into a national revolutionary movement. This, however, means that there not only exists no unity in the attitude of the United States and England with regard to the revolution in the East, but there exists no unity in their attitude to the Soviet Union.

The struggle of England against the Soviet Union is a struggle not only against that country in which the proletarian revolution has first been victorious, but also against that country which — according to the opinion of Great Britain — is the support of the democratic-national revolution in the East. If, however, America will not at all costs fight against the revo-

lution in the East, then she has no cause to fight against the Soviet Union on account of the revolution in the East. If the struggle between the United States and England for influence in the East ripens, then it can even lead to a parallelism of interests or acts on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States in those countries of the East in which the United States will support the national movement.

Does there exist, however, a general community of interests on the part of Great Britain and America regarding the Soviet Union? There does not exist such a community of interests. Capitalism in America does not feel the ground crumbling beneath its feet, it does not fear the Soviet Union to the same extent as does Great Britain. In addition to this, American capitalism, which has the possibility of investing its dollars in a whole number of countries, does not yet see in the markets of the Soviet Union an object which must be captured at the earliest possible moment.

The United States of America are adopting towards the Soviet Union a policy of aloofness rather than a policy of pressure. For England however, the Soviet Union is not only a much-needed market for her industrial products, but also a market for the purchase of raw materials. Commercial relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain are not only to overcome the unemployment in England, but also to help English capitalism to become independent to a certain extent of the American monopoly of raw materials.

It follows from this, however, that the United States of America which are not particularly interested in a rapid development of commercial relations with the Soviet Union, are not so sensitive to the obstacles which stand in the way of capturing the Russian market as is English capitalism. The monopoly of Foreign trade which is a subject of constant complaints on the part of English capitalism, does not provoke such attacks in the American press as it does in the British press. In the same way the question of debts and of compensation for losses is not so acute between America and the Soviet Union as it is between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The debts of old Tsarist Russia to the United States are insignificant; the number of factories in Russia which belonged to Americans and which have been nationalised, is inconsiderable. In spite of the lack of any serious difficulties, America has not been in a hurry to establish relations with the Soviet Union.

It is possible that America will not in the near future change her waiting policy. She has, however, no reason for plunging into adventures in order to fetch the chestnuts out of the fire for her English rival. The United States are hardly likely to support the aggressive aims which Great Britain pursues when striving to set up the Guarantee Pact in order to create a united front against the Soviet Union and against Asia.

The United States of America consider Locarno as a means which renders more easy the capitalist conquest of France and Germany. She will therefore leave these countries to worry over the question as to how an extension of the market for the industries re-established with the help of American capital is to be obtained. Anglo-American co-operation has helped the United States to take advantage of the bank apparatus as well as of the diplomatic apparatus of Great Britain, in order to penetrate into Europe. If, however, in the last few years one could still believe that America, after the restoration, thanks to her aid, of the credit and monetary system in a portion of Europe, would go further and conduct a common struggle along with England for capturing markets in Asia and in the Soviet Union, this belief, after the experiences with American policy in China, where America plays the role of a restraining factor in regard to England, is becoming more improbable every day.

As we have already said, Germany and France have agreed to the Treaty of Locarno in the hope of American credits. England is not able to place a sufficient amount of capital at their disposal. Thus, whilst Locarno has been prepared by the English cooks, the further development of the policy of Locarno will depend in the first place upon the United States of America.

It goes without saying that this does not mean that the aims of England are rendered harmless. England is still strong enough to exert pressure alone upon the policy of the European States and upon the countries bordering the Soviet Union. If she is in a position to bribe France and Germany by means of loans, then she can help France in Morocco and Syria, or create difficulties for her there; she can support Germany in her fight against the Treaty of Versailles, or she can support the militarist elements in France who are fighting against any amelioration of the position of Germany. If she cannot supply Poland with

such a loan which could cause the adventurous policy of Pilsudsky to gain the upperhand and could cause Poland to enter into a war against the Soviet Union, she can still undermine the policy of peace which the Soviet Union is consistently conducting with regard to its neighbours, and create constant friction in the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union which would prevent both countries from concentrating their forces upon restoring their economic life.

Without removing the dangers of the adventure of Locarno the attitude of America denotes a struggle of tendencies, a struggle of influences, the result of which will be an improvement of the prospects of the struggle of the Soviet Union for the maintenance of peace, in spite of all the plans of English imperialism.

The Sharpening of the Crisis in Poland.

By Axel (Warsaw).

It has already become quite a common saying, that Poland is on the verge of bankruptcy. It is not surprising, therefore, that attention has been devoted not to the programme speech of the new Prime Minister Skrzynski, but to the speech of the Minister of Finance.

The declaration of the new Finance Minister differs sharply from the declarations of the former Finance Minister, Grabski, who almost up to the last moment sought to reassure the members of the Chamber, and in the last resort even bored them with his optimism. The speech of the new Finance Minister was, on the contrary, filled with undisguised pessimism. He declared:

"The reserve of valuta in the Polish bank has been exhausted. In the course of two years about 750 million Zloty have been expended in covering the deficit. One step further and Poland will be threatened with a fresh inflation, which would mean the bankruptcy of the State."

According to the opinion of the Finance Minister, the crisis can either be overcome by an improvement of the foreign trade balance, or by the receipt of a foreign loan.

To improve the balance of foreign trade is by no means an easy matter, even with the cessation of the commercial war with Germany. Almost half of the Polish exports went to Germany, but an enormous part of these exports consisted of coal from Upper Silesia, upon which German industry is becoming less and less dependent. If, in addition to this, one takes a glance at the immediate future, then it appears that German industry will be involved in a crisis and that its demand for coal will naturally decline. Poland, however, has the danger at her very door. With regard to Polish products, these cannot compete with the German, either in the German market or elsewhere. The only, and almost unlimited, market for Polish industry, chiefly for light industry (textile goods, agricultural machines etc.) is the market of the Soviet Union. But the Finance Minister in his speech did not devote a single word to the question of trade relations with the Soviet Union. It is impossible to regard this simply as an oversight. It would appear more correct to regard this silence on his part as being due to political reasons.

As regards a foreign loan, this question has not yet solved. If, however, this loan were to be granted by England, then Poland would lose the remnants of her political independence, and, in the firm claws of British imperialism, would become a helpless tool which, at a suitable moment, could be directed against the Soviet Republics.

According to the plans of the new Finance Minister, Poland must at present live on expectations of a foreign loan and by limiting her expenditure. The budget must be reduced by half a milliard and must, at the very highest, not exceed one and a half milliards. Moreover the expenditure for the maintenance of the administrative apparatus must be reduced by 100 millions, and other administrative outgoings have to be reduced by a 120 millions. The expenditure on the army must likewise be cut down by a 150 millions. "In case of emergency", all state undertakings and monopolies will have to be placed under the control of foreign experts.

This means that Poland is beginning to abandon her dreams of becoming a great power, and that she is being deprived of a portion of her sovereignty by permitting foreign control.

The cutting down of the budget will by no means ameliorate the position of the broad masses of workers, peasants, petty bourgeois and intellectuals. The Finance Minister has declared that the turnover tax, one of the causes of high prices in Poland, cannot be reduced. The income tax must be raised; but in Poland this tax is borne even by the better paid workers. In view of all this the mirey of the population of Poland will be in no way reduced. The general poverty will increase.

It must be remarked that, in the present condition of the State finances of Poland and with the fall of the Zloty, no agrarian reform based upon the principle of compensation is possible. In addition to this, the Polish village, largely as a result of the industrial crisis and in view of the impossibility of mass emigration, is suffering from relative over-population. Already at the present time there are about a million unemployed in the country side, and without an agrarian reform a revival of the home market which would stimulate industry and reduce unemployment in the cities, is unthinkable.

All this will result in the social conditions in Poland becoming more complicated and acute.

The Workers, who are suffering more and more from unemployment and who are threatened by the Dawesation of Poland, which in the last resort would only increase the exploitation of the wage workers; the peasants, who are without land and who are without hope of receiving any by peaceful means; the impoverished petty bourgeoisie; the half starved intelligentsia — these are the reservoirs which will go to feed the general discontent with the existing state of affairs in Poland and with those politicians whose class policy has brought this young State to the edge of the abyss.

Thus the position of the new government, in which the parties of the big landowners and middle peasants are not represented, is very shaky. This is felt by all who realise, that in Poland there now exists not a government crisis, but a crisis of the system.

In view therefore of the growth of a profound opposition embracing the entire people, and in anticipation of approaching social complications and collisions, plans are being formulated for altering the constitution. More and more it is being declared: the only way out is a radical alteration of the form of government, that is to say, in a Polish edition of fascism.

On the Right side this is being advocated by the National Democrats, whose chief organ, "Gazeta Warszawska", recently published a programme article entitled: "Moscow or Rome", in which it naturally announced itself in favour of the latter, that is, the regime of Mussolini. On the Left side Pilsudski is undoubtedly considering a "democratic" fascism, and reckons in this respect on the assistance of England.

There exists the possibility of a co-operation of the fascists of the Right and of the Left. In one of the last sessions of the Polish parliament it was clearly expressed by the leader of the "Peasants League", who said: "I may be a bad prophet, but I fear that a moment will come, and that soon, in which the gentlemen who sit on the Right will request Pilsudski to take power into his hands and rescue them from that which they most fear. Pilsudski in the years 1918 and 1919 rescued both the lives and the capital of these gentlemen."

In uttering these words the speaker of course had in mind the profound ferment which is seizing ever wider masses of the population of Poland, and anticipated the possibility of their revolting against their exploiters and oppressors. There exists not the least doubt that the "democratic" fascism of Pilsudski would be only a transition formation. As soon as Pilsudski has done his work he will be removed by the big bourgeoisie and the grand landlords, who already in the year 1922 got rid of the "Marshall and saviour of the fatherland".

All these possibilities are taken into account by the Communist Party of Poland. Against the fascist plans of the bourgeoisie and Pilsudski, it has set up the slogan: "Only a workers' and peasants' government will save the workers, and with them the economic and political independence of Poland."

Just recently the Communist Parliamentary fraction addressed an Open Letter to the fraction of the Peasant Party "Wyzwolenie", to the fraction of the Ukrainians and White Russians, to the Independent Peasant Party, to the White Russian Workers' and Peasants' Union and to the Peasants League. After characterising the present situation of Poland, the Communist parliamentary fraction called upon the above-mentioned parties to take part in a common struggle, both within and outside of parliament, for the interests of the working class and the peas-

antry and for the setting up of a workers' and peasants' government.

At the same time the Communist Parliamentary fraction proposed to the opposition parliamentary fractions a common struggle for the following partial demands:

1. Confiscation of all the land of the big landowners without compensation, and the handing over of this land to the peasants.
2. Maintenance of the former social gains of the workers.
3. Extension of support to all unemployed workers and those on short time, and raising the amount of this support to the minimum level of existence.
4. Exemption of the workers and peasants from all taxes, and transference of the burden of taxation to the possessing classes.
5. Fight against high prices, profiteering and delay in the payment of wages.
6. Release of political prisoners, political liberty for the workers and peasants, including freedom of the press, of meetings, right of combination and to strike.
7. Right to self-determination for the various nationalities up to their separation from the State.
8. Cessation of the buying out of Poland by foreign capital and fight against the inclusion of Poland in the Bloc against the Soviet Union.
9. Conclusion of a commercial Treaty with the Soviet Union.

The Communist Parliamentary fraction, which is advocating the disbanding of the army and of the police and is demanding in their stead the arming of the workers and peasants, will support all those measures which are directed towards reducing the army, shortening the period of military service and reducing the burden of militarism, which falls entirely upon the shoulders of the working people. As the Communist Parliamentary fraction considers it necessary to oppose the united forces of the bourgeoisie with the united front of the workers, and to initiate a common fight both within and outside of parliament, it has proposed to the opposition parties to hold a conference for the discussion of the above questions, which should take place before the commencement of the debate on the programme speech of the Finance Minister.

The government of count Skrzynski and the Polish Socialists Party (P.P.S.) is increasing the reign of terror, as it is afraid of the ferment among the people and of the possibility of outbreaks of discontent on the part of the people, in the course of which the masses of the workers and peasants will undoubtedly rally round the banner of Communism. Only recently, 700 workers and peasants were arrested in the districts of Polesje and Lublin. The example of Tsarism has shown, however, that the policy of repression cannot save those whom the gods themselves wish to destroy.

The "Spirit of Locarno" in the Near East.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

It is certainly still somewhat premature to speak of the effects of the peace Pact of Locarno in regard to colonial policy. At present negotiations and bargaining are still being eagerly conducted behind the scenes, and it will only be possible during the course of the coming year to gain a clear view of the total results of this Pact. One can, however, not deny that a trace of the spirit of Locarno can already be perceived. Thus since the end of October there have been regroupments in all the so-called "Levant" countries, which give one cause to think.

In Egypt the Italians have had a great success. The oasis of Djaghboub on the frontier between Tripoli and Egypt, for which the Italians have for years been vainly negotiating, and which means for them the strengthening of their possessions in Africa, has been promised to them by the Ziwar government. The English newspapers noted this Italian victory as a success for — Lord Lloyd, the English High Commissioner in Egypt. All the Egyptian parties protested vehemently against the agreement.

In Yemen, on the other hand, Imam Jihje, who has for years been furiously anti-English and pro-Italian, is now inclined to negotiate with the English. Sir Gilbert Clayton, the English representative, is to pay a visit to him shortly. The Italian colonial press speaks of the "Spirit of Locarno".

On the forces despatched to Syria of late, the greater part consist of white troops, many of them from the German frontier. The French High Commissioner, De Jouvenal, has declared that now that the Locarno Pact has created peace in Europe, he cannot tolerate disorder in the East. He therefore issued the

command that any insurgents captured should be simply shot down without a trial.

Before he went out to Syria, in order to restore order, De Jouvenal spent some time in London, where he had long conferences with the creator of Locarno, Sir Austen Chamberlain. According to reliable newspaper reports, the Southern portion of Syria is, after the suppression of the revolt, to be added to the British mandatory territory in Palestine.

In Iraq also, in spite of the Peace Pact of Locarno, there still prevails unrest. It is becoming ever clearer that the Mosul question cannot be separated from the question of the national independence of the Arabs of Iraq. Up to a few months ago the French press published flaming articles against "English imperialism", which wished to deprive the Turks of Mosul. Since then it has become quite quiet. There is not only talk now of France casting her vote in the League of Nations in favour of England, but there are also persistent rumours of a military co-operation between England and France for the defence of Mosul.

France and Italy are refraining from intervening in any way in the negotiations between the English and Ib Saoud.

Under such circumstances it is quite understandable that the Locarno Pact is not being received with any great enthusiasm in Egypt, Syria etc. In this respect the few facts here given, constitute only a commencement. The "effects" are yet to come.

THE XIV. PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE C. P. OF RUSSIA

Resolution adopted at the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia on the Political and Organisatory Reports of the C. C.

Moscow, 23rd December 1925.

The Party Conference, after a debate lasting three days and after the concluding speeches of comrades Zinoviev and the speakers on behalf of the Central Committee, comrades Molotov and Stalin, adopted by 559 votes against 65, with 41 abstentions, the following resolution approving the policy of the Central Committee.

The Party Conference, fully approves the political and organisatory line of the C. C., which strengthened the Party of the working class, promoted the general advance of the national economy throughout the whole country and consolidated the positions of Socialism within and without the Soviet Union.

This policy has resulted in the international sphere in a number of fresh recognitions of the Soviet Union by the capitalist countries; the Soviet Union concluded fresh commercial and concession treaties, extended its foreign trade and consolidated its international position. The same policy has resulted, in domestic affairs, in the Soviet Union being in a position to balance the State budget and rapidly to bring about the development of industry and the further growth of agriculture, along with a general increase in wages and a greater output on the part of the workers; to raise production nearly to the pre-war level and to secure a growing role for the socialist elements in the entire Soviet economy. Thanks to the same policy the Soviet Union has consolidated the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and secured the proletarian leadership of this alliance, increased the actual role and importance of the co-operatives, brought together, upon the basis of socialist construction, broad sections of technical and other intellectuals under the leadership of the proletariat, and consolidated the community of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In recording these successes the Party Conference notes at the same time the errors which have been committed as regards the collection of corn and of foreign trade, which endangered the stability of the valuta and brought about an adverse foreign trade balance, whilst a favourable trade balance is a pre-condition for further economic growth. The Party Conference

approves of the decisions adopted by the C. C. in November for the rectification of these errors and instructs the C. C. to strengthen the leadership of the peoples' Commissariat for economics in order to avoid such errors in the future.

The Party is now beginning to work under new international and domestic conditions. In the sphere of foreign political relations the maintenance and prolongation of the breathing space, which has become a period of so-called peaceable relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries, is to be recorded, in spite of the fact that the antagonisms between these two camps are becoming not weaker but more acute. This breathing space furnished the possibility of inner reconstruction and, as a result of the economic relations with foreign countries, brings certain advantages tending to expedite this reconstruction. On the other hand, as a result of the strengthening of connections between the Soviet economy and world capitalism, the former's dependence upon the latter has increased, a fact which brings with it a number of fresh dangers, which must be taken into account by the Party in the struggle for Socialism and in securing the necessary economic independence of the Soviet country.

Within the capitalist countries there must be recorded a partial stabilisation of capitalism and a relative strengthening of the political power of the European bourgeoisie. The role of the United States of America has increased enormously, and almost amounts to financial world hegemony. Further, there must be recorded: the gradual decline of the British Empire as a world power, the antagonisms between the victor and vanquished states, the antagonisms between Europe and America, the undermining of the whole system of imperialism on the part of the awakening colonial and semi-colonial peoples, whose movements in some places, has assumed the form of a national war for freedom and has reached unexampled dimensions, and finally, the growth of new forms of the European labour movement, in close connection with the proletariat of the Soviet Union (fight for trade union unity, workers' delegations to the Soviet Union etc.).

The relative stabilisation of Europe and its "pacification" under the hegemony of Anglo-American capital has called into life a whole system of economic and political blocs, the last of which are the Locarno Conference and the Guarantee Treaties directed against the Soviet Union. These Blocs and Treaties, which are screened by the alleged pacifist League of Nations and by the false talk of disarmament of the Second International, mean, in essence, nothing else than a new grouping of forces for a fresh war. Against these blocs of the capitalist countries under Anglo-American hegemony, which are accompanied by an enormous increase in armaments and therefore bear within them fresh dangers of war, among them being the danger of an anti-Soviet intervention, there is growing up the approachment of the proletariat of the advanced countries to the proletariat of the Soviet Union under the slogans of the fight for peace, against all new imperialist wars and against armed attacks on the Soviet Union.

Upon the basis of this estimation of the international situation the Party Conference instructs the C. C. to be guided in its policy by the following principles:

1. To consolidate in every possible way the alliance of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, as the basis of world revolution, with the West European proletariat and the suppressed peoples, and to keep to the line of the development and the victory of the international proletarian revolution.

2. To conduct a peaceful policy, which shall stand in the centre of the entire foreign policy of the Soviet government and underlie all its international actions.

3. To carry on the work of economic construction from such a point of view, that the Soviet Union is converted from a country which imports machines to a country which produces machines, in order that by this means the Soviet Union with its capitalist encirclement shall not become an economic appendage of the capitalist world economy, but an independent economic unit which is building up Socialism and which, thanks to its economic construction, can become a powerful means for the revolutionising of the workers of all countries and of the suppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies.

4. As far as possible, to accumulate economic reserves which can secure the country against all accidents affecting the home and the foreign markets.

5. To adopt every measure for strengthening the defensive forces of the country and for strengthening the Red Army, the Red Navy and Air Fleet.

In the sphere of economic construction the Party Conference adopts the Leninist standpoint, that "the Soviet country, as the country of the proletarian dictatorship, possesses everything necessary in order to build up a complete socialist society". The Party Conference considers the fight for the victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union to be the chief task of the Party. The period since the XIII. Party Conference completely confirms the correctness of this principle. Already before the conquest of power by the proletariat of other countries, but with its unconditional support, without any so-called help on the part of foreign capital, and with uninterrupted struggle against private Capital at home, the working class of the Soviet Union, in alliance with the main mass of the peasantry, has achieved the first important successes of socialist construction. The past year was marked by a tremendously rapid development of the national economy in general, which is approaching the pre-war standard, as well as by the growth of its various branches: industry, agriculture, transport, foreign and home trade, credit and banking system, state finances etc. Within the national economy of the Soviet Union, which consists of various economic forms (natural peasant economy, small production of commodities, private capitalism, state capitalism and Socialism), the importance of socialist industry, of State and co-operative trade, of nationalised credits and other positions of power of the proletarian state is rapidly increasing. In this manner there is to be seen the economic advance of the proletariat on the basis of the new economic policy and the advance of the economic system of the Soviet Union in the direction of socialism. The socialist State industry is becoming more and more the advanced guard of national economy, which is drawing along with it the entire national economy.

The Party Conference emphasises that these successes could not have been attained without the active participation of the broad working masses in the general work of construction of the socialist industry (campaigns for raising the productivity of labour, workshop meetings etc.)

At the same time, however, there is developing the particular contradictions of this growth and the specific dangers and difficulties which are determined by this growth. Among these are: the absolute growth of private capital, with the relative sinking of its role; the special role of private capital, which conducts its business in the village; the growth of kulak economy in the village along with the growth of the differentiation of classes in the village; the growth of a new bourgeoisie in the towns, which is attempting to ally itself economically with the trading capitalists and kulaks for the fight for the subjugation of the main masses of the middle peasantry.

In view of all these facts the Party conference instructs the C. C. to be guided by the following principles in the sphere of economic policy:

1. The chief attention must be devoted to the task of securing in every way the victory of socialist economic forms over private capital, the strengthening of the monopoly of foreign trade, of the growth of socialist State industry and, under the leadership and with the help of the co-operatives, to draw the largest possible number of peasant undertakings into the work of socialist construction.

2. To secure the economic independence of the Soviet Union, which preserves the Soviet Union from becoming an appendage of capitalist world economy, and for this purpose to follow the course of industrialising the country and developing the production of the means of production and the creation of reserves for economic manoeuvring.

3. On the basis of the resolutions of the XIV. National Party meeting efforts must be made to increase the growth of production and the exchange of goods in the country.

4. All sources of revenues are to make use of, the strictest economy is to be observed in the expenditure of State resources, and the pace of development of State industry, of commerce and the co-operatives to be speeded up for the purpose of increasing the rate of socialist accumulation.

5. To develop our socialist industry on the basis of a higher technical standard, but nevertheless strictly according to the absorbing capacity of the market, as well as of the financial possibilities of the State.

6. To support in every way the development of the Soviet industry in the provinces, by stimulating the initiative of the provincial authorities with regard to organising those industries which are devoted to satisfying the various requirements of the country in general and of the peasantry in particular.

7. To support and promote agriculture in the direction of increasing the knowledge of agriculture, developing technical culture, raising the agricultural technic (providing tractors) industrialisation of agriculture, regulating the holding of land, and in the direction of an all-round support of the most varied forms of collective agriculture.

The Party Conference is of the opinion that one of the most imperative conditions for the solution of these questions, is the fight against the disbelief in the construction of socialism in our country, as well as against the attempts to regard our undertakings — the undertakings of the consistent-socialist type (Lenin) — as State capitalist undertakings. Such ideological tendencies, which render impossible the conscious attitude of the masses to the building up of socialism in general, and to the building up of socialist industry in particular, are only calculated to hinder the growth of the socialist elements of our economy and to facilitate the struggle of private capital against them. The Party Conference, therefore, considers necessary an extended educational work for the purpose of overcoming these deviations from Leninism.

As regards the relations of the classes to one another, the Party Conference notes the following basic phenomena, which are determined by the economic development of the Soviet Union: growth of the industrial proletariat, strengthening of the rich peasants in the village; growth of the new bourgeoisie in the town; growth of the activity of all classes and groups in our country. One of the basic forms of the class struggle is at present the struggle between the capitalist and socialist elements in our economy, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the purpose of winning the main masses of the peasantry. This struggle finds its political expression mainly in the attempts of the kulak elements of the village to capture the middle peasants and thereby subjugate the soviets to their influence.

If the village poor, and before all the agricultural workers are the support of the proletariat in the village, then the middle peasant is and must be the firm ally of the proletariat. It must not for a moment be forgotten, that, as a result of the expropriation of the big landowners and the handing over of the big landed estates to the peasantry, and in consequence of the policy of the committees of the village poor and the anti-kulak policy in the village, and finally, as a result of prohibiting the land being bought and sold (nationalisation of the land), the middle peasantry have become exceedingly strong and that those sections, in spite of the differentiation process, now form the main mass of the peasantry. Without having these masses as firm allies or by merely keeping these sections neutral, now, after the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, it will be impossible to build up Socialism. For the chief means for the construction of Socialism in the village consists in the growing economic leadership on the part of the socialist State industry, in the State credit institutions and in other dominating positions which are in the hands of the proletariat, in drawing the main masses of the peasantry into the co-operative organisation, and in securing the socialist development of this organisation by making use of, overcoming and pushing out its capitalist elements. Every underestimation of the middle peasantry, the failure to understand its very important and special role, the attempt to divert the Party from the slogan of a firm alliance with it and to go over to the obsolete slogan of its neutralising, to the "fear of middle peasantry", leads therefore to the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat; for this would mean the destruction of the workers' and peasants' bloc.

The struggle against the kulaks must be conducted by organising the village poor against the kulaks, as well as by consolidating the alliance of the proletariat and the village poor with the middle peasants, for the purpose of separating the middle peasants from the kulaks and isolating the kulaks.

The failure to understand the great importance of the struggle in these two directions is bound up with two deviations from the correct line of the Party, which was defined by the XIV. National Party meeting and the October Plenum of the C. C. The Party Conference emphatically condemns the deviation which consists in the underestimation of the differentiation in the village, which overlooks the dangers connected with the growth of the kulaks and the various forms of capitalist exploitation, which does not wish to understand the urgent necessity of pushing back the kulaks and curbing their greed for exploitation, which does not recognise the duty of the Party

of the proletariat to organise and to rally the village poor and the agricultural labourers in the fight against the kulaks.

But the Party Conference at the same time likewise emphatically condemns the attempt to obscure the fundamental question of Communist policy in the village, the question of the struggle for the middle peasant as the central figure of agriculture and the question of co-operation as the fundamental organisatory form of the movement of the village to Socialism.

The Party Conference especially emphasises the necessity of the struggle against this last-named deviation. In view of the relative greater preparation of the Party for the immediate fight against the village profiteers, and the possibility of overcoming the first deviation, the overcoming of the second deviation represents a much more difficult task; for this demands more complicated methods of fighting, by combining the methods of political isolation of the kulaks with the methods of drawing the masses of the peasantry into the orbit of socialist construction. This is all the more so because, with the present conditions, this second deviation threatens the return to the policy of fighting the kulaks by the methods of war communism and the abandonment of the present party line in the village, which has proved its correctness by important political successes, and also the abandonment of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, that is, with the abandonment of our entire work of construction.

The Party Conference fully approves the decisions of the XIV. National meeting in the peasant question (including among these that regarding the extension of the tenants law, the right to hire labour, regarding assistance for handicraft industry and the transition from the system of administrative pressure to economic competition and economic struggle, as well as regards the revival of the Soviets etc.) which aim at a further improvement of the policy of the Party along the line of consolidating the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The Party Conference declares that this change in the Party policy, which arises from the change in class relations, radically improved the situation in the village, raised the authority of the proletariat and its Party among the peasantry, and created a firm basis for broad organisation work for the purpose of drawing the peasantry into the work of socialist construction.

The Party Conference at the same time fully approves the decisions of the October Plenum of the C. C. regarding work among the village poor. Only to the extent to which the increase of the productive forces in the village (under the present conditions of the increased activity of all class groupings) is accompanied by the organisation of the landless peasants and the agricultural workers can the appropriate exchange of relations of the class forces and the leadership of the industrial proletariat be guaranteed.

The Party Conference, in approving the decisions of the C. C. regarding material assistance for the village poor and regarding the organising of groups of the village poor, emphasises that here there can be no talk either of returning to the village poor committees, or of returning to the system of pressure employed at the time of War Communism and to the practice of anti-kulakism etc. It is a question of organising the village poor which, with the help of the Party and the State power in the struggle on the economic and political front (collective undertakings, artels, co-operatives, peasant committees, soviets), will overcome the remnants of the psychology of charitable relief, will follow the path of organised class resistance against the village profiteers, and must become a firm support of the proletarian policy in the fight for uniting the middle peasantry with the proletariat.

The Party Conference declares that agricultural co-operation, both from the standpoint of its economic work as well as regards attracting the masses and correct socialist leadership, is far from fulfilling its great role. The Party Conference makes it incumbent on all members to pay the closest regard to developing the agricultural co-operatives and to adopt all measures to ensure their proper growth.

The increased activity of the masses together with the growing activity of all class groupings on the basis of the economic advance, is a factor of the greatest political importance. The proletariat and its Party must make use of this growth as the fundamental and leading social force for the purpose of attracting still larger masses into the process of socialist construction on all fronts, and for the fight against the bureaucratism of the State apparatus.

In the town the growth of the activity of the masses found its expression in the revival of the State soviets, of the trade unions, the workers' co-operatives etc. In the village the increased activity of the masses of the middle peasantry and of the village poor found its expression in the revival of the Soviets and of the co-operatives. The Party Conference once again emphasises that, under the present conditions, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated by methods of War Communism and administrative pressure, that the co-operatives cannot be built up except on the voluntary principle or without the elected organs giving account to their electors and without these organs having the confidence of the members, that the revival of the Soviets and the increase of their connection with broad circles of the working population is a necessary prerequisite for all further work of the Party and of the Soviet power.

The revival of the village soviets and of the co-operatives, which provide scope for the initiative and activity of the peasantry, is a pre-condition, from the point of view of maintaining and consolidating the proletarian leadership, of the revival, the increased activity and consolidation of the proletarian organisations. Only under this condition can the proletarian dictatorship be consolidated and the carrying out of a correct political line from the point of view of Socialism be guaranteed. Hence arises in the first place the slogan of the revival of the trade unions, these proletarian mass organisations which must embrace the entire proletariat. Trade union democracy must be that method which facilitates the participation of the masses in common work, extends the possibilities of selecting new comrades for higher positions, renews the leading cadres of the trade union organisations, and renders possible the class solidarity of and raises the class consciousness of the proletarian masses.

In order, accordingly, to carry through the entire work of reviving the mass organisations of the proletariat and of the peasantry, it is necessary that the leading force of these organisations, i. e. the Russian Communist Party, in all its constituent parts, follows the path of consistent inner-Party democracy. The Party Conference approves the November Manifesto of the Plenum of the C. C. regarding inner-Party democracy, and proposes to the Party organisations that they consider in this respect the following tasks:

- a) Raising the activity of the broad Party masses in the discussion and solution of the most important questions of Party policy.
- b) Consistent observation of eligibility of the leading Party organs by attracting new forces to the work of leadership, extending the circle of active Party workers and training fresh Party cadres in order to help the old.
- c) Raising the qualification of Party functionaries, especially raising their theoretical level.
- d) Spreading of the principles of Leninist theory among the broadest Party circles.

The consolidation of the Party and the strengthening of its leading role in all spheres of constructive work, which is more necessary than ever in the present complicated situation, is a pre-requisite for the correct regulation of the composition of the Party. The Party Conference considers it necessary to conduct a policy in this sphere which aims at raising the qualitative composition of the Party organisations, which strives to attract ever greater numbers of workers into the Party and constantly to raise the preponderance of its proletarian Party core. The Party Conference at the same time affirms the necessity of a strict carrying out of the measures laid down for restricting admittance into the Party to only proletarian elements, but rejects the policy which leads to an immoderate swelling of the Party membership and to its being swamped with semi-proletarian elements which have not passed through any school of trade unions and of proletarian organisations. The Party Conference condemns such attempts, which have nothing in common with Leninism, which deny the correct change of relations between the Party (advance guard of the class) and the class and render impossible the communist leadership.

The leading role of the Party can only be secured by absolute unity of will, by solidarity of the Party cadres, with the maintenance and consolidation of Bolshevik proletarian discipline in the Party.

The Party Conference approves the policy of the C. C. which aimed at not allowing an open discussion with some leaders of the Leningrad organisation and their individual supporters in the Central Committee and to removing the differences of opinion.

within the Party as well as securing the collective leadership of the Party.

The Party Conference instructs the C. C. to conduct a determined fight against all attempts to create a breach in the Party, no matter from whence they may come and by whom they may be conducted. The Party Conference expresses the firm conviction that the Leningrad organisation will march in the first ranks of the fighters for the solidarity and the unity of our Lenin-Party — a unity which must be maintained and strengthened at all costs.

The Party Conference welcomes the strengthening of the bonds between the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the proletariat of all countries. The Party Conference sees in this the growing influence of the Soviet Union as the point of support of the international labour movement. The Party Conference proposes to the C. C. that it continues in the future to strengthen and to consolidate with all its powers the bonds of international solidarity, under whose banner was born the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the sign of which the proletariat fought for and strengthened its rule.

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Note: Next week we shall publish the speeches of Comrades Stalin, Zinoviev and Bukharin and others delivered at the XIV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Russia.

IN THE COLONIES

Progress of the Revolutionary Movement in Indonesia.

By P. Bergsma.

The Dutch capitalists, who have great experience in the policy of exploiting the suppressed million masses of Indonesia and who today, by the formation of trusts, are so closely connected with other imperialist States, are greatly disturbed by the movement in China.

The formation of Soviet governments in the countries of the Pacific Ocean, the population of which has many connections with the people of Indonesia and which maintain very active shipping communications with Java and other islands in Indonesia, is regarded by the Dutch bourgeoisie as a great danger, as it means the strengthening of the revolutionary movements in the colonies.

The burdens which the peasant population has to bear are enormous. The peasants have, on the average, to supply 30 to 35% of the gross total income of the whole country; but this burden is often still further increased by the arbitrary measures of the officials. A newly introduced landtax in certain districts provoked the peasants to resistance, so that the government was compelled to reduce the rate of taxation. In many districts the population refused to pay taxes.

The millions which are yielded up every year by the Indonesians for the maintenance of the army and navy do not yet satisfy the government, so it is now proceeding, in spite of the favourable financial situation which has been reached as a result of the pressure of taxation, to increase the revenue by means of State undertakings. These plans are encountering fierce resistance on the part of the employers' federations, because they perceive that by these measures of the government the Dutch bourgeoisie is deprived of the possibility of investing new capital. The Dutch press is sharply protesting against these plans, and it is urged that the State must endeavour to obtain its revenue solely by means of taxes.

Experience has taught that big capital has always succeeded in compelling its government to pursue its policy. When, in the year 1918, a famine broke out in Java because too little rice had been cultivated, the government endeavoured to bring about a reduction of the sugar planting, but was forced to give away under the pressure of big capital.

As in Java there no longer exists the possibility of cultivating fresh land, cultivation is now being extended to the neighbouring islands of Borneo, Sumatra etc. The government is supporting these plans. It is very difficult for the bourgeoisie to induce workers to emigrate from Java to these places. It is true there is plenty of fertile land on these islands, as well as mineral riches, but there is a shortage of labour power. The bourgeoisie now resorting to employing indentured labour. This slave

trade has the Sanction of the government. The propaganda of the Communists has naturally resulted in rousing the political consciousness of the Javanese workers, so that they are now fighting against this slave trade with every means. The Communist movement in Java has already resulted in rendering it very difficult for the bourgeoisie to carry out successfully the exploitation of some hundred thousand coolies in these new undertakings.

This means for the capitalists a loss of million of Gulden, which explains the hatred against the Communists who are calling upon the population to shake off the yoke of the oppressors.

An investigation by the government has shown that in all places in which the workers are organised in trade unions, wages have increased, and in recent years have everywhere maintained their level, whilst in those places where the workers are unorganised, wages have fallen. On the other hand the cost of living has increased considerably.

The bourgeoisie has been used to pocketing great profits. The actions of the trade unions are endangering these profits. Hence, in every economic conflict armed force is employed, with the result that every strike acquires a political importance. In the last few years thousands of strikers and strike leaders have been arrested and Communist editors and propagandists thrown into prison. All the Communist newspapers have the name of the editor on the top of the front page with the remark: "in prison". This is the case not only in Java but on the other islands.

The Atiehers in Sumatra usually use armed force in the fight against their suppressors, and have on various occasions put military patrols to flight. Striking dock workers have been arrested and their places taken by prisoners. The wives of the strikers arranged a demonstration along with members of the Communist Party which demanded from the governor the immediate release of the strikers. They were driven back with armed force, with the result that pregnant women with children in arms were trampled under foot. Many were killed or left wounded.

A great strike broke out in the Surabaya docks in Java involving 5000 workers. The leaders were immediately arrested.

The favourable situation in the rubber plantations has brought great advantage to a portion of the population of Sumatra who possess their own rubber trees. As the native capitalists pay their workers better than do the Europeans, wages have considerably increased, so that the Europeans are experiencing a shortage of labour. The Board of directors of the "Deli-Spoorwegmaatschappij" (Railway Company) had the impudence to declare they would no longer employ free labourers, but only contract coolies (workers who hire themselves out by contract for five to six years for a fixed wage).

The "Sarekat Islam", under the leadership of Tjokroaminoto, is again becoming active. The Police have discovered illegal organisations and carried out many arrests. This organisation of Islamites which is spread over the whole of Indonesia, is praying for the victory of Ab-el Krim. They have expressed their sympathy with the revolutionaries in China. The quarrel which lasted for a long time between the Communists and the "Sarekat Rajat" on the one side and the "Sarekat Islam" on the other has come to an end, which provides the possibility of forming an anti-imperialist bloc. The government has replied to their united front tactics with still severer measures against the Communists.

The reformists are also beginning to move. Not to carry on the fight against the imperialists, but to gain influence in the people's movement. They are now attempting to unite the trade unions of the Europeans into one central body, and to obtain the affiliation of the native trade unions. They have succeeded as far as the Europeans are concerned, but as 95% of the trade unions of the natives are in the hands of the Communists they have not yet succeeded in winning influence there.

The Dutch imperialists fully realise that the revolutionary movement in Indonesia hits them in the most vital spot. But in spite of all the employment of force, this movement is spreading. The greater the resistance of the bourgeoisie becomes and the more the great masses of the peasants are suppressed, the sooner will the explosion take place. The defeats which the capitalists suffer at the hands of the revolutionaries in Indonesia will continue until the former are entirely beaten. This will at the same time result in the reformists in Holland having the ground removed from under their feet. Then the Dutch workers will flock to the Communist flag to put an end to the rule of the bourgeoisie.

ORGANISATION

The Part Played by the Groups of Nuclei in the Process of Reorganisation.

By Otto Unger.

In the field of reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei, it is up to all Parties to discover new land in the truest sense of the word. As a matter of fact, the question of reorganisation was solved theoretically, the idea and object of the transformation of the Party were clearly and definitely formulated. But for the practical details, for the "how" of reorganisation, experience had to be gained from life itself. For this reason, and because the transposition of the reorganisatory basis of the Parties is a very difficult process, which can easily be complicated and endangered by mistakes, the exchange of experience gained in practice are a very important part of reorganisation. For this reason I propose to deal in this article with one of the experiences gained by the C.P. of Germany in the practical work of reorganisation, which in my opinion, is one of the most important: **The part played by the groups of nuclei in the process of reorganisation.**

Stereotype Procedure in Reorganisation and its Consequences.

It might be said without exaggeration, that in the field of organisatory work there are many objective conditions which lead to a certain mechanical method of working. Stereotype procedure is however in organisation, and especially in the process of reorganisation, injurious to the Party. Many imagined reorganisation to consist in the creation of factory nuclei, creation of street nuclei and, when all the members are included in nuclei, reconstruction of the organisation, i. e. the formation of groups of nuclei and committees for the groups of nuclei and then dissolution of the organisations constructed on the residential basis. Some, indeed, intended to carry through reorganisation on the basis of this conception. They set to work with a will, organised nuclei and more nuclei, and did not advance by a single decisive step. The nuclei worked very well for a time, then came difficulties and the first enthusiasm flagged. Very often, the work in the factory led to the dismissal of just the most important comrades in the nuclei, and finally the nuclei were being formed, the old ones on the other hand, were near extinction. Despondency, uncertainty with regard to the work to be performed, lack of confidence in their own strength are the result. And, what is still more important, reorganisation does not progress, the work of reorganisation is discredited. This fact has become evident in hundreds of cases.

The Existence of Organisations of Residential Nuclei and Factory Nuclei, Side by Side.

Experience up to the present has taught us that a continuous state of affairs in which partial organisation on the basis of factories exists in the midst of the old residential organisation, almost always leads to the nuclei dying out. Why is this? It has often been said that the form of organisation is dependent on the task set and, vice versa, that the form of organisation has an influence on the carrying out of the tasks set. This also applies to our question. The duties of the leaders were comparatively more simple with regard to the old residential organisation than is the case with regard to the factory nuclei. With regard to the latter, the leaders in question must pay much more attention, give much more help, and must be much better acquainted with the situation in the factories, the possibilities and demands of the work there, which is in itself much more difficult than with regard to the residential organisation. As a rule, the old leading bodies chosen on the old basis of residential districts do not serve this purpose. Their connection with the works is not close enough. Especially, if the organisation is based partly on factories and partly on residential districts, they will occupy themselves more with the latter section of the Party and its work than with the factory nuclei. This is the greatest difficulty of all.

The Reorganisation in Greater Berlin.

The German comrades, out of the experience of their practice, have found a way to overcome the difficulties and have

adopted it in reorganising Greater Berlin where, up to now, the greatest ideological and practical difficulties existed. Briefly stated, reorganisation in Greater Berlin, which is to be completed in the course of the month of December, has been carried out as follows: registration of all members, formation of factory nuclei in all factories where more than three members of the factory are registered, transference of collection of membership subscriptions to these nuclei. In the meantime the areas for the groups of nuclei were arranged in the 21 administrative districts of the Party in Berlin. All members who work in a factory situated in the area in question, or who belong to a factory nucleus which has been formed there, and those who are not employed in any factory (housewives, professionals etc.), but who live in the area, were allocated to these groups of nuclei.

Then, the first meetings of the group of nuclei, whose duty it was, to elect provisional executive committees for the groups of nuclei, were held systematically in all the groups. Apart from conducting the whole party in their district, special emphasis was laid on continuing the work of reorganisation to its completion, as the most important task of these provisional executive committees of the groups of nuclei. **As soon as reorganisation is completed in the domain of one group of nuclei, i. e. when all members of the group belong either to a factory or a street nucleus, a meeting of the group of nuclei is called, at which a definite executive committee for the group of nuclei is elected in place of the provisional one.**

The Function of the Provisional Executive Committee of a Group of Nuclei.

This provisional executive committee of the group of nuclei is the first party committee which is elected on the basis of the new form of organisation. It is only elected provisionally, because reorganisation is not yet completed in the area of the group of nuclei. It is only an executive committee for the period of transition which, with its help, should be shortened as much as possible.

As far as can be seen up to the present, the formation of these provisional executive committees for the groups of nuclei is actually the right measure for, on the one hand, promoting the development of the already formed nuclei into a real basis for the Party, and on the other hand, for accelerating the completion of organisation. It seems to it that the already existing nuclei are supported, helps them in their work and in the choice of leading comrades etc.; it forms new nuclei in the factories where at present there are none but where some of our comrades are working, and helps them in their work; it divides up the districts for the street nuclei and groups the members living there, in so far as they are not employed in a factory nor allocated to a factory nucleus, into street nuclei, instructs these in their works and helps them to carry it through. It gets into touch with the comrades who are employed in a small factory or in a large factory where they work singly, in order to advise them as to their allocation to another factory nucleus or, when it is a case of a larger factory, as to their work and the possibility of forming a nucleus etc.

It must, however, be emphasised that the provisional executive committee of the group of nuclei will only carry out in the right way the completion of the organisation, its most important function second to that of the general management of the group, if it actually carries out all these tasks. It must also understand how to avoid the danger of shifting the centre of gravity of the work from the nuclei to the groups of nuclei. Such tendencies will crop up; objective conditions for them undoubtedly exist. The nuclei are weak, many members are probably at first not included in nuclei, there will be failure within the nuclei, the executive committee of the group of nuclei itself will perhaps be vacillating and weak because it has very little experience etc. In this way it is quite possible that the immediate completion of reorganisation will be delayed, that life in the group of nuclei will be concentrated in the constantly increasing number of meetings and thus the already existing factory nuclei will be neglected, with the result that the nuclei will become slack, the activity of the members belonging to them, will decrease etc. **The provisional executive committee must immediately attack the task of completing reorganisation. Only then will it actually be what it has been its origin in the practice of the C.P. of Germany, an important auxiliary in the process of the reorganisation of the Communist Parties.**

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Communist Literature in the United States.

By Karl Reeve.

One of the important tasks of the Agitprop Department of the Workers (Communist) Party is the immediate preparation and publication of authentic Communist literature in the United States. Of the few works of Marx, Engels, etc., which have been translated and published in America, some, unfortunately, have been issued by anti-Communist organisations, with revisionist translations and deletions, and pacifist or non-revolutionary introductions. The Party is thus faced with the alternative of keeping important works of Marx, Engels, etc., entirely out of the hands of the workingclass, or selling in the Party bookstores the editions which contain, in the introductions, attacks on the Party. This lack of authentic Communist literature is one cause of the low theoretical level of the American Party.

Since 1919, of course, Communist literature has been issued. In 1919-20 a few of Lenin's pamphlets were translated and published in America, including, "State and Revolution"; "Left Communism"; "Imperialism" (with 50 per cent of the original text eliminated) and "Kautsky the Renegade". Translations were also printed of Bucharin's A. B. C. of Communism (with half the original text left out), the Programme of the Russian Communist Party and Statutes of the Communist International.

The publishing activity of the Party showed decided improvement in 1923. It was during this period that several excellent pamphlets were written and printed by the Party which were aids in the Party's campaigns. Among these were; Jay Lovestone's "Government-Strikebreaker" of which the Russian translation has recently entered a new edition; Lovestone's "American Imperialism", "Blood and Steel", "What's What About Coolidge"; John Pepper's "For a Labor Party", which went through four editions and had the largest sale of any pamphlet of the American Party; and the "Foreign Born Worker", by Clarissa Ware. New editions of such Communist classics as the Communist Manifesto were also issued during this year.

But at the present time, the Agitprop department, which was created at the National Convention of the Party in August, 1925, faces the task of beginning the publication of Communist literature almost anew. A few new pamphlets were issued during 1925, including the speeches of the leading Russian Communists on the Trotsky discussion, Stalin's "Leninism", Lozovsky's "Lenin", and a new edition of "State and Revolution". But attention must now be paid to a) the translation of Lenin's works and their publication in America, b) the immediate publication of pamphlets for current campaigns and the most recent theoretical Marxian works, and c) the printing by the Party of Marx' and Engels' writings with authentic translations and introductions so that these works may be rescued in America from the hands of the enemies of the workingclass.

A few examples will show the wretched state of the Communist literature in the United States. There is no edition of Marx's "Criticism of the Gotha Programme" in America except that published by the Socialist Labour Party, and this edition has, for the past year been sold in the Jimmy Higgins Book Store, which is owned by the Party. The preface, written by the S. L. P. in 1922, says, "To the Independent socialists (in Germany) certainly, and to the Communists to a certain extent, attaches much of the odium that belongs to the Social Democracy".

Then comes an argument aimed to weaken and revise Marx's statement in the "Programme" that declares that "between the capitalist and Communist systems of society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, whose state can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat".

The S. L. P. preface "interprets" Marx's statement as follows, "This letter of Marx has taken on tremendous importance to those who unthinkingly conclude that as the Russians did it so must we do it... the uninitiated easily conceive the notion that his (Marx') criticism constitutes a defence of the dictatorship against its opponents... the publication of the letter cannot fail to act as a douche of cold water... Here in the United States it (the proletarian dictatorship) is out of place, and would in fact become a hindrance, an encumbrance to the orderly progress

of the revolution, and could very readily be turned into an instrument of reaction. To the extent that the 'proletarian dictatorship' elsewhere may be required to meet the emergency created by a successful military insurrection, or collapse of capitalism to that same extent the Industrial Union fills the need here".

"Thoroughly comprehended it (the book) cannot fail to act as the best possible antidote to all kinds of reform programmes and immediate demands, whether these be advocated by avowed bourgeois reformers or so-called 'socialists' of the socialist Party type, or yet by persons who do lip service to Russia and Communism and put on an undue amount of red paint while attempting political reform stunts, as for example the offspring and caricature of the socialist party, the Workers Party in this country".

Marx's study of the 1848 revolution in France "Class Struggles in France from 1848-50" is also published in America only by the Socialist Labour Party. The introduction by Engels is a translation of Bernstein's edition, which deleted several essential passages and gave the impression that Engels was against the arming of the workers. This book, with the perverted introduction was also, until recently, sold in the Workers Party Book store.

The Socialist Labour Party has published Engels' introduction as garbled by Bernstein, as a separate pamphlet, which however, has not been sold by the Party, with another revisionist preface. The pamphlet is given the title "The Revolutionary Act. Military Insurrection or Political and Economic Action".

The preface (dated 1922) says, "... Then came the Russian revolution. By peculiar circumstances, which it is not necessary to enumerate the proletarian revolution in Russia was accomplished by a coup d'état, a victory backed by the workers and peasants in arms... No further proof was needed, the political weapon was effeminate, compromising, counter-revolutionary. 'Mass movements, military forces' had to be gathered and organised... Of course we were only the S. L. P. It was our word against the overwhelming evidence of Russia... But here come Engels, Marx's life long co-worker, showing by facts and figures that the day of the barricade, the street corner revolution, of military action against the capitalist military forces, was a thing of the past already in the last half of the nineteenth century".

"... This organised force of the proletariat can exist only in the Socialist Industrial Union... The worker will and must become the only true source of power the moment he is organised in a class conscious Socialist Revolutionary Union".

Then there is the long list of books published by the socialist Charles H. Kerr company, which for a number of years was the largest publisher of socialist books in the country. The Kerr editions, published before and during the war, are now woefully out of date. The book, "Anarchism and Socialism" by Plechanoff, for instance, is praised in the preface (1907) as being on a level with the Communist Manifesto.

Two of Engels' important works, "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Dühring) and Feuerbach, The Roots of Socialist Philosophy" are, in the Kerr editions, translated, edited and adorned with prefaces by Austin Lewis, who, judged by his statements, is a petty bourgeois intellectual. In the prefaceto Feuerbach Lewis pays Marx this compliment, "Marx possessed a colossal mind, not even Herbert Spencer has been his superior". Both these books are on the Party bookstores shelves.

The above examples are enough to show that the Agitprop Department, at the same time that new pamphlets and works of contemporary Russian Communists are translated and published, must clear up all the out of date, garbled and unauthentic publications of Marx and Engels works by publishing accurate translations in the party printing plant.

That the Agitprop department realises this necessity is shown in the motion passed by the Central Executive Committee early in November to immediately publish our own modern edition of Marx' "Class Struggles In France"; a pamphlet, "Lenin on Organisation"; Heinz Neuman's "Marx and Engels on the Role of the Communist Party in America" in pamphlet form; as well as pamphlets by Pepper, Bedacht, Minor and others on current problems in our present work among the American masses. The Agitprop Department has further decided to print as soon as possible, the most important works of Marx and Engels on our own printing press, purged of reformist "interpretations" and revisionist deletions.