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Change in the Attitude of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U.

"We admit that we have infringed Party discipline and followed a fractional course... We renounce the fractional methods... We call for the immediate dissolution of all fractional groupings..."

The Minimum for Securing the Unity of the Party has been Achieved.

Moscow, 17th October 1926.

The following Communiqué of the Central Committee of the C.P. of the Soviet Union on the inner Party situation has been published in the "Pravda".

The XIII. Party Conference characterised the views of the Trotskyists in the fundamental questions of the Party policy as false, and condemned them as an attempt to revise Leninism. The XIV. Party Conference characterised the views of the "New Opposition", chiefly in the same question of Party policy, as false and condemned them as a deviation from Leninism. The July Plenum of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission recorded the combining of the Trotskyists with the "New Opposition" and with the Shljapnikov-Medjevdev group into a block against the Party and the splitting policy of this block, and adopted a number of measures against the fractio-

neering for the purpose of preserving the unity of the Party. In spite of this the combined opposition not only did not cease their fractional activity, but increased this activity still further, undertook journeys and committed acts which injured the unity of the Party and undermined the decisions of the Supreme Party organs. The fractional activity of the Opposition in this period found expression in energetic dissemination of various secret documents, including the dissemination of obviously anti-Party material, in the arranging of illegal fractional meetings, in organising fractional nuclei and committees etc. Since the end of September the fractional activity of the Opposition assumed a particularly threatening character. By their appearance in the Communist Academy the Opposition gave their supporters the signal to undermine the decisions of the Party and to organise an open discussion on questions which have already been settled. In the fractional attitude of Trotsky on the 30th September in the nucleus of the Rjasan-Ural railway, in the fractional appearance of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Pjatarov and others on the 1st of October

in the nuclei of the "Aviopribor Works" and in the simultaneous appearance of other supporters of the Opposition in a number of nuclei of the Moscow organisation, there was directly revealed the flouting of the decisions of the Party against discussion and the violation of the interests of unity. The Opposition, in disregarding the decisions of the Party and partly forcing a discussion upon it, was confronted with the unshakable wall of the bolshevist ranks of the Moscow organisation. It is already known from press reports that all the nuclei of the Moscow organisation, without exception, emphatically condemned the fundamental views of the Opposition in the chief questions of the Party policy, as well as the fractional policy of the Opposition, and unanimously declared for the line of the Party and its Central Committee. The Opposition sustained a complete defeat. This defeat is all the more significant as the members of the Political Bureau from the majority of the Central Committee abided by the decisions of the Party organs on the inadmissibility of a discussion and did not take part in this discussion.

Faced with such a defeat the Opposition leaders were compelled to make a change of front and to enter into negotiations for "peace" in the Party. On the 4th of October the Opposition leaders Trotzky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Sokolnikov, Pjatakow and Jevdokimov submitted to the Central Committee a declaration on the necessity of "liquidating the difficult period of inner-Party dissensions" and commencing "common unanimous work". The completely vanquished Opposition was thus compelled to submit a declaration regarding their renunciation of "inner-Party dissensions" and on the necessity of "common unanimous work". The correctness of the policy of the Central Committee, which continually called upon the Opposition to preserve Party unity, is thereby recognised. True to the resolutions of the XIV. Party Congress on the preservation of Party unity, the Central Committee accepted with satisfaction the offer of the Opposition and, on the 7th October, put forward a number of conditions which are necessary for securing unity. It transpired however that while the Opposition declared in favour of the cessation of the "inner-Party dissensions" and promised to accept the conditions of the Central Committee, on the same day they commenced a new "inner-Party dissension" in Leningrad, and a whole group of supporters of the Opposition, headed by Zinoviev, appeared there as organisers of "dissension". As is known, this attempt at fractional work on the part of the Opposition was shattered on the Bolshevist steadfastness of the Communist workers of Leningrad. It has already been reported in the press that all the nuclei of the Leningrad organisation, without exception, declared unanimously for the Central Committee and condemned the principles of the opposition as well as their splitting policy. It must be stated that in Leningrad and also in Moscow the members of the Polbureau out of the majority of the Central Committee did not, for reasons already mentioned take part in the discussion.

The negotiations showed that the Opposition, while they are ready to repudiate the renegade Ossovsky — against whose expulsion from the C. P. of the Soviet Union they only recently voted — nevertheless continue, in a somewhat altered form, to advocate the necessity for maintaining their own fraction and for the continuation of a fractional block with the Medvedjev-Shljapnikov group, as well as for the fraction of Ruth Fischer and Maslov, who have been expelled from the Comintern. The Central Committee recognised the obvious ambiguity of the attitude of the Opposition and decided on the 11th of October to submit to the Opposition a number of minimum conditions which could safeguard the Party against any further fractional activity on the part of disrupters. This decision of the Central Committee is as follows:

"The united Opposition pledges itself:

1. To submit a public declaration as to their unconditional submission to all the decisions of the Party, of the XIV. Party Conference, of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission, and as to their unreserved carrying out of these decisions;

2. to recognise openly that the fractional activity of the Opposition in the whole period since the XIV. Party Conference up to their recent appearance in Leningrad and Moscow in October of this year, was impermissible and erroneous from the standpoint of the interests of the Party and threatened to paralyse the creative work of the Party

and of the Soviet power in the difficult conditions of reconstruction;

3. openly to recognise that the Opposition, by their appearance in Moscow and Leningrad in October of this year, have flagrantly violated the decisions of the XIV. Party Conference and of the Central Committee of the Party on the impermissibility of an open discussion without a special decision of the supreme Party organs;

4. to cease all fractional activity, including the sending of fraction supporters into the districts, the despatching of illegal fractional literature to the organisations of the C. P. of the Soviet Union and to the sections of the Comintern, and to dissolve unconditionally all fractional organisations of the combined Opposition;

5. openly, clearly and unambiguously to repudiate the standpoint of the renegade Ossovsky and of the menshevist platform of Medvedjev and Shljapnikov, who advocate the liquidation of the Comintern and of the Red International of Labour Unions and union with social democracy;

6. to dissociate from the incitement against the Soviet Union, the C. P. of the Soviet Union and against the Comintern on the part of Korsch, Maslov, Ruth Fischer, Urbahns and Weber, who openly side with Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotzky;

7. openly to renounce any analogies with the Stockholm Congress and to cease all threats to split the Party;

8. to declare as absolutely impermissible any direct or indirect support of the fights of the fractional groups of individual Communist sections against the Comintern (Souvarine group in France, Urbahns-Weber group in Germany, Bordiga group in Italy)."

The Central Committee believes that only the complete and unreserved acceptance of these conditions can guarantee real peace and unity to the Party. In putting forward these conditions, which it regards as minimum conditions, the Central Committee proceeds from the following facts: 1. from the decisions of the supreme Party organs on the impermissibility of fractions and of fractional activity within the Communist Party; 2. from the fact of the openly expressed will of the Party, which has unanimously condemned the principle line and the fractional policy of the Opposition both in Moscow and in Leningrad, as well as in the whole Party. It is known from the press that in Moscow, in the period from the 1st to 8th of October, out of 53,208 Party members who took part in the Party meetings, only 171 voted for the Opposition and 87 abstained from voting, while all the rest voted for the policy of the Central Committee, in Leningrad up to the 7th October, out of 34,180 Party members who took part in the Party meetings, 325 members voted for the Opposition, 126 abstained from voting and all the rest of the members voted for the policy of the Central Committee; in the whole Party the Opposition has not been able to gather to it any considerable minority in any of the local organisations, in any province, district or industrial factory.

The Central Committee finally holds the standpoint that the combined Opposition, which represents a disappearing minority in our Party, must submit unreservedly to the overwhelming majority of the Party, and to the will of the Party; it cannot and must not impose its will upon the Party. The Central Committee is now able to record with satisfaction that the Opposition has in the main accepted the submitted demands. It is clear from the following document which has been signed by the Opposition leaders, that the Opposition has recognised its errors regarding the fractional struggle and the violations of the decisions of the Central Committee against discussion, that it dissolves its fraction, pledges itself to submit unconditionally to all the decisions of the Party and its Central organs and to dissociate from the liquidatory standpoint of Ossovsky, Medvedjev and Shljapnikov, and finally that it dissociates itself from the attacks against the Soviet Union and from the fractional struggle against the Comintern which certain groups are carrying out abroad. The Central Committee believe that the minimum necessary for securing Party unity can be regarded as having been attained. The task now consists in continuing to combat the ideological errors of principle of the Opposition which they have not repudiated, and to carry out all measures in order that the minimum attained for securing Party unity shall be actually carried out.

DECLARATION OF THE OPPOSITION.

The following declaration, signed by Comrades Zinoviev, Trotzky, Kameniev, Pjatakov, Sokolnikov and Jevdokimov has been published in the "Pravda".

"At the XIV. Party Congress of the C.P. of the Soviet Union and afterwards, we disagreed with the majority of the Party Conference and of the Central Committee in a number of questions of principle. Our views are laid down in official documents as well as in speeches delivered by us at the Party Conference, in the Plenum of the Central Committee and in the Polbureau. We also stand at present on the basis of these views. We decidedly reject however the theory and the practice of "freedom of fractions and groupings", and recognise that such a theory and practice are contrary to Leninism and the decisions of the Party. We consider it our duty to carry out the decisions of the Party regarding the impermissibility of fractional activity. At the same time we consider it to be our duty to admit openly before the Party that we and our supporters, in putting forward our views on a number of occasions after the XIV. Party Conference, have committed acts which violated Party discipline and that we have followed a fractional course which goes beyond the limits of ideological struggle within the Party laid down by the Party. In recognising these acts as wrong, we declare that we emphatically renounce the fractional methods of propagating our views, as these methods endanger the unity of the Party, and we call upon all comrades who share our views to do the same. We call for the immediate dissolution of all fractional groupings which have been formed round the views of the Opposition. At the same time we admit that by our appearance in Moscow and in Leningrad in October we violated the decision of the Central Committee on the impermissibility of a discussion, in that we opened such a discussion against the decisions of the Central Committee. It was equally wrong to mention the Stockholm Conference at the XIV. Party Conference, for this remark could be regarded as a hint and a threat of a split, although this was in no way intended by Comrade Krupskaya. We unanimously repudiate such a prospect, which is harmful and has nothing in common with our standpoint. We emphatically condemn such a criticism of the Comintern or the policy of our Party which goes over to incitement, which weakens the position of the Comintern as the fighting organisation of the international proletariat, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the outpost of the Comintern, or of the Soviet Union as the first State of the proletarian dictatorship. Not only the agitation of Korsch and his consorts who have broken with Communism, but anybody who goes beyond these limits will meet with energetic resistance on our part. We emphatically deny the right of those who carry on an agitation of any sort against the Comintern, the C.P. of the Soviet Union or the Soviet Union, to lay claim to any solidarity with us.

While recognising the right of every member of the Comintern to advocate his views within the limits of the statutes and decisions of the Congresses of the Comintern and of the E. C. C. I., we consider it as absolutely impermissible to support either directly or indirectly the fractionalism of any group in the various sections of the Comintern against the line of the Comintern, be it the Souvarine group in France, the Maslov-Ruth Fischer-Urbahns-Weber group in Germany, the Bordiga group in Italy or any other group, no matter what their attitude may be towards our views. We consider as particularly impermissible any support of the activity of persons such as Ruth Fischer and Maslov who have been expelled from the Party and the Comintern.

The views of Ossovski which are expressed in his articles, and the views of Medvedjev which were analysed in the "Pravda" (the theory of "two parties", propaganda for liquidating the Comintern and the Profintern, attempts to unite with the social democrats, extension of the concession policy beyond the limits laid down by Lenin etc.), we considered and still consider as extremely erroneous, anti-Leninist and fundamentally opposed to our views. The estimation which Lenin gave regarding the standpoint of the workers' opposition championed by Shljapnikov and Medvedjev, is fully shared by us.

We consider the decisions of the XIV. Party Congress, of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission

as absolutely binding for us, and we shall unconditionally submit to them and carry them out. We call upon all comrades who share our views to do the same.

Each one of us pledges himself to propagate his views only in the forms laid down by the statutes and the decisions of the Congresses and of the Central Committee, and we are convinced that everything that is correct in our views will be adopted by the Party in the course of its further work. In the course of the last few months a number of comrades were expelled from the Party on account of this or that violation of Party discipline, on account of employing fractional methods in propagating the views of the Opposition. From all that is said above it is to be seen that the political responsibility for these acts rests with the undersigned. We express the firm hope that the actual cessation of the fractional struggle on the part of the Opposition will render it possible for the expelled comrades, who have recognised their errors in regard to infringing Party discipline and the interests of Party unity, to be taken back into the ranks of the Party, whereby we pledge ourselves to lend every assistance in the liquidation of the fractional struggle and the fight against the recurrence of violations of Party discipline."

POLITICS

The Labour Party Conference at Margate.

By R. PALME DUTT (London).

The Margate Labour Party Conference showed the increasing pressure of official Labour policy to the Right in the present period of reaction following on the smashing of the General Strike and the betrayal of the miners; but it showed at the same time the beginnings of a wider Opposition than previously, only still confused, lacking organisation (the first beginning of a common Left Wing organisation in the Labour Party was only made a month before the Conference and is still at an early stage) and lacking a common programme, and therefore ineffective against the dominant and disciplined Right Wing leadership.

The extreme extent of the move to the Right was shown in the Chairman's speech. For Chairman had been chosen the well-known renegade, Robert Williams, a former "ultra-left" extremist, notorious for swashbuckling "blood" and "red flag" speeches, who had been in the Communist Party and had been expelled from it for his share in Black Friday, and now the docile and servile tool of MacDonal. This former fire-eater had been chosen by the Executive to give a keynote of abject servility to capitalism.

The points of this Chairman's Address (which is invariably printed and circulated beforehand, and should be regarded as in practice the expression of the Executive) are as follows:

First, the General Strike is unreservedly condemned. "The Communist Party and the Minority Movement still believe in the General Strike. The Labour Party looks with confidence to the General Election." The whole campaign of preparation for May, or indeed of any preparation against a capitalist attack, is condemned as "militarist". The method recommended is "conciliation". "Let us seek Industrial Peace through methods of conciliation". It will be seen that here the logic of the Capitulation of May 12 is drawn far more sharply than the Right Wing dared to do at the Trade Union Congress, where the weapon of the General Strike was still pretended to be in reserve for future use; here, on the contrary, the lesson is correctly drawn to capitulation along the whole line as the only possible reformist policy. In the same tone is the recognition that the mining dispute is "not merely industrial", but political — only to draw the conclusion that the struggle should be waged through Parliament. It should be noted that no other discussion of the General Strike was allowed in the Conference.

Second, the Miners' struggle is equally condemned as heroic blindness. The Miners are likened to "blind Samsons" pulling down the pillars of "British Civilisation". The embargo is declared impossible.

Third, the inevitable consequence of acceptance of Capitalism, and indefinite postponement of Socialism is openly pro-

claimed. "In a resourceful, resilient industrial community like our own we cannot subvert or overthrow. We must supersede capitalism." "Whether Socialism will come in our time, or in a particular way, is a matter for conjecture, but the control of the machinery of government by the Labour Party is well within sight" Thus even the parliamentary labour majority, which is held out as the sole hope to the workers in their present distress, may not necessarily bring any advance to Socialism.

In the international field, equally characteristic is the praise of the American Moloch and the attack on Workers' Russia. For Russia, the attempt is made to distinguish between Tomsky and Krassin. For Tomsky, as the representative of the workers and the revolution, the message is: "Hands off the British Labour Movement". For Krassin, as the possible vehicle of business for British Capitalism, the message is: "We extend to Mr. Krassin Labour's best wishes in his efforts to establish an increased volume of trade between Russia and ourselves." But the model for British Labour is America. "I would advocate such changes as would put the workpeople of Great Britain on an equal footing with the workers of the United States."

This speech, which is worth summarising as an open and even deliberately provocative expression of modern Second International policy in England, made at a moment when the miners' struggle is reaching its most desperate point, aroused a demonstration of hostility from the Conference, particularly as a result of the insulting references to the miners. It is noticeable that in the subsequent elections to the Executive Williams failed to secure re-election — an unprecedented event in the case of a retiring Chairman. Nevertheless his speech was only an expression of the actual policy of the Executive; and as he himself subsequently said: "He had only stated publicly what other people were saying privately."

The dominant question of the Conference was the Miners' struggle, which overshadowed it. The decision of the Miners' Delegate Conference just before, not to surrender, but to adopt the policy of the offensive, threw into sharp relief the absolute passivity of the Labour Executive, which refused to stir a finger in support. The official resolution offered no help to the miners, but contented itself with declaring that the only solution lay in nationalisation. The Miners' representatives were not allowed to move an alternative resolution. A strong opposition fight was here put up by the Communist and Left Wing; and the Independent Labour Party also joined in. Horner, the Communist leader of the Miners' Left Wing, received a tremendous ovation: in the words of the Daily Herald correspondent, he "had an exceptionally loud and long acclamation". Thomas, who replied for the Executive, with difficulty obtained a hearing: he was greeted with an uproar from all parts of the Conference and demands that he should not be heard, and for several minutes was obliged to stand silent. The Executive resolution was carried by 2,159,000 to 1,368,000. This was the strongest and most important Opposition vote.

It is noticeable that the Miners' delegation, representing some 800,000, who here found themselves in sharp opposition to the Executive, failed in other issues to voice their opposition along with their actual allies, the Communists and Left Wing. This was a great weakness of the Left Wing, and showed the power of the Parliamentary Right Wing leaders in the Miners' delegation, who were thus still able to register the votes of the Miners as supporters of their betrayer, MacDonald. Intensified political propaganda in the Miners' Federation should soon change this, and drive home the lessons of the present struggle, which are already becoming clear for the mass of the Miners. The expulsion of the traitor Miners' M. P., Spencer, is the first sign of the change that is taking place and that should soon reflect itself in the political sphere.

The question of Communism and the Left Wing in the Labour Party played a prominent part. Despite the continual attempts of the Executive to extirpate all traces of Communism from the Labour Party, the question continually recurs in more insistent form, because the whole development of the class struggle in England strengthens the hold of the Communists in the Trade Unions, on which the Labour Party is built. The Right Wing can only maintain their hold by splitting the movement. This process has now begun. At the Liverpool Conference last year it was decided to exclude all Communists from individual membership of the Labour Party. Many local labour parties refused to carry this out; thirteen in consequence, repre-

senting the local movements in some of the most populous working class districts in London and Glasgow, have been expelled from the Labour Party. In addition, a score of duly elected delegates from local labour parties were excluded from the present Conference on the ground of being Communists. Nevertheless the Executive did not yet feel strong enough to dictate to the big national trade unions their choice of delegates. In consequence, two or three Communists were still able to be present and play a leading role in the Opposition, in particular, Comrade Pollitt of the Boilermakers and Comrade Horner of the Miners. In addition an organised group of delegates belonging to the newly formed Left Wing in the Labour Party were present. The disaffiliation of local labour parties was challenged, and endorsed by a vote of 3,414,000 to 209,000. The ruling out of resolutions for Communist Party affiliation to the Labour Party was also challenged, and endorsed by 2,706,000 to 349,000. The figures here of the Opposition vote are still very small, because the Communist issue raises the most direct and conscious challenge to the Executive: but it should be remembered that by the "block vote" system all minorities in the separate trade unions, although often very large, are wiped out in the final result, so that the actual minority and majority figure is largely unreal, and a comparatively small turnover in a few large Unions would result in a landslide and an actual majority for the Communists. Many observers, such as Lansbury, have stated their expectation that this will happen in the next few years; but the splitting tactics of the Right may anticipate such a turnover.

The anxiety of the Executive on the question of Communism was conspicuous. The Executive spokesman, Morrison, declared that the Communist Party "compelled the Labour Party to spend half their time in resisting their mischievous activities". The Executive Report was accompanied by elaborate "secret documents" to expose the "fractional work of the Communists", and quotations borrowed from their fellow Communist-hunter, the Tory Home Secretary and his police documents. But the campaign of the Executive extended not only to the Communists, but to the Left Wing, whose future expulsion was also threatened. Morrison, after directly attacking Pollitt by name, went on to include with him "others who had not, like Mr. Pollitt, the honesty to join the Communist Party". It was noticeable that on one occasion even Wheatly, who was expected to speak against MacDonald's policy in relation to the next Labour Government, was prevented under a technical rule from speaking; while the spokesmen of the Independent Labour Party itself, which occasionally ventured mild opposition, received very cold treatment.

The role of the Independent Labour Party deserves attention. The Independent Labour Party, which is at present dominated by a Centrist group, has shown signs since the fall of the Labour Government of desiring to take up an Opposition lead in the Labour Party, has criticised the policy of MacDonald, called for "Socialism In Our Time" to be attained through a policy of a "living wage" etc. There was some expectation that they calculated, with the Communists, once successfully eliminated, to take the leadership of the Left at the Labour Party Conference. But the thinness of their "left" pretensions had already been considerably exposed by the General Strike and the Miners' struggle, where they were consistently on the side of defeatism. The Margate Conference still further exposed their pretensions. Save for their support of the miners' criticism of the Executive resolution on the mining struggle, they made no left fight. The challenge of Williams' speech to any conception of class struggle was not taken up. Their own "Socialism In Our Time" policy dwindled into a humble request for an "enquiry", which was contemptuously granted. The impotence of the I. L. P. ideology really to differentiate itself from the Right was demonstrated. The revolutionary Left Wing can only develop and become strong in proportion as it unites on a positive programme of class struggle in opposition to the policy represented by MacDonald.

Thus the experience of the Margate Labour Party Conference has shown that the division of Right and Left is developing in the Labour Party, though still in an unclear form, but that the ultimate issue is already more and more clearly becoming between the leadership of MacDonald and the Extreme Right on the leadership of the Communist Party.

The Municipal Elections in Belgium.

By J. Jacquemotte.

Brussels, October 13th, 1926.

The outstanding features of the municipal elections of October 10th in the whole of Belgium were the advance of the clericals, losses of the social democrats and the great gains of the communists.

In Belgium municipal elections take place every six years. In the last elections in 1920 which took place for the first time upon the basis of a general franchise in which both men and women over 21 years voted, the social democracy won considerable successes. It won tens of thousands of votes away from the bourgeois parties and obtained majorities in hundreds of industrial municipalities. Immediately after the parliamentary elections in 1921 a clerical liberal coalition government was formed. The social democrats remained in the opposition, naturally his Majesty's loyal opposition!

The period from 1921 to 1925 was marked by a continual intensification of the economic situation, by a continual increase in the cost of living, by the depreciation of the franc and by new taxes. The dissatisfaction of the masses led in the parliamentary elections in April 1925 to a great success for the social democracy and to the formation of a social democratic-clerical coalition government. But when the coalition socialists were faced with the brutal necessity of carrying on a struggle against the bourgeoisie, they abandoned the whole programme of immediate demands for the working masses.

After the shameful flight of the Poulet-Vandervelde government before the attacks of high finance and after the formation of the bankers government with the support and participation of the social democratic leaders, many of the illusions which had been awakened by reformism, began to disappear. Instead of a capital levy on the rich, instead of a reduction of the state debts, instead of new taxes upon unearned increment, instead of reductions in indirect taxes, there came a 50% increase of the taxes hitting the masses, a considerable increase of the state debt by the recognition of the war debts to America, the handing over of the railways to a private company together with a tremendous increase of its tariff, the widening of the privileges of the Banque National, a worsening in the quality of bread and far-reaching powers to the bankers government. All these measures were decided upon by the clericals, liberals and social democrats united in the lap of the government of the banker Francqui.

But all these measures did not prevent a further fall in the Belgian franc (inside half a year the franc has fallen from 105 to 175 and occasionally to over 200 to the pound sterling), a continued increase in the cost of living and an increase in the misery of the masses. These were the circumstances under which the municipal elections were fought.

The reformist leaders would gladly have postponed the elections. They expressed this wish clearly enough. Emily Vandervelde, foreign Minister of the Bankers Government, and leading light of the Second International, declared in an election speech: "One can raise the question whether a postponement of the municipal elections would not be desirable. In actual fact they create a highly contradictory situation. In Brussels we see ten men in the government who are opponents of yesterday and opponents of tomorrow, who win a victory over themselves daily by conquering that which parts them and thinking only of one thing; acting only in one direction: for the economic recovery of the country, for its financial reconstruction and for stable currency."

The cynism with which the leader of the social democracy of Belgium openly admits that all opposition against the exploitation of the working class by capitalism must be put on one side, openly admits that the role of the social democracy is to stabilise bourgeois society, really deserves to be pilloried.

The reformist leaders did everything possible to keep the general political questions as far apart as possible from the municipal elections. But their attempts to limit the character of the elections to purely narrow local questions, were foiled thanks to an energetic campaign on the part of the Communist Party which for the first time put forward candidates in the most important districts.

Belgium has approximately eight million inhabitants. Of these 4,850,203 have votes in the municipal elections. 2,361,362 are male and 2,288,841 are female. In the 63 municipalities in which the Communist Party put up candidates, there are a total of 1,358,377 electors. The party therefore put forward its candidates in 2.4 per cent of the municipalities embracing 28 per cent of the total electorate.

On the eve of the elections all the other parties both the bourgeois and the social democrats declared that the communists "play no role in the elections". Nevertheless the energetic campaign which was carried on by the Communist Party induced the social democrats to print and spread a leaflet in hundreds of thousands of copies directed exclusively against the Communist Party and against the Russian revolution.

For the first time our small Belgian section of the Communist International has taken part in the municipal elections. As is known it has approximately 1000 members, however, we polled 70,000 votes and returned 26 candidates.

In Brussels and in the larger municipalities the communist votes varied between 25 and 30 per cent of the social democratic votes. In Seraing we received votes amounting to 61 per cent of the social democratic votes and 28.62 per cent of all the valid votes cast. Even in the reformist stronghold of Ghent we achieved a splendid result. In the parliamentary election in April 1925 we received 962 votes. At this election we received 5,044 votes!

The reformist leaders are naturally attempting to minimise the importance of our electoral success. They are, however, unable to conceal their uneasiness in the face of such favourable results for the communists. Their press is sounding the alarm. The "Vooruit" in Ghent writes that the reformists have underestimated the communist propaganda and that now they must really seriously deal with the communists. "Le Peuple", Brussels, writes that now the "work of the communist nuclei in the trade unions must finally be stopped". The bourgeois press which is enthusiastic about the progress of the clericals, remarks that nevertheless it would be dangerous to close one's eyes to the advance of the communists. Everything must be done, it writes, to counteract the agitation of the communists which has made such serious progress as shown in the elections.

The C. P. has had a very considerable electoral success. But the numerical and internal strengthening of the Party is more than ever necessary. The C. P. must now concentrate all its force upon recruiting activity, upon the ideological strengthening of its party members, upon the creation of a close connection with the masses and upon the circulation of the party press.

The general economic situation which is continually worsening, the coming great social struggles and the influence of the social democracy which is still very great, all demand categorically that all efforts be concentrated upon the organisation of the party. This is the task which the Communist Party of Belgium will immediately commence.

The Situation in Greece.

By P. Petridis (Athens).

The Kondylis Government has issued writs for the Parliamentary elections for October 24th. According to the Constitution, which was worked out by the last National Assembly and has now been put in force by Kondylis, the elections are to be held on the system of proportional representation.

In bourgeois circles, opinions have been much divided on the question of the electoral system for the approaching elections. The Monarchist parties are on the whole in favour of the majority system; the most energetic pioneer of this system is Tsaldaris, the leader of the People's Party, the old Gunaris Party. The old adherents of Venizelos, the present Republican Bourgeois Party, are, on the whole, in favour of the proportional system.

Michalakopoulos, the leader of the Conservative Liberals on the one hand and Metaxas, the leader of the Independents on the other hand form the points of contact between the two camps of the bourgeoisie. Michalakopoulos has declared himself in favour of the majority system, and Metaxas would take part in the elections even on the proportional system. In any case Metaxas and especially Michalakopoulos are both more or

less bound to the camp to which they belong, so that their vacillations do not, for the time being, obliterate the line between the two camps.

The parliamentary elections have freshly intensified the old antagonism between the Venizelist and anti-Venizelist (Monarchist) sections of the bourgeoisie. The two groups, which had — though hesitatingly — approached nearer to one another during the Pangalos dictatorship and had even chosen a common candidate at the last Presidential election (Demertzio of the Monarchist wing), fell apart again after Pangalos' fall. Each of the two groups recovered its freedom of movement as regards the other and is now making use of it for consolidating its own position. Nothing but a certain mistrust of Kondylis still causes them to find the way to one another on some occasions, just as does the fear of possible independent action on the part of the masses, which would complicate "the return to normal conditions", at which each is aiming in its own way.

The antagonism between the Liberal and the Monarchist bourgeoisie finds concrete expression in the fight which rages round the election system. At these elections, the Monarchist bourgeoisie brings forward the question of the Constitution by its slogan of the majority system.

From the beginning, the Kondylis Government has energetically defended the proportional system. The resistance of the Monarchists immediately became evident; they sabotaged the Government. They wanted to overthrow the Government and to establish a coalition government under their own leadership or a government of officials, for the purpose of carrying through the election. Their sabotage went so far as their threatening to abstain from taking part in the elections.

The pressure of the Monarchists was not without results. At first they compelled the Kondylis party to dissolve; the latter declared that he would not take part in the elections; finally, by these measures, they forced Kondylis to resign and postponed the elections till November 7th. This would not have been possible without the passive co-operation of the Democratic parties — a further demonstration of the efforts at compromise of the Democratic parties who were quite prepared to sacrifice Kondylis when it was a case of escaping from the present situation, even if this way of escape involved the abandoning of their own slogans and even certain of their positions.

It is not yet possible to foresee whether further pressure on the part of the Monarchists will bring about another postponement for the benefit of the majority system. The Republican parties, it is true, wish to create the impression that they are indifferent to the Monarchists' threat to refrain from taking part in the election. Kalandaris, for instance, declared that the Monarchist parties would dissolve spontaneously if they did not take part in the elections, as their adherents would vote for other parties; Kondylis even stated that, should this movement for refraining from taking part in the election spread, he would withdraw his resolve not to take part in them and would carry on the elections on the basis of the proportional system. It would however be wrong to exclude, because of all this, the possibility of things taking a turn in favour of the majority system under the increasing pressure of the Monarchists. Michalakopoulos is in favour of the latter system and might break up the united election front with Kalandaris which is in any case not very firm. Much depends on the attitude of the Communist Party and on the extent to which they will be able to mobilise the working masses for their slogans.

All these circumstances, of course, do not tend to create much confidence in Kondylis; favourable conditions for the Monarchist agitation are on the other hand produced by the attitude of opposition which the Monarchists have maintained for years, and above all by the very gentle treatment shown them both by the Government and by all the Republican parties — this attitude was again demonstrated by the events of September 9th — which gives fresh confidence to the Monarchists.

Apart from other small, bourgeois and petty bourgeois groups, the Papanastassiou Party and the Communist Party are taking part in the election campaign.

The Papanastassiou Party, the "Democratic Union", to which both Pangalos and Kondylis originally belonged, was rechristened "The Worker and Peasant Party", shortly before the election writs were issued. In this way Papanastassiou is trying his luck in canvassing the working masses whose activity is

growing perceptibly. In doing so he presents a Reformist programme which contains some of the demands of the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie regards these efforts of Papanastassiou with approval. They speak openly of needing something of the sort as a counter-weight to "Communist extremism".

The Communist Party regards the fight about the election system as a fight against the Constitution, is taking part in the elections and taking up a strong attitude in favour of proportional representation. A "United Election Front of Workers, Peasants and Refugees" has been formed. The preparation and carrying through of the election campaign is under the guidance of a central election committee which works with the help of the local election committees. The chief thesis of the Party is that it should try to send its candidates into Parliament in this election campaign — which is a form of fight about the Constitution — so that there also they may fight for the demands of the masses and with the object of unmasking parliamentarism. The centre of gravity of the fight however is outside Parliament.

THE NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The Russian Revolution a Source of Moral Force for the World Proletariat.

By Clara Zetkin.

History holds recorded in indelible letters how infinitely much the world proletariat in its fight for liberation owes to the Russian revolution, to its heroic, self-sacrificing standard-bearers, to its far-seeing, intrepid leaders. The Russian revolution has, both in theory and practice demonstrated and justified the fact that the Soviets of the producing masses are the revolutionary instruments of war of the proletariat for subjugating capitalism in industry and in the State, the revolutionary instruments of construction for the establishment of Communist Society. It has brought the whole essential difference between proletarian and bourgeois democracy out of the dim light of the study and of parliamentary illusions into the glaring, searching light of social reality, with its class contradictions and class fights. It has shown that only the proletarian dictatorship throws open the door to a society free from class distinctions, exploitation and bondage. It has compelled attention to the fact that the conquest of the power of the State by the proletariat, the establishment of its dictatorship is only the beginning and not the end of the social revolution, and that the latter will, in its course, inevitably bring up new problems, meet with new difficulties every day. It has impelled us to test, to perfect, to supplement over and over again the methods and means of the proletarian fight for emancipation, to choose or reject according to the historical circumstances of the time; even then all is not told.

In short, the Russian revolution of November 1917 is for the world proletariat a mine of wealth of theoretical and practical knowledge, a mine of wealth almost as immeasurable and inexhaustible as life itself. How could it be otherwise? Is not the Russian revolution life, historical, social life, aglow with sacred fervour, the conscious, active life of hundreds of thousands; the instinctively divined, emotionally perceived life of millions; the reality, the fate of a gigantic community? Just for this reason it must be appreciated for more than the wealth of guiding discernment, for the significance and value of which the world proletariat struggles seeking, groping, weighing and daring. This is what the Russian revolution really is, an act of will on the part of the workers, of the broadest masses of the working people. This is the Russian revolution, an expression of conscious fighting, working, sacrifice, and endurance of untold numbers, famous and unknown, both in the great moments of its historical course and in its calmer development from day to day which, in the eyes of many, is without lustre. This is the Russian revolution, the meeting of the best mental and moral forces of a people of workers which has forced its way into space and freedom, out of the narrowness and constriction of a society which subordinates the living man to dead property, and which, as the new order of society, permits man to be com-

pletely man, man in his totality. This is the Russian revolution as the embodiment in flesh and blood of the idea of Socialism, of Communism. Undoubtedly! Not yet the mature embodiment of the idea, but at any rate a resolute beginning of it.

In order clearly to grasp the significance of all this in its effect on the workers of other countries, we must bear in mind the historical hour at which the proletarian revolution in Russia raised its head, great, gigantic, triumphant. The capitalists and the troops which defended them were jubilant. Socialism seemed, together with the II. International, to have drawn its last breath on the imperialist battlefields which were reeking with the blood of the proletarians who were slaying one another. The bourgeoisie no longer trembled for its profit and its dominion in dread of the threatened attack of the proletariat. The class struggle did not weld nationally and internationally the exploited with the exploited. In its place was the imperialist war of the groups of States which were struggling for world power and world plunder. "Holy Unity", "Collaboration of Classes" exploiters and exploited in the warring countries. The international solidarity of the proletariat is an antiquated, discarded illusion, Socialism a worthless Utopia. In the murderous fight against his brothers in the uniforms of foreign countries, the worker discovered his "country". Thus sounded the echo throughout the world, drowning with the thunder of guns the message of peace and freedom, the message of international revolutionary Socialism. It was just in the countries in which the latter had its strongest, best organised and best equipped, armies that it was most shamefully betrayed.

Small was the number of those who resisted the nationalist frenzy, who remained true to their faith in Socialism and Communism and looked to the revolutionary proletarian class war and not to the imperialist war of nationalities and States for bread, freedom and education. Still smaller was the group of the upright and courageous ones who dared to say this openly to the proletarian masses, who called upon them to put a stop to the imperialist massacre by the proletarian revolution. Their voice was swallowed up by the resounding janizary music of the nationalist orchestra of the imperialists of all countries, demanding war to the bitter end.

Then, in November 1917, after three years of unspeakable horror, arose a cry, louder and more powerful than the sighing, groaning, complaining, pleading and cursing of millions who were dying, wounded, crippled, starving, care-worn, deserted, fugitive. A cry, louder and more powerful than the uproar of the Witches' Sabbath, which was celebrated in all capitalist States by the usurers and speculators in coffee, bread, materials, in human bodies and human souls, who were covetous of laurels and gold. In Russia, Revolution, the proletarian revolution had raised its head! With stentorian voice it cried throughout the world: "I was, I shall be." And lo! A strong rousing spirit passed over the world. The faith of those who were convinced of the immortal life, of the sublime task of the revolution, gained gigantic force. The doubters and waverers stood once more firmly on their feet, and those who had become faint-hearted pressed forwards. Wherever capitalism had made the people weary and heavy-laden and had coined riches out of their distress and suffering, backs were straightened and heads were carried high and defiantly. The gladiators and the tools of profit of capitalist imperialism began to reflect about themselves, began once more to think and feel as proletarians who, in the revolutionary fight, had a historical aim of their own before them, — that of throwing off the yoke and exploitation of capitalism, thus rescuing mankind from the tyranny of possession.

The Russian revolution fanned into a bright, blazing flame the spark of longing for emancipation through Communism, of faith in Communism, of the will to bring it into being by fighting; a spark which had been buried under the ashes of nationalism. Those who had been bled and trampled upon in all countries learnt to trust once more in their own power with manly confidence. That which the usufructuaries and protectors of capitalism had denied and mocked at was true, had become a reality: a new social order of justice and freedom could be constructed, must be constructed, if the working masses recognised it, willed it and fought for it. The Russian revolution put on the agenda of history the question: Capitalism or Socialism, Communism as the predominant question of the day, as the plain and simple question of the day. The revolution appeared before the eyes of the world proletariat as liberator,

avenger, as judge, with the sword bared and the trowel in her hand, and — what was most inspiring and uplifting — as the very deed of the exploited and suppressed themselves. To this deed of liberation the Russian revolution called those who were hungering for peace, for bread and for freedom in all countries. Her first word was the glowing, fervent proclamation of international proletarian solidarity, an expression of an almost religious faith in it and its power.

Sparks and flames from the gigantic conflagration of the Russian revolution leapt across the borders. They kindled the first great demonstrations of proletarian class-life in Western Europe, demonstrations which still lacked clearness of purpose and power, which were partly inspired by pacifist confusion of thought instead of by revolutionary determination, but which nevertheless revealed the stirrings of recognition and of will. Take as instances the imposing peace demonstration in Vienna, the mass strikes in Germany in January 1918 etc. Outside Soviet Russia, it is true, the proletariat of the world dragged on in its misery due to war and under the crushing burden of capitalism. Nevertheless the glorious example of their Russian brothers and sisters left indelible traces in their heart and mind. When the military force of the Central Powers collapsed, when revolution rose there also with gigantic power, arming and guiding the fists of the proletariat, the Russian example became a living force in the souls of the proletarians. Like mushrooms after a rain-storm, workers' soldiers' and peasants' councils sprang up almost in a night. Councils as supporters of and ministers to a new, higher social life and thought, as foundation stones of a more perfect order of society, was the slogan of the revolutionary day. It was the pillar up which climbed the longing and energy of untold numbers of proletarian men and women whose discernment had been sharpened, whose passion for fighting had been inflamed by the Russian revolution.

The revolution in Germany, it is true, and in the Republics which rose from the ruins of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy, lagged far behind their Russian precursor. The proletariat began it indeed, but did not make the best of it, did not carry it through to the end. It stopped half-way, at the limits of the bourgeois republic, fooled and betrayed by hesitating, short-sighted leaders, who feared fighting and responsibility, a victim also of its own illusions and weaknesses, especially of the lack of confidence in its own power. Even now, in these countries, only a vanguard of the proletariat is engaged in the revolutionary fight, ready to clear the way for Communism, the greatest act of creation in history, by shattering capitalist exploitation and domination in the State and in economic life. The same applies to the other States and territories in which capitalism still chastises the have-nots with scorpions.

In the vanguard of the world proletariat alone, the titanic life and struggle of the Russian revolution has all the force it had on the day of its birth; and spirit of its spirit, flesh of its flesh is the III. International, the young world power of the workers of all countries, who know that in the revolutionary fight they have a world to win and nothing to lose but their chains. Beyond this however, the Russian revolution, through the undying example of its fighting, labouring existence, is constantly raising more and more proletarians from the indignity of patient bearers of their cross to proud rebels against capitalist despotism who are conscious of their aim and cognisant of the path which leads to it. It makes them toil for knowledge and enlightenment; it releases currents of energy, of self-denial, of joy in sacrifice; it inspires miracles of self-abnegation and heroic intrepidity. It is a well-spring of the spiritual and moral rebirth of worn-out, dull and apathetic slaves of capital into fighting communists.

The League of Nations and the U. S. S. R.

By C. Yavorsky.

Aside from all other reasons, the defenders and adherents of the League of Nations, particularly the social democratic elements, welcomed Germany's entry into the League, because the latter is becoming "democratic". They are ready now to admit that until recently the League was really an organisation of domineering great powers, conquerors of conquered peoples, and secondary powers. But since conquered Germany became a member of the Geneva institution, and on equal terms with her

conquerors has a representative in the League Council, it is said now that the League of Nations has been transformed into a real society of equal nations.

It now remains, according to the democrats and social democrats, to bring in into the League's staff another big power — Turkey, and there will be no ground left to deny the peaceful nature of the League of Nations. The sharp international conflicts will, from now on, have more chances than before to be solved by arbitration in the interests of "eternal justice".

And if so, there is no reason why the U. S. S. R. should refuse to enter the League and occupy a place in the "family of civilized nations". As far as deceiving the workers of Western Europe is concerned, this argument has all chances to have the same results as had the accusations that the Soviet Union had warlike, imperialistic intentions, which prevented it from sitting at one table with representatives of "peace-loving" nations of Europe — France, England, Italy, etc.

Already the first steps of the leaders of foreign politics of the great Powers, after Germany's entry into the League, disclosed that Germany, which hitherto figured as a "hereditary enemy", is now being looked upon as a big trump and possible ally in the diplomatic game and in the struggle for supremacy in Europe.

Briand's flirtations with Stresemann, the meeting of the two premiers on French territory, which pretended to have for its aims the working out of preliminary conditions of peaceful cohabitation of the two countries, in reality have more far-reaching aims of an economic and mainly political character. The Franco-German friendship, as far as the intentions of the leaders of French politics is concerned, must be directed against the plans of British supremacy which is striving to diminish France's influence in the fate of Europe. That also British diplomacy interprets the Franco-German collaboration in such a spirit, can be judged by the fact that immediately after the acceptance of Germany into the League of Nations, Chamberlain left for Italy to see Mussolini. France is compelled to lean on Germany for support against the Italian-Spanish block, which England supports and encourages. Of course, the new regrouping of the Powers is so far only in its embryonic stage. But there can be no doubt about the fact that Germany, in the role of a member of the League of Nations, is anything but a factor in preserving the peace of Europe.

Will the entry of Turkey into the League of Nations strengthen the "peace-making" character of the League? Even if we should admit that the Turkish politicians will fall for the alluring promises of French diplomacy, and, contrary to British wishes, will apply to the League of Nations with a proposal to admit Turkey to the League, the only result of such a step would be the sharpening of relations between Britain and Turkey. It is quite evident that France needs Turkey as a member of the League of Nations only for the purpose of strengthening the French positions in Geneva and in the Near East. And, certainly, it will not be the League of Nations that will save Turkey from further unfriendly attitude on the part of Britain. The example of Abyssinia, also a member of the League of Nations, which was subject to division between England and Italy — the ruling Powers of the League — is too evident that the rulers of Turkey should have any illusions about the fate that is expecting their country. The more countries enter the League of Nations, the stronger becomes the struggle between the great Powers for influence and for the leading role in European politics.

The famous Paragraph 16 of the by-laws of the League of Nations which binds all its members to participate in punitive measures which the League has a right to take against the "violators of peace", still becomes more attractive to the predominating Powers in the League as they can form a larger coalition, supported by this Paragraph. We have already seen how the French and British press protested against the Treaty of neutrality and against attacking which Germany made with the U. S. S. R., as this Treaty is a direct contradiction of the demands of the Paragraph 16 of the by-laws of the League of Nations. On the basis of this Paragraph, Poland refuses to conclude a Guarantee Treaty with the U. S. S. R., and France, having signed a Treaty with Roumania, has promised the latter military support in the event of attacks on the inviolability of her territory. This means that any attempt on the part of the

U. S. S. R. to take back Bessarabia from Roumania which was seized in a piratical and forceful manner, would be considered a violation of peace and automatically Paragraph 16 would be enforced. From this point of view any attempt of the Soviet Union Government to repress the Manchurian bandit Chan-Tzo-Lin can be interpreted as an aggressive step which would call forth a corresponding reply from the League of Nations. The probability of such interpretation is still more evident, since China received a place in the League of Nations on the insistence of England. And as that which is called Chinese Government is not more than a group of proteges of Chan-Tzo-Lin, it is evident that China, i. e. England and Japan, will not miss the opportunity to violate the peace in the Far East, giving as an excuse the "aggressiveness" of the U. S. S. R.

The "democratisation" of the League of Nations and the increasing of her membership at the expense of the conquered nations in no way alters the character of this Executive body of Franco-British imperialism. The danger confronting world peace, emanating from the League of Nations, is not decreasing, but to a great extent is increasing, as the struggle of the Great Powers for supremacy in the League is increasing. If the League of Nations, in any manner, is capable of uniting the imperialist governments, it will be only for the sole purpose of organising a united attack on the Soviet Union and for the joint struggle against the revolutionary movements in the colonies as well as in Europe. The Soviet Union has no ground for altering its attitude towards the League of Nations and will, certainly not join this organisation of imperialistic force.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Development of the Grain Campaign in the Soviet Union.

By A. Mikoyan.

People's Commissar for Domestic and Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union.

It is still a difficult matter to estimate the final results of the grain campaign from its course up to the present, because the campaign is still in its initial stage as far as the whole country is concerned. For instance, in the two huge grain-growing districts, Siberia and the Urals, the campaign has not yet begun. Nevertheless it is necessary to examine the progress of the campaign up to the present, especially as the commencement of the campaign is an important guide to its future progress. This examination is also important, because last year the graph of our difficulties showed a marked upward tendency during this initial period.

Regarding the extent of the harvest, the present year displays more favourable results than last year. Even when we take into account the fact that the harvest will be 146 million poods less than was estimated in August, the total quantity of the new harvest will still amount to about 4650 million poods, or 300 million poods more than last year. These figures can be regarded as more or less actual, though they may not constitute the final calculation of the harvest. Experience shows that even if the harvest should be as bad as possible in every district where the crops are not yet ripe, the difference can account for a diminution of 40 to 50 million poods at the very outside, so that even then could we still count upon the harvest being 250 to 300 million poods in excess of last year's. This is the first positive factor for the economic year now beginning.

This positive factor could not, however, operate in an appropriately favourable manner during the first few months of the new campaign on account of two negative considerations. First of all, the harvest geography has altered in regard to last year. Whereas last year an important part of the harvest, and a still more important of the grain surpluses reaching the market were concentrated in the south (Ukraine and North Caucasus), in the current year the harvest's centre of gravity has shifted over to the north-east (Volga District, the central agricultural district and the Cossack district). Although the diminution of the grain total by 128 million poods in North Caucasus and 12 million poods in the Ukraine, in relation to last

year, is not reflected to its full extent on the market, because the peasants of these districts are this year holding smaller reserve stocks, this moving of the harvest's centre of gravity from the districts lying in the neighbourhoods of ports to districts in the interior of the Soviet Union will create new obstacles in the way of the development of our grain exports.

The second negative consideration lies in the circumstance that climatic conditions in the interior districts, where the chief portion of the current year's harvest is located, have led to a month's to six weeks' postponement of the reaping.

Our experience during last year's grain campaign convinced us of the necessity of a **State grain fund** for purposes of manoeuvring to protect ourselves against the cropping up of unexpected difficulties on the grain market. The extent of this manoeuvring fund has been fixed for this year at 50 million poods. Unfortunately the manoeuvring fund could not be gathered together at the beginning of the campaign; not because we had not sufficient sources of grain to draw upon — such sources are indeed at hand and we might have gathered the fund together at once — but because we considered it necessary, in view of the unfavourable geographic distribution of this year's harvest, to extend the period prescribed for the formation of the grain fund. It would surely not have been the right policy to form such a fund out of the harvest of the southern districts and then deliver for export out of the central districts, more especially in view of the fact that the quality of the grain in the south is much more suited to the requirements of the world market than that of the grain of the central agricultural district or of the Volga district.

Our task lay in waiting for the harvest of the last-named districts, in supplying the "supplement districts" (districts where the harvest does not suffice to cover the requirements of the local population. Ed.) and in the creation of the manoeuvring fund from the grain sources of the non-exporting districts of the Soviet Union; on the other hand, employing the stocks of Ukraine and the North Caucasus exclusively for export purposes. The complete execution of these measures was impossible, as we were obliged, in consequence of the meagreness of the grain stocks for current requirements, and are still obliged, to deliver Ukrainian and North Caucasian grain to the inland grain markets.

As regards the result of the grain collecting in the months of July and August, we are much in arrear of the results of the corresponding months of last year. Attempts have been made to connect this fact with the price policy, but it was evident at the time, and is now becoming pronouncedly clear, that the slow progress in the grain campaign of this year is not due to social-economic causes but to the results of unfavourable climatic conditions.

As an illustration of this point we might mention the case of the North Caucasus and Ukraine, in which districts the climatic conditions have not been unfavourable this year, and where, as a consequence, the alleged social-economic causes would have found full expression. Despite the serious fall in the price of grain as compared with last year, the grain campaign of the current year, especially in the Ukraine, has progressed more in accordance with plans and given better results than last year's: up to September 20th, 1926, 48,501,000 poods have been collected as against 38,839,000 last year, i. e., 24.9% more.

In the North Caucasus, where the harvest is 128 million poods less than it was last year, the campaign shows up to the present almost the same result as last year: 45.8 million poods against 47.1 million poods last year.

Although in the current economic year, for the period from the beginning of the campaign to September 20th, there is recorded in Ukraine, in the North Caucasus and in the Crimea an excess of 7.3% in the quantity of grain gathered as compared with the corresponding figure for last year, in the other districts a marked decline is observable. For example, the quantity of grain collected up to the present in the **central agricultural district** and in the **Volga district** has sunk 20% lower, and that in the **Ural district** and in **Siberia** 61.2% lower than it was for the corresponding period of last year. The grain campaign in these districts began in September, and its further progress will enable us here, too, to draw conclusions based upon its result.

The cautions carrying out of the reform of the grain collecting organisations in the direction of their limitation and of the proper territorial distribution of the system of grain collecting agencies, in order to reduce the competition between these

organisations and to ensure proper management of the grain campaign, began to show positive results from the very commencement of the campaign. The price inflation, the nervous atmosphere and the wild competition, which characterised last year's grain campaign at this stage, are, in general, practically obviated this year, while in some districts they are completely eliminated.

The false view held by some comrades to the effect that, the higher the collection programme is set, the more enthusiasm it will create, has been completely refuted by practical experience. This is evident in the following example: In August we fixed our collection plan at 55 million poods, but it was executed only to the extent of 45.7 millions, i. e. with a deficit of 16.8%. In order to avoid a nervous atmosphere in September and in order not to disturb the steady progress of the campaign, we deliberately arranged for that month a minimal plan of 70 million poods, although we might well have expected to secure a much better result. During the first twenty days of the month 60.8 million poods was collected.

Thanks to the augmentation of the grain collection which set in during September, we shall in all probability be able by the end of the first three months of grain collecting campaign to reach, or practically reach, last year's result of 160 million poods, and this despite the fact that in comparison with last year the results for the months of July and August were poor. The steady progress of the campaign during this quarter-year will, moreover, ensure for the further course of the campaign a much more normal trend than was the case last year, for the disorganised market during August and September upset the whole of the campaign in October to December 1925.

It should be mentioned that last year we met with great difficulty in regard to the collecting of wheat, although the plan covering other kinds of grain was executed with a surplus. At the commencement of the new grain campaign the situation confronting us was entirely different. Up to September 20th 75.4 million poods of wheat were procured as against 46.2 millions during the corresponding period of the previous year, i. e. 63.2% more, while in regard to other kinds of grain we are much behind last year's mark. The explanation is to be found partly in the fact that the initial period of the campaign related almost exclusively to Ukraine and the North Caucasus, the most important wheat-growing districts, and partly in the circumstance that the area sown with wheat has been much extended this year.

The most satisfactory consideration is that in Ukraine, where we had last year to contend with many difficulties, we have to report great achievements in the new campaign. We have discovered in the Ukraine the right way to organise the collection of grain and we have got hold of a most important lever whereby to operate the grain market, while we can count upon the complete co-operation of the Party and the Soviet organisations. The most important thing is that the comrades in Ukraine should understand how to extend the achievements already gained; then, with the support of these two most important districts, we shall be able to control the factors of systematic State regulation in the **central agricultural district** and the **Volga district**, where we observe to our regret the reappearance of certain of last year's unhealthy symptoms. The correction of these shortcomings is now the chief task of the People's Commissariat for Trade and of the local organisations of these districts. We are convinced that these districts will not for long be in arrear of Ukraine and the North Caucasus as regards the successful execution of grain collecting.

The **price policy** of the new campaign differs greatly from that of last year's.

Last year prices were forced so high through the practice of setting a maximal programme of collection and giving word as early as August to buy as much as possible at any price, that we were no longer in a position to bring them down again to a conscionable level. But this year the picture is a very different one. No matter what course the campaign may take in the various districts, we do not alter our directives in regard to grain prices and shall not do so, for it is our intention to attain throughout the campaign a more normal and more stable price movement than was the case last year.

On September 21st the collection prices for rye were 18.4% lower, and for wheat 22.2% lower than they were on the same date of last year. This time we have had only insignificant fluctuations in the grain prices and the limits of the guide

prices have not been exceeded. The general average price-level for the four chief kinds of grain: rye, wheat, oats and barley — 89,6 copecks in the second third of September — is quite reasonable.

It must, however, be mentioned that the reduction of the sale price in the wholesale trade amounts to a lower percentage — 15% in September — than does the reduction in the collection price, and it will, therefore, be possible for us in October to make a further reduction in the wholesale price in order to relieve the tense situation on the produce-exchanges in the "supplement districts", which became perceptible at the commencement of the campaign and is still appreciable, though now only in a minor degree.

A peculiar feature of the campaign of 1926 is the fact that the participation of the co-operative societies' collecting organs in the collection has been increased both absolutely and relatively, and that the work the co-operative societies, thanks to the general improvement in their financial position, shows greater efficiency. Whereas in last year's campaign the State collecting agencies were of prime importance and the co-operative societies were secondary, the commencement of the new campaign discloses the contrary relation. This is due to the more efficient working methods of the co-operative societies and is by no means attributable to a falling off in the working capacity of the collecting agencies of the State.

One of the most unfavourable effects of last year's grain campaign upon the whole of the national economy, and especially upon the financial system, lay in the fact that the grain collecting agencies, especially at the beginning of last year's campaign, disposed of huge sums of money, as a result of which certain symptoms of inflation were observable in the middle of the economic year. The debts which the collecting agencies made with the State Bank amounted on October 1st of last year to 241,6 million roubles, while on October 1st of the current year they did not amount to more than 195 to 200 millions. It is an extraordinarily great economic achievement that the State has procured practically the same quantity of grain at a price which is less by 40 to 45 million roubles.

Concerning the part played by private capital in the collecting campaign, we may say that the insignificant role of private capital is attributable to the economic regulation of transportation. In this way it has been possible to limit the sphere of activity of the private capitalists and to control the private collection of grain, both as regards collection prices and sales conditions, by means of State management.

Therefore, when we make a general comparison between the beginning of the new grain campaign and that of last year, we must state that on the whole we have made good use of the lessons we learned during last year and that the State entered the present campaign with much more experience and with much greater controlling capacity than it possessed last year, and will consequently gain better positive results, provided that during the further progress of the campaign we make no serious mistakes and are in a position to maintain the necessary tenacity, calmness and stability; and if, furthermore, we take into consideration all the peculiarities and habits and also the business methods of our peasants; if we adapt ourselves adroitly to all changes; if we calculate in advance all the specialities of practice and prepare ourselves beforehand for the difficulties, which will inevitably arise in connection with the unfavourable natural conditions and with our inability to meet the demands of the peasantry for industrial goods.

The Distribution of Profits from the State Industries of the Soviet Union.

Since 1922/23 the State industries of the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.) have been working at a profit. In 1923/24 the net profit for the whole of the State industries of the U.S.S.R. amounted to about 400 million roubles; 1924/25 about 350 millions and 1925/26 about 520 million roubles.

The most profitable branches of industry are the textile industries, the rubber industry, the sugar industry and petroleum production. The least profitable branches, or those showing a loss, are the heavy industries, the metal industries and coal-mining.

The profits of the State industries are distributed roughly as follows: about 40% of the total profit will be allocated to the State budget or the local budget (according as the industry in question belongs to the Union, the respective Republic or the municipality) for the purpose of relieving taxation.

10% is allotted to the Treasury as Income Tax. The income tax is fixed at the same level for all State enterprises: 8% of the profit goes to the State Budget and 2% supplement to the local budget.

20% of the profit is placed to the reserve fund, which serves to meet the writing off of eventual losses or to enlarge the enterprise. The capital reserve can be drawn upon only with permission from the Supreme Economic Council.

60% of the capital reserves are obligatorily invested in interest-bearing State bonds. From these investments there accrues to the enterprise 8% interest per year.

10% of the profit is credited to the fund for the improvement of the standard of living of the workers and employees of the factory in question, whereby three quarters of this sum is devoted to the building of dwellings for the workers and employees, while the remaining sum is expended upon other purposes connected with the raising of the standard of living of the workers and employees (better living conditions, cultural requirements, etc.).

The remaining portion of the profit is generally left to the enterprise for constructive purposes, for increasing capital, for special needs, etc.

The above-mentioned percentages of the profit distribution represent the average: but deviations in this or that direction in accordance with the financial position of the factory in question are admissible and also usual. The rate of the income tax is strictly adhered to, and the imposts for the fund for the improvement of the standard of living of the workers and employees may not amount to less than 10%.

From their profits for the year 1924/25, the State industries contributed 150 million roubles (profit, income tax and 8% loan) to the State revenue and to the local budgets, while for 1925/26 the contribution will amount to 220 to 230 million roubles.

At the same time, the State industries receive from the State budget and partly from the local budget means in the form of long-term loans to increase their initial and working capital.

During 1924/25, the State industries in this manner received out of the budget and through loans about 110 million roubles and in 1925/26 about 350 million roubles.

The State does not only receive from the State industries a portion of the profits, but also places at their disposal sums of money out of the State coffers, which since 1925/26 have been greater than the amount accruing from the profits of the industries. A portion of the money derived from the industries is employed in covering the profit deductions of the light industries, while the major portion of the State subsidies falls to the share of the heavy industries. The State budget is, therefore, the centre for the distribution of the accumulations of industry, while, at the same time, it furnishes industry with fresh capital at the cost of the entire national economy.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Deeds of Horror in Venezuela.

By George Korsunsky (Moscow).

Herr Luther the ex-Chancellor of Germany, recently visited Venezuela and after his departure from that country, made statements which caused stupefaction and indignation in all those who are acquainted with the true situation. In his report, which was published in the Madrid newspaper "La Nation", No. 2 of September 25th as well as in other papers he states that he has observed with pleasure that his countrymen and other foreigners in that country are living under excellent conditions, and that he considers Venezuela a very advanced country which, under the leadership of General Gomez has a brilliant future in front of it.

Only a man who knows nothing whatever about the true circumstances can give such a picture of Venezuela, or a man who did not wish to see the horrors which occur there

and was deluded by the pompous reception which the Government circles of Venezuela are in the habit of offering to all distinguished foreigners.

We get certain and reliable data about the true situation in Venezuela from the communication of men in public life in Venezuela, such as **Carlos Leon**, the former Minister for Education, **Salvador de la Plaza**, **Gustave Machado** and others — communication most of which are printed in the newspaper "Venezuela Libre", published in Havana in the island of Cuba; they show us such a blood-curdling picture that every civilised person must be horrified. I will only quote a few of the facts stated by the above mentioned writers.

General Juan Vicente Gomez, who has had the power in his hands for the past 16 years, was twice re-elected President only with the help of bribery and violence on the part of the military. After he had seized power, he acquired untold wealth and became absolute master of the economic life of the country. He is endeavouring to make his power hereditary and has nominated his son Vice-President of the Republic. There is no vestige whatever of democratic freedom or legal guarantees for the inhabitants of the country. The police have the right to arrest any citizen at any moment, without any reason and for an indefinite time. Gomez and his relations, all of whom share the power of the Government, can dispose of the life and property of the citizens at their own discretion with impunity, and the number of crimes they have committed is unlimited.

The high-handed behaviour of Gomez knows no bounds. Thus for instance the above mentioned **Carlos Leon**, when he was Minister for Education in Venezuela, was, in 1914, suddenly thrown into prison by Gomez and spent 8 years there without any legal examination or legal proceedings being taken against him. **Dr. Luis Razetti**, one of the most distinguished scholars in the country, was banished by the Government, merely because he had proved in a scientific report that the population of the country had decreased to a terrible degree during Gomez' government. Innumerable examples of this kind could be given.

The prisons of Venezuela, especially the ill-famed "La Rotunda" are horrible beyond description; dark buildings, old and damp with terribly thick stone walls; the cells for the prisoners are quite small, they have no real windows and boast neither furniture nor bedsteads. Books, letters and visits from relatives are forbidden. Thus for instance, **Carlos Leon** only first learnt of the events of the great imperialist war in 1922 when he was discharged from prison. The prisoners are chained to weights weighing many hundredweights and pass all the years of their imprisonment in this condition. If they are tortured by vermin, which swarm in the prisons, the warders do not offer them the slightest help. A short time ago, two inhabitants of the prison in the capital, **General Ramon Pena** and **Mr. Eloy Escobar**, were eaten alive by worms. The corpses were purposely left in the cells until they were completely decayed, in order to poison the air for the other prisoners.

Most ghastly of all however are the tortures to which the prisoners are subjected. In order to extort confessions from them, or simply at the arbitrary discretion of the prison administration, the prisoners are subjected to the most cruel and monstrous tortures.

At present about 3000 persons are languishing in prison (with a population of 2 million) and, according to communication from **Carlos Leon**, more than 70,000 Venezuelans are living in exile.

It is the workers however who are persecuted most relentlessly and mercilessly by the Gomez Government. It is not only workers' organisations based on the class struggle that are forbidden, but any kind of Opposition organisation, so that the **Venezuelan Workers' League** has been compelled to transfer the centre of its activities to **New York**. All discontented workers are compulsorily included in the category of "vagabonds" (vago), invented by the Government. These "vagabonds" are subjected by the Gomez Government to the hardest and severest forced labour.

Herr Luther went into raptures over the road between **Caracas** and **La Guaira**. Has he no idea at what cost of forced labour of workers under arrest the roads in Venezuela are constructed?

The Gomez Government undertook to construct roads to **Columbia** across the **Andes**. This colossal work is being per-

formed by "vagabonds", i. e. masses of workers who are put into special red clothes and who toil from early morning till late at night without the least respite. If one of these workers stops working for a moment or slackens at his work, the overseers rush at him with knouts and beat him till the blood flows. If a "vagabond" tries to escape he is shot down on the spot. At night all the workers are chained together to prevent their escaping and are forced to sleep on the spot where the work is being carried on, of course without covering or pillows.

At daybreak they are awakened by the overseers with kicks or with the butt end of a rifle. They are not provided with overcoats so that in the mountainous districts, where there is snow on the ground, ten or more workers perish of cold every day although Venezuela is in the tropical zone. In other places again, where they have to work in the midst of plague-infested swamps, large numbers of them die of malaria. In this way more than 1000 workers engaged in this forced labour have perished within two months.

All these deeds of horror only became known to the world thanks to the Venezuelan emigrants, for the Gomez Government for many years corrupted all the travellers who came to Venezuela. Even the **English Ambassador, Mr. H. Beaumont** who, at one time, had to admit that the horrors in "La Rotunda" exceeded those in Czarist Russia, became fully reconciled later on the regime in Venezuela — when England obtained النفط concessions there immediately after they had been granted to the **United States**.

Now **Herr Luther** has joined the eulogists of Venezuelan tyranny. This example shows that no truthful description and no sympathy for the Venezuelan revolutionaries who are fighting for elementary freedom and democracy, are to be expected from honourable men of his class.

The **Pan-American Federation of Labour**, to which the **Venezuelan Workers' League** was until now affiliated, did absolutely nothing to protect it from this tyranny. Only the **Communist Parties of North, Central and South America** and the organisations which belong to the **Anti-Imperialist League** have given any support to the Venezuelan workers; and the **Venezuelan Workers' League** uses the organ of these bodies as a medium for appealing to the whole world for help against this monstrous tyranny.

The White Terror in the Poland of Pilsudski.

The Fascist **Pilsudski Government**, which came into power by deceiving the masses of workers and the petty bourgeoisie, is showing its true countenance more and more, the countenance of a decided enemy of the working class. The demagogic slogans of "moral reconstruction" and "a fight against reaction" served as a screen behind which a purposeful and deliberate attack against the labour movement was being prepared. The hypocritical promises were followed by more severe repression.

Pilsudski did not even find it beneath his dignity to avail himself of the help of the army against the workers and peasants. At the end of May, in compliance with an appeal from the landowners, he sent the military to the **Wlozowa** district to subdue the agricultural labourers who were on strike. In July the military occupied the paper factory in **Jeziorno** and started it working, whilst the police beat and arrested the workers on strike; even the wives and children of the workers were taken as hostages in order to break the resistance of the workers.

In this way **Pilsudski** is getting his military into training for the approaching war.

In June, sanguinary massacres took place among the unemployed in **Ostroviec**, **Grudziadz**, **Gostynin**, **Inowroclaw**, **Baranovicze** etc., in which fourteen were killed and 44 wounded. The police are raging ferociously under the auspices of the Ministry of the Interior, at the head of which is the Fascist soldateska (up to the present **General Miodzianovsky**, now **General Slavoi-Skladkovsky**). In July a certain **Roman Winkler** was murdered in the police district of **Lemberg** because he dared to defend a woman against the insults of a police officer.

On September the 9th, the police set upon some workers in **Strzelno** in a devilish way as they were leaving the premises

of the trade union, seven of them being slaughtered in a shocking way and many others severely beaten. Any kind of meeting is forcibly dispersed, very often with the help of the militia of the **Polish Socialist Party!** Between May and July, 18 gatherings were dispersed. The **Opposition trade unions** are being dissolved and their functionaries arrested. In Warsaw alone, the following trade unions were dissolved in the course of last month: the building trade workers, tailors, leather-workers, chemical workers, woodworkers, hatmakers, glass-workers. Even the educational associations were not spared. At the end of September, the educational association "**The Workers' Fireside**" was sealed up because the 25th anniversary of the Amsterdam International had been celebrated there.

Dry figures are the best evidence of the severity of the repressions: **in the course of four months** (May, June, July, August) 1642 workers and peasants were arrested for political reasons; 115 trials took place, **804 persons were accused**, 322 persons were sentenced to a total of **746½ years of penal servitude**. **Eighteen hunger-strikes** took place in prisons. In the course of two months (May and June) **195 newspapers were confiscated**. These dry statistics say more than any theoretical treatise about the character of the Pilsudski Government. According to reports in the bourgeois Press, 233 persons were arrested for political reasons between the 1st and 10th of September.

The verdicts and sentences are very characteristic: for taking part in the demonstration of the unemployed in Lemberg — two years penal servitude. The worker **Sevierkovski** was sentenced to four years penal servitude for possessing a single copy of a communist manifesto. On August 30th, 45 workers were tried in Wilna; they were accused of having fought for the soil during the revolution in 1918. One of the accused was sentenced to 6 years penal servitude, his four years of imprisonment on remand not being counted; two of the accused were sentenced to 8 years, 25 to 1 year, 12 were acquitted.

In the last few days, we have received news of the hunger-strike of two sick prisoners in Luck, **Sumczynski** and **Sadovski**; they have been fasting for two weeks as a protest against their illegal arrest.

The house searching of Deputy **Ballin**, the President of the "Inter-Party Secretariat for Figthing for an Amnesty in Poland", who, according to the Constitution was immune, serves to prove that the Government does not even care for outward appearances; a duplicating machine and all the printing matter of the "Inter-Party Secretariat", which was described as illegal, was seized. In spite of violent repression the movement in favour of an amnesty is spreading and the Government is being bombarded with resolutions from all parts of the country.

In connection with the present war-mongering policy of the Pilsudski Government, and the movement of the proletariat against war, an intensification of the repressions may be expected. The policy of "national unity", in which the **Polish Social Democrat Moraczewski** and the **Monarchist Meystovicz** participate under the leadership of Marshall **Pilsudski**, is a challenge not only to the Polish workers and peasants but also to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The **international proletariat** must fight hand in hand with the **Polish workers** and peasants against this Government, the **Government of Fascism, war and White Terror** until victory is achieved.

A Cry for Help from the Roumanian Proletariat.

Bucharest, 11th October 1926.

A group of Bucharest workers has sent the following communication to all foreign labour organisations:

The **terror** in Roumania is assuming ever acuter forms. The campaign abroad and the energetic protest action of the Roumanian working class have roused the government and the oligarchy to a terrible pitch of fury. Their rage is directed in particular against the working class of Bucharest. For the past

month not a single workers' paper has been allowed to appear here. Since the murder of **Tkatchenko** the labour press has not been permitted to print one word regarding the matter or regarding the trial of **Boris Stefanov**. Even the last number of the "**Viata Muncitoare**" was confiscated in the printing works. It was openly declared at the Military Court: Do not print a word regarding **Tkatchenko** or **Stefanov** and then you can publish your newspapers undisturbed.

A number of royal commissars as well as 20 to 30 agents of the **Siguranza** occupy the premises of the **Unitarian Trade Unions** day and night and terrorise and insult the organised workers who come to attend meetings there.

Among the witnesses who were summoned to appear at the **Stefanov** trial are several trade union functionaries from the provinces who, on their arrival in Bucharest, visited the trade union premises. They were immediately arrested by a Colonel of the Military Court and sent away by the next train.

You have no doubt heard of the arrest of the student **Mihaljeanu** and the confiscation of 8000 Hungarian pamphlets. The Military Commander, **Colonel Carapantcea**, stated in reply to our protest: The pamphlets do not contain anything unlawful, but what has once been confiscated remains confiscated; nothing is given back.

The arrest of 500 workers which took place yesterday is due to the provocation of **Siguranza** spies. No meeting of the committees can now take place without the **Siguranza** spies and provocators speaking, who wish to teach the workers how they shall organise.

In the office of the trade union secretary **Schein**, a **Siguranza** agent is constantly present who examines the entire correspondence. The same thing is happening in all other trade union offices.

The government is seeking by means of all these persecutions to create an atmosphere in which it will be able to dissolve the **Unitarian trade unions** and condemn **Boris Stefanov** to at least life long penal servitude. We call upon the **international proletariat** for help. Help quickly before it is too late. (Here follow the signatures.)

Protest of the Communist Party of Cyprus against the White Terror.

The first Party Conference of the **Communist Party of Cyprus** which met on the 20th of August in Limasol records that the present government has declared a bitter war against our Party. It is not known whether this repression is to be attributed to the instructions of the Colonial Minister of Great Britain or whether the Government is acting on its own initiative.

The fact is that the expulsion of Comrade **Javopulos**, the imprisonment of our Comrade **Polominides**, editor of the Party organ "**Neos Antropos**" (New Humanity), the censoring of the correspondence of the Party and of its members, the continual persecution of its supporters by the police etc. is **hindering the freedom of action of the Party**. In Limasol in particular the police agents and spies are dogging the footsteps of the members of the Party and even prying into their private life. Their zeal against the "**Bolshevists**" knows no limits.

The Party Conference protests most emphatically before the working class of the whole world, and in the first place before the proletariat of Great Britain, against these persecutions and calls for the intervention of the world proletariat against these barbarous methods of suppression.

The Party Conference instructs the Central Committee of the Party to convey this protest to the government of Cyprus and to the Colonial Office of Great Britain, as well as to all brother Parties, and finally to the **Labour Party of Great Britain**, and to request these parties to publish it in all their official organs.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE C. P. S. U.

Refutation of the Lynig Reports of the "Telunion".

Moscow, October 11th, 1926.

The "Telunion" which is corrupted by British money and whose special task is the fabrication of false reports concerning the Soviet Union, is now spreading reports concerning alleged arrests of supporters of the Russian opposition and upon an alleged attack against Molotov during his appearance in Ivanovo-Vosnessensk.

The Telunion has continually brought "sensational" lies concerning the Soviet Union. It is sufficient to point to the reports of the Telunion in last April concerning an alleged attempt upon the People's Commissar for the Interior, Beloborodov and concerning an alleged speech of Bucharin upon an alleged coming economic crash in the Soviet Union. Bucharin, however, was at the time not even in Moscow, and the remarks which were ascribed to him, were actually made by Vandervelde in a meeting in Brussels.

The latest reports concerning the arrests of members of the opposition and concerning the attack upon Molotov are equally baseless. No oppositional leaders have been arrested and Molotov has not left Moscow in the time in question. The Communist organisations in Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, just like the organisations in the other towns of the Soviet Union, have declared themselves completely and unconditionally in support of the Central Committee and have definitely condemned the opposition.

One must remark that the Telunion has not one single reporter in Moscow. The zeal of the agency in carrying out "attempts" upon Soviet leaders, in arresting members of the opposition, fabricating conspiracies and concocting other fairy tales is due to the fact that the agency wishes to give full value for the money it receives from British sources.

The Defeat of the Opposition in Leningrad and Moscow.

Moscow, October 14th, 1926.

The Moscow and Leningrad Party nuclei have proved themselves united in resisting the opposition. This is excellently proved by the publication of the voting results in the "Pravda": From 53,208 members of the Moscow organisation 52,950 declared themselves in favour of the Central Committee, whilst 175 or 0,3% voted for the opposition. In Leningrad from 34,180 members 33,720 voted for the Central Committee and 325 or 0,9% for the opposition. In the two chief party organisations, the opposition rallied 500 supporters, in other words, 0,57% voted for the opposition.

THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

Appeal of the A. U. C. T. U. to Increase the Relief Action for the English Miners.

Moscow, October 17, 1926.

The Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union calls upon the trade union organisations of the Soviet Union to increase the action in support of the English miners. The appeal points out that since the commencement of the miners' struggle in England up to the 28th September, a total of only £ 1,261,326 had been collected for the fighting English miners; of this

£ 1,257,535 have been distributed, which works out at 32 shillings for every locked-out miner. Out of the total sum of £ 1,261,326, £ 832,000, i. e. 66%, was contributed by the workers of the Soviet Union.

The Miners' Federation of the Soviet Union breaks off Negotiations with the Executive of the International Miners' Federation.

Moscow, October 17, 1926.

The Central Committee of the Miners' Federation of the Soviet Union has sent a letter to the International Miners' Federation, addressed to Hodges, containing the following resolution of the Central Committee:

"As a result of the openly shameful demands which the International Miners' Federation has submitted to our Union and also owing to the obviously hostile attitude of the majority of the Executive of the International Miners' Federation towards our Union, the Central Committee of the Miners' Federation of the Soviet Union decides to break off all negotiations with the present Executive of the International Miners' Federation, and to explain to all miners and all members of the Unions affiliated to the Miners' International the blacklegging behaviour of the majority of the present Executive of the International Miners' Federation during the English Miners' struggle. The Executive of the International Miners' Federation and the Miners of all countries, particularly the English miners, are to be informed of this resolution."

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Development and the Situation in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

By Boh. Jilek (Prague).

Already at the time of the formation of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia it was necessary to overcome difficulties of a twofold nature. There were those difficulties which the comrades in all countries had to face at the formation of the Communist Parties, while there were other difficulties which arose owing to the fact that the C. P. of Czechoslovakia is the first and very successful attempt to found an international Communist Party within the narrow limits of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. The C. P. Cz. consists of Czech, German, Slovak, Magyar and Polish workers, along with Ukrainian workers and poor peasants, that is to say, of workers belonging to six nations which are hostile to one another. When we take into consideration the great influence the ideology of the bourgeoisie has upon the various sections of the workers, then we must admit that the task of forming a Communist Party out of such heterogenous elements was a very severe one, especially when the object in view was to build up a mass Communist Party.

In spite of all the difficulties the international mass Communist Party in Czechoslovakia has become an accomplished fact. The attempts of the bourgeoisie and their assistants in the year 1920 to use the December patch in order to intimidate all those who proclaimed allegiance to the Communist International was of no avail. The treachery of Bubnik, the espionage and the sedition trials, by which it was thought to annihilate the C. P. Cz., were likewise all of no avail.

The last crisis which arose as a result of Bubnik's opposition to the decisions of the V. World Congress of the Communist International on the bolshevizing of the Communist Parties, was successfully overcome. In order to liquidate the Party crisis there was formed, according to the French model, the block of leaders from the Centre and the Left. By common action the unreliable party functionaries were replaced and the basis of the Party was transferred to the factories, with the result

that a mass of new, reliable, proletarian forces were drawn into the life of the Party.

What the government socialists are capable of in the interest of the bourgeoisie was revealed in the period following the parliamentary elections. On the day of the elections they wrote of the ruin of the C. P. Cz. Two days later they wrote regarding the responsibility which the C. P. Cz. had incurred by winning a million votes. They invited the Party to take part in the government, and were prepared to designate this government as a "government of workers and small peasants". They reckoned upon the disintegration of the Party, but they made a profound mistake. In a great campaign which was undertaken immediately after the elections, the C. P. Cz. declared its attitude to the bourgeois State and showed the masses of workers what a workers' and peasants' government means.

This successful campaign was followed by the action against the taxes, when the last Coalition government attempted to deduct taxes from the workers' wages. In the campaign against the taxes the tactics of the united front were employed on a large scale, and defence committees were formed of workers regardless of Party. Many reformist secretaries were compelled, under the pressure of the masses, to cancel the agreements arrived at with the tax authorities regarding the deduction of taxes from wages.

Not even the coalition policy of the social-democratic leaders could withstand the pressure of the workers in the Czechoslovakian Social-Democracy. These leaders were obliged to withdraw from the coalition government. But they strove for the formation of a reactionary government of officials which had the task of carrying out a part of the sanitation of the bourgeoisie under the sham opposition of the reformists.

The bourgeoisie used this opportunity to make a shameful attack upon the miserable standard of existence of the workers by introducing taxes on grain, increasing the price of sugar and petroleum, and presenting enormous sums to the clergy. The reactionary Cabinet of Dr. Cerny even made use of the clergy and criminals against the demonstrating workers. The bourgeois majority in Parliament delivered over to the Public Prosecutor those members who carried on obstruction.

The C. P. Cz. succeeded in developing a broad campaign against the high prices and leading not only its members but also a great portion of the social-democratic and national socialist workers into the fight against the government's plans to impoverish the masses. The leaders of these two last Parties fought against any common action with the communists and issued an appeal to this effect to their members. But it was of no avail. The pressure of the masses was so strong that even the parliamentary deputies of the National Socialist Party were obliged to carry on obstruction in spite of the persecution it involved.

The economic crisis in Czechoslovakia with all its accompanying phenomena is becoming ever greater. Exports from Czechoslovakia in the first seven months of the year 1926 are 1100 million Czech crowns less than in the corresponding period of last year. As a result, production, particularly in the textile, glass and metal industry, is being considerably reduced. In a State comprising about 14 million inhabitants there are about 200,000 unemployed. The remaining branches of industry have also been drawn into the economic crisis. The number of unemployed is continually growing, while at the same time prices are increasing beyond all bounds. All measures that have been adopted to prevent the growth of the crisis are proving inadequate.

The bourgeoisie is therefore becoming desperate. It has to face the fact that the majority of the workers are under communist influence. It was Communist influence in Slovakia that prevented the People's Party (Slovak Clerical Party) concluding an alliance with the Czechish bourgeoisie, and is also causing considerable difficulties in the German camp. The Czech social-democrats and the national socialists are announcing their opposition in parliament. They only intend, however, to conduct a sham opposition.

In this situation Comrades Neurath and Kreutz wanted, by means of fractioneering, to enforce a discussion on the question of the C. P. S. U. But they got the answer they deserved. The members of the C. P. Cz. clearly recognise that the prerequisite for a successful application of united front tactics in the interest of the working population is a united and bolshevist Commu-

nist Party. Therefore they do not allow anybody to hazard the only thing the working population has, the Communist Party. The discussion on the question of the C. P. S. U. was unanimously rejected. The organisatory measures against Comrades Neurath and Kreutz were unanimously approved by the members of the Party. The C. P. Cz. has placed itself at the head of the united front in the fight against the impoverishment of the workers. The Party has made adequate preparations for the intensified class struggle which will set in this autumn. It will oppose the militarist intentions of the bourgeoisie. The C. P. Cz. is the advance guard of the working class of Czechoslovakia and will also fulfil its task in the future.

The VI. Party Conference of the Communist Party of Palestine.

By Z. K.

A short while ago there was held the 6th Party Conference of the C. P. of Palestine at which 27 delegates were present, most of them being Arab and Jewish workers. As was to be seen from the report of the Central Committee, the Party has in the course of the last two years considerably increased in numbers and in influence. Even in the provinces it has gained access to various strata of the working population who were formerly quite apathetic or were under the leadership of petty bourgeois parties. In addition to this the Party has created a communist movement in the neighbouring country of Syria and is still engaged in promoting its development. Thanks to its consistent fight against Anglo-French imperialism and to its connection with the Left wing of the Arabian national-revolutionary movement, the C. P. of Palestine has become a political factor whose influence is increasing in spite of the constant persecution on the part of English imperialism and its Zionist friends.

The three questions which formed the centre of attention at the Party Conference were connected with the concrete tasks of the C. P. of Palestine. In regard to the question of the Arabian national revolutionary elements, which under the present circumstances alone render it possible to carry on a determined fight against imperialist oppression, attention must be paid to the creation of a great national revolutionary organisation, the lack of which has up to now prevented the nationalist movement from achieving any considerable success. Within this organisation it would then be easy for the progressive Left wing to gain the upper hand over the patriarchal, reactionary nationalist leaders.

Differences of opinion were revealed in regard to the estimation of the revolutionary movement in Syria, as some delegates regarded it as hopeless in view of the military superiority of France and advocated a compromise as being the best solution for the time being. The majority of the Conference, however, called attention to the increasing anti-French movement in the towns, to the wave of strikes in Beirut and Aleppo, which show that the proletariat is beginning to play its part in the struggle, and to the antagonisms between the various imperialist Powers (Great Britain, France, Italy) which offer prospects of the Syrian revolt achieving its revolutionary aims if the French and international proletariat fulfils its duty towards the fighting Syrian workers and peasants.

The question of the tasks of the Party in the trade union movement called forth a lively discussion. While the leaders of the trade union organisation "Histadruth" are continuing their policy of excluding and boycotting the communists, there has developed among the working class a unity movement which is fighting for the reacceptance of the section of the R. I. L. U. in Palestine into the "Histadruth" and for organising the Arab workers. At the same time there is arising a whole number of oppositional but nevertheless centrist groupings, which are adopting various demands of the R. I. L. U., but in the fundamental demands — fight against imperialism and Zionism — fight shy of adopting revolutionary slogans. The Party Conference had to reject in a most decided manner the proposals of some delegates who recommended the liquidation of the "Workers' Fraction" (section of the R. I. L. U.) in favour of centrist groupings. The Conference decided, on the one hand,

to continue the fight for the unity of the trade union movement with all groupings which support this fight, but on the other hand not to surrender any of the fighting slogans of the broad working masses in favour of opportunist attempts at compromise.

The third question that was discussed was the problem of organisation. This is a problem the solution of which is very difficult in view of the illegality of the Party and its widely divergent tasks. While the first condition for a successful development is, of course, the getting hold of the broad masses, only a selection of revolutionaries is capable of carrying out the demands which an underground Party imposes on its members. In addition to this it must be remembered that in the backward oriental countries there exists practically no tradition of organisation. The various conflicting opinions, however, finally found common expression in a unanimously-adopted organisation statute, based on the instructions worked out by the last Org. Conference of the E. C. C. I., and which is adapted to the conditions in Palestine.

The Conference adopted almost unanimously the resolutions on the peasant question (creation of peasant organisations, connection between village and town), on the role of the Jewish working population in the country — which, owing to disappointment in the illusions of Zionism and of the increased imperialist pressure, is gradually being converted into an anti-imperialist factor, — on the situation in the Communist International (condemnation of fractional activity, for the unity of the C. P. S. U. and the C. P. of Germany*) as well as a number of congratulatory messages.

The 6th Party Conference of the C. P. of Palestine was marked by intensive practical work and has shown that this section of the Communist International is capable of fulfilling its tasks.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Crisis in the Spanish Socialist Party.

By Jar (Madrid).

Since Primo de Rivera's coup d'état in September 1923 the Spanish Socialist Party has pursued a policy of collaboration with the military dictatorship, in return for which Primo de Rivera's government has given official positions to the Party leaders and granted all kinds of concessions to the Party. The government has thereby won the favour of the socialist leaders. J. Lesteiro, the Vice President of the Party, writing in the Buenos Aires Newspaper "La Nacion" in February 1925, declared that the military dictatorship had, right from the beginning, been very considerate to all socialist organisations. The socialist ex-deputy Fernando de los Rios made a public declaration (reported in "Le Journal" in December 1925) in which he affirmed that the Party ought to be grateful to the Directory for having driven the Communist Party out of political life.

Since 1923 Primo de Rivera has been a fatherly protector of Spanish Socialism. In the midst of the most monstrous repressions of the Communist movement, the socialist leader Largo Caballero was appointed Councillor of State, and whilst the military governor of Madrid was being received with acclamations and applause at the Town Hall, in the industrial district of Vizcaya the police were closing all workers' centres with communist tendencies and handing them over to the socialists.

The close relations existing between Primo de Rivera and the Socialist Party have now been made public and have called forth an acute crisis in the Party.

The accusations originated from socialist leaders with a republican petty bourgeois tendency; but these accusations only

reflect the feelings of the masses who are not concerned with the "parliamentary motives" of the opposition leaders, but wish to express their protest against the socialist policy of collaboration with the government.

The government of Primo de Rivera, in order to satisfy king Alfonso's "constitutional scruples", decided to convoke what is called a "National Assembly". In this Assembly there will sit representatives of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce, the heads of the "Union Patriótica" (Primo's own Party) and 40 socialist members.

Primo de Rivera, before the convocation of the Assembly, offered these 40 seats to the Socialist Party; the leaders accepted the offer and accordingly started a campaign all over the country defending the convocation of the Assembly. The ex-deputy, Indalecio Prieto, one of the most popular leaders of the Socialist Party and a staunch upholder of parliamentary principles, immediately adopted a hostile attitude to this new policy of the Party. Two letters written by Prieto, openly accusing the Central Committee of his Party of shameful collaboration with Primo de Rivera, are being secretly circulated all over the country. The facts to which Prieto calls attention have made an enormous impression on the mass of the socialist workers who are protesting against the policy of the Party Committee.

As the greater part of the press is hostile to the Directory and the convocation of the Assembly, it is taking advantage of the situation and also accusing the socialist leaders of treachery. Two Madrid newspapers, *La Nacion* (Primo de Rivera's organ) and *El Debate* (a jesuit paper) have replied to these attacks. *La Nacion* expresses its satisfaction at the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party, extols the leaders and expresses the opinion that the Party is "neither extremist nor dangerous". Even the censor has aided the treachery of the socialist leaders by permitting the publication of all socialist articles and speeches in favour of the Assembly and censoring all expressions of socialist opinion against it.

All these facts go to show that the crisis in the Socialist Party is really a very serious one, although the opposition of such leaders as Prieto is not dictated by a class spirit but only by a democratic ideology. What is really of transcendent importance in this question is the fact that the masses of socialist workers who until now have faithfully followed their leaders, are beginning to realise that they have been betrayed. Primo de Rivera has on various occasions officially expressed his wish to hand power over to the socialists. One of Prieto's letters, mentioned above, states that the Spanish dictator has induced king Alfonso to consider the possibility of seeking support for the crown in the socialists; and in a speech which he recently made in Alcala de Henares Primo de Rivera stated that his government "could rely on socialist collaboration in solving the labour problem".

The Communist Party and its organ "*La Antorcha*" has endeavoured in every way to denounce this treachery of the socialist Party, but the censorship has prevented it from publishing any article expressing criticism. Nevertheless the working class realises that the military dictatorship has only been able to maintain itself thanks to the help of the Socialist leaders.

The Spanish petty bourgeoisie, which at the elections in 1923 voted for the Socialist Party, has now become hostile to the Socialists because, on the occasion of the Morocco military defeat in 1925, it had expected that the socialists would demand a parliament. *La Nacion* recently declared that the object of Primo de Rivera's coup d'état in 1923 was to avoid this, but in spite of this the Socialists have maintained close relationship with the directory.

The royal decree for the convocation of the National Assembly has been postponed because the king refused to sign it owing to the threat of the monarchist leaders that they would not support him any longer if he persisted in changing the fundamental basis of the Constitution. This postponement has caused a great change in the opinion of the socialist masses, who are now demanding a Party Congress. The Central Committee of the Party and the Executive Committee of the Union General de Trabajadores have been compelled to take

*Only two delegates, who sympathised with the Ultra-Lefts, voted against this resolution.

a vote of the members in order to ascertain which organisations within the Party desire the holding of such a Congress.

It is probable that the government will come to the assistance of the leaders of the Socialist Party and will either forbid the holding of any national Congress or arrest the leaders of the Opposition.

The socialist leaders, by means of demagogic speeches, have succeeded up to now in retaining good militant workers within the ranks of the Party. But the whole policy of the Party has only served to rouse to indignation even the most indifferent of their members.

The crisis in the Socialist Party may finally result in the formation of a Republican-Socialist Party headed by Indalecio Prieto, the new leader of the Opposition within the Party. But this new Party will not be able to carry with it the workers who sympathise with Prieto's opposition. These workers are becoming more sympathetic to Communism every day. It is the chief task of our Party at present to attract these workers to our ranks.

WORKERS' DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Italian Workers' Delegations in the Soviet Union.

By Ivo Anselmi (Moscow).

Two Italian workers' delegations have arrived in Moscow in order to study conditions in the Soviet Union: a delegation of adult workers consisting of 14 delegates, and a delegation of young workers consisting of 12 members. All the political tendencies in the working class of Italy are represented in these delegations. In the delegation of the adult workers there are three Communists, three Maximalists, two Reformists, two Anarchists, one Catholic and three non-Party workers. The Youth delegation consists of the following: two Communists, two Maximalists, two Catholics, one Anarchist, one Republican, three non-Party and a Communist woman delegate. On the other hand the delegates represent the most important industries of Italy: Smelting works, metal industry, textile industry, typographical industry, building industry, street tramways, post, motor transport etc.

In view of the terror under which Italy is suffering, and in view of the fascist reaction which has become more intense since the attempt on Mussolini, the two delegations had to overcome enormous difficulties in order to get to the Soviet Union. The fascist police endeavoured by all possible means to prevent this journey. In all parts of Italy numerous workers, who were suspected of being members of the delegation or of factory conferences at which these delegates were elected, were arrested. In spite of the strict police control at the frontiers and in spite of the extraordinary measures which were employed in all the more or less important railway centres, the workers' delegations, thanks to the support of the entire proletariat in Italy, were able to attain their end.

These Italian workers' delegations have, it is true, not received any support or authority from the official leaders of the Political parties and of the trade unions who claim to be the spokesmen and representatives of the working class. Only the Communist Party worked with all its powers in order to contribute to the successful carrying out of the tasks undertaken by the delegates. All other Parties — Maximalist, Reformist,

Anarchist, Republican and Catholic organisations — as well as the reformist trade union Federation have, along with the police, fought against the delegation. They forbade their members either to take part in the factory conferences at which these two delegations were elected or in the delegations themselves.

But the threats and the attacks of these leaders have been just as futile as the reactionary measures of the fascist police. The workers of all tendencies and all parties attended in great numbers the factory conferences round which the workers of all the great industrial centres of Italy were gathering. It can be said without exaggeration that at least 100,000 Italian workers participated in the election of the two delegations. The fact that the Chairman of the delegation of the adult workers is a reformist worker, and the chairman of the young workers' delegation is a Catholic proves that the working masses of Italy are beginning to break away from the baleful influence of the leaders and Parties permeated by an anti-proletarian, counter-revolutionary and anti-class war spirit. It also proves that the endeavours undertaken in this direction coincide with the action for the united front and the realisation of the class unity of all the workers. This tendency comes from below, out of the depths of the working masses; it expresses the ever increasing will of these masses to conduct an independent and active struggle against the bourgeoisie and against fascism.

One of the significant results of this tendency is the sending of the two workers' delegations who are at present the guests of the Soviet Union. A new generation of workers' leaders is growing up; a generation rich in new and bloody experiences, which it has gained through the fascist reaction. And with this new experience there comes also a new capacity for more energetic and bolder action.

RED SPORT INTERNATIONAL

Protest of the Red Sport International against the Lettish Government.

Moscow, October 12th, 1926.

The presidium of the Red Sport International, has published an appeal of protest against the attempts of the Lettish government to throttle at the instigation of the fascists, the workers sport movement. The appeal protests against the alteration of the coalition law in Latvia in order to prevent the Lettish working class sport association from accepting youths under 21 years old and thus to force the latter into bourgeois sport associations. This action of the Lettish bourgeoisie is no isolated case. In the Balkans, in Esthonia and in Italy the working class sport organisations have been destroyed and in other countries they are subject to persecutions. The members of the workers sport organisations must decisively parry the attack of the capitalists. The attack of the Lettish fascists must be beaten off by a broad protest movement.

CORRECTION.

We regret that in the article by J. Ulitzkiy on "State Industry in the Soviet Union" which appeared in our Special Number of 14th October, the last line, owing to a printer's error, was missing. The concluding paragraph should read:

"Industry, still restricted for the most part to its pre-war equipment, has at last passed through the first necessary stage of its development, and can now step forward on the road of constructive Socialism — on the road to the industry of the future."