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## The Meeting in Odessa.

By S. Iransky (Moscow).

The meeting of Comrade Chicherin with the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, has attracted general attention. The bourgeois politicians and journalists are exerting all their powers in order to show the "real meaning" of this meeting.

Behind the words of sincere friendship spoken in Odessa, they see everything possible except that which is to be inferred from these words. They imagine relations between the peoples cannot be otherwise than "in accordance with their own model", "League of Nations of the East", "Pan-Asiatic League", "Fight against Italy and Great Britain" etc. — this is how they interpret the meeting in Odessa.

But they do not see the other, the real aspect of the matter. It would seem as if they had forgotten that the Soviet Union and also Turkey, as Comrade Chicherin expressed it, "have experienced every ordeal in the period when imperialism endeavoured to throttle them; that these times are past for ever and that both countries have concentrated their forces on peaceful work, upon developing the creative forces of the masses of the people."

They do not seem to notice what it is that unites the peoples of Turkey and of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union", says Comrade Chicherin, "is fighting against the attempts of the imperialists to enslave it economically, against the attempts to compel it to pay the Czarist debts etc.; the Turkish people is fighting against the attempt to deprive it of its economic and political independence."

Tewfik Ruchdi Bey summed up the exchange of opinions which took place in Odessa in the following words.

"The close friendship existing between the Soviet Union and Turkey is one of the necessary pre-conditions of peace in general and also of a peaceful atmosphere in the Near East."

It is such a language, in which there is no trace of aggressiveness, the language of peace, of brotherhood, of equality and friendship, that the diplomats of the Soviet Union and of Turkey have spoken in Odessa.

The press of the Soviet Union and of Turkey also speak in the same language.

The diplomats and journalists of the West use a completely different language towards Turkey.

In this respect the articles of the official British journalists, Augur in the October number of the "Fortnightly Review" and Paulson Newman in the October Number of the "Nineteenth Century", are exceedingly characteristic.

The notorious official journalist of the British Foreign who writes under the nom de plume of "Augur", declares that for Italy the greatest question is the question of the "surplus population", and it is inevitable that the "eyes of the Italians are directed to the waste territories in Asia Minor, where a government, absolutely lacking in culture, has converted a fertile country into a wilderness". He further develops the idea that the Dodecanese Islands are for the Italians a splendid jumping-off ground into Asia Minor, and that "this cannot be prevented".

Paulson Newman develops this theme further and points out that the only possibility for Turkey to secure guarantees against the Italian danger, exists in an understanding with Great Britain and the abandonment of an independent national policy. He declares straight out that Turkey is incapable of remaining completely independent, without some sort of foreign influence. She must submit to the leadership of the West, otherwise "she will find one fine day that she has lost her territories".

Newman writes further as follows:

"Obviously the only means which Turkey has in order to save herself from this danger, is gradually to change her policy in such a manner that it permits the European elements which are friendly disposed towards her to guide her. At the present time, when relations between Great Britain and Turkey are satisfactory, there are obviously no obstacles to the bringing about of a final rapprochement between both countries in the interests of both Parties.

As far as Turkey is concerned such an rapprochement would doubly secure the position of Turkey, i. e. on the one hand it would promote the commercial prosperity of the country and on the other hand it would preserve Turkey from aggressive actions from outside. With regard to Great Britain, this rapprochement would render easier our foreign policy towards Russia and Persia, it would lighten the tasks of our Mandate in Iraq, it would strengthen the connecting routes of the British Empire with India and relieve the situation in Egypt, because the Turkish elements in the population of Egypt, who in many respects exercise the greatest influence in the carrying out of our Egyptian policy, would come over to our side."<sup>1)</sup>

In the last sentence there set is forth in the most obvious manner the aggressive intentions of British policy towards the Soviet Union and the Near East, the realisation of which policy is hindered by the independent, peaceful policy of Turkey and of the Soviet Union.

But all this would be "terrible" if it were not to a great extent only a pleasant dream of the imperialist diplomacy of Great Britain. The international situation is not so bad for Turkey as Messrs. Augur and Newman and their like wish to make out. The policy of peace not only expresses the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union or of the vanquished peoples of Central Europe, but also those of the peoples of the East who are striving to build up a new life. This same policy also corresponds to the wishes of the broad masses of the population of the imperialist States themselves. The antagonistic interests between these States, which exist in spite of all possible blocs, hinder them in their intentions to penetrate by means of violence at least into Asia Minor.

The policy of the Western States knows only one language when dealing with the East — the language of threats. But nationalist Turkey of the year 1926, which has experienced every ordeal in the fight for independence, is not the Ottoman Empire, and it is no longer possible to speak to her in the language of threats even if these threats are sweetened by promises of advantages. This will scarcely lead to that object to which the policy of the Western States is directed.

<sup>1)</sup> Retranslated from the German.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES

### Manifesto of the E. C. C. I. on the Insurrection in Indonesia.

Moscow, November 21st, 1926.

The E. C. C. I. in its session of November 20th adopted the following manifesto to the workers and oppressed peoples of the world concerning the insurrection in Indonesia:

The revolt against imperialism is spreading from one country to the other. From China it has spread to Java where the suppressed and exploited masses have risen against Dutch imperialism. An armed insurrection has broken out in the Western sections of the island of Java. Military have been mobilised to suppress the insurrection. According to reports to hand hundreds have been killed and mass arrests have taken place. The Dutch General Gouverneur has expressed his intention of crushing the insurrection mercilessly.

The struggle for freedom is nothing new in the Dutch colonies. The population has never completely submitted to imperial dominance. From time to time insurrections have taken place and been brutally suppressed. Only recently, however, have the struggles for the revolution taken on an organised form under the leadership of the Communist Party. A united front under the hegemony of the proletariat has been set up to free the country from imperialist dominance.

This united revolutionary army represents the overwhelming majority of the population: the proletariat, the peasantry, the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie.

Dutch imperialism met this threatening danger with brutal suppressive measures. The C. P. was the first victim. It was declared illegal, its press suppressed and its leaders either arrested or forced into exile. The revolutionary unions were dissolved, meetings prohibited and the press gagged. The nationalist mass organisation Sarekat Rayat was declared illegal.

Nevertheless, the growing revolutionary flood could not be dammed. The will to freedom no longer permits itself to be defeated. The population of Indonesia must rise again against the intolerable conditions imposed upon it by Dutch imperialism.

The population has been robbed of its elementary political rights. It is loaded with ever growing taxes, the peasantry is exploited by large landowners and planters. The wages of the industrial workers are hunger wages. The freedom of organisation, the freedom of the press, the freedom of meeting, are non-existent.

The people of Indonesia is rising against these inhuman intolerable conditions. Dutch imperialism, armed to the teeth, would drown this movement for freedom in an ocean of blood unless the revolutionary movement of Indonesia was enthusiastically and energetically supported by the workers and by the suppressed peoples of the whole world. The Communist International welcomes the revolutionary struggle of the people of Indonesia and pledges it its complete support.

**Workers of the world! Do not permit the Dutch imperialists to drown the struggle for freedom of Indonesia in blood! Hasten to the aid of the Indonesian fighters! Organise mass meetings, express your sympathy for the insurrection in Java and protest against imperialist terror. Organise demonstrations before the Dutch Embassies and Consulates and demand freedom for the Indonesian people and the military evacuation of the colony.**

**Suppressed peoples of the world! The insurrectory Indonesians are your advance guard, they express the will to freedom which is your common property. Do everything in your power to support them in their struggle!**

**Down with imperialist terror! Long live the united anti-imperialist front of the workers and the suppressed peoples of the world! Long live the free people of Indonesia!**

## The Insurrection in Java.

By Gerard Vanter (Amsterdam).

Events in West Java, where an insurrection against the rule of Terror of the Dutch imperialists on an unprecedented scale has broken out in the immediate vicinity of Batavia, the capital of the island, has thoroughly frightened the Dutch bourgeoisie. The insurrection was directly provoked by the Government measures which were opposed to the interests of the masses of Javanese workers. In the last few years, the working masses in Java have been deprived of all political rights. Taxes increased until they became intolerable, "justice" became a special apparatus to be used against those who in any way instigated resistance to the white executioners. Coolies were beaten to death, leaders of the workers were dragged out of meetings and thrown into the prisons which are overcrowded throughout whole Indonesia and where the prisoners are cruelly tortured. The case of Comrade Sugono, a faithful pioneer, who is said to have taken his own life in prison, called forth the greatest indignation amongst the Javanese workers and peasants. The "Sil Po", a Chinese daily paper in Java is already speaking of a second Sugono case. About a month ago, 300 Communists were arrested all at once in West Java, all of them leaders and trusted members of the movement. The Press of the Dutch rabble in Java has, during the last weeks, announced fresh arrests daily. It was inevitable that an explosion should finally occur.

At a moment, when the "elite" of the Europeans were assembled at a brilliant ball in the palace of the new Governor General, dancing on a volcano, an attack was made on the prisons, where the leaders of the people's movement were tortured, and at the same time a division of insurgents, clad in white (in this way they demonstrated that they were dedicated to death) marched to the barracks of the military police, for whom the population cherishes a deadly hatred. A telephone exchange was occupied, railway lines torn up, trains held up. There were conflicts with the police troops in which blood was shed.

The Dutch bourgeois Press is demanding cruel and ruthless investigations. Why judicial prosecution? Short work should be made with the mutineers — they should be stood up against the wall straight away — demands the organ of the Amsterdam Exchange "Allgemeen Handelsblad" which sharply criticised the Government troops because they were said not to have proceeded severely enough (!). We should realise that it is much better that the Javanese should hate us, i. e. the Dutch imperialists, than that they should love us. These things show that the Government will further intensify its reactionary measures. But will that help? The "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant" answers this question by giving expression to its disappointment. For weeks it triumphantly announced that the natives in West Java were handing in their cards of membership of the P. C. I. (Perserikatan Communist India) by hundreds — but they have remained Communists complains the "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant". The great capitalist paper is right. The movement for freedom in Indonesia under the leadership of the Communist party can no longer be arrested. It is now even too late for another, so-called "moral" policy. The oppressors have no alternative left them.

Indonesia is the heel of Achilles for the Dutch bourgeoisie. Indonesia is the source of Holland's wealth, a district for exploitation, 58 times as large as Holland itself and inhabited by 60 million persons (35 million in Java). The Dutch capitalists trading in sugar, tobacco, rubber and petroleum get gigantic profits out of Indonesia. The profits squeezed out of the population of Indonesia amounted to two milliards of gulden last year.

For this reason the Dutch bourgeois Press unanimously demands the blood of the rebels. For this reason reaction in Holland itself also demands that a light be carried on against the C. P. of Holland. A few months ago, on the occasion of the autumn manoeuvres, there were mutinies among the soldiers in some Dutch garrisons, when there was firing with bullets and a non-commissioned officer was killed. Special copies of a manifesto from "De Tribune", the central organ of the C. P. of Holland were found in the barracks and confiscated. The Ministry for War used this circumstance as a pretext for representing the death of the non-commissioned officer as the consequence of a communist plot. The communist deputy Louis de Visser was openly accused of murder in the Second Chamber. He was legally prosecuted because, at an open meeting of protest in Amsterdam and in the Hague he gave expression to the opinion that a time

would come when, in similar cases, if the soldiers were told to fire on their brothers, they would no longer fire at the stars in the sky but at the stars on the collars of the officers.

The Communist Party of Holland and the revolutionary Trade Union Centre (N. A. S.) are preparing a vast campaign of agitation in which Javanese comrades will join. The organisations mentioned have already issued a manifesto on the events in Java.

## THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

### The Noose Round the Miners' Neck.

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

November 16, 1926.

The decision of the Miners' Delegate Conference on November 13 to recommend acceptance of the Government's terms is a heavy blow to the working class. This decision is the immediate outcome of the fortnight's secret intrigues and behind-the-scenes negotiations of the General Council's strikebreaker "Negotiating Committee", which has thus completed its work of May 12. On the vote of the districts now turns the immediate future of the miners' struggle. Strong opposition to the terms is certain, although the result of the vote is not yet known).

The Government terms which are being voted on are an industrial Versailles. They demand surrender by the miners on every point — wages, hours and district agreements, as well as a number of other points. The principal points of the terms are as follows:

1. District Negotiations and agreements.
2. Longer Hours to be settled by the districts.
3. Lower Wages down to 1921 level of 20 per cent above pre-war.
4. Profits Increase in proportion of proceeds from 13 per cent up to 15 per cent.
5. District Boards with "Independent" Chairman.
6. Agreements binding for at least three years.
7. A National Tribunal for six months to receive appeals on district agreements, but only on points other than hours, and with power to modify only in accord with a "standard agreement" embodying the above terms.

These are not definite terms from the owners to the miners. The owners have consistently refused to meet the Miners' Federation. They are simply a "Memorandum" from the Government of suggested terms which might be embodied in the district agreements. The owners have conceded nothing and retain full freedom of action. The terms are thus in fact simply a document of surrender: they demand everything and give nothing.

What do these terms mean?

First, the Miners' Federation is entirely eliminated.

There is no question of any national agreement. The Miners' Federation is to have no part in the negotiations.

Second, Longer Hours and Lower Wages are conceded. It is specifically laid down that the National Tribunal will receive no appeal unless longer hours are worked. Wages at 20 per cent above pre-war, with the official cost of living figure at 72 per cent above pre-war, means a drop in the real wage of over 30 per cent below the very low pre-war wage.

Third, Compulsory Arbitration is to be established. District Agreements are to be made binding for "at least three years" (the attempts will be made to make this longer), during which all questions can only be referred to District Boards with "Independent" Chairmen.

Fourth, there is No Guarantee against Victimisation. This

\*) Since the above was written the results of the Miners' vote on the Government's proposals have come to hand. These show a majority of 147,606 for rejection of the proposals. Ed.

was asked for in vain. No militant workers may be expected to be taken on again.

Fifth, in practice the terms will mean the dismissal of 200,000 miners. The effect of the increased hours was estimated by the Coal Commission to involve the dismissal of 130,000 miners. The closing down of less profitable pits and economies of working is expected to raise this number to 200,000 or even 250,000.

What led the Delegate Conference to recommend the acceptance of these terms, which were violently opposed by the whole Left Wing, and also by Cook? Undoubtedly the immediate cause of this reversal was the complete failure to carry out the decisions of the October 7 Delegate Conference to intensify the struggle. These decisions were a strong lead to carry forward the fight by the demand for the embargo and the levy and by the withdrawal of the safety men. The fact of these decisions, which were a victory of the Left Wing, led to an immediate rallying of the whole front. 20,000 men who had gone back to work came out. But no serious attempt was made to carry out the policy. The Miners' Executive shelved the embargo and the levy in friendly agreement with the General Council; the calling out of the safety men was publicly opposed by Cook, even after the Conference decision, and was not attempted. The Trade Union Conference of November 3. was a useless sham, which voted a "voluntary levy". In return for this the Miners' Executive handed themselves over to the General Council who conducted interminable secret negotiations with the Government and the Miners' leaders in order to draw the latter into surrender. These secret negotiations were extremely demoralising in their effect, and the returns to work rapidly increased, although 75 per cent of the men remained loyally sticking out. But the effect on the morale of the Delegate Conference, which met on November 4 and continued with adjournments till November 13, was visible. Even so the recommendation for acceptance was only carried by 432,000 to 352,000.

The Left Wing secured the reference of the terms to the districts. The rejection of the proposals at the Delegate Conference was voted for, not only by the Left Wing (South Wales, Yorkshire, Forest of Dean), but also by certain right wing elements i. e. the Midlands districts with strong breakaway tendencies (Notts., Derbyshire, Leicestershire), voiced by Varley, who manifestly sought a complete district basis with no appearance even of a Federation agreement.

The Communist Party and Left Wing are conducting an intense campaign against acceptance. This campaign is justified both by the character of the terms and by the situation. The economic pressure of the stoppage on British Capitalism is now at its most intense, as is revealed both by the actual facts, and by the statements of leading industrialists and government representatives, the violent attacks of Government Ministers such as Birkenhead on the miners' leaders, the prosecution even of Labour M. P. s., and the sentencing of miners now for the bare offence of striking ("refusal to maintain wife and children"). If only the exporting districts can still hold out, if a strong lead is given and the General Council's negotiating committees cleared out, and if a mass campaign is conducted for the embargo, victory can still be won.

## Greetings from the Enlarged E. C. C. I. to the British Miners.

Moscow, November 22nd, 1926.

The Seventh Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International has addressed the following manifesto to the British Miners:

On the occasion of the opening of its deliberations, the Seventh Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the heroic miners and their families.

The seventh month of the heroic struggle of the miners will soon be at an end. For seven long months the miners have carried on a struggle not only against the mine owners, but against the whole British bourgeoisie, against the treachery of the leaders of the General Council and the Labour Party and against the vacillations of many of their own leaders.

The struggle of the miners has now reached a critical moment at which the trade union bureaucrats have cowardly

placed themselves in the way of the decisions of the rank and file miners.

The Communist International assures the British miners that the sympathy of the international revolutionary working class movement is on their side and that the Comintern and all its sections have done and will do everything in order to support the miners in their struggle against the powerful British bourgeoisie and their agents in the ranks of the workers.

**Long live the heroic miners of Great Britain!**

**Down with the labour lieutenants in the ranks of working class organisations!**

**Down with the coal owners government!**

**For a real workers government in Great Britain!**

## Appeal of the Young Communist International to the British Miners.

Moscow November 20th, 1926.

The Enlarged Executive of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. adopted in its yesterday evening session the following appeal to the British miners and to the working youth of all countries:

We welcome your decision to reject the slave conditions of the coal owners' government with enthusiasm. We observe with admiration that neither hunger nor privation, persecution nor treachery, the capitulation of the General Council nor that of a section of your own leaders could force you to break off your heroic struggle. After almost seven months of this struggle they tried to force you to accept shameful conditions. You, however, have followed the appeal of the Communist Party and answered in the negative.

Continue your struggle! The signs of weakness in the ranks of your opponents are increasing. Not a second on the day, not a penny off the pay!

We appeal to the workers in the other industries in this decisive moment to break the sabotage of the reformists and force the imposition of a coal boycott and a compulsory levy of all trade union members.

Down with the coal owners' government! Form a real workers government!

Young workers of all countries! Strengthen your solidarity! Collect tirelessly for the fighting British miners! Their struggle is your struggle! Refuse to work over-time in the mines! Enough of scabbing on your own comrades! Prevent the transport of coal to Great Britain! Call mass meetings of the miners and transport workers to deal with the struggle of the British miners! Down with the saboteurs! Long live victory!

## POLITICS

### International Reformism and the United States of Europe.

By A. Lozovsky.

The onslaught of American capitalism on Europe, the enfeeblement of European capitalism and the ruin of whose sections of its trade and commerce have made certain elements of the European bourgeoisie and European reformists begin to yearn for a united Europe. A unified Europe, the unity of Europe, the interests of Europe, the European spirit, the solidarity of European nations and other flowery phrases are now current in the bourgeois (progressive!) countries and the reformist newspapers and journals. Projects for the strengthening and invigorating of Europe in the face of American competition spring up like mushrooms. The subject is being especially energetically thrashed out in the social democratic press in Germany, where the question of pan-European economic and political unity, in the hope of restoring the importance of the whole of the fatherland, is gravely discussed. In the opinion of Paul Kampmeyer, "the unification of the continent of Europe" is not only a problem for the proletariat. Almost every class every European is profoundly concerned in the happy issue.

this problem." (*Socialistische Monatshefte*, July, 1926.) The same author considers that the proud mission of the political and economic unification of Europe belongs to the German social democrats, as the most democratic party. Hilferding's social democratic organ "*Die Gesellschaft*" also devotes a great deal of space to these questions, while in this paper the question of what to do with Bolshevik Russia, which country simply cannot be fitted in with the bourgeois reformist projects and plans, is subjected to very close examination.

All projects for the unification of Europe at present fall into two categories: on the one hand attempts are being made to create an "independent" movement; on the other hand, to make the League of Nations a centre for the reconstruction of Europe. As representative of the independent movement (independent in a very relative sense) may be counted the recently-concluded Pan European Congress in Vienna. This congress was attended by all sorts of bourgeois liberals and semi-liberals, by pacifists, reformists, by benevolent ladies, by former Government officials out of a job, and the rest of the characteristic public that loves to show itself at international congresses.

Side by side with Wirth and de Monzie, the "left" social democrat Loebe came forward; and they all considered it their most important duty to produce such decisions as would please everybody, to have a resolution carried for which they would not have to blush in the ministerial sitting rooms and salons.

International social democracy, in the shape of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, has made the League of Nations a point of departure for all its Pan-European aspirations. The vice-president of the Amsterdam International, Leon Jouhaux repeatedly appeared before the Geneva auditorium advocating the conversion of the League of Nations into an "All European Parliament" which should take upon itself the solution of the most important economic and political problems. Like practical men the Amsterdamites concentrated all their attention on the International Labour Office (where they have exactly a quarter of the votes!), demanding from time to time that this organ should be invested with plenipotentiary powers for the solution of all kinds of economic questions.

At the moment the Amsterdam International is engaged on an International Economic Conference, the initiators of which are Leon Jouhaux, the representative of the reformist unions of France and Loucheur, already becoming famous as a chief of the biggest electrical enterprises. On the other hand the Amsterdamites are worried by the question of how to bring into line the developing international combines of the biggest branches of industry, while the Amsterdam International cannot think of anything better than to submit these international trusts to the aforesaid "Pan European Parliament" — the League of Nations and its offspring, the International Labour Office. In order to acquaint ourselves with the new discoveries of the Amsterdam International we must turn to its official bulletin\*) which has devoted a special economic supplement to this question.

The Amsterdam International desires "a more shapely organisation of European economics". The problem is in the highest degree respectable and that is why the idea of Pan-Europe has, in the words of the Amsterdamites, such a tremendous success.

"If Europe wishes to exist", we read in the economic supplement to the Amsterdam International Bulletin, "then she must become Pan Europe, both in her economics and her politics. It is long since any idea has had such a wide response as the idea of Pan-Europe. The rapidity with which its comprehension spread in a few weeks through all camps and struck specially deep roots in the Labour movement is proof of the existence of something like a feeling of European solidarity. The fact that a part of the more advanced bourgeoisie upholds this movement ought not to affect the workers' approval of it. In working class circles it is of course understood that the principal impulse moving the greater part of the bourgeois adherents is one of pure sentimentalism (!) or temporary panic evoked by the unfortunate economic situation of Europe. The workers should also not allow themselves to fall under the influence of the Communists, who deride the whole movement and are bound to deride it simply because the premises of their whole policy is the economic ruin of Europe. It is precisely in the economic sphere that the wheat can be distinguished from the

tares; here it can be seen who really wants the economic recovery of Europe, together with her social recovery. That Pan-Europe, in the last result, cannot be a bourgeois ideal is obvious when it is clearly seen that this is not an affair of the display of egoistic instincts on a European scale, but of the first step towards the creation of a real international commercial policy." (The italics are everywhere my own. A. L.)

All this is, of course, very elevated and touching, especially the touch about the "social recovery" of Europe, and the discovery of "the spirit of European solidarity", by the Amsterdam Columbuses. It is true that this spirit, the apostles of which are Chamberlain, Briand, Mussolini, Stresemann, Benes, and their social democratic satellites, has about as much flavour of solidarity as the Amsterdam Bulletin has of Socialism, but all these are only "bare facts" and what is important is "our elevating illusion". Amsterdam, of course, sees that the European atmosphere is not especially favourable for solidarity, but that is the fault of the "petty interests" of the capitalists who have organised "international combines, created not with the purpose of furthering European economic unity, with competitive capabilities, but from economic motives of a private nature". The official organ of Amsterdam is displeased that "these pseudo organisations have already begun to form themselves on an international scale", and therefore suggests a method worked out of course, by the afore-mentioned "labour group" attached to the League of Nations. The Labour Group demands that "industrial combines" should be placed under the control of the Labour Office attached to the League of Nations, and directed with the co-operation of different government (!) and workers' and consumers' organisations". Although the Labour Group has forgotten to tell us by what means it intends to place the combines under control, we can impart that secret to our readers. The most important boosters of the Pan Europe idea are the orators of the Labour Group (Jouhaux, Oudegeest, Leipart, and Co.), the conscience of the leaders of the "pseudo organisations" and "the spirit of European solidarity". All these projects work together for the "social recovery of Europe" and the humiliation of the communists. The Amsterdamites believe that out of this bewildering pan-chatter an "ideal form of Pan Europe" will in the end arise.

What is the political significance of all this pan chatter of Pan Europe, which has increased so rapidly in recent times? All these projects reflect the economic and political downfall of Europe better than countless statistical findings, the continent of Europe's loss of pre-war hegemony and the ousting of European capital from its place in the sun. These pan-Europe projects are all the more effective on account of the prospect of that abyss towards which Europe is rushing, thanks to its "economic divisions and its extravagance", as Dr. Pinner expresses it. "Europe ought to be united not in order to surpass America" affirms the "left" social democrat Toni Zender, "but to save its own life, that is to save the life of European capitalism".

But the social-democrats and Amsterdamites coming forward with projects for the unification of Europe do not forget the chief thing: they openly demonstrate the point that the unification of Europe should mean the mutual governing of the colonies (see Hilferding's organ "*Die Gesellschaft*", August 1926). This is a very real question and it underlies all the "philosophical" arguments of the German social democratic orators on the theme of the unification of Europe. This yearning for a unified Europe has, in general, common roots with the craving of international bankers for extended markets and the regulation of trade. What is this much talked of "social recovery of Europe?" It is the consolidation of capitalist exploitation, "the Americanisation of the whole productive apparatus for the speediest freedom from American competition and the Americanisation of the European labour movement with the object of freeing it from the growing influence of Bolshevism".

Pan European projects and all the fuss which the reformist press is making about the economic and political unification of Europe only bear witness to the profound dissension prevailing in bourgeois Europe, and to the fact that the results of the Versailles Peace, increasing enormously the number of customs barriers, are making themselves felt with more and more power, and demonstrate the helplessness of European capitalism in the face of the growing influence of America.

Not pan-chattering about Pan Europe, but a revolutionary struggle for a socialist United States of Europe is the only way out for the toiling masses of Europe.

\*) No. 33, October 5th, 1926.

## The Recently Attempted Putsch of the Catalan Separatists.

By J ar (Madrid).

During the last twelve months Primo de Rivera's government has been compelled to deal with several serious conspiracies against the dictatorship. On the 1st November last the "Journal Official" published a list of army officers who were to be exiled in the Canary Islands on account of their having taken part in preparing a military plot which had been discovered by the police some days previously. On the 5th November the Government was obliged to issue a "Communiqué" explaining the incidents that had occurred on the Franco-Spanish frontier.

Since the commencement of the present century a very strong movement for autonomy has existed in Catalonia, the inhabitants of which speak a language differing somewhat from actual Spanish and which is also spoken in the extreme southern parts of France. This autonomist movement, which is very popular among the masses of Catalonia, was headed at first by the big commercial bourgeoisie of Barcelona. It assumed the definite character of an economic struggle against the taxes imposed by the central government in Madrid. The Liga Regionalists (Regionalist Party) only defended the class interests of the bourgeoisie, its leaders being only actuated by the motives of political careerists.

In the year 1918, however, the feelings of the Spanish Catalonians underwent a change as a result of the appointment of Francisco Cambó, the leader of the Regionalist Party, as a minister of the crown. The separatist masses who really desired autonomy, came to realise that their leaders were only politicians, ready to accommodate themselves to Madrid at any moment. At the same time there developed a pure separatist movement which had not been able to find expression before owing to the syndicalist movement which was very strong throughout all Catalonia during these years.

When Primo de Rivero seized power in 1923, the separatist movement and the separatist propaganda were already strong and powerful. Primo de Rivera stated at that time that one of his reasons for establishing the dictatorship was to settle with the Catalan separatists.

Right from the first days of the government of Primo de Rivera there set in a cruel repression of the separatists on the one hand and the Communists on the other. The persecution against the Catalonians was equally severe as that against the Communists. The police closed all their club premises, prohibited the Catalan language being spoken in public, forbade the wearing of Catalan emblems and badges, the hoisting of the catalonian flag etc. And in order to have a pretext for continuing the persecution, the police framed up a "conspiracy" against King Alfonso, for which three Separatists, each of them eighteen years of age, were condemned to imprisonment for life!

Primo de Rivera imagined that these repressions would kill the Separatist movement. The result proved the direct contrary. The Separatist movement is now stronger than ever. Even the priests in the pulpits defied the government decree by praying in the Catalanian language. In order to prevent this Primo de Rivera, through the mediation of Marquis de Magaz, sought to induce the Pope to forbid the priests to speak or pray in the churches in the Catalanian language. Primo de Rivera's fear of the Catalanian movement of the business people and industrialists was, however, exaggerated; the real danger lay in the peasant masses, in the masses of workers and the middle class whose feelings were stronger and more revolutionary.

There are three tendencies in the Catalanian movement: the Liga Regionalista, the Acció Catalá and L'estat Catala. The Liga Regionalista is supported by the big business bourgeoisie, which has no sincere desire for complete independence. The Acció Catalá represents the separatist Intellectuals. L'estat Catala, headed by Francisco Maciá, is the only tendency which really stands for separatist action. The militant members of this Party have had to suffer every kind of persecution. In order to escape this many of them crossed the French frontier and settled down in Perpignan and other Catalanian cities in France. Here they initiated an intensive propaganda and organised their forces. For more than two years Perpignan has been the headquarters of the Catalanian separatists, and from there has been led by Francisco Maciá.

Immediately after Primo de Rivera's coup d'état in 1923, the Communist Party intended to set up a Committee of Action against the dictatorship. This Committee was to have consisted of representatives of the Separatists, the Anarcho-Syndicalists and of the Communist Party. The Spanish Communist Party and also the Communist International considered the demands of the Catalonians to be justified and were prepared to support them. Right from the commencement, however, a profound antagonism separated the Communists from the Anarcho-Syndicalists and Separatists. The latter two groups regard the struggle against the dictatorship purely as a question of a putsch. Against these putschist conceptions our Party advocated the necessity of organising a big revolutionary movement against the dictatorship. This movement would have had to lead all the working and peasant masses of the whole of Spain into the struggle. As a result of these tactical differences the Committee of Action came to nothing.

The results of the putschist tactics have demonstrated the futility of such a policy. The conspiracies organised in France which were always known beforehand by the police, thanks to the numerous agents provocateurs working in France in the service of the Spanish Embassy, have proved a failure. The Putsch of Vera (Franco-Spanish frontier) organised by the anarchists some time ago, only resulted in some of their number being killed, all to no purpose.

The putsch recently organised by the Separatists in Perpignan which was discovered by the French police, was a most serious affair and might have led to great disturbances in the country. But even then it would have been a failure.

The arrest of Ricciotti Garibaldi which led to the exposure of the trickery of the Italian police, has resulted in the expulsion of Italian refugee workers living in France. The Spanish police have been working for similar ends. Just recently Signor Cueto, Captain of the Carabinieri, serving on the Franco-Spanish frontier, published a secret Manifesto in which he exposes the methods of the police. One night while he was on duty he heard shots coming from the direction of a near-lying French village. On going to investigate the matter he came upon some men whom he arrested without knowing that they were police, led by Louis Fenoll, Chief of the Madrid Police Service. Fenoll explained to Cueto that the matter was an affair of "high politics" in which he (Cueto) must not interfere. Fenoll intended to stage a sham fight with Communists alleged to be trying to cross the border, in order by this means to bring about the expulsion of Spanish emigrants in France, just as the fascist police were also doing in France. Captain Cueto who, in spite of Fenoll's explanation, made public the true facts of the case, was expelled from the army and is now imprisoned in Oviedo.

It is possible that Maciá was instigated by the agent provocateur Ricciotti Garibaldi. But Maciá is a pure idealist of absolute integrity of character. He lacks a truly revolutionary conception of the proper means to conduct a fight against the military dictatorship.

On the other hand the Italian fascists are carrying on an active campaign in Spain in favour of an Italo-Spanish alliance against France. The secretary of the Italian fascists in Barcelona recently made a trip to Madrid in order to convince high personalities in that town of the necessity of such an alliance. The fascist deputy Gray, delivered a lecture in Barcelona in which he asserted that Spain and Italy will be the future sole rulers of the Mediterranean. Another well-known Italian fascist, Stefano Molle, delivered a lecture in Madrid in favour of the Italo-Spanish alliance.

Maciá's putsch bore a purely separatist character. In spite of this the government's Communiqué stated that the Communists were also involved in it. The Madrid police have arrested our most prominent leaders, including Comrades Vicente Arrové and Antonio Malillos, editor and administrator respectively of our organ "La Antorcha" (The Torch). Arrests of communists have also been carried out in other towns in Spain. Primo de Rivera wishes to implicate the Communists in the recent separatist putsch, in order to intimidate the democratic elements who are also conspiring against his government.

The failure of Maciá's putsch will only strengthen the separatist movement in Catalonia. From now on Maciá will be regarded as the hero of Catalanian independence, and the Catalanian peasants will place implicit faith in him. But at the same time this failure will cause the separatists to realise that their movement for independence must be linked up with the

workers' struggles throughout all Spain against the dictatorship. In order to do this it does not suffice to organise the Spanish workers living in France. The organisation of the Spanish workers and peasants in Spain for the class struggle will result in the success of the efforts of the Catalonians for autonomy.

## The Polish Monarchists and Pilsudski.

By T. Dombal (Moscow).

One of the recent events, which caused great public excitement in Poland, was the conference of the aristocratic landed proprietors on the estate of Prince Radzivil at Niesvierz and the participation at this meeting of Pilsudski, accompanied by his two monarchist Ministers, the landed proprietor Meiszto-wicz and Niezabytovski.

Pilsudski visited Niesvierz allegedly for the purpose of doing honour to the memory of Prince Stanislaw Radzivil, who was his adjutant in the fight against the Bolsheviks and was killed at Malina in 1920. But the toast proposed by Prince Eustasius Sapieha: "Long live Marshall Pilsudski!" proves that the conference was rather convoked in Pilsudski's honour. This is also proved by the circumstance that, after the banquet, the conference dealt with "objective questions". It was resolved to create a Conservative Agrarian Party uniting all landowners. The Press communications to the effect that Pilsudski has provided for a number of prominent nobles positions in the legations in the important countries and that the nobles have resolved to carry out a monarchist demonstration in the form of the transference of the remain of the last King of Poland, Stanislaw Poniatovski, from Leningrad — all this goes to prove that this is not a question of insignificance, which the Press organ of Pilsudski "Glos Prawda" ("The Voice of Truth") represents it to be.

The Press, which represents the interests of Polish industry, and particularly the newspapers of the National Democrats, for the time being regard Pilsudski's participation in the above conference as a manoeuvre. The "Kurjer Poznanski" (Posen Courier) states:

"The strategy of Pilsudski and his political friends lies in weakening the national camp by bringing about the severance of some of the minor wings from the camp."

The National-Democratic Press consoles itself with the consideration that the Polish nobles cannot be regarded as the whole mass of the Polish landed proprietors; at the same time, however, it mentions that the national camp must anticipate a hard battle.

In addition, a short while ago there was a conference of Polish monarchists in Warsaw under the chairmanship of General Raszewski, which was dominated by the ideology of the "National-Christian Party". This is the party of the owners of medium-size and small estates lying chiefly in these districts of Poland which formerly belonged to Germany; the leaders of this party are Prof. Dubanowicz, a member of Parliament, and the editor of the "Warszawianka", Stronski. The conference laid down the principles of the "Monarchist Organisation". This makes the matter still more intelligible. When one also takes into consideration the efforts made to unite the monarchists with the group of the "Monarchist peasants" led by Deputy "Cwiakowski", it becomes clear that we are dealing with attempts to consolidate the monarchist movement in Poland.

The big farmers' party, "Piast", with Witos at its head, has recently entertained thoughts of creating a Conservative Agrarian Party. The following was written by the editor-in-chief of the leading journal of the "Piast" party, namely, Deputy Brodacki:

"It is high time for us to depart from ways of error, to remove old divisions, for life and circumstances impose the necessity of a revision of the old programmes for the purpose of grouping society into a single anti-Bolshevist camp."

This statement is greeted most warmly by Stronski, who remarks that it coincides exactly with the resolutions of his own party (the landowners).

It should not be left out of consideration that Pilsudski is putting into effect the policy of Anglo-American Capital, which is not only trying to make out of Fascist Poland a military outpost against the Soviet Union, but is also desirous of making Poland an agricultural country as a preliminary to converting Poland into a sales and raw-material market. Under these circumstances, the efforts on the part of Pilsudski to unite all Polish agrarians, including the big farmers, have tremendous signi-

ficance for future events in Poland. Whether the future will witness the proclamation of a monarchy and the election of Pilsudski as King of Poland (by no means an impossibility), or whether Pilsudski will remain the "uncrowned King" of Poland, are questions of secondary importance. The basic fact, and the most important one in any survey of the events which are now taking place in Poland, is that an intense consolidation of the reaction of the agrarians and of the corresponding Monarchist movement in the political sphere is in progress under an intimate understanding with Anglo-American Capital with the object of carrying out, under the leadership of Pilsudski, the programme of converting Poland into an agricultural State.

These attempts will lead to an intensification of the fight between the Pilsudski clique and the camp of the industrialists represented by the National-Democratic Party. Without making any attempt to guess the outcome of this fight, one must expect its intensification in the near future. At the same time increased fermentation must also be anticipated among the masses of the peasants, whose hopes built upon Pilsudski have been shattered.

## The Struggles in Mexico.

By J. Wilenkin.

### I.

The present struggle between the Mexican Government and the Roman-Catholic Church is a continuation of the struggle waged by the working population of Mexico against the pressure exercised by the Church of Rome.

The Roman-Catholic Church is not merely a religious, but pre-eminently a political institution. On the European Continent the Church of Rome has its particular political party in almost every State and marshals the Catholic working-classes in special organisations.

The United States of America have ever since their inception observed the strict separation of Church and State. Therefore the Catholic Church has there never undertaken any attempts towards the establishment of a particular political party or of special associations. Nevertheless, it has found means of influencing the labour movements by employing to this end the aid of the bureaucratic leaders of labour, many of whom are of the Roman-Catholic faith.

In Mexico the Catholic Church wielded an unrestricted power for a period of 350 years. It succeeded in concentrating in its own hands all the natural wealth of the country; the bulk of the gold and silver was sent to the Pope at Rome and to Spain. In this way the Catholic Church deprived the country of gold to the value of 27,000,000 dollars per annum; while of silver and other metals it exported in the course of three centuries no less than 3,000,000,000 dollars' worth. Until recently the Catholic Church owned huge estates, on which the Mexican agricultural labourers were exploited to an incredible degree. Apart from this, every farmer was obliged to render 10 per cent of his crops to the Church, added to which the latter had ample revenue on all possible occasions and under all possible pretexts.

According to the statements of the eminent American Catholic MacGuire (published in the New York periodical "Current History" in July 1926), the Catholic Church possessed in Mexico at the close of the eighteenth century a capital of 60,000,000 dollars, a sum then representing almost half the wealth of the country. These funds of the Church were invested mainly in extensive landed property, on which the clergy exploited and oppressed the poor peasantry and rural workers. At the same time the Catholic Church carried on usury, advancing money on interest to peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. In this way the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie were completely subjugated in an economic sense. The political power, too, was in the hands of the Catholic Church.

The Church, moreover, which had education entirely in its own hands, did nothing for the cultural development of the indigent town and country population. On the contrary, it endeavoured to leave the whole population, with the exception of the landed aristocracy, in the grossest ignorance, founding only very few elementary schools. Almost 90 per cent of the inhabitants of the country were unable to read or write.

This economic, political, and cultural subjugation of the working population by the Catholic Church aroused indignation throughout the country and led, in the year 1857, to the overthrow of the Church rule and the creation of the Mexican Constitution. Parallel with the effectuation of reforms in Mexico in 1859, the secular power of the Church of Rome was abolished, whereby its economic importance was likewise weakened; at the same time an end was put to the economic and political power of the landed aristocracy.

The overthrow of the landed aristocracy and of the Catholic Church marked the commencement of the development of capitalism in Mexico.

It was by foreign capital that this development was both initiated and carried out. Once such capital had penetrated into the country, the transport problem, which had up to that time presented substantial difficulties, was speedily solved; within quite a short space of time rails had been laid over a stretch of 10,000 miles.

The extraction of the mineral wealth of the soil made prodigious strides; thus in 1880 only 21,000,000 ounces of silver had been mined, while in 1910 the output exceeded 74,000,000 ounces; in the same space of time the gold output rose from 44,000 to 1,000,000 ounces. The production of copper figured at 4,000 tons in 1890 and at 50,000 in 1910. The lead output, too, rose enormously during this period, increasing from 21,000 to 133,000 tons. In 1903, moreover, extensive naphtha springs were discovered.

It is mainly four Powers, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany, that have striven to gain the natural wealth of Mexico.

When capitalism first started developing in Mexico, it was British capital that played the chief rôle and was, moreover, preferred by President Diaz. However, when the capitalism of the United States had attained a certain degree of development, it started to oust the "bourgeoisie" of all other countries from the Mexican market.

According to data supplied by Andrew Barlow, United States Minister to Mexico, the year 1902 saw American capitalists participating in various enterprises in Mexico to an aggregate extent of 500,000,000 dollars. By the year 1907, American capital investments had risen to a total of 750,000,000 dollars; in that year 80 per cent of all capital invested in Mexican railways was in the hands of United States enterprises.

The position in 1911, as represented by the "Annals", showed the United States capital invested in Mexico to total 1,000,000,000 dollars.

According to the report of Detcher, an American Consul in Mexico, United States employers had, in 1912, 1,057,770,000 dollars invested in various branches of industry, thus ousting British capital from its leading position, since the latter was interested only to a total of 321,301,000 dollars in Mexican concerns. If we take into account that in 1912 the entire national wealth of Mexico figured at 2,434,241,422 dollars, American capitalists may be said to own practically the half of it.

The giant American concerns and financial magnates, such as Rockefeller, Morgan, Guggenheim, and Schiff, are in the very closest connection with the big Mexican enterprises.

Together with the growth of capitalism in Mexico, the economic power of the Catholic Church again increased, owing to the fault of President Diaz, who had taken no pains to carry out the measures resolved against the position of the Church.

The competition between the United States and Great Britain extends particularly to the crude oil industry. According to returns published by Moody's Statistical Bureau on March 10th, 1923, a total of 1,050,532,434 dollars, was at that time invested in the crude oil enterprises of Mexico. Of this total, 606,043,239 dollars, or 57.7 per cent, were concentrated in the hands of the United States oil kings. The share falling to British capital was 354,776,199 dollars, or 33.8 per cent.

When, in 1911, a Mexican revolution, headed by Madero, broke out against the Diaz Government, the American Imperialists openly sided with the revolutionaries, who were then fighting for the expropriation of the Church and the landed aristocracy. Seeing that the United States imperialists were determined at all costs to destroy the political influence of Great Britain in Mexico, Diaz, the adherent of Great Britain, had necessarily to be deposed.

The United States succeeded in frustrating the influence of Great Britain, but only at the cost of seeing their own authority shaken as well, for the working masses fought not only against

the Church and the landed aristocracy but also against capitalist exploitation in the factories and mines.

For ten years the struggle continued between workers and farmers on the one hand and the various politicians bribed by Great Britain or the United States on the other.

The United States intrigued against Great Britain, exploited the labour unrest for their own ends, and often tried to provoke artificial revolts in Mexico with a view to strengthening their own influence there. For a short while, indeed, they succeeded in subjugating the country and plundering its natural resources.

The fall of President Diaz, however, and the advent of a new regime headed by Madero, did not bring the Mexican peasants the realisation of their demands for expropriation of the Catholic Church and the landed aristocracy in favour of the peasantry. For various reasons Madero did not venture to carry out the reforms he had promised, primarily actuated by the fact that any such policy would have harmed the interests of the American, British, and other Imperialists, who had got the naphtha springs and other mineral wealth of the country into their hands.

The refusal of the Government to parcel out the land aroused peasant revolts throughout the country. A series of Presidents were deposed, while the United States and Great Britain endeavoured to exploit the peasant revolts to serve their own ends.

(To be concluded.)

## ECONOMICS

### The Economic Condition of Spain under the Military Dictatorship.

By Jar (Madrid).

The co-operation of the Socialists with the government of Primo de Rivera and the persecution of the Communists have given the Spanish military dictatorship a certain degree of internal political peace. Nevertheless economic conditions are becoming more serious every day.

Although Spain did not participate in the world war, Spanish state finances are in such a critical condition that this may easily bring about the fall of the present government, if not something more serious, unless the government finds an immediate remedy.

The total national debt of Spain amounts to 17,109,042,754 Pesetas. Of this sum the State has consolidated 12,283,543,254 Pesetas and the remainder, i. e. 4,825,499,500 Pesetas represents treasury bonds issued under the directory. These bonds become due for redemption on the following dates: 1095 million on February 4, 1927; 700 million on April 15, 1928; 1275 million on November 4, 1928; 1255 million on January, 1929, and 500 million on July 5, 1930.

Spain incurred these debts in the Moroccan war. In this colonial adventure Spain spent, in round figures, 900 million Pesetas a year, which is about equal to the amount of her deficit. Her expenditure last year in the Moroccan war was 827,899,647 Pesetas. 37% of the State budget is swallowed up in military expenditure. Since 1909 the Moroccan war has cost Spain 6000 million Pesetas; the revenue from the Spanish Protectorate zone amounted in the same period to 11,107,500 Pesetas.

The Spanish budget (which has not been revised since the directory came into power) amounts to 3,671,458,280 Pesetas. Of this sum 900 million have to be paid out as interest, while 900 million is absorbed by the Moroccan war. Thus there only remain 1200 million Pesetas, of which one half is allotted to the army and navy, leaving over only 600 million for all other purposes (Public works, education etc.). In spite of the fact that Spain was not involved in the world war, 39% of the annual budget is devoted to the payment of interest; and since Primo the Rivera's coup d'état the debt has increased by 5000 million Pesetas.

In addition to this it is exceedingly likely that the directory has not even spent the insignificant sum of 600 million on public works, education etc., because one of the first acts of the dictatorship which was established on September 23rd 1923, was to suspend the law regarding the keeping of public accounts under which it was forbidden to transfer credits from one section of the budget to another. It therefore follows that the expenditure on the army, the navy and on the Moroccan war may be even



greater than indicated above, and the expenditure on public works and education correspondingly less.

At the beginning of the current year the state finances were in such a critical condition that the State's account with the Banco de Espano stood at nil. In order to be able to meet its immediate liabilities the State made use of its right to borrow up to the limit of 350 million from the Banco de Espano without interest. This is a state of affairs unprecedented in Spain since the restoration.

Industrial and government securities are falling in value every day. This is to be seen from the following table:

(January 1925 = 100)	January 1926
Government securities . . . . .	98,20
Municipal loans . . . . .	99,15
Banking companies . . . . .	95,40
Electric Companies . . . . .	90,49
Mines . . . . .	73,56
Transport . . . . .	85,24
Smelting Works . . . . .	84,88
Shipping . . . . .	87,32

Before the coup d'état the dollar stood at 6,45 Pesetas. Under the Directory the dollar has reached 8,17 Pesetas. In 1923 the Pound Sterling stood at 29,75 Pesetas; during the Primo de Rivera's dictatorship it has mounted to 34,98.

The industrial crisis is very serious. As there exist no statistics as to unemployment it is impossible to give the exact number of unemployed. Primo de Rivera imagines that he has succeeded in stabilising "social order" because, since his coup d'état, very few strikes have been officially recorded (August 1923: 322 strikes, August 1926: 12 strikes). But he makes no mention of unemployment, which as a matter of fact is very great.

The cost of living is also increasing. The index figures for June, July and August 1926 are as follows:

	June	July	August
Meat etc. . . . .	206	210	211
Fruit and vegetables . . . . .	160	161	164
Beverages etc. . . . .	169	169	170
Fuel . . . . .	171	170	182

As the treasury bonds fall due for redemption in the near future, one of the chief concerns of the Minister of Finance is how to increase the taxes and how to obtain from the taxpayers a correct return as to the actual amount of their property and income, in order to see if it will be possible by this means to reduce the deficit and to consolidate the debt on reasonable terms when the bonds fall due. The decree as to furnishing correct returns as to income etc. which was issued in January, is meeting with considerable resistance on the part of the capitalists and will therefore never be carried out.

As the State does not possess any fresh sources of revenue, and as the expenditure, in view of the Moroccan war, is still increasing, the deficit in the budget will also increase. The last budget showed a deficit of 1100 million Pesetas: the largest ever known. The government's financial policy consists in issuing paper money from time to time.

The position as regards trade is very serious. The number of bankruptcies is very great. It is very difficult to give exact figures regarding these because the Directory purposely delays the publication of statistics. The banks are greatly restricting credits.

At the same time the colonisation of Spain by foreign capital is still going on. The English groups possess the largest number of undertakings. The latest Spanish Supplement of the "Times" clearly showed the extent of this colonisation by British capital.

King Alfonso is participating in this business with foreign capitalists, as his financial speculations at home have for the greater part been a failure. Prince Ferdinando of Bevaria, a relative of the king, is representing a British group interested in railways.

Thus the financial and economic difficulties are growing and are thereby more and more undermining the foundations of the dictatorship in Spain.

## THE 15th PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE C. P. S. U.

### Resolutions of the Meetings of Moscow and Leningrad Functionaries of the C. P. S. U. on the 15th National Conference.

After receiving the report of Comrade Molotov on the results of the 15th Party Conference of the C. P. S. U., the meeting of the functionaries of the Moscow organisation of the C. P. S. U. unreservedly accepts the resolutions of the 15th Conference both in respect of the question of socialist construction in our country and in respect of the questions of the policy of the Comintern.

1. The meeting of functionaries of the Moscow organisation takes cognisance of the fact that the 15th Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. passed all the resolutions unanimously and gave evidence of the unshakeable Bolshevik solidarity of the party and of the deep proletarian Communist confidence and the conviction of the possibility of building up socialism in our country and of attaining our final aims.

2. From beginning to end the Conference was under the banner of Leninism; the resolutions of the Conference were founded absolutely on Lenin's teaching. The Conference, the course of its work and the estimate of our achievements in all fields of socialist construction show that the Central Committee has carried on a correct and consistent Leninist, Bolshevik policy; only on the basis of this policy has it been possible for us to strengthen the socialist elements in our economics, to consolidate the alliance between workers and peasants and to ensure further security to the proletarian dictatorship.

3. In complete agreement with the whole party and whilst exactly preserving the lines adopted by the party, the Conference has formed a correct judgment as to the attempts of the Opposition Bloc during the recent period to cause a split in the party. The meeting of functionaries entirely subscribes to the resolutions of the Conference, to the effect that the party must continue in future ruthlessly to reject all attempts to shake the unity of the Bolshevik cadres.

At the Conference, the leaders of the Opposition Bloc, which is already crumbling, who had stated that they continued to stand by their fundamental views, proved that the Opposition was completely and absolutely bankrupt.

The Left phrases of the Opposition were in reality only a cover for their social democratic (Menshevik) deviation. The tendency to scepticism, pessimism and panic, the negation of the possibility of socialist construction in one country, the capitalist methods of industrialisation of a country proposed by the Opposition, the policy of high prices, the accusation that the party is degenerating, the demagogic "Left" social democratic slogans suggesting an increase of wages, the attempts to undermine the unity and discipline of the party — all this quite obviously reveals the social democratic character of the deviation of the Opposition Bloc.

In all decisive questions of the revolution, the Opposition of the 14th Party Congress had entirely capitulated to Trotzkyism. At the Conference, this capitulation was once more confirmed by the proclamation of the leaders of the Opposition of the 14th Party Congress, by their distortion of the fundamental principles of Leninism in order to adapt them to Trotzkyism and by the denial of Lenin's teaching as to the possibility of constructing socialism in one country.

The meeting of functionaries calls upon the whole Moscow organisation to unite in carrying out the resolutions of the 15th Party Congress and in a further uncompromising fight against the social democratic deviation of the Opposition until it is finally overcome.

The Moscow organisation will gather still more closely round the Central Committee on the basis of the resolutions of the 15th Party Conference and will thus documentate the firmly-welded unity of Bolshevism in the further creative work for the realisation of the tasks of our socialist construction and in their fight for the international proletarian revolution.

(Passed unanimously, with one member abstaining from voting.)

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After receiving the report of Comrade Kirow on the 15th Conference of the C. P. S. U., the body of functionaries of the Leningrad party organisation\*) unreservedly accepts the resolutions.

Contrary to all the prophecies of the Opposition Bloc, the favourable harvests and the considerable increase of production in industry on the one hand, and on the other hand a number of measures taken by the party, have led to our entering on the new economic year under far more stable conditions than in last autumn.

The course towards industrialisation which has been consistently followed by the Party has already borne fruit, and is taking effect in the increasing importance of the socialist elements of our economy, both in production and in the turnover of goods, and also in the distribution of the national income.

The general growth of our economy as well as the new tasks of construction by which we are faced call for an appropriate testing of the system of economic management and administration.

The improvement of our apparatus of economics and administration should above all be directed towards reducing expenses. One of our most urgent tasks is to strive to introduce a regime of economy — above all and chiefly in trade.

The functionaries of the Leningrad organisation note with special satisfaction the complete bankruptcy of the Opposition Bloc at the 15th Conference. Its representatives did not utter a single word with regard to the questions of economics and of trade unions and to international questions, for all the suggestions of the Opposition — both relating to prices and to wages or to the policy of taxation — demonstrated their complete nullity and worthlessness and were exposed by the party members — the workers of Leningrad and Moscow. In the same way it became evident that all the assertions of the Opposition at the last Plenary Meeting of the C. C. in respect to international questions were without foundation — assertions to the effect that the Leninist tactics of a united front should be completely abandoned and replaced by hollow ultra-Left phrases.

The body of functionaries of the Leningrad organisation agrees with the Conference's description of the Opposition Bloc as a social democratic deviation within our party. Not a single one of the Opposition leaders who spoke, was able to disprove the almost complete conformity between the views of so inveterate a social democrat as Otto Bauer and those of Comrade Trotzky, the spiritual leader of the Opposition Bloc with regard to the peasantry and to the possibility of socialist construction in our country.

The functionaries of the Leningrad organisation call attention to the fact that in describing the ideological attitude of the present Opposition Bloc as a social democratic deviation, the 15th Party Conference is merely defining more precisely the characterisation of Trotzkyism as a petty bourgeois deviation which was given by Comrade Zinoviev at the 13th Party Conference. Such an exact definition is all the more necessary since the Opposition has undertaken to revise Leninism with regard to one of the most important, cardinal questions — i. e. in respect to the question of the possibility of victory for socialism in our country.

The crushing repulse which the Opposition met with from the whole party — but especially from the Bolshevik workers of Moscow and Leningrad — forced the Opposition leaders at the 15th Party Conference to admit that the fractional work they had carried out was harmful and inadmissible, and to promise to abandon it in future. The party, and especially the Leningrad organisation, however, is not inclined to take words for deeds. The statement of the Opposition as to their willingness to give up fractional activity, must be proved by deeds.

\*) More than 4000 comrades attended the meeting.

The Opposition must resolutely put an end to all fractional activity both in the party and in the Comintern. The Opposition must abandon its anti-Leninist Trotzkyan estimation of the driving forces of the revolution, its estimation of the part played by the peasantry and its lack of faith in the possibility of the construction, and in the real existence of the construction of socialism in our country. The Opposition must revoke its assertion that the Soviet State is undergoing a bureaucratic degeneration — an assertion which is quite imbued with the social democratic attitude. The Opposition must discontinue its attacks on the party apparatus, which are inadmissible in the Bolshevik party and which practically amount to an attack on the unity and discipline of the party. The Opposition must abandon the Menshevik practice of throwing demagogic slogans to the non-party masses over the head of the party and their attempts to speculate on the objective difficulties of our construction.

In view of the fact that the Opposition leaders did not renounce a single one of their fundamental theses at the Conference, the body of functionaries of the Leningrad organisation considers it absolutely essential to continue the ideological fight against the social democratic deviation of the Opposition Bloc.

It is further necessary to continue in the future the campaign for the final unmasking of the capitulationism of the Opposition Bloc and of its essentially Trotzkyan character.

The functionaries of the Leningrad organisation state with great satisfaction that the 15th Party Conference emphasised and reinforced the firmly-welded, unalterable unity of the party cadres in its Leninist positions and at the same time created a situation in which all forces can be directed towards positive work, towards the great work of the construction of socialism.

The Leningrad organisation will continue in future to be a firm support to the Leninist C. C. and will relentlessly oppose all attempts to undermine the unity of the party and the work of socialist construction, from whatever side they may come.

**Long live the C. P. S. U. and its Central Committee!**

(Passed unanimously on November 9th.)

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Declaration of the Communist Parties of France and Spain with Regard to the Catalonian Movement.

The attempt of Colonel Macia and his adherents, a simple episode in the fight which is being carried on by the Catalonian people in order to gain their independence, has prompted the Communist party of France and the Communist party of Spain to formulate clearly their policy with regard to this question.

The Communist parties of France and Spain point out that the Communist International supports every oppressed nation which is anxious to free itself from the yoke of an imperialist Power. Yesterday our two parties in common supported the small people of the Rif, to-day as yesterday the Communist party of France is supporting Alsace-Lorraine in its fight against the oppression of French imperialism; to-morrow it will be prepared to support any colony which wants to shake off the rule of French imperialism.

For this reason we say with all emphasis that the fight of the Catalonian people for its independence is being supported by the Communist International and especially by its sections in France and Spain and, under the present circumstances, we shall support this fight all the more because it is directed against the Fascist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.

We would remark with special emphasis that expeditions of a few freebooters will no more free Catalonia from the oppression of Spain than "Pronunciamentos" (military putches) will free Spain from Primo de Rivera. Only a great mass movement of the oppressed people of Catalonia will ensure them their independence.

In this respect we stigmatize the large Press of France which is endeavouring to conceal from its readers the true situation and the unanimous will to freedom of the Catalonian people.

which, by picturesque descriptions is degrading this national fight into an adventurous undertaking of a few "distinguished persons" who are deceived by decoy agents.

We further pillory the Government of France which has manifested its co-operation with the dictator of Spain by having Macia and his comrades arrested, and which is attempting to make use of this occasion in order to approach nearer to Spain and to isolate the immediate rival of France in the Mediterranean-Italian imperialism.

We remind the workers of Catalonia, Spain and France that, like all oppressed peoples, Catalonia will only work out its liberation, if it unites its movement for national independence with the fight of the proletariat of Spain and of the proletariat of all countries to defeat capitalism.

## Manifesto of the C. C. of the Communist Parties of France and Italy.

For the Common Fight against the French Bourgeoisie and against Italian Fascism.

Serious friction — as we anticipated — has now arisen between France and Italy. Just as in the dark days which preceded the outbreak of the world war, the chauvinists of both countries are let loose. In Italy, French workmen are being molested by Fascist bands and the extraterritorial rights of the consulates are being disregarded. In France, the Press is using every means in its power to arouse chauvinistic feeling. In short, the difficulties which France and Italy have been making for one another since the termination of the war have now led to a climax. The spectre of a bloody conflict between these two big Capitalist States of Europe has again appeared.

The causes of the continuous ill-feeling, which has existed between France and Italy since the end of the war and which has just developed into a violent crisis, must be sought in the following circumstances: in the "solutions" which the world war provided for the crisis of Capitalism, in the division of the world by the treaties of Versailles, etc., in the post-war economic crisis and in the economic measures taken in the various States with the object of removing this crisis, in the methods used to achieve stabilisation, in the rationalisation of the means of production, in the formation of rings and trusts and in the contradictions thereby created.

Italy emerged from the war disappointed and badly rewarded. Great Britain and France divided between themselves the colonies of the defeated countries. Driven on by surplus population, which compels half a million Italians to emigrate every year, driven on by a finishing industry which must pay heavy tribute to other countries for raw materials and which was greatly extended during the course of the war, Italy plunged headlong into a policy of colonial expansion.

Without intermission, Italy demands settlement colonies, fresh sales markets and new sources of raw materials. It finds itself overlooking districts colonised by France and containing abundant raw material, which France already has in its home territory, while the population of immigrants from France is in some districts outnumbered by the immigrants from Italy (Tunis). Italy sees how Imperialist France increases its colonial territory and makes attacks upon the Riff tribes and the Syrians in order to strengthen its dominion in the colonies and in the whole of the Mediterranean region. It finds other Imperialist powers, who are disquieted by this colonial and Mediterranean supremacy of France and secretly oppose it. Italy is supported by these Imperialist powers. It is Great Britain which supports Italy's policy for the division of Abyssinia, a policy which clashes with French Imperialism, which has already secured for itself a place in that country. It is Spain, which, discontented with the lot that the Imperialism of France has prepared for it in Morocco, conspires with the Imperialism of Italy to change the equilibrium of the Mediterranean region.

And Italy persists systematically in its fight in the Balkans with a view to supplanting French Imperialism, which was supreme there after the war. In this way Italy has succeeded in a number of countries, notably Yugoslavia and Roumania, in gaining sympathy.

The fight between the two Imperialisms is, therefore, a fight for a redistribution of the colonial districts between the one Im-

perialism, which holds millions of slaves under its yoke and the other Imperialism which, for its part, desires to possess colonies.

The economic rise of the European countries has aggravated this fight for sales markets and sources of raw materials.

The latest industrial combinations: the steel trust and the efforts towards a rapprochement between France and Germany, which followed closely upon one another, immediately threatened the Imperialist policy of Italy. Industry in Italy is, on account of the economic crisis in Great Britain, compelled to pay tribute to the steel trust of France and Germany. German Imperialism, which has just appeared again on the political scene in Europe, is becoming an effective competitor in the fight for colonies.

Finally, Fascism, which stirred up in an extreme measure the Nationalism of the social classes which adhere to its party and awoke hopes of expansion, is no longer able to control the elements which it let loose. The anti-French demonstrations which have taken place within the last few weeks in Italy are, at the same time, the result of the rivalry between the Imperialism of Italy and that of France, as also of the provocative policy of Fascism.

A serious crisis is now shaking Fascism. The last attempt to assassinate Mussolini was not organised by anti-Fascist elements but was hatched within the ranks of Fascism itself. At present the leaders of Italian Fascism are compelled to recognise that they must fight energetically in their own ranks to maintain their supremacy. In order to disguise the gravity of this crisis, the Fascist leaders are trying all kinds of manoeuvres, both of a domestic-political, and of foreign-political nature, to distract attention.

The Imperialism of France, for its part, profits by all these circumstances to aim blows at Italian Imperialism. Its so-called Democratic Press exploits the animosity of the proletarian masses against the bloody dictatorship of Rome for the purpose of stirring up Nationalist feeling, in a manner worthy of anti-Fascist newspapers. By exploiting recent incidents, for example, the Catalonian adventure, in which Italian provocateurs are said to have taken part, it endeavours to destroy the alliance between Italy and Spain for the benefit of French Imperialism. The sensational disclosures and the commentaries, which are appended to them and only mildly denied by the Government, prove that French Imperialism wishes to restore, by means of propaganda against Mussolini and against Fascism, the co-operation between France and Great Britain and the former alliance with Spain, in order to change once more the distribution of power in the Mediterranean. In reality, the anti-Fascist campaign disguises quite as badly the intentions of French Imperialism as do the provocations of Fascism the intentions of the Italian Imperialism.

The workers of France and Italy should not allow themselves to be led astray by these demonstrations. Yesterday, the Government of France took measures against Italian revolutionaries to prevent them from preparing themselves for the fight against the dictatorship of Imperialism, which it to-day stigmatises. Its Nationalist and Democratic Press agreed with the Government without reserve. The Communists alone protested against these measures taken at the request of Mussolini. The Government also prohibited the anti-Fascist demonstrations. It arrested Catalonian revolutionaries who were proceeding to fight against the Spanish Fascist, Primo de Rivera, who oppresses the people of Catalonia. These various demonstrations prove that French Imperialism plays with "anti-Fascism" or protects Fascism, just as suits its interests.

The workers of France and Italy will not let themselves be deluded by the action of French Social-Patriotism, which is preparing the way for the Government of the National Union and lauds to the skies "the force of the blow" which the Government has dealt to Italian Imperialism, while making no mention of the significance of the support which the Government renders to the Fascism of Spain nor of the ulterior motives of the dispute. Certain Social Patriots, who go even further than the Government clique, urge the latter to take energetic measures against Italy. In this way they set themselves at the head of the chauvinistic movement of the country. Social-chauvinism and the so-called Democratic parties threaten the toilers of both countries.

It is not by supporting the fight of French Imperialism against Italian Imperialism that the workers of France and

Italy will free themselves from Fascism and from the French bourgeoisie, but only by means of a common fight directed at the same time against both the French bourgeoisie and Fascism.

The workers of France must fight against all measures which might weaken the fight of the Italian proletariat against Fascism. They must demand the annulment of all emergency laws directed against foreign workmen and especially against the Italian workers.

They must use all their resources and all their means to support the heroic fight of the Italian proletariat against their Government.

They must consistently help their brothers in the colonies in their fight for independence and energetically oppose every policy of colonial expansion.

Long live the international fight of the proletarians of France and Italy!

Down with the Imperialist activity of the Governments of France and Italy!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Red International of Labour Unions against the Fascist Terror in Italy.

Moscow, November 18th, 1926.

An appeal of the R.I.L.U. against fascist terror in Italy reads as follows:

The Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. appeals to all workers, men and women, to undertake a systematic protest campaign against the rule of bloodshed and of provocation as well as against fascist dictatorship. An end must be put to the annihilation of the best representatives of the working masses of Italy and to the scorning of the Italian people by fascist gangs.

The Italian **Amsterdammers**, who always adapted themselves to the fascist rule and refused to lead the struggle against fascist dictatorship together with the communists and the revolutionary workers, are now also forced into illegality. They were utilised by the fascists for the struggle against the revolutionary wing of the labour movement and now, their dirty work being done, they are kicked away by the fascists. Thus Italian reformism, which had facilitated the conquest of power by the fascists and their dictatorship, prepared itself the ground for the persecutions which have led to the disbandment and destruction of even the reformist organisations.

For the Italian working class there is no other way out than the overthrow of this bloody dictatorship, than the revolutionary struggle against fascist reaction, which is supported by the Italian bourgeoisie. In Italy as well as outside it there are at present only two camps: for and against fascist reaction, for and against fascist dictatorship. Who is not against fascism, is in favour of it. This is the question; it can be put in no other way.

May the voice of protest against the suppression and scorning of the working masses in Italy, against the destruction of the labour organisations by fascist gangs be raised in every town, in every factory, wherever a proletarian heart is beating.

**Down with the rule of blood and provocation! Down with fascist dictatorship! Long live the united front against fascism!**

## ENLARGED E. C. OF THE Y. C. I.

### Sixth Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

(Telegraphic Reports.)

Moscow, 15th November 1926.

#### Opening Session.

The sixth Enlarged Executive session of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. was opened by comrade **Gyptner**. Gyptner pointed out that the opening of the enlarged executive session of the Y. C. I. before that of the **Comintern** did not mean any alienation from the latter, but rather a still greater participation in its work. The **Comintern** had paid the **Young Communist International** great attention. The session would deal with the discussion upon the tactics of the **Comintern**. The Y. C. I. was unanimously in favour of the policy of the **Comintern** and of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. This session was faced with practical questions, in particular, questions relating to organisation and to the opponents of the Y. C. I.

The chairman then greeted the delegation of the **Comintern** consisting of comrades **Mannilski**, **Smeral**, **Remmele**, **Murphy** and **Cremer**.

Comrade **Smeral** greeted the session in the name of the E. C. C. I. The good results of the work of the Y. C. I. were very gratifying, he declared. The membership had grown. A good relation existed between the Y. C. I. and the **Comintern**. There was good activity on the part of the communist youth in Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China. The relative stabilisation and the rationalisation created new tasks. The present period however, was not one of social peace. Struggles of a new kind were developing. The seizure of power was a concrete task for the present generation. The preparations for this struggle would have to be carried out. The side which had the proletarian youth would win. We would have to win the masses. Two things would have to be carried out: first of all no vacillations and no deviations from the leninist line, and secondly a close union between the young communists and the old. On to work! Forward to the struggle! (Applause.)

Comrade **Shdanov** greeted the session in the name of the **Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union**. He declared that the Y. C. I. of the U. S. S. R. had unanimously rejected the attempt of the opposition to draw the youth into their fraction. The task of the session was to bring the bolshevisation to its conclusion. The Y. C. I. of the Soviet Union knew that its brother Leagues would fight against all deviations from the leninist line. (Applause.)

The proposed agenda was then unanimously adopted and commissions for seven countries and the same number of departments unanimously elected.

Comrade **Gyptner** then closed the opening session. 26 members of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and 16 representatives of the various countries are taking part in the session.

#### Second Session.

In the second session

Comrade **SHATZKIN**

pointed out in his opening speech that the estimation of the **Comintern** in relation to the temporary relative stabilisation of capitalism had been corroborated by events. The opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and the C. P. of Germany had no clear attitude upon this question. The statistics in relation to production, commodity exchange and currency, prove the stabilisation. The rationalisation and the trustification were new phenomena. The social democracy, however, spoke of a complete stabilisation and set up a new theory of imperialism. Some comrades had a tendency to accept this social democratic theory.

The leftward development of the working masses was proceeding: the general strike in Great Britain, the growth of the

minority movement, the communist Party and the Young Communist League in **Great Britain**, and in **Germany** the movement for the confiscation of the property of the princes, the Hamburg dockers strike, the elections in Saxony, the breaking up of the social democracy; in **France** the disillusionment with the left bloc, the 24 hour general strike for the British miners; in **Poland** the victory of the communists in the elections despite the terror. In general there was a strong development to the left.

The social basis of the **opposition in the U.S.S.R.** was first of all the economic difficulties which have already been partly overcome, and secondly, an absolute growth of private capital and thus an increasing pressure on the part of the bourgeoisie. The opposition represented a social democratic deviation. Proof of this was contained in the following four points: 1. its attitude to the economic structure and to the Soviet State; 2. its estimation of our prospects; 3. our relations to the peasantry and 4. the problems of the internal party life. The complete defeat of the opposition was followed by the voluntary capitulation. The capitulation meant the abandonment of the struggle. The party, however, would have to continue the struggle for ideological clarity.

The final victory of socialism was not possible in the Soviet Union alone. The building up of socialism was possible despite the capitalist environment of the Soviet Union but of course it would proceed more slowly. This building up of socialism was of tremendous importance for the world proletariat.

Various groups in the **German opposition** were united by a common hatred of the Soviet Union and the C.P. of the Soviet Union. Insane petty bourgeois and the support of sections of the unemployed formed the basis of these groups. In the German question they had no platform and were therefore all the more eager to open up a discussion upon questions concerning the Soviet Union. There were two chief tendencies in this opposition, first of all that of **Korsch and Schwarz**, which went farther than Kautsky and stood for a "second revolution" and the splitting of the German and Russian Communist Parties. Secondly, that of **Urbahns and Weber** which characterised itself by slandering the Soviet Union and spreading lies. The strong fractional activity was not seeking for a split now, but at a more favourable time for the opposition. The prospects for the German party were good. A short while ago **Ruth Fischer and Maslow** were leading the party, now they were completely defeated. The expulsions which had been carried out were correct and perhaps still further expulsions would be necessary. Practical experience would show the final liquidation of the Ultra-Left.

In **France** there existed two groups: **Souvarine** supported the opposition in the C. P. of the U.S.S.R. The group **Jacob-Girault** had no clear platform and criticised the errors of the party in French questions. The party had, however, itself criticised these errors. In questions related to the Soviet Union this group was very careful.

In **Czechoslovakia** there was the group around the **Briinn Memorandum** in favour of **Trotsky**. **Neurath** was practically in a block with this group.

In **Great Britain** the party had adopted a correct policy during the general strike and during the struggle of the miners. The chief task was the exposure of the leaders. The leaders were going to the right, the masses to the left. **Cook** is in favour of fighting, but vacillating. The **Communist Party of Great Britain** had also made mistakes but these would be easy to rectify.

The significance and the importance of the events in **China** was clear. The question of the composition of the **Kuomintang Party** was of great importance. The peasants would have to be drawn into the revolutionary movement. The hegemony of the proletariat is necessary and the **Communist Party** would have to become the leader of the revolution.

The mistakes committed by the **Polish party** in May had already been repaired. The chief danger in the Polish party came from the Right, but there was also a danger from the Left.

In **Norway** the Right wing of the party had a tendency towards amalgamation with the social democrats. In **Greece** the party and the youth made various mistakes during the time of the recent disturbances. In **Bulgaria** a wrong opinion existed amongst various comrades in relation to the question of a Left

bourgeois government. These mistakes had already been repaired.

The coming session of the **Enlarged Executive of the Comintern** would be faced with two questions: 1. the question of the removal of **Comrade Zinoviev** and the organisation of the leadership of the **Comintern**; 2. the reorganisation of the apparatus. The foreign comrades must take a greater part of the work.

A partial stabilisation existed but the prospects of the world revolution were good. The attempts to carry the stabilisation further would bring an intensification of the class struggle. The chief task was to win the masses in the struggle by connecting the partial demands with the final aim. It would be possible, declared the speaker, in this way to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat at the next wave of the revolution. (Applause.)

### Third Session.

(November 13th, 1926.)

### Comrade MICHALEC:

The declaration of the opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of the 16th of October is an appeal to all sympathising oppositions in other parties to do the same. I do not hold this declaration to be binding for me. From this follows my attitude to the expelled. There is now a new course in the **Comintern**. There has been a deviation of the **Comintern** to the Right.

The following points are characteristic of the international situation: First of all the decisive sign of the period of decay. Secondly the question of the united front tactic and the struggle for unity. Thirdly the struggle against the Right and Left deviations. The Right deviations must receive special attention. Fourthly, the internal party democracy.

The more decisive danger is now the Right danger which shows itself in the following four points: First of all in the estimation of the present situation, secondly in the question of tactics, particularly with regard to the **Anglo-Russian Committee**, thirdly in the struggle against the Right and Left deviations, here the greatest attention must be directed against the Right, and fourthly the questions of internal party democracy. The opposition must not be fought, it must be educated.

### A representative of the Y. C. L. of Germany.

**Comrade Michalec** has a peculiar method of discussion. He reads a prepared speech, makes no reply to interruptions and takes contentions without attempting to prove them.

Our opinion is clear. The estimation of the Right and Left dangers by the opposition is incorrect. The Right dangers are not always in the foreground in the Communist Parties. This depends upon the given situation. Today there are Right mistakes, but the Ultraleft mistakes are much greater. This is particularly true of the **German C. P.** The Rights in the **German C. P.** are defeated, the Ultralefts had influence for instance in **Berlin**. Now, however, the Ultralefts are also defeated and are losing their influence. The **German opposition** is an ideological hanger-on of the opposition in the Soviet Union. Now that the opposition in the Soviet Union has fallen, the opposition in Germany will also fall. The C. P. and the Y. C. L. of Germany are convinced in their tremendous majority of the incorrectness of the standpoint of the opposition. The arguments of **Comrade Michalec** have convinced no-one. The overwhelming majority of our League is against him. (Applause.)

### Comrade LOMINADSE (who was received with applause):

One would not need to answer **Comrade Michalec** if he had not accused us of social democratic deviations. **Comrade Michalec** attempts to kill his opponents by boring to death. When one discusses with him, one must adopt a very low level.

Since the 16th of October we have not heard such attacks. **Comrade Michalec** has gone further than the opposition in the C. P. of the Soviet Union. He has falsified quotations from **Lenin** and **Stalin**.

The attitude of the opposition to the stabilisation is unclear and rigid. Since the sixth Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. time has passed and new events have occurred. We must therefore differently characterise the situation. Alterations have taken place in Great Britain, Germany, etc. The opposition declares that there is no stabilisation. Comrade Trotzky speaks of an automatic decay and declares that no country can be on the upgrade. Comrade Michalec did not deal with this point but one must either defend it or condemn it.

In actual fact all deviations are opportunistic. Right dangers are threatening, but the Right dangers have dressed themselves in an ultra-left mantle. The Trotzkyism and Radekism, the whole opposition in the Communist International is nothing but an opportunist deviation. In France the Right Wing Engler and the Ultraleft Girault are together in a bloc against the party. In Czechoslovakia the Ultraleft Neurath and the Right Wing authors of the Brunn memorandum are also together.

Comrade Michalec declared that he is not in agreement with the Ultraleft. He, however, did not say in which points. We fight against the Right but the opposition says nothing against the Left.

In the bloc question, the bloc without principles is condemned to death. The opposition has everywhere a bloc without principles (lively applause).

#### Comrade HRSEL (Czechoslovakia):

In the name of the Czechoslovakian delegation I declare myself in agreement with the statements of Comrades Shatzkin and Lominades. Comrade Michalec has proved through his speech that he persists in his fractional activities. His whole speech was, however, unclear.

Our standpoint in the question of stabilisation has not been revised. It is the opposition which has revised its standpoint. Today the ultraleft deviations are more dangerous than those of the Right. The opposition has not been punished on account of its opinions, but on account of its fractional activity. The attempts of Comrade Michalec to prove the existence of a Right deviation in the C. P. and the Y. C. L. of Czechoslovakia have completely failed. There are two sorts of bloc formation, one for the party and the other against the party. The opposition bloc is against the party. A sharp struggle is necessary against it. (Applause.)

#### Comrade MITROVITCH (Yugoslavia):

In the name of the Balkan delegation I declare myself completely in favour of the policy of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. and of the Comintern against the fractional activities of Comrades Vuyovitch and Michalec. With reference to Comrade Vuyovitch I am instructed in the name of the Central Committee of the Y. C. L. of Yugoslavia to demand the removal of Comrade Vuyovitch from the E. C. of the Young Communist International. Comrades Vuyovitch and Michalec have no one behind them and must therefore leave the Executive. (Applause.)

#### Fourth Session.

(November 15th, 1926.)

#### Comrade GORKIC (E. C. Y. C. I.):

I only wish to say a few words with regard to the speech of Comrade Michalec concerning four points: First of all the attitude of Comrade Michalec to the declaration of October 16th, secondly upon the interpretation of the policy of the majority of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. by Comrade Michalec, thirdly upon the opinion of Comrade Michalec concerning internal party democracy, and fourthly his estimation of the dangers facing the Comintern.

Comrade Michalec has not abandoned his fractional work. This is proved by numerous facts. If Comrade Michalec proceeds further in this direction, he can very easily go the way of Trotsky. (Applause.)

#### Comrade BARBE (France):

The opinions of the opposition in the questions of the stabilisation are confused. We declare that the recent events have not abolished this stabilisation. It is the task of the Communist Parties and of the Young Communist Leagues to give the leftward movement of the working class an organisational expression.

A struggle against the Ultraleft means in many concrete cases a struggle against the Right, for instance in France, where there is a bloc of the Right and Ultraleft elements. The last congress of the Young Communist League of France unanimously condemned fractional fight. An intensified struggle is taking place in France against all deviations. The Y. C. L. of France supports the C. P. in its struggle against fractions and for Leninist unity. (Applause.)

#### Comrade SCHUELLER:

The opposition has not thought out the question of the unity of the trade unions. Therefore it is dangerous abroad.

Comrade Michalec exaggerates the errors of the C. P. G. B. It is true that this party has made mistakes, but its general policy is correct and during the general strike it was splendid. The mistakes have been corrected and the Y. C. I. assisted in this.

The mistakes of the opposition in these questions are much more serious. First of all the theses of Comrade Zinoviev upon the general strike lack the necessary instructions for the intensification of this struggle into a political struggle. Secondly mistakes have been made with regard to the Anglo-Russian Committee, thirdly Comrade Trotzky makes the mistake of characterising all previous working class organisations as hindrances, fourthly in his book "Wither England?" he made the mistake of completely passing over the C. P. G. B. and the minority movement. The other members of the opposition, for instance Urbahns, are much worse. The errors of the C. P. of France have been corrected by the party.

The accusations of Comrade Michalec against the C. P. of Germany are insolent calumnies.

There has been no single case of sanctions in the Y. C. I. merely on account of opinions, but solely on account of fractional work or serious breaches of discipline. Comrades Michalec and Vuyovitch have been punished on account of their fractional work. The progress of the C. I. must be stressed. After the liquidation of the opposition in the C. I. there are very favourable perspectives, above all in the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China. (Applause.)

#### A representative of Finland:

We are absolutely against Comrade Michalec. The Finnish delegation supports the decisions of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. The Y. C. L. and the Party are in favour of the majority in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. We support the proposal of Comrade Mitrovitch demanding the removal of comrades Vuyovitch and Michalec from the E. C. of the Y. C. I. Fractional struggles are particularly dangerous in illegal countries. The Anglo-Russian Committee is of tremendous importance for Finland. It facilitates the struggle for trade union unity. (Applause.)

#### Comrade REINHARDT (E. C. of the Y. C. I.):

With regard to the question of the building up of socialism in one country alone, it must be said that Comrade Michalec has abandoned the former attitude of the opposition with regard to the character of the socialist industry and today puts the question of the possibility of the building up of a classless socialist society. The opposition has been decisively defeated everywhere. The Right dangers originate in the opposition. Errors with regard to the united front tactic have been made in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Comrade Michalec was in favour of a united front with the fascists in Czechoslovakia.

#### Comrade CHITAROV (E. C. of the Y. C. I.):

The question of the work of socialist construction is more important than the speech of Michalec. Comrade Trotzky denies

the necessity of this question. The dependence of the Soviet Union on the world market and on the capitalist world economy is only relative. The socialist elements are becoming stronger and stronger. The tempo of socialist development is increasing in the Soviet Union. The chief source of accumulation is the socialist production of the working class itself. The line of the C. P. of the Soviet Union is correct.

#### Fifth Session.

(November 15th, 1926.)

#### A representative of Poland:

An underestimation of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat is common to all oppositional groups. The theoretical basis of the opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. is Trotskyism. The contention of Comrade Michalec that the Comintern is developing to the Right, is false. The best proof against this contention is the intervention of the Comintern and the Y. C. I. in Poland. We demand that energetic measures be taken against the fractional struggle (Applause.)

#### Comrade LIPPE (Norway):

Our Central Committee has not yet expressed itself upon the question of the Soviet Union, but our League rejects the statements of Comrade Michalec. The opposition has an incorrect attitude in the question of the united front, the stabilisation and the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Anglo-Russian Committee is the basis for the mobilisation of the Norwegian workers. The Comintern fights against the Right danger in Norway. In the name of the whole Y. C. L. of Norway I reject the statements of Michalec and support the standpoint of Comrade Shatzkin. (Applause.)

#### Comrade HOLMBERG (Sweden):

The opposition represents an assistance for the bourgeoisie. In our country there is no opposition to be seen. I declare in the name of the Swedish Y. C. L. that we stand upon the basis of the speech of Comrade Shatzkin and support the proposal of Comrade Mitrovitch. (Applause.)

#### Comrade ZUM (America):

Comrade Michalec lags behind the standpoint of the opposition. He mixes up the struggle against opportunism outside the party with the struggle against opportunism inside the party. He has omitted to mention the concrete mistakes of the Comintern and the Y. C. I. Here he must answer.

The chairman then greeted the representative of the Y. C. L. of Great Britain,

#### Comrade YOUNG (Great Britain):

We could not take part in the discussion. In the last six months our League has had too much to do. The political line was in general correct and our mistakes have been corrected. The Y. C. L. of Great Britain represents the daily demands of the British young workers. Our League is against fractional work. Our work is the best refutation of the attacks upon us. (Applause.)

#### Comrade SHATZKIN (closing speech):

Comrade Reinhardt did not deal quite correctly with various questions. He took up no clear attitude with regard to Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer. Comrade Michalec has attempted to conceal various things. The Communist International is not going to the Right. Comrade Michalec attributes a social democratic deviation to the Comintern in the question of stabilisation which it does not possess. He has used false quotations. He has taken up a false attitude to the united front and mechanically divided Right and Left dangers. The Left danger is greater at the present time. The Comintern has fought against the Right errors in Great Britain, Poland and France. With regard to the question of the building up of socialism in one country alone, the proletariat needs a perspective of reconstruction. We are not fighting against other opinions, but against fractional work. We will concentrate all forces which are not engaged in fractional work.

#### Sixth Session.

(November 16th, 1926.)

Comrade GYPTNER: reported upon the composition of the session. There are 57 comrades with decisive votes present, of whom 28 are members of the E. C. of the Y. C. I., 24 representatives of the Young Communist Leagues and 5 representatives of the Comintern, 38 guests are also present. The report was accepted.

The session then proceeded to the vote upon the resolution to the speech of Comrade Shatzkin. The resolution was adopted unanimously, one vote being withheld. The resolution was handed over to the political commission for final revision.

#### Speech of Comrade LOMINADSE:

#### Report of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and the Next Tasks of the Y. C. I.

During the last six months the white terror has demanded great sacrifices from us. In Bulgaria 200 young comrades were arrested. Thousands of young comrades are in prison in Roumania, Hungary and Poland. In Finland, Italy and Corea numerous arrests have taken place. With regard to the legal Leagues, in France numerous processes are taking place against soldiers and sailors and in Great Britain on account of strike propaganda. There is no country without persecutions. In addition to this there is the economic terror by victimisation in the workshops. The Y. C. I. has not reacted sufficiently to this terror. The Young Socialist International is not subjected to any persecutions. The working youth delegations to the Soviet Union are a great success for the Y. C. I. During the period under review there have been six such delegations.

With regard to the application of the united front tactics, there are successes to be reported in Great Britain, Italy and Belgium. In Czechoslovakia various mistakes were made in this connection. The Bulgarian League has also made such mistakes. The German League has successes and mistakes to show. It is carrying on much more work now in the camp of our opponents than before, but there is not complete clarity in the League. Finally, errors were made in Poland in connection with the May struggles and in Greece in connection with the fall of Pangalos.

With regard to the legal work of the illegal Leagues, there are no differences. Detailed discussions will have to be held upon this point.

#### Seventh Session.

(16th of November.)

#### Close of the Speech of Comrade LOMINADSE.

The anti-militarist activity has been neglected in several of the Leagues. In others this activity has been incorrect, in some, however, it has been good. The significance of the danger of war is, however, still insufficiently considered. The French League carries on excellent anti-militarist work, has good connections with the recruits and soldiers and issues a good soldiers paper. The Italian League carries on good illegal anti-militarist work. Its soldiers paper has a circulation between 15 and 30 thousand. In Sweden all possibilities exist for good work in the army. The soldiers paper has a circulation of 10,000. In America errors have been made with regard to the relation with the liberal pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie.

The economic-trade union work has improved. The first place is occupied by Great Britain with the activity of the League during the general strike and the miners struggle. The attitude of the League is correct. It has good connections with the masses. There are good prospects for us in America also. Ten million young workers are working in the process of production there. The League worked well during the textile workers strike in Passaic. The Hamburg organisation did not react very well to the Hamburg strike. It intervened too late and without sufficient strength.

The trade union work has been strengthened in all Leagues, particularly however, in Great Britain, Bulgaria, Germany. The best conditions for this work are to be found in France and Czechoslovakia where the Red labour unions have recognised us. However, up to the present too little has been done in these countries.

Comrade Gyptner will report in detail upon the organisational question. The difference between the political and the organisational strength of our leagues is very great. Very often we have a great influence upon the masses without the corresponding organisational strength.

With regard to the reorganisation of the Leagues there is no special progress to record. The Leagues have taken too little active interest in this question.

The question of military young workers organisations is no longer limited to Germany. Similar organisations have already been formed in France. Such organisations are also necessary in Norway, Sweden and Czechoslovakia.

The relations with the parties are not yet sufficiently close. The circular of the Presidium of the Comintern in connection with the Day of Youth has not been carried out. Unsatisfactory relations with the party exist in Yugoslavia and Spain.

Much too little is done on the field of sports. The Leagues show much too little interest here.

The relations of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. to the Young Communist Leagues are good, even if the Leagues occasionally request the adoption of a more mild tone from us.

The attitude of the Y. C. I. in internal party questions is already known. In Germany alone a small section of the membership is in the opposition, however, it is at the most five per cent. The Y. C. I. is completely united. Comrades Vuyovitch and Michalec must not be permitted to carry on fractional activity. There are no defeatist tendencies in our Leagues. There is a firm confidence in our own strength and in our final victory. (Lively Applause.)

#### Comrade GYPTNER

reports on the

#### organisational question.

The absolute growth of the Y. C. I. includes 12,000 members, the leagues are strengthened and stabilised. The successes in the colonies are still small. The press has grown, but its distribution is still insufficient.

The centre of the work of the Y. C. I. were the British campaign, the Chinese campaign, the struggle against the social democratic youth organisations, the organisation of the 12th International Day of Youth, the struggle against white terror.

The E. C. of the Y. C. I. sent enlarged delegations to the leagues; the recent national congresses of the leagues were on a

very high level. In the agitation and propaganda work the political minimum was reached, there were seven league schools. The connection with the leagues is excellent. The young pioneer organisations are growing. The fractional work in the sport organisations has improved.

Joint decisions were passed with the Presidium of the C. I. on the children's movement, on organisational questions and on the support by the parties. The work of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. was rationalised: The secretariat and the committees intensified their work, the publishing activity was decreased, the information department is working well, the connection of the nuclei has begun.

The presidium of the secretariat has to be newly elected, the presidium must become more active, the committees of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. must be improved, the country committees must be regulated. The co-operation with the organisational department of the E. C. of the Y. C. I., with the I. R. A. and the Peasants Council must be strengthened and the reporting work on league problems improved. International conferences on organisation, agitation and propaganda and the press as well as conferences with the Balkans and South Africa must be held. Those colonies where no foothold has as yet been gained, must receive greater attention. A staff of international propagandists must be formed. (Applause.)

In the discussion spoke comrades Gorlov (Soviet Union), Bela Kun, Rashko (Balkans), Johns (Great Britain), Barbe (France), Williamson (America) and Gorkic (E. C. of the Y. C. I.).

#### Eighth Session.

(18th of November.)

The following comrades spoke in the continuation of the discussion upon the report of the E. C. of the Y. C. I.: Mariava (Rumania), Paasonen (Finland), Endener (Switzerland), Vartanyan (E. C. of the Y. C. I.), Antonio (Argentina), Willems (Belgium), Mering (E. C. of the Y. C. I.) and Reisinger (Austria).

#### Ninth Session.

(November 19th.)

The following comrades spoke in the discussion which was continued: Koneski (Poland), a representative of Germany, Rossev (Bulgaria), Schueller (E. C. of the Y. C. I.) and Chitarov (E. C. of the Y. C. I.).