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C O N T E N T S

Manifesto of the Central Executive Committee of the Government of the U. S. S. R. (Full Text).

N. Krupskaya: On Mass Work.

E. Baum: The II. All-Russian Congress of Working Women and Peasant Women Delegates.

Politics.

B. Smeral: The Successes of the Communists at the Municipal Elections in Czechoslovakia.

H. M. Wicks: Wall Street's Latest Mexican Insurrection.

China.

G. H.: Disintegration among the Kuomintang Leaders.

The Labour Movement.

A. Enderle: The Strike of the Lignite Miners in Central Germany, its Political Significance and its Result.

P. Noel: Growth of the Labour Movement in Spain.

Wm. Z. Foster: Collapse of the Trade Union Capitalism of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

On the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions.

For Leninism — against Trotzkyism.

Decisions of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Expulsion of Vouyovitch and other Comrades from the C. P. S. U.

The Trial of Szantó and Comrades.

The Trial of Zoltan Szantó and Comrades.

The White Terror.

Against the Fascist Terror in Lithuania.

Comrade Köblös Released!

The Persecution of the Workers' and Peasants' Press in Bulgaria.

Agitprop.

For the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution (Theses of Agitprop).

The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

A. P. Smolan: The Russian Revolution and the Scandinavian Workers.

Ten Years Ago.

The Workers for the Sole Rule of the Soviets.

The Fight of the Parties in the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

N. Lenin: Advice of a Non-Participant.

J. Stalin: The Strikebreakers of the Revolution.

Chronicle of Events.

Ten Years of Soviet Power.

N. Bukharin: Science and the Soviet Union.

Manifesto

of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R.

**To All Workers, Toiling Peasants and Red Soldiers of the U. S. S. R.
To the Proletarians of All Countries and Oppressed Nations of the World.**

Comrades

The X. Anniversary of the October Revolution marks one of the greatest achievements of the International Revolutionary Movement of the Proletariat.

Ten years ago the capitalist world was embroiled in the throes of imperialist war. The powerful springs of predatory bourgeois interests brought about a butchery unparalleled in history, and the world war drew into its bloody vortex one country after another and raged like a devastating element. The most barbarous, most sordid, bloody, shameful and disgusting pages in the world history fade into insignificance compared with the barbarous imperialist butchery let loose by the piratical imperialist clique of Britain, the militarism of Kaiser Wilhelm, the usurers of France, the autocratic gendarme imperial Russia, and the young but tenacious Japanese imperialism. The

shrewd and calculated entry into the war of the American bourgeoisie, who distilled the blood that bedewed the corpse strewn fields of Europe into pure gold to fill the strongrooms of American bankers, provided the monstrous bloody butchery with the last word in American technique.

In this way the domination of capitalism for the first time brought humanity to the very brink of the precipice of inglorious destruction, ruin and cultural extinction.

In this sea of blood, amidst the dense fog of poisonous gases, and the perpetual roar of cannon, when the destructive war machine, lauded to the skies by the bourgeois press, supported by the Social Democratic Parties who betrayed Socialism, was working in full blast — amidst this monstrous chaos of war ascended the rocket signal of the Russian Revolution. When the proletariat, led by the struggle against its

enemy was at its height, the steel Bolshevik cohorts commanded by the immortal genius Lenin mobilised its forces and in October 1917, ten years ago, like an avalanche the proletariat, the soldiers and peasants poured forth in revolt against the ruling classes. Assuming the leadership over all the toilers, the Russian proletariat smashed a serious breach in the imperialist front.

This great upheaval of the oppressed classes, this first durable victory of the Proletarian Revolution will undoubtedly be regarded by future generations as the dividing line marking the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind; for amidst the vampire imperialist and large capitalist States which suck the blood of the proletariat, ruin the peasantry and squeeze the last drop of blood out of the colonial peoples, arose a Workers State, the dictatorship of the most oppressed class, the dictatorship of the proletarian revolution. The Communist banner was unfurled, the tocsin rang out calling upon the proletarians of all countries to fight for freedom, a great proletarian State arose to lead the people to Socialism.

For centuries the Russian Peasantry tried to free itself from the yoke of the landlords. Not once, but many times did it rise in rebellion against the nobility, many a time did it make desperate attempts to throw the tsarist-aristocratic horde from its shoulders, to take the land, thoroughly saturated with its own sweat and blood, from the landlords. But each time the landlord government sent its "Christian" troops against the peasants. It riddled the body of the Russian peasantry with grape-shot; it drenched the cornfields with blood, it destroyed the rebellious villages and hamlets by fire and torch.

In tsarist Russia Stepan Razin was beheaded. In imperial Russia Emelian Pugachov was imprisoned and then ordered to be quartered. In imperial Russia the heroes of the peasant wars were not merely put to death they were slanderously branded after death as "thieves" and "robbers". Then after the Revolution of 1905 the government of imperial Russia, flayed the peasantry only because, armed with the axe and pitchfork, it again demanded land. "Land" demanded the peasants. Bullets without stint! was the tsarist government's reply.

During the imperialist war rifles were put in the peasants' hands. In the town the peasants found a leader, organiser, friend and ally in the proletariat and its Party. The Proletariat, the urban workmen, headed the peasant movement and under this leadership the allied workers and peasants wiped the landlords from the face of the earth and uprooted the nobility so completely that not a single root of them was left. The whole aristocratic and autocratic machinery of state — the generals and the police chiefs, the provincial governors and provincial administrators, the tsars and the nobility, the urban and rural police force, collapsed. The land passed into the hands of the Peasants and the Soviets ruled in what had been the empire of landlord tsars.

For hundreds of years had the oppressed nationalities of imperial Russia tried to free themselves from the hated yoke of the tsars. More than a hundred different nationalities inhabited the country held in the war talons of the double-headed eagle, the symbol of autocracy. All the so-called "glorious campaigns", "conquests", "subjugations", etc., were acts of savage plunder that desolated entire districts. Poverty, torment, disfranchised peoples, national oppression such were the points of the landlords' domination of Russia. All peoples conquered by the Empire were designated as "foreigners". Every attempt at liberation, every protest, the very idea of equality, called forth cruel and bloody repressions on the part of the autocracy. The Baltic punitive expeditions and shootings of 1905, the vengeance meted out in Poland, Finland, Georgia and Turkestan, the Jewish pogroms, the robberies in all Russian colonies are still fresh in the memory of all. Every nationality bears terrible wounds and scars as souvenirs of the cursed autocratic regime.

The Proletarian Revolution emancipated all these nationalities. The Soviet Government transformed imperial Russia from a prison and torture-chamber of nations into a voluntary, fraternal alliance of nations, as durable as steel. Equality of nations, freedom of national development, cultural advancement, elimination of national oppression, brotherhood of nations, — such were the slogans under which the Proletariat led the oppressed nations of old Russia in the battle for freedom.

The leader of the insurrection, the organiser of the victory and the guide in the new constructive work was the Working Class, the Proletariat.

The working class which grew up as large scale industry developed, from the very beginning was exposed to the blows of the autocratic regime and the tsarist gendarmerie. Mercilessly exploited by the bourgeoisie, despoiled by the government, deprived of every vestige of political rights, the working class early came to blows with its enemies and the numerous battles it fought forged its class-consciousness, and tempered its will, gradually brick by brick built its organisations and founded its revolutionary fighting Bolshevik Party, a model of proletarian courage, heroism, discipline and revolutionary determination. In 1905 the proletariat showed the world marvels of mass struggle, — the general strike and proletarian insurrection. In February 1917, the proletariat was the pioneer and leader of the victorious insurrection. But, after overthrowing the autocracy, establishing the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and in October taking the leadership over the peasantry and overthrowing the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, for the first time in history, laid its hands on the palaces, mills and factories, houses, mines and banks, stock-exchanges, offices and warehouses, railways and grain elevators. The proletariat took from the bourgeoisie the means of production; it "expropriated the expropriators".

Thus, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie gave way to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and important bourgeois property became the property of the Workers' State.

Old Russia was the international gendarme and bulwark of counter-revolution. At the beginning of the 19th century it stood at the head of the "Holy Alliance" of the feudal States against bourgeois revolutionary France, and the armies of Alexander I occupied Paris. In 1848 the armies of Nicolas I. crushed the Hungarian revolution. In 1863 imperial armies crushed the Polish revolution. At the beginning of the 20th century the Russian troops crushed the spontaneous rebellion of the Chinese peasantry. There was not a single liberation movement that did not regard the Russian autocracy as its most vicious, most furious opponent and foe. The Prussian monarchist clique was more liberal than the Romanov gang. The British throttlers of the labour movement were a model of liberalism compared with the Oriental despotism of the tsars. The October Revolution of the Proletariat transformed Russia from an international gendarme and executioner into a shield for all the oppressed, into the principal fortress of the International Revolution, into a herald of peace and victory over the exploiters.

The revolutionary avalanche swept away mediaeval, feudal and capitalist relations in Russia, and by that very act roused the fury and hatred of the landlords and capitalists of all countries, of all nations and of all colours.

All the forces of the old world united against the workers and peasants of the U. S. S. R.; — the out and out counter-revolutionary landlords and the "Democratic Socialists" — the Socialist Revolutionaries and Menshevik parties, the generals and speculators, the bishops and stock-brokers, the foreign imperialists and the jingoes at home, all joined the ranks of the active counter-revolutionary forces against the Soviet Government. Every method of struggle was tried: blockades and interventions, sabotage and terror. They tried every possible battle cry: Monarchy and Constituent Assembly, Republic and "Soviets without Communists". Yet every attempt to restore the old order was frustrated and shattered by the Proletarian and Peasant Masses.

The internal counter-revolutionary forces joined with the foreign forces. Besides the Kolchaks and Denikins, the Yudenitchs and Krasnovs, Wrangels and Bulak-Balakhovitchs, these scoundrelly barons, counts and generals on Soviet territory, a military ring was formed outside by the armies of the foreign capitalist governments, democratic republics and monarchies — from Europe, Asia and America. The United States and England, Germany and France, Japan and Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and Roumania, plundered the Soviet territories from all directions and supported the armies of the landlords and the pseudo-democratic generals — the hangmen of the workers and peasants. All these armies however were forced to retreat before the onslaught of the Red Army of Workers and Peasants. The counter-revolution was thrown back and crushed.

Cut off from all the main sources of supply — the coal of Donbas, Baku oil, Ukrainian and Siberian grain — encircled by a ring of white armies, reduced to a few provinces, naked and bare-footed, hungry and weary, Soviet Russia fought desperately to keep at bay the counter-revolutionary forces that swarmed around her like locusts. But neither cold, nor hunger, typhoid nor the gallows could daunt the workers or discourage the peasant poor.

The Soviet Government passed to an impetuous counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie, against the rural rich, against the propertied classes. With the Cheka frustrating plots and uprisings in the interior and the Red Army keeping the enemy at bay at the front the government commenced a crusade against the parasites, profiteers, rural rich, usurers and the wealthy classes. It established poor peasant committees; it requisitioned grain and footstuffs in the sternest manner. It was compelled to requisition all surplus food in order to sustain the army and the hungry workers. The sufferings were innumerable and unprecedented. The demands made upon everyone were very severe. Deserters and cowards were treated mercilessly. The punishment meted out to traitors was stern. This iron proletarian discipline coupled with the heroic enthusiasm of the masses is the very thing that gave the world proletarian victory in what had been previously the Russian Empire.

During this time, the enormous international importance of the Bolshevik revolution began to assert itself. Kaiser Wilhelm lost his crown. The Austrian Emperor lost his. Soviet Republics arose in Finland, in Bavaria and in Hungary. The semi-colonial and oppressed countries, were roused from their slumber and numerous revolutions broke out in the East. Some of these revolutions stopped half-way, due to the treachery of the Social Democrats. Some of them were mercilessly crushed by the infuriated shopkeepers and bourgeoisie fearful for their property. But these revolutions weakened the force of the capitalist onslaught on our country and served as a basis for further progress.

This period of civil war and war communism demonstrated and proved that the Proletariat can not only rise in revolt, but that together with the Peasantry it can overcome its numerous enemies, that it is able to consolidate and strengthen its rule, that it is able to build a strong State and crush the resistance of the exploiters with an iron hand.

But that period also proved that victory is possible only under the leadership of the Proletariat and its Party.

With the end of war against the counter-revolution, which was a war of the oppressed against their oppressors, of the slaves against their slave-owners, of the workers and peasants against the landlords and capitalists, and therefore of all wars as alone a just war — the proletariat and the Soviet Government were confronted with new tasks. At first it was necessary to destroy the old. Now that the enemy was beaten, it was necessary to build the new. At first it was necessary to fight. Now it became necessary to build up our industries. But this had to be done in such a manner as to guarantee the triumph of Socialism, to prevent a return to the old rule of the landlords and capitalists. The land, factories, mills and other means of production were nationalised. Foreign trade was the monopoly of the State, on this basis it was necessary to proceed to organise the constructive work of millions of people, on the economic front. The Military alliance between the proletariat and the poor and middle peasants had to be transformed into a durable economic alliance.

This transition to the New Economic Policy, the cessation of grain requisitions, the introduction of free private trade (primarily with the view of facilitating the economic alliance with the peasantry) on the basis of the consolidation and extension of the economic "key positions", at the beginning encountered great and dangerous obstacles. The mills and factories were almost at a standstill owing to the lack of raw materials and because the best workers had scattered to the villages owing to the famine in the towns. The workers and peasants could not organise their industries all at once, and they had "to learn to trade". Greedy sharks and cunning swindlers rapidly found their way into the government organs and began to deceive the inexperienced leaders and plunder the property of the State. The private businessmen were more

capable than the managers of government institutions. These dangers called for the exertion of strenuous and united efforts. The working class, in alliance with the peasantry, set to work to solve the problems of this new period and solved them successfully.

The successful solution of the extremely difficult problems of economic policy was rendered possible by the fact that the October Revolution had created a basis for the management of the economy of the country according to plan. Having co-ordinated large-scale industry, transport, credit and State finance into a powerful economic weapon; having protected itself from spoilage by foreign capitalists through the monopoly of foreign trade and having freed the country from the terrible burden of the foreign debts of the tsarist and Kerensky regimes, the working class, together with the working peasantry, began to regenerate the economy of the country on new lines. The industry of the country, the principal lever for the Socialisation of the entire economy of the country was turned to the service of the countryside; — the factories and works of the proletarian State were set going not for the production of luxuries, not to supply the needs of capitalists and big landowners, their menials and lackeys, but for the production of the necessaries of life. The proletarian nationalisation of these factories and works, the planned distribution of the means of production and labour power, the abolition of the parasitic consumption of the former masters, the close link established between town and country, between Socialist industry and agriculture, between the proletariat and the working peasantry, all this combined served as the principal reason why the country which had been ruined, starved and exhausted more than any other, made the most rapid recovery. The Soviet State form, Proletarian Democracy, secured participation of millions of the masses in the work of constructing Socialism. The heroic efforts of miners, metal workers and textile workers and of other detachments of the proletarian army; the reorganisation of all government organs from the bottom to the top on proletarian Soviet system; the persistent enlistment of the masses in the work of Socialist construction — in factories and works, in trade unions and economic organs, in voluntary cultural societies and in the Soviets — all this was possible only on the basis of the dictatorship of the working class which is the highest form of democracy. The peasantry were stimulated to exert heroic efforts to improve their methods of farming by the fact that the rule of the landlords had given place to the rule of revolutionary Soviets. The Socialist policy of the Proletariat secured success in the struggle on the economic front in the same way as it secured military victory for the Red Army over the united forces of the counter-revolution.

During the few years the New Economic Policy has been conducted the country has recovered economically, and in regard to productive forces exceeds now the pre-war level. Our Industry, the socialist foundation of national economy has grown and has become consolidated. Co-operative and State trade has developed and now occupies a predominant position in the trade of the country. New forms of socialised agricultural labour are coming to the fore and are becoming firmly established. Each year private capital is driven out more and more and the proletarian key positions are becoming more and more powerful. The deplorable state of affairs when factories and works were almost at a standstill, as was the case only a little while ago, has now passed away and we are now constructing gigantic industrial works. Elektrification is making big strides. The Volkhov, Dnieper, Svir, and other powerful electric stations may and should be considered as the greatest achievements of our revolution. The Semiretchensk railway, the Volga-Don canal and other gigantic enterprises will give still greater impetus to the entire national economy and will strengthen more than ever the economic-political struggle for Socialism. In the countryside tractors and the radio have made their appearance for the first time, the old three-field system is being abolished and the electric "Lenin's lamp" now illuminates innumerable villages. Co-operatives are developing and the fight against the fat kulak is being reinforced in the villages by the establishment of poor and middle peasant co-operatives, collective farms and Soviet farms, conducted on model lines.

There is no doubt whatever that the position of the working population is improving from year to year. Workers'

wages are increasing and so is the income of the working peasantry; the number of farms which have no horses is rapidly decreasing. The cultural level of the masses is rising. Illiteracy is rapidly declining. A network of workers' and peasants' organisations is spreading throughout the country. Working and peasant women are drawn into the political life of the country. Through the Young Communist League and the Pioneer organisations a new generation is being brought up on a new basis: Trade Unions, the broadest proletarian organisation, educate ever increasing sections of workers in the spirit of Socialism. Soviets are becoming more and more the greatest school of Socialist construction. Worker and Village Correspondents' organisations help to rouse new sections of workers and peasants to conscious life. The Red Army and Navy are not only developing their fighting capacity, they are being transformed into a first-rate cultural force; instead of drunkenness, gambling and venereal diseases, which the soldiers of the tsarist army brought to the villages, the Red Army men bring books, electric light and a modern system of agriculture. The whole of our country is engaged in a great work, we have entered the epoch of strenuous construction. Nevertheless, the Soviet government calls upon all workers and particularly upon the proletarian vanguard not to be blind to our weak points, but to look boldly in the face of all the dangers confronting us on our glorious path.

Our poverty must be abolished once and for all, but on this path we have only taken the first steps. The technique of our industry must be modernised and made powerful, but we have only just set to work in this direction. The countryside must be reorganised on the basis of electrification, co-operation and collective farms, but we have won only the initial battles on this front. We must drive private traders and kulaks out of the economic life of the country. We must entirely eliminate bureaucracy by patient steady work. We must cut out the canker of illiteracy, ignorance, backwardness, drunkenness and lack of culture once and for all. We must in fact bring about a state of affairs which will enable us to proceed along the road which leads to the "communal state". In a word we must do our utmost to make our country a socialist country in the full sense of the word.

We are confronted by very difficult problems. By fighting for their solution, by continuous class struggle against the bourgeoisie, the kulaks and bureaucracy, by enlisting the support of large sections of workers and of the poor peasantry and in close union with the middle peasantry, the Soviet Government will solve these tasks, because it will have the mass of workers to help it.

The land of the proletarian dictatorship has enough of everything required for the construction of socialism, — so said Lenin, the proletarian leader and international revolutionist, the genius of the labour movement.

The country possesses inexhaustible natural wealth. Its proletariat holds all the economic key positions. The dictatorship of the glorious revolutionary proletarian class is firmly established. Its alliance with the working peasantry is unshakable. But the country is surrounded by capitalist enemies. The imperialists of all countries gnash their teeth at it. Its growth fills them with animal dread. Its revolutionary influence on the workers of the world and on colonial peoples infuriates them. They can see that far from giving way to the new bourgeoisie it systematically and steadily captures one position after the other. They can see how pitiful, unfounded and ridiculous are the hopes for the "degeneration" of our State. Hence the change in the policy of the bourgeoisie. Hence their renewed attacks on the proletarian State. Hence renewed war danger energetically fomented by oil kings and bankers, by the generals of imperialist armies and diplomats, by Tsarist emigres and their henchmen. Hence the despicable conspiracies and assassinations to which foreign capitalist agents are resorting.

Therefore, our foremost task is to consolidate the armed strength of our Union. But military strength must rest on economic and political strength.

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. calls upon all workers to do their utmost to help in this consolidation.

Socialist rationalisation of our economy, development of its technique and organisation, growth of labour culture, abolition of slave habits and slave speed of work must beat the enemy. Then the dictatorship of the working class will, with the help of the international proletariat, be able to repulse any attack imperialism may make against us.

For ten years has the proletarian dictatorship existed in our country. For ten years it has been championing the cause of peace and fraternity of peoples. For ten years its enemies have been prophesying its downfall. For ten years it has resounded through the world as the death knell to the old world. For ten years it has been the beacon of oppressed mankind.

On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., completely in accordance with the entire policy of the Soviet power, declares:

The aim of the Proletarian State, is to raise the standard of living of the working and peasant masses. Unlike all capitalist countries without exception, where the working class and the peasantry are the exploited classes, and not only exploited but oppressed and deprived of all rights; unlike capitalism which deprives workers of the most important achievements of their struggle, which tramples under foot trade union rights, raids and destroys labour organisations, cuts down wages, lengthens the working day, delivers the peasantry over to the tender mercies of trusts, speculators and usurers and condemns millions of workers to destitution, — the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics deems it to be its vital duty to develop all the forces of the proletariat and to the utmost raise the well-being of the urban and rural masses to the maximum.

On the eve of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution the Central Executive Committee of U.S.S.R. declares:

1. In regard to industrial workers, to guarantee in the course of the next few years transition from the eight-hour to the seven-hour day without wage reduction, for which purpose to charge the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R. with the duty to begin not later than one year from this date, gradually to put this decision into practice in the various branches of industry correspondingly with the progress of re-equipment and rationalisation of industrial enterprises and with the growth of the productivity of labour.

2. To increase the grant in the state budget for the construction of workingmen's dwellings by fifty million roubles over and above the sum granted in last year's budget in order to supply the needs of localities which are particularly affected by the housing crisis.

3. In order to improve the economic conditions of the poor and needy peasants generally, to relieve from the agricultural tax, 10% of peasant households in addition to the 25% of peasant households already relieved from it.

4. To forego the loans granted by the state to peasant households in connection with the bad harvest in 1924/25. To forego the arrears in taxation due from the poorest peasantry and to give relief in regard to arrears of the agricultural tax due from middle peasants for previous years. To give relief in regard to the arrears and fines due from the poor sections of the urban and rural population in connection with other forms of taxation. To charge the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. with the duty of issuing regulations to this effect by the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

5. To undertake at the expense of the State to redistribute the holdings of poor farmers and small middle farmers, for which purpose ten million roubles shall be assigned in addition to the grant made for this purpose in the budget of 1927/28.

6. To instruct the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of Peoples commissars of the U.S.S.R. to gradual pensioning at the expense of the State of aged poor, to draft an act providing old age pensions to be introduced gradually to aged persons of the poor peasant class, to be submitted to the next U.S.S.R. congress of Soviets.

7. To grant fifteen million roubles for the building of schools in villages and factory and works settlements over and above the sum assigned for this purpose in the state budget for 1927/28.

8. To increase the disabled soldiers' insurance funds to at least double the present size of the fund.

9. To eliminate from the criminal codes now in operation in the Federated Republics the death penalty as a measure of social defence in regard to all cases except crimes against the State and the armed forces and also robbery under arms.

10. To instruct the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. to reduce sentences to measures of social defence imposed by courts or administratively in

regard to all persons now undergoing sentences, except those convicted as active members of political parties aiming at the destruction of the Soviet system and malicious embezzlers and takers of bribes.

M. Kalinin,
President of the Central Executive
Committee of the U.S.S.R.

A. Yenukidze,
Secretary of the Central Executive
Committee of the U.S.S.R.

Leningrad, October 15, 1927.

On Mass Work.

By N. Krupskaja.

The Leninist Way of Putting the Question of Relationship to the Masses.

The Communist Party is a party which is more closely linked with the broadest masses and more deeply anchored in them than is any other party in the world. From the very beginning of its existence the Communist Party has devoted special attention to a close alliance with the masses. Hardly had the circles of revolutionary Marxism come into being when they developed their point of view with regard to the task of the working class in contrast to that of the Narodniki and Narodovolzi. When, at that time, the Narodovolzi placed their heroes, which did great deeds in the name of the people, in the forefront, the revolutionary Marxists said: Yes, heroes deserve every respect, but we do not set our hopes on heroes; we look to the masses of the working class who are making the revolution, who are at the head of all the workers and are getting the power into their own hands, Comrade Lenin wrote concerning this in one of his first books: "Who are the Friends of the People?" From that time onwards, the Party has always devoted its attention to the problem of how to get as large masses as possible of the workers under its influence, of how to get linked as firmly as possible with the masses.

The whole history of the Party goes to prove that the efforts of the Party were essentially directed towards being in connection with the masses. From the nineties onwards, when the Party just started its propaganda and agitation, this question was taken very seriously.

In reading Lenin's works, we see that the problem of the relationship to the masses runs right through all his articles and speeches. Let us for instance take the October revolution. If we consider the work of the Party in the period from April to October we see that the activity of the Party was characterised by a clear and exact observation of the rôle, the masses play in the revolution. When Vladimir Ilyitch returned from abroad in April, he immediately came forward with his theses which he had thoroughly thought out, and developed in them the view that the Provisional Government was not our government, that we can place no confidence in it, and that we ought to fight in order to establish a new form of the State which had hitherto never existed — the Soviet Power. And at the time, when Vladimir Ilyitch said this, his proposal seemed to many to be an empty dream.

On September 16th, 1917, the Cadet "Rjetch" wrote:

"... In spite of all their volubility, their vainglorious phrases, the Bolsheviks are, with the exception of a few fanatics, only bold in words. They would not dare to seize 'the whole power' on their own initiative. They are disorganisers and destroyers par excellence, their true character is cowardly and at the bottom of their hearts they know quite well their own ignorance and the ephemeral character of their present successful results. They know quite well that the first day of their final victory would at

the same time be the first day of their rapid decline. In no circumstances are they capable of creative work."

Now, when we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of October, it is clear that the Cadets did not see further than a blind man.

The bourgeoisie said that "the position of the Bolsheviks can practically not be taken into consideration from any point of view." The position was such that the bourgeoisie could not even imagine that the suppressed, ignorant working class and the "obscure" peasantry could wish for anything else but to be well governed by "them". The landowners and capitalists were unable to imagine that the workers in common with the peasants actually wished to rule the country themselves, that they could do without the landowners and capitalists.

Now, all this talk of the "Rjetch" seems absurd. At that time many persons got confused by it. Thus, for instance, the Mensheviks thought that the working class could not seize power, in view of the cultural level on which, owing to tsarism, it had remained.

Lenin knew the working masses better. He worked with them for more than twenty years as their comrade and leader. He learnt to live and breathe as the mass of workers lived and breathed. He learnt to learn from the masses.

Ilyitch knew what the masses were capable of, and therefore he was firmly convinced that they would achieve miracles if they once realised that the Soviet Power is actually that order which helps to reorganise the whole of life.

The following is very characteristic: Three weeks after the theses had been published, the Party Conference was held.

In the meantime, in these three weeks, Vladimir Ilyitch did everything in his power to talk as often as possible with workers, peasants and soldiers. His speech at the Party Conference is characteristic:

"I was more convinced by the words of a miner" — said he — "than by anything else. The miner explained how they had seized power. He did not use a single high-sounding word and reported that the workers did not debate whether or not a president should be elected, but discussed the question as to how the cables should be secured — they had taken possession of the pits — and how a just distribution of the bread ration among the workers could be organised."

Vladimir Ilyitch concluded his speech with the words: "This is the present programme of the revolution."

Knowing however the attitude of mind of the masses, he said:

"We must not abandon ourselves to illusions. We must say straight out that the masses do not yet understand us, that they do not yet follow us."

This soberness, this clear understanding for the feelings of the masses at a definite moment — this was a character-

ristic feature of Comrade Lenin, and it helped him to calculate correctly the moment at which this or that step should be made.

At this Conference, he said:

"As the masses are not with us, the most important thing now is to explain our point of view to them."

Lenin moreover gave extraordinarily exact directions, which were of great importance for every propagandist and agitator. He said that, since our standpoint was correct, life would with every step prove how correct our standpoint was, and that we only had to explain the meaning of the events to the masses. Vladimir Ilyitch said that we should do this in a very popular way and give the masses concrete answers to their questions. We should not approach questions by roundabout ways but as simply as possible, as concretely as possible and by basing our statements on facts.

Why the Masses followed the Bolsheviks in October.

Let us take a fact from the time preceding the April Conference: the Provisional Government issued a note saying that it was in favour of war to a victorious conclusion and considered it necessary to fulfil all the pledges made to the Allies. What did the Bolsheviks do?

The Bolsheviks explained in the Press what was the nature of these pledges. They pointed out that the Provisional Government was promising to fulfil engagements which the Government of Nicholas II and the whole Tsarist band had taken upon themselves. They pointed out for whose benefit these pledges were made, being pledges given to the bourgeoisie. And as soon as this became clear to the masses, we saw they went out into the streets. This fact made the masses realise whose interests the Provisional Government was serving. This was the method suggested by Lenin at the April Conference, the method of throwing light on the events of the day and explaining them to the masses.

The Party fully shared Comrade Lenin's point of view. We were witnesses of the great campaign of enlightenment carried on by the Bolsheviks in May and June up to the July days. We saw that the unhappy offensive at the front spoke for itself as soon as it was correctly explained and illustrated by the Bolsheviks. We saw that, when in the July days the regiments took action without directions from the Party, against the wishes of the Party, the Party issued the slogan that the July action should be transformed into a peaceful demonstration. For the lesson taught by events was that, although the insurgent regiments were in favour of the Bolsheviks, in favour of the Soviet Power, the masses as a whole would nevertheless at that moment not have followed the Bolsheviks to the last.

Later, when Kornilov had marched on Petrograd, when the danger of the revolution being suppressed and the Tsarist Power restored — when this danger had stood revealed to the masses, then, — after the Kornilov days — the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow also voted for the Bolshevik resolutions.

The months from April to October afforded a clear picture of the necessity of allowing oneself to be guided by the attitude of mind of the masses, of listening to the voice of the masses and at the same time the necessity of explaining to them the state of affairs. Experience proved that this was absolutely the right policy. When the moment had come in which the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets and the masses were on the side of the Bolsheviks, Comrade Lenin recognised the voice of the masses and began at once to fight for power.

I remember the following incident: Vladimir Ilyitch lived in Helsingfors, he remained in hiding there. I had to go there twice under the name of Atamanova, disguised as a working woman. I sat in the car of a troop train and recall the deep impression which the discussions between the soldiers made on me.

The attitude of mind of the masses of soldiers and sailors was extremely revolutionary. They talked openly of insurrection.

I told Vladimir Ilyitch of these discussions carried on by the soldiers and sailors in the train. I remember how his face

clouded over; he believed that the moment of insurrection had matured, that quick action was necessary in order to prevent the bourgeoisie from finding time to strengthen themselves.

Only the fact that the Bolsheviks had estimated all the forces correctly, made it possible for the Bolsheviks to find the correct line of action, to convince the masses, to attract them and to lead the October revolution to victory.

The rôle of the Communist Party, which was the vanguard of the working class and which was amalgamated with the masses and understood how to convince them and carry them along with them, became especially clear in the six months which preceded October.

All the Tasks are not yet fulfilled, but the Construction of Socialism still goes on.

Ten years have elapsed since the October revolution. It would be ridiculous to maintain that the Soviet Union has already realised all the tasks evolved by the October revolution, that any general state of well-being has already been reached. We are standing with both feet on firm ground and do not shut our eyes to the fact that there is still a great deal of poverty and distress. It is not for nothing that we call ourselves Lenin's disciples. We face reality unswervingly and know very well that only some of the great tasks which the October revolution revealed to the masses in such a brilliant light have been brought to a finish, and that much strenuous work is still required to complete these tasks. We should however realise that, even though not everything has been fulfilled, there is nevertheless a vast gulf between the state of affairs before October and at the present. There is no going back.

If we talk of our achievements and only take the statistical figures into consideration, the difference between what was and what is is probably not so very great. If however, let us say, for instance, that a foreigner comes to Soviet Russia and observes how a new life is being built up on new foundations, he suddenly becomes aware of the tremendous difference between things as they were before October and to-day.

The whole public order, man himself, is changing more and more from year to year.

"Socialism", — writes Lenin — "cannot be introduced by a party minority. It can only be introduced by the many millions when they have learnt to do everything themselves."

He wrote:

"It is necessary that all those from among the people who have awakened and are fit for creative work, should in large numbers join the organisations which exist and will, in the future, be built up by the masses of workers."

"The masses are impotent when they are divided, they are strong when they are united."

If we judge from this point of view what has been achieved, we recognise that, in reality, the development of class-consciousness and of the organisation of the masses is a grandiose achievement.

Let us take an example:

On October 10th, the All-Russian Congress of Women Workers and Peasants, members of the rural and urban Soviets, was opened. They are not simply women workers and peasants who sympathise with the Soviet Power, but those who do important, practical work in the Soviets. This Congress was preceded by District Conferences, such as the Leningrad Conference. A lively atmosphere prevails. Enthusiastic, passionate speeches are made by the women workers. They speak freely, in good literary language, with firmness and conviction. There are now some among the women workers who have attended Labour Colleges, a kind of secondary school. Peasant women are sitting there in their kerchiefs, noting down with a swift hand, figures and facts. An aged peasant woman from a remote corner of the Leningrad district is standing on the platform. "Having examined the plan of work for the first six months" . . . "The plan of work for the first six months" . . . This is not the way in which peasant women spoke in former times. But they not only learn how to speak, they also learn

to do public work, to work systematically. Anyone who knew our peasant women of former times must be conscious of the forces of progress.

At the Congress of Women Workers and Peasants, a report is made on their work in the Soviets, the avenues of further work are decided upon.

After the Congress of Women Workers and Peasants the Conference of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee will be held in Leningrad. This Congress will show how closely the

Soviet Power has united the working and peasant classes, in what a fraternal alliance it has linked together all the peoples of our country.

But the Congress of Women Workers and Peasants and the Conference of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee will clearly prove how the class consciousness and organisation of the masses have developed in the past ten years. In this fact lies our colossal strength, which nothing can break down.

The II. All-Russian Congress of Working Women and Peasant Women Delegates.

By E. Baum.

The 2nd Congress now being held in Moscow of the working and peasant women delegates to the town and village soviets in Soviet Union occupies the centre point of general interest. Instead of the 800 women delegates expected, 1015 have arrived. From the remotest parts of the vast country, from Mongolia, from the Far Eastern frontiers, from Siberia, from Central Asia, from the Ukraine, White Russia, Archangel, from the Don and from the Caucasus, from the Crimea and the Tartar Republics they have come streaming in to fulfil their duty as citizens of the proletarian State and to draw the balance of their close on ten years of activity, of their nearly ten years of actual emancipation.

On the eve of the ten years celebration of the October Revolution, this balance acquires a special importance. It becomes a confirmation of the correctness of the course which the Soviet Government has followed in the sphere of equal rights for the woman. As the only government which has not merely declared, but has converted equal rights for woman into actual fact by opening up unlimited possibilities to the capacities of the woman by drawing her into practical collaboration in the whole life of the State, it must attach a special importance to this congress of women. That it is doing so is to be seen from the fact that its most responsible representatives are delivering the most important reports. Kalinin, the President of the Council of People's Commissaries, speaks on "The inner and outer situation of the country". Genukidse, Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies of the Soviet Union, deals with the theme, "the work of the Soviets and the participation of the Working and Peasant Women", and Lunatcharsky speaks on educational and enlightenment work in the Soviet Union.

For the opening of the Congress the Moscow Soviet placed the Great Theatre at the disposal of the women. It was quite a unique picture to see these representatives of the numerous races of people, of whose existence even "cultured" Russia knew very little during the time of Tsarism. Calmly and self-confidently they sat in the boxes and in the stalls of the theatre, entrance to which was barred to them in former times, listening with eager and strained attention to the greetings from the representatives of the Government and of the Party. The election of the Presidium became a stormy and enthusiastic demonstration for the Government and the Communist Party. Unending waves of cheering greeted the proposal to elect the absent Clara Zetkin as honorary member of the Presidium.

Comrade Bukharin welcomes the Congress in the name of the Communist Party:

"... We have already achieved much", — Comrade Bukharin reminds the working women — "We have laid a new foundation, created a new power. ... We have driven out the capitalists and the landed proprietors, set up the dictatorship of the proletariat; we have welded the working class and the peasantry into an indivisible bloc and bound them together with unbreakable bonds of friendship. The foundation of the socialist society is almost ready. When, however, we look further we have to admit, we have to say, plainly and honestly, that there is still rubbish left which will take several generations to clear away."

Comrade Tomsy, the President of the All Union Council of Trade Unions, in his speech of welcome, reminds the women co-operating in the work of the Soviet State that the role of the woman has fundamentally changed under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Voroshilov, the People's Commissar for the Army and Navy, in welcoming the women called attention to the seriousness of the situation and stated at the same time:

"The Red Army is the first and only army in the world in which the Woman enjoys equal rights with the man. Our highest military instruction centres are open to the women. Eight women have already passed through the military Frunse Academy. 72 women belong as political functionaries to the Command. There is already a woman military aviator."

He emphasises how much depends upon the participation of the women in the defence of the country, of the Soviet soil, for the existence of the Soviet power, and calls upon the delegates present, on their return home, to promote the participation of women in the military defence groups.

Comrade Roy greets the women present in the name of the Comintern.

Comrade Margarete Anna conveys heartiest greetings from the German working women's delegation.

Kalinin, the President of the Council of People's Commissaries, who receives a stormy and prolonged ovation, begins his report. In simple, easily understood language he gives a picture of the economic and political situation of the Soviet Republic. He describes the policy of the Soviet government, points to its achievements and difficulties and speaks of the immediate tasks now confronting the Soviet Government.

On the following day the sessions are continued in the magnificent Andreas Hall in the Kremlin. With calm assurance one delegate after the other mounts the speakers' tribune in order, in simple, plain words, to take part in the discussion of Comrade Kalinin's report. Whether Turkomanish, Russian, Jewish or Armenian, White Russian or Ukrainian, Tartar or even German (Volga Germans), in all speeches there is heard acknowledgment of the Soviet Power; and every working woman or peasant woman who mounts the speakers' tribune regards it as her duty to assure the Soviet government that the working women of her district, her town or her village are prepared to defend the Soviet Power and its achievements to the last drop of blood.

"We do not want war" — emphasises one delegate after another — "we know all its horrors, but if the imperialists, if the foreign capitalists want to start their old games with us — they will find us ready. Not only our men, but we women will know how to defend every inch of our Soviet land."

A young peasant woman from the Ukraine, after proudly enumerating the economic and cultural achievements in her district, calls out enthusiastically:

"And we are to give up all that without a fight? Let them come! They will run their capitalist skulls against a brick wall."

The delegate from Marxstadt (Volga Republic) relates the achievements in regard to the cultivation of the soil, but she speaks also of what they lack:

"Schools, more schools! More German Books! containing all that we peasants on the free Soviet soil ought to know!"

A peasant woman from the gouvernement of Voronezh points to the rising cultural level of the women, and as a proof mentions the fact that in the district of Voronezh alone ten women are presidents in the town soviets.

The participation of the women in the work of the Soviets, as in all their political work, still frequently encounters resistance — the men. Thus, for instance, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union relates that in many localities the peasants refused the women the use of horses when they learned that they wished to go to the elections. In one village the peasants wanted to "trick the women" by fixing the election meeting at sunset, that is at a time when the women are busy with the cattle. The President of a village Soviet in Siberia states:

"In those places where the women sit in the Soviets the work goes better than in those places where there are no women. We do not drink and we do not allow ourselves to be so easily caught by the Kulaks as do the men."

This statement of the peasant woman is confirmed by a working woman from a factory in the Ural district:

"Our director has admitted that the women work much more conscientiously than the men. They do not stay away on Monday in order to recover from the bibations of Sunday."

A peasant woman from Georgia gives a passionate pledge of loyalty to the Soviet power:

"Our women already perceive that they have much more cause to thank the Soviet power than the governments of the Mensheviks and other parties which were in power."

All speakers mention the practical tasks awaiting them on their return from the Congress.

150 delegates sent in their names to speak. After 24 had spoken the debate was closed and Comrade Kalinin, in his concluding words, dealt very fully with the numerous questions and enquiries of the delegates.

At the time of writing the Congress is not yet at an end. One thing is already certain: The working women of the Soviet Republic are fully aware of the seriousness of the situation and the greatness of the tasks confronting the Soviet Power. It is perfectly clear that today, as in the course of the last ten years, the Soviet Power will find no more self-sacrificing, more devoted and better ally for maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat than the working women and peasant women of the Soviet State. Supported by the unbounded confidence of the proletarian masses in town and country, the Soviet Government, which is now on the eve of the ten years' October festivals, is more unshakable and invincible than ever.

THEY SAY. WHAT DO THEY SAY?

"I do not believe Socialism or Communism will find its fulfilment in Russia until the workers in that great nation are themselves consciously working out their form of industry and government, and cease to be dependent, as now, on a dictatorship, no matter how fine and noble the men who exercise that dictatorship may be."

George Lansbury, M. P. in "New Leader"
October 21, 1927.

POLITICS

The Successes of the Communists at the Municipal Elections in Czechoslovakia.

By B. Smeral.

On Sunday the 16th of October the municipal elections were held in the majority of the localities of Czechoslovakia. At these elections the Communist Party has not only maintained its former positions, but has also achieved considerable gains. Of course for us, election figures are only one of the many symptoms on the basis of which we form a judgment of the processes taking place within the working class. But after Hamburg, Altona and Lodz the successful result of the elections in Czechoslovakia are also of importance. These elections show that only blind pessimists can talk of the labour movement being at a standstill.

Of considerable importance is the result of the elections in Prague, where the Communist Party polled 70,416 votes. At the last municipal elections, which were held on 16th September, 1923, the Party received 67,609 votes, and at the last Parliamentary elections, held on 25th November, 1925, the Party received 66,762 votes. At the same time regard must be had to the fact that the soldiers, who have always cast comparatively many votes for the Communists, did not take part in the elections, as this year they were deprived of the franchise.

The result of the election is all the more significant as this time the Party was exposed to the fierce fire of the bourgeoisie and the social democrats, who at the critical moment also received the help of some traitors from the ranks of the C. P. The attack of the bourgeois parties and in particular of the National Democratic Party of Kramár and of the big peasant party of Svehla were connected with the policy of Great Britain against the Soviet Union. And just as the last Parliamentary election, when Bubnik came forward there were also this time people (Skala, Gorovsky, who had been expelled from the Party) who endeavoured to organise an "opposition", introduced a fierce campaign against the Party leadership and wrote the most absurd fabrications in the bourgeois newspapers, and in this disruptive work allied themselves with the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. The result of the elections has shown that the C. P. of Czechoslovakia is unshakable, and that neither attacks from without nor treacherous actions of certain people who have separated from the Party are capable of shaking the unity of the Party.

With regard to the other parties, the following tendencies were revealed at the elections:

1. The masses of the workers are ridding themselves of nationalist illusions and gradually going to the Left.
2. This movement to the Left is also beginning to develop in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie.
3. The Czechish Social Democracy has in a certain sense become stabilised, but is at the same time becoming transformed, so far as regards the social composition of its supporters, into an outspoken petty bourgeois party.
4. Those bourgeois parties of the national minorities (German, Slovak) which are now forming a coalition government with the Czechish bourgeoisie, are already proving to the population that the fight for the right of self-determination can only proceed under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The present elections are the first elections since the time when the Czechish social democrats formed a formal "opposition", and a coalition government of the Czechish, Slovakish and German bourgeoisie was set up. Many Czechish and German workers are now ridding themselves of those nationalist illusions which they had cherished as a result of the influence of the reformists or of the bourgeois nationalists.

It must be added that the international coalition of the bourgeoisie is "stabilising" the country at the cost of the working masses. The pressure upon wages and upon the working day is very great; the soldiers are deprived of the right to vote; the rights of the publicly elected bodies in the localities and districts are being systematically reduced; the dictatorship created with the help of the bureaucracy and the police is being systematically strengthened. Just recently a strike was

concluded in Prague of the building workers, who had fought with great endurance; there also exists a strong strike movement among the textile workers. The Communist Party must in its work devote serious attention to these symptoms of the movement to the Left of the working class.

What is very remarkable is the fact that the National Democratic Party of Dr. Kramár has lost in Prague nearly 8000 votes compared with the Parliamentary elections in 1925, and over 15,000 votes compared with the municipal elections in 1923. In the last few months in particular Kramár had in a demonstrative manner maintained connections with the counter-revolutionary elements of the Russian emigration, attacked the Soviet Union and supported fascism. His failure shows that even a portion of the petty bourgeoisie, which had always followed him, is now beginning to feel that the big bourgeoisie, the banks and the big capitalists are its chief enemies. It will in course of time learn from its own experience that the fight against the big bourgeoisie can only be conducted under the hegemony of the proletariat led by the Communist Party.

In the German districts the German social democrats have won a portion of those votes which have been lost by those German bourgeois parties now taking part in the government.

Wall Street's Latest Mexican Insurrection.

By H. M. Wicks (New York).

Under the cloak of a presidential election campaign, two native generals in the pay of American imperialism launched the latest insurrection in Mexico. This military revolt that flared up on October 3rd and was crushed in just a week by the decisive action of the Calles government was the culmination of a whole series of low intrigues on the part of numerous agents of Wall Street, most of which were carried out under specific orders of the late American ambassador to Mexico City, James R. Sheffield.

The present government of Mexico has been forced to weather a number of severe storms, due to the fact that history imposed upon it the task of trying to develop a capitalist economy in the period of imperialism, when the great powers were coveting its natural resources as raw material. Within the country the feudal elements fought against the introduction of capitalism. They found powerful allies in the imperialists on the outside. The Mexican land laws of 1917, first enforced by the Calles government some two years ago, were adopted as measures towards utilizing the rich mineral and oil resources for the development of native industry. Their enforcement aroused the fury of the oil barons who desired a free hand in Mexico. These laws also affected the feudal Catholic hierarchy that held, in the name of the church, vast territories. Naturally, under these conditions, the feudal-clerical reaction within and the imperialists without made common cause against the Calles government.

Because of geographical and historical conditions Mexico is the keystone of American imperialist policy in Latin-America. Since 1910 the United States government has been involved in every civil war, in every outburst of brigandage in that country in order to make it a vassal of the oil and banking combines. Although the Calles government was guilty for quite some time of hesitation to take a decisive stand against the predatory designs of American imperialism, and although the fight to enforce the land laws was grossly inadequate, nevertheless it was sufficient to arouse the fury of the United States government.

A whole series of conspiracies, provocations and insults was launched against Mexico.

Moreover President Coolidge, on January 7th, this year, placed an embargo on shipments of arms and ammunition to Mexico, forcing the cancellation of orders placed with American firms by the Mexican government. This embargo was also extended to include aeroplanes ordered for commercial purposes.

Following this hostile act, the American ambassador to Mexico, Mr. Sheffield, tried the familiar yankee game of bluff by sending an agent to Calles with what purported to be an expose of military preparations of the United States government for a war against Mexico. Instead of being terrorized by these threats Calles refused to yield and threatened to expose the

whole plot. In an effort to conceal his perfidy Sheffield then announced that certain papers had been stolen from the American embassy at Mexico City, their text changed by forgers and that they were in possession of the Mexican government. The crudely contrived forgery story, as a counter charge against the Mexican government was received with loud and irreverent laughter by all except the most partisan newspapers of the Coolidge government. It was apparent that Sheffield, exposed as a liar, a bluffer and a forger, could no longer serve as ambassador to Mexico. So he was removed.

Meanwhile an election was approaching in Mexico. It was evident that the majority of the Mexican people were in agreement with the stand of the government against the machinations of American imperialism. So the oil gang was forced to resort to new strategy. They could not afford to refrain from putting up any candidate against Calles candidate, former president Obregon as that would be considered an endorsement of Calles, and they could not hope to win the election. The problem was solved by putting up two candidates.

The motive behind putting two candidates in the field soon became apparent. The election campaign was only a smoke-screen behind which proceeded the work of organising for a military insurrection in Mexico. The most prominent of the two candidates was General Arnulfo Gomez, who was counted upon to mobilise the feudal-clerical elements against the nationalist government; the other was General Francesco Serrano, an experienced military leader who had been involved in all the revolutions in Mexico since 1910, who was assigned the task of inducing the army officers of the government forces to join in the rebellion.

The attempted insurrection was timed very carefully; just before the appearance in Mexico of the new Wall Street ambassador, Dwight L. Morrow of the House of Morgan. The appointment of Morrow, one of the outstanding luminaries of Wall Street, as ambassador to Mexico is very significant inasmuch as it involves the future of the imperialist policy of Wall Street in Latin-America. So critical has become the situation and so menacing the role of the Mexican government as the spear-head of the anti-imperialist sentiment in Latin-America, that the job of dealing with Mexico was too important to be entrusted to an ordinary diplomatic flunkey of the Sheffield calibre.

Thanks to the decisive stand of the Calles government and the furious action of the masses, both the military agents of yankee imperialism were eliminated in less than one week after the insurrection started. Seventeen years of American intrigue in Mexico has aroused widespread distrust of everything tainted with the dollar sign.

The defeat of this latest Wall Street insurrection does not, however, eliminate the danger of intervention in Mexico, a threat which has hung over that country since 1910.

With Dwight L. Morrow as Wall Street ambassador, intriguing on behalf of his blood-streaked class, the conspiracies against that country will assume new, more subtle, but withal sinister and dangerous forms.

The latest insurrection was not expected to be successful, but was only launched for the purpose of creating such turmoil that the interventionists could begin their campaign anew, and to bring pressure to bear upon the government to force it to come to terms with the yankee imperialists.

The greatest danger at present facing the Mexican masses is that the future government of Obregon, who represents the right-wing of the nationalists, will come to terms with the House of Morgan and thereby pave the way for the complete subjection of the adjacent Latin-American countries.

In the struggles against imperialist counter-revolution the Communists of Mexico support the Calles government with arms in hand, while at the same time maintaining an independent policy. They fully realise that there is the ever-present danger of the Calles-Obregon government yielding to imperialism if some method can be devised whereby the interests of the native capitalists can be reconciled with the interests of Wall Street at the expense of the exploited masses of Mexico. It is the full realisation of this possibility that imposes upon the Communists of Mexico, as the vanguard of the working class and the defenders of the exploited workers and peasants, the necessity of always maintaining an independent policy, of constantly criticising and denouncing the shortcomings of the government and

of pointing out to the masses that their power alone is the one guarantee against the depredations of Wall Street.

Before any Mexican government would dare sell out to Wall Street it would have the task of disarming the population, and the first move in that direction should meet with the fiercest resistance. So, while defending the nationalist government against imperialist conspiracies the working class also equips itself to wage its own class fight against capitalism.

In the struggle against imperialism the masses of Mexico have the full support of the class conscious section of the working class of the United States and the Communist Parties of both countries are working hand in hand and are in constant communication for the purpose of united action against the common enemy.

CHINA

Disintegration among the Kuomintang Leaders.

By G. H.

Hankow, September 27th, 1927.

The Nanking "Kuomintang Conference" has ended with a flare of anti-communist trumpets. They declare unity achieved in their ranks and in the newly formed Government. They have issued a declaration intended to placate the imperialists and to intimidate further the workers and peasants; but they will not succeed in either. First because the imperialists are determined to keep China divided so as to be able to continue exploiting the Chinese, and second: only a united Chinese people, including the workers and peasants, can rid China of the foreign yoke and the exploiting bourgeoisie and "gentry", and as long as there is suppression of the trade unions, which are led by the Communist Party, there can be no united Chinese movement, and therefore no power great enough to demand respect from British and other imperialist countries.

But what does this "Nanking Unity" amount to? Whom does it unite and for what purpose, even though it were a genuine unity instead of the present fictitious one? There existed in Shanghai a group of selfish politicians who broke away, or were expelled from Kuomintang after Dr. Sun Yat Sen declared for unity of the Chinese people, and after a conference later admitted Communists as members of the Kuomintang. These right-wing opportunists continued their intrigue and conspiracy to wreck this unity which enabled the northern expedition, that was welcomed everywhere by the peasants and workers, to drive beyond the Yangtze, and thanks to which unity the Chinese people's representatives were able to command a hearing and recognition from even the British Foreign Secretary. Then came the betrayal of Chiang-Kai-Shek and finally the Nanking Conference of right-wing Mandarins he was able to rally. In the southern Province of Kwantung, General Li had issued his anti-trade union edicts early in the New Year, thus proving his determination to embark upon a new policy of betrayal. And finally the split came at Wuhan and the Communists had to declare themselves in opposition to liquidating the fighting spirit of the masses by curtailing the activities of the trade unions, and to oppose all forms of suppression of the workers, and finally they left the Wuhan Government.

It is these suppressors of the unions and betrayers of the masses gathered from all four groups, that constituted the recent "Nanking Conference" and which proclaimed "Unity within the Kuomintang". Such elements cannot command respect nationally or internationally; neither from the workers, peasants, commercial men, nor diplomats, for in effect there is no unity now in Nanking nor in southern or northern China; unity was broken up with the disappearance, south of the Yangtze, of active participation of the masses through their legal unions and organisations which were declared illegal, and after thousands of their leaders were beheaded at the instigation of these very same men who constituted the Nanking Conference and now make up the new Nanking tuchun outfit.

The declaration issued by this newly formed Government embodies three other important points: 1. to carry out Dr. Sun

Yat Sen's Three People's Principles; 2. Suppression of Communists (which means suppression and execution of the Trade Union Leaders), and 3. to carry forward the northern expedition against the northern militarists.

In reference to the principles of Dr. Sun the document exceeds in sophistry and hypocrisy anything ever printed. It states that when Dr. Sun declared for unity he hoped to "absorb the Communists" and have them "change their ways" and drop their ideas of dictatorship and work for democratisation of China within the discipline of the Kuomintang. But now they had proven disrupters etc. the great task of the "new government" is to root them out of China lock, stock and barrel. What cant, deliberate lying and distortion!

I need only refer to an interview I had with a German representative of a British firm with headquarters at Hankow, to prove that the inclusion of Communists produced the right policy: He described conditions as follows: "The Honanese for years had suffered terribly from constant wars, confiscation and robbery by the various military authorities. When the communists came (all were communists to him) they were welcomed as deliverers of the people with an enthusiasm unknown throughout Honan and surrounding provinces. Everywhere they set up committees which took charge locally and finally established provincial committees responsible to the national cause. They formed unions of workers and finally among the peasants, and wages went up. They deposed the magistrates in some cases, but in others they were allowed to remain. They levied a tax of 60,000 Mexican dollars on the city of Changteh with a population of 200,000. I am the president of the Chamber of Commerce in that place, and I received telegraphic instructions from the British Consul at Hankow on December 20th: British Government prohibits British firms to pay military taxes. I refused to pay 2500 dollars, our part of the 30,000 dollars which was the amount foreign firms had to contribute. They arrested me and held me in prison 30 hours as president of the Chamber of Commerce until the full amount was subscribed. We decided to close down all foreign firms. I went to Hankow but my company sent me back saying: What is 2500 dollars to us? We will decide when to close. Then the Communists were put down by the military. I was very glad indeed although they treated me on the whole all right. Foreigners never paid taxes previous to the Communists' control. I am very glad they have gone".

In effect this German commercial agent of British imperialism states that Central Government was a fact; the Kuomintang, aided by communists, brought order out of long standing chaos, and were releasing the people from feudal domination. He shows how united the people were behind the army until the betrayers, under the influence of their tuchun spirit and of the big bourgeoisie, turned and crushed the unarmed masses and brought disunity.

Having lost the masses there can be little unity of purpose (except in hunting communists) even in the military field, and certainly no centralised command. That this is true is evident from the events of last week. The 31st national army was waylaid by the 1st national army and disarmed after a fierce battle close to Shanghai. Over a 1,000 are reported killed and the General beheaded for intriguing with Sun Chuan-fang. The Honanese peasant union continues sporadic actions and a few days ago seized a military train after a battle with the troops guarding it. General Tang Shen-She, commander of Honan, Hupeh, Anhwei and Kiangsi is reported to have established his own organisation at Hankow and to be preparing to act independently of Nanking. General Li in Kwantung is a very doubtful factor who will, it appears, have his hands full with the troops of Generals Ho Lung and Yeh Ting, who have entered Swatow today. The latter's army has considerably increased since it commenced its advance south from Hanyang. In such circumstances Nanking must become nothing more than a grouping of the heterogen betrayers, and although it is dangerous to predict in China, their proclaimed continuation of the northern expedition is very doubtful to say the least.

What must be done? The masses of workers and peasants are heroic enough and repeatedly face dangerous situations. This is proven at Shanghai and many other places. The political situation is on a much higher level than before the northern expedition, and organisationally there is a skeleton basis for a mass

movement existing in the illegal trade unions. It is absolutely essential for the working class movements in every country to be correctly informed of the position and to encourage the Chinese workers, and peasants, by protesting and demanding the legalising of the trade unions in China, especially in the foreign settlements of Shanghai. They must be given financial aid, and every possible chance of supporting the Chinese Workers' Organisations must be utilised.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike of the Lignite Miners in Central Germany, its Political Significance and its Result.

By A. Enderle (Berlin).

The strike of the miners in the lignite coalfields of central Germany which broke out on the 17th October is the first great fight of the proletariat since the stabilisation and rationalisation epoch of German capital. The strike commenced in a hesitating manner. On the first day only the pits in the centre of the big coal areas ceased work, while in the border districts and in the collieries in Niederlausitz, Magdeburg, Braunschweig etc. there was no complete strike until the second and third day. The masses, who had so often been disappointed and betrayed, would not at first believe that there was an actual fight, but then entered on the strike with tremendous fighting enthusiasm.

Hence there was great surprise both in the camp of the bourgeoisie and of the working class at the enormous extent of the strike and the tremendous fighting enthusiasm of the working masses. This was all the more so as it was a movement on the part of workers who, ever since the great defeat of 1923, have been dominated by a great passivity and depression; of workers who in the spring of 1924 were deprived of the eight hour day without their putting up any resistance worth speaking of, who had been forced to work a daily twelve-hour shift; who for years had been brusquely refused any increase of wages — in short, who had been most shamelessly exploited and trodden underfoot by the capitalists.

If these workers, scarcely thirty per cent of whom are organised in the trade unions, took up the fight with such elan, which increased from day to day and destroyed all hopes of a speedy collapse of the strike, then behind the movement there must exist deeper causes than the mere desire to achieve a few pennies increase in wages.

The importance of the gigantic struggle lies before all in the fact that the lignite of central Germany is the basis of the newest great power of capital, of the chemical industry. The gigantic works of the I. G. Farben Aktien Gesellschaft, the enormous nitrogen factory in Leuna with the new branch of production, liquidisation of coal, with its 40,000 workers, the numerous chemical works in the district of Bitterfeld, Wittenberg, Piesteritz etc. employing many thousands of workers are based almost entirely on lignite. Added to this there is the fact that the generation of electric power for the whole of the industrial area of central Germany, and also to a great extent for Berlin, the power stations at Golpa-Zschornowitz, Klingenberg, Finkenherd, Hirschfelde, Böhlen etc., as well as the domestic coal for these places, are dependent almost entirely on lignite. A prolonged strike would therefore be bound to bring big branches of production to a standstill owing to lack of electric current.

In view of this great economic importance the strike is bound to have great political effects. The chemical industry is one of the most important factors of capital rule in Germany. This explains the great attention which the whole of the bourgeois press has devoted to this struggle. It explains why, already before the outbreak of the strike and immediately after its unexpected great extension, the whole of the bourgeois press dealt with the strike in sensational reports and articles and continually clamours for its speedy settlement.

Because the gigantic conflict is bound to entail not only immediate economic consequences for industry but also far-reaching political consequences, heavy industry and the bourgeois bloc government, just as did the English bourgeoisie in the mining lock-out last year, immediately responded with political measures. Fresh police are being called up every day. At almost every pit there are stationed whole companies of police drawn from all towns in the country. The strikers are being deliberately provoked by the police with carbines and machine guns. Picketing is being prevented. The few black-legs who are at work are escorted to and from the pits by an enormous force of police. Everywhere the State strikebreaking guard, the "Technische Nothilfe" (The German equivalent for the "O. M. S." Ed), is being brought in and every day there is an increasing cry on the part of the owners for the bringing in of the military.

At the same time it is significant that precisely in the strike areas the highest government officials, who at the same time have control of the police, are almost without exception members of the social democratic party. The government president for the strike area is the social democrat Grütznier. It is he who, on behalf of the bourgeois bloc government, has expressly forbidden the labour municipalities in the strike area, which in many cases have a Communist or communist-social democratic majority, to grant any material assistance to the strikers.

Up to now the lignite miners have been prevented by binding awards pronounced by arbitration bodies, which have been recognised by the reformist trade union leaders, from fighting in order to improve their wages and working conditions. Even now the bourgeoisie is furiously demanding the intervention of the Ministry for Labour in order to liquidate the fight by means of arbitration. If in this fight this means was not employed at the very outset, it was owing to a difference within the Cabinet. But already on the 20th October negotiations for arbitration took place before the Ministry for Labour in Berlin. There is little doubt that an award will be pronounced which will in no wise meet the demands of the workers.

The social democratic and trade union leaders are playing their old rôle of reformist traitors in this fight. It is true they have been compelled this time, under the pressure of the masses, to take up the fight and formally to lead it. But just as was the case with the reformist General Council in England, here also it is the chief aim of the reformists to emphasise the "purely trade union" character of the strike, and to deny that it has any political significance.

The directions of the purely reformist strike leadership contain as the first point: prohibition of all political meetings and demonstrations in the strike area. The reformists are seeking by every means to prevent the mass mobilisation of the whole proletariat and the extension of the strike to other categories of workers. With the express sanction of this strike leadership, the electric power works are receiving partial supplies of coal. The intervention of the arbitration authorities is already being recognised in advance and at the meetings of the strikers attempts are being made to create a mood favouring the sanction of an acceptable compromise. This policy of the S. P. G. is being cloaked by a furious campaign against the Communists; the S. P. press is everyday spreading all kinds of calumnies regarding blacklegging by Communists, in order thereby to creating confusion among the working masses.

Yet the avalanche is in motion, the masses who in the last four years have endured indescribable exploitation and suppression will not allow themselves to be driven back to the pits with a few miserable crumbs and to be deprived of success in their fight by a wretched compromise or a compulsory arbitration award. The daily increasing fighting enthusiasm has drawn along with it not only all the indifferent masses, but even elements which have been corrupted by the capitalists: Stahlhelm people, members of yellow unions and company unions have also joined in the struggle. The other sections of workers are with the strikers, and are interested in the fight; they have been stirred to active fighting solidarity. In some factories of the metal and chemical industries the workers have come forward with wage demands.

The whole working population has realised that this is a fight involving the most important elementary right of the

working class — the right to strike. Hence the fight is being conducted with increasing bitterness, hence at all the strike meetings there is stormily demanded the rejection of every compromise and the continuation of the fight in spite of and against a compulsory arbitration award. No matter what may be the issue of the fight, even should the reformists once again succeed, by recognising a compulsory arbitration award or concluding a compromise, in bringing confusion into the working class and thereby throttling the struggle, one thing is already certain: this fight represents a powerful mobilisation of the working masses, which will be of enormous importance for future fights.

* * *

Since the above was written the strike of the lignite miners in Central Germany has been ended (on the 21st and 22nd October) with a haste and rapidity never displayed before in the case of such great struggles. Late in the night of 21st October the award of the Board of arbitration in Berlin was pronounced; at midday of the 22nd October it was adopted at a Conference of functionaries in Halle, which already had been prepared and which consisted almost entirely of members of the S. P. G.; twenty minutes after the vote of the trade functionaries in Halle there was published by the Minister of Labour in Berlin the declaration making the award binding, although the employers had rejected the award. In accordance with the arrangements between employers and the trade union representatives, work was resumed in the whole strike area on Monday the 24th October.

What is the result of this great fight, and why was it ended with such haste? The workers had demanded an increase of wages for all categories of workers of 80 pfennigs per shift. They wanted before all to achieve by this uniform demand that the lower and badly paid workers should receive a higher percentage increase than the highest paid groups. An award has now been pronounced providing for 11½% increase for all categories. That works out at 60 pfennigs for the highest paid groups and for the lowest paid groups only 23, 25, 38 and 41 pfennigs per shift.

The great bulk of the strikers were not satisfied with this solution, because even those at the top have not achieved the 80 pfennig increase, and before all because under the award the badly paid and the most needy of their workmates receive the least increase. If in spite of this the award was adopted at the Conference of functionaries by 381 votes against 36, it is because the S. P. G. functionaries followed the instructions of the union leaders who were enthusiastic over the award, and also because the vote was taken by functionaries, who are recruited almost entirely from the highest paid categories and who, in many cases, are not elected by the members but are appointed by the higher trade union authorities.

The reason for the prompt calling off of the strike was because the fight was assuming more threatening forms every day for the whole of Central German economic life; because with every day of the strike great branches of industry, as many sugar factories, part of the chemical industry, electricity works etc., had to close down owing to lack of coal. It even threatened to bring the great Leuna works to a standstill. In addition, workers in other branches of industry were also beginning to submit wage demands and to join in the fight of the lignite miners.

These facts prove that the strike situation was exceedingly favourable for the workers, and that with a determined leadership it would have been an easy matter to enforce their demands. The social democratic leaders have, with their over-eager acceptance of the award, rendered a great service to the employers and the bourgeois bloc government.

Even if the strike did not achieve its full aims the result must in spite of everything, be regarded as a relatively great success for the workers. Even a few days before the strike the employers would not grant a pfennig increase, and the trade union leaders endeavoured by every means to induce the Minister for Labour to grant an award of from 3 to 5% increase, in order thereby to avoid a strike. If it has now come to an increase of 11½%, it is only because, owing to the obduracy of the employers and of the Minister for Labour, this fight

broke out against the will of the reformists. This is a magnificent proof that far greater successes are to be achieved by the workers fighting than by the arbitration methods of the reformists. Hence this fight, although it has ended with only a half success, has greatly strengthened the class consciousness and self-confidence of the workers.

Growth of the Labour Movement in Spain.

The 24 Hours' General Strike in Biscaya on October 10th.

By P. Noel (Barcelona).

On the occasion, four months ago, of the last extended session of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, it was resolved that the tactics of secret propaganda, to which the Party had until then confined itself, be replaced by tactics of agitation aiming at a mobilisation of the proletariat against the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera by means of public demonstrations. It was a question, therefore, of initiating a campaign on a large scale with a view to preparing a real action on the part of the masses. This tactical alternation was naturally connected with a series of difficulties, for some of the members were under the influence of the "passive policy" which had prevailed in our Party for a long while. The difficulties at issue were, moreover, of an external nature, arising from the intensification of the Governmental measures of oppression and from the disproportion between the strength of our organisation on the one hand and the organisatory possibilities of the bourgeoisie on the other. Our lack of experience in this new direction, furthermore, was another obstacle in the path of the action we had undertaken to carry through.

The conviction, however, that the general meeting of the Central Committee in June had been right in its resolutions, guided our activity throughout the last few months. The Party, therefore, set to work with exceptional zeal.

The convocation by Primo de Rivera of the "Advisory Assembly", the object of which was the consolidation of the great-Bourgeois dictatorship in Spain, was a favourable opportunity to initiate this mobilisation of the masses which we had set up as our tactical objective, considering it to be the one and only means of the Spanish proletariat to overthrow the regime of the dictator at some future date. When a week ago the Government of Primo de Rivera, alarmed at our growing influence, again proceeded against our Party with all possible means of oppression, a great degree of preparatory work had already been done.

Dozens of our best fighters were now thrown into prison. The dictator published an official communication from which it appeared that "all danger had vanished". A week sufficed, however, to destroy this happy illusion of the dictator. The proletariat of Biscaya, in which region our Party is very well organised, furnished the answer to de Rivera's assertions.

Immediately after the discovery of the alleged "plot", the Party had doubled its activity. One illegal pamphlet followed the other and everywhere the slogan was heard of a "24 hours' general strike on October 10th", the opening day of the Advisory Assembly, a general strike for the purpose of protesting against the dictatorship and winning the bulk of the working masses.

The proletariat of Biscaya obeyed our parole and proved its readiness to fight. On the morning of October 10th, the general strike set in. The big industrial enterprises, the shipyards, mines, and workshops, waited in vain for the working masses. The appeal of the Party was answered with enthusiasm by the overwhelming majority. Although from the very beginning the entire armed forces of the bourgeoisie patrolled the streets and guarded the works, the participation in the strike exceeded all expectations. In the mines and the building trade in particular, the strike was carried out to its fullest extent. Nor should we fail to mention that for the first time in the history of our revolutionary movement no violence occurred. This strike will remain a milestone in the history of the Spanish proletariat.

As a matter of course, the police subsequently initiated a successful raid on our Party members and young comrades, the latter having been in the forefront of the movement. According to the announcements made by the Governor, yet severer measures of persecution are to be put into operation against our brave Party.

Among the numerous we may learn from this great movement, mention should in the first place be made of the fact that, since the coup d'état of November 1923, this 24 hours' general strike on the part of the workers of Bilbao represents the first purely political movement of the Spanish proletariat. After four years of silence and submission, the Spanish workers again raise their heads. By this action, the proletariat of Bilbao has shown the workers of all Spain the way they must pursue to free themselves from the dictatorship, the only way, indeed, that can lead to their liberation. The Communist Party of Spain, the instigator and leader of this movement, has hereby shown itself worthy of the confidence of the proletariat and equal to its historic mission: The strike of the Biscaya proletariat will serve as an example to the workers throughout the length and breadth of Spain, a country in which the situation of the working class is exceptionally difficult and where dissatisfaction has spread among a large section of the population.

Collapse of the Trade Union Capitalism of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

By Wm. Z. Foster.

The organisation which took the lead in the movement for trade union capitalism (labour banking, investment companies, trade union life insurance, etc.) was the **Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers**, one of the oldest and most conservative trade unions in America. The leader of this organisation, **Warren S. Stone**, now dead, set himself up as a great financier and turned the whole strength of the organisation into the building up of a vast financial system. This comprised 12 labour banks, 10 investment corporations, and many other business enterprises. The grand total involved in these concerns was approximately \$100,000,000.

The reactionary bureaucracy in all the unions looked upon the B. of L. E. institutions as models for them to pattern after. The leaders of this union, repeating the propaganda of the capitalists, declared in a thousand statements, that the revolution in America is unnecessary, that the class struggle is liquidated, and that the way for the workers to work their way out of wage slavery is for them to co-operate with the employers, to save their money, and to buy their way into control of the industries. This general philosophy, now known as the so-called "Higher Strategy of Labour", is supported by the entire upper trade union bureaucracy.

But now the B. of L. E. financial bubble has burst. The whole system of investments are involved in one of the greatest financial scandals and failures in American history. The exposure began at the recent convention of the B. of L. E., which lasted six and a half weeks, and cost a million dollars. At this convention it was shown that the banks were in a most precarious position, having lost at least \$12,000,000. The whole financial structure trembled on the brink of bankruptcy. Desperate means were applied to save something from the wreckage. The rotten officialdom responsible for the debacle were removed forthwith from office and the wages of the others (which ran as high as \$25,000 per year) were slashed. All the enterprises were put in the hands of a committee instructed to sell them as quickly as possible. Meanwhile capitalist bankers were secured to manage the whole business. An assessment of five dollars per month, or a total of about \$7,000,000 was placed on the entire membership of the union.

This financial debacle was caused by "frozen assets", that is, bad investments resulting from generally incompetent and criminal mismanagement. The convention investigation shattered the reputation of the former leader, Warren S. Stone, who had hitherto shown out as a great labour financier. The investigation proved that when Stone died two years ago the banks and investment company were already \$5,000,000 in the hole. Stone's successor, **Prenter**, and the band of labour traitors surrounding him, continued the financial orgy started by Stone. One of their worst ventures was a wholesale plunging into the mad Florida land speculation of a couple of years ago. They sank many millions into the Florida swamps in the wild-cat attempt to build "Venice" into a great winter resort. Thousands of the members of the union were induced to invest

their money in these ill-fated speculations. One of the schemes that burned up vast sums was the Coal River Colleries Company. This coal mining concern was bought by the union and operated, with the help of gunmen, strike-breakers, etc., as an open shop mine in the face of a bitter strike by the United Mine Workers. This concern, capitalised at \$2,800,000, is now bankrupt.

In this orgy of squandering the funds of the workers, the heads of the union, true to the type of the labour faker, feathered their own nests. Stone dies a rich man. Prenter, his successor, recently bought an estate in Cleveland valued at \$250,000 and his wife, who died a short while ago, left \$100,000. But the principal grafter in the whole business was one **George T. Webb**, who in addition to what he made from mishandling the union funds, received a salary of \$48,000 per year from the union. He lives in a great mansion in Cleveland worth at least \$600,000.

This collapse of the B. of L. E. institutions has shaken the whole labour movement. The latest effort of the B. of L. E. to save something from wreckage was the mortgaging of their big office building in Cleveland for \$4,000,000. There was a mortgage on the building, financed by the insurance fund of the union, for \$7,000,000. This mortgage was superceded by the latest mortgage, which means that in all probabilities, the \$7,000,000 of the insurance fund will be lost.

The membership of the union, which comprise the most aristocratic and high paid sections of the American working class, are aroused and enraged over the unparalleled squandering of their millions in savings and dues. The left wing is stimulating movements amongst them to clear out all of their treacherous officials and to immediately sell off their capitalistic institutions.

This whole incident is characteristic of the present corrupt tendencies among the trade union bureaucracy. It is a sample of the type of American unionism now being so widely advertised in Germany and elsewhere. It is one of the many indications of the utterly rotten condition of the leadership of the American trade unions.

On the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The following circular letter has been sent out to all organisations affiliated to the R. I. L. U.

Dear Comrades,

As you already know, the opening of the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U. has been fixed for March 15, 1928, in Moscow. In its first circular letter, the Executive Bureau promised to forward and publish the preliminary agenda well in advance so that all organisations interested could discuss it, make preparations for the Congress, and collect all necessary material and put forward their proposals. As the Executive Bureau considers due preparations for the Congress exceedingly important, we are sending you for your perusal and consideration the **Draft Agenda of the Fourth Congress**, adopted at the October 11 Meeting of the Executive Bureau:

1. Report of Executive Bureau.
2. Tasks of international trade union movement: a) capitalist rationalisation and the working class; b) swing to the right on the part of Amsterdam T. U. bureaucrats and the veering to the left on the part of the working masses; c) the united front and international trade union unity; d) the collapse of trade union capitalism; e) attitude to Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, etc.
3. Struggle against imperialism and the new imperialist war danger.
4. Chinese Revolution, and tasks of Chinese Trade Unions.
5. Tasks of R. I. L. U. adherents in England.
6. Question of organisational structure of trade unions.
7. Struggle against fascism and the fascist trade unions.
8. Trade Union movement in colonial countries.
9. R. I. L. U. and Young Workers.
10. Questions of social legislation.
11. Elections.

Four sections will be formed at the Congress; organisational, social-economic, cultural-educational and colonial. Furthermore, **commissions** — financial and for various countries like Holland, etc. will be set up.

The Agenda, as you see, is wide in scope, and embraces the most important questions affecting the international labour movement. It would be desirable that your organisation consider this Agenda and forward its proposals to the Executive Bureau well in time. In order that your proposals shall be printed, and the delegates of all the countries duly acquainted with them it is necessary that you send your proposals to the Executive Bureau not later than February 15, 1928.

With comradely greetings,
Executive Bureau R. I. L. U.

FOR LENINISM — AGAINST TROTZKYISM

Decisions of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev Expelled from the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 25th October 1927.

The following communication of the Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. has been published:

"The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. held a meeting from 21st to 23rd October with the participation of members of the Central Revision Commission. The Plenum examined, together with the amendments moved by the Special Commission of the Plenum, the draft theses introduced by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee on the questions of the agenda of the Party Congress, i. e. on the directions for drawing up the five-year economic plan and on the work in the countryside.

The Plenum also received the report of the Presidium of the C. C. C. on the fractional activity of Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev after the August Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C., and decided to expel Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev from the C. C.

In view of the disapproval of the Opposition leaders of the Manifesto of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, in particular of the item on the transition to the seven-hour day, the Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. considered it necessary to raise this question, and approved in a special decision the initiative of the Political Bureau of the C. C. regarding the issue of the Manifesto and also the Manifesto itself, while the Opposition members of the Plenum voted against the Manifesto.

In addition, the Plenum adopted a special decision on the discussion and confirmed the speakers and the questions of the agenda of the XV. Party Congress.

The Plenum adopted the following decision:

In approving the decision of the Political Bureau of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. of 8th September 1927 on the "Draft Platform" of Comrades Trotzky, Zinoviev, Muralov and others, it is decided:

1. On the basis of the decision of the X. Party Conference regarding the publication of the theses of the C. C. on questions of the agenda of the Party Congress at latest a month before the Party Conference and in accordance with the decision of the Plenum of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. of August 1927, to publish the theses approved by this Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. immediately after the conclusion of the work of the Plenum for the purpose of having them examined at Party meetings and in the press.

2. On the basis of the decision of the Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of August 1927, to issue with the "Pravda" a "Discussion Sheet" in which counter-theses, amendments to the these of the C. C., concrete propositions to these theses, critical articles etc. are to be published.

3. To conduct the discussion in agreement with the following decision of the X. Party Conference:

"It is necessary that every Party organisation strictly observes that the absolutely necessary criticism of failings in the Party, that every analysis of the general line of the Party, the examination of its practical experiences, the

examination of the carrying out of its decisions and the means to make good its faults etc. shall not be on the basis of any group formed on a 'platform' etc., but shall be submitted for examination to all Party members."

4. The Political Bureau of the C. C. and the Presidium of the C. C. C. must take care that the discussion is conducted within a limit and in a tone compatible with the Party and with comradely relations.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. of August 1927 has displayed the highest degree of patience towards Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev, in that it gave these comrades the opportunity to keep their promises of August 8th on the destruction of fractional elements, and confined itself to a warning, which was a final warning. Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev, however, once again deceived the Party and violated in the most ruthless manner the pledges undertaken by them, in that they did not annihilate the 'fractional elements', but on the contrary brought the fraction fight against the Party and against its unity to a stage which bordered on the formation of a new anti-Leninist Party together with bourgeois intellectuals.

In view of the above the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. resolves to exclude Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev from the C. C. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. further decides to submit to the XV. Party Conference for examination the whole material on the disruptive activity of the leaders of the Trotzkyite Opposition (organising of an anti-Party, secret printing shop for the purpose of destroying the Party, bloc with the renegades Maslov, Ruth Fischer, Souvarine for the purpose of destroying the Comintern), as well as of the group of Comrade Smirnov."

Expulsion of Vouyovitch and other Comrades from the C. P. S. U.

Decisions of the Presidium of the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. of October 13th 1927.

I.

Comrades E. Preobrashensky, L. Serebrjakov and Sharov submitted on the 15th September 1927 a declaration in which they designate themselves as organisers of an illegal anti-Party printing shop.

The Presidium of the C. C. C. decided to exclude from the C. P. S. U. Comrades E. Preobrashensky, L. Serebrjakov and J. Sharov on account of their setting up an illegal, anti-Party printing shop along with non-Party, bourgeois intellectuals.

II.

Regarding the disorganisatory, anti-Party activity of N. M. Fishel'jov.

Fishel'jov, Michael Semjonovitch, member of the C. P. S. U. since 1919, up to then member of the Menshevik Party, has not served in the Red Army; recently he was the director of the State Printing works in Moscow. He is accused, as director of the Printing Works of having abused the confidancy of the Party and of the organs of Soviet power, in that he caused to be printed anti-Party documents by means of forgery and by using State funds.

The Presidium of the C. C. C. decides: to regard the accusation as proved. For having deceived the Party and the organs of the Soviet Power, and on account of disruptive and anti-Party activity, M. S. Fishel'jov is to be expelled from the Party.

Secretary of the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Janson.

III.

Moscow, 18th October 1927.

The "Pravda" publishes the following decision of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. concerning the violation of Party discipline by comrade Vouyovitch:

"On the 21st September the C. C. C. of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. dealt with the refusal of comrade Vouyovitch to submit to the decision of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. to send him to work in the Voronesh organisation. Vouyovitch

was requested, in accordance with the decisions of the C. C., to go within three days to Voronésh for further work, at the same time the C. C. C., warned Vouyovitch that having consideration to a number of decisions passed by the Party organisations in question, he would place himself outside the ranks of the Party should he not submit to this decision.

Having regard to the fact that Vouyovitch has not carried out the decision of the C. C. C. of 21st September and that he has made a declaration refusing to submit to this decision of the C. C. C. and that he considers it necessary to remain in Moscow, the C. C. C. decided on the 28th September:

Such a violation of Party discipline on the part of Vouyovitch is impermissible and having regard to the anti-Party fractional activity of Vouyovitch which has been repeatedly condemned by the Party, and to the fact that he was warned of the consequences by the C. C. C., the C. C. C. decides to expel Vouyovitch from the C. P. of the U. S. S. R.

THE TRIAL OF ZOLTAN SZANTO AND COMRADES

The Trial of Zoltan Szanto and Comrades.

(The following has already been communicated to the press.)

Budapest, 17th October 1927.

This morning at ten o'clock there commenced the trial of Zoltan Szántó, Stefan Vagi and 64 others in Budapest before the normal criminal court. The external accompaniments of the process bear all the usual marks of a communist mass process. In the early morning the police cordoned off the court buildings and the surrounding streets with strong forces of police. Entry into the court is only possible after a strict control. When the accused appeared in the corridor escorted by gendarmes with fixed bayonets, the few workers who had managed to effect entrance despite the control, raised a cheer. This demonstration was repeated in the court room itself when the chairman of the court, Szemak, commenced to examine comrade Szántó.

At the commencement of the process, the leader of the defence Professor Dr. Vambéry stood up and declared that the prosecuting authorities had made it impossible for the defence to carry out its tasks thoroughly.

The noting of the descriptions and details of the accused lasted from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. It created a stir of interest that amongst the accused almost all parts of the country were represented. The accused are mostly industrial workers, but there are also quite a number of agricultural workers in their ranks.

At 2 p. m. the examination of the chief accused Comrade Zoltan Szántó commenced. Replying to the chairman of the court Szántó declared that he only felt himself responsible towards his Party and the Third International and that he therefore considered it superfluous to make any answer to the question of the chairman as to whether he felt himself guilty or not guilty. He went on.

"I joined the Social Democratic Party as a young apprentice and when the Communist Party of Hungary was founded I joined that immediately. As a red soldier I took part in the war of Soviet Hungary against the robber imperialists. I returned from abroad with a false pass to Hungary. I did that because I considered it my duty to take an active part in my own country in the daily struggles of the workers and in the preparation of the revolutionary struggle for emancipation in this country where there is the most terrible oppression and exploitation. My aim was to take part in the organisation, in the leadership and also in the minor work of the C. P. of Hungary in order to make this Party great and powerful. Every day of my eight months stay in Hungary was dedicated to this aim. Even in prison I am doing all I can to this end and when I am finally released I will continue my work outside once again."

The chairman, interrupting: "You mean the illegal Communist Party?"

Szántó: "The Communist Party cannot rely upon the mercy and upon the permission of the ruling class. Without an illegal party could be no serious revolutionary movement, but our whole efforts are directed to creating a legal party in Hungary through the power of the masses, by winning the confidence of the masses and by mass struggles in Hungary."

The chairman (interrupting): "Let us hear what you actually did in Hungary."

Szántó: I am only responsible to my Party for my actions. I refuse to answer all questions referring to my own or to the work of my comrades, as far as the details of that work are concerned."

Chairman: "But you made a detailed confession to the police."

Szántó "Yes it was a detailed statement, but it was no confession. It was a protocol dictated by the police and forced upon me by moral pressure. At the time of our arrest the police headquarters was the scene of the most dreadful brutalities for more than ten days. The police presented the tortured beaten and bloody workers to me. Loevy, Poll, Kossis and Kriszl in particular, were almost beaten to death. When I saw this, Schweinitzer (the police commandant) said to me that he would leave it to my conscience what the fate of my comrades would be. When I asked him how it depended upon me, he answered: 'Either you confess everything, or we shall show you your comrades in quite another condition to-morrow'. I was then led into a near-by room from where I could hear the shrieks of agony of my tortured comrades. In this terrible situation I signed the protocol and then withdrew it completely at the proceedings before the exceptional court and I repeat my withdrawal now."

Chairman: "Tell us under whose orders you came to Hungary?"

Szántó: "It is high time to kill the fairy tale about Moscow. The Communist Party of Hungary is a section of the Communist International. The struggle for the emancipation of the world's workers is carried on by a joint organ. The general directives are laid down by world congresses and determined in practice by the Executive Committee of the C. I. The C. P. of Hungary, however, has its own Central Committee, in Hungary itself, and within the general boundaries laid down by the Communist International it comes to its own decisions independently. My own conscience and the decision of my own Party brought me to Hungary to work with all the means at my disposal to build up the Communist Party so that with the assistance of that Party the mass struggle of the working class can destroy the present system which is gagging the workers."

Chairman: "Is this to be done with the use of force also?"

Szántó: "Yes, with force. For us, violence is no aim, it is only a means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is also only a means to an end. The Communist Party is likewise only a means for the emancipation of the working class and for the setting up of the proletarian State. I declare that I consider the immediate task of my life to be the strengthening of the C. P. of Hungary into a mass party capable of setting up a new and victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary."

The chairman then closed the proceedings.

SECOND DAY OF PROCEEDINGS.

Budapest, 18th October 1927.

The process against Zoltan Szántó and his fellow accused was re-opened and the examination of Comrade Szántó continued.

The chairman of the court put various questions concerning the illegal printing shop of the Communist Party.

Szántó: "It is true that the Party decided to set up an illegal printing shop in Budapest. Our Party is illegal and we cannot rely in our agitation on the possibilities offered to us by the law. I have already said, in the process before the exceptional court, that the Party will carry out its decision to found an illegal printing shop despite our arrest, and I can only repeat this."

Chairman: "Tell us how the communists initiated the struggle of the Socialist Workers Party for the Republic?"

Szántó: "Put in this form the question is not correct. The C. P. of Hungary of course took part in this struggle, for it considers it to be its duty to support every movement whose aim is the overthrow of the present system. The Party wished to prevent the struggle for the Republic degenerating into a bourgeois-democratic one. We want to use this movement also to secure the overthrow of the large-landowners and capitalists whose embodiment is the Bethlen-Horthy system."

The chairman rebuked Szántó for mentioning the name Horthy. He then asked Szántó whether the communists would use armed violence.

Szántó: "Every Communist Party in the world holds that the dominance of the bourgeoisie must be overthrown with armed force. But it is a matter of course that this armed force can only be applied in revolutionary situations. In the period between two revolutionary waves it is the duty of the Communist Party, to lead the workers in their daily struggle. We are in such a situation in Hungary to-day. Therefore it is the chief task of the C. P. of Hungary to extend its organisation and to form factory nuclei. It is everywhere the duty of the Communist Party to remember even in the middle of the daily petty struggle that the dominance of the bourgeoisie can only be finally abolished by revolutionary force. This is doubly so for the C. P. of Hungary, for the present-day Hungary of large landowners and capitalists does everything in order that the C. P. shall not forget this truth for one moment. The Public Prosecutor has defended the social and moral order existent in present day Hungary, an order in which only drones who live from the work of others can live well, whilst the others who spend their whole lives in hard work must, when they are unemployed, be content with promises instead of support, or perhaps the whip instead of promises."

The chairman: Order! What you are saying there is sufficient for a charge of incitement."

Szántó: "I don't care in the least whether a Hungarian court sentences me for incitement or not."

Szántó then went on to describe the situation of the peasantry and to deal with the swindle of the "Agrarian reform", but the chairman interrupted him. A short duel followed between Szántó and the chairman and the latter then refused to allow Szántó to continue his speech and threatened him with severe punishments.

The examination of the accused Imre Glancz then followed. He declared:

"I came home from Russia in order to take part in the building up of the C. P. of Hungary. I shall always be proud that the Party chose me to organise the illegal printing shop and arrange for the distribution of illegal publications on behalf of the Party. In Hungary clericalism, illiteracy and social democratic terror are dominant, and a printing shop distributing the truth about the C. P. of Hungary and about the Soviet Union would have been very useful. It would have assisted us tremendously in our struggle against the present regime."

The chairman calls the accused to order and asks him what other work he did in the C. P. of Hungary.

Glancz: "I don't recognise the right of a bourgeois court to question me concerning the internal questions of the C. P. of Hungary. I also gave no information to the police about the same matter. That which I'd say, I now withdraw, for it was forced from me partly under torture and partly under moral depression. I could hear constantly the cries of agony of my tortured comrades. What I did was no crime, but it is a crime what the capitalists and large landowners are doing to-day in Hungary to the workers and poor peasants. In a country where the ruling class promised the peasants land and betrayed them, in a country of classical robbery and exploitation..."

The chairman then broke off the defendants remarks and refused to allow him to proceed.

The next accused, a twenty year old woodworker named Alexander Szereny declared that at the conclusion of his period of apprenticeship he went abroad to France and Austria where he took part in the communist movement. He was, he declared, a convinced communist and member of the Communist Party of Hungary.

The chairman: "How was it, then, that you joined the Socialist Workers Party?"

Szereny: "Just the same way, as I came to be a member of the trade union. It is our communist duty to spread the ideas of Communism everywhere we can. For this reason I held a Marxist course in the Socialist Workers Party."

The chairman: "You told the police something quite different."

Szereny: "I have already withdrawn the confession I made to the police at the time of the exceptional proceedings. Schweinitzer tried to make me a spy. When he couldn't win me for this he handed me over to a detective. In another room I met Loevy and Rubin who had been arrested at the same time as myself. We were bound hand and foot. The detectives spat in our faces, kicked and cuffed us. We were beaten until the blood came. I fell down unconscious. Afterwards they again tried to get me to betray my comrades."

The chairman: "Tell us what work you did here and with whom you worked."

Szereny: "I would not answer such questions before a class court of my enemies."

The chairman: "Sit down."

The accused Julius Papp declared: I requested my Party to send me from Russia to Hungary because I wanted to work in the Party. I wanted to refute those infamous slanders of the bourgeoisie and the social democrats concerning the Soviet Union by working and agitating amongst the workers. In the Soviet Union the situation of the workers is better than in any other country in Europe, and in particular it is immensely superior to the situation of the workers in Hungary, where the exploitation of the workers is forced to the utmost pitch."

The chairman then called the accused to order.

Papp, continuing: "My second aim was to assist in the building up of the C. P. of Hungary and to this end organise nuclei of the Party in the large scale works and factories. My third aim was to work for such a spirit amongst the Hungarian workers that neither the government nor the social democratic leaders would be able to prevent the workers in Hungary from sending a delegation to the Soviet Union. In Hungary where the Bethlen-Horthy system sucks the workers and peasants dry, the ruling class dares to slander the Soviet Union where the peasants have been given land."

The chairman then called the accused to order again and refused to allow him to continue.

THIRD DAY OF PROCEEDINGS.

Budapest, 19th October 1927.

On the third day of the trial, the accused Stefan Vági, Alexander Loevy, Alexander Poll, Johann Venezzi, Stefan Rostas, Josef Pipicz, Johann Krisl, Franz Fussenecker and Helene Vamos were examined. It is characteristic of the whole process that as soon as the accused commenced to speak of the maltreatment accorded to them by the police, or declared that as communists they had no information to give to a class court, the chairman of the court immediately stopped them from speaking and forbade them to continue.

Stefan Vági declared: "I regard the communists as my brothers. I am not a defender of bourgeois society, and for this reason I have never betrayed members of the Socialist Workers Party whom I knew as communists. In Hungary the S. W. P. is also persecuted. Since I founded this party I have been almost constantly in prison. My party considers the overthrow of the Bethlen system to be its chief tasks. It declares that the peasant must receive land free and that the Treaty of Trianon can only be abolished by the international action of the proletariat."

The chairman: "But you told the police that you had been a communist for twelve years."

Vági: "That is an error. I told Schweinitzer that I had been a communist for four hundred years. (laughter). When I saw how my comrades were being tortured I said the longest period of time that came into my head in the hope of satisfying Schweinitzer, but he found four hundred years too long and so I then said that I had been a communist since I was twelve years old."

Answering the question of the chairman as to the difference between the Socialist Workers Party and the Social Democratic Party, Vági described the treacherous policy of the S. D. P. in detail and said: Now the S. D. P. is concluding a new pact with the government, it has sold the trades unions and it is assisting in the preparation of a war against the Soviet Union." The chairman then refused to allow him to proceed.

The accused Loevy described the tortures to which the police had subjected him, whereupon there was a great tumult in the court. A number of the people in court went into hysterics. The chairman sprang up in his seat and called Loevy to order, whereupon many of the accused jumped up from their places and commenced to shout "Brutes, Beasts, scoundrels". We shall be revenged!" When the chairman had restored order Loevy continued, and when he declared that he would continue to uphold the banner of the Young Communist League of Hungary, the chairman refused to allow him to speak further.

The accused Poll, Veneczy, Rostas and Pipicz all declared themselves to be communists, refused to give any details of their work to a class court and began to speak about the brutalities of the police.

The accused Poll declared that the present system was preparing a war against the Soviet Union under the cover of a revision of the Peace of Trianon. When he declared: "The Hungarian working class will defend the Fatherland of the international proletariat from the Hungarian regime in the pay of the imperialists", the chairman called him to order and refused to permit him to speak further.

During the examination of the accused Helene Vamos there was once again a great tumult in the court. The accused spoke about the tremendous exploitation of the working and peasant women in Hungary. She declared herself to be a member of the Socialist Workers Party. The chairman then pointed to the protocol. When she declared in reply: "Those police beasts beat me half dead, despite my illness", the chairman called her to order and refused to permit her to proceed.

The proceedings were then adjourned.

FOURTH DAY OF PROCEEDINGS.

Budapest, 20th October 1927.

On the fourth day of the process the accused Ernst Normai was examined. He declared that he was not a member of the Communist Party but of the Socialist Workers Party, but that his convictions were communist. During the further course of his remarks the chairman interrupted him and refused to permit him to proceed.

The accused Hugo Kiss declared that he was a member of the C. P. of Hungary. He was threatened during the course of his remarks with punishment in the dark cell. He was called to order and forbidden to proceed with his remarks.

The five accused who followed all declared themselves to be members of the S. W. P. and complained of the brutalities of the police.

The accused Franz Boer declared that he was a communist by conviction, but that he was unfortunately not yet a member of the C. P. of Hungary. Whilst in the hands of the police the latter had forced a confession from him that he was a member of the C. P. That confession he now withdrew, not out of fear, but because it was untrue. He then requested the chairman to tell him where he might register himself as a member of the Party.

The chairman sentenced him to one day in the dark cell on account of the statement that he would conduct communist propaganda in the army if he could. The accused thanked the chairman for the punishment, whereupon three further days were added, all bedding to be removed, plus one day without food. When the accused complained that the chairman had torn certain statements in the confession of the accused out of their proper context, he was sentenced to a further three days in the dark cell and forbidden to speak further.

Three further accused were then examined and all declared themselves to be members of the S. W. P.

The landworker Tisza was then examined, and declared that he was a member of the S. W. P. and chairman of the local branch of the Landworkers Union in Szolnok. During the course of his remarks the chairman stopped him and refused to allow him to proceed.

The defending counsel then demanded that the statements of the accused regarding the brutalities of the police be entered into the protocol, and that this protocol be then forwarded to the Public Prosecutor with a view to commencing a process against the police for misuse of their official power. The chairman declared that a decision upon these demands of the defence would be announced later.

The proceedings were then adjourned until the following day.

FIFTH DAY OF PROCEEDINGS.

Budapest, 22nd October 1927.

At the opening of the session the chairman of the court declared that he would not permit the accused to use the session as a tribunal for communist agitation. 15 of the accused were examined.

Maria Mata declared indignantly that she had been stripped naked by the police and subjected for hours to blows and kicks. She protested that the chairman of the exceptional court, before which she was compelled to defend herself against a threatening sentence of death, did not allow her to speak about these brutalities.

The chairman then called her to order and forbade her to continue.

The young worker of sixteen Julius Gal declared that he was a communist by conviction but not a member of the C. P. He took no part in any illegal movement.

Chairman: "What is a legal and what an illegal movement?"

Gal: "All countries have their own customs. In Hungary every movement of the workers is suppressed."

The Chairman called him to order and asked him what Leninism was.

Gal: "One dare not speak about that in Hungary, and least of all in this place where one risks the dark cell."

The chairman then forbade him to go on.

Anto Rago declared that there was hardly any district in Hungary where he had not worked as a harvest worker. From his own experience he would say that in Hungary the workers lived as beggars from the crumbs of others.

Rago was continually called to order and when he commenced to speak about his maltreatment at his arrest the chairman did not allow him to proceed.

The accused Ficzek commenced his statement with the words: "I received the honour of being the first to be struck by Schweinitzer . . ."

The chairman immediately forbade him to proceed.

The accused Stefan Hunya who appeared in convicts dress as he had already been sentenced to two years imprisonment for being the author of a pamphlet, and the accused Stefan Roth of whose bestial maltreatment by the police the other accused had spoken, were also not permitted to proceed when they commenced to speak about the police brutalities.

The Bricklayer Konrad Scherer declared: "In the whole of Europe there are no greater blood suckers than the Hungarian capitalists. Against them the workers have the right to use all the means at their disposal." The chairman then threatened him with the dark cell. Scherer: "I can stand that too." "The Hungarian workers, even when they are well off, live in dark holes." The chairman warned him and then when he commenced to speak of his maltreatment by the police, the chairman did not allow him to proceed.

After a number of other accused were examined, who said nothing of greater importance, the proceedings were adjourned until Monday.

THE WHITE TERROR

Against the Fascist Terror in Lithuania.

Appeal of the E. C. C. I.

The Fascist Government of Lithuania, which has crushed the insurgents of Tauroggen, is conducting a frightful campaign of vengeance against all its opponents. It is seeking to consolidate its power on the corpses of the workers, of the toiling peasants and of the best portion of the intelligentsia. It is handing over to the Courts Martial not only communists, but left social democrats and popular socialists. About ten persons have already been shot and scores of others have been condemned to long terms of imprisonment under the most severe conditions. The bloodthirsty fascist regime is arbitrarily raging throughout the whole country.

All the elementary liberties are suppressed. The trade unions are either dissolved or they exist only on paper. All the other labour and Left peasant organisations are also dissolved. Strikes are completely prohibited. Even the bourgeois land reform which had been carried out hitherto has been abolished in the interests of the land owners and big peasants. The estates which had been taken for the purpose of being parcelled out among the poor and landless peasants are being given back to the land owners. The workers health insurance law is no longer in force. A strict censorship is exercised in the whole country. All criticism of the acts of the government is suppressed, even such which does not go beyond a timid Liberal criticism of the violations of the constitution by the fascist government. Only the land owners, the big peasants and a handful of capitalists in the towns enjoy the protection of the fascist government, and these are doing excellent business.

The whole of Lithuania has been converted into a regular torture chamber for the workers and peasants, who are watched over by the fascist gendarmes. After having prepared the ground in this manner, the fascist government is now about to carry out the farce of a referendum, in order to bring about, under the pressure of the terror, an alteration of the constitution.

The Communist International calls upon the working class and the toilers in every country to enter their protest against the Lithuanian hangmen who are mercilessly crushing the working people of Lithuania to the ground.

The insurrection in Tauroggen was the expression of that profound indignation which is prevailing at the present time in fascist Lithuania. It was doomed to failure, as it was conducted only by a small group of petty-bourgeois Left socialists and a few social democrats, who did not base themselves on the broad working and peasant masses and refused to form a united front with the Communists, but reckoned upon the support of the leaders of social democracy and of the popular socialists, who, however, shamefully left them in the lurch. They did not realise that a fight against the fascist hangmen is only possible with the aid of a revolt of the broad masses which can be led only by the Communist Party.

The Tauroggen insurrection nevertheless possessed political importance as being a sharp protest against the blood-thirsty fascist regime in Lithuania. Not a single revolutionary worker can hold back his tribute of respect for the insurgents who possessed the courage to proceed against the fascist hangmen with weapons in hand. The Comintern repudiates with scorn the accusation of brigandry brought against the organisers of the revolt at Tauroggen, which charge has been raised because they confiscated from a bank some ten thousands of roubles for the purpose of the revolutionary fight against fascism.

The Comintern calls attention to the shameful behaviour of the leaders of the social democrats and of the popular socialists and to their shameful treachery, and summons all workers and toilers to form a united front for the fight against the Lithuanian hangmen. A protest movement must be organised; there must be demanded the abolition of the white terror, the abolition of the state of siege and of the courts martial and the liberation of the political prisoners in Lithuania.

At the same time the collections for the political prisoners and for the victims of the white terror must be increased.

Eternal memory for the victims of the fascist terror in Lithuania!

Away with the fascist regime!

Long live the united front of the fight against the white terror in Lithuania and in the other countries.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Comrade Köblös Released!

Prague, 21st October 1927.

The local branch of the Red Aid in Beregszasz communicates that Comrade Köblös was released from prison yesterday afternoon. Comrade Köblös the undaunted pioneer of the Roumanian trades union movement was arrested about a month ago whilst crossing the Czechish-Roumanian frontier into Czechoslovakia. Since then the Roumanian Siguranza has done everything possible to secure the extradition of Comrade Köblös. The Siguranza placed a price of 100,000 Lei upon his head, and having regard to the fact that the laws of Czechoslovakia forbid the extradition of any political refugees in Czechoslovakia to any other State, the Siguranza tried to stamp him as a common criminal and secure his extradition that way. However, the Bojar government of Roumania has not been able to achieve its end, the extradition of Comrade Köblös into the hands of the Siguranza. The powerful protest movement of the international proletariat, and above all of the Czechoslovakian proletariat, has forced the Czechish government to respect its own laws and refuse to extradite Comrade Köblös as a political prisoner to the Roumanian Hangmen.

The Persecution of the Workers' and Peasants' Press in Bulgaria.

From a Letter from Sofia.

In the last few days of September, the "press trial" was held against the independent publication "Novini" ("News"), the daily with the greatest circulation among the working population of Bulgaria. This was but the beginning of a chain of press trials against the editors of that part of the press which is inconvenient for the Fascist course of the Lyapcheff Government. The accused parties were the editors Christian Draganov and Jordan Grantcharov, as also the Manager (!) Nikola Iieff. They were charged with having transgressed the notorious law in "Defence of the Realm". A series of articles in the "Novini" were cited by the authorities in proof of their accusation, most of them being appeals for amnesty from various parts of Bulgaria and from abroad, announcements of hunger-strikes in the prisons, necrologues for murdered persons, and the like. The communication of bare facts, which, it is true, are characteristic enough of the Bulgarian methods of government and justice, sufficed as the basis of a charge of sedition and the endangering of public safety. The accused were threatened with jail and with tremendous fines as well.

The trial was preceded by a furious campaign on the part of the Government organs against the press of the workers and peasant and proletarian press in Bulgaria, it suffices to say that also played its usual provocative rôle. It is a thorn in the flesh to the Social Democrats that the "Novini", though confiscated more than twenty times in the course of the last few months and forbidden to appear in many towns and villages, where even its readers are exposed to persecution, appears with a daily issue of from 10,000 to 12,000 copies, while the "Narod" is barely able to distribute a few thousand.

To illustrate the procedure of the Government against the peasant and proletarian press in Bulgaria, it suffices to say that on September 21st the following publications were confiscated: "Rabotnitchenka Delo", the organ of the Labour Party, "Mladegeska Douma", a periodical for juveniles, "Mladegesko Zname", the organ of the peasant youth organisation, "Zemledelsko Vasragedane", a peasant paper, "Nakovaluya" and "Vedrina", both literary weeklies. At the same time, six fresh press trials were initiated against the editors of these publications.

The trial of the editors of the "Novini", it is true, resulted in a certain disappointment for the Lyapcheff Government. The behaviour of the accused and the indignation of the broad masses at these continual persecutions made it appear advisable finally to acquit all three prisoners, who had, however, passed more than eight months in prison on remand. The defence put forward by the accused, and in particular the speech held in this connection by Jordan Grantcharov, did not fail to produce a deep effect.

Grantcharov fearlessly owned himself to be the champion of the workers and peasants. He depicted the constant persecutions to which not only the staff of the newspapers but also their readers and subscribers were subjected. The editors, moreover, were continually menaced by the so-called "irresponsible elements", backed by the reactionary press.

Grantcharov then proceeded to criticise the policy of the Sgovor Government party most severely.

"The 'Novini'", he declared "is fighting for the bloc of workers and peasants, for the abolition of the emergency laws, for the full and unconditional political amnesty. It is fighting against the war menace, for a Balkan federation of workers, and for friendly relations to the Soviet Union".

Hardly were the editors of the "Novini" discharged, than they were condemned to death by the tribunal (!) of the "irresponsible elements", i. e. by the Macedonian centre under General Protogerov. The "Novini" reports in its issue of October 8th, that representatives of the Macedonian murder centre appeared in the office with the demand that no word about Macedonia should appear in the columns of the "Novini" on pain of the "consequences". This means that the editors were threatened with murder, for they naturally refused to agree to any such stipulation as that advanced by Protogerov and Co.

Meanwhile the persecution of the Left workers' and peasants' press is being continued. In the first week of October, the different newspapers in question were confiscated in no less than twenty instances. All the editors are to be tried and may except to be condemned to years of imprisonment and heavy fines.

It is the duty of the international proletariat to make violent protest against the persecution of the workers' and peasants' press in Bulgaria and against the procedure both of the Lyapcheff Government and of the "irresponsible elements", who wish to add fresh murders to the many already committed in Bulgaria.

AGITPROP

For the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Theses of Agitation-Propaganda of the E. C. C. I. for Speakers.

1. On November 7th the workers of the Soviet Union and of the whole world will celebrate the tenth anniversary of the inception of Soviet power and of the proletarian dictatorship on the territory of former Tsarist Russia. Where formerly the authority of a handful of big landowners, bureaucrats, merchants, and manufacturers, with the dynasty of the Romanoffs at their head, prevailed in close alliance with international imperialism; where formerly the most cruel reaction, the most cruel white terror, suppressed the slightest attempt at a struggle for the freedom of the workers; where there was formerly a "prison of the peoples", there is now the power of the Soviets, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has driven out and destroyed the parasite classes, done away with the mercenary old bureaucratic apparatus, and created its own apparatus, that of the Soviets, nationalising the entire large and middle-sized industries; putting an end to the monopoly of education for the exploiting classes, creating privileges for the children of the workers, and turning the prison of the peoples into the fraternal union of independent national republics.

2. The October revolution is a tremendous event in the history of mankind. For the first time in the history of the class struggle, a suppressed class has succeeded not only in getting the better of the exploiters, but also in guiding an enormous territory in the direction of a completely new order of society. History tells of the Spartacus rebellion, of the

peasant wars of the Middle Ages, in particular of the steadfast fight put up by the Taborites, who temporarily managed to overcome the landed proprietors and clerical and secular princes. But these various rebellions on the part of the oppressed masses took place at the dawn of capitalism and were therefore doomed to ultimate failure.

History, furthermore, tells of the heroic fight of the Paris Communards, who for more than two months held their own in the heart of France, in Paris. But this first attempt at seizure of power on the part of the proletariat ended in defeat, for the capitalists were still at the apex of their power, while the proletariat was not yet sufficiently organised, a fact which expressed itself particularly in the absence of a organisatorily compact and ideologically uniform party.

The October Revolution took place in an epoch of the decline of capitalism, an epoch of imperialism, an epoch when Socialism had become a science. The October Revolution is the beginning of the proletarian world Revolution. The October Revolution was achieved by the proletariat, that class which now plays the decisive rôle in the process of production, the class which represents historical progress and is the leader of all the oppressed and enslaved, a class the social emancipation of which destroys all foundations of exploitation. Therein lies the power of the October Revolution, therein lies its universal historical significance, the pledge of its further success.

3. The ten years which have elapsed since the October Revolution was effected under the guidance of Lenin, were years of a great ordeal for the Russian proletariat, years of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice on the part of the masses. The October Revolution had taken place at a moment when the country was already devastated by three years of imperialist warfare. Immediately after that October there began the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie and great landowners with the aid of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, the present members of the Second International, a civil war against the Soviet power. For almost three years this struggle continued between the proletariat and its ally, the working peasantry, on the one hand and the bloc of the bourgeoisie and landowners on the other, the latter being assisted by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries and supplied with means by international imperialism.

The proletariat of Russia, cut off from the grain, coal, and oil centres, nevertheless succeeded in defeating its enemies. Neither the foreign interventionists, who spent hundreds of millions of dollars for troops of occupation and for the equipment and clothing of white guards, nor the Social lackeys who took part in the Governments of Samara, Siberia, and Archangel, fired at the leaders of the revolution (v. the murder of Volodarsky and Uritsky and the attempt on Lenin), and organised revolts in the rear of the Red Army (revolt of Savinkov at Yaroslava, Moscow revolt of the Left Social Revolutionaries, etc.), were of any avail.

The working masses of Petrograd, Moscow, Tula, Ivanovo-Vosnossensk, and other cities, who in spite of cold and starvation sent tens of thousands of their best sons to the front and themselves erected an iron discipline of work at home, succeeded, in co-operation with the working population of the villages, in defending their power. They succeeded in creating the Red Army, placing capable leaders at its head (Voroshilov, Frunse, and others), and smashing the White troops, which were led by the most experienced generals and frequently consisted entirely of officers and students.

The Russian proletariat has shown that a working class can form its own army and defeat its class enemies in regular civil warfare.

4. The civil war and the intervention passed by, but the trials of the proletariat were not yet over. The country was scourged with starvation (1921 and 1922), destroying tens of thousands of workers.

The proletariat, which had not yet quite finished the civil war, had to proceed to restore the national economy. Labour armies, first attempts at regulating the turbulent elementary processes of the market, difficulties in the creation of normal economic connections between the town and country districts on the basis of market relations, true heroism in the work of restoring the destroyed factories, of which no more than 18 percent. were in operation in 1921 — these were the main features of the transition period.

In the meantime, however, the provocation in the shape of revolts and interventions (in Carelia, at Vladivostock, etc.) did not cease until 1922, in which year the international capitalists at Genoa and the Hague attempted by "peaceful" means to coerce the Soviet Government to capitulate. In 1923, Curzon tried in vain in the name of British imperialism to provoke a further collision. After a short respite in 1924 and 1925, a renewed attack on the part of international imperialism has set in, with the systematic preparation of war on the Soviet Union.

5. The first decade of the existence of proletarian dictatorship in Russia is a historical testing of the difference which has always existed and still exists between Reformism and Bolshevism.

On the eve of the October Revolution, the reformists of all varieties (e. g. Martov in Russia, Otto Bauer, Kautsky, and Hilferding in other European countries) considered the maintenance of power by the proletariat and the government of a great territory by proletarians altogether improbable. The "Novaya Shisny" ("New Life"), a publication of the extreme Left wing of the Mensheviks, asserted that the proletariat was "isolated by the other classes of the country", that it "could not technically master the State apparatus", "could not set it into motion", and that it "would not be capable to resist the united pressure of hostile forces, which will sweep away not only the proletarian dictatorship but also the entire revolution".

Otto Bauer maintained the same, affirming that in Russia, where the proletariat was merely an insignificant minority, it would not be able to hold its own for any length of time.

The tenth anniversary of the October Revolution furnishes precise and irrefutable answers to these assertions. The tenth anniversary of the October Revolution is a patent proof of the bankruptcy of the reformist prophets.

The proletariat has managed to carry the peasantry with it and has succeeded in defending its dictatorship. No "hostile forces" have "swept away the proletarian dictatorship and with it the entire revolution"; it is the proletariat rather, with the help of the other workers, that has "swept away" the "hostile forces". While the Social Democratic Governments of Germany, Austria, etc. were no more than a bridge leading to bourgeois dictatorship and a means to destroy the proletarian revolution, the proletarian dictatorship in Russia has proved unshakable.

6. The Reformists, moreover, have proved utterly wrong in their prediction that the proletariat would "not be capable of technically mastering the State apparatus", or of putting it into operation. Even at that time, in September 1917, Lenin theoretically disproved these arguments of the reformist servants of the bourgeoisie.

"We are told that the proletariat will not be able to put the State apparatus into operation.

After the revolution of 1905, Russia was ruled by 130,000 landowners, governed by endless acts of violence practised against 150 million people, by unlimited illegalities, by the coercion of the overwhelming majority to work and starve.

And now we are told that Russia cannot be administered by 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party, administered in the interest of the poor against the rich. These 240,000 persons are even now backed by no less than one million votes of the adult population. Such a proportion between the number of party members and the number of votes cast for the party has just been established by the experience of Russia and the whole of Europe, at any rate by the August elections for the Petrograd municipal council. We have therefore already a State apparatus of one million persons, who are devoted to the Socialist State ideologically, and not merely because they receive a sum of money on the 20th of every month.

At the same time we have a "magic means", by which at a blow we can multiply our State apparatus to the tenfold, a means such as no single capitalist State ever had or ever will have at its disposal. This magic means is the recruiting of the workers themselves, the recruiting of the poor to do the daily routine work of the State administration." ("Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?", Russ. Ed., Vol. XIV., Part. 2, P. 236.)

The ten years' experience of the Soviet system have fully vindicated this thesis of Lenin. The proletariat has shattered the old State apparatus. It has cleared the 130,000 landowners and their creatures out of the administrative bodies. It has created the power of the Soviets. More than 1½ million workers, peasants, Red soldiers, employers, artisans, housewives, etc. are members of these organisations. Within the Soviets there are no fewer than 150,000 women. The social composition of the urban Soviets may be judged by the example of Moscow. Whereas under the Tsar the municipal council consisted to 28.7 per cent. of noblemen, to 61.9 percent. of manufacturers and merchants, and to 9.4 per cent. of petty-bourgeois elements, the Moscow Soviet last elected comprises 60.2 per cent. of workers (of which 43.7 per cent. are employed in factories), 26.6 per cent. of employees, 3.9 per cent. of Red soldiers, 4.4 per cent. of housewives, etc. The statistics of Soviet members do not yet completely reflect the recruitment of the working masses into the administration of the country. Each Soviet, especially each urban Soviet, contains a number of sections (for financial and taxation matters, for public education, for administrative and legislative questions, etc.), in which workers and peasants who are not members of the Soviet take part. In Moscow, for example, 3900 members of the Soviets correspond to 60,000 members of such sections; in Leningrad there are 30,000 members of sections.

The words of Lenin, that the dictatorship of the proletariat would recruit millions of workers to take part in the State administration, has now been realised.

The bourgeoisie veils its dictatorship, the dictatorship of a small minority, by election campaigns, in the course of which millions of electors are permitted to legalise the bourgeois dictatorship by handing in a ballot paper, whereupon they become the objects of capitalistic exploitation for a number of years.

In the Soviet territory there is no such pseudo-democracy. Many millions of workers (in 1927 there was a participation of 22 million electors, the activity being most pronounced among the manual workers, of whom 82.8 per cent. took part in the elections; in the industrial centres the percentage was even higher) annually take part in the elections, but the proletarian dictatorship does not subsequently remove them from the administration of the country. After the elections millions of the most active and class-conscious among them take part in the daily routine work of the authoritative organs.

7. The reformist lackeys of the bourgeoisie spread all sorts of rumours abroad in regard to Soviet dictatorship. But what do the facts tell us regarding the apparatus of this dictatorship?

The army is one of the main props of the dictatorship. 75 per cent. of the commanders of the Red Army are workers and peasants, 54 per cent. of them are Communists. As regards the commanders-in-chief, the Communists form the overwhelming majority. No less impressive is the composition of the war academy, where the highest commanders of the Red Army are trained. 24 per cent. of the graduates of this academy last year were workmen, 37 per cent. were peasants, 39 per cent. employees and others; 93 per cent. were Communists, and 97 per cent. had taken part in the civil war.

Of those attending the "command courses" and schools which train the commanders of the middling and lower ranks, 35.8 per cent. are workers and 53.3 per cent. are peasants, whereas in the Tsarist regime 50 per cent. of the graduates of the war school were nobles, 27 per cent. merchants and petty-bourgeois, 11 per cent. honorary citizens, i. e. from the great-bourgeois class, 3 per cent. from clerical circles and 8 per cent. big farmers.

Such is the leading apparatus of the Red Army which the reformists and ultra-Left renegades like to compare with the army of Bonaparte.

In the police, the police officers comprise 16.9 per cent. of workers, 69.2 per cent. of peasants, 28.4 per cent. of the Communist Party and Young Communist League. Among the commanders of the police 17.6 per cent. are workers, 70.3 per cent. peasants, 41.3 members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

Finally we have the law-courts. Among the popular justices, 32.8 per cent. are workers, 38.2 per cent. peasants, 72.5 per cent. members of the Communist Party and the Young Com-

munist League. Besides the popular justices, however, the Soviet tribunals have appointed for a definite time so-called popular auditors, who combine with the justices to form a board for the settlement of forensic matters. In 1926, there were 543,694 such auditors in the entire country. In the urban districts they are elected almost exclusively from the factories and workshops.

These mere figures thus show that after destroying the old State apparatus of the bourgeoisie and landowners, the proletarian dictatorship was able to replace it by a new apparatus, mainly recruited from the working and peasant classes. Through the Soviets, this apparatus is in close touch with the people and subject to their immediate control.

8. Apart from the Soviets, the proletarian dictatorship has created or ensured the powerful development of a series of mass organisations, which are in their outer form not organs of authority, but which influence such organs, being the threads by which the ruling class is connected with the broad masses in town and country.

The mainstay of the proletarian dictatorship among these mass organisations are the trade unions, numbering 10 millions of workers and employees as their members in the urban and rural districts. While in Germany and Great Britain, where trade unions have existed for decades, these unions comprise from 4 to 5 million workers and employees, i. e. not more than 25 per cent. of the total number of workers and employees in those countries, the proletarian dictatorship has in about ten years helped about nine tenths of the total of workers and employees to combine, at the same time making the trade unions into schools of Communism.

The Young Communist League, comprising 2 million members or the majority of the working youth and the more progressive sections of the middle and poorer peasant classes, aids the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, in its task of spreading the proletarian influence in the villages.

The institution of working women and peasant women delegates, which is participated in by hundreds of thousands of women; the army of worker and peasant correspondents, numbering from 200,000 to 300,000, to say nothing of dozens of other less important organisations, all act as ties between the proletarian dictatorship and the broad masses, as means to recruit the latter for the work of construction, and as creative forms of mass control over and above the State apparatus.

The State apparatus of the Soviet realm still shows a number of deficiencies. It is still suffering from the after-pains of the old bureaucracy, which are inevitable, in the first place because the Soviet Union is a country with a predominantly peasant population and with a proletariat which is as yet weak in numbers, and secondly because the Soviet Union has inherited a great measure of ignorance and lack of education. But there is no country in which the shortcomings are being eliminated with such ruthlessness, in which the masses take such an immediate and active part in this task of elimination, and in which the State power is so energetic in its eradication of all the evils of bureaucracy.

9. The results of ten years of economic and cultural construction in the Soviet Union demonstrate the complete breakdown of the reformist predictions as to the impossibility of establishing Socialism in view of the uncivilised and uncultivated condition of Russia. In some of his latest articles, Lenin scathingly, attacked this reformist unbelief, which has now unfortunately also been taken up by certain Communists. He wrote as follows on the subject:

"Is it not indeed the authority of the State over all means of wholesale production, the State power in the hands of the proletariat, is it not the co-operation of this proletariat with the many millions of small peasants, the guidance of this peasantry by the proletariat — is it not just this that is needed, is this not all that is needed for the establishment of a perfect Socialist society? This is not yet the construction of such a society, but it is all that is needed for that construction." (Lenin, Vol. XVIII., Part II, P. 129/30.)

The proletariat has succeeded in restoring the economy of the country, destroyed by seven years of imperialist and civil war. Now, ten years after the October revolution, the output of big industry has exceeded pre-war production by 19 per cent. In agriculture, the area under cultivation has already reached the pre-war extent.

The international bourgeoisie with their learned experts (such as the American Moulton) were convinced that the Soviet Union would not be capable of rehabilitating its economy without foreign credits. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, after nationalising industry, restored that industry at a rate which would be inconceivable in bourgeois economy. In 1920 the industry had an output valued at no more than 1344 million roubles, but in 1923/24 the value of industrial production already figured at 2583 millions, in 1924/5 at 3917 millions, and in 1926/27 at 6637 millions.

Deprived of support from without, the proletariat was yet able to invest more than 5000 millions of roubles in the last few years out of the country's own means. In the coming economic year, more than 1000 million roubles will be invested.

The growth of Soviet industry is a growth of Socialist industry. In the Soviet Union 85.9 per cent. of industry is in the hands of the proletarian State. Of the 14.1 per cent. falling to the share of private capital, the bulk is composed of the smaller industries. In the leading industries the share of private capital is quite insignificant (2.2 per cent.). Transport, crude oil, electricity, are all monopolies of the State. The banking system and foreign trade are likewise in the hands of the State. The rôle played by private capital in industry is constantly on the decline (from 18.7 per cent. in 1924/25 to 14.1 per cent. in 1926/27; the share of private capital will sink next year to 12.7 per cent.). The same may be said of the general rôle of private capital in the whole national economy.

In the rural districts there is an increasing consolidation of the productive co-operatives, which are closely allied to the socialist industry. The productive co-operatives are a main tool in the transformation of the rural districts, the main path along which these districts are approaching Socialism (naturally with the aid and collaboration of the Soviet industry). By the success of the co-operatives we may estimate the success of socialism in the villages. Thus, in 1922, the productive co-operatives numbered 3.1 million members; in 1926 their membership had risen to 7.7 millions.

Socialist systemisation is likewise ousting the private element in regard to commercial turnovers. In 1923/24 the share of private capital (i. e. of small capital) was 58.6 per cent. in retail, and 21.8 in wholesale trade. In 1926/27 this proportion had dropped to 35.5 per cent. in the former, and 9.7 per cent. in the latter connection.

The methods and directives of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union are set forth in the five-year plan worked out by the State Planning Commission (Gosplan). This scheme provides for an increase in the rôle of the Socialist elements from 63.4 to 69.6 per cent. In the same space of time, the rôle of industry in the entire economy of the country is to advance from 39.5 to 47 per cent. In industry itself, the rôle of the heavy industries will increase from 31.3 to 33.4 per cent. In the coming five-year period it is intended that some 6000 million roubles be invested in industry alone. The Soviet country will be enriched by such giant works of technical enterprise as the water-power station on the Dnieper (Dnjeprostroy), the Volga-Don canal, connecting the two most important waterways of the European part of the Soviet Union, and the Turkestan-Siberian railway across steppes and mountain ranges, linking up the two tremendous regions of Siberia and Turkestan. What the savants and technicians of Russia dreamt of for decades, is now to be realised by the proletariat and the proletarian State. Can we need a more powerful proof of the senselessness of asserting that the proletariat of the Soviet Union is incapable of guiding and developing the productive forces of the country?

10. The tenth anniversary of October also shows a great balance in the field of improvements of the social economic conditions of labour and of the standard of life of the working class. The proletarian dictatorship has firmly consolidated the eight hours' day, the actual day of work becoming shorter from year to year (in 1923 7.8 hours, in 1925 7.6 hours, in 1926 7.5 hours).

In the Manifesto of the session of the Central Executive Committee, which was adopted on October 15th, the order was issued to reduce the hours of work to 7 hours in the next few years, the carrying out of this order being already embarked on in the coming year. And that in a period in which

the working class in the bourgeois countries is losing its eight hour day and is compelled to work for 9 and even 10 hours.

For young workers and workers underground, the hours of work do not exceed six hours. In occupations which are particularly injurious to health, the hours of work are even less. Workers of both sexes have every year two weeks holiday with full pay (a number of categories has four weeks holiday). A woman worker with child gets two months holiday before and two months again after her confinement.

In 1926/27, social insurance, which is exclusively maintained from contributions paid by the employers, amounted to more than 850 million roubles. With these means (and money raised from surplus profits for improving the life of the workers) hundreds of thousands of workers are sent to sanatoria every year. About 50,000 workers of both sexes find accommodation in local sanatoria every year, and 14,000 in the Crimea, the Caucasus and other health resorts of the Soviet Union. The network of night sanatoria, factory and urban out-patient departments, crèches, kindergartens etc. supplements these measures for the protection of the working class and for the protection of the health of the young generation of workers.

Wages are increasing from year to year, both absolutely and relatively (i. e. within the system of national revenue). Thus for instance the wages of the working class amounted to 23.2% of the national revenue in 1923, to 26.1% in 1924/25, to 30% in 1926/27. In 1923/24 wages amounted on an average to 22.87 roubles (pre-war roubles), in 1926/27 to 33.90 roubles (by 16 to 17% more than in pre-war times). If we take into consideration that the worker of the Soviet Union pays no taxes for social insurance and enjoys great privileges with regard to communal economic institutions (apart from the fact that tens of thousands of workers have been allotted flats in the centre of the towns), that important privileges are granted to the Labour House-Building Co-operative etc. — we understand that real wages in the Soviet Union are considerably higher than nominal wages.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union can boast of important achievements in the domain of social economics. These achievements are gigantic if we take into consideration that only for the past five, six years the Soviet Union has found it possible to display its energies at the front of labour and culture. Neither the working class however nor its party hush up existing deficiencies, they are not blinded by the achievements they have already attained. The army of unemployed is still numerous and is increased every year by the afflux from the villages. Housing conditions are still difficult. The sanitary, the hygienic measures for the protection of work are still insufficient etc. The energy however which helped the proletariat to achieve its magnificent successes in socialist construction are a guarantee that it will, in essentials, also overcome these difficulties in the next few years.

11. In his polemics against Suchanov in 1923, that Suchanov who, at that time, was an extremely Left Menshevik who denied the possibility of the construction of socialism, because Russia was too little civilised and cultured, Lenin wrote:

"You say that civilisation is required for building up socialism. Very well. But — why should it not have been possible for us first to establish preliminary conditions of civilisation such as the expulsion of the landed proprietors and of the capitalists in order then to begin with the introduction of socialism? In what books have you read that such alterations of the usual historical sequence are inadmissible or impossible?"

If a definite cultural level is necessary for the creation of socialism (although nobody can say what sort of "cultural level" it ought to be), why should we not above all start with the revolutionary conquest of the preliminary conditions of this definite level in order then only to advance so as to catch up the other peoples on the basis of the workers' and peasant power and of the Soviet system?" (Lenin, vol. XVIII/II, pag. 111.)

"Our opponents have said more than once that we are advocating the irrational cause of implanting socialism in a country which does not possess a sufficiently high cultural level. They were mistaken however in that we did not begin at the end prescribed by theory (of all sorts of

pedants) and that, in our country, the political and social revolution was the forerunner of the cultural changes, the cultural revolution, we witness to-day at any rate.

For the time being, this cultural revolution suffices us to become a completely socialist country, but this cultural revolution raises incredible difficulties both of a purely cultural character (considering that we are illiterates) and of a material nature (as, in order to be cultured, a certain development of the material means of production, a certain material basis are needed)." (Lenin, vol. XVIII/II, pag. 134/35.)

The subsequent years have brilliantly confirmed Lenin's foresight. For the past few years a real cultural revolution has been going on in the Soviet country in which peaceful construction was only embarked upon in 1922. The workers of the country which has hitherto been the most backward and uncivilised country in Europe, have already achieved much of which the proletarians of the "civilised" countries may only dream.

The legacy of Tsarism was illiteracy of the majority of the people. In the last few years, the Soviet Power has helped to do away with illiteracy among 10 millions of workers. One to 1½ millions of illiterates on an average are learning to read and write every year. In the towns, illiteracy has almost completely been wiped out.

Under the Tsarist rule, 2 roubles 78 copecks per head of the population was allocated to national education — to-day a sum of 4 roubles 79 copecks.

To-day, almost 10 million children (in 1914/15 — 7,200,000) are instructed in grammar schools which were formerly ruled by priests.

The school has been separated from the Church and is teaching the children at an early age the elementary ideas of a scientific knowledge of nature.

In the secondary schools, which were formerly chiefly attended by children of the bourgeoisie, the officials and Kulaks, 39% of the scholars are now children of workers and peasants, 37% children of employees and 6% children of businessmen. Apart from the secondary schools, there is a network of factory schools in the factories (about 250,000 pupils) created in the years of the revolution, in which the general instruction of the children is combined with their training in a definite occupation.

The University was in former times a monopoly of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners. In all the so-called civilised countries, the universities, the technical colleges, the scientific laboratories, the professorial chairs are a monopoly of the bourgeoisie. It is only in exceptional cases that individual persons from the ranks of the proletariat may rise to the summits of human knowledge and of science.

In the Soviet Union, the whole system of academical training is built up in such a way that the monopoly is ensured to the workers, above all to the proletariat. There is, above all, the system of labour faculties (day and evening courses of lectures), preparing the workers for university. In 1926, 45,000 pupils (amongst them 58.9% workers) attended the labour faculties.

In addition to the labour faculties, a network of technical training-schools exists, at which professional workers of medium qualification are being trained. There are in the Soviet Union 1,007 technical training schools attended by 180,000 pupils (their social composition in the R. S. F. S. R. being: 20.1% workers, 37.2% peasants, 3.3% employees and 8.7% other persons).

In 1926/27 more than 160,000 students (in 1915 only 125,000) attended the universities. With regard to their extraction, there are amongst them 28.7% workers, 22.2% peasants, 45.5% employees and intellectual workers etc. 72.6% of the students are trade union members. Only one per cent of the students are sons of the bourgeoisie. If we add to this system of preparation of leaders of industry and the transformation of agriculture the dozens of Communist universities (attended by ten thousands of workers, the overwhelming majority of whom being workers), at which party leaders, Soviet leaders, cooperative and trade union leaders etc. are being trained, we have a clear picture as to how the proletarian dictatorship has effected the slogan of "Science to the Workers!" 100,000 to 200,000 workers of both sexes and young workers attending the universities — this is our answer to all the nonsense collated by the Reformist lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

The relative significance of this cadre of proletarian leaders of socialist construction is all the greater as those workers who have completed their training at a university are openly favoured concerning the distribution of responsible leading functions in industry, not to speak of the purely organisatory fields of construction.

The system of school education however is only a section of the cultural revolution which is taking place in the Soviet country.

In the Soviet Union there is a network of labour universities, a gigantic network of general training courses, labour faculties, academies and Communist universities for home education, a gigantic network of professional training courses for functionaries of trade unions, co-operatives etc. In them hundreds of thousands of workers supplement their knowledge and are given directions regarding their work.

A daily issue of 8 million numbers of newspapers (before the revolution 2½ millions), more than 5,000 workers' clubs, 25,000 readingrooms in the villages, about 20,000 public libraries, about 6,000 popular and peasant "homes", about 2,000 travelling cinemas, several millions of workers cultivating sport, hundreds of workers playing chess, about 650 theatres, which distribute half of the tickets at reduced prices among workers and employees, millions of workers and peasants who are members of the Society of the Friends of Wireless and Cinema, of the societies "Down with Illiteracy!", "The League of Atheists", the cultural sponsor societies for the village etc. — these are the societies which are exclusively under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard the C.P.S.U. — a gigantic network of the cultural work of enlightenment carried out by the trade unions, cooperatives and other organisations — this is the other side of this cultural revolution.

The Soviet country could not of course rid itself with one blow of the ignorance and lack of culture dating back for centuries. But is it not evident that the proletarian dictatorship actually represents a powerful lever of cultural development? **Do not the facts quoted show that the workers of the Soviet Union have succeeded in one decade in going a distance in their cultural development which the proletariat in the civilised countries have not gone in many decades?**

12. The ten years' experience of the Soviet Union proves the complete bankruptcy of the Reformist estimate of the prospects of the October revolution. The proletariat has understood how to maintain the power, how to create its own apparatus of State, how to preserve the most important key positions in the hands of the State, how to direct economics into socialist channels and how to achieve a gigantic work for the cultural transformation of the country.

This is the balance of the ten years of Bolshevik policy.

What, on the other hand, is the balance of Reformism? Reformism opposed Bolshevism with its idea of a peaceful development into socialism, of a peaceful conquest of the power, of the apparatus of State. How did it stand the test of the last ten years?

Instead of developing into socialism, the proletariat of the European countries is losing the achievements of decades. In Germany, Italy and other countries the 9 to 10 hours day has been introduced. In Great Britain the miners are already obliged to work an hour longer, and attacks on the hours of work of other occupational branches are on the order of the day. There is hardly any country in which wages have reached the pre-war level, but in a number of countries they are below pre-war level. To this must be added millions of unemployed, the offensive of house owners, the constant increase of taxes, new customs duties with every year which reduce the actual wages. In the year of revolutionary development the Reformist leaders kept the masses back from the proletarian revolution and played the rôle of their executioners; now, Mussolini has annihilated the class trade unions, British bourgeoisie even robbed the trade unions of their right to strike by wiping out the conquests of a whole century, and the bourgeoisie of other countries is following in their tracks. The Reformist leaders have now even left off talking about socialisation and similar topics. Instead of this, they are bringing a new fraud to the fore: peace in industry, "industrial democracy". In this way they are facilitating to the bourgeoisie their attack on the working class and are taking part in the preparations intended to check the fresh wave of revolution.

What then is the balance of "the peaceful conquest of power"?

The Social Democrats have already long ago been chased from the — by no means numerous — posts they had occupied. The social democratic leaders of Germany, Italy, Austria and other countries have saved the bourgeoisie. Now, the social democratic Moor has done his duty almost everywhere and is told to go. The "peaceful" conquest of power has produced the result that, in Italy, Mussolini's Fascist terror holds sway; in Austria, in Vienna, the workers are shot because of their demonstration against class justice; in Germany, Hindenburg is at the head of the bourgeois bloc, who considers himself President by the grace of God and William; in Great Britain and France, a band of reactionary diehards is at the helm who are openly organising a campaign against the Soviet Union. Mussolini, Hindenburg, the firing in Vienna — these are the most palpable fruits gained by steering the Reformist course towards a peaceful conquest of power. The past ten years have torn to bits all illusions about a peaceful conquest of political power.

The Reformist way of "peaceful development into socialism" has led to the young generation now getting under the guardianship of the priests. It suffices to point to Germany where the bourgeois bloc, with the participation of the kindly disposed Social Democrats (see the decision of the Prussian Government at the head of which is the Social Democrat **Braun**) is working out an educational law which isactually identical with the Church holding the hegemony in the schools.

The offensive of Catholicism in Austria, Belgium, France and Italy, the boom of mysticism in Europe, the capitulation of the social democratic theoreticians to the so-called religious socialism, the exclusive application of science to preparations for war, to the production of tools for the wholesale extermination of the peoples (chemistry, aeroplanes, technical science altogether), these are the landmarks of "cultural revolution" in the bourgeois countries. What can the Reformist leaders show up in contrast to the genuine cultural revolution which is taking place in the Soviet Union?

13. Finally, the national liberation. The Soviet Union represents a free alliance of Soviet Republics, an alliance which is based not only on the equality of rights of the nations but on the advanced nations helping those which are backward and have formerly been oppressed. The building of works and factories in those districts which were formerly only agrarian colonies of Tsarism, redistribution of the Budget of the Soviet Union, part of the means of the R. S. F. S. R. being allocated to the backward peoples which have formerly been oppressed, a firm course steered towards the nationalising of the State apparatus of the national Republics, the creation of new literary languages, of special national academies — these are the main features of the nationality policy carried on in the Soviet Union.

What do we see in the co-called civilised countries? In Alsace Lorraine, the French bourgeoisie is suppressing the national minorities, the Belgian bourgeoisie (with the help of Vandervelde and of the whole Labour party) is suppressing the Flemish people. The bourgeoisie of those nations which were previously not independent as regards their national position, is carrying on the same policy. The Polish bourgeoisie is carrying on a policy of persecution against the White Russians and the Ukrainians, the Czech bourgeoisie a policy of persecution of the Hungarians, the Germans and the Ukrainians. There is no single bourgeois country in which the exploitation of the workers of all nations is not combined with a policy of incitement of one nation against the other, with a policy of persecution of the national minorities.

Even more cruel and cynical is the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie towards their colonies and semi-colonies. The campaign of revenge of the French imperialists against the peoples of Morocco and Syria, the executioner's rôle played by the United States in Nicaragua and other Latin American countries, the cruel suppression of the insurrection of the working masses in Indonesia by Dutch colonial slave owners, all these facts and a large number of others reveal the true features of "freedom" and "equality" in the countries of the bourgeoisie.

In these circumstances, the Reformist talk about the League of Nations is nothing but hypocrisy, of which only conscious agents of imperialism are capable.

14. Every proletarian, if he compares the balance of Lenin's policy with that of Reformist policy, can and should ask himself:

if the four millions of industrial workers of Russia succeeded in establishing the proletarian dictatorship in a comparatively backward country with a population of 150 millions and in attracting millions of workers to the administration of the country, if the dictatorship of the proletariat in these five years of peaceful development brought about tremendous results in its economic development, gigantic successes in the cultural transformation of the country — why then was it impossible for the industrial proletariat of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, which always forms the fourth part (sometimes even more) of the whole population, which is better organised and trained than was the proletariat of Russia in 1917 — to achieve the same end? Why must it on the contrary tolerate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which forces down its standard of living, which is screwing more and more tightly the thumb-screws of political reaction, in whose hands the monopoly of education and of the Press has been preserved without any restriction? Who is responsible for this?

The Reformist leaders, the Reformist policy. In the years of revolutionary development, the Reformist leaders have fettered the will of the proletarian masses, the Reformist leaders did, at that time, begin to play the rôle of "bloodhounds" who crushed the proletarian revolution. The Reformist policy devastated everything.

15. The tenth anniversary of October very sternly puts the question to every proletarian: What next? Are we patiently to tolerate the attacks of the bourgeoisie until it will wrest from us the achievements of decades or should we enter upon the path of our Russian brothers, the path of proletarian dictatorship? The experience of the class war in the last decade has already convinced millions of proletarians of the fact that the way of Reformism is the way to slavish submission to the bourgeoisie.

The victories of the October revolution on the one hand, the treachery of the Reformist leaders on the other hand gave the decisive impulse to the creation of the international Communist Party, the Communist International. In all the great class fights of the last ten years, the Communist Parties have been in the vanguard of the army of workers. The heroic fight of the Spartacists in 1919, the leading rôle of Hungarian Communists in the days of the Soviet Republic in Hungary, the active participation of British Communists in the general strike and in the fight of the miners and the rôle of a vanguard played by Austrian Communists in the days of the Viennese events — these are the fundamental facts of this struggle.

At the tenth return of the anniversary of October, great Communists vanguards have been formed in the most important countries of Europe, vanguards which are closely linked with the masses of workers. The influence of the Communist Party has been growing in the past few years, the class conscious workers are turning their back on the Social Democratic party.

The mass demonstrations of solidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti, the rising of the Viennese proletarians, the election results of the C. P. of Germany go to prove that the symptoms of a fresh revolutionary development are present. Powerful class fights are imminent.

The celebration of the tenth anniversary of the October revolution also coincides with a mighty solidarity movement of the workers of all countries with the workers of the Soviet country. Millions of non-party and social democratic workers, drawing the balance of the achievements of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and comparing it with their own achievements, are inspired with the strongest faith in the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, they are imbued with the determination to unite for an irreconcilable class struggle against their own bourgeoisie.

Only a small group of persons lacking in confidence, consisting either of persons who vacillated even in the days of the Great October and were described by Lenin as "strikebreakers of the revolution" or of petty bourgeois intellectuals who have nothing in common with the proletarian movement — only this handful of persons lacking in faith is capable of declaring, in the days of the tenth anniversary of October, that the Soviet Union is not advancing towards socialism but towards capitalism, that Lenin's Party, the Party which organised our

October, which organised the defence against counter-revolution, which is leading the economic and cultural development of the Soviet Union, is degenerate. The bourgeoisie sees further than this panic-stricken group of faithless persons.

16. The bourgeoisie is clearly feeling the approach of class fights in the West. It recognises very well the revolutionising influence of the economic and cultural achievements in the Soviet Union. It realises that it will only be able to stifle the revolution of the Chinese people, the revolutionary movements in other colonial countries and parry fresh attacks of the proletariat, when it has throttled the Soviet Union. For this reason it is preparing for war against the Soviet Union with feverish haste. The breach between Great Britain and the Soviet Union was the signal for this open preparation. The attack of the French Government on the Soviet Ambassador is a further stage in the creation of a united front of imperialists.

The economic blockade of the Soviet Union which is being organised by the British bourgeoisie (pressure exercised on the Banks of Austria and Germany which had financed exports to the Soviet Union, pressure on Lithuania which is prepared to conclude a commercial treaty with the Soviet Union, pressure on France and Czechoslovakia which are buying naphtha from the Soviet Union etc.), the arming of the Border States, the dispatch of spies and terrorists from the ranks of White emigrants to the Soviet Union, the manoeuvres of Poland on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the manoeuvres of Roumania on the frontiers of Bessarabia, the demonstrations of the British fleet in the Baltic Sea — all these and many other facts give evidence that preparations for war against the Soviet Union are proceeding very actively. The Reformist leaders are taking part in these preparations. They are the organisers and inspirers of the campaign of calumny against the Soviet Union. They form an agency of the bourgeoisie within the labour movement by fulfilling the task of disintegrating the ranks of the latter, of breaking the resistance of the working class in case of war against the Soviet Union and thus ensuring the victory over the first proletarian State.

The ten years' anniversary of October should raise with all severity the question of the defence of the Soviet Union, the defence of the first Workers' State. The tenth anniversary of October should consolidate the alliance between the world proletariat and the Proletariat of the Soviet Union.

Our slogans on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the October revolution are as follows:

Long live the October revolution, the beginning of world revolution! Long live the world revolution!

Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The imperialists are preparing for war against the Soviet Union, against the first Workers' State — proletarians, prepare for the defence of the Soviet Union! Prepare for directing your arms against the class enemy in your own country!

The proletarians of all countries have no other Fatherland than the Fatherland of proletarian dictatorship, the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics! **Down with the defence of the bourgeois country! A merciless fight against those who raise their hands against the Fatherland of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union!**

Long live Leninism! Down with Reformism!

Long live the alliance between the world proletariat and the workers of the Soviet Union! Long live international trade union unity!

Down with the bourgeois State which subjugates national minorities and suppresses national independence!

Long live the proletarian justice of the Soviet country!

Down with the class justice of the bourgeoisie!

Down with the White Terror!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organiser of the great October, the leader of the Soviet Union, the vanguard of the international Communist movement!

Long live the Communist International, the organiser of the coming world October! Long live the iron Leninist unity of the Comintern!

THE EFFECT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ABROAD

The Russian Revolution and the Scandinavian Workers.

By A. J. Smolan.

Although the Scandinavian countries are the immediate neighbours of Russia, their workers knew little or nothing in pre-war times in regard to conditions in Tsarist Russia.

The only organisation of Scandinavian workers in closer touch with the Russian Social Democrats at the commencement of the century was that of the Swedish Young Socialists (or Anarcho-Socialists). These latter, who have since then relapsed into a small and insignificant group of fanatic humanists and anti-Bolshevists, were at that time honest class-fighters, exercising a considerable influence among the Swedish workers thanks to their anti-religious, anti-parliamentary, and anti-military propaganda. They were therefore also in violent opposition to the Social Democratic Party under Hjalmar Branting, though they were too much influenced by the ideas of Bakunin to understand and profit in their own tactics by the teachings of the Bolshevists, in so far as they were known to them.

The Scandinavian Social Democrats, meanwhile, remained pronouncedly inactive.

In spite of the revolution of 1905, the leaders of the Scandinavian workers altogether underestimated the forces determined and systematically at work at undermining Tsarism, nor did they reckon at all with the resistance of these forces in the event of another war. They showed the same fear of Russian Tsarism as the bourgeois parties did, sharing the opinion of the latter that the freedom and democracy of their capitalistic countries must be defended against a possible attack by Tsarism. Hence the astounding declaration of Branting on the occasion of the May demonstration of 1912, when the Stockholm demonstrators were told to their great surprise that "all workers of Sweden must be ready to defend their country against the rapacious and barbarous imperialism of Russia".

Even at that time Branting's attitude proved that the "tried elements" had no need of learning a new lesson, since they were already then willing to defend their capitalistic country with the bodies of the masses misguided by them. True, at the outbreak of the war the leaders grouped around Branting had yet something to learn, for it was with admirable rapidity that they managed to transfer the fear they had always had of Tsarism to the "barbaric Prussian militarism", to be destroyed by the soldiers of Little Father Nicholas in the interest of a preservation of European culture and democracy.

The Social Democratic Left wing, mainly based on the well-organised Social Democratic youth organisations in the three kingdoms, most emphatically protested against the patriotic attitude of the official party leaders. This left wing thus came increasingly under the influence of the Russian Bolshevists, whose intrepid and consequential opposition to the war, entailing banishment to Siberia for their entire fraction in the Douma, made a deep impression on the workers of Scandinavia. This influence was enhanced when representatives of the Opposition in question came into immediate touch at the Zimmerwald Conference with Lenin; they joined the Zimmerwald Left Fraction conducted by him.

Then came the Russian February revolution of 1917, likewise destined to have its effect on the neighbouring countries. This found expression in the case of Scandinavia in the form of numerous spontaneous demonstrations of the proletariat, the masses not putting forward any clear political objectives but obviously being incited by the new Russian example, which encouraged them to make a determined fight for an improvement of their own position. The result was numerous collisions with the police, whom it was found necessary to reinforce by soldiers, and the net gain for the workers would certainly have been more considerable if the leaders of the Left had succeeded, in combining the numerous local actions into a concerted movement and in breaking the sabotage of the Social Democrats and trade union leaders. For the spirit of the masses

was pronouncedly revolutionary, which is proved by the fact that rebellious workers unarmed the troops sent against them. The leaders of the Left, for the most part intellectuals, lost their heads and found nothing better to do than to follow the example of the reformists in "calming" the masses at the request of the impotent authorities.

Under the impression of the Russian February revolution, the Swedish Left separated from the Social Patriots and formed an independent party, which rapidly grew in dimensions. In a short time it numbered some 30,000 individually enrolled members, added to which there was the Social Democratic Youth organisation, counting from 15 to 20 thousand members, a formidable number if it is borne in mind that the old Social Democratic Party had needed more than a generation to attain a membership of 150,000 by the wholesale affiliation of the trade unions.

When the revolutionary flood was at its height, the Left wing of the Socialist Party was extraordinarily active in propaganda, sending many itinerant orators out into the open country and in a short time acquiring 17 or 18 newspapers, including four dailies, i. e. almost as many as the old party. In several provinces it completely governed the working classes; in the North of Sweden, indeed, to the total exclusion of the old party. In anticipation of an imminent world revolution, not only workers but a great many petty-bourgeois elements and many of the most prominent labour leaders of the Left joined the party, the latter including 16 members of Parliament, school-teachers, members of provincial boards, and even a priest, besides the well-known humanist and Buddhist Carl Lindhagen, Mayor of Stockholm.

Even the trade unions, in all countries the firmest bulwark of the reformists, began to waver under the influence of such great events, and at the conference of metal workers held in 1919 the Social Democrats succeeded in holding their own solely by combining with the small fraction of Anarchists.

The revolutionary spirit, meanwhile, had spread to wide circles of the army, where the ground had been well prepared by decades of anti-militarist propaganda on the part of the Young Socialists and of the Social Democratic, now Communist, Youth organisation. In all garrison towns and naval ports, soldiers' and seamen's councils were formed, but unfortunately not enough attention was paid by the leaders of the Left to this movement, which was therefore soon abandoned for lack of initiative.

Yet another circumstance is characteristic of the great ideological influence of the Left and of the spirit then prevailing among the masses. In the spring of 1918, the Soviet Power established by the revolutionary Finnish workers was put down by force of arms, mainly with the help of 50,000 German soldiers, sent by Ludendorff with the connivance of men like Scheidemann. Also the Swedish reactionaries, however, had taken an active part in the fight against the Reds of the neighbouring country, whither they had sent several thousands of volunteers, including some hundreds of misguided peasants' sons and workers. On their return, these men were pitilessly persecuted, being treated like outlaws by the entire working class. They had to go from place to place and could nowhere find lasting employment, for as soon as it was known that they were Whites their discharge was unanimously demanded by the workers.

The Russian October revolution had a very great effect especially on the Norwegian labour movement. The tendencies it awakened contributed to the accession to power of the Left wing both in the trade union movement and in the Social Democratic Labour Party. Overnight, all the leaders of the latter turned from tame compromising reformists into decided revolutionaries, but naturally only so as not to lose the last remnant of their authority with the masses, the overwhelming

majority of which was extremely enthusiastic for the Russian revolution and anxious to assist it actively. Under the pressure of this mass movement the great Norwegian Labour Party joined the newly-formed Third International, the leaders albeit with a weak protest which was overheard by the enthusiastic masses. This was the first larger West-European Social Democratic party to affiliate to the Third International.

The masses, full of honest enthusiasm and suspecting no tricks, were glad to hear that even Ole Lian, for many years chairman of the trade union federation, was just as enthusiastically in favour of the Russian revolution and the aims of Bolshevism as were the old party veteran Christian Knudsen and Martin Tranmael, the semi-syndicalist leader of the trade-union opposition, who had been ruthlessly opposing Lian's reformism for many years. It was thus only a few years ago that the leaders could finally reveal their true nature, throw aside the revolutionary mask, and break with the Comintern, and even then it was only possible with an abundance of radical phrases with a view to a further hoodwinking of the masses.

Just as the Russian revolution influenced the masses and fostered their development towards the Left, it drove the Social Democratic leaders, avid of authority, towards the Right into the arms of the reaction. Thus Branting openly demanded the intervention of the Entente against the Bolsheviks, and it was with the consent of the powerful Swedish Social Democratic Party that the Liberal-Socialist Government of Sweden sent out men-of-war to pilot the military expedition of Ludendorff through the Finnish archipelago, thus facilitating their sanguinary activity in Red Finland.

The same Government likewise suffered the Swedish bourgeoisie to recruit one thousand volunteers in aid of the Finnish

Whites and to smuggle great quantities of arms and ammunition across the frontier for the butcher Mannerheim, while at the same time preventing the workers from going to the aid of their hard-pressed Finnish brethren.

So firm was the belief of the leading Social Democrats in the victory of the counter-revolution, that many of them even got into touch with the Tsarist general Judenitch, with whom they concluded contracts worth millions. Social Democratic profiteers and wholesale dealers prepared great foodstuff transports with a view to selling them at high prices at Petrograd as soon as that city was "liberated" from the Bolsheviks. This time, however, they were doomed to disappointment, for Judenitch was signally defeated and together with this counter-revolutionary fell the first Liberal-Socialist coalition Government of Sweden, various of the "Labour Ministers" of which were personally ruined by their participation in the miscalculated business, bringing obliquely both on their party and on their country.

How the influence of the Left gradually diminished with the recession of the revolutionary wave and how growing difficulties caused the vacillating leaders to lose their heads and secede from the movement, shall not be recounted here. Suffice it to point out that the Scandinavian workers could effect many reforms, such as the eight-hour day, and the extension of the franchise only thanks to the Russian revolution, while it was due partly to the lack of maturity in the spontaneous activity of the masses, led by no centrally organised and well-disciplined Communist Party, and partly to the inadequacy and dishonesty of the promiscuously chosen leaders, if the Scandinavian workers, and those of Norway and Sweden in particular, failed to profit to the full by the extremely favourable opportunity afforded them by the outbreak of the Russian revolution.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Workers for the Sole Rule of the Soviets.

Petrograd, 24th October. At the Soviet Congress of North Russia the representatives of numerous Soviets declared themselves in favour of taking over power, and reported that it is no longer possible to keep the masses back from action in this direction. After a number of representatives of local Soviets had spoken in this sense, Krylenko summed up all these declarations: "The main idea of all the speeches we have heard today is the slogan: 'All power to the Soviets!'", "Down with the present provisional government!" That is the uniform picture of the mood in the country. We must have confidence in the masses and conduct a policy of fight for power".

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Petrograd, 24th October. The Soviet of the Moscow District adopted a resolution which declares the immediate seizure of power by the Soviets to be necessary.

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Petrograd, 24th October. A general meeting of workers of the Putilov works unanimously adopted the Bolshevik resolution in which the transference of power to the Soviets, the arming of the workers etc. is demanded.

The Factory Councils to the Peasants.

Petrograd, 23rd October. The IV. Town Conference of the factory council committees took place in Petrograd; the Conference decided, on the proposal of Trotzky, to issue an appeal to the peasants and call upon them to elect to the Constituent Assembly only such candidates who demand the transference of the land to the land committees.

The Bourgeoisie Mobilises its Apparatus of Power.

Petrograd, 26th October. The Provisional Government has decided not to shrink at any measure in order to suppress disturbances or armed actions.

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Petrograd, 2nd November. The military governor of Petrograd issued today extraordinary commands in order to maintain order. He instructed the garrison to support energetically the civil and military authorities and to prevent by force all demonstrations.

Several sections of the Petrograd garrison went in tanks to the General Staff of the Petrograd military district and declared themselves ready to support the government.

The Public Prosecutor in Kiev informed the government that the Ukrainian National Council and the General Secretariat of the Ukraine are setting up a special division of troops consisting of Ukrainian Cossacks.

* * *

Amsterdam, 3rd November. "The Times" learns from Petrograd: the police cannot maintain order in the town. As a result, riots took place on Sunday in the course of which several persons were lynched by the crowd. Anarchy is continually increasing in the country, and in many towns and rural districts a state of siege has been proclaimed.

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Petrograd, 3rd November. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The military chief committee at the General Staff has issued in the name of all armies an appeal to the hinterland, in which it points to the crisis which the country is going through and demands that all riots shall cease at once. It further demands that out of all the deserters, tramps and other parasitic elements, labour battalions should be formed, which should be sent either to the front or should work in the hinterland. The Committee has entrusted with this task all garrisons, the police and the

Republican guard. The Committee for Defence at the Preliminary Parliament has decided that all local welfare committees should have the right to declare a state of war everywhere where they consider it necessary.

Command to the Petrograd Military District.

Irresponsible elements are again preparing a revolt in the streets of Petrograd. Such actions are symptoms of anarchy, they only mean unnecessary sacrifices and are thereby bringing the country to the edge of the abyss. Everyone who in the present difficult situation calls upon the masses to make civil war — is either blind or mad and consciously acts in the interest of Kaiser Wilhelm.

I command all divisions of troops, all officers and soldiers who are subordinated to me, not to follow any appeal to revolt.

Soldiers and officers, think of the great responsibility which the whole democracy and free Russia are laying upon you.

Petrograd, 28th October. (Izvestiya No. 199)

Commandant Polkovnikov.

Proclamation of the District Commander of the General Staff.

There are obstinate rumours afloat regarding the preparation of an armed revolt in the streets of Petrograd. Such an action could entail incalculable consequences for democracy and even the ruin of free Russia.

Citizens! Remember that in the present difficult moment all such actions would result in Pogroms and would promote the counter-revolutionary movement.

Citizens! I call upon you to maintain law and order and strictly to follow the decision of the government prohibiting every kind of meeting, demonstration in the streets of Petrograd, no matter who may have organised them.

I declare that I shall take the strongest measures in order to prevent any sort of disturbance in the streets of Petrograd.

Petrograd, 28th October. (Izvestiya No. 199.)

Commandant Polkovnikov.

The Workers for the Demands of the Bolsheviks.

Petrograd, 25th October. A general meeting of the workers of the factory "Staryi Parviainen" in Petrograd adopted the bolshevist resolution of the Baltic Fleet.

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Petrograd, 26th October. The Soviet of the "Defenders of the country" in Baku has been compelled to resign and a new revolutionary Soviet has been elected.

The 85th artillery regiment adopted a resolution in which it is stated: "We must immediately begin with the action for the seizure of power by the proletariat and the poor peasants". Similar resolution have been adopted by other regiments.

In the Chief Centres: Bolshevik Majority.

Petrograd, 24th October. The Conference of the Soviets of the Donez Basin was opened in Charkov. The representatives are 47 Bolsheviks, 41 Mensheviks, 34 S.R. Together they represent 600,000 workers.

The Conference of the Soviets of the Ural district was opened in Jekaterinburg. The composition of the delegates is the following: out of 120 delegates there were 86 Bolsheviks, 26 S. R. and 6 "wild". The delegates represent 56 Soviets comprising 294,000 members.

Committee of Action to Conduct the Revolt.

Petrograd, 29th October. A Conference of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks with representatives of various Party organisations took place in Petrograd. The question of the armed revolt was discussed and the resolution of Lenin was adopted by 19 votes against 2 and two abstentions. The resolution states: "The meeting welcomes and entirely supports the resolution of the Central Committee (see "Inprecorr." No. 58, Ed.) and calls upon all organisations and upon all workers and soldiers, to prepare the armed revolt intensively and in every field and to support the committee set up by the Central Committee for this purpose. The meeting expresses its full conviction that the Central Committee and the Soviet (the Petrograd Soviet of the workers and soldiers' deputies) will in time fix the most favourable moment and adopt the appropriate measures for the

revolt". A Committee of action for the organised conduct of the revolt was elected. The Committee includes: Sverdlov, Stalin, Dzhershinsky, Bubnov and Uritzkij.

The Petrograd Soviet takes over the Political Leadership of the Workers' Guard.

Petrograd, 29th October. The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies has unanimously adopted the following resolution: "The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies has heard the report of the representative of workers' guard Comrade Jurenev, and declares that 1. the organising of the workers' guard is the first task of the fight against counter-revolution, and the defence of the achievements of the revolution is the most pressing task of the moment; 2. The Petrograd Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies takes the whole work of organising the workers' guard and its political lead into its own hands. ("Rabotchi Puti" No. 45.)

The Soviets Elect Bolshevik Delegations.

Petrograd, 29th October. The Conference of the Soviets of Western Russia was opened in Minsk. The Conference declared: "The calling of the All-Russian Soviet Congress for the 29th October is most pressing. Every attempt to prevent the calling of the Congress is considered by the Conference to be extremely harmful and criminal, and intended to undermine the organisation of the forces of revolutionary democracy which are necessary at the present moment to create a really revolutionary power of the people and to secure the proper convocation of the Constituent Assembly".

Petrograd, 29th October. The Soviet of Vladivostok elected its delegation for the All-Russian Soviet Congress and intrusted it to bring forward a Bolshevik resolution.

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The Soviet of Samara elected a Bolshevik delegation; the Mensheviks and S. R.'s refused to participate, because they consider the Congress to be untimely. ("Rabotchi Puti" No. 39.)

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

The Bolsheviks at the head.

Petrograd, 2nd November. The election campaign for the Constituent Assembly has entered on the decisive stage. The lists of electors have everywhere been set up and made public. These preparations entail enormous work. The last census took place in Russia 21 years ago. Since then enormous shiftings have taken place among the population. The municipal organisations taken over from Tsarism are absolutely inadequate and are not even capable of dealing with election work.

The elections for the town, village, district, provincial and government administrations are everywhere nearly ended, so that the further step for setting up the lists of electors to the Constituent Assembly can be made. All parties are feverishly making their preparations. The whole army and the fleet will participate in the elections.

The results obtained in other elections held recently is worth consideration in view of the approaching great election campaign. If we compare the elections to the municipal district councils of Moscow which recently took place, with the elections to the Moscow town council of June 25th to July 8th, we get the following picture:

S. R. 54,374 votes (14 per cent) as against 374,885 votes (57.9 per cent) in June.

Mensheviks: 15,897 votes (4 per cent) against 76,407 (11.82 per cent) in June.

Cadets: 101,106 votes (26.2 per cent) against 108,781 (16.85 per cent) in June.

Bolsheviks: 198,320 votes (51.3 per cent) against 75,409 (11.66 per cent) in June.

As can be seen, all parties, with the exception of the Bolsheviks, show an absolute loss of votes. Reckoned in percentages the Cadets and the Bolsheviks have increased their votes, the Bolsheviks to a far greater extent than the Cadets.

THE FIGHT OF THE PARTIES IN THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIETS.

Petrograd, 27th October. At the joint meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the workers and soldiers' deputies and the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Peasant Soviet, Dan spoke and called upon the Bolsheviks to answer the question: whether the Bolsheviks are planning an insurrection; if so, when and whether they consider the defence of the country as the chief task of the moment. Dan proposed a resolution, which declares an insurrection at the present moment to be absolutely inadmissible and calls upon the workers, soldiers and peasants to maintain complete peace.

Rjasanov replied in the name of the fraction of the Bolsheviks and described the question of Dan as an examination by a Public Prosecutor. Rjasanov declared that the question of defence has been previously raised by the Bolsheviks: the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet has already decided on the organisation of a revolutionary military committee, so that the Bolsheviks are convinced that as long as the defence is in the hands of the coalition government, it will remain in the deplorable state in which it is at present.

To Dan's question whether the Bolsheviks are preparing an insurrection, Rjasanov replied that the insurrection is not being prepared by the Bolsheviks but by that policy which in the course of seven months did everything for the bourgeoisie and nothing for the masses. The insurrection is being prepared by those who cause the mood of despair and apathy to arise among the masses. We do not know the day and the hour of insurrection, said Rjasanov, but we prepare the masses in order that they shall be ready for the decisive struggle for land and freedom, for bread and peace. If as a result of the policy of the government the workers and peasant masses are rising, we shall stand in the front ranks of the insurgents.

Rjasanov moved a resolution which had been adopted on 22nd October by the Petrograd Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies.

After the discussion the resolution of Dan was adopted by the votes of the Mensheviks, the Internationalists, of the Right and Left S.R.'s and of the Bund. The Narodniki voted against it, because they considered the resolution to be vague and not definite enough.

Ever Increasing Agrarian Disturbances.

Petrograd, 26th October. The government received telegraphic reports of peasant disturbances in the governments of Pensa, Nishegorod, and Chernigov. In the government of Nishegorod, even the Commissar of the Provisional government approved of the demands of the Soviets of peasant deputies, the land committee of the government and the party of the S.R., and likewise requested the government to hand over the land to the land committees in order to pacify the population and to save agriculture.

The All-Russian Soviet of Peasant Deputies Demands the Land for the Peasants.

Petrograd, 31st October. The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet of peasant deputies adopted a resolution demanding from the Provisional government the immediate passing of the bill introduced by the Minister for Agriculture, S. Maslov, on the handing over of the land to the land committees. ("Djelo Naroda" No. 185.)

The Preliminary Parliament Wants to Interfere

Petrograd, 31st October. On the initiative of the Menshevik-Internationalists an urgent interpellation to the Prime Minister was adopted in the Preliminary Parliament — whether he is prepared to submit to the Preliminary Parliament for discussion the draft bill on the handing over of the land to the land committees.

APPEAL OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE SOVIETS OF NORTH RUSSIA.

To all Regimental, divisional and Corps committees, to the Soviets of Soldiers', Workers' and Peasants' Deputies!

To all Sailors, Workers and Peasants!
The All-Russian Soviet Congress has been fixed for the 2nd November. It is its task to bring about an immediate

armistice on all fronts, to hand over the land to the peasants and to secure the convocation of the Constituent Assembly at the time fixed for the same. The whole bourgeoisie, the Provisional government and the compromisers serving it are preventing the Soviet Congress by every means. They maintain that the Congress would prevent the Constituent Assembly. That is a calumny! The Conference of the Soviets of North Russia, in which the most powerful organisations of the Soviets of Petrograd, Moscow, Finland, of the Baltic Fleet, Kronstadt, Reval etc. are taking part, declares: The Constituent Assembly is being prevented by the counter-revolutionaries who are prolonging the war and crushing the peasants' revolt. The Soviet Congress will secure the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and the immediate proposal of peace. Those who prevent the convocation of the Congress kill the army and the revolution. Various organisations which have declared themselves against the Congress, thereby violate the decision of the All-Russian Congress, they are exceeding their powers and must at once be re-elected. Soldiers, sailors, peasants and workers! It is your duty to clear all hindrances out of the way and by means of regimental, Corps and divisional committees to secure your representation for the 2nd November. We recommend you to pass on this proclamation to all organisations allied with you.

RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

(Moved by the Fraction of the Bolsheviks and adopted at the meeting of the Moscow Soviet of the workers' and soldiers' deputies on 30th October 1917 by 384 votes against 297.)

1. According to the regulations of the Provisional government the elections to the Constituent Assembly must be carried out by the 25th November. A further postponement of the convocation of the Constituent Assembly is absolutely impermissible.

2. In order to secure the election right of the soldiers, all alterations of the position and movements of the soldiers at the front must be carried out under the control of the Soviet of soldiers' deputies. A restriction of the political rights of the soldiers is inadmissible.

3. In order to increase the revolutionary achievements already obtained and to secure the success of the further development of the revolution, and also to create more favourable conditions for revolutionary democracy at the elections, it is necessary:

a) to purge the administration and the judiciary from the bureaucrats of the Tsarist government, both in the centre and in the provinces, to decree the eligibility of the Commissars and other functionaries, and immediately rid the army of the counter-revolutionary Commanding Staff;

b) to strengthen and extend the workers', soldiers' and peasants' organisations (Soviets' Committees, etc.) and to convene the All-Russian Soviet Congress;

c) to secure unrestricted freedom of agitation for election propaganda. In the interest of this freedom of election propaganda, the Soviets will fight:

1. that all reprisals against the working class and its organisations as well as against the revolutionary soldiers cease;

2. that capital punishment at the front be immediately abolished;

3. that complete liberty of press, meetings and unlimited freedom of election propaganda be secured.

4. The complete freedom of agitation of all the democratic organisations in the army is restored; the whole carrying out of the elections to the Constituent Assembly at the front must be placed under the control of the front organisations of the soldiers. Interference on the part of the Commanding staff in the course of the election campaign is inadmissible.

5. In order to organise the elections systematically and to secure the connections between the Central and the local Soviets, a Central election bureau must be organised at the Central Executive Committee.

6. The eight hour day is to be introduced.

7. The landowners' estates and those belonging to the church shall be immediately confiscated and handed over to the land committees until the land question is solved by the Constituent Assembly.

8. An armistice must be brought about on all the fronts and a democratic peace proposed to the peoples of the whole world.

9. All the caste organisations are to be abolished, their property and capital is to be placed at the disposal of the local autonomous administrations.

10. In order to safeguard the Constituent Assembly from any counter-revolutionary attack, it must take place in Petrograd under the guard of the revolutionary troops and the armed proletariat.

(“Isvestija” of Moscow Soviet No. 190.)

Advice of a Non-Participant.

By N. Lenin.

(Written on 21st October.)

I write these lines on the 21st of October and entertain very little hope that they will arrive in the hands of the Petrograd comrades already on the 22nd. It is possible that they will come too late. For the Congress of the Northern Soviets is fixed for the 20th of October. Nevertheless I will attempt to come forward with my advice of a non-participant in case the probable action of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd and of the whole “district” will soon take place but has not yet taken place.

It is clear that the whole power must be transferred to the Soviets. It must be equally certain to every Bolshevik that the revolutionary proletarian (or Bolshevik, that is now one and the same thing) government is assured of the greatest sympathy and the most disinterested support of all workers and exploited of the whole world in general and of the belligerent countries in particular, especially of the Russian peasantry. It is not worth while expatiating on these already well-known and long proved truth.

It is necessary to dwell for a time on that which is hardly quite clear to all comrades, namely, that the handing over of power to the Soviets means now, in actuality, armed revolt. This may seem to be obvious, but not all have yet thought over and become quite clear regarding this matter. To abjure the armed revolt now would mean to abjure the main slogan of Bolshevism (“All Power to the Soviets”) and all revolutionary proletarian internationalism in general.

Yet the armed revolt is a special form of a political fight which is subject to special laws, which must be clearly thought over. Karl Marx expressed this thought in very plastic form when he wrote that “revolt is just as much an art as is war!”

Marx deduced from the main rules of this art:

1. Never to play at revolt, and when it has once begun to realise clearly that one must proceed to the end with it.

2. One must gather a considerable preponderance of forces at the decisive place and in the decisive moment; for otherwise the enemy, who is better prepared and has a better organisation, will annihilate the insurrectionists.

3. Once the revolt has been commenced one must act with the greatest determination and irrevocably and unconditionally go over to the offensive. “The defensive is the death of armed revolt”.

4. One must endeavour to take the enemy by surprise and to seize the moment when his troops are scattered.

5. One must strive to achieve some little success or other every day (one could say every hour, when it is the question of a single town) and to maintain at all cost the “moral predominance”.

Marx recapitulated the lessons of all revolutions as regards armed revolt with the words of the greatest master of revolutionary tactics in history, Danton: “Courage, courage and again courage.”

Applied to Russia and to October 1917 this means: simultaneous and, if possible sudden and rapid attack on Petrograd, both from within and without, both from the workers’ quarters and from Finland, from Reval, Kronstadt; an offensive of the whole fleet, accumulation of a gigantic superiority of striking forces over the 15—20,000 (and perhaps even more) of our “civil guard” (the ensigns), our “Vendee troops” (a portion of the Cossacks) etc.

So to combine our three main forces: the fleet, the workers

and portions of the troops that the following shall be occupied and held, even at the cost of considerable losses: a) telephone centre, b) the telegraph office, c) the railway stations, d) the bridges.

To pick out most determined elements (our shock troops and the working youth as well as the best sailors) and form them into small troops to occupy the most important points and take part in all the most important operations, for example:

To surround and cut off Petrograd and to capture it by a combined attack of the fleet, the workers and the army — that is a task demanding art and threefold courage.

To form troops of the best workers, armed with rifles and bombs, to attack and surround the “centres” of the enemy (military schools, telegraph and telephone offices, etc.) with the slogan: even if all perish, the enemy must not come through.

We will hope that in the event of the action being decided on, the leaders will know how to apply successfully the great commands of Danton and Marx.

The success both of the Russian and of the world revolution depends upon two to three days fighting.

A Non-participant.

The Strikebreakers of the Revolution*).

By J. Stalin.

“The Soviets and Committees must be liquidated”, said Kaledin, an adherent of Kornilov, who was enthusiastically greeted by the Cadets at the Moscow Conference.

“This is true”, was the answer of Zeretelli, member of the group of those who were for compromise, “but it is too soon, for the scaffolding cannot be removed before the building of the free revolution (does he not mean the counter-revolution?) is completed”.

This happened at the beginning of August at the Moscow Conference, when the Kornilovs and Rodsjanskos, the Miljukovs and Kerenskys were making the first preparations for their counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

At that time, nothing resulted from the conspiracy, it was frustrated by the political strike of the Moscow workers. But a coalition had been established between Zeretelli and Miljukov, Kerensky and Kaledin, a coalition against the Bolshevik workers and soldiers. It then became evident that this coalition was only a screen behind which a real conspiracy against the Soviets and Committees, against the revolution and its achievements was being organised, a conspiracy which broke out at the end of August.

Could the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks know that by their speaking in praise of the coalition with the “living forces” of the Moscow Conference, they were playing into the hands of Kornilov’s conspirators? Could the Liberal petty bourgeoisie of the “Djelo Naroda” and the heralds of the bourgeoisie of the “Isvestija” know that, by isolating the Bolsheviks and undermining the Soviets and the Committees they were serving counter-revolution and becoming themselves strikebreakers of the revolution?

The Kornilov rising displayed all the cards. It revealed the counter-revolutionary character of the Cadets and of the Coalition. It showed up the whole danger with which the revolution is threatened by the alliance between the Generals and the Cadets. It showed in a telling way that the revolution would have been annihilated without the Soviets in the hinterland and the committees at the front, against which the “Defenders of the Fatherland” organised action in common with Kaledin.

The lesson was very valuable and extremely impressive.

But — human memory is weak, especially that of the runaways of the “Isvestija” and the characterless “Djelo Naroda”.

Hardly a month had elapsed since the Kornilov revolt. One might have supposed that all was over with the Kornilov affair. Instead of this, we have, in this short time, entered on a new Korniloviade “according to the will of destiny” and of Kerensky. Kornilov is “under arrest”, but the leaders of the Korniloviade are in power. The old coalition with the “living forces” has been dissolved. Instead of this, a new coalition with

*) Published in “Rabotschi Putj” of the 28th October, 1917.

the Kornilov people has been formed. The Moscow Conference did not turn into a "long parliament" as Karaulov, the Ataman of the Cossacks, had dreamt. We have however Kornilov's "Preliminary Parliament" which is intended "to replace the old Soviet organisation". The first conference of the Blacks in Moscow has come to an end. On the other hand, a second conference of the reactionaries has been opened in Moscow in the last few days, at which one of the leaders, the landed proprietor Rodsianko, openly declared that he would be

"glad, should the Soviets and the fleet perish and Petrograd be taken by the Germans".

The Government pretends to bring Kornilov's "coming again" by negotiating with Kornilov and Kaledin about handing over the revolutionary troops of Petrograd and by shaking hands with "our glorious allies" who are waiting impatiently for the Baltic Fleet to be annihilated, for the seizure of Petrograd by the Germans and — for Sir Kornilov to ascend the throne...

Is it then not clear that we are on the eve of a fresh Korniloviade which will be even more dangerous than the old one?

Is it then not clear that redoubled vigilance and increased readiness to fight are necessary on our part?

Is it not then clear that the Soviets and revolutionary Committees are more necessary now than ever?

Where is the rescue from the Korniloviade? who helps the revolution to defeat the imminent attack of counter-revolution with the whole weight of a mass movement?

Of course not the servile Preliminary Parliament!

Is it then not clear that the Soviets and the masses of workers and soldiers backing them are the only means of salvation?

Is it then not clear that the Soviets and the Soviets alone are called upon to rescue revolution from imminent counter-revolution?

One would have thought that every revolutionary should consider it his duty to guard and consolidate these organisations, to gather the masses of workers and peasants round them and to collect them into district and national congresses.

Instead of doing this, the renegades of the "Isvestija" and of the "Djelo Naroda" who have already forgotten the "severe trial" of the Kornilov days, have already for the past few days been zealously at work disputing the significance of the Soviets, agitating against them, frustrating the district congresses and the All-Russian Soviet Congress, with a view to disorganising and destroying them.

"The local Soviets are losing their significance", writes the "Isvestija", "the Soviets have ceased to be a general democratic organisation...".

"We want to replace the provisional organisations of the Soviets by a permanent, independent, all-round organisation which includes the whole of national and local life. At the time when autocracy was overthrown and with it the whole bureaucratic order, we established the Soviets of Deputies as temporary huts, in which the whole of democracy might find shelter. The time has now come to replace the temporary huts by the stone building of the new order; and it is quite natural that growing numbers of persons are constantly leaving the huts and settling in the more comfortable dwellings in the measure as one story after the other is being completed."

This is what the "Isvestija" of the Central Executive Committee says, which is absolutely lacking in any feeling of shame and owes its miserable existence only to the forbearance of the Soviets.

And the people of the characterless "Djelo Naroda" who limp behind the "Isvestija", add with profound thoughtfulness that the Soviet Congress must be frustrated, for this is the only way to "save" the revolution and the Constituent Assembly.

Did you hear? The revolutionary Soviets which have overthrown Tsarism and broken its arbitrary rule are said to be nothing but a temporary organisation. The servile, obsequious Preliminary Parliament of Alexejev and Kerensky is described as the "permanent and all-embracing organisation". The revolutionary Soviets which dispersed Kornilov's bands are represented as "temporary huts", and the Preliminary Parliament, this miscarriage of Kornilov, which is intended to cover with its idle talk the mobilisation of counter-revolution, is pictured as the "permanent stone building". There the eager pulsating life of revolution, and here the respectability and "snugness" of counter-revolutionary office! Is it a wonder that the turncoats

of the "Isvestija" and the "Djelo Naroda" hastened to move from the "huts" of the Smolny Institute into the "stone building" of the Winter Palace by degrading themselves from "leaders of the revolution" to lackeys of Sir Alexandreiev?

The Soviets must be removed, said Sir Alexandreiev.

At your orders, replied the "Isvestija"; you finish the last "story" of the "stone building" of the Winter Palace and "we" in the meantime shall demolish the "huts" of the Smolny Institute.

The Soviets must be replaced by the preliminary Parliament, said Mr. Adshemov*).

As you please, was the answer given by the "Djelo Naroda", only let us first sabotage the Soviet Congress.

This is what they are doing now, on the eve of a fresh Korniloviade, at a moment when counter-revolution has already summoned its congress in Moscow, when the Kornilov people have already mobilised their forces, at a moment when they are causing unemployment and starvation in the town, when they are preparing for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and openly collecting their forces in the hinterland and at the front for a new action against revolution.

What else is this, if not a direct betrayal of the revolution and its achievements?

What are they if they are not common strikebreakers of the revolution and its organisations?

After all this, what attitude should the workers and soldiers organised in the Soviets take up, if the gentlemen of the "Isvestija" and the "Djelo Naroda" are "as in former days, stretching out their hands to beg" for protection against counter-revolution in the "difficult moments" of the future Korniloviade? ...

The workers use to trundle strikebreakers round on a wheelbarrow before the factories.

The peasants use to tie traitors to the common cause to the whipping-post.

We have no doubt that the Soviets also will find ways and means to pillory as they deserve it the despicable strikebreakers who are betraying the revolution and its organisations.

Chronicle of Events.

October 20.

Opening of the Preliminary Parliament. Trotzky, in the name of the Bolsheviki, submits a declaration regarding the withdrawal of the fraction from the Preliminary Parliament.

The Moscow Duma rejects the housing law of the Provisional Government and declares in favour of the programme of the Bolsheviki.

October 21.

The workers of the factory "Stary Parvianen" in Petrograd welcome the withdrawal of the Bolsheviki from the Preliminary Parliament.

School strike of the pupils of the secondary schools in Tiflis. They demand that the representatives of the highest school classes be accepted in the School Council with decisive vote.

October 22.

A great meetings of the shoe-workers demands the overthrow of the bourgeois government and the setting up of the Soviet power.

The Provisional government decrees the removal of the revolutionary troops from Petrograd. The Plenum of the Petrograd Soviet of the workers and soldiers' deputies opposes this decision.

*) In the 4th Duma, Adshemov was a member of the Trudoviki (workers).

October 23.

At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviki Comrade Lenin moves a resolution in which the question of the armed revolt is placed on the order of the day. The resolution is adopted by all votes against two.

Election victory of the Bolsheviki in a number of local Soviets.

Numerous confiscations of State and private forests is reported from Pensa.

The Provisional government sends three regiments of Cossacks to Saratow in order to "restore law and order".

October 24.

The Conference of the Soviets of North Russia declares in favour of the Soviets taking over power.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of the workers' and soldiers' deputies declares the Conference of the Soviets of North Russia to be a Conference of individual Soviets and therefore incapable of adopting decisions.

October 25.

The first number of the peasant paper "Derevenskaya Bednota" appears in Petrograd.

October 26.

Delegations of factory workers and divisions of troops assure the Conference of the Soviets of North Russia of their support in the fight for the power of the Soviets.

Telegrams report agrarian disturbances in the governments of Pensa, Chernigov and Nishegorod.

October 27.

The joint Conference of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies and the Executive Committee of the Soviet of peasants' deputies adopts the Menshevist resolution.

TEN YEARS OF SOVIET POWER

Science and the Soviet Union.

By N. Bukharin.

Great historical upheavals cannot be estimated in their entire extent and significance until a certain time has elapsed since the actual historical "event". Former revolutions — whether they were the rebellions of Chinese peasants or Egyptian slaves or the "classical" revolutions of the European bourgeoisie — cloaked their objective significance in the mantle of a more or less phantastic ideology. It was only post factum that the Puritan ideology of the Roundheads came to be recognised as the embryo of a "calculating", "rational", and "capitalistic" spirit. Similarly, it was post factum that the slogans of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" could be interpreted as meaning the liberty of the bourgeois individual, the "economic man" of political economy, free to buy and sell goods and free to buy and exploit the labour power of the proletariat.

Regarded from this standpoint, the proletarian revolution is distinguished by the fact that it was from the very beginning conscious of its class characteristics and its historical rôle. Its tremendous general human importance was possible because of this clear perception of its class significance. Its essential rôle of a battering ram, opening up a way from the "preliminary history of mankind" to its "actual history", was possible precisely because it was the revolution of a class fully aware of its own historic rôle. And yet the universal historic importance of the proletarian revolution will not be manifest in its full extent until a few decades have elapsed. Life is so infinitely richer than "grey theory" and there is such a tremendous multiplicity of factors that escape accurate calculation, that one can speak with every certainty of the inevitability of a series of historical surprises. If the character and significance of the proletarian revolution are known in their broad and general outline, this is by no means in contradiction to the thesis that the course of events is bound greatly to enrich our experience by filling the abstract schemes with a real and living content and by supplying a number of new details and features which alone are able to furnish a complete and tangible picture of the upheavals to come.

Then years have passed since the victorious proletariat seized power. Of these ten years, not more than half were, strictly speaking, devoted to constructional work, for the first five years constituted a period of desperate armed struggles against class opponents who were aided by all means of foreign intervention. In the history of the world, five years, or even ten, are a very very small period of time. And yet — can we say that this short period has not deepened our knowledge of the dictatorship of the proletariat? Not only is the

Soviet system of State, "discovered" by the revolution and theoretically explained by Lenin, a "new idea" of our epoch. Another such new idea is the economic policy of the proletariat ("New Economic Policy"), besides which there are many more. And are we to assume that the creative power of the masses and their organisatory forces will draw the line at this? Is it not rather obvious that, with the rise of economy and the strengthening of the Socialistic forms, we shall still witness a series of such "new ideas" also in regard to economics and in regard to what is known as "mental culture"?

The revolution has widened our mental horizon to a tremendous degree. In doing so, it has pitilessly destroyed a number of old fetishes, inveterate ossified conceptions, not infrequently characterised by the obstinacy of popular prejudice. Ten years of the proletarian State and of far-reaching revolutionary fermentation in the whole world have very greatly enhanced the interest in enlightenment both as regards time and space. Not very long ago the orientation of scientific thought was mainly European. Imperialism and colonial wars have to some extent broken down this restriction, but they have done so mainly in a barbaric form, a characteristic case in point being the destruction, during the Boxer expedition, of the 20,000 volumes of the great Chinese encyclopedia by the "civilised Powers". The international revolutionary process leading to the insurrection of the colonial populations, again, destroys the conceit of the great Powers, the racial barriers, the dominating and barbaric relation towards the so-called "peoples devoid of history", who are, however, very plainly vindicating their right to a historical life by transforming themselves under our very eyes from objects of imperialist violence into subjects of an active historical process.

The revolution, moreover, sharpens our eyes for the change in historic and social formations, permitting us to see into the future with far clearer vision. Before the Bolshevik revolution of the proletariat in Russia, there was no empiric proof of the possibility of a Socialist construction; now such proof is patent to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear. It was the greatest conceivable tragedy for a considerable part of our intelligenzia that they were not able to perceive the perspectives of development. Bred on the basis of the capitalistic economy, they moved wholly in a sphere of conceptions adequate to this system, transforming the relative categories of capitalism, in regard to economy ("private property", "private initiative", and the like), politics (the bourgeois State in general and the bourgeois democracy in particular), and culture, into

indestructible institutes peculiar to human society as such. And though they acclaimed the "murderers of tyrants", they turned in horror from the proletarian revolt, as from an attack on the eternal and dignified assets of human culture in general. This historical narrow-mindedness could be overcome solely by the experience of constructional work. If the intervention of the time from 1918 to 1921 had swept away the young workers' State, the press of the whole world, from that of the boulevards to that of the most eminent circles of science, would have found thousands of ways of proving the collapse of Socialism. At present, however, even the economic experts of the bourgeois world are forced to recognise the fact of the existence of two systems, the capitalist and the socialist.

The Soviet Union, however, is but now making the first steps on its upward path. The proletarian State is not yet in a position to devote adequate means to the development of "mental" culture in its qualified forms. In the first place the centre of gravity lies in the accelerated construction of the material productive forces of the country, in the first line the development of gigantic industrial plants. This comparison, however, is only conditional, for further development will confront us with tremendous scientific and cultural tasks — is, indeed, already doing so — and if imperialism does not frustrate our work the Soviet Union will become the centre and sanctuary of the scientific life of the world.

This results from the very nature of the proletarian revolution and the Socialistic work of construction, and therefore does not contain any element of exaggeration. It is but necessary to give up the stereotyped views in which there is expressed that narrowness of horizon peculiar to the capitalist world.

Paradoxical though it may seem, the first phase of the proletarian revolution, which found supreme expression in the October rising, was wholly imbued by the scientific spirit. The Communist policy of the class struggle is a scientific policy; indeed, it is the only scientific policy. There is not a single party, not a single class, and not a single staff of leaders in the political arena that rests on such a sober, objective, and scientific analysis of the relations between the social forces and the fundamental tendencies of development as the workers' class, the Bolshevist party, and its leader, Lenin. In no connection has the power of Marxist scientific prevision been so eminently apparent as in the course of our revolution, apart naturally from the general highly intelligent predictions of Marx himself. In the future, after many decades, it will appear with absolute lucidity how it was the scientific Marxist theory which, after it had penetrated the masses and had thereby become a great social factor of power, eventually led forth humanity from the sanguinary imperialistic cul de sac in which it had become involved, how it was the Leninist dialectic, translated into the reality of revolutionary action, that opened up new vistas to the history of the world. If at present these utterances sound to many like mere theses prompted solely by the desire to nonplus the bourgeoisie, they will nevertheless become the axioms of future generations.

The destructive period of the revolution, meanwhile, rests almost exclusively on the social sciences. Its period of construction will serve increasingly as a presumption for a powerful scientific prosperity of all sciences, of science as a whole. In this connection there will inevitably have to be a revolution in science itself, and that in various directions, in regard to the methods employed, in regard to the organisation of scientific work itself, in regard to the relations among the various scientific subjects, in regard to the practical significance of science, and finally, if we may say so, in regard to the self-recognition of science.

In capitalist society the scientific division of labour is almost just as anarchically ordered as are the economic foundations. In spite of surprising progress in natural sciences (in the widest sense of the word), it has of late been possible to observe that the scientific idea of the capitalist world has got into a blind alley similar to that into which the capitalist art has entered. In the realm of art we observe a painful amount of petty analysis and complete unproductivity when it comes to questions of synthetic construction. The same thing, however, may be observed to some extent in the realm of science. We shall not even speak here of the social sciences, which are in a state of complete incapacity and in which the rejection of theoretical generalisations represents almost the last word of

theoretical wisdom. Even in the natural sciences advance has been achieved only in one or other of the special disconnected fields. Whenever there is a question of any greater generalisation, we can immediately observe a condition of complete insecurity, with an unmistakable tendency towards agnosticism, idealism, religion, mysticism, and the like. Oscillation between extreme rationalism and a fetishism of "pure science" on the one hand, and the pragmatic criterion of individual utility or even the complete denial on principle of all and every "ratio" on the other — that is what governs the realm of scientific self-recognition.

In contrast to this, the structure of Socialism affords a true and real foundation for the self-recognition of science. Similar to the economic activity of Socialism, its scientific activity has the tendency to translate itself into terms of socially organised work, the individual regions of which mutually fructify one another instead of isolating themselves by means of the armour of industrial works, trusts, private property, and competition. The great significance of this transformation is not yet so fully apparent as it will be in the near future. Viewed from the quantitative standpoint we are still poor, but we are already advancing to great qualitative changes, which will in due course also afford us the necessary quantities. The best workers of bourgeois science generally assume the standpoint of what is known as "pure science", which they imagine to be the most fertile and valuable. From the standpoint of a systematic scientific "economy", however, it is quite clear that the ideology of "pure science" is a fetishistic contortion of the actual relations of things, an ideology which has turned "forms of development" into "fetters of development". Every scientific law is a formula expressing objective facts. As a fact, the law is something beyond our cognition, as a formula it is translated into human terms. The criterion of correspondence with reality therefore by no means contradicts the fact that the formulas of cognition are instruments and organs of our fundamentally practical orientation. The failure to comprehend this truth necessarily entails the separation of one branch of science from another. And just this is the main reason of the crisis of bourgeois science.

Socially organised and systematic scientific work is a new principle, deeply rooted in the systematic economy of Socialism. It demands of every scientific worker complete self-sacrifice and the devotion of his entire scientific enthusiasm. At the same time it creates a clear relationship between scientific work and the entire working system of human society, makes a new connection, on a large public scale, between theory and practice, mental and physical work, "pure" theoretic science and applied science, and among the various fields of science, an activity which is bound to fructify in the highest degree all the separate branches of science, which after all form a certain whole.

It is perfectly absurd to picture the Socialist principle of physical and mental work and the socially organised combination of theory and practice in the form of mere isolated "orders" issued by factories to the scientific laboratories, and nothing more. Nothing is farther from the spirit of Socialist culture in general and Socialist science in particular than a flat empiricism, immediately restricted to the solution of a series of technical tasks. The constant process of the emancipation of labour (not only socially but also the liberation from the pressure of elementary natural forces by means of their domination and rational exploitation) forms the basis of a new distribution of all productive factors of society out of the sphere of material labour in the narrower sense of the word, into that of intellectual labour, and is bound to enlarge tremendously the extent of scientific interest and the circle of scientific problems.

At the same time, the Socialist organisation of society gives all science a uniform method by an inevitable application of the dialectic materialism of Marx. This process is already making itself felt in the Soviet Union. The fight against idealism in science has found a powerful ally in the dictatorship of the proletariat. The indignation of the tearful idealists at the alleged absence of "freedom of thought" is at bottom only annoyance at the disappearance of the "monkey trials", which are certainly inconceivable in the territory of the proletarian dictatorship.

(Conclusion follows.)