

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 45

30th August 1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliesstach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

- Simon: The Attack upon the Workers' and Peasants' Bank. Politics.
- R. Schüller: After the Battle of St. Lorenzen.
- Guido Zamis: Preparations for a Fascist Coup d'Etat in Austria.
- J. B.: The Watch on the Suez.
- P.: The Hague Conference and the Second International.
- International Red Day.**
- Paul Reimann: The C. C. of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia on the Decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and on the 1st of August Campaign.
- A. G. Richman: August First in the United States of America.
- In the International.**
- Rudolf Renner: Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany.
- J. Lenski: The Struggle against the Right Danger in Poland.
- Resolution of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on Comrade Bukharin.
- The Labour Movement.**
- Pietro: The Campaign to Defend and Increase Wages in Italy.
- Agitprop.**
- Theses of the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I. upon the X. Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I.
- Proletarian Youth Movement.**
- Appeal of the E. C. C. I. on International Youth Day.
- Kurt Müller: The Revolutionary Upsurge of the Labour Movement.
- A. Sch.: The XV. International Youth Day in Czechoslovakia.
- Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.**
- L. F. Winov: The Role of the Masses in the Socialist Planned Economic System.

The Attack upon the Workers' and Peasants' Bank.

By Simon (Paris).

One proof amongst many others that our demonstration on the 1st August was not a "fiasco" as asserted by the whole bourgeois press, is that even after this day, the persecutions continued with unabated force. The government attempted to deceive the masses concerning its real intentions, by releasing a number of comrades and by passing mild sentences in a number of districts. In general, however, its attitude was that "after taking one step backwards it took two steps forward the next day".

The indictment of the members of the Central Committee for high treason has not been quashed. A number of them and various other indiscriminately arrested comrades have been in prison since the violent dispersal of the meeting in Villeneuve Saint Georges on the 21st August. All these comrades have, by the way, refused to make any statements before the examining magistrates and have conducted a hunger strike as a protest against the utterly baseless indictment. Despite numerous raids and searches, the police have not succeeded in finding a single document which would permit them to justify legally the charge of high treason. It is, of course, not impossible that the police will resort to forgery, as they did in the "conspiracy case" in 1923 in connection with the struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr. The other members of the party

leadership and of the leadership of the C. G. T. U. are living in illegality but are conducting their work despite the fact that a swarm of police agents has been set upon their heels, encouraged by the promise of a high reward (2000 francs) for every arrest.

The accusation of espionage against a comrade who fell into the net of the police spies and in whose possession secret military papers are alleged to have been found, is not being proceeded with at the moment, but will certainly be taken up with redoubled energy later on. The bourgeoisie is determined to destroy at all costs our network of worker correspondents who report upon the preparations for war in the factories, and to destroy our connections with the soldiers. Such a trial would give the bourgeoisie the possibility of speeding up the acceptance of the Bill which has been before the Chamber since the beginning of the year and which provides tremendous penalties for "economic espionage".

Severe sentences have been passed upon active members in those districts where our influence is great. In Troyes, for instance, two comrades received 13 months imprisonment each upon the ground that they were "morally responsible" for the disturbances which occurred there on the eve of the 1st August. A young worker in the Paris district was sentenced to three

years' imprisonment for having distributed leaflets on the streets! The managers of our newspapers have been imprisoned under threadbare pretexts and have received long years of imprisonment and heavy fines in order to ruin our press.

The employers in the Paris district are working zealously since the 1st August in order to "purge" their factories by dismissing all those workers who took part in the demonstrations and who agitated for strikes in the factories. In a number of cases workers were locked-out in order to comb out the active revolutionary elements.

The bourgeois press is continuing its campaign of slander against the Party and its members. It misrepresents our intentions and describes us as professional rebels. The social democratic newspapers are taking a leading part in this campaign. The central organ of the Socialist Party repeatedly published articles signed by its general secretary, Paul Faure, which have apparently no other aim but to provide the authorities with arguments for formulating indictments.

Finally, the government and the servile press were compelled to recognise that despite the greatest efforts it was not possible to render the Party leaderless and to hinder its work, much less than to destroy the Party. They then strove to discredit the Party in the eyes of the masses by representing the Party leaders as "criminals" and "rogues". After the failure of the direct attack, indirect methods were used in order to hinder our agitation. For this purpose the attack upon the Workers and Peasants Bank was organised.

The Workers and Peasants Bank grew out of a saving scheme founded by "l'Humanité" in 1925. The readers of "l'Humanité" subscribed three million francs. In 1926 the Bank was founded with a capital of eight millions in shares of five hundred francs each. The Administrative Board was composed chiefly of communists. The undertaking was a purely deposit bank. Recently the deposits rose to 25 millions. A section of the deposits served for the granting of credits to the trade unions, the co-operatives and "l'Humanité". The great unitary trade unions entrusted their whole resources to the Workers and Peasants Bank. Despite the difficulties which were placed in its way by the great private banks at the instance of the authorities, the profits of the Workers and Peasants Bank grew. Even the official finance control was compelled to recognise the correct business practice of the bank. "l'Humanité" and a number of great communist co-operatives held considerable unsecured credits from the bank.

With his attack upon the Workers and Peasants Bank, Tardieu hoped: 1. to obtain proof of the alleged transfer of large sums of Russian money to the Communist Party, and thus the basis for the indictment "in the services of a foreign Power"; 2. to give the bourgeois and social democratic press the opportunity of describing the communist directors of the bank as "rogues" who abuse the confidence of thousands of small investors and live in luxury upon the savings of the workers; and 3. to cause a panic among the depositors, to ruin the bank and to demand then through the bankruptcy authorities that "l'Humanité" should immediately repay the large credits granted to it. This "l'Humanité" would of course not be able to do and would thus also be made bankrupt and would have gone over into the hands of a capitalist group which would have obtained financial and thus also political control. The gainers by such an operation would certainly be the reformist co-operative bank and the friends of Léon Blum, who are closely connected with the influential Banque de Paris and Banque des Pays-Bas.

"l'Humanité" represents a thorn in the side of the French bourgeoisie on account of its exposure of the capitalist rationalisation and the capitalist war preparations. "l'Humanité" is one of the most important weapons of the Party for the defence of working class interests and for the defence of the Soviet Union. To destroy "l'Humanité" by administrative means apparently did not appear opportune at the moment, and its enemies therefore preferred to attack it indirectly and to incite the workers against the communists who allegedly have "robbed the workers of their savings". It is clear that the attack upon the Workers and Peasants Bank is above all an attack upon the central organ of the Communist Party, "l'Humanité".

The attack was prepared gradually. At the end of July the police searched the bank building and confiscated numerous documents. Experts were entrusted with the examination of these documents in order to discover, if possible, any treasonable con-

nections. On the 9th August the experts report was given and declared that no connections with the Soviets could be proved, that the business of the bank was not in violation of public policy, and that there could be no doubt as to the honesty of the bank directors. Despite these facts, which the report was compelled to record, it contained the tendentious statement that the Workers and Peasants Bank devoted its activities almost exclusively to "supporting the undertakings of the Communist Party". The report also recorded certain formal "juridical irregularities" in the foundation of the bank and in the drawing up of its balances, irregularities sufficient to permit the commencement of a legal investigation.

The press took up this report and falsified its figures. For days the bourgeois press talked about a 20 million deficit, etc. The aim of this campaign was to provoke a panic amongst the investors and to cause a run upon the bank in order to secure the withdrawal of the deposits. The effect of this campaign was practically nought.

Seeing that its plan had misfired, the government determined upon a coup. On the 14th August a large force of police occupied the bank building, confiscated all documents and cash and sealed up the place. The press compared the Workers and Peasants Bank with the swindle undertaking, the Hanau Bank, and strove to cause public opinion to forget the scandal of the good bourgeois "Gazette de France" with a campaign against the alleged roguery of the communist leaders. The plan was to declare the Workers and Peasants Bank insolvent. This would immediately have resulted in the collapse of "l'Humanité" and prepared the ground for the taking over of both institutions by reliable capitalists.

The working class organisations spoiled the plans of the authorities. The management of the Bank publicly declared that its active balance was five million francs. Forty-six trade union organisations which controlled over two million francs in the Workers and Peasants Bank, organised a protective association which had hundreds of members in a few days. The Party organised a subscription campaign in order to cover the obligations of "l'Humanité" which fall due at the end of the month. At the same time the Party did not neglect to expose the political character of this attack upon the Workers and Peasants Bank. In the factories the workers organised collections and the masses of sympathising workers showed themselves determined to save their best defender. An opportunist tendency, however, also showed itself in the Party, which aimed at pushing the political defence of "l'Humanité" by the masses into the background and concentrating upon saving the bank, as though it was not the Party which was being attacked through the bank.

United resistance offered by the working class forced the government to give way. It appointed an expert to supervise the operations of the bank and the bank received permission to open its doors once again. From one day to the other, acting upon a hint from above, the bourgeois press ceased its campaign.

The government of course has no intention of abandoning its aim. Its hopes of a run of the creditors upon the bank have not been fulfilled, but now it relies upon the experts to find some excuse for compelling the bank to suspend payments and for placing the bank directors in the dock.

The struggle is therefore one of great significance. The Party is increasing its agitation amongst the masses in order, by the subscription campaign, to form committees to defend "l'Humanité"; these committees having at the same time the task of furthering the wage demands of the workers and defending the Soviet Union. The campaign is also intended to serve to free the Party from the partial illegality into which the measures of the authorities have forced it. The immediate aim is to save "l'Humanité" with all possible means, not only by collections, but also by increasing its circulation and organising its friends upon a factory or residential basis. It is hoped that even if the authorities succeed in ruining the bank, or placing it under the control of reliable capitalists, a defending war will arise around our central organ, "l'Humanité" and its influence will grow from day to day.

The direct and indirect attacks of governmental fascism are continuing. The Party will emerge from this struggle with increased strength. It will have made another great step in order to connect the legal with the illegal work. It will be freed from the vacillating elements, the careerists and the opportunists who are exposing their real character to the masses under the blows of the bourgeois authorities.

POLITICS

After the Battle of St. Lorenzen.

Revolutionary Resistance of the Austrian Proletariat.

By R. Schüller (Vienna).

At the battle of St. Lorenzen, the decisive section of the fight between Fascism and the working class in Austria began. The attack of the Fascist Heimwehr on the workers at St. Lorenzen was only the first fighting action in an extensive systematic offensive, the aim of which is stated openly by the Heimwehr to be the institution of the Fascist dictatorship this autumn.

The incident was only a link in a long chain of Fascist acts of violence, attacks and collisions with the workers, and, as such, it did not come unexpectedly. The energetic revolutionary resistance was, however, a surprise to the Fascists, for they did not expect anything of the kind from the workers they fell upon or from Labour in general. The tremendous fighting power and the determined will to resist, which was shown on this occasion on the part of the murderously attacked workers as also by the Austrian workers in general is a very favourable sign for the further development of the fight in Austria. And it is characteristic and of the greatest significance that in the defensive fight of the workers attacked at St. Lorenzen Communist workers played a decisive role.

All the facts prove the carefully systematic and cold military-political calculation with which the Fascist Heimwehr brought about the blood bath at St. Lorenzen. On the Fascist side, the action was conducted by Heimwehr leader Pfrimer himself, the shock troops, which were used, were the Fascist nucleus battalions of the Alpine Montan Werke, that heavy industrial enterprise, which constitutes the backbone of the Fascist employer troops and which is linked up with German trust capital. The workers were completely surrounded, and the measures taken by the Fascists clearly prove the purpose of the operation: bloody destruction of the crowds of workers. The Heimwehr machine guns were impudently and calmly brought into action against the workers and caused terrible sacrifices. Particulars of the most terrible, blood-thirsty rage of the Fascist worker-murderers are reported.

The political purpose of the Heimwehr attack was to intimidate the workers through Terror and bloodshed for future occasions and to give the signal for an unbroken chain of acts of violence, which is to terminate in Fascist dictatorship. They chose the opportunity at St. Lorenzen, although the meeting there was undoubtedly arranged by the Social Democrats to pacify and keep in check the workers who had been excited by a number of Fascist acts of violence committed recently. The Social Democrats desired no further action when they found the assembly hall in St. Lorenzen occupied by the Heimwehr, but the workers and the members of the Republican Defence Corps compelled Walisch and his people to hold a meeting in the church square. It was also members of the Republican Defence Corps, who, to the consternation of their leaders, put up a lively defence when the dastardly attack was made by the Fascist corp on the meeting.

And the Styrian workers put up a very good fight! At the request of their Social Democratic leaders they had previously surrendered to the gendarmerie their few and inadequate weapons, the spades which they had. And they now defended themselves with their leather belts, with palings torn from fences, with stones, bare fists and a few revolvers. They defended themselves so resolutely that, in spite of the fact that the Fascists were four times their number they could not overpower the workers, and the great majority of the wounded were on the side of the Fascists; in addition to the four murdered workers, the commander of the Heimwehr of the Alpine Montan Werke is among the dead, so that he himself has fallen a victim to the consequences of the murderous attack. The Heimwehr have learnt that in their dictatorship plans and attacks they can count upon the toughest resistance from the workers.

There was a tremendous response among the Austrian workers to the fighting spirit shown at St. Lorenzen. On the same evening there were conflicts at Bruck, Graz, Andritz, Gösting, Knittelseld, at which places the indignant workers set

upon the Fascists, while 4000 militarily equipped Heimwehr occupied the town of Judenburg, the headquarters of the Heimwehr leader, Pfrimer. On the next day, Monday, a political mass strike broke out spontaneously in Vienna and in Styrian Mürztal. At nearly every works of the metal industry in Vienna, particularly in the big works and in the big factories at Floridsdorf, Vienna, the workers spontaneously formed meetings as soon as the works opened and struck work. At the Fiat Works and at several other works resolutions were passed demanding a general strike. The workers sent delegates to the leaders of the Social Democratic Party to demand fighting measures. The feeling of the workers against the Fascists in the works was very bitter and in the State Railway workshops, where in spite of the efforts at pacification made by the factory councils, the workers knocked off at the suggestion of several revolutionary hands, the men insisted upon the dismissal of a member of the Heimwehr.

The Social Democratic Party and the trade unions sent their leaders to the works and they had to plead and argue the whole day in order to get the workers to stop the strike. This they succeeded in doing only under the hypocritical promise that the big meeting of delegates convoked for the evening of the same day would pass general fighting measures.

And when the Social Democratic Party held its big delegate conference on Monday evening in order to strangle the movement of the working masses, out of the ranks of the Social Democratic functionaries there repeatedly arose the urgent cry for weapons. More than that; in the discussion speakers also demanded the abolition of the ban placed on parades by the mayor of Vienna, Seitz, and thereby proved that the workers are beginning to understand that this parade-ban swindle is not aimed at the Heimwehr but only at the Communists and workers. These are all important facts, which are vouched for by the profound revolutionary left-wing development in the Austrian working masses.

In view of this turbulent revolutionary feeling, the Julius Deutsches and Austerlitzes were obliged to assume a left-wing attitude such as they have not adopted for a long time. The conference ended with a non-committal resolution condemning any action on the part of the workers and exhorting the workers to keep their lust for fighting until the day on which the decisive fight takes place. The same old game: The Fascists are to advance everywhere until the setting up of the dictatorship is an easy job for them, and the workers are to wait until the dictatorship has been set up; that is, they should allow themselves to be delivered completely to Fascism and Social Democracy.

The events prove that the Austrian workers are not in the least disposed to suffer this. The working masses have not yet suffered a decisive defeat, and though they are living under dreadful economic conditions, amidst the rotten and tottering structure of the capital system in Austria, the workers will be saved by the tremendous wave of left-wing development from being completely held back by the Social Democratic apparatus. And the Austrian working class has been shaken up by the events in St. Lorenzen and similar incidents, and they recognise more and more clearly that the Communists were right and that it is only a matter of a few months or even weeks before the coup d'Etat will be enacted; they know that it is five minutes to twelve and that they must now look after their skins. Moreover, they are determined to save their skins.

It is to this left-wing development among the working class and to their unbroken fighting spirit that the bourgeoisie is now replying with its sharp Fascist course. The Austrian events are a fresh and startling proof of the aggravation of the class antagonisms, and of the growing instability of the so-called capitalist stabilisation. They also prove that the fear of the bourgeoisie of the possibility of a repetition of events such as July 15th is not groundless and that the bourgeoisie are quicker in this perception than are many shortsighted Communists. Once again, on August 1st, the Austrian bourgeoisie showed its great fear by a grotesquely gigantic mobilisation of all its striking forces against the little Communist Party, whereby it was clearly stated that the mobilisation was not merely against the Communist Party, as such, but against the possibility of a repetition of such events as July 15th through the influence of the Communists in decisively critical situations upon the working masses with left-wing tendencies.

The Austrian bourgeoisie is not yet finished with the

Austrian workers, although it had and still has the support of Social Democracy. Since July 15th, 1927, Austrian Social Democracy has sealed the utter bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism in the Red July days by the definitely sweeping away of revolutionary phrases. Instead of juggling with the threats to exercise revolutionary violence and seize power, there appeared a solemn and appealing offer of collaboration with the bourgeois parties. In the S. P. Au. itself and particularly in the ban on parades in Vienna and the collaboration between the Social Democratic mayor of Vienna and the head of the State police against the Communists the social-Fascist development tendencies are clearly expressed.

But even though Social Democracy is trying hard to keep pace with the Fascist development of the bourgeoisie and to develop towards open coalition policy and social-Fascism, this development is not going on fast enough for the bourgeoisie. It has not sufficient confidence in the power of the Social Democratic apparatus to lead the working masses into subjection to Fascism. And that this assumption is justified and that the Social Democratic apparatus is no longer or not yet in a position to stem the high waves of Labour excitement caused by the social storms is proved by the events at St. Lorenzen. For the S. P. Au. has given to the Republican Defence Corps a more and more definitely social-Fascist role, as for a long time it has been using them for no other purpose than to draw cordons between the Heimwehr and the workers, who want to have a go at the Fascists who have cause to fear the workers. But suddenly this conflict breaks out and the members of the Republican Defence Corps put up a good defence against the Heimwehr murderers and take to arms. And because such is the case, the bourgeoisie is taking this course of Heimwehr Fascism with all its might.

And so we see how Fascism in Austria is arming quite openly for the dictatorship and is proclaiming its institution for this autumn or winter. Furthermore, the Heimwehr have the full support of the official authorities, of the parliamentary bourgeois parties and of the Government itself. By means of a combination of the violent putsch of the Heimwehr bands and of the legal Fascist Terror of the Government and State authorities, the bourgeoisie is striving towards the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship.

That the matter should have advanced so far is solely and wholly the fault of Social Democracy, which not only betrayed the splendid and hopeful revolutionary movement of July 15th, but has since then capitulated time after time, has voluntarily opened the streets and the factories to the Fascists, concluded pacts with them and since the resignation of Seipel has gone over to a policy of open co-operation with the government of the Fascist bourgeois block.

The workers have only one leader in their fight — the Communist Party. The C. P. of Austria, which in consequence of the influence of opportunist elements on July 15th and later, in spite of an energetic fighting activity, has made mistakes, has learnt, and the line of the X. Party Congress enables it, to place itself at the head of the radicalisation process of the working class and of their fight against Fascism. This is again proved by the present events, to which the Communist Party has quickly and clearly reacted with the only possible slogan of the general strike and the arming of the proletariat. The Party shows the working masses quite clearly that the Fascist Terror can only be broken by revolutionary violence and that against the preparations for the Fascist dictatorship the working class must unfurl the flag of the fight for power and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence the intense Terror with which the bourgeoisie is persecuting the Communist Party. The confiscation of the "Rote Fahne" has become a daily occurrence and prosecutions are falling thick and fast upon the Party. The bourgeoisie is endeavouring to force the political leader of the resistance of the working class into illegality. But this Terror of the bourgeoisie and of its ally, Social Democracy, cannot prevent the politically decisive influence of the Communist Party from taking a more and more important part in the fight of the workers.

This proves that, in spite of its organisatory weakness, the Communist Party of Austria, by following clearly and energetically its boldly offensive line of the X. Party Congress in the decisive moment of the fight, can become the leading factor of the working class. It must be said that its organisatory weakness is a great hindrance and on this occasion has been

of extremely disturbing effect. It might also be said that many Social Democratic and non-party workers have more temperament and more fighting spirit than many a member and many a functionary of the Communist Party.

The fight continues and is developing at a great speed. Every week, aye, every day may bring further great events. The chief task is to find organised expression for the revolutionary fighting feelings of the masses. Committees of action against Fascism must be formed and strengthened in all factories and localities. It is a vital question for the Austrian working class to organise over the heads of the treacherous leaders and of the Social Democratic Party the defence of the fighting and determined workers and to close the united front of the masses. It is equally important to extend and strengthen the Workers' Defence, the revolutionary defence organisation of the workers.

In spite of the throttling of the tremendous resistance of the workers by Social Democracy, recent events have raised the consciousness in the workers of their strength and fighting spirit. In consequence of their bloody rebuff and of their heavy losses, a sense of defeat reigns in the camp of the Upper Styrian Heimwehr. The Fascists are, however, preparing for further attacks. The events have proved that the bold and offensive attitude of the workers can repulse the attacks of the Fascists. We still have a few months before us. We must make the most of them.

The confiscated "Rote Fahne" gave the proper slogan:
"Counter Offensive against murderous Fascism!"

Preparations for a Fascist Coup d'Etat in Austria.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

On the 24th of this month a newspaper correspondence published an intervention with "a prominent leader of the Heimwehr" and hinted clearly that the "prominent leader" was no other than the chief leader of the Heimwehr fascist movement Dr. Steidle himself. All the newspapers with the exception of the "Reichspost", which published this interview, assumed that the man behind the interview was Steidle. The "Reichspost" energetically denied this, but as the "Reichspost" also expressed disagreement with the contents of the interview as being "calculated to awaken false opinions abroad concerning the situation in Austria" one would not go far wrong in assuming that the denial of the "Reichspost", which is the organ of Dr. Seipel, was intended as nothing but a serious warning to Dr. Steidle to moderate his public announcements and not to let the cat out of the bag too soon.

In the interview in question Dr. Steidle declared that the Heimwehr had no intention of limiting its demonstrative activity. On the contrary, the Heimwehr intended to organise another great parade chiefly in the neighbourhood of Vienna on the 1st September. Apart from a great parade in Judenburg, a demonstration of the Heimwehr would take place in the Helden Platz in Vienna in September.

He also declared in the interview that at first Streeruwitz intended to proclaim a general prohibition of demonstrations throughout Austria, but that he had been unable to secure the necessary support for his intention in the Cabinet. Such a prohibition would in any case not have been carried out by the chiefs, of the provincial diets who were not willing to place difficulties in the way of the Heimwehr movement.

Replying to the question of whether the Heimwehr movement intended any decisive action in Autumn, Dr. Steidle declared that the aim of the Heimwehr was to bring about a reform of the constitution, and that this could only be achieved by a radical alteration of the whole system. When the Heimwehr considered the time for action had arrived it would act. The character of its action would depend chiefly upon the amount of resistance met with from the side of the Marxists. Should the latter not retire voluntarily then the Heimwehr would compel them to.

Referring to the situation of the government, Dr. Steidle referred to the position of the Facta government prior to Mussolini's march on Rome in 1922.

The significance of this interview is therefore nothing but an open announcement of the coup d'Etat for the coming Autumn, whereby the character of the action will depend chiefly upon the amount of resistance put up by the working class. In this connection St. Lorenzen ought to have shown the fascists pretty clearly what resistance they have to expect from the workers. The challenge to retire voluntarily can only be meant for the social democratic leaders and can only be understood as a poorly concealed offer of an alliance. The significance of these words is only that the social democratic leaders should "voluntarily" clear the path for fascism, in other words, that they should throttle the resistance of the working class. In any case, this has been the chief activity of the social democratic leaders with regard to the fascist danger up to the present.

Although this interview of Dr. Steidle is very open in its language, still it does not create such a sensation as perhaps its contents would justify, because the question of a Heimwehr putsch in Autumn is being seriously discussed at the moment in the whole of the Austrian and a section of the foreign press. On the 23rd August the "Neues Wiener Journal" a journal connected with the Heimwehr movement, reprinted in great make up an article of the Milan "Serra" of the 23rd August in which the latter prophesies that the occupation of Vienna by the Heimwehr army will take place towards the end of September, and with comparative ease as the Vienna police would declare themselves "neutral".

A considerable part of the discussion is devoted to the question of the reform of the constitution, because the fascist Heimwehr leaders have declared again and again that violent action will only be taken if the National Council proves unable to make alterations in the constitution "calculated to assist the victory of real democracy".

This "real democracy" plays in the ideology of the Austrian fascists much the same role as Mussolini's phrases about "the unpatriotic bourgeoisie which thinks only of its stomach" played in Italy. One would not go far wrong in declaring that the Austrian social democracy itself is the source of this fascist ideology. It must not be forgotten that it was the Austrian social democratic leader Renner who as Prime Minister of Austria warmly expressed his approval of the election of "bourgeois councils" as a counterweight to the workers councils in the interests of this same "democracy".

Speaking in the same spirit Steidle declared on the 18th August in Linz: "Democracy means the unification of all the forces of the whole people for the State as a whole, and at the same time respect for all economic and political opinions, and the guarantee for the freedom of opinion and conviction for all citizens." In order however, that his hearers should not misunderstand him, Steidle added immediately: "But as good democrats we will have no toleration for Marxism. In this respect we will recognise only a ruthless struggle until it has been finally destroyed."

What the fascists understand by "real democracy", that is to say, what alterations the fascists wish to make in the constitution, is shown in a leading article in the "Neues Wiener Journal" on the 23rd August. According to this article the peace programme of the Austrian bourgeoisie has the following points: first of all a change in the position of the President of the Republic. Instead of acting merely as a figurehead the President should be given real powers. A further point refers to Vienna and demands, inter alia, the complete independence of the Police from the Vienna Municipal Council. Taxation facilities and the reduction of the social burdens in the interests of the economic system. Abolition of wage disputes as far as wages have already exceeded the minimum level. The passing of an anti-terror law. This means a law which robs the workers of the right to defend themselves against strike-breakers, yellows and fascists of all sorts, and which abolishes the right of combination for the working class. A prohibition against strikes for all public officials and civil servants. Abolition of the socialist press terror. The abolition of the list system of election for parliament in order to permit prominent leaders of Austrian economy to enter parliament.

This programme of the Austrian bourgeoisie thus confirms the perspective of the development in Austria set up by the Communist Party: either gradual fascism or the coup d'Etat.

In view of the progressive radicalisation of the Austrian working class it is becoming more and more unlikely that the Austrian fascists will be able to gain control of the State

apparatus and rob the workers of their rights "peacefully" and without meeting with much resistance.

Despite the supercilious tone with which Steidle is wont to refer to Streeruwitz, there is no doubt that the government is also making preparations to throw the forces of the State against the workers in the decisive moment.

In the recent Cabinet session which dealt with the events in St. Lorenzen a number of measures were decided upon, according to press reports, which lie quite in this direction.

The national police force is to be strengthened by 2,000 men and it is further intended that the national police shall replace the urban police in the most important industrial centres. This means that Herr Schober wants to establish detachments of fascist guards in the Austrian working class quarters, which, in case of civil war, would immediately appear on the scene as well-equipped armies for the conduct of civil war.

The gendarmerie is also to be strengthened numerically and better equipped both with regard to arms and means of transit and communication (flying-squad automobiles, portable wireless stations etc.).

A garrison of the Austrian army is to be established in Bruck on the Mur. Formerly there were three garrisons in Upper Styria, one in Judenburg, another in Leoben and the third in Bruck. As however the soldiers of the two last named towns continually fraternised with the workers and elected a communist to represent them, these garrisons were removed to Graz. Now however the War Minister Vaugoin thinks that his soldiers are so safe in the hands of his officers that he can again send soldiers to Bruck for a little bloodbath amongst the workers.

These measures of the government, the unmistakable preparations for civil war show even more clearly than the speeches of Dr. Steidle how near we are in Austria to decisive struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The Watch on the Suez.

The Anglo-Egyptian Draft Treaty — a War Preparation Document.

By J. B., Jerusalem.

With grand gestures and many phrases the Labour Party is endeavouring to represent the project of the treaty, which Mohammed Mahmoud, the Egyptian dictator by the grace of Britain, and Henderson have worked out together, as a "friendly solution" of the Anglo-Egyptian conflicts. This "leftward" gesture is all the more suspicious, because in other important matters, such as the question of unemployment and the Indian question, nothing is happening which could be regarded as a deviation from conservative traditions. On closer inspection, however, it is evident that in the Egyptian policy too, the Mahmoud-Henderson project is by no means so revolutionary as, to judge by the advertisement in the "Daily Herald" and from the first glance, it might appear.

In the first place, there is the "evacuation of Egypt by the British troops". Even the last State crisis, which broke out in conjunction with the establishing of the Mahmoud dictatorship in Egypt. (July 1928), proved that the presence of British troops in the Nile Valley is quite without object: the English troops did not even appear on the streets; it was sufficient that they could be transported to Cairo in a few hours to paralyse any revolutionary action. It is true that the troops are to leave their stations near Cairo and Alexandria, but — and this time with the voluntary assent of the Egyptian Government — they are to be concentrated close to the Suez Canal and still on Egyptian territory and at places which are hardly more than a two-hours' motor drive from Cairo; the number of troops is to remain the same (Executive supplement to the treaty project). What remains of the evacuation? Nothing but a removal of the British troops — at the expense of the Egyptian Government — from their present station to others in Egyptian territory, which in many respects are strategically still more favourable for the English than are the present positions.

The second question in dispute, the Sudan question, is to be "magnanimously" settled by a return to the state of affairs existing prior to the infamous Allenby ultimatum in the year 1924, i. e. formal condominium of Egypt and England in the Sudan. Not, however, in all parts, for the 300,000 feddan of cotton growing territory has in the meanwhile been swallowed

up by the Cotton Growing Association, and, although the Labour members of parliament previously protested vehemently against this robber-clause, they are making no effort to annul it, just as they are doing nothing to upset the Nile Agreement, extorted by the conservative government, whereby the Egyptian water sources are subjected to British control. The basic demand of Egypt and its nationalists — evacuation of the Sudan and its union with Egypt — remains unfulfilled.

The case is the same with the other questions: formal "concessions" and simultaneous maintenance of the de facto situation created by the conservatives. The High Commissioner will now be called "ambassador", but will assume an exceptional position, which will permit him to carry out the functions of a High Commissioner; the military control will be rechristened "advisory military commission", but this will scarcely diminish its authority; on the basis of the "alliance" between England and Egypt the English officials will retain their posts until further notice...; and, finally, several points mention how in case of war "His Egyptian Majesty" will immediately put at the disposition of "His British Majesty" all strategic points, harbours, air stations, railways, etc., in addition to maximum military assistance of other kinds.

These points are the most important of the whole treaty, and it is here that the pacifist, magnanimous gentleman and socialist, Henderson, shows his cloven hoof. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty is in essence, tendency and content a part of the British war preparation in the Near East, camouflaged with pacifist phrases, and is executed on a sector of the imperialistic front, where only a "left-wing", a Labour government could set about the execution of a manoeuvre for which the conservative government under the strong influence of the Diehards was much to inelastic.

In order to "guess" the direction of the war preparation, it needs to be mentioned that the breaking off of negotiations between Henderson and Dovgalevsky synchronised with the completion of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty project. While Henderson considered it necessary to impede the resumption of diplomatic relations with the proletarian power by putting reactionary "preliminary conditions" in the way, he quickly worked out a project concerning an offensive and defensive military war alliance with the Egyptian pashas, landowners, bankers and capitalists.

The Labour Party does not for a single moment make a secret of the fact that it designs to capture with its project not only the representative of the big landowners and bankers, Mohammed Mahmoud, not only the degenerate royal court and its hangers on, but also the national reformists, the bourgeois Wafd and, if possible, a portion of its petty-bourgeois supporters. The Suez Canal is the most sensitive artery of the British Empire, and it is therefore necessary that in case of war all the exploiting classes in Egypt, the whole of the Egyptian State and party apparatus should be at the service of Britain; it is therefore necessary to operate, as the Labour Party is now doing, with the semblance of "independence" and with evacuation phrases, in order to give the Egyptian ruling class the possibility of forming a block with the imperialist oppressors.

It must be said that the tricky manoeuvre of the social imperialists, the first attempt at an official, cynically open block between imperialism and national reformism, suffers from many inherent contradictions: it will be a difficult matter for the Wafd to justify to the masses its open betrayal of the anti-imperialist fight (up to the present it has only substituted reformist methods for revolutionary methods, but it must now openly renounce the achievement of its objective). The formation of such a block will greatly aggravate the class conflicts between Fellah and landowner, worker and capitalist. The attempt to abolish the capitulation privileges (especially the privileges of foreigners in Egypt) will reawaken the antagonism between the individual imperialist States (England-Italy, England-America). Finally, when the provisions of the treaty come to be actually carried out, the clash of interests between the colonial and imperialist bourgeoisie in certain questions (tariff questions, etc.) will again break out.

It is therefore by no means certain that the social-imperialist manoeuvre will be successful. But even now the important lesson can be learned that Henderson is losing no opportunity of preparing in his own way for the coming war.

The Hague Conference and the Second International.

By P. (Moskow).

The government of the Labour Party has by its policy at the Hague fully deserved the title of a "national government", i. e. a government of the national bourgeoisie. Snowden's tactics met with the warmest sympathy even of the conservative bourgeoisie and was accorded its full approval. It would have been difficult for Chamberlain and Baldwin to have defended the cause of British imperialism with greater zeal. Henderson's activity meets with no less approval, for these two "Labour leaders" supplement one another at the Hague. Their activity is constantly directed towards making demands calculated to cause difficulties to France and regain for England the position of arbitrator in European affairs, which position was lost under Chamberlain. But the position of the social democratic parties whose countries are the victim of Snowden's policy has become really difficult. The French bourgeoisie plainly asks the socialists what their attitude is to the procedure of the English "socialist" ministers, who are working to the detriment of the "rapprochement of the nations".

At first the organ of the French socialist party, "Populaire", tried to justify MacDonald.

"It is impossible to put the complicated affairs of the bourgeoisie in order without resorting to bargaining. Socialist construction under the capitalist regime cannot be carried on otherwise... and it is just the necessity for such bargaining which compels the socialists to adapt their manner of negotiation to the requirements of international capitalism. Unfortunately, however, this capitalism is, however, still strong at the Hague, as it is everywhere."

The candour of this confession leaves nothing to be desired. Snowden and MacDonald are merely victims of their ministerial positions. One must bow in the house of Rimmon. The British Labour Party, which has taken over the government under a capitalist regime, is obliged to defend the interests of its principals.

One day later, on August 14th, the leader of the French socialists, Léon Blum, was compelled to express himself differently in regard to the policy of the British Labour Party. The members of the Labour Government, in carrying out the orders of the English bourgeoisie, have seriously damaged the interests of the French bourgeoisie. Léon Blum is therefore very stern with Snowden on this occasion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has, it appears, violated the resolutions of the Second International.

"I, no less than any other — writes Blum — have reason to regret that the English socialist party have not been able to compel the English socialist government to realise those ideas which they accepted as a section of the International... Snowden is wrong, in the first place, because his manners awake evil passion, in the second place, however, he is still more wrong in regard to the essentials of the question."

The French socialists have, therefore, not betrayed their "national interests", i. e. the interests of their bourgeoisie. They regard Snowden as a "betrayal of the resolutions of the Second International".

The Austrian Social Democrats are, on the other hand, not interested in reparations, but they are antagonistic towards France. In their ranks the actions of the English delegation do not call forth so much bitterness as they do in Léon Blum.

"It is true — writes the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of August 15th —, the English Labour government thereby defends not only the interests of the English workers, it voices the demands of the English State and, therefore, those of English capital, too. But does this defence of the national interests run counter to their international obligations?... The English socialists are, like the socialists of all other countries, prepared to put these resolutions (the resolutions of the Second International on the reparations question. Ed.) into effect at the earliest possible opportunity. But as long as the political relations of Europe and, chiefly, as long as the power of American capital, to which England itself must pay tribute, makes the fulfilment of these

demands impossible, the English Labour representatives cannot be forbidden to demand for the English unemployed what the French militarists would otherwise get."

Snowden would therefore appear to be not only a traitor but also a loyal son of the Second International, "ready to put its resolutions into effect at the earliest possible opportunity", provided "the power of American capital" does not prevent him from doing so. The reparations which English imperialism demands from Germany through the agency of Snowden, will, if one can believe the Austrian Social Democrats, be expended on relief for the English unemployed. The "national interests" of France, the defence of which the French socialists regard as their duty, are, mark you, nothing but "demands of the French militarists". How must the "comrade" of the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", Léon Blum, now feel?

The Austro-Marxists are, however, not satisfied with this.

"Everything which facilitates the possibility of work by the Labour government benefits the whole proletariat; whatever strengthens its position is of service to the International. Snowden's financial ability builds the foundation upon which Henderson's peace activity is possible."

This "peace activity" consists at the moment in the more than ambiguous policy of Great Britain in the conflict between China and the Soviet Union and in the refusal by the British Government to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The activity of Snowden and Henderson at the Hague consists of consolidating the positions of British imperialism and in the capture of "a place in the capitalist world" for that imperialism. Such places are, however, not relinquished without a fight. The British "Labour Government" is preparing for war with still greater zeal than did the Baldwin Government. We have not the slightest doubt but that Snowden's policy, as the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung" puts it, "serves the Second International". But the candid recognition of this fact in the columns of the "left-wing" Social Democratic organ is indeed a sign of the times.

Social Democracy is becoming more and more openly a direct instrument of imperialist domestic and foreign policies. It is not the international interests of the working class but the predatory interests of its own bourgeoisie, of its own imperialism which is the supreme criterion of its policy.

INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

The C. C. of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia on the Decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and on the 1st of August Campaign.

By Paul Reimann (Prague).

On the 10th and 11th August a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took place and dealt with the decisions of the tenth plenary session of the E. C. of the C. I., with the results of the 1st August campaign and with the further political and inner-party tasks of the Czechish C. P. Having regard to the tremendous experiences of the Party during the last few months in connection with the carrying out of the 1st August campaign, the plenary session of the C. C. was of first-rate political importance. Upon the basis of the decisions of the plenary session of the E. C. of the C. I. and upon the basis of a thorough and concrete self-criticism of the Party, and in particular on the basis of the carrying out of the 1st August campaign, the C. C. was able to make a great step forward. The proceedings at the plenary session of the C. C. showed above all that in connection with the growing fighting experiences of the Party, there has been a considerable concretisation of the formulation of the questions facing the Party; that the Party, after having at its fifth congress, created clarity in the fundamental questions of the class-struggle, is now making a further step forward by formulating the question of the practical tasks, and in particular the question of the alteration of the working methods.

One of the chief lessons of the 1st August campaign was that with a generally correct policy on the part of the C. P.

of Czechoslovakia, there was shown firstly a discrepancy between the adoption of decisions and the practical carrying out of the tasks facing the Party, a discrepancy which has its roots above all in the for the most part, false and social democratic methods of work; and that secondly, upon the same basis, there is a lack of proportion between the speed of the radicalisation of the masses and the conquest by the Party of the leading role in the labour struggles. The partial lack of success of the Party in the 1st of August campaign is due above all to this fact.

Despite these phenomena, which it will be the main task of the Party to dispose of, it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that the Czechish Party had made no progress in the application and the carrying out of the policy of the 6th World Congress and of its own 5th party congress. On the contrary: upon the basis of the very detailed reports concerning the 1st August which were made in the session of the Central Committee, it can be seen that the Party has succeeded in raising the class struggle to a higher political plane.

A review of all the reports given from the various districts in the Central Committee session shows that on the 1st August 17,000 workers took part in the political mass-strike and 60,000 workers took part in the illegal demonstrations organised by the Party. Undoubtedly, these figures are by no means in accord with the possibilities which exist to-day in Czechoslovakia in consequence of the radicalisation of the masses; on the other hand, it must be recognised that this success in mobilising the masses represents an advance as compared with former actions of the Party. This is all the more the case because in some districts the action of the working masses on the 1st August took the sharpest forms. This was true particularly in the Carpathian Ukraine where the action bore a really broad mass-character. In the most important centres, in Uzhorod, Beregatch, etc. the Party succeeded in bringing about all-embracing strikes, and further, for the first time, the political mass-struggle here was intensified into an open struggle against the State power. This was the case in Boronava where, following upon the arrest of a number of comrades in connection with the August demonstration, the workers and peasants attacked the police. They compelled the police to release the arrested workers and, after the police had received re-inforcements, the masses defended themselves for two hours in an open struggle against the State power. In Beregatch work was stopped in all the factories the day before, so that the strike lasted a day and a half. In Neutra in Western Slovakia, the demonstrating workers compelled the authorities to withdraw the gendarmerie troop of 120 men. In the same place a number of companies of the garrison expressed their sympathy with the demonstrating workers. In Sillein in Slovakia, there was also almost a complete general strike in the factories. The largest coal mine in Slovakia, in Handlova, was brought to a complete standstill.

Apart from these successes of the Party in the Carpathian Ukraine and in Slovakia, the successes in Northern and Western Bohemia must be mentioned. In the Karlsbad district 12,000 workers demonstrated under the slogans of the anti-war day; in the Aussig district 8,000 workers demonstrated; and in the Reichenberg district approximately 6,000 workers. Particularly stormy demonstrations took place in Teplitz, where 1,500 demonstrators collided with the State power; in Gablonz, where the demonstration was attacked by the police after it had marched through the greater part of the town, and where, amongst the 40 arrested, there were a considerable number of fascist and social-democratic workers; in Komotau where a revolt amongst the reservists stationed there took place; in Zwickau where, after the arrest of a number of workers, their release was secured by the threat of a general demonstration strike, etc. In Prague itself the mass mobilisation was weak, but nevertheless the demonstrating workers showed a fine fighting spirit against the terror of the police.

Apart from the attitude of the working masses, it is of great significance that on the 1st August a series of disturbances took place in the barracks, in addition to the cases already mentioned in Neutra and Komotau; for instance, in Budweis, in Boux, in Leitmeritz, etc.

All these facts must be regarded as proof that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has succeeded in a number of politically and strategically important districts in mobilising the masses for a struggle against war, and in raising the mass-

struggle to a higher political plane. The fact that although the propaganda for the political mass-strike was insufficient, 17,000 workers adopted this weapon, must be considered as a political fact of first rate importance. On the other hand, however, those phenomena must be openly discussed which represent a partial and serious lack of success on the part of the Party. The successes of the Party were obtained, it is true, in politically important districts, but in general it was the districts of the national minorities which showed themselves capable of satisfying the demands of the political mass-struggle. In the most important Czechish districts, however, the Party failed completely or almost completely.

In Prague only 900 workers struck, and these were engaged on a few building jobs and in small workshops. The demonstrations which were carried out in various parts of the town, were weak. The failure of the action in Prague was the result first of all of the great organisational weakness of the Prague party organisation, which has almost no hold in the factories, and in particular in the important large-scale factories; and secondly, it resulted from serious political reasons. In consequence of the pessimism of the Prague district leadership concerning the possibility of mobilising the masses upon the basis of the anti-war struggle, the war danger was not made the central problem of the 1st of August action; instead a series of economic demands, and in particular the tenants' protection question, were put forward. It is true that prior to the 1st August a conference of factory delegates took place in Prague which was well attended also by non-communist workers, but the political fighting character of the action was not sufficiently stressed and this fact, plus the organisational weakness of the Party, inevitably led to failure.

The party failure was still greater in the Kladno district, where there was practically no concrete preparatory work; and in the Pilsen district where in a number of departments of the great Skoda works there was a good spirit in favour of a strike, which was however not utilised in consequence of the scepticism of the party officials. In the Ostrau district, as in Prague, the main weight was not placed on the carrying out of the anti-war action, but on side issues, in this case the question of the worsening of the miners insurance scheme. A united-front conference called prior to the 1st August in this district, dealt mainly with the insurance question instead of with the 1st August. In the Brunn district the Party achieved important successes in the preparatory work and succeeded in forming an anti-war committee with the participation of social-democratic and national-socialist factory workers; when, however, the members of this committee were arrested, it was seen that the Party was not prepared for the intensification of the persecutions. The spirit in a number of workshops in favour of a strike against the arrests was not utilised, and in consequence the 1st August action was also a failure.

The indication of the causes of these weaknesses in the most important Czechish industrial centres, also gives an answer to the question as to the roots of the partial lack of success of the Party. The first and most decisive factor is a political one. In carrying out the action, the Party leadership vacillated in the direction of underestimating the possibilities of the success of the political mass-struggle and thus underestimated also the process of radicalisation amongst the workers. In consequence, both on a national scale and in a series of important districts, the war question and the question of the struggle against Fascism and against the police terror were not made the central questions of the action, but economic partial demands were placed in the foreground. In forming united front organs, committees of action were formed in a number of districts which put forward economic demands before the 1st August, although the possibility existed of electing anti-war committees. Finally, the party leadership did not conduct a general propaganda for the slogan of the political mass-strike, but limited this propaganda to a comparatively small field. There was no general ideological campaign made to prepare the workers for the use of this new fighting method.

The second cause of the lack of success was that although the Central Committee carried out a generally correct policy, it underestimated the significance of the alteration of the methods of work of the Party. The concentration upon the large-scale factories has not yet been carried out by the Party, which also showed a lack of understanding for application of illegal methods of work; the result of this was that where the per-

secutions against the Party were particularly strong (Brunn, etc.) the Party was practically helpless in face of the police terror. The failure to carry out the alteration in the working methods of the Party is connected with very strong opportunist remnants even in those sections of the Party which have formally declared themselves in favour of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress. It was shown with even greater clearness than at the time of the textile workers struggle in the spring of this year, that certain sections of the party officials have become a direct hindrance to the development of the mass-movement. In Prague, for instance, the Party knew nothing of the fact that strikes had occurred on a number of building jobs and it was thus unable to organise a demonstration of the striking building workers. In Ostrau, in Pilsen and in Brunn there was a good spirit amongst the workers in favour of a political mass-strike, but the district party officials sabotaged the development of the strike.

Thus, the insufficient change in the methods of work, which is an expression of opportunism in the ranks of the Party, became the second cause of the partial failure of the Party.

The third important cause must be sought in the situation of the Red Trade Union Movement. Even after the splitting away of Hais, the policy and tactics of the Red Trade Unions remained opportunist. The Party has not yet strengthened its fractional work in the Red Trade Unions in order to bring about a change in their methods of work. The Red Trade Unions adopted a completely passive attitude to the 1st August campaign and took no part whatever in the party efforts. Both in the central leadership and amongst the officials of the Red Trade Unions, quite open legalist tendencies have shown themselves in the last few months; instead of the question of the mobilisation of the masses, the question of obtaining official approval for the statutes of the organisation and the recognition of the Ghent system were made the central questions of the Red Trade Union Movement. The sharpest possible resistance was shown to the change of tactics in the factory council elections. Up to the present, the change of tactics has been carried out only in one single case, in the sense that a candidate list of the Red Trade Unions was placed before a factory meeting of the workers. In this one case, the winning of 150 votes proved the correctness of the new tactic. Immediately before the 1st August, at the elections in the Vitkovitz iron works, one of the largest factories in Czechoslovakia, the candidate list of the Red Trade Unions was not placed before the masses for confirmation and no unorganised workers were placed on the list.

A fourth reason for the partial lack of success of the Party is that the Party neglected very considerably the struggle against social fascism and failed to carry on the anti-war campaign in close connection with the struggle against social fascism and against its left-wing, the renegade Jilek-Hais group.

Summing up, the Central Committee came to the conclusion that in the anti-war campaign the Party had achieved a number of important successes which represented a continuation of the changed tactics introduced by the Party; but that on the other hand the Party had suffered a partial failure, particularly in the most important industrial districts, in which great political weaknesses of the Party were shown. The formulation of the Party tasks was made by the Central Committee upon the basis of this analysis and in the direction of the alteration of the methods of work of the Party, the concentration upon the large-scale factories, the strengthening of the illegal work, the continuation of the political mass-struggle against the police terror and against the danger of imperialist war, the concentration of all the forces of the Party upon the improvement of the work in the mass organisations, and in particular in the Red Trade Unions, and finally, the concretisation of the struggle against social fascism in all its forms. The demonstration against the National Workers Day of the German Social Democrats on the 18th August in Komotau and the preparations for the International Day of Youth must be carried on above all in the direction of overcoming the political weaknesses of the Party. The Central Committee also decided upon a number of organisational measures to strengthen the work in the Czechish industrial centres, to concentrate the party activities upon the large-scale factories, and to develop the methods of illegal mass work. In all these respects the Central Committee has adopted very concrete directives and measures which guarantee an improvement in the situation of the Party.

In the proceedings at the Central Committee session the

question of the correction of certain errors of the Party in the youth question played an important role. These errors resulted from the fact that the party leadership tended to underestimate the crisis in the Young Communist League and failed to analyse in time the roots of the crisis, which were, apart from the insufficient political work, the wrong methods of work. The result was that instead of assisting the Young Communist League to overcome its crisis, the Party even hindered it from so doing. Now the Central Committee of the Party has not only worked out a correct standpoint to the youth question but has also adopted practical measures to support the Young Communist League.

The last, but not the least important work of the Central Committee consisted in utilising the decision of the 10th Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Central Committee heard a report by Comrade Gottwald upon the work of the tenth Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I., declared itself to be in complete agreement with the decisions of the latter, and decided to organise a broad campaign in order to popularise these decisions in the whole Party. In the next few months the decisions are to be made the basis for the mass-training of the Party from the bottom up. Here also, the Central Committee showed complete understanding for the tasks facing it.

To sum up, it can be said that, steeled by its fighting experiences on the 1st August, the Party has made another step forward, a step which will soon show itself in the practice of the Party for the organisation of the struggles of the Czechish working class.

August First in the United States of America.

By A. G. Richman (New York).

The mass demonstrations throughout the United States on International Red Day, organised to protest against imperialist war plans and in defence of the Soviet Union, were able to mobilise 100,000 workers in some 200 meetings. They were incidentally a splendid answer to the sabotage of the renegades of the Lovestone group, which propagandised against the demonstrations in a defeatist manner, just as they had attacked the heroic May Day demonstration of the Berlin proletariat as a "putsch". Not since the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign has there been such a mobilisation of the American workers.

A brief summary of the number of workers participating in the demonstrations in the industrial centres follows: In New York City there took part 20,000 workers, in Boston 2000, Pittsburgh 15,000, Cleveland 4000, Chicago 5000, Seattle 2000, Waukegan 3000, Negaunee, Mich. 3000, Portland, Ore. 1500, New Bedford 1500.

While these figures would be small for Europe, for the U.S. they are considerable, especially when we keep in mind the devastating effects of the long period of factional paralysis, the usual summer let-down in activity on the part of many members, and such positive factors as the great mobilisation of the police with their brutal attacks and arrests. The response of the workers to these attacks was the most militant yet experienced, and in a number of instances they resisted effectively. Many of the demonstrations were held despite police prohibition, and defended most energetically, despite the arrests of about 300 Communists and other workers.

In New York, besides the main demonstration in Union Square, others were held along the waterfront, and before the Brooklyn Navy Yard; in Massachusetts, in a number of textile and other manufacturing centres; in Pennsylvania, 3-4000 participated in great noonday meetings before the Westinghouse and McKesport Steel plants, 1000 before Mellon's aluminium plant in Kensington; in Ohio, in steel, rubber, mining, and auto towns; in the Chicago, Minnesota, Seattle districts, in steel, lumber, copper mining, etc. centres.

Large leaflet distributions brought the message of the demonstrations to many workers not participating, as in New York, where a quarter of a million pieces were given out, and 60,000 copies of the Red Day edition of the Daily Worker; 60,000 leaflets in Cleveland; 30,000 copies of a special Chicago edition of the Daily, etc. Over 100,000 factory workers were also reached by special editions of factory papers, of which 80

were issued during July, many of them for the first time, and most in the basic industries.

Previous to August First, many open-air meetings and demonstrations were held throughout the country, before Chinese consulates (San Francisco, New York, etc.), against the Boy Scouts, and especially on the night before August First.

A few words as to the lessons of the demonstrations — shortcomings and achievements. Among the former are lateness in starting the campaign, insufficient ideological preparation in the lower organisations, inactivity of some foreign language sections and papers, failure to develop united fronts except in a few instances (few anti-war committees in shops, few conferences, little work in the armed forces, among foreign-born and Negro organisations, or in A. F. of L. unions).

In such districts as Philadelphia, Detroit and California, the leading Party committees displayed "khvostism", failed to give the demonstrations a mass outdoor character, holding them indoors. (In these sections the masses were far ahead of the Party in their militancy in meeting despite police prohibition, and in battling the police.) This was also true in some cities of the Chicago district, such as Waukegan. The Young Communist League members were the life of many of the demonstrations, saving them where the Party members were inactive or backward, and showing that they are the heart of the workers defence corps which will be organised.

A serious mistake was the failure to organise partial strikes. Only in New York was this done, where over 10,000 responded. Another error was the insufficient or abstract linking up of the Red Day preparations with the important issues before the workers, such as the connection between war plans and rationalisation, the Gastonia attack, and the like.

Among the achievements of the campaign, in addition to those referred to above, can be reckoned the following: the establishment of the Party among wide new masses of workers as a militant, fighting organisation; the activation of the Party organisation and the demoralisation of the renegades; the winning of new members; the effective rallying of large sections of the masses against the war danger threatening the U.S.S.R.; the recognition by the Party of the growing radicalisation of important sections of the working class and its readiness to take advantage of this to mobilise them.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany.

By Rudolf Renner (Berlin).

On 13th and 14th of August there took place the Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany which discussed the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and the next tasks of the Party. This session was the first after the new election of the Central Committee at the Wedding Party Congress at which the reconciliatory elements were removed from the leading body of the Party. This session dealt seriously with the decisions of the X. Plenum and exercised a sharp Bolshevik self-criticism of the mistakes and shortcomings of the Party.

The events in Germany demonstrate the accentuation of the class struggles and the acuteness of the situation: the application of terror against the proletariat, the growth of fascism and the support of the fascist organisations by the capitalists. The development of the Social democratic Party towards social fascism is becoming quite obvious. The German capitalists are preparing a new wave of rationalisation, dismissing fresh thousands of workers, who are deprived of all means of subsistence by the cutting down of the unemployment insurance. At the same time capitalist rationalisation, which is being carried out at a feverish pace, promoted the disintegration within monopoly capitalism. The Plenary session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany declares in its resolution:

"Contrary to the prophecies of the social democracy, which have been repeated by the Right and conciliatory elements, the stabilisation of capitalism has become not firmer and stronger but more rotten and shaky."

And particularly with regard to Germany the C. C. declares:

"That the double burdening of the German proletariat by the reparation payments and the pressure of its own bourgeoisie accelerates the approach of a revolutionary crisis in Germany."

The C. C. devotes special attention to the threatening war danger. It characterises the events in Manchuria, which indicate that the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union has approached considerably nearer.

Comrade Remmele, who delivered the report on the E. C. C. I., sharply combated Bukharin's false theory on the "consolidation of capitalism by capitalist rationalisation and the weakening of the Soviet Union". The resolution of the C. C. records the **victorious advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union** and declares:

"The hopes of the bourgeoisie for a capitalist degeneration of the Soviet Union have been completely wrecked. Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the victorious offensive initiated under the leadership of the C. P. S. U. against the capitalist elements in town and country have already achieved magnificent successes."

The C. C. of the C. P. of Germany decidedly repudiates the over-estimation of the technical development within capitalism, and at the same time places before the Party the task of sharply combating capitalist rationalisation and not only "the consequences thereof as advocated by the Bukharin school. The C. C. of the C. P. G. welcomes the clarification which has been carried out in this respect by the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. As stated by Comrade Kuusinen at the Plenum already at the VII. Plenum the German representatives put forward this demand against Bukharin. The German C. C. further welcomes the sharp repudiation of Comrade Varga's standpoint "that capitalist rationalisation does not involve a deterioration of the standard of living". The C. C. declares that the more intensive exploitation has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase of wages, that also by means of the customs policy, mass taxes, short-time and unemployment, an **absolute lowering of the standard of living of the working class has taken place**. Just now we witness in Germany the collapse of a number of undertakings, especially of textile undertakings (Lausitz, Erzgebirge) as a result of which new masses will be thrown out of employment.

In view of the acute situation the C. C. draws the attention of the Party to an increased extent to the development of social democracy into social fascism, its more pronounced merging with the State apparatus and the employers. The C. C. declares that social fascism

"in the German social democracy does not constitute a tendency, but is already a fact."

The C. C. declares the character of social fascism to be "socialism" in hypocritical phrases and fascism in deeds. It instructs the Party to launch an annihilating revolutionary mass struggle against social fascism. The C. C. at the same time declares that the merging of social democracy with the capitalist government apparatus and the application of fascist methods "creates the **preconditions for the deep-going crisis of social democracy**". The resolution states on this subject:

"The crisis will inevitably lead to the social democracy losing its influence among the broad masses of workers and thereby create the favourable preconditions for the capture of the majority of the working class by the Communist Party".

The correctness of this assertion was confirmed, although unwittingly, by the central organ of the S. P. G. on 17th of August, when it stated in an article on "Industry and socialism" that

"the proportion of the workers in the membership is gradually diminishing in favour of the proportion of employees and officials".

It is the most important fighting task of the Party to win the majority of the working class. Comrade Remmele, in his report, declared:

"The organisational capture of the majority of the population is only possible after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The most important task of the Party at the present moment is the ideological drawing of large masses to the Communist movement and the firm connection of the Party with the majority of the proletariat."

The Party can carry out this task only by means of the most energetic and offensive action of the Party in every situation, by its ruthless elimination of all opportunist vacillations. The resolution declares:

"The precondition (for the capture of the masses) is the capture of the leading role in the labour movement, i. e. leadership by the Communist Parties in all actions of the working class, in economic strikes, in the street demonstrations etc. in order to ensure the Bolshevik leadership of the proletariat in all decisive struggles. The basis of this policy is the application of new forms of the united front tactics from below while at the same time attracting the unorganised masses into the struggle. For this purpose the Communists must throw all their forces on to the factories and convert them into Communist strongholds."

In close connection with work in the factories is the work in the trade unions; the capture of the leadership in the economic struggles is at the same time a precondition for the reinforced struggle against reformism in the trade unions. The formation of separate trade unions is at present absolutely wrong in Germany and would only render assistance to the reformist splitters. One must, however, not overlook the increasing resentment of the workers against the trade unions. The trade unions are assisting the employers with every means. For instance, where red factory councils have been elected the trade unions are concluding alliances with the employers and are attempting to exclude the factory councils from all matters and to isolate them from the workers. Against these treacherous acts of the trade union bureaucrats and their functionaries in the factories the C. C. of the C. P. G. proclaims the most energetic struggle. It instructs the Party, by **building up a system of revolutionary functionaries** in the factories, to achieve a better consolidation in the factories and a reinforcement of the struggle in the trade unions. The C. C. of the C. P. G. therefore decided:

"The activity of the Communists and of the revolutionary trade union opposition within the reformist trade unions must not be diminished by reason of our tactical turn, **but must be decidedly strengthened**. In order to strengthen the Party's influence in the factories and to impart an organisational character to all struggles of the working class it is necessary to establish bodies of revolutionary shop stewards who are elected by the staff in all factories, especially in the big undertakings."

The C. P. G. has conducted the struggle against the Rights and the conciliators with ruthless determination and consistency. All the Rights and conciliators have been removed from the leading cadres of the Party. This policy resulted in a recovery of the Party and its development on the line of Bolshevism. The C. C. of the C. P. G. welcomes the removal of the conciliators (Bukharin) from the E. C. C. I. and is convinced that this step will be considered by the whole Party as a measure for the strengthening of the III. International and for the better carrying out of its tasks. The C. C. calls upon the Party to exercise the greatest vigilance in regard to all opportunist dangers in the Party.

The C. C. of the C. P. G. subjected the recent events to a sharp **Bolshevist self-criticism**. In particular it drew the lessons of the events on 1st and 11th of August. The Party succeeded in organising a successful mass demonstration on the 1st of August and in carrying out a successful campaign against the reactionary constitution festivals on 11th of August. But a number of considerable shortcomings were revealed, in the removal of which the whole Party must collaborate. The C. C. enumerated these shortcomings in its resolution as follows:

"In the carrying out of the Red Day there was revealed a great number of very serious shortcomings and weaknesses, which consisted in particular in the inadequate connection of all the daily questions with the struggle against the war danger, the insufficient formation and extension of the anti-war committees, the faint-hearted and passive mood of individual Party members before the 1st of August, illegal retreat before the bourgeois State power in various localities, as well as inadequate preparation and carrying out of the political protest strikes in the factories."

The situation in Germany, the elaboration and criticism of the shortcomings and weaknesses result in the positive recognition of the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. In

connection therewith the C. C. set forth the tasks which will bring the Party further on the way of revolutionary development.

Energetic elaboration and political and ideological application of the decisions of the Wedding Party Congress; continuation of the anti-war campaign, creation of anti-war committees in the factories. For the purpose of promoting the campaign the C. C. decided to convene a proletarian anti-war congress in the Winter, mass demonstrations on the 7th of November, increased work among the proletarian women, a National Congress of working women on the 20th October.

The result of the self-criticism demands a closer linking up with the daily questions. The C. C. therefore decided on:

Increase of Party activity for unchaining economic struggles, establishment of revolutionary functionaries' bodies in the factories, greater initiative in the leadership of the unemployed movement. The C. C. decided on "a determined reinforcement of Communist work in the trade unions".

To the development of fascism the Party opposes the building up of proletarian self-defence in the factories and the formation of mass defence organisations.

The C. C. of the C. P. G. demands of the Young Communist League the decided keeping to the political line, and energetic work among the masses of proletarian youth.

A special report was delivered on the municipal elections which will soon take place throughout Germany. The C. C. calls upon the Party to convert these elections into a large-scale political struggle against social fascism, the capitalist State apparatus and social reaction.

The session of the C. C. of the C. P. G. showed the degree of revolutionary development of the Party. The great participation in the C. C. of comrades from the factories and their lively participation in the discussion was a sign of the consolidation and unity of the leading body of the Party.

The C. C. of the C. P. G. drew with Bolshevik consistency the conclusions from the revolutionary fighting situation. The uniform character of the C. C. offers the guarantee that the C. P. G. will determinedly tackle the tasks which the development of events has set it.

The Struggle against the Right Danger in Poland.

By J. Lenski (Warsaw).

The VI. Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Poland is of historical importance for the development of the revolutionary movement in Poland. It means a turn in the path pursued hitherto of struggle against the Right and conciliatory dangers in the C. P. P. The VI. Plenum created the basis for a complete ideological purging of the Polish Party, for the overcoming of the fraction struggle and for the consolidation and strengthening of the Party.

The VI. Plenum, which took place at a time of enormously acute war danger, has in the first place put an end to the hitherto opportunist attitude of the Right group, headed by Comrades **Kostrzeva**, **Stefanski** and **Brand**, who underestimate the imperialist character of the Polish capitalist State and who do not consider as a "present day reality" the danger of a military attack of Polish fascism upon the Soviet Union. The opportunist views of the Rights in this question which is decisive for every Communist, were a result of the fact that they overestimated capitalist stabilisation and wrongly estimated the concrete historical situation, the third period. The opportunist under-estimation of the imperialist character of the Polish capitalist State has found its most crass expression in Comrade **Brand's** brochure on the fascist upheaval in Poland. The standpoint which Comrade **Brand** developed in this brochure was the continuation of the opportunist theories which he, along with Comrade **Kostrzeva**, had developed in the year of 1926, immediately after the Pilsudski upheaval.

The Communist International has emphatically rejected the opportunist estimation of capitalist stabilisation which was very clearly expressed in these theses of Comrade **Brand**. The further development has proved that this Right group has not revised its opportunist mistakes in these fundamental questions, but on the contrary has tried repeatedly after the VI. World Congress to force these mistakes upon the Party.

In close connection with the opportunist estimation by the Right group of the characteristic features of the third period in Poland stands its wrong estimation of the character of the petty bourgeois parties, especially of the Polish Socialist Party. Contrary to the decisions of the VI. Congress and of the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I., the Right group represented Polish social fascism as a third actual democratic force, which "stands under the double fire of Communism and fascism". Comrade **Stefanski** has developed this view in the theoretical organ of the C. P. P. He represents the conception that there exists a fundamental antagonism in the ideological, political and organisational sphere between fascism and the reformist parties. The alleged fundamental antagonism between the ideology of the P. P. S. and of fascism has, according to the opinion of the Polish Rights, the effect that the social-democratic phrases of the P. P. S. strike at the basis of the fascist dictatorship and that with the growth of the revolutionary ferment these phrases "will more and more clearly reveal their double-edged character". **The Polish Rights are, therefore, of the opinion that the radical phraseology of social fascism can play an objectively revolutionary role.**

Comrades **Stefanski's** and **Kostrzeva's** view directly leads to an overestimation of the squabbles between social fascism and fascism and to the tremendously dangerous and false theory of a real struggle of these two ideological and organisational systems (fascism and social fascism) which are allegedly hostile to each other. This false theory has found expression in the discussion speech of Comrade **Kostrzeva** at the VI. Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. P. regarding the three factors in the revolution, of which the first is the proletariat, the second the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities and the third the inner squabbles in the camp of the bourgeoisie. According to this opportunist distortion of Leninism the inner squabbles of the bourgeoisie are growing to the extent of a fundamental driving force of the revolution.

Comrade **Kostrzeva**, in her attitude towards social fascism and the petty bourgeoisie in general, again put forward her old view regarding the petty bourgeoisie as an independent factor of the revolution, a factor which is called upon to carry out the democratic-bourgeois programme.

The VI. Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. P. correctly emphasised in its resolution:

"If Comrade **Stefanski** creates the basis for illusions with regard to the P. P. S., Comrade **Kostrzeva's** views create the basis for illusions in regard to the petty bourgeois parties in general".

The opportunist deviations of the Right group have formed the ideological basis for serious opportunist mistakes with regard to the P. P. S. which were revealed in individual organisations. The Right opinions of Comrades **Kostrzeva**, **Brand**, and **Stefanski** have also formed the ideological basis for a trade union legalism which was apparent in various districts. These views led them to grave mistakes in the peasant question, because they compared the land reform of **Stolypin** with the present agrarian policy of fascism.

The Plenum, therefore, strongly emphasised that only the overcoming of the opportunist views of the Right group by the whole Party from top to bottom can safeguard the Communist movement in Poland from a repetition of the former Right errors in practical Party work. The Plenum decidedly opposed all tendencies which endeavoured to let the fight against the Right danger degenerate into a petty war against minor mistakes of the individual district organisations. The VI. Plenum has lifted the struggle against the Right danger on to a higher plane. It has opened fire on certain Right theories and pointed to the close connection between the new and the old mistakes.

The Plenum further most decidedly opposed the opportunist method of Comrade **Kostrzeva** who attempted to keep silent regarding her **Trotskyist** past in 1923.

The decisions of the last Plenary Session of the C. C. met with complete approval of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and of the most important sections of the C. I.

Comrade **Molotov** declared in his speech at the X. Plenum:

The reformist tendencies of the leaders of the so called "Majority" have developed considerably of late, especially in regard to the most important question for Poland, that of the attitude to the P. P. S. The last Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Poland arrived at correct conclusions when it decided to effect a reshifting in the leadership of the Polish Communist Party and to remove from the

leading centre comrades (Kostrzeva and others) revealing decidedly opportunist tendencies. One can say now with certainty that the Polish Communist Party will achieve considerable and lasting successes in its Bolshevik development and in regard to extending its influence over the masses."

The VI. Plenum was an important step forward on the way of Bolshevising the C. P. P. But it could not completely fulfil the difficult task of ideologically purging the Party from all social democratic remnants. That which distinguishes the Polish Rights from their political friends in the other sections of the C. I. is their cowardice to show their true features and their skill with which they vote for general formulations and at the same time endeavour to carry out an opposite line in their practical activity. Hence the struggle against the Right danger in Poland is much more difficult and more complicated.

Comrade Kostrzeva submitted to the Plenum a declaration in which, instead of recognising her mistakes which have been condemned by the Plenum, she makes the attempt to smother up her mistakes by making generalisations on the "straightening out the line of the Party" and such things. Contrary to the decision of the C. C. she attempted to deny that she had ever committed or defended any of the mistakes which had been attributed to her.

Comrade Bartoszewicz, who shares the same opinions as Comrade Kostrzeva, even went so far, that whilst making a secret before the Party regarding his true attitude to the political line of the C. C. he openly declared in a fractional letter to Comrade Kostrzeva that regardless of all consequences he would conduct an irreconcilable struggle against the present line of the C. C.

Our struggle against the Rights is being considerably hindered by the conciliatory tendencies which endeavour to hamper and retard the bolshevisation process. They are too cowardly to betray their true political attitude, and endeavour to shift the political struggle to organisational questions.

The C. P. of Poland is faced by very difficult and serious problems. Our Party occupies the most advanced post in the fight against the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union. The political crisis of fascism which is developing, the rapid rate of the radicalisation process of the working class and of the toiling peasantry demand from the Party a clear Bolshevik line, the speediest consolidation of its ranks on the basis of the political line of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and of the VI. Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Poland under a firm Bolshevik leadership. The inner change which is taking place in the Party is leading to the removal of all fractional barriers, to the separation of the former "majority" from the opportunist leaders, to the consolidation of the Party. We are convinced that the decisions of the VI. Plenum have established the proper basis for the consolidation of the Communist ranks in Poland.

Resolution of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on Comrade Bukharin.

Having acquainted itself with the decision of the joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. (b) of April 23rd removing Comrade Bukharin from work in the Comintern, the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. declares:

Already before the VI. Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Bukharin showed signs of disagreement with the general political line of the C. P. S. U. (b). In the course of the struggle carried on by Bukharin and those who share his views against the policy of the Party, this disagreement assumed the form of a separate opportunist platform, in substance a Right deviation platform.

In accordance with the tasks of socialist reconstruction of the national economy of the U. S. S. R., and following the course of industrialisation of the country, the C. P. S. U. (b) has developed a victorious offensive against the capitalist elements, has carried on an intensified struggle against kulakdom by mobilising the poor peasantry and widely applying new, productive forms of alliance (smytchka) between the proletariat and the poor and middle sections of the peasantry, guaranteeing a decisive turn in the development of socialist forms of economy

in the most backward sector of the national economy — in agriculture.

This policy of an intensified offensive against the capitalist elements and their elimination accompanied by a steadily increasing mass collectivisation of peasant farms, an enormous swing in the construction of Soviet farms and widely developing organisation of agricultural machinery and tractor centres, etc., was bound to lead at the present juncture to a sharpening of the class struggle which found expression in the increased efforts on the part of capitalist elements to resist socialist progress, and also in increased vacillations among the petty bourgeois elements.

Against this policy of the C. P. S. U. (b), the Right deviators, to whose position Comrade Bukharin has gone over, brought forward another line: — a line calling for the abandonment of the offensive against the capitalist elements, the denial of the necessity of intensified struggle against the kulaks, the reduction of socialist forms of construction, which practically means capitulation before the capitalist elements. Contrary to the line of the C. P. S. U. (b), Comrade Bukharin has slipped over to a liberal interpretation of N. E. P. which leads, under the banner of loosening up the circulation of commodities, to free development of capitalist elements in the country, to the relinquishment of pressure on the kulak elements who are maliciously speculating with grain, to denial of the necessity of individual taxation of kulaks, contrary to the policy of high taxes on capitalist elements, etc., pursued by the Party. This means that Comrade Bukharin is, in reality, slipping over to the policy of class collaboration with capitalist elements, substituting the policy of class struggle of the proletariat against the kulaks by the policy of "the kulak growing into socialism".

Closely connected with this erroneous viewpoint of Comrade Bukharin, is his course of slackening the rapid tempo of the industrialisation of the country pursued by the Party. While the C. P. S. U. (b) is steadily pursuing the line of ever increasing development of the industrialisation of the country which is the basis of victorious construction of socialism, Comrade Bukharin and those who share his views, by capitulating before difficulties, are surrendering the positions of the proletariat in this fundamental question of construction of socialism, reflecting by their attitude the pressure which the petty bourgeois elements bring to bear on some strata of the Party. While the C. P. S. U. (b), marching at the head of the working class, which is with increasing enthusiasm building up socialism, is rallying around itself the widest masses of toilers, Bukharin, and those who share his views, are sowing petty bourgeois pessimism and disbelief in the strength of the working class which must be overcome if the success of socialist construction is to be ensured.

Finally, in the appraisal of the situation in the C. P. S. U. (b) and of its methods of leadership, Comrade Bukharin and his group are only reiterating Trotskyite views. At a time when the C. P. S. U. (b) is successfully carrying on, under the slogan of self-criticism and broad inner-Party democracy, a wide mobilisation of the masses for struggle against bureaucracy and for the purging of its ranks from elements of degeneration, Bukharin and those who share his views are hiding behind phrases of struggle against bureaucracy, opposing at the same time the reconstruction — carried on under the leadership of the Party — of the whole work of the Party organisations, trade unions, co-operatives and the Soviet apparatus on the basis of new forms for the thorough consolidation of contact with the masses, and reflecting thereby the moods of the worst bureaucratic and fossilized elements who are resisting the Party line.

Comrade Bukharin's errors in regard to the policy of the C. P. S. U. (b) are inseparably connected with his erroneous line in international policy. By underestimating the socialist offensive of the C. P. S. U. (b), as a factor undermining capitalist stabilisation, Bukharin, together with Humbert-Droz, Serra, Ewert and others, is in fact providing an ideological-political basis for the policy of the Right elements throughout the Communist International. Contrary to the line of the Comintern, and especially, contrary to the decisions of the VI. Congress, Comrade Bukharin is slipping over to the opportunist denial of the fact of the ever-growing shakiness of capitalist stabilisation, which inevitably leads to denial of the rising of a new revolutionary tide in the labour movement. At the bottom of Comrade Bukharin's attitude is his anti-Marxist "theory" of the

weakening of the inner contradictions of capitalism which he tries to smuggle through by phrases about the preservation of capitalist anarchy exclusively on the world market. This kind of "theory" which serves as an ideological basis for all the Right elements in the Comintern is refuted by the whole development of capitalism and is, in substance, nothing but capitulation before reformist ideology (Hilferding theory of the "recuperation of capitalism").

Comrade Bukharin's article "The Theory of Organised Economic Disorder" ("Pravda", June 30, 1929) shows that far from repudiating his anti-Marxist "theory" about the weakening of the inner contradictions of capitalism he is persisting in his errors and is deepening them.

In this connection, it is perfectly clear that Comrade Bukharin's and his followers' lamentations about the "disintegration" of the Comintern are a method of cowardly support of the Right elements, the struggle against whom was and is the main task in the Communist International. Comrade Bukharin and his group are trying to discredit in every possible way the healthy process of purging the Communist Parties of social-democratic elements, an absolutely necessary process particularly in view of the rising revolutionary tide, and to weaken thereby the struggle of the Comintern against the Right renegades. Being the centre of attraction for all Right elements in the Comintern, Comrade Bukharin and his group, by preaching pessimism, defeatism and disbelief in the strength of the working class, are not only putting new life into all anti-Leninist tendencies, but are helping to undermine Bolshevik discipline.

Comrade Bukharin's opportunist wobbles have resulted in him trying, behind the back of the Party, to constitute an unprincipled bloc with former Trotskyites for struggle against the C. P. S. U. (b) and the Comintern.

In view of all this, the Plenum of the E. C. C. I., while confirming the decision of the joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. (b) to remove Comrade Bukharin from work in the Comintern, resolves to relieve him of his post of member of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Campaign to Defend and Increase Wages in Italy.

By Pietro.

In the last few days the fascist trade unions have concluded a number of important labour agreements in order to fix the so-called "minimum wages"; including the agreement for the metal workers of the province of Milan and the agreement for the rubber workers in Turin.

The following minimum wages have been fixed for the metal workers in Milan:

Category	Town	Province
Specialists	3.40 Lira	3.05 Lira
Qualified Workers	2.70 "	2.50 "
Semi-skilled Workers	2.35 "	2.15 "
Apprentices (from 18 to 20 years)	1.55 "	1.40 "
Apprentices (from 16 to 18 years)	1.35 "	1.20 "
Women Machine-Minders	1.35 "	1.30 "
Unskilled Women Workers	1.20 "	1.05 "
Children of both sexes	0.80 "	0.70 "

The minimum wages for the rubber workers of Turin have been fixed as follows:

Mechanics, Electricians, etc.	3.50 Lira
Qualified Workers	2.70 "
Unqualified Workers	2.35 "
Male Workers under 16 Years	1.05 "
Apprentices from 16 to 18	1.50 "
Girl Workers over 18	1.55 "
Girl Workers from 16 to 18	1.30 "
Girl Workers from 14 to 16	1.05 "

From the way in which the Labour agreements of a similar type (including that for the metal workers of Turin) have been applied recently, it can be seen that the percentage of workers in the various categories is determined in general by

the industrialists (who are the only ones who have a say in the matter) upon the basis of the following rules: 5 to 10% specialists; 10 to 15% qualified workers; approximately 50% semi-skilled workers, and the rest unskilled workers, women and apprentices. In consequence one can say that with the application of the new minimum wages, the average wage of a worker in the large factories of Italy is 2 Lira an hour.

The industrialists and the fascist trade unions, who are always agreed upon important questions, intend with the new minimum wages, to reduce the already intolerably low wages of the Italian workers by juggling with the categories and by dismissals and re-engagement.

Despite the severe terror and the steadily growing spectre of unemployment and starvation, the first signs of resistance on the part of the workers are being shown, parallel with the application of the new agreements. In a number of important undertakings in Turin (Fiat Lingotto, Fiat Aeronautica, Savigliano, etc.) strikes have already taken place, and the growth of discontent in the factories augurs new and still greater demonstrations in the near future.

The Italian workers, however, cannot content themselves with "defending" their wages; that is to say, they cannot limit themselves to "defending" wages which are absolutely insufficient and are not even enough to satisfy the elementary requirements of the workers.

The strikes and the will to struggle which are being produced in consequence of the application of the new minimum wages amongst all workers, including the fascists, can and must be utilised by the advance-guard of the proletariat, in order to make "a step forward"; a possibility can and must be found of leading the working masses into an open class struggle, and upon this basis, of leading them into greater and greater struggles having an increasing economic and political significance.

The slogan of an immediate wage increase of at least 20 per cent., issued by the Communist Party and by the General Confederation of Labour in the last few weeks, is therefore a slogan completely in accord with the situation in Italy; it is a slogan which is destined to become a not unimportant factor for the improvement of the situation of the working class in the present period.

It would of course be wrong to believe that within a few weeks this campaign which is being carried out by the advance-guard of the proletariat will lead to great results and considerable wage increases. The circumstances under which the proletarian advance-guard is compelled to work, do not permit it to convince large masses of the workers within a few days and to lead them into action. No matter how great the efforts for the wage movement in this period are; even if thousands and thousands of copies of the "Battaglie Sindacali" (the illegal organ of the General Confederation of Labour), and of the illegal pamphlets and leaflets concerning the wage movement are distributed; and even if everything possible is done in order to make the slogan of wage increases the slogan of the whole working class, it is certain that much work must be done before this aim is achieved and before the masses, the great masses, come into movement.

But it is equally certain that the objective situation and the ideological condition of the workers have already created the necessary conditions for a certain enlargement of the working class movement. It is also certain that only a series of partial struggles, of struggles of the workers for their daily demands, can be developed into an action of the working class against fascism and capitalism in general. The present campaign for wage increases was commenced with this aim in view.

Whilst the democratic and socialist parties abroad do nothing but talk in the name of anti-fascism, anti-fascism which is only a phrase, whilst a section of the members of these parties are only waiting for a hint from Mussolini in order to return to Italy and accept the "accomplished fact", i. e. to co-operate with fascism, the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Italian Labour are working heroically and consistently and in a revolutionary fashion amongst the masses of the workers in order to prepare them sooner or later to overthrow the fascist government and the capitalist regime, of which it is the executive organ.

AGITPROP

Theses of the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I. upon the X. Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I.

1. The period from the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International to the tenth plenary session of the E. C. C. I. was characterised by the following:

a) In the capitalist countries — the sharpening of all the internal and external contradictions upon the basis of a decaying capitalist partial stabilisation and the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, which is expressed, on the one hand, in the strengthening of fascism and the development of the social democracy towards fascism, in the continued pressure upon the standards of living of the workers exercised by the capitalist stabilisation, and in the further increase of the preparations for war, which are chiefly directed against the Soviet Union; and on the other hand in the very definite radicalisation of the international working class and the rise of a new revolutionary wave both in the capitalist and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

b) In the socialist sector — successful progress of the socialist constructive work expressed in the high speed of the process of industrialisation and in the successful collectivisation of agriculture upon a new technical basis.

The increased speed of the development of the general capitalist crisis resulted in an exposure of the social democratic rottenness which had accumulated within the ranks of the Communist Parties. The period from the sixth world congress to the tenth Plenary Session was, therefore, also a period in which the Communist Parties energetically purged themselves of opportunist maladies. This process was accompanied by a determined and ruthless struggle against all deviations and in particular against the right wing deviations and against the conciliators.

The tenth plenary session was called upon to draw a balance of the achievements of the international working class movement and to formulate the immediate political and organisational tasks of the Communist International and of its sections upon the basis of an exhaustive analysis of all the changes and alterations which took place in the period in question.

The central instruction of the tenth plenary session is that, having regard to their own increased fighting capacity and to the beginning of the new revolutionary wave whose force consists in its international character, the Communist Parties should work energetically for the winning of the majority of the workers, which presupposes a strengthening of the initiative of the Communist Parties and the development of the initiative of the proletarian mass organisations. The struggle against opportunism must be directly connected with a decisive struggle against pessimism and disbelief in the forces of the working class. All remnants of "Trotzkyism" must be radically eliminated from the ranks of the Communist Parties.

In connection with the increased danger of war, the Plenary Session stresses with the greatest possible urgency the necessity of a systematic, persistent and ceaseless struggle against war and against the danger of war and at the same time the preparation of the working class and of the toiling masses for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war.

The decisions of the tenth plenary session are laid down in three main resolutions: 1. Concerning the International Situation and the Next Tasks of the Communist International; 2. Concerning the Labour Struggles and the Tasks of the Communist Parties; and 3. Concerning the International Day against Imperialist War. There are also a series of other decisions aiming at providing the political decisions with the necessary organisational basis.

Amongst the decisions of the 10th plenary session, the resolution concerning Comrade Bukharin is worth special attention. This resolution not only shows the meaning and the character of the successful offensive against the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union, but it also energetically rejects in a Leninist fashion the anti-Marxist theory of the blunting of

the imperialist contradictions of capitalism. The resolution points out that this theory of the blunting of the internal contradictions of capitalism, represents a capitulation to the social democratic theory of "the convalescence of capitalism".

Concerning the International Situation and the Next Tasks of the C. I.

2. The most important and decisive achievement of the international proletarian movement in the period under review is the **increased fighting capacity of the sections of the Communist International**. The sixth world congress of the C. I. instructed all sections of the C. I. to train their guns on the right-wing, without, however, weakening the struggle against the so-called left-wing deviations. The sections of the C. I. have been strengthened in the struggle against the open right-wing deviations and against the conciliators, and their forces have been steered for the leadership of the class struggles which are developing more and more both in the capitalist and in the colonial countries.

Almost immediately after the sixth world congress of the C. I., the Brandler group in alliance with the conciliators raised the banner of revolt against the tactical policy formulated by the congress. In the struggle against this revolt, the Communist Party of Germany closed its ranks around the fighting positions of Leninism and, after cleaning itself from the open right-wing liquidators, delivered a crushing blow at the conciliators.

The struggle of the German C. P. against the revolt of the right-wingers and the conciliators, was the first **fighting test** of the correctness of the positions of the sixth congress. It showed that, steered in the fire of great struggles, the German C. P. has been successful in drawing the most healthy and most active elements of the German proletariat over to its side, elements which guaranteed the Party a quick victory over the spokesmen of social reformism within the ranks of the Communist Party.

After this first party test of the correctness of the C. I. tactics within the ranks of the German Communist Party, which showed that the Party had grown and was capable of repulsing all reformist attacks, there followed a **second test** before the whole working class. This showed convincingly that the Party which cleans itself from opportunism, finds new forces not only to strengthen its own ranks, but also to strengthen its influence upon the broad masses of the working class. We refer to the factory councils elections and the great May struggles, which represent a turning point in the historical development of the German working class movement.

The revolt of the German reformists was followed by the putch of the Czechoslovakian liquidators, who, following the example of Brandler and Thalheimer, also acted jointly with the Czechoslovakian conciliators. Upon this section of the fighting front, the correctness of the general instructions of the sixth world congress of the C. I. were proved with absolute clarity. The slogan of the sixth world congress for the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, "From Opportunist passivity to Bolshevik activity!", led to the removal of the rotten reformist elements from the C. P. of Czechoslovakia and to the strengthening of its ranks.

The attack of the leadership of the C. P. of the United States with Lovestone and Pepper at the head, against the C. I. proceeded at first covertly. Despite the camouflage used by Lovestone and his friends, the C. P. of the U. S. A., succeeded, with the assistance of the C. I., in recognising the real features of the liquidators who attempted to cover their attack upon the positions of the C. I. with pledges of the greatest loyalty towards all the decisions of the sixth world congress of the C. I.

The struggle against the right-wingers and the conciliators was not conducted in all countries with the same energy and success. Despite this, however, the tenth plenary session of the E. C. C. I. was justified in recording "the growth of the influence of the C. I. recently, the organisational and ideological consolidation of its sections and their cleansing from opportunist elements".

The main instruction of the plenary session is — a determined strengthening of the struggle against all the remnants of the social-democratic traditions in the Communist Parties. The plenary session based its instruction upon the necessity of strengthening and deepening the struggle against the right-wing

deviation and against the conciliatory attitude towards it in all the sections of the C. I., including those in the colonial countries in which the opportunist elements are the representatives of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence upon the proletariat whose class struggle they render more difficult.

3. At the same time the plenary session recorded the fact that the conciliators, who act as cowardly opportunists and defend open liquidatorialism, have recently landed in the positions of the right-wingers in all the decisive questions of the communist movement and that they have now taken over the role of the right-wingers within the C. I. **The struggle against the conciliators is therefore the next and most urgent task.** With regard to the conciliators the plenary session formulated the following demands: a) that the conciliators openly and energetically abandon the representatives of the right-wing deviation; b) that they conduct an active struggle against the right-wing deviation not only in words, but in deeds; and c) that they subordinate themselves unreservedly to all the decisions of the C. I. and its sections and that they carry out these decisions in practice.

The plenary session added:

"Failure to fulfil these conditions or any one of them will result in expulsion from the ranks of the Communist International."

4. The deviations from the correct policy in the period between the fifth and sixth congresses, and in particular the right-wing deviation, were connected to a great extent with the overestimation of the role and the significance of the capitalist stabilisation. The programme of the C. I. unanimously adopted by the sixth world congress declares:

"The experience of the post-war historical period shows that the stabilisation of capitalism obtained by the defeat of the working class and a systematic depression of its standards of living, can be nothing but a partial, temporary and decaying stabilisation." (Our emphasis.)

At the same time, the attacks upon the positions of the C. I. following upon the sixth world congress took place chiefly from the standpoint of an overestimation of the capitalist stabilisation on the one hand and an underestimation of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union on the other hand.

The tenth plenary session of the E. C. of the C. I. put an end to these discussions by declaring upon the basis of an analysis of the whole present situation that:

"Contrary to the prophecies of the social democracy, prophecies which were repeated by the right wingers and the conciliators, the capitalist stabilisation has not only not achieved any permanent consolidation, but, on the contrary, is becoming more and more shaky."

5. The attempts of the right-wingers and the conciliators to create new and newest theories aiming, in contradiction to the programme, at smuggling in the idea of the consolidation of the capitalist stabilisation, took place in four directions:

a) a theory was zealously developed according to which the anarchist nature of the capitalist economic system was changing its basis more and more to the field of international economic relations, with the result that the internal contradictions of capitalism were decreasing. This theory is closely connected with the anti-marxist theory of "organised capitalism" (Bukharin, Serra, Humbert-Droz).

b) at the same time a theory was put forward according to which the intensification of the contradictions between the imperialists placed the problem of the defence of the Soviet Union in the background (Meyer). The essence of this theory was that the danger of a counter-revolutionary crusade against the Soviet Union was overshadowed by the danger of an imperialist war between the great powers, particularly between Great Britain and the United States.

c) With regard to the alleged decrease of the external contradictions of imperialism, the theory was set up that the Young Plan which replaces the Dawes Plan, establishes a temporary balance of the fundamental contradictions connected with the reparations question.

d) a theory was also set up according to which the standards of living of the working class in the capitalist countries were not falling, but that on the contrary showed an upward

tendency. Upon this basis rested the idea that the standards of living of the working class were **not sinking as a result of the capitalist rationalisation**, but that they were rising.

Referring to the questions of the internal contradictions, the plenary session declared:

"The idea of the conciliators concerning the alleged decrease of the internal contradictions in the capitalist countries and of the possibility of an organisation of the internal market with the maintenance of the anarchy of the world market, have been refuted by the whole development of capitalism in recent years. This conception of the conciliators means a capitulation to reformist ideology." (our emphasis).

In the question of the danger of war, the plenary session declared categorically:

"Despite the rivalries and the bitter struggles inside the imperialist camp, the fundamental world-wide contradiction — the contradiction between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union as the contradiction between two diametrically opposed economic systems, — is intensifying more and more. An attack by the imperialists upon the Soviet Union represents the chief danger." (Our emphasis.)

Concerning the significance of the Young Plan, the plenary session declared:

"The new regulation of the Reparations question by the Young Plan does not mean, as the reformists contend, any decrease in the imperialist contradictions, on the contrary, it leads to a further intensification of the struggle within the imperialist camp... and intensifies at the same time the danger of a financial blockade against the Soviet Union and therefore also the danger of an intervention in consequence of the drawing of Germany still more closely into the front of the anti-soviet war policy of imperialism."

The conflict at The Hague Conference is a convincing confirmation of this judgment of the plenary session concerning the Young Plan and refutes conclusively the whole "theory" of Varga concerning the mitigating influence of the attempt to solve the Reparations problem.

Referring to the influence of the capitalist rationalisation upon the standards of living of the workers, the plenary session declared:

"It (the rationalisation) rests with its whole weight upon the working class, depresses the standards of living of the workers and increases the enervating character of labour to the utmost by the lengthening of working hours and the introduction of the conveyor system."

6. The question of the success of the socialist constructive work in the country of the victorious proletarian dictatorship, is indissolubly connected with the question of capitalist stabilisation. The first results of the socialist offensive were clearly shown at the time of the tenth plenary session.

"Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a victorious offensive has been carried on against the capitalist elements in town and country, and the socialist economic forms have been guaranteed a decisive predominance over the capitalist elements."

Already the first results of the commencement of the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan expose the baselessness of all those theories of the sceptics and pessimists who are attempting to persuade the C. P. of the Soviet Union to capitulate to the Kulaks. The victorious advance of the Soviet Union towards socialism is an important factor in the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

7. Parallel with the high speed of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union, we see **both in the capitalist and in the colonial countries the rise of a new wave of the revolutionary movement.**

This new revolutionary wave which is rising upon the basis of the intensification of the crisis of capitalism, is the second important achievement of the international working class movement in the period between the sixth world congress and the tenth plenary session. The strongest factor of this new revolutionary wave is that it embraces the most varied countries, both capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial.

Amongst the factors of this new revolutionary wave, the powerful revolutionary movement which is at present developing

in India is especially noteworthy. The theses of the tenth plenary session declare: "India has already become one of the most important areas of the colonial revolution." At the same time the theses point out the open treachery of the Indian bourgeoisie towards the movement for national independence, and declare that the independence of India, the improvement of the situation of the working class and the solution of the agrarian question can only be achieved in a revolutionary struggle of the worker and peasant masses under the leadership of the proletariat against British imperialism, the Indian feudalists and the native capitalists. The tasks of the Indian revolution can only be carried out in the struggle for a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry under the banner of the Soviets.

The most important factors of the new revolutionary wave are: the high speed of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union, the tremendous economic struggles (the Ruhr district, Loaz, India, Columbia), the growing revolutionary movement in the colonies, and finally the May struggles in Berlin, whose chief value consists in the fact that they raise the question of higher forms of the struggle of the working class for power and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, not only for the German working class, but for the world proletariat.

The new wave of the revolutionary movement places the task of the organised struggle for the winning of the majority of the working class into the foreground with special emphases. This struggle must be intensified in particular against the social democracy which is becoming more and more fascist and acting more and more as the advance guard of the bourgeoisie for immediately crushing the revolutionary movement of the working class and for the preparation of counter-revolutionary wars.

The tenth Plenary Session developed and precisely formulated the tasks of the struggle for the winning of the majority of the working class, and examined at the same time in detail the organisational weaknesses of the Communist Parties and drew their attention to the necessity of strengthening the work in the factories in general and in the large-scale factories of trusted industry in particular.

8. The Plenary Session was compelled to deal in detail with the role of the social democratic government which is at the head of the coalition in Germany, and also with the second MacDonald Government. The resolution of the tenth Plenary Session reads:

"The Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. declares that the present taking over of the reigns of government by the largest parties of the Second International, creates, in view of the approaching war and the increasing misery of the working class, the conditions for a radical crisis of the social democracy amongst the proletarian masses. The crisis expresses itself in the increase in the speed of the process of radicalisation amongst the broad masses of the working class. It inevitably causes the social democracy to lose its influence upon the broad masses of the workers and thus creates the most favourable conditions for the winning of the majority of the working class by the Communist Party.

"The Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. makes it the duty of all the sections of the C. I. to increase the struggle against the international social democracy which is the most important pillar of capitalism.

"The Plenary Session of the E. C. of the C. I. draws the attention of the sections in particular to the necessity for strengthening the struggle against the 'left-wing' of the social democracy which strives to check the process of the decay of the social democracy by creating illusions amongst the workers concerning the oppositional attitude of this wing towards the policy of the leading social democratic bodies, whereas in reality the 'left-wing' supports the policy of social fascism with all its forces."

9. The growth of the revolutionary wave and the increased fighting capacity of the Communist Parties caused the Plenary Session to come to the conclusion that the present moment

"places the Communist Parties before the problem of the political mass strike as the decisive problem for the immediate future. The application of the weapon of the politi-

cal mass strike will assist the Communist Parties in unifying more and more the isolated economic struggles of the working class, in mobilising the proletarian masses on a broad scale, in strengthening the political experience of these masses with all possible forces, and in leading them to the immediate struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Economic Struggles and the Tasks of the Communist Parties.

The recent economic struggles are an important part of the new revolutionary wave. They were directed not only against the offensive of capitalism, but also against the social democracy which is becoming more and more fascist. They destroyed all the legends concerning the capitalist stabilisation, industrial peace and the stable relations between the capitalists and the workers.

The characteristic features of the class struggles following the VI. World Congress, were formulated by the X. Plenary Session as follows:

"1. The development of small partial struggles into larger struggles with a greater mass character.

"2. More and more frequent instances of the working masses taking up a counter-offensive.

"3. The growing activity of the unorganised masses.

"4. Disregard of trade union legalism.

"5. The increasing political and revolutionary character of the strike struggles.

"6. The international character of the movement: The drawing in of the colonial countries and of Great Britain which has remained backward up till quite recently."

All these characteristic features taken together show clearly the radicalisation of the international working class.

11. In discussing the tasks of the Communist Parties in the economic struggles, the plenary session was compelled to deal in detail with the question of "the depression of the general standards of living of the proletariat in the capitalist countries".

The plenary session did not limit itself to placing on record the fact of the absolute worsening of the situation of the working class, but declared categorically — in contradiction to all the apologists of the capitalist stabilisation both in the ranks of the social democracy and of their imitators amongst the right-wingers and the conciliators — that modern capitalism has already reached that stage when the continued existence of private property relations are completely irreconcilable with any rise in the standards of living of the working class (although in individual cases temporary and partial wage increases are possible). Upon this basis, the tenth plenary session came to the conclusion that the task of systematically connecting the daily struggle for partial demands with the general struggle against the capitalist system as a whole is now more sharply in the foreground than ever before. From this results the political character of the growing economic struggles on an international scale.

The plenary session saw itself compelled to deal concretely and in detail with the new fascist methods of the oppression of the working class, in which the reformist trade union leaders take a particularly active part. This increasing fascism was shown upon the field of the economic struggles in the united front of the employers and the trade union bureaucrats, in the disruptive policy of the reformist leaders of the trade unions, in the efforts to rob the workers of the right to strike and the right to picket and thus to rob the economic struggles of the proletariat of their legal positions.

One of the most important factors of the economic struggles is the active participation of enormous masses of unorganised workers. The entrance of the unorganised workers into the arena of the struggle is the consequence of the tremendous alteration which has taken place in the structure of capitalist economy. Since the introduction of new methods of the organisation of work (or rather since the introduction of new methods of the exploitation of labour power), the number of qualified workers has decreased noticeably, whereby it must be remembered that up till quite recently the skilled workers formed

the main basis of the reformist trade unions. It is quite natural that the growing wave of economic struggles affects broad masses of the workers who are not members of the trade unions. The recent struggles, which were analysed by the tenth plenary session with particular care, showed convincingly the growing activity of the unorganised workers. The resolution of the tenth plenary session contains a number of facts:

"During the lock-out in the Ruhr district, the unorganised workers represented three quarters of the workers participating in the movement. In Lodz 80,000 textile workers took part in the movement, although only approximately 4,000 were trade union organised. In Bulgaria 95% of the 30,000 striking tobacco workers were unorganised."

In order to paralyse the workers in their economic struggles the social democratic trade union leaders attempt to play off the organised against the unorganised workers. The Brandler group, which conscientiously carries out its functions as the agent of the social democracy upon all fields of the class struggle, imitates its social democratic prototypes here also. The C. I., on the other hand, sets up against the disruptive policy of the social democracy and its agents, the unity of the whole proletariat (the organised and the unorganised workers) in the class struggle.

The organisation of the united front from below, the unification of the organised and unorganised workers in the immediate struggle has already shown considerable results which confirm the correctness of the C. I. policy and of the resolutions of the fourth congress of the Red International of Labour Unions.

12. The ninth plenary session of the E. C. C. I. and after it the fourth congress of the R. I. L. U. set the communists, and with them the whole revolutionary trade union movement, the task of the independent leadership of strike struggles and also the task of preparing organisationally for these struggles. Just as the joint tactical directions — class against class — exposed the reformist evils in the Communist Parties, so did the joint policy of the C. I. and of the R. I. L. U. on the field of the economic struggles act as the acid test for the liquidatory and reformist elements inside the Red Trade Unions.

The resolution of the tenth plenary session reads:

"In Czechoslovakia the tactics of the liquidatory section of the leadership of the Red Trade Unions were characterised by combinations from above with the leaders of the reformist trade union organisations, by joint action with the corrupt reformist factory councils — this was represented as the united front tactic — by a legalist attitude towards the bourgeois State power and by an opportunist attitude towards strike tactics and in particular towards the unorganised. This resulted during the first great economic conflict, where the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions adopted the new strike tactic, in the disruption of the revolutionary trade union movement by the liquidatory elements." (Underlined by us.)

The tenth plenary session not only stressed the importance of an active all-round preparation by the communists and the revolutionary trade union wing for the independent leadership of strike struggles, but it also pointed out in detail the methods and forms of the organisation of this leadership.

13. In analysing the tasks of the Communist Parties in the economic struggles, the tenth Plenary Session dealt directly with the question of new trade unions. The Plenary Session reminded the communists of the resolution of the Second World Congress of the Communist International enumerating the conditions under which it is the duty of communists to carry out a split:

"The communists must not... hesitate at splitting the trade union organisations should failure to disrupt them result in the abandonment of revolutionary work in the trade unions and the abandonment of the organisation of the most exploited sections of the proletariat."

The tenth Plenary Session warns the communists at the same time against impatience which might damage our influence on the masses of the workers in the reformist trade unions.

The tenth Plenary Session stressed that the work in the reformist trade unions must be strengthened under all circumstances, whereby it reminded all the sections of the Communist International of Lenin's advice:

"In order to assist the 'masses', and to win the support and sympathy of the 'masses' one must not be afraid of difficulties, one must not fear the intrigues, tricks, chicanery, insults and persecutions of the 'leaders' who, as opportunists and social chauvinists, are, in the majority of cases, directly or indirectly connected and allied with the bourgeoisie and the police, but must work wherever the masses are."

14. The resolution of the tenth Plenary Session brought clarity into the question of the trade union struggle. The Plenary Session confirmed and repeated the task of the struggle for the winning of the majority of the working class, both in the reformist trade unions and in the organisations which are based upon the broad masses; but the Plenary Session added the following to this point:

"At the same time, however, it would be a dangerous opportunist illusion to imagine that under present day circumstances we could win the reformist trade union apparatus if we had the membership masses of the trade unions behind us. This, however, does not mean that the communists and the revolutionary opposition should remain passive with regard to the elections for the leading trade union posts. On the contrary, the struggle to drive out all the bureaucrats and agents of capitalism from the trade unions, the struggle for every post in the trade unions and in particular the struggle for the subordinate trade union positions become in our hands a powerful instrument for exposing and fighting the role of the social fascist trade union bureaucracy."

In order to establish a close connection with all workers in the factories, the plenary session advised the communists to follow the example of their German comrades and to establish in every factory a body of revolutionary representatives elected by the workers of all departments.

The International Red Day against Imperialist War.

15. The third point on the agenda of the 10th Plenary Session was the question of the International Red Day against Imperialist War. The decision upon the International Red Day was adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the C. I. in connection with the growing danger of war and in connection with the necessity for overcoming the covert opportunism in the question of the war danger which consists chiefly in an underestimation of the role of all those preparations for war which are being conducted overtly and covertly by the bourgeoisie and the social democracy with a view to organising a counter-revolutionary offensive against the Soviet Union. The events which followed upon the sixth world congress have confirmed the correctness of its general estimation both in regard to the war danger and the dangerousness of the opportunist attitude towards it. In the period since the VI. World Congress of the Communist International, the provocative policy of the imperialist powers towards the Soviet Union has assumed still sharper and more aggressive forms.

At the time of the Plenary Session, the preparation of the Day against Imperialist War already exposed the united counter-revolutionary front not only of the bourgeoisie with the social democracy, but also of the social democracy with the renegades of communism, both the open right-wingers and the so-called left-wingers. At the Magdeburg congress of the German social fascists, Otto Wels, who proclaimed the dictatorship of the social democracy against the proletariat, declared that the organisation of the International Day against War was an open appeal to a putch. Otto Wels' example was followed by Brandler and Thalheimer on the one hand and by Urbahns and Trotzky on the other.

The organ of Urbahns ("Fahne des Kommunismus") of the 12th July of this year contains the following: "From the general estimation of the situation given by the Communist International and the German Communist Party, opinions concerning the 1st August result which must be termed by every Marxist and Leninist as putchist." Urbahns saw an anti-Leninist estimation of the situation in the reference of Comrade Remmele to "the growth of a new revolutionary wave in the old capitalist countries".

The new Trotzkyist journal ("Internationale Rundschau") goes still farther than Urbahns and contains the following: "The opposition must concentrate all its forces upon achieving

this aim" (disrupting the demonstration). This new organ justifies its appeal by declaring that the Red Day must degenerate into a punch.

The organ of the Brandlerists in Saxony ("Arbeiterpolitik", 13th July 1929) operates with the same arguments.

Here we can clearly see complete unity between Wels, Trotzky and Brandler. Despite this united front of the whole counter-revolution the Plenary Session was able to place the fact on record that the preparations for the Red Day, although they did not develop in the various countries in a uniform manner, nevertheless showed that the decisive struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union had won the sympathy of the working class and of the toiling masses and thus confirmed the correctness of the decisions of the sixth World Congress.

16. The preparations for the Red Day showed conclusively the whole seriousness of the growing danger of war which is directed against the first country of the proletarian dictatorship. Since the 1st August 1914 the capitalist world has not seen such a tremendous mobilisation of all the forces of the apparatus of class violence in the hands of the bourgeoisie, as was the case in August 1929. The mobilisation was not local, but of an international character. The frontiers separating the fascist, bourgeois democratic and social democratic governments, disappeared immediately in face of the mobilisation of the masses by the Communist International for an energetic struggle against the preparations for imperialist war. The plenary session declared that the Red Day was not the conclusion but the beginning of a persistent and systematic anti-imperialist campaign, a campaign directed not only against the imperialists, but also against the social democracy which represents an active factor in the preparation for imperialist war in general and a counter-revolutionary intervention against the Soviet Union in particular.

The demonstrations on the 1st August represented a convincing illustration of the absolute correctness of the slogans of the sixth World Congress and of the decisions of the tenth plenary session in the question of the struggle against imperialist war. The August demonstrations confirmed once again the fundamental thesis of the tenth plenary session concerning the new wave of the revolutionary movement.

17. In consequence of the cleansing of their ranks carried out by the parties themselves, the eradication of the opportunist evils and the determined efforts of the parties to overcome the conciliators, the plenary session was compelled to make certain changes in the composition of the leading organs of the Communist International. Apart from the special resolution concerning Comrade Bukharin, the most important decision in this connection was the removal of the following members from the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.: Bukharin, Gitlow, Serra, Humbert-Droz; and the formal expulsion from the Executive of those renegades already expelled from their parties: Jilek (Czechoslovakia), Lovestone (U. S. A.) and Spector (Canada). In the general theses upon the international situation and the next tasks of the C. I., the tenth plenary session also formulated the following instruction:

"In order to create a certain guarantee for the carrying out of the decisions of the Communist International, the Plenary Session instructs the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. to adopt measures with a view to strengthening the apparatus of the E. C. C. I. by drawing in new forces from the sections and by cleaning the apparatus from opportunist elements."

18. The whole work of the tenth plenary session was conducted in the spirit of the new revolutionary wave which has already made itself visible. Not only the resolutions, but also the speeches at the tenth plenary session were filled with the spirit of healthy revolutionary courage. The plenary session was well aware of the difficulties of those gigantic tasks which have been placed before the World Communist Party by the development of history. But the plenary session was also aware that the Communist International was conducting immediate work for the winning of the majority of the working class and guaranteeing victory in the decisive struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. For this reason the plenary session opposed with such determination all vacillations and errors, all pessimism and all chvostism, and spoke in favour of the revolutionary initiative of the masses under the courageous leadership of the tried and trusted General Staff of the world revolution.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Appeal of the E. C. C. I. on International Youth Day.

Workingmen and Workingwomen!

On September 1st, 1929, the XV. International Youth Day, the militancy day of the working youth, will be celebrated.

The International Youth Day was established as a day of the struggle against imperialist war. More than ever before, in the 15th year since the outbreak of the world war, the young workers will carry out this day of militancy in a revolutionary spirit. The war provocations of the imperialists and the white guards against the Soviet Union in East China point to the necessity of mobilising and organising the proletarian youth for the struggle against imperialism, for the defence of the Soviet Union. The day of September 1st must be the continuation of the struggle of August 1st.

The preparations for imperialist war are steadily growing. The working youth is to play a big and important role in this coming war. It is therefore the duty of all revolutionary workers to help in mobilising the proletarian youth for the struggle against imperialist war. The E. C. C. I. calls upon the workers throughout the world to support the proletarian youth on the International Youth Day, in its struggles and in its demonstrations.

Join the demonstration and the struggle against imperialist war!

For the defence of the Soviet Union which is building
Socialism!

Against fascism and social-fascism!

For international class solidarity!

For the demands of the working youth!

Against the domination of capitalism!

For the proletarian dictatorship!

Long live the Young Communist International!

The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.

The Revolutionary Upsurge of the Labour Movement.

By Kurt Müller (Berlin).

After the mass parades of the workers on May 1st and August 1st, which indicated the new revolutionary upsurge of the Labour movement, the young workers are preparing a fresh parade on September 1st, International Youth Day. On September 1st the young workers of all countries and races will march for the fifteenth time on the international fighting day of the young proletariat. For the working youth the International Youth Day has the same significance as May 1st has for the whole of the working class. In particular, it is the anti-war day of the young proletariat. On August 1st the Communist International organised for the first time for the whole of the working class in a great number of countries in all parts of the world a Red anti-war day. A portion of the whole class, the young workers, is on International Youth Day holding for the fifteenth time, under the leadership of the Young Communist International, its own day of mobilisation of the masses for the revolutionary fight against imperialist war.

This year's International Youth Day is of great political significance. Events in the Far East are becoming critical. The danger of intervention on the part of the Chinese bourgeoisie, acting on the orders of the imperialists, against the Soviet Union is graver than ever. On the basis of the tremendous aggravation of the class struggle, the bourgeoisie sees its only possibility in adopting the methods of white and black-red-gold fascism against the Labour movement which is now experiencing a revolutionary upsurge.

May 1st, August 1st and September 1st of 1929 are not only historically but also politically closely connected. Just as May 1st of the year 1929 greatly accelerated the progress of the proletarian class struggle and August 1st, with its mass parades and strikes, bore witness of maturing of the new revolutionary upsurge, the mass parade on International Youth

Day will prove the growth of the fighting spirit and the revolutionary advance of the young proletariat in the process of revolutionary upsurge.

With revolutionary fighting resoluteness and audacity, with self-sacrifice and revolutionary devotion, the young workers have recently participated in a greater measure in the political and economic fights of the workers. The economic strikes of the young workers and apprentices in many capitalist countries, such as Germany, France and Poland; the increased participation of the young workers in the economic strikes of the adult workers, in the political mass fights on May 1st in Berlin and in the whole of Germany and on August 1st in France, are signs of the growing class consciousness of the young workers. It was "half-grown elements", "callow youths" who, according to the opinion of the bourgeois social-democratic papers, captured the streets on May 1st and declared war on the bourgeois State power. In Paris, Prague, Vienna, Hamburg and Munich it was young workers who held the streets alongside the adult workers on August 1st in spite of the police prohibition.

The growing radicalisation of the young workers also finds expression in the growing rebellion of the proletarian members in the "young socialist workers". In spite of all prohibition, proletarian members of the Y.S.W. discussed the national defence programme of the social-Fascists and rejected it. In Dortmund-Ost the social-Fascist Y. S. W. bureaucracy was obliged to let loose the forces of their social-Fascist chief of police colleagues against these rebellious members. In Gross-Duisburg and Liegnitz-O.S. the members of the Y. S. W. resolved not to take part in the constitution celebrations. In Leipzig the proletarian strata of the Y. S. W. refused to demonstrate along with the social-Fascist Reichsbanner troops.

The bourgeoisie knows no other way of dealing with this growing radicalisation of Labour, except by the methods of Fascism and social-Fascism. On the one hand, they try to smash the revolutionary organisations of the young proletariat, to shoot down and to murder the revolutionary young workers and, on the other hand, to yoke the young workers themselves to the chariots of Fascism. Nine young workers and working girls were laid low on May 1st in Berlin by the bullets of the Social-Democratic police. Our young comrade Merzenic was foully done to death by the social-fascist police in the name of the constitution. The Social-Democratic bureaucracy and police Fascists in Baden are planning to forbid International Youth Day. They want to prohibit the parade of the revolutionary young proletariat in Mannheim in order to leave the street free for the parade of the slaughterer of workers Harsing. In Württemberg the functionaries of the young Communist League have been arrested, so that the preparations for the International Youth Day may be rendered impossible.

In addition to these measures of terror designed to "put an end to the rowdyism of the Communists" (Harsing's constitutional speech) the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy are working together to win over the young workers, in order to get them into the service of the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union. The social-Fascist leaders of the Y. S. W. and of the youth sections of the trade unions are working in common with the leaders of the bourgeois youth organisations in the national committee of the German Youth Associations on the taking over by the State of youth work for the purpose of war preparations. The young workers of the mass organisations of the trade union, sport and cultural organisations are to be subjected to Social Democracy in regard to the measures of the "unification of the socialist youth work". In addition to these measures there is a secret practical and ideological preparation of youth for war in the factories and trade schools by legal means. The bourgeoisie is proceeding with the help of its Social-Democratic agents to place fresh shackles upon the young workers, for instance, the National Association Act of Severing, which amounts to deprivation of freedom as regards combination and meetings. A new vocational training bill and workers protection bill is to legalise the ten and twelve hour day, which is already to-day worked by the youth.

The measures of "reform" in relation to unemployment insurance rob the young workers in particular of the last penny of unemployment benefit.

All the young and adult workers are confronted in connection with the fifteenth International Youth Day by the task of utilising their fighting experiences of May 1st and August 1st and of drawing closer together against the war preparations of the bourgeoisie, against the terror of the social-Fascist bands, against all measures of attack upon the standard of living of the workers and young workers. On International Youth Day the fighting front must be formed for the economic and political demands of the young workers. The young workers in all parts of Germany are organising themselves for active proletarian defence in the anti-Fascist fighting and defence organisations (anti-Fascist Young Guards in Berlin). The "forbidden" Red Youth Front is becoming more active. The young workers in all factories, in the sport and cultural organisations must all be mobilised for the mass march on International Youth Day. International Youth Week is meant chiefly to facilitate this mobilisation, and it will be organised by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League in the week prior to September 1st.

Particularly on this Fifteenth International Youth Day, which is characterised by the accentuated class struggle and the threatened danger of intervention against the Soviet Union, we send our greetings to the Russian Young Communist League, which is engaged on the tremendous work of socialistic construction, on the realisation of the five-year plan. Millions of young workers will join in the marches in Moscow, Charcow, Tiflis, Vladivostok and in all parts of the Soviet Union. We shall march with them in all parts of Germany and protect the Soviet Union against all war mongers and war provokers. We are going to demonstrate on September 1st, in spite of all the measures of oppression and prohibition threats of the social-Fascists, under the battle-tried flag of the Young Communist International.

The XV. International Youth Day in Czechoslovakia.

By A. Sch. (Prague).

International Youth Day in Czechoslovakia already has certain traditions in the ranks of the young workers, its slogans always served for the mobilising of working youths. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie has for the last three years been combating the growing political activity of the young workers by means of sharp reprisals, especially against the demonstrations on International Youth Day. There can be no doubt that this year's International Youth Day will be exposed to still sharper persecutions. On August 1st the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie showed its determination to prepare for war against the Soviet Union by way of the most brutal suppression of the workers and their revolutionary organisations. But at the same time the bourgeoisie showed that the sharpest persecutions were intended against the young workers. Of those who were arrested on August 1st and prior to August 1st and who are still in prison, the majority are members of the Young Communist League. The bourgeoisie will do its utmost to nip in the bud the parade of the young workers on September 1st. It will not, however, succeed. The Young Communist League, although at present passing through a very serious crisis, is exerting every effort to carry through International Youth Day and the whole campaign for the 10th anniversary of the Young Communist International. This campaign is to begin with a national conference of the recruits in September, and will reach its culminating point in Czechoslovakia in October on the occasion of the National Anti-War Conference of youth.

In all the important towns in Czechoslovakia street demonstrations will be held on International Youth Day. The Young Communist League is trying chiefly to get a fighting demonstration of the masses in those places where the action of August 1st, was relatively weak. That is the case in all Czech political and industrial centres: in Prague, Kladno, Pilsen, Brünn and Ostrau. In all these towns trade union Youth conferences will be held within the next few days in common with sympathisers. These conferences will place International Youth Day on a broader mass basis and will create favourable preliminary conditions for the connection with the young workers in the Factory. Simultaneously with the preparations for Inter-

national Youth Day the League must broach the problem of the crisis of the League before the members and carry out International Youth Day in the sense of their solution, International Youth Day will be a test for the Young Communist League of Czechoslovakia, as to how far it has comprehended the causes of the crisis and as to how far it understands how to follow the path towards the surmounting of them. The Young Communist League of Czechoslovakia will on September 1st fulfil its revolutionary duty to the working youth of Czechoslovakia and to the young workers of the whole world.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Role of the Masses in the Socialist Planned Economic System.

By L. F. Vinov.

I.

What must not be Forgotten when one Speaks of the Five-Year-Plan.

Very often, even amongst communists, the Five-Year-Plan is considered as follows: The authorities for planned economy calculate on the basis of an ocean of statistical material how much can be got out of the economic resources of the country, and then set up a programme. Either this programme is carried out, and that means that the plan was good, or it is not carried out, in which case mistakes must have been made in setting it up.

The planned economy of a proletarian State must under no circumstances be understood so mechanically. One must not forget for a single instant that the Five-Year-Plan is really not a "plan" in the normal sense of the word, but a strategic plan of the class struggle of the ruling class, the proletariat. The carrying out of the Five-Year-Plan is not a purely technical performance of achievements laid down "from above", but it is the living class struggle and only the class conscious active support of the masses can help it to victory. The production plan of a great capitalist trust can be better carried out the less the workers of the trust think about it or what it means, just as a bourgeois army is the more efficient the less its soldiers think about whose interests they are defending. In a proletarian State, however, exactly the opposite is true. This is not an "agitational phrase". It can be proved quite concretely, even by figures. Why do bourgeois and social democratic observers find the tremendous socialist constructive plan in the Soviet Union so "utopian", so impossible of realisation? The reason is that they fail to grasp the difference between the social driving forces of economic life in their countries and in the Soviet Union, because their class attitude prevents them from understanding this difference.

When such observers describe the economic plans of the Soviet Union as utopian, they do not make any mathematical error. From the standpoint of "pure mathematics" that which the Soviet Union is carrying out upon the economic field is impossible. Our advantage, however, is that we do not reckon with "pure mathematics", but with the class mathematics of the revolutionary proletariat. But even from the standpoint of pure mathematics, proletarian planned economy has a number of advantages which capitalist economy has not. In Tsarist Russia, for instance, approximately 50 million pounds sterling of the surplus value produced by the workers was expended in luxuries for the bourgeoisie. Today this tremendous amount remains in production. Further, the possibilities of planned economy in a, for the most part, systematically organised economic system, permit a far more rational utilisation of economic forces, etc.

The class mathematics which the bourgeois theoretician is unable to understand, actually commence when the masses themselves begin to take an active part in economic development. The Five-Year-Plan is a struggle of the class conscious working masses, a struggle with all the joys of victory, but also with all the sacrifices which the class struggle demands. It is an enthusiastic struggle for a new proletarian life. We must never forget this when we read and study the figures, the results, the difficulties and the successes of the socialist constructive work.

II.

An Important Lesson.

The right-wingers and the vacillating elements in the ranks of the Communists in the Soviet Union failed to take into account these "class mathematics", or, to use a Marxist expression, these dialectics of the proletarian revolution. They calculated and calculated and finally shook their heads and declared that such a plan could not possibly be carried out. One of the most characteristic expressions of this pessimism was the opinion, expressed particularly in the articles of Comrade Bukharin, that the production plan and the capital investments plan could not be carried out because there was not sufficient building material to carry out the building plan, etc.

Here we saw the same thing. Mathematically perhaps Comrade Bukharin was right, but nevertheless the industrial production plan as laid down by the Five-Year-Plan for the current economic year, was carried out in full. The possibilities of development for the coming year are even greater than those provided for in the Five-Year-Plan. Let us compare three figures. They refer to the development of industry in the economic year 1929/30. The so-called commencing variant of the Five-Year-Plan reckoned with an increase of 10.6%. The right-wing comrades declared even this figure to be unobtainable. A few ago, however, the Soviet Congress increased the figure to 20.2%. To-day it transpires that the possibilities of the increase of production are 28.7%!

What is the chief error of the right-wingers? This error is that they underestimate the role of the emancipated proletariat in the socialist constructive work. Comrade Bukharin and the other right-wing comrades forget that the proletarian masses in the Soviet Union have overcome difficulties far more serious than the lack (which is, by the way, only relative) of building materials. It was a much more difficult task to create a Red Army out of the ground, than to overcome the 10 to 15% deficit in building materials. If the normal economic methods are not sufficient to solve a problem, then the problem has to be solved with "abnormal" revolutionary economic methods. According to all the laws of military science the Red Army ought to have suffered a defeat during the civil war because of the superior numbers and equipment of the enemy. But the Red Army was victorious. Just as the Communist Party succeeded in mobilising the masses against the class enemies, it will now succeed in mobilising the masses to overcome the economic difficulties which are being in part utilised by the class enemy against the revolution. Not individual experts and scholars take up the struggle against the lack of building materials and for the overcoming of the other difficulties of the constructive work, but the masses themselves. By the socialist competitive scheme, by a series of creative ideas (the uninterrupted working week, etc.) and by a real heroism in the carrying out of the economic work, and by the mobilisation of all those in whose interest socialism is being built up, the masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have once again confounded the pessimists and achieved "wonders". And here lies the riddle of those "class mathematics" which permit the builders of socialism, the class conscious masses which are fighting for socialism and fighting for the carrying out of the Five-Year-Plan, to build up many things for which others, even the pessimists in our own ranks, have "insufficient building materials".