

# W. Molotov: On the Situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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## The International Working Class must Support the English Miners like One Man!

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Fight of the English Miners.

The titanic social struggle in England is assuming a fresh intensified form. The working class of the whole world must with increased attention and increased solidarity, turn their eyes to the fight of the British Miners. The Delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation has brought to naught all the prophecies of the faint-hearted. It has by an overwhelming majority adopted fighting decisions which fling back in the most emphatic manner the insolent provocation of the Conservative Government, which not only wanted to reduce the miners' wages, but also to lengthen the working day and to force future trade unions struggles into the straight jacket of State arbitration. The Delegate Conference has adopted a resolution to intensify the struggle, to withdraw from all the mines all safety men, who up to now have safeguarded the inviolability of the sacred property of the mining capitalists. The Delegate Conference addressed a powerful appeal to the whole British Working Class and demanded the calling of a special Trades Union Congress.

Simultaneously with the challenge of the mining proletariat there was issued the challenge of the British bourgeoisie. The annual conference of the ruling Conservative Party at Scarborough was nothing else than one long outcry against the rights and even against the existence of the Trade Unions. Its resolutions demanded that mass picketing be made illegal, that strikes shall only be called after a secret ballot has been held under the control of the government and that trade union funds shall be placed under government control; the Conference

also proclaimed that the State should defend the "liberty" of blacklegs.

The Delegate Conference of the Miners and the Party Conference of the Conservatives reveal the dramatic intensification of the social struggles in Great Britain. The Prime Minister Baldwin even declared at Scarborough that England now resembles pre-war Europe, where two armed camps are facing one another and where tremendous conflicts are inevitable. The mining conflict has lasted for nearly six months; it is more and more clearly taking the form of a wide-scale political strike. The Conservative Government is more and more identifying itself in the eyes of the broadest masses with the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie. The Miners reject the impudent demands of the government and proclaim an intensified struggle. The government will reply to the withdrawal of the safety men by replacing them by soldiers and marines; the workers will be compelled to organise defence corps; that is the prospect of the social struggles in Great Britain for the near future.

The appeal of the Communist Party of Great Britain demands that the Conservative Government be turned out of office and that the present parliament be dissolved. It calls upon the broadest masses to set up a real Workers' Government under control of the proletariat, to demand the immediate nationalisation of the mines without compensation, the introduction of workers' control and the organisation of an embargo. The slogans of the Communist Party of Great Britain and of the Delegate Conference of the Miners are demands which accord with the

true interests of the British proletariat. The overthrow of the Tory Government and the immediate convocation of a special Trades Union Congress must now, by means of the unwearied agitation of the Communists and of the revolutionary supporters of the Minority Movement, become the slogans of millions of the English Working Class.

The Working Class of Great Britain, the Working Class of the whole world now has the duty to hasten like one man to the aid of the English Miners. The workers must bring to naught the treacherous machinations of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress. The pressure of the masses must put an end to the continued vacillations of the Executive of the Miners' Federation. Enough of flirtation with the Bishops, enough of futile compromises for the sake of so-called "public opinion", which did not for a moment serve to mobilise public opinion in favour of the miners, but on the other hand involved the danger of confusing and demobilising the heroic army of the Miners. The leaders of the Labour Party have for nearly six months attempted to destroy the miners' fight by daily stabs; now, however, they proclaim their intention to "save" the miners' fight by a platform campaign. Instead of organising the prevention of the transport of coal by the railway workers and transport workers, they resort to battle with words according to all the odious rules of parliamentary speech making.

Just as in England, the reformists are betraying the miners' struggle internationally. Amsterdam only exercises international solidarity insofar as it receives good interest in return. The reformist leaders of the German Miners' Federation boast of the "good market conditions" in Germany, in other words of the export of blackleg coal to Great Britain. The Miners' International decided on September 10th to announce an international solidarity strike of the miners should the fight of the British miners not be ended by the 30th September. They ventured to make this decision because they reckoned on a speedy defeat of the struggle. But the English miners are still heroically continuing to fight, and the Miners' International has cowardly broken its own promise.

It is the duty of the international Working Class to settle accounts with the reformist leaders of the Miners' International and the representatives of the miners in the various countries who prevented the international miners' strike and to support the demand of the English Miners for the calling of an international miners' strike (which is also in the interests of the miners and the workers of the other countries) by increasing by every means the mass pressure of the workers in all countries in this direction. The workers must clearly recognise however that so long as Hodges and Husemann remain leaders of the Miners' International the international miners' strike will not be organised. Even the more modest demands, such as the prevention of the transport to England of blackleg coal and the imposition of a levy upon the working class in Europe and America on behalf of their fighting brothers, were sabotaged by them.

In spite of all prophecies of defeat of the entire press of the bourgeoisie, in spite of all the efforts of the reformists to create a defeatist mood, the fight in England is still going on. The English Miners can still gain the victory if the British working class and the international proletariat hasten to their aid.

The Communist International calls upon the Working Class to do their duty.

**Down with the Tory government in England!**

**Dissolution of Parliament!**

**Immediate meeting of the Trades Union Congress!**

The fighting Congress of the English Workers shall be the reply to the Scarborough Congress of the Conservatives!

Organise the material support in England and the prevention of transport of coal!

**Fight for the real Workers' Government in England!**

International organisation of fighting solidarity, and before all prevention of export of coal to England by the international trade union movement!

**International levy on behalf of the English miners!**

The fight of the British miners is decisive for the fate of the entire international Working Class!

The support of the miners' struggle must be the cause of the whole of the international Working Class!

Moscow, 11th October 1926.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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

### On the Situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

By W. Molotow.

Speech made on behalf of the Central Committee at the Opening of the Training-Course of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. for District Party Functionaries on October 2nd 1926.

I shall, in my speech, deal chiefly with the Party itself, with the situation within the Party and with the opposition in the Party; for the attention of all Communists is now particularly concentrated on this question. The Party has now to fulfil extremely important tasks of the proletarian revolution without Lenin's leadership, and moreover in extraordinarily complicated international and internal conditions. It is therefore of great importance that we should study the teaching which Lenin bequeathed us, Leninism and the history of our Party. It will therefore not be amiss if I deal at length with those questions which have been of the greatest importance in the history of our Party and to which the present period is again imparting special importance.

Our Party represents a gigantic organisation, which is powerfully rooted in the working class, which has vast experience of the revolutionary fight and no small experience of the practical construction of socialism. Our Party is the most important battalion of international Communism as a whole and is at the present time the main pillar of the international proletarian revolution. All this is possible because the Party is built up on an eventful history and because, in every period of history, it has clearly seen what are the fundamental tasks of the proletariat.

At its 14th Party Congress, the Party discussed with great concentration and from every point of view the tasks of the present period, the immediate tasks of socialist construction. Since the Party Congress the leading functionaries of the Party have more than once occupied themselves with re-examining the resolutions passed at the Party Congress and with working them out in detail. There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Party — one might indeed say the whole Party (with a few exceptions) — holds firmly to these resolutions, with real harmony and real unanimity. This is proved by the unanimous support given to the resolutions of the Plenum of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. in July.

Nevertheless an opposition in the Party, a whole block of opposition to the Leninist policy of the Party has been formed. The opposition block includes remnants of former small opposition groups and has been slightly replenished by the recent vacillating attitude of former disciples of Lenin, the so-called "new opposition". The existence of an opposition block which is now trying to increase its activities still more, is an undeniable fact. This block combines the opposition "currents" from Medvediev and Shliapnikov to Trotsky and Zinoviev under the obvious hegemony of Trotskyism. Though the block has no clear programme, though it is not based on principles, though it has but few adherents, it can at least boast of a superfluity of former Party leaders. It is quite natural that the Party should concern itself with the question of what will be the fate of the opposition block.

From the History of the Party.

The "August Block".

This leads me to call your attention to one of the most important moments in the past history of our Party, to that historical period when our Party definitely broke away from Menshevism (as such), thus finally crystallising into the Leninist Party. This period is of special importance because the crystallisation of Bolshevism as an independent Party took place in the midst of the fight against the famous "August Block", which was composed of fragments of a great variety of insignificant groups and tendencies, from the original Mensheviks to the so-called "left" Bolsheviks, who were grouped round the newspaper "Wperiod". Trotsky took up his position in the centre and at the head of this block. I speak of the period 1912—1914.

What period was this? It was a period of the stormy development of the revolutionary labour movement, a period when Czarist reaction, which had raged for some years after 1905, was compelled to beat a retreat in view of the powerful expansion of

the revolutionary activity of the proletariat. It was a period when the working class of Russia and above all its socialist vanguard was faced by vast new tasks, particularly by the task of the revolutionary fight and the overthrow of arbitrary rule. As we now see, it was a period which was decisive for the victory of the February revolution and which brought with it the crisis of Czarism and the crisis of the bourgeois-feudal State, owing to the powerful development of the labour movement. In those years the strike movement of the workers exceeded the high-water mark which it had reached in 1905. In those years, the storm of revolution cast its shadow before. The revolution, it is true, was postponed by the outbreak of the great war.

Between the revolutionary period 1905/06 and the new development in the years 1911/14 however lie the worst years of Czarist reaction. In those years, when reaction was celebrating orgies, there were many petty bourgeois revolutionaries, large numbers of "socialists" from the circles of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia who were not equal to the tasks of the new rise of the revolutionary spirit, who were dragged down by their social origin to sentimentality and to adapting themselves to the standards permitted by Czarism. Instead of being leaders in the revolutionary revival, the "revolutionaries" and "socialists" from petty bourgeois circles, especially from the circles of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia behaved as renegades and as traitors to the revolution.

In spite of defeatism and of the renegades from these circles, the Party of the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership held high the banner of revolution, and round this banner, the proletarians gathered in closer and closer ranks. During this period, our Party issued three chief battle-slogans: **Overthrow of the arbitrary rule, seizure of the land held under feudal tenure and the eight hours' day.** These slogans or, as they were called in the legal Press of the day, the "three whales", were at that time the chief slogans of our Party.

The Mensheviks concealed the inmost nature of their policy by their own slogan: **Freedom of coalition**, i. e. freedom for the labour organisations. The Mensheviks tried to inspire the workers with the illusion that it would be possible, while maintaining Czarism, to achieve freedom for the proletarian organisations. Our Party applied an enormous amount of energy to enlightening the workers about this delusion, with the result that the great mass of the class-conscious workers realised that the Menshevik slogans meant nothing more nor less than a bourgeois-Liberal adaptation of the Mensheviks to the arbitrary rule of Czarism. In the end only quite insignificant little groups of workers remained in the camp of the Mensheviks. Behind Bolshevism stood the picked troops of the proletariat on whom all depended, who decidedly condemned the "Liberal labour policy", as Lenin at that time dubbed this policy of the Mensheviks.

The Mensheviks concealed the inmost nature of their policy under phrases about an alleged defence of the most urgent, immediate needs of the workers. With vicious wrath they attacked the Bolsheviks who, in their opinion, had stirred up the workers with impracticable, Utopian slogans. It was at that time our chief task to unmask the Liberal-bourgeois character of the Menshevik policy.

The Mensheviks however received support from persons who tried to decorate their policy with "Left" phrases and an outward show of radicalism. Amongst these was, at that time, Comrade Trotsky who tried to prove that the Menshevik slogan of "freedom of coalition" was a much more radical and much more revolutionary slogan than the Bolshevik "three whales". In those days Comrade Trotsky tried to speak with the unctious of learned Marxism and to teach us that the Bolshevik programme of the "democratisation of the country" (i. e. of the overthrow of arbitrary rule) ranked lower than the Menshevik programme of "freedom of coalition." By the repetition of platitudes in the "Nasche Sarja" (a Menshevik paper of those days), maintaining that the proletariat would have to fight for the freedom of organisation of the workers under any bourgeois power, i. e. even after the overthrow of arbitrary rule, by these "Left" words, he concealed the bourgeois-Liberal character of the Menshevik programme, i. e. the slogan of freedom of coalition under the arbitrary rule of Czarism.

An attempt was then made to attack Lenin's Party from the rear. In 1911 the Mensheviks, under the leadership of Trotsky and Axelrod tried to unite their groups and grouplets and to amalgamate with the grouplets of the "Wperjod" people, who

had fallen away from Bolshevism. This is the story of the origin of the August Block which, before the war, was lead by the Menshevik Liberals with the programme of freedom of coalition (organisation) for the workers -- under the arbitrary rule of Czarism.

The programme of the Bolsheviks, which I have quoted, was the programme of revolution, and this programme demanded a Party worthy of the chief tasks of the revolutionary epoch. This is why, in that period, the Bolsheviks had to carry on a particularly tough fight for the existence of the Party against the "Liberal Labour politicians" and their friends. It was one of the most important preconditions for the construction of a revolutionary Party of the proletariat, to advocate the necessity of an **illegal party**. With regard to this question, the Mensheviks revealed themselves as complete renegades from the revolution, as enemies of the revolutionary fight. They did not tire of shouting, whenever an opportunity presented itself, that the Party was now nothing but a "corpse" and that the restoration of the illegal organisations of the Party was nothing but an "obnoxious and reactionary Utopia." For this reason they were called "liquidators."

In that period we had to apply enormous energy to the work of constructing our illegal party organisations, but we applied an equal amount of energy to the work of developing the legal labour organisations and to consolidating our revolutionary positions, our Bolshevik leadership. This was the period in which we founded our "Pravda", which is now approaching its fifteenth anniversary. I should like to mention that we had to fight hard for the name "Pravda" (Truth). Probably many comrades are ignorant of the fact that it was just against Trotsky, the Menshevik liquidator of those days, that we had to defend the name "Pravda." Comrade Trotsky was then publishing a small paper in Vienna. He received the appearance of the Bolshevik newspaper "Pravda" in St. Petersburg, as it was then called, with the greatest hostility. He was of the opinion that the Leninist circle, that "embodiment of fractional reaction and of secessionist obstinacy" had committed a quite special "fraud" by choosing the name "Pravda" for its organ. Shortly after the issue of the first number of our "Pravda", the editor received a letter from Comrade Trotsky, demanding that the title of "Pravda" be altered at once. Comrade Trotsky threatened that, if this were not done, he would call upon the 2nd International to pronounce a verdict against our "Pravda". We explained to Comrade Trotsky that we had been obliged to adopt the name "Pravda", as the name of "Worker's Journal", originally fixed upon had already been taken by the Mensheviks, who had bought the right to publish a paper under this name from the competent official authority. We, of course, refused to comply with Comrade Trotsky's demand and pointed out that the name of the Vienna "Pravda" did not enjoy the least popularity among the working masses of Russia. Trotsky however was for the time being actually successful in his campaign against the St. Petersburg "Pravda". Thus, Maxim Gorki who, at that time was in close touch with the Bolsheviks, sent us a letter, under the influence of Comrade Trotsky's agitation, in which he refused to collaborate in the "Pravda". Thus, at a period when the Party was fighting with tremendous efforts for its very existence, when with tremendous efforts, it had succeeded in publishing the first legal Bolshevik Labour paper, it had to defend itself not only against the direct reprisals of the authorities but also against the permanent agitation of the Menshevik liquidators with whom at that time Trotsky was hand in glove.

In the summer of 1912, when the Labour movement had already brought to light the existence of enormous revolutionary possibilities, when, supported by the revolutionary revival, a legal Bolshevik paper had been issued, when our Party functionaries, under the leadership of the Bolshevik centre with Lenin at its head, had succeeded in once more consolidating the position of the illegal Party organisations, when the Party was becoming a more and more decisive and really leading force among the masses of workers, -- at that time the Menshevik grouplets, fractions and literary circles proceeded to form the so-called "August Block". The "August Block" of the Mensheviks, the semi-Mensheviks and the ex-Bolsheviks, who followed Trotsky's lead, declared war on our Party, on Lenin and on the "Pravda".

This block was permeated by ideas, which were most clearly expressed by its ideologist, the Menshevik Axelrod.

"Fractional union is an absolute duty of the adherents of Party reform or rather of party revolution."

In connection with this, Lenin said:

"P. B. Axelrod is then directly in favour of the 'party revolution', i. e. in favour of the destruction of the old and the foundation of a new Party".

What is the meaning of this liquidatory ideology? What was the ideological standpoint of the August Block? As early as 1910, not only the Bolsheviks but some of the Mensheviks pronounced against this liquidatory tendency, and the Bolsheviks held consistently to this judgment. At that time even the Party had recognised that the liquidatorship was nothing but a "bourgeois influence over the proletariat". Lenin carried on an embittered fight against this liquidatorship. He said of it:

"If there were no liquidators, the clever bourgeois progressives would be obliged to pick out or give salaried appointments to a few intellectuals who would imbue the working class with these ideas."

Only a small proportion of the members of the August Block were inflexible enough to return to the revolutionary point of view, some of them indeed returned to our Party. On the other hand the August Block was, for some of those who participated in it, a bridge by which they found a direct path leading them over to the side of the bourgeoisie and even to the side of monarchism, as was the case with G. Alexinsky. Lenin said, with regard to the liquidators who had united in the August Block:

"They are petty bourgeois intellectuals who were sent by the bourgeoisie to introduce Liberal disintegration into the ranks of the workers. The liquidators are traitors to Marxism, traitors to democracy."

In another place, Lenin pointed out that:

"Liquidatorship is the introduction of bourgeois ideas, of renunciation and renegacy into the ranks of the proletariat."

He who studies the history of our Party must devote special attention to the period of the construction and development of our Party, in which it formed itself into an independent Bolshevik organisation, in the fight against the August Block the Mensheviks, the semi-Mensheviks and a small handful of ex-Bolsheviks. The fate of this Block is the fate of the Menshevik Party which is now serving the international bourgeoisie, international capitalism as far as its strength allows. Our Party on the other hand was steered in the fight against the August Block and has grown into a powerful leader of the proletarian revolution.

### The Inner-Party Situation.

#### The Opposition Block.

I now pass to the questions of the present situation within the Party. The Party must now defend the Leninist point of view against the Opposition Block which is under the hegemony of **Trotskyism**. What is the common platform on which Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and others who, until recently, were opposed to one another, are now united?

The characteristic feature of every political union of the petty bourgeoisie is the absence of any uniform and approximately straight political line, of a political platform. We now once more see this very situation within the present opposition Block.

There is however one point which now unites the former leaders and the remnants of the opposition grouplets of our Party. This point is the radical change in the inner Party regime. This is the basis on which they all united, from Comrade Medvediev to Comrades Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev etc.

What is the political significance of this main point in the programme of the Opposition Block? This point was expounded to the Party in the frankest and most consistent way by Ossovsky, who has been excluded. Ossovsky came to the following conclusions: there is within the Party a regime which, in his opinion, is so abnormal, because the Party apparatus and the Party leaders want forcibly "to prove that which cannot be proved" i. e. that our State is a proletarian dictatorship; whereas in Ossovsky's opinion it is only a (bourgeois-democratic) worker and peasant State. The "consistent" Ossovsky draws the conclusion that, for the sake of democracy within the Party, and if we are to bring about a complete change in the regime within the Party, we must renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this is the way he has taken.

Let us now recall the ideas of the August Block, Axelrod's ideas of a "Party revolution". In essentials Ossovsky echoes in

a new situation and in new terms the old Axelrod ideas of the necessity of "revolutionising the Party", of the necessity of a "revolutionary" transformation of the internal regime of the Party. As a matter of fact, the Party regarded Ossovsky's ideas as nothing but semi-Menshevik, liquidatory ideas and showed Ossovsky the door. In spite of this and in spite of the question having so clear an issue, the Opposition has taken up a violently critical attitude towards Ossovsky's exclusion from the Party. Let each judge for himself. Can this defence of Ossovsky by the Opposition be regarded as a coincidence? No, it is based on the inevitable logic of the present Opposition, which led it to desert revolutionary principles and to take up the thankless task of defending elements alien to the Party.

Has the Party refused to discuss the question of improvements in the internal regime of the Party? Can it deny the existence of bureaucratic elements in the management of our Party, can it fail to see the influence on our Party membership of alien social strata, of an apparatus of State which is still to a large degree out of touch with the masses of workers?

On the contrary; the Party must and does combat these defects. In circumstances in which there is an increase of activity in all social strata, in which all mass organisations are experiencing a revival, the Party must exert the maximum of activity. The consistent development of democracy within the Party, the new methods of leadership with regard to mass organisations, require that the Party should use every effort to intensify its work of improving the methods of its practical activities, to remove the defects and bureaucratic aberrations of the internal regime of the Party. The first duty of our Party in the present period is to revive the whole activity of the Party, in combination of course with a campaign against the attempts to split up our Party into fractions and groups. Is it, then necessary for this purpose to make a "revolution in the Party" or can we not work with systematic thoroughness towards improving our practical methods of work and our Party leadership, whilst maintaining our iron proletarian discipline? The answer to this question must be perfectly clear and indisputable to every Bolshevik. Only those Opposition groups which have detached themselves from the workers and from the Party can repeat the old Menshevik ideas about a "revolution in the Party" in a new key. Only those bankrupt Party leaders who have lost all touch with the Party and with the mass of workers altogether, for whom the atmosphere of the serried ranks of advancing Bolshevism has become too close, console themselves with the slogan that a "revolution" is necessary in the internal regime of the Party.

Only persons who are quite out of sympathy with the Party fail to notice that the objective political significance of that clamour about the internal regime of the Party reaches far beyond the limits of internal Party questions. Their conspiracy against the foundations of the Bolshevik regime of the Party may acquire a general political significance hostile to the Party. We are well aware of the hopes which are now animating the White Press and especially the foreign Mensheviks that the light of the Opposition Block may still bear "social democratic fruit" and that this light may be a valuable means of undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat. The cleverest of our enemies are ready to support any form of light which the Opposition may carry on against the "regime", even though at first it is "only" within the Party; for they perfectly well understand that the internal regime of the Party is closely linked with the general political conditions and with the very existence of the proletarian dictatorship. These very clever enemies of Bolshevism rub their hands with joy and openly express their elation over every act of the Opposition. They do not trouble their heads about the positive programme of our Opposition within the Party. They say, not without justification, that the objective significance of an unbridled fight against the Party's regime will automatically bring with it the danger of the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship. Can the light of the Opposition — if it continues to develop — undermine the "dictatorial regime" in Russia? Ask the White Guardists, and their answer is: Yes, it can and for this reason we shall rejoice if the light of the Opposition is successful, if the Opposition is deterred by nothing in its struggle to introduce changes into the internal regime of the Party.

Can they not understand what is the inevitable objective significance of the fight for a "revolutionary" transformation of the internal regime of the Party, looked at from the point of view of the social conditions in our country? Will not the bloated bourgeoisie and profiteers in the town, will not



Kulaks in the village adopt this slogan, each in his own way? We know that there is, in our country, side by side with an increase of the economic power of the socialist elements for the time being a certain strengthening of the bourgeois elements as well. We know that now, towards the end of the sixth "Nep" year, both the Kulaks and the bourgeois elements have been able to regain ground economically, though only in a limited measure. And we know also how heavy is the pressure exercised by the proletarian dictatorship through its political power on these remnants of the bourgeoisie in our State. We must realise that, under the pressure of the proletarian dictatorship, it is just the bourgeois elements which cherish the most extravagant dreams as to a change of political regime in the country. The Soviet dictatorship is so powerful and develops its positions in such an obvious way that the bourgeois elements in our country can only indulge in visions of a change of regime in some remote corner of social life.

The subdued struggle of these elements may however break out at some quite unexpected place, cloaked in hypocritical phrases and personal factors. It only needs some crooked path to be taken by a few groups or at any rate by a few factors of social life to encourage the bourgeois elements to give vent to these feelings suppressed by the dictatorship. Whatever this path may be, it will find concrete expression in some kind of protest against the regime of the proletarian dictatorship. The clamour against the internal regime of our Party is under the present circumstances to a certain extent an objective expression of the influence of social strata foreign to our Party on some of the elements within the Party, the influence of those strata which are now under the heel of the regime of the proletarian dictatorship. It is impossible that the working class, the proletarian masses, can be the social basis of the fight against the "regime", of the fight for "revolution", even though it be only within the regime of the Party. We must look for the social basis of these demands somewhere outside the proletariat, there where this question (that of the "regime") is a vital question of the self-defence of a class. No Marxist, no Leninist can deny that, in present circumstances, the slogan of a revolution within the Party is of significance not only in the internal politics of the Party but in general politics.

The Mensheviks love to cling to the coat-tails of the Opposition Block. For the benefit of the Opposition Block they are prepared actually to distort the truth. Quite recently a document fell into my hands which bears the name "Labour Question" and which has a pronouncedly Menshevik character. Among other things it states that in our factories and works the "arbitrary rule of the administration" has been restored, that in the Soviet Union a "united front of the institutions of the Party, the trade unions and the Soviets" is being formed against the workers. Can there be any doubt that this is a Menshevik document? On the other hand the contents of this document are in some places an actual misrepresentation of the general tenor of the present united Opposition. It is therefore no coincidence that some comrades have regarded this document as being spread by the Opposition, it is no mere coincidence that at the present time many persons cannot distinguish the documents of the Opposition from the malicious literary writings of our opponents.

The Opposition Block gathers round the demand for a "revolution of the internal regime of the Party". Our Party must however regard **disbelief in the building up of socialism in our country**, disbelief in the forces of the proletariat as the ideological basis of this Block. This disbelief is nothing more nor less than the growth of bourgeois influence in our Party, which is already manifesting itself. Nowadays this often becomes particularly evident in the question which is answered by the chief resolution of the 14th Party Congress, in the question of the construction of socialism in our own country. It now transpires that this idea is mocked and jeered at by the most prominent leaders of the Opposition. Thus, in one of his reports at the Communist Academy, Comrade **Radek** made fun of this idea of the construction of socialism "in one district". This mockery however is nothing but a reflection of a breath of renegadism which is beginning to penetrate into our ranks. This Radek atmosphere is now beginning to envelop the whole Opposition Block. Is it necessary to compare Radek's scorn with what **Lenin** has said, though it was only in an article on Co-operatives? Can this derision of Radek's which reflects the attitude of mind of the Opposition Block, be compared with **Lenin's** words that "everything is available with us which is

necessary and sufficient for the construction of socialism". What has the invective of renegadism to do with genuine Leninism?

We must clear up the question as to why Party functionaries of repute, recently even the leaders of the Party, subjected themselves to ideas which are so alien to the Party, which lead to a direct denial of Leninism. How can this attack which is becoming more and more intense be explained? — an attack on the Party, organised by some comrades who until recently were its leaders.

I think that many of these facts would become clearer through a closer acquaintance with the history of the Party, especially in the period 1912—1914. Even in the past, the struggle of the proletariat for its liberation has gone through a number of ups and downs. And every time that the proletarian fight has been animated by a fresh impulse (as is now the case with socialist construction under the leadership of the proletariat), whilst there has been a fresh afflux of proletarian strata to the fight, some leader or other, some group or other has remained aloof, has not been carried forward to the full height of the flood-tide. Persons who, by their origin, belonged to petty bourgeois circles, to the circles of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, have been particularly prone to succumb to this tendency. We know for instance that in the period of the October insurrection, in the period of an enormous wave of enthusiasm among the proletarian masses, such eminent representatives of the Party as Comrades **Zinoviev** and **Kamenev** could not keep the pace and were infected by the "boastful pessimism" with which the proletarian dictatorship was received. Writing articles and making speeches is by no means sufficient to make one a consistent and enduring revolutionary. **A genuine proletarian fighter must be well tempered in the fire of the real fight, in the fire of revolutionary work.**

If we consider the chief group of the present leaders of the Opposition Block, those who strike us most are its most prominent representatives, **Trotsky**, **Zinoviev**, **Piatkov**, **Kamenev**, **Radek** etc. The group of leaders of the present opposition consists of these persons. There are amongst them many talented comrades, some especially, who understand how to wield a pen and to charm with their tongues. While recognising all the good qualities of these comrades, we must nevertheless point out one very deep-reaching defect. It is not their fault so much as their misfortune that the majority of the leaders of the present Opposition did not pass through the school of direct practical work in their Party organisations working in Russia during the hardest years of the pre-revolutionary fight, that for years and years they took part in the literary and Party parliamentary fights, but could not share in the battles of the actual revolutionary fight in the period preceding the revolution. The most distinguished leaders of the Opposition, like many other intellectual members of the Party, spent many years in **emigration**, separated from the working class of our country and deprived of the possibility of taking part in the practical work of building up the Party, of the actual revolutionary fights. And vice versa! If we turn our attention to the present C. C., we shall doubtless notice that those who form its nucleus have experienced in practice the daily revolutionary fights and the building up of the Party in the most difficult pre-revolutionary circumstances. This general characteristic has no little influence on the solidarity and staunchness of our Central Committee. We thus see how the emigrant past (with its positive and negative sides), which is so well known to all of us, has left its stamp on some of our former leaders. It is their misfortune that this finds expression in their relation to the Party itself, in their conception of their duties to the Party and often, even among the most distinguished of them, in an extremely distorted idea of what our C. P. S. U. now represents. At the same time we know that the difficulties of the fight have only led individual leaders of the Party into vacillation and despair. The Party, however, with its picked troops and with the Central Committee remains strong, firm and Leninist.

#### Some Conclusions.

The first conclusion is in respect of the benefit to be derived from the study of the history of our Party. The fight against the Opposition of 1923-24 led the whole Party to study such questions as the differences with the representatives of the theory of the permanent revolution, which still apply to the period round about 1905. This became necessary after the well-known action of Comrade **Trotsky**. It is indisputable that the

clearing up of certain questions was of positive benefit to the Party. We must once again emphasise the necessity of increased interest in the history of the Party, the Party's past, especially as concerns the period 1912—14.

The second conclusion concerns the significance of practical Party work and direct participation in the revolutionary fight, for every Bolshevik, for every proletarian revolutionary. The experience of the Party shows that just those Communists, who spring from intellectual circles, should take this doctrine to heart. Lenin may be taken as an example of a leader of the proletariat, to whom, with all his enormous theoretical work, no practical Party work was unfamiliar. The Party knows that Lenin was not only a Party theorist who can never be replaced, not only a connoisseur of Party practice but also an active participant in the actual revolutionary fight.

We base our attitude to the Opposition on the resolutions which have already been passed by the Party. Much of course depends on how the Opposition behaves in the future towards these resolutions. The Party is faced by the difficult task of the construction of socialism, and unity and determination to carry through these tasks are more necessary than ever. One thing is beyond doubt, the resolutions passed by the Party must absolutely be carried through, without "reserve", without sabotage. We must demand of every Party member, including every comrade who is now taking a leading part in the Opposition Block, that he should fulfil so elementary a condition: — Do not hinder the work of construction, do not interfere with our work, do not force on us unnecessary discussions in opposition to the resolutions of the Party!

Events in the past two years that the leaders of the Opposition, even when they are C. C. members, transgress these elementary conditions of Party discipline. Thus, only yesterday an attempt was made at the meeting of the nucleus in the "Aviopribor" factory to infringe the Party resolution against discussion. A whole organised group appeared at this meeting, i. e. six leaders of the present Opposition Block. On this occasion, Comrades Trotzky, Zinoviev, Piatakov and Radek exercised the severest criticism of the Party resolutions, of the line taken by the Party. The Communist workers of the nucleus gave them a decided repulse. Six leaders of the Opposition with their followers tried to overwhelm a workers' nucleus and met with an instructive and pitiful defeat.

The fact, however, exists that the Opposition leaders, seized by a fever of discussion, attacked the Party resolutions. Comrade Trotzky, a member of the Polit-Bureau, members of the C. C. such as Comrades Zinoviev and Piatakow, openly take up the fight against the resolutions of the C. C. and the C. C. C. Can such a condition be tolerated in a Party which is strong through its Bolshevik traditions? Can anyone doubt that the C. C. and our whole Party demands unreserved observation of Party discipline and will say to all who defy Party resolutions: Bolshevik discipline does not exist for the workers, for the simple members of the Party only, but also for conceited leaders, whatever high posts they may fill. Whatever may be the merits and talents of individual comrades who may attempt it, no one in our Party will succeed in undermining the iron discipline of the Leninist Party, and there can be no doubt that the Moscow organisations, in which the leaders and sub-leaders of the Opposition have now made the attempt to break loose in the Party meetings, will be the first to aim, with its own force, a destructive blow at every attempt to infringe Party discipline.

We must also devote attention to the following phenomenon. In recent times, individual leaders of the Opposition Block have thrown themselves head over ears into the business of the fractions, although in most cases, they have been entrusted with responsible work in some one of the State institutions. It is therefore easy to understand that the Party follows with special attention every step taken by the Opposition which might have a disintegrating effect on the work of the Party apparatus, which, as it is, is inclined to lag here and there. The Party must declare with all decision that everyone who is entrusted with responsible work for the State, whatever high post he may fill, is responsible in every respect to the Party and to the leading bodies of the Party. In a moment such as the present, the Party must insist with increased vigour on its role as leader of the apparatus of State. In this question the Party can

admit of no uncertainty. He who openly goes so far as to attempt the disruption of the Party resolutions, creates a danger of disorganising the whole work, he exhibits his disinclination to obey and his incapability of carrying out the instructions of the Party.

To the unwillingness and incapability of some leaders of the Opposition to concern themselves with the practical daily task and honestly to carry out the directions of the Party concerning the work of the apparatus of State, the Party can only give one answer: The work of training the young generation of the Party, the new proletarian cadres of the Party for these tasks must be increased, the help of new functionaries must be enlisted. During the years of the revolution, the working class provided thousands and thousands of functionaries for all branches of practical construction, for the most important leading posts. None of us can doubt that we can find in the working class and in the troops of the new proletarian intelligentsia, which is growing up, as many recruits to carry out the increasing tasks of the proletarian revolution.

There remains one other question: Is it not possible that the Opposition may introduce disintegration into the work of the Party? Are we not yet faced by the danger of a split in the Party? We heard a threat to this effect at the 14th Party Congress and veiled hints at the Party Congress in Stockholm. Up to recent times these threats on the part of the fractionaries who have gone mad have not come to an end. To this the Party has only one answer: The Party is and will be able to repulse relentlessly and with annihilating effect every attempt on the part of individual comrades to force on the Party their own will as opposed to the will of the whole Party, even if the attempt is accompanied by a threat to split up the Party.

The Party has expressed its point of view and its will clearly enough. The discussion of the results of the July plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. has freshly steered the unanimity of the Party. In all local organisations, the overwhelming majority of the Party members has declared itself decidedly in favour of the resolutions passed by the leading organs and for severe condemnation of the opposition. It is now absolutely necessary that a limit be put to the attempts of the Opposition to force its will on the Party and to disorganise the work. Just as the Party formerly grew and increased in strength under Lenin's leadership, it will now, in spite of the pitiful vacillations of the unasked "saviours" of the Party, advance with firm and confident steps under the leadership of its Central Committee (Stormy applause.)

## The Unity of the C. P. S. U. is Unshakable.

The attempts of the leaders of the opposition bloc — against the decision of the Central Committee and against the wish of the entire Party — to open a discussion, "in open form", in the Moscow organisation has met with complete failure. The Moscow organisation, unanimously and in a Bolshevik manner, repelled the attempt to shake the unity of the Party ranks, and called to order the stubborn fraction-mongers, who showed that Party discipline does not exist for them.

After having suffered defeat in Moscow, the leaders of the Opposition turned their attention to Leningrad. Headed by Zinoviev, a group of comrades who at one time enjoyed authority in Leningrad, went to this town. Relying on old memories, they reckoned on finding here a support in the fight against the Party. As was to be expected, however, the opposition here also made a profound mistake. They overlooked one "trifle": that the lower party organisations have, in long years of struggle, reached such a degree of political maturity that to attempt to capture them by means of noisy opposition phrases is absolutely hopeless.

The Leningrad workers, who were always the advanced guard of the Party in the fight against Trotzkism, after the XIV. Party Conference plainly showed Zinoviev that they stand firmly by their old position of Leninism, which they formerly defended along with Lenin, and that — apart from isolated exceptions — in their ranks there are not to be found supporters of the fight against the unity of the Party and its Central Committee.

This was shown even more clearly to Comrade Zinoviev by the Leningrad workers on October 7, when he appeared before them in defence of the anti-Party, Trotzkyist ideas which he formerly condemned. At the general meeting of the nuclei collective of the factory "Krasny Putilovetz", at which 1400 party members were present, Zinoviev's unexpected appearance was greeted with shouts and hisses. Only after great efforts and after the matter had been put to the vote three times, did the meeting grant him 15 minutes in which to speak. His speech was interrupted again and again. The meeting refused to prolong the time allowed him to speak. The other leaders of the Opposition, Comrades Sorin and Jevdokimov (former secretary of the Leningrad Party Committee) were not even allowed to speak at all.

After a lively discussion the meeting adopted by 1375 votes against 25 the following resolution which sharply condemns the action of the Opposition:

"In recent times" — states the resolution of the Putilov workers — "the leaders of the various opposition groups, who have behind them a disappearing number of followers, united under the personal hegemony of Trotzky and began a campaign, unprecedented in the history of the Party, against the decisions of the Party, against Leninism and against the Leninist C. C., whereby the opposition in this fight violates all decisions of the Party, infringes Party discipline and practically prepares to split the Party, without hesitating to use means which would have been worthy of the class enemies of the proletariat and of the Party.

The Plenum of the collective protests categorically against the unbolshevik behaviour of the leaders of the Opposition, Zinoviev, Trotzky and others, who go about in the meetings of the Party collective and prevent the practical carrying out of the resolutions of the XIV. Party Conference. The Plenum appeals to the C. C. with the demand to put an end to such visits which practically lead to a new discussion. We do not need any discussion or any words, but work for the realisation of the Leninist decisions of the XIV. Party Conference and the Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C.

The Plenum of the collective appeals to the XIV. Party Conference with the request that it resort to energetic measures against the Opposition and its leaders, and thereby create a calm situation for the carrying out of the decisions of the Party.

The meeting of the collective warmly welcomes the unshakable bolshevik line of the Moscow Communists who have delivered the Opposition a sharp reprimand in their attempt to begin a new discussion."

A meeting of the Party Collective of the factory "Krasny Treugolnik" which was attended by 2000 Party members, emphatically refused to allow Comrade Jevdokimov who put in an appearance there, to speak. In spite of this Jevdokimov attempted to speak but his words were drowned by hisses and shouts of "sit down!", and in the end he was obliged to leave the factory. Thereupon the meeting passed the following resolution:

"This meeting considers it thoroughly inadmissible to begin a fresh discussion at a moment when a gigantic exertion of all forces is necessary in order to carry out the decisions of the Party Conference and of the Plenary Sessions of the C. C.

We protest against and stigmatise the shameful party-disruptive attitude of the leaders of the motley-composed opposition, Trotzky and Zinoviev, who have been repeatedly condemned by the Party and by Comrade Lenin.

The appearance of Trotzky, Zinoviev, Piatakov etc. in the nuclei of the Moscow organisation with a platform opposed to the Party decisions, is regarded as a violation of the decisions of the X. and of the XIV. Party Conference, and we therefore demand from the C. C. and from the approaching Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. that they put an end to the disorganising work of the opposition and its leaders by applying against them as members of the C. C. the 7th point of the resolution proposed by Comrade Lenin at the X. Congress.

The Party allows no discussion with bankrupt leaders who have not the support of even one party organisation

with the exception of some isolated comrades who have strayed from the path of Leninism.

No discussion but tenacious struggle for the victory of socialist construction!

Down with the Opposition, down with the disrupters!  
Long live the Leninist C. C.!

Long live the unity and the iron discipline of the C. P. S. U.!

This resolution was adopted by 1867 votes against 30 with 3 abstentions.

At the meeting of the Party Collective of the factory "Bolshevik" where one of the leaders of the opposition, Comrade Soff, attempted to speak, a resolution was adopted by 994 votes against 6 which notes with indignation the attempt of the Opposition to force a new discussion on the Party, and demands that strong measures, even up to exclusion from the Party, be taken against the supporters of the fraction.

At the meeting of the Collective of the head works of the North West railway line the attempt of the Opposition Sorin to start a discussion called forth a storm of indignation. A resolution condemning the disorganisers of the Party was adopted by 692 votes against 8.

Similar resolutions were unanimously adopted in the factories "Svetlana", "Russky Diesel", "Neva", "Proletarian" etc.

The Leningrad organisation has shown once again that it stands firmly by the principles of Leninism. It shares the indignation of the Moscow comrades at the attacks of the Opposition on the unity of the Party. It demands along with the whole Party a relentless fight for Party discipline and against the discussion of questions which have already been decided at Party Conferences. The unity of the Leninist C. P. S. U. is unshakable.

## Decision of the Political Bureau of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 8th October 1926.

The "Pravda" publishes the following decisions of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. concerning the breaches of Party discipline:

1) The Polbureau places the fact on record that leading representatives of the opposition have committed serious breaches of Party discipline by attempting to force a discussion upon the Party in defiance of the decisions of the XIV. Party Congress, and thus endangering the unity of the Party. The Polbureau considers the breaches of discipline on the part of comrades Trotzky, Zinoviev and Piatakov to be particularly provocative as these comrades are all members of the Central Committee of the Party and it should be their elementary duty to carry out the decisions of the C. C. This they have not done (see their action in the nucleus of the "Aviopribor" works). Having consideration to these facts the Polbureau request the Central Control Commission to examine all these breaches of Party discipline. It further decides to raise the matter at the joint session of the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission.

2) On the 4th October the Polbureau adopted a resolution condemning the splitting activity of various members of the Central Committee (Trotzky, Zinoviev and Piatakov) in the nuclei of the Moscow organisation. With indignation the Polbureau records the fact that after the adoption of this resolution, a member of the Central Committee, comrade Zinoviev, made a splitting speech on the 7th October in the nucleus of the Putilov works in Leningrad discrediting the Party and the C. C. of the Party. The Polbureau regards this action as a particularly malicious breach of Party discipline and decides to submit this matter to the next plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. with a view to the imposition of the necessary punishment. The Polbureau records with satisfaction that the resistance of the Leningrad communist workers to the disorganising activity of Zinoviev has been extraordinarily unanimous.

(Adopted on the 8th October 1926.)

## Resolution of the C. C. of the Y. C. L. of the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 8th October 1926.

The Central Committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union has unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The Central Committee of the Y. C. L. of the U. S. S. R. has considered the question of the fractional work of the opposition inside the Party and inside the Y. C. L. as also the disorganising action of the leaders of the opposition in the nuclei in Moscow and Leningrad of the Party against the leading organs of the Party, the C. C. and the C. C. C. The C. C. of the Y. C. L. decisively condemns the criminal disruptive actions of the opposition against the unity of the Communist Party which shake the foundation of the dictatorship of the Proletariat in our country.

## Declaration of the Communist Party of America.

Moscow, 8th October 1926.

The Central Committee of the Communist (Workers) Party of America has published a declaration condemning the fractional activity of the opposition led by Trotsky and Zinoviev. It declares that these breaches of discipline endanger the achievements of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union which is still surrounded by a whole world of imperialist enemies. It also prevents the extension of the proletarian revolution to the rest of the capitalist world.

The Central Committee of the C. P. of America welcomes the attitude of the communist organisations in the U. S. S. R. which condemn the activity of the opposition. The C. C. joins in this condemnation. The C. C. appeals to all party members to rally for the carrying out the decisions of the Party and to support C. P. of the Soviet Union in its struggle for the discipline and the C. P. of the Soviet Union in its struggle for the discipline and bourgeoisie and for the emancipation of the workers.

# POLITICS

## England's Dilemma in the New European Situation.

By R. P. ALME DUTT (London).

The Steel Pact and the French-German projects of union confront England with a new and difficult situation. The move to closer unity with Italy and the approach to German business men represent the first attempts at an answer. This situation is closely bound up with the coal conflict in England, the continuance of which has both weakened England's international position and stimulated French-German economic union and development, while the new developments abroad now give fresh grounds of hope for the English miners in the continuance of their struggle.

In his speech to the Conservative Conference at Scarborough on October 7th, the Prime Minister Baldwin claimed the entry of Germany into the League of Nations and the final ratification of Locarno as "a signal triumph for British diplomacy". The claim may have satisfied his followers (in so far as they had any attention to spare from their projects of corporal punishment for strikers); but he himself must have known well enough that it is a singularly out of date boast in relation to the actual position confronting his Government in Europe to-day.

Twelve months ago, with the signing of the Locarno Treaty, England's position in Europe stood at its highest point since the war. The Conservative Government was temporarily secure at home by the device of the coal subsidy; France was weakened, not only financially, but also by the ruinous wars in Morocco and Syria; Germany in the first stages of Dawes was ready to accept without question English tutelage in order to be taken back into the circle of Powers; and finally America was favourable to a political settlement to safeguard its investments in Europe, with England as ballast. Thus the way seemed clear for the organisation of English hegemony in Europe by the detaching of the French scheme of the Protocol, and the adoption of the

Locarno Pact, which brought Germany back as a nominal equal; and on this basis the building of the West European block under English leadership for the offensive against the Soviet Union.

During 1926, however, new forces have developed which are unfavourable to the English Locarno line. On the one hand, England has been weakened internationally by the unparalleled internal struggle, involving heavy economic loss and the concentration of attention at home. On the other hand, Germany, in the second stage of reconstruction and with the aid of American loans, has emerged more and more as a distinct factor in Europe, pushing towards its own policy of economic expansion and conquest of markets, domination of Central Europe, revision of Versailles, recovery of colonies etc. — the so-called "New German Imperialism". At the same time France, while in a sharper crisis than ever financially, has been able to exercise political pressure through control of vantage points in the machinery of the League, and has begun to see a new line of economic and political salvation in union with Germany. Finally, American jealousy of excessive English control in Europe has been manifested, not only in the open encouragement and assistance to Germany, but even more significantly in the veto of Brazil at the March Assembly of the League, which defeated the English plans for six months and was openly attributed in the leading English press to American influence.

The first revelation of the breakdown of Locarno took place in the fiasco of the March Assembly of the League, when the various antagonisms prevented German entry as intended. This fiasco was immediately followed by the full play of the new forces, making for closer relations on the Continent of Europe as against the Locarno plan of Western European unity under England. In April came the German-Soviet Treaty of Berlin, an assertion of independence which aroused the unconcealed displeasure of England. The Franco-Soviet negotiations were already in process. The French-German economic negotiations, which had already been long developing, received a powerful impetus. By June the joint committee of French and German businessmen was formed; by August the French-German trade agreement was signed; by September the Steel Pact was ready, and the political approach of Thoiry could take place.

Thus when the final entry of Germany into the League took place in September, a completely new situation had developed which entirely transformed its meaning from that contemplated originally by England. It is true that the Foreign Office during the six months had succeeded in gathering together some of the pieces broken in March, and in particular by the Pilsudski coup in Poland had secured control there, made possible the German-Polish agreement and thus secured the success of the Cecil formula for the League Council and the common entry of Germany and Poland. But the first and basic part of the Locarno programme, the drawing in of Germany into the League as a make-weight to France in order to establish English influence in Europe, which was the condition of effective success of the anti-Soviet programme, completely miscarried: for Germany, after long resistance to English pressure to enter the League, finally took up the policy on its own behalf, and entered, not as England's client, but in union with France; so that the actual entry of Germany into the League in September became the occasion, not of England's triumph in Europe, but of the public demonstration of French-German union at Thoiry and the isolation of England in the League. England had to encounter open defeat in the League Assembly, as in the failure of the Cecil motion for the restriction of the scope of the League, and in the elections to the Council (defeat of the English candidate, Persia; election of China).

The anxiety and alarm of English bourgeois opinion at the projects and prospects of French-German economic union, has been strong and unconcealed. Already in August the diplomat writing under the name of "Augur" in the "Fortnightly Review" followed up a series of previous warnings by an alarmist article on the prospect of French-German union embracing in its scope also Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and possibly Hungary.

A Liberal journal like the "Manchester Guardian", discussing the prospect of a whole series of French-German combines in steel, coal, potash and chemicals, sees in it an inevitable challenge to English and American influence once the process is complete.

The attempts of England to reply to this new prospect are likely to follow several paths. The first attempt is the alliance with Italy; Leghorn as the immediate reply to Thoiry. The close working of Chamberlain and Mussolini goes back to the time of Locarno; the Rappallo Treaty of last December, with its secret



clauses, secured Italian aid against Turkey over Mosul; in return Italy received the partition of Abyssinia; the Italo-Egyptian Treaty, forced on Egypt, gave Italy the desired extension in Jubaland; the Italian debt was settled with a cancellation of six sevenths; in the Chinese crisis Italy has promptly declared for armed intervention with England. The Leghorn conversations were evidently intended to extend Anglo-Italian co-operation beyond the questions of the Middle East and Africa as its primary sphere to the whole balance of European politics, and to exploit Italo-French antagonism for a price which, as in the case of Rappallo and the aid over Mosul, may only subsequently be disclosed.

But the Anglo-Italian bloc as the reply to the French-German bloc, while significant of the complete reversion to pre-war types of diplomatic groupings and the destruction of the so-called "spirit of Locarno", is not necessarily the stable basis of the period that is now opening, or the sole line of English policy. It is a measure of the weakening of England at the present moment and the crumbling of the Locarno policy, that England has to look to Italy as principal partner in Europe. But the attempt will certainly be made at the same time to break into the French-German bloc by separate approaches to France and to Germany. The meeting of English and German business men at Romsey, on the convocation of the English Government, and comprising the most influential industrial, banking and government representatives on both sides, is the counter-move attempt to break the bloc, and even, in the language of the optimistic English spokesmen, to achieve an "Economic Locarno". But the economic basis is not present for Anglo-German co-operation; on the contrary intensified Anglo-German competition in the export field is inevitable, as the rapid expansion of exports is essential to both countries. Therefore the prospects for England are not favourable.

The role of the United States in relation to the new situation will eventually be of decisive importance. Stresemann's wooing of American favour for the new combination has been open; but its reception does not so far seem to have been warm. American policy is likely to be no more favourable to a too powerful Continental bloc than to a preponderating English influence in Europe, unless America can be sure of a dominating influence in the bloc. For this reason England will undoubtedly look to American aid to exert pressure on France and Germany and to weaken the bloc. But America is playing the policy of the Balance of Power in Europe as skillfully as England did in the last century; and therefore English hopes of help can never be too firm or confident.

The difficulties of England are increased, both by the heavy setback in China before the national advance and the direct refusal of America to co-operate in intervention, and the critical imperial situation in relation to the Dominions which will be brought up at the Imperial Conference. While Australia and New Zealand are still under control, Canada, South Africa and, to a lesser extent, Ireland are likely to force the pace towards independence in foreign affairs. The victory of Mackenzie King in the Canadian elections was a direct defeat of England, which had openly intervened and strained the constitution in favour of its candidates, while King was proclaimed by the Wall Street journals as their representative. Herzog, the South African Premier, comes as the leader of a party which sets out in its programme the aim of "sovereign independence". The candidature of Ireland to a seat on the League Council, supported by the Dominions and opposed by England, was an open breach.

In this situation the prolongation of the coal conflict, wholly unexpected to the Government who had counted on a complete collapse of the Miners' Federation and proclaimed their terms accordingly, comes as an extremely difficult and paralysing factor. The way to the capture of markets is now laid open to the French-German cartel; while the dependence of England on foreign coal, by which alone the bourgeoisie are enabled to maintain their fight against the miners, becomes more and more dependence both on America and on the Continental Bloc, just at the moment when freedom of action in the critical situation is most necessary. Thus desperate measures are likely to be taken by the Government to bring the conflict to an end; and if extreme steps of terrorism, stoppage of all relief etc., are not successful, proposals of compromise may again come to the front.

Accordingly the decision of the Miners' Delegate Conference on October 7th, not to weaken, but on the contrary to revert to their original demands and to renew and strengthen the struggle by adopting the Communist proposals for action

(which were adopted en bloc by a vote of 594,000 to 194,000) is not only abundantly justified by the conditions of the struggle, but also by the whole international situation. The miners can derive fresh grounds for confidence in the present supreme stages of their struggle by the new factors appearing in their favour, and have the more reason to be certain that, if the proposals for action are only confirmed and effectively carried out without delay, there is every possibility of rapidly weakening the Government's front. It is therefore more important than ever at this point to exert every effort to hold out and to strengthen the struggle at home and abroad.

## Parliament and Dictatorship in Poland.

(Leading article of the "Pravda" of October 3rd 1926.)

"Dzien Polski", the organ of the Polish agrarians, commenting on the unexpected turn in the conflict between the Sejm and the government, writes:

"If everything in Poland proceeded according to logic and customs the Sejm would have been dissolved. Poland, however, is a country of unbounded possibilities, and therefore political events seldom follow a logical course".

As a matter of fact it would appear at the first glance as if the issue of the conflict was a victory of Parliament over the executive power, which in Poland is embodied in the military dictatorship. But this logical contradiction is only apparent, as it is precisely the logical events which have caused Pilsudski to refrain from dissolving the Sejm and forming a new Ministry with himself at the head.

The government, which came into power as a result of the putsch in May, had given many proofs of its sincere desire to work together with the Right parties, which represent in parliament the interests of industrial capital and of the agrarians. But the dictatorship of Pilsudski has not been able to gain the complete confidence of the big bourgeoisie, which refused to see in the "national hero" a sure guarantee for its leading role in the administration of the State.

The Parties of the Left and the P. P. S. have deceived themselves in the estimate of the dictatorship of Pilsudski, and no longer consider it possible to conceal from the Polish petty bourgeoisie and peasants the fact that the "bold reformer" has proved to be, at bottom, a devoted servant of big capital and of the land owners. Those workers who followed the lead of the P. P. S. realised already in the days of the May putsch that their support of Pilsudski was rather an encumbrance to him than an advantage. This rendered the social basis of the dictatorship of Pilsudski unreliable. Pilsudski has to a considerable extent freed himself from the support of the petty bourgeois strata, but nevertheless has not yet obtained a hundred per cent recognition from the big bourgeoisie.

With what programme could Pilsudski have appealed to the electors in the event of a dissolution of the Sejm. He could not have offered the country anything else than the prospects of military adventures and an increase of taxation. And this at a time when enormous masses of the workers, among them being the railway workers and State employees, are very restless and are threatening to strike if their wretched wages are not increased. As Pilsudski is opposed by the Rights as well as by the Lefts, he would have met with a certain defeat. Even the press organs which support him predicted with fear a strengthening of the parliamentary representation of the Communist Party and of the national minorities.

The continued existence of the Sejm was dictated to Pilsudski by considerations of a financial and foreign political nature. American capital has very little faith in the durability of the regime of dictatorship in Poland, and it is hardly probable that a loan would be granted in the absence of a parliament. In addition to this it cannot be denied that the international situation of Poland has recently become considerably worse as a result of the bellicose and irreconcilable policy of Pilsudski's Ministers to the nearest neighbour. Although Poland's ambition has to some extent been satisfied by a semi-permanent seat in the Council of the League of Nations, it is perfectly clear to the Polish statesmen that the last meeting of the League of Nations brought many disappointments to Polish diplomacy. In particular, the draft of the

approchement between France and Germany has had a painful effect upon those Polish circles who are seeking to make Poland a great Power. There is not the least doubt that France, for the sake of "friendship" with Germany, will not shrink from sacrificing territory granted to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles. At the same time it is also quite clear that the Treaty of Neutrality between the Soviet Union and Lithuania can in no way be regarded as a success for Polish policy.

It is not, of course, a question of "plans of attack" on the part of the Soviet Union, in which Soviet diplomacy wishes to involve Lithuania. All that of course is nonsense. But there is not the least doubt that the Treaty between the Soviet Union and Lithuania has made a wide breach in the plans of Polish militarism which aimed at creating a bloc of the Baltic States directed against the Soviet Union. In this sense the policy of Pilsudski's ministers, which was dictated by London, has sustained a severe defeat.

Under these circumstances Pilsudski had to accept the continued existence of the Sejm as being a lesser evil than new elections. There are several countries in Europe in which parliament exists side by side with an actual military dictatorship. In order to consolidate such a state of affairs in Poland, Pilsudski, insofar as he cannot manage without parliament, must find a common language with the parties forming the parliamentary majority. In this respect Pilsudski will, to some extent, gain support in the broad demagogic agitation being carried on regarding Poland being threatened by a danger from the East. In this event Pilsudski, should the Right Parties which are not inclined to military adventures prove to be irreconcilable to the bellicose demagoguery, has a means in store in order to render them more pliable. This means is an electoral reform which would deprive the masses of the people and the national minorities of the franchise.

Should such a "reform" be carried out, one could without fear dissolve the Sejm and call a general election. In this campaign against the working masses it is probable that the Polish bourgeoisie will gladly rally round Pilsudski, for it is hardly to be expected that such an attempt will not meet with strenuous resistance from below.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

### Questions of the Foreign Trade Monopoly of the Soviet Union.

By A. I. Mikojan.

The following article is an extract from an interview which the People's Commissar for Trade of the U. S. S. R., Comrade Mikojan, gave to representatives of the Soviet Press. Ed.

#### The Foreign Trade Monopoly in the Soviet Union Remains Unshaken.

Just recently the foreign Press has been devoting much attention to the economic life of the Soviet Union. For instance, very many rumours have been constantly spread concerning alleged preparations for an alteration in the system of foreign trade monopoly. These rumours go as far as to assert that the Supreme Economic Council contemplates the abolition of the foreign trade monopoly.

It must be stated most categorically that all rumours concerning an alleged abolition of the foreign trade monopoly, or even a modification or alteration of the foreign trade monopoly are pure inventions.

The foreign trade monopoly is an important instrument for exploiting all the technical possibilities of production of the capitalist countries in a more advanced state of development, in the interests of expediting the Socialistic development of our national economy and of the execution of the next economic tasks of the Soviet Power, viz., the industrialisation of the country and the defence of the Socialist structure against Capitalism.

The foreign trade monopoly is one of the most important bases of the economic system of the Soviet Union, and consequently the Soviet Government cannot under any circumstances permit its abolition or modification. On the contrary, in the future, too, it will take energetic measures in the direction of securing the extension and the solidity of the foreign trade monopoly. It is quite superfluous to disprove the ridiculous statements of the foreign Press to the effect that the Supreme Economic Council advocates the abolition of the foreign trade monopoly and that in this regard differences of opinion exist between the People's Commissariat for Trade and the Supreme Economic Council. The Supreme Economic Council favours without reservations, just as the whole of the Soviet Government does, the maintaining of the foreign trade monopoly.

#### The Growth of the Foreign Trade of the Soviet Union.

The foreign commercial traffic of the Soviet Union grows from year to year. The total turnover of foreign trade in the economic year 1922/23 amounted to 398 million roubles, in the following year, 1923/24, 962 millions, in the year 1924/25 1,288 millions and in the economic year which is now coming to a close it amounts to about 1,500 millions, or about four times the volume of the turnover of three years ago.

If regard is paid to the figures for exports alone, a stupendous growth is observable: In the year 1922/23 exports amounted to 211 million roubles, 1923/24 to 523 millions, 1924/25 to 563 millions and 1925/26 670 millions. The corresponding import figures are: 187, 439, 720 and 730 to 750 million roubles.

Despite this quadrupling of the turnover in three years, we are by no means satisfied with the results of our foreign trade, and we regard the further development of our foreign trade as one of the most important tasks of our Commissariat. The immense natural wealth of our country open to us unlimited possibilities for the development of our export trade; the growth of our domestic market's ability to absorb goods, our population's growing spending power, as also the keen demand for goods are further factors tending to promote the development of commercial relations with other European States and those of America.

#### The Difference between the Export Trade of the Soviet Union and Russian Export Trade Before the War.

The fact that practically the whole of the national economy of the Soviet Union has already reached pre-war level, while in the sphere of foreign trade we are greatly in arrear of the pre-war standard, is often judged falsely. People are inclined to overlook two important facts, without consideration of which the mere contrasting of the turnover figures of foreign trade in pre-war times with those of post-war times has no sense or significance. It would be false to assume that we are mechanically reconstructing our economy on the basis of pre-war proportions. In the reconstructive process of our economy there are reflected all those changes which represent the effect of the historical transformations in the Soviet Union.

First of all, the fact is generally left out of account that the figures for foreign trade in pre-war times also covered the present border States. For this reason that part of the totals falling to the share of the border States should be deducted before comparison is made.

In the second place, a simple comparison of the export figures of pre-war times with those of to-day is of no critical value, because the great revolutionary events in Russia, which have changed the economic and social system of the country, have necessarily also had effect upon this department of our economy. It is a well-known fact that the greater part of the exports of Czarist Russia were based not upon the disposal of surpluses, but upon underfeeding the masses of the people and an extraordinarily low standard of living among the workers and peasants in Russia; whereas one of the greatest achievements of the October Revolution lies in the fact that the standard of living of the workers and the labouring class of the village has been raised considerably. A portion of the products which found its way abroad during czarist times is now being consumed by the labouring masses of our country, who, thanks to the October Revolution, now enjoy much more normal conditions of life and better food.

The augmented domestic consumption finds its reflection most particularly in the comparative low export figures for butcher's meat, eggs, grain, etc. In these branches of the export trade we are indubitably very far below the pre-war level, and a reaction from this circumstance is to be found in the narrowing of the limits of our import trade. From the standpoint of the interests of the working masses of our country this is, however, a great achievement, for our task is by no means to reduce the consumption and the standard of living of the workers and peasants in favour of exports, but to develop further the branches of industry which are working for export, and we look forward to excellent results in this direction.

This removal of the past malnutrition of the masses of the people and thus raising of the material and cultural state of the toilers is the best guarantee for a rapid cultural and material development of our country.

In many other branches of economy, not immediately connected with consumption by the masses, we are able, on the other hand, to register an increase of exports as against pre-war times. Our exports of naphtha during the current year amount to 153% and our tobacco exports to 112% of the respective pre-war quantities.

In the approaching economic year 1926/27 we shall record a considerable enlargement of our turnover in foreign trade.

#### The Difficulties in the First Half of the Economic Year and their Solution.

During the current economic year, and especially during the first half of it, we had to face a number of difficulties. We are now, however, well on the way to dispose of these difficulties, while a portion of them have already been disposed of, a fact which will be demonstrated during the next few years of our foreign trade.

We made a big mistake in setting up a maximal export plan, which we could not put into practice. As we reckoned upon pushing exports during the first three months of the economic year, we issued during this period 56% of the import licences projected in the plan for the year, and when, at the beginning of the second quarter, it became evident that we could not carry through our export plan, it was already too late to bring imports into consonance with exports, because more than half of the importation plan for the whole year had been executed.

The task of the Soviet Government during the second half-year was to mitigate the results of the negative phenomena of the first quarter, and we now know that our work during the second half-year proceeded much more normally, while a number of shortcomings and failures of the first half-year were duly compensated for. We are, therefore, resolved to avoid all such mistakes during the coming half-year and to proceed energetically with all the instructions of the Government, and especially those relating to gaining an export surplus for our balance of trade.

#### The Soviet Government Still Adheres to Revolutionary Working Methods.

The foreign Press also repeatedly places a false significance upon the working methods of the Soviet Government. I believe that governments in other countries do not subject themselves to self-examination and criticism in regard to their own work as the Soviet Government does. The reason for this is that the Soviet Government relies upon such a measure of confidence from the masses of the workers and peasants that it does not try, as governments in other countries do, to hide the shortcomings and mistakes that occur in its work. It is only by means of such ruthlessly critical self-examination that the Soviet Government is in a position to mobilise the public opinion of the proletarian masses for the purpose of overcoming these mistakes and shortcomings. The Soviet Power has consistently pointed out its own errors in order to profit by them and to avoid repetition of them. In the future, too, we intend to adhere to this truly revolutionary working method.

## New Instructions for the Elections to the Soviets.

By A. Kurella (Moscow).

"Let the dogs and pigs of the dying bourgeoisie and of the petty bourgeois Democracy, which is perishing with it, hurl their curses, invective and scorn at us for the mistakes and defects in the construction of our Soviet regime. We do not forget for a moment that there have been many mistakes and failures in our work and that they still occur. Let anyone try to manage without mistakes and failures in work which is so new, so absolutely new in the history of the world as is the construction of a type of State which has never before existed. We shall endeavour unceasingly to correct our mistakes and failures in order to improve the practical application of our Soviet principles in real life, which is so far by no means perfect. (Lenin.)"

All the enemies of communism made a great fuss about the instructions issued last year for the elections to the Soviets which were said to be the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What had actually occurred? The 14th Party Conference had passed a number of resolutions providing certain alleviations for the employment of wage-earners and the development of small industry in the country. The object of these resolutions was to facilitate a more rapid increase of agricultural production and the absorption of the workers who stream into the towns and otherwise go to swell the army of the unemployed. The Election Commission of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union had thought it necessary to supplement these essential economic measures by political measures. These political measures consisted in the franchise being granted to individual categories of the population who derived certain economic advantages from the resolutions of the 14th Party Conference. Thus for instance the franchise was granted in last year's instructions to all peasants and village artisans who employ one permanent worker or two apprentices (in so far as they themselves take part in the work).

This political "supplement" to the economic resolutions of the 14th Party Conference was undoubtedly a mistake. Although in practice last year's election instructions only effected a negligible numerical change in the composition of the electorate (the persons newly admitted to the franchise only represented 3% of the total electorate), it was a great fundamental mistake to transfer in a mechanical way the concessions made to certain petty bourgeois elements in the economic field to the political one. As a matter of fact some of the regulations of the election instructions were contradictory to the fundamental terms of the Soviet Constitution with regard to the franchise, as was proved by the resolution of the June plenum with regard to the elections.

But by the Spring of this year the Party had already taken the first steps towards mending the mistakes it had made. It was, as a matter of fact, Comrade Stalin who, in March of the current year, pointed out that the mistake made in the election instructions was indeed a Menshevist deviation and that the blunder made ought to be corrected as soon as possible. The July plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. then passed the well-known resolution with regard to changing the election instructions, and, on September 28th 1926 the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union approved of new instructions for the elections to the Soviets. These instructions which were published in the "Isvestija" of October 1st, contain the following important points:

In the first place it corrects the chief mistake of last year's instructions by annulling any extension of the franchise which is contradictory to the principles of the Constitution. It re-establishes the principle that the following are excluded from the franchise: 1. persons who have exploited or are now exploiting paid labour with a view to making profit; 2. persons who have lived or are living on unearned income or such as have been occupied or are occupied in trade; 3. persons who, in view of the class to which they belong at the time of the elections, are declared to have forfeited the franchise in accordance with the paragraphs of the Constitution dealing with the subject.

Furthermore the instructions lay down that it is imperative that the representatives of the following organisations take part in election commissions: the trade unions, the leagues of youth,

the women's sections, the Red army and the various organisations of the poor peasantry, such as relief funds, committees for relief of the village poor etc. These regulations with regard to the composition of the election commissions prevent the intrusion of alien elements in the election commissions.

A final important regulation of the new instructions is that the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republics can issue special supplementary instructions to these instructions, which take into consideration the peculiarities of the Republic in question. This refers above all to making concrete the determination of the electoral district in the parts of the country where the population is nomadic, where the breeding of draught cattle predominates etc.

The issue of the instructions, which represent the carrying out of the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Party, is a further proof that the Party and with it the Soviet Government remains true to Lenin's teaching. Incidentally mistakes may of course occur. "Let anyone try to manage without mistakes and failures in work which is so new, so absolutely new in the history of the world as is the construction of a type of State which has never before existed" said Lenin in 1921. That mistakes are made is of no importance; what is important is that the Party is constantly on the watch to control and criticise its activities and to correct its mistakes in the Leninist spirit.

## Increase of Wages in the Soviet Union.

By. W. Schmidt.

People's Commissar for Labour in the Soviet Union.

The resolution of the Council of the People's Commissariat of the Soviet Union, dated September 21st, concerning the increase of wages for categories of workers in receipt of the lowest rate of pay, is a measure of very great significance, especially when it is taken into consideration that the advancing of wages during the whole time has not been interrupted and continues constantly. If we regard the months of April to June of the economic year 1922/23 as representing 100, the average real wage in the whole of industry rose to 124 in the corresponding months of the economic year 1924/25, to 145 in April to June in the economic year 1924/25 and to 167 in the corresponding months of the economic year 1925/26, and therefore, rose altogether by 67% during this period.

This advance was achieved through a general increase of wages, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the introduction of piece-work for the skilled workers and of supplementary premiums for the labourers. In view of the high piece-work wages, the increase of the wages for skilled workers has exceeded the increase in the pay of the labourers.

The growth of the wages of the skilled workers is adequately guaranteed by the system of piece rates, and will still be in the future, as the output of labour increases in consequence of the fresh equipment of industry and the introduction of rational methods of organising work. This possibility, however, does not exist for unskilled and semi-skilled labourers working at so much per hour, and it is, therefore, necessary to bring their earnings more into accord with those of the skilled workers. This was, and still remains, a task of the labour movement.

A number of measures were adapted to this end: increase of wages for those in receipt of the lowest rates of pay under the collective contracts, increase of salaries of the lowest categories of employees, together with the execution of the standardisation of the salaries of civil servants, subsidising of the local budgets for the purpose of increasing the pay of the low grades, etc.

These steps did not previously suffice to produce satisfactory results, and it is only now that the consolidated general economic situation affords the possibility of putting through a number of measures in this direction in order to increase the wages of the low-paid workers. But even these measures must be effected without causing a strain to our currency and without entailing other undesirable economic consequences.

It is, therefore, necessary, in accordance with the resolution of the Council of People's Commissariats, dated September 21st, that we pay close attention during the year 1926/27 to the

increasing of the wages, especially of the low-paid groups of workers in industry, transport, post and telegraph services, in consonance with their financial possibilities.

A faulty calculation in advancing wages would certainly provoke, apart from financial difficulties for the industrial branches concerned, a number of difficulties in the goods market, for every increase of the purchasing power of the population, not backed by a corresponding increase in the quantity of goods available, would lead to a weakening of the purchasing power of the rouble and, consequently, of the real wages of all workers.

A badly planned advance of wages for the groups left at a disadvantage would not only injure the position of these groups but would also be detrimental to the whole of the working class. Therefore, an increase of wages can only be permitted to an extent of 10% for the low-paid groups of workers engaged in production, and then only in the following branches in which wages are depressed: coal mining, ore mining, individual branches of the metal industry, of the textile industry, and the chemical industry, the match industry, glass manufacture, china manufacture, and special production, and finally, the railway, post and telegraph services.

The percentage of the advances and the distribution of the increases among the lowest ratings of workers will be fixed upon the revision of the collective contracts in the branches concerned when the period of validity of the old collective contracts has elapsed. If the date of the fresh conclusion of the collective contracts be postponed, the advance in wages will be calculated as from the moment of expiration of the old contracts.

Parallel with the above-mentioned measures for increasing wages, a general reduction of the maintenance cost of the system of administration of the State and economic institutions and of the factories must be carried out.

In industrial works there must also be taken, for the successful realisation of the proposed advancement of wages, decisive steps to combat loss of time among workers and to promote more effectual discipline. Most earnest attention must be devoted to the task of raising the output of labour.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### To the Aid of the Bulgarian Comrades!

By R. Chitarov (Moscow).

We are still continuing to hear painful news of the shameful persecutions of the working people of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian hangmen, whose new chief, Liaptcheff, in no way differs from his predecessor Zankov, do not like even a minute's interruption in their "work". This time it is the Young Communist League of Bulgaria which is attracting their special "attention".

In the course of the last year our Bulgarian Youth comrades had to record great success in their work. In spite of the savage persecutions, they have overcome the most incredible difficulties and again built up their League which was dissolved after the fascist coup d'état and particularly after the explosion in the Sofia Cathedral in April 1924. Our courageous Bulgarian comrades, under the Zankoff regime, again set up a well-ordered Young Communist organisation which has struck deep roots in the broad masses of the working and peasant youth.

The Young Communist League, which had to work under strictly illegal conditions, made itself felt more and more in the political life of Bulgaria. The illegal organ of the League, "Tcherveno Sname" (The Red Flag), appeared regularly and was distributed in thousands of copies throughout the whole country. Leaflets, appeals and revolutionary slogans of the Young Communists were distributed wholesale in the factories and workshops and in the towns and villages of Bulgaria. Under the blackest reign of reactionary violence of the fascist dictatorship, the voice of the revolutionary youth began to be heard louder and louder and became a summons to fight which called upon the entire working class and the peasantry again to rally their forces.

The government of gendarmes and hangmen (which bears the imposing name of "Democratic Union") got a severe shock

The burning indignation of the people threatened to break over them in all its violence. The fresh insurrectionary movements which flamed up among the peasants finally deprived them of their senses. After wreaking vengeance in the most insane and brutal manner on the peasants in the districts of Trojan and Lovetch where whole villages were wiped out and the whole district converted into one mass grave, the Liaptcheff government decided to destroy the Young Communist League,

The government so arranged matters that they delivered their blow precisely on the International Youth Day which in this year, thanks to the preparations that have been made, threatened to take the form of a powerful demonstration against the regime of deceit and violence. A triumph of the International Youth Day precisely at this moment would, however, have been dangerous for the fascist rulers, as the municipal elections were to take place in October, at which the electors would settle accounts with them. On the other hand, they required suitable ideological "preconditions" which would allow them to secure the majority for the ruling clique. The government believed that by means of the campaign against the Young Communist League they would be able to create the necessary atmosphere of terror against all their opponents which is so necessary to them.

The government were preparing for this attack for months. The whole gigantic police and spy apparatus was brought into motion, and the provocateurs, the spies and inquisitors worked feverishly and used every possible means in order to penetrate into the illegal organisation of the Young Communist League. And when it appeared to the government that sufficient preparations had been made and that there must be no further delay, the decisive blow was delivered.

On the 4th September, the day immediately preceding the International Youth Day, mass arrests were carried out among the youth throughout the whole country. The exact number of those arrested cannot at present be ascertained, but at any rate it reaches many hundreds. The gendarmerie seized everybody, no matter whether he appeared suspicious or not and whether it was or was not proved that he was a member of the Young Communist League. In order to make certain of the further success of their action, the government, following their approved methods, did not stop at resorting to abominable tortures in order to extort confessions from their victims. It has already been reported in the press that one of the arrested comrades flung himself out of window and another poisoned himself in order to escape the horrors of torture. There is no doubt that these are not isolated cases. The bestial hangmen of the Bulgarian people are endeavouring to choke the awakening revolutionary youth movement in streams of fresh blood.

Everything must therefore be done in order to prevent this crime. The entire international proletariat must raise its powerful voice of protest in order to stay the arm of the executioners which is already raised to strike. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie and their hirelings must realise that behind the persecuted, fighting youth of Bulgaria there stands the gigantic power of the working class of the whole world, which will not permit them to wreak fresh bloody vengeance.

The Bulgarian press is at the present moment carrying on a bitter incitement against the Young Communist League. "Exposures" and "Documents", alleged to be found on the arrested, are being published, which in reality are only miserable forgeries, but which appear thoroughly calculated to create the necessary atmosphere in which the victims can easily be got out of the way. It is necessary, therefore, for the whole of the leading proletarian press of the world to oppose this campaign of "exposures" and so to enlighten public opinion that it will be impossible for the hangmen to carry out their bloody intentions, and at the same time impart fresh hope, fresh faith and energy to the courageous fighters for the emancipation of Bulgaria from the fascist yoke.

The Young Communist International is justly proud of this unshakable courage of its Bulgarian section. In these days which are so full of fresh persecutions and alarming news, all our thoughts and sympathies should go out to our persecuted Bulgarian comrades. The Y.C.I. conveys its warmest greetings to the heroic young communist comrades of Bulgaria and promises them full support in their severe struggle.

## The E. C. Y. C. I. to the Young Communist League of Bulgaria.

Comrades, Brothers!

It is with the deepest feelings that the Young Communist International takes note of the fresh acts of cruelty committed by the Liaptchev government against hundreds of our comrades.

Comrades! You have always stood at the most dangerous sector of the fighting front of the International Proletariat. In spite of the bloody terror and the greatest sacrifices, you have constantly held aloft the flag of the Young Communist International and of the Revolution.

Your heroic struggle, your boundless devotion are a shining example to the proletarian youth of the whole world. To us they are the expression of the inflexible determination of the enslaved young workers of Bulgaria to fight against the bloody rule of the bourgeoisie and for the emancipation of the workers.

Comrades, Brothers! Keep courageous and erect! Hold bravely out!

The Young Communist International assures you of its brotherly and active support in your fight to release the victims from the clutches of the executioners, for winning legality for your League. The Young Communist International sends you the most brotherly greetings in the name of millions of young workers and Peasants.

Fame and honour to the courageous young fighters!

Down with the government of Hangmen!

Long live the working and peasant youth of Bulgaria!

Long live the Young Communist League of Bulgaria!

Long live the Young Communist International!

Moscow, 1st October 1926.

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

## THE NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

### The Soviet Constitution.

The extracts given below are the most characteristic parts of the Constitution of the Soviet State. These articles of the Constitution do not require any special commentary, as they quite clearly illustrate the Proletarian substance of the Soviet Dictatorship. It would be extremely interesting to compare the respective articles of the Constitution of the R. S. F. S. R. and those of Bourgeois States.

#### The Constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

##### SECOND SECTION.

##### Treaty.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.); the Ukraine Socialist Soviet Republic (U. S. S. R.); the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (W. R. S. S. R.); and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (T. C. S. F. S. R.); the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia; and the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia, join in one united State — "The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics".

##### CHAPTER II.

#### Of the Sovereign Rights of the United Republics and Citizenship of the Union.

4. Each united republic retains the right of free withdrawal from the Union.

6. The territory of the united republics cannot be altered without their consent. For modification, or withdrawal of article 4 the agreement of all republics forming the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is required.



## CHAPTER III.

## Of the Congress of Soviets of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

8. The supreme organ of authority of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the Congress of Soviets, and during the interim between Congresses of Soviets, the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Republics consisting of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

9. The Congress of Soviets of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is composed of representatives of town and township Soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 25,000 electors and of representatives of provincial Congresses of Soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 125,000 of the population.

## CHAPTER IV.

## Of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

13. The Central Executive of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics consists of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

14. The Congress of Soviets of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics elects a Council of the Union from representatives of united republics in proportion to the population of each, in all to a total of 371 members.

15. The Council of Nationalities is formed of representatives of Allied and Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republics, five delegates from each, and of representatives of autonomous regions, one delegate from each. The composition of the Council of Nationalities is confirmed as a whole by the congress of Soviets of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

(Note. — The autonomous republics of Adjara and Abkhazia and the autonomous region of Yugo-Osetia send one representative each to the Council of Nationalities.)

21. Ordinary sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are called by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee thrice annually. Extraordinary sessions are called by resolution of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics at the demand of the Presidium of the Council of the Union or the Presidium of the Council of Nationalities, and also at the demand of the Central Executive Committee of one of the united republics.

22. Bills presented for examination to the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics become law only if accepted both by the Council of the Union and by the Council of Nationalities, and are issued in the name of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

24. If agreement is not reached in the said committee the question is transferred for examination by a joint session of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, and in case a majority of votes of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities is not forthcoming the question may be transferred at the demand of one of these organs for settlement by an ordinary or extraordinary Congress of Soviets of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

## CHAPTER V.

## Of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

34. Decrees and resolutions of the Central Executive Committee, its Presidium and the Council of People's Commissariats of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are printed in the languages in general use in the united republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Turkic-Tartar).

## CHAPTER VIII.

## Of the People's Commissariats of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

40. For the direct guidance of separate branches of State administration included in the sphere of the Council of People's Commissariats of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, ten People's Commissariats are set up, enumerated in article 37 of

the present Constitution, which shall act in accordance with statutes regarding People's Commissariats, confirmed by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

50. People's Commissariats of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are divided into:

a) People's Commissariats of the whole Union, identical for all the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics;

b) Unified People's Commissariats of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

51. The following are People's Commissariats of the whole union:

Foreign Affairs.  
War and Marine.  
Foreign and Home Trade.  
Transport.  
Posts and Telegraphs.

52. The following are the Unified People's Commissariats of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics:

Supreme Economic Council.  
Labour.  
Finance.  
Workmen's and Peasants' Inspection.

## CHAPTER X.

## Of the United Republics.

67. The Central Executive Committees of the united republics form their executive organs — Councils of People's Commissariats — as follows:

President of the Council of People's Commissariats;  
Deputy Presidents;  
President of the Supreme Economic Council;  
People's Commissary for Agriculture;  
People's Commissary for Finance;  
People's Commissary for Labour;  
People's Commissary for Interior;  
People's Commissary for Justice;  
People's Commissary for Workmen's and Peasants' Inspection;  
People's Commissary for Education;  
People's Commissary for Health;  
People's Commissary for Social Welfare.

And, with an advisory or decisive voice, according to the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the united republics, plenipotentiaries of the People's Commissariats of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for Foreign Affairs, for War and Marine, Foreign Trade, Ways and Communications, Posts and Telegraphs.

69. The right of amnesty and also the right of pardon and rehabilitation in regard to citizens condemned by the legal and administrative organs of the united republics is retained by the Central Executive Committees of these republics.

## National Composition of the R. S. F. S. R.

## 1. Bashkir Autonomous Republic.

Bashkirs . . . . .	912,410	33.7%
Tatars . . . . .	431,590	17.9%
Great Russians . . . . .	1,064,000	34.4%
Others . . . . .	392,000	14.0%
Total . . . . .	2,800,000	100.0%

## 2. Buriato-Mongolian Autonomous Republic.

Buriato-Mongols . . . . .	233,000	51.5%
Russians and others . . . . .	255,000	48.5%
Total . . . . .	458,000	100.0%

**3. Daghestan Autonomous Republic.**

Mountaineers . . . . .	1,152,000	96,0%
Russians . . . . .	36,000	3,0%
Others . . . . .	12,000	1,0%
Total . . . . .	1,200,000	100,0%

**4. Karelian Autonomous Republic.**

Karelians . . . . .	86,000	42,2%
Russians . . . . .	115,000	56,3%
Finns . . . . .	2,000	1,0%
Others . . . . .	1,000	0,5%
Total . . . . .	204,000	100,0%

**5. Kirghiz Autonomous Republic.**

Prior to the II Session of the C. E. C.

Kirghizes . . . . .	2,441,360	60,6%
Russians . . . . .	1,627,560	40,0%
Total . . . . .	4,068,920	100,0%

After the re-classification of Central Asiatic peoples in accordance with the decisions of the II Session of the C. E. C.

Kirghizes <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	3,900,000	70,8%
Russians . . . . .	1,627,560	29,2%
Total . . . . .	5,527,560	100,0%

**6. Crimean Autonomous Republic.**

Tatars . . . . .	166,320	23,1%
Russians . . . . .	180,000	24,1%
Ukrainians . . . . .	180,000	24,1%
Others . . . . .	284,000	28,7%
Total . . . . .	810,320	100,0%

**7. German Autonomous Republic.**

Germans . . . . .	343,396	67,4%
Russians . . . . .	108,577	21,3%
Others . . . . .	57,577	11,3%
Total . . . . .	509,550	100,0%

**8. Tatar Autonomous Republic.**

Tatars . . . . .	1,427,472	53,9%
Russians . . . . .	943,079	35,7%
Chuvashes . . . . .	173,279	6,9%
Mordvins . . . . .	56,091	2,0%
Others . . . . .	39,859	1,5%
Total . . . . .	2,639,771	100,0%

**9. Yakut Autonomous Republic.**

Yakuts . . . . .	247,981	88,0%
Tunguses . . . . .	16,563	6,0%
Russians . . . . .	11,940	4,5%
Others . . . . .	4,120	1,5%
Total . . . . .	275,604	100,0%

Total population in the Autonomous Republics.

**1. Votyak Autonomous Region.**

Votyaks . . . . .	518,430	70,0%
Others . . . . .	222,184	30,0%
Total . . . . .	740,614	100,0%

**2. Zyrian Autonomous Region.**

Zyrians . . . . .	188,000	96,0%
Russians . . . . .	7,832	4,0%
Total . . . . .	195,832	100,0%

**3. Kabardins-Balkar Autonomous Region.**

Kabardins . . . . .	116,057	65,1%
Balkari . . . . .	27,482	15,4%
Others . . . . .	34,584	19,5%
Total . . . . .	178,123	100,0%

**4. Karatchaev-Tcherkess Autonomous Region.**

Karatchaevs . . . . .	67,500	45,0%
Tcherkesses . . . . .	37,500	25,0%
Others . . . . .	45,750	30,0%
Total . . . . .	150,750	100,0%

**3. Kabardin-Balkar Autonomous Region.**

Kalmucks . . . . .	137,629	67,0%
Others . . . . .	68,818	33,0%
Total . . . . .	206,417	100,0%

**6. Kara Kirghiz Autonomous Region.**

Kara-Kirghiz . . . . .	500,000	
Others . . . . .	—	
Total . . . . .	500,000	100,0%

**7. Marii Autonomous Region.**

Mariis . . . . .	440,660	70,0%
Others . . . . .	197,340	36,0%
Total . . . . .	638,000	100,0%

**8. Oirat Autonomous Region.**

Oirats . . . . .	84,500	65,0%
Others . . . . .	45,500	35,0%
Total . . . . .	130,000	100,0%

**9. Tchetchen Autonomous Region.**

Tchetchens . . . . .	266,880	53,4%
Others . . . . .	233,120	46,6%
Total . . . . .	500,000	100,0%

**10. Chuvash Autonomous Region.**

Chuvashes . . . . .	773,419	80,0%
Others . . . . .	95,590	11,0%
Total . . . . .	869,000	100,0%

**11. Tcherkess Autonomous Region.**

Tcherkesses . . . . .	91,000	70,0%
Others . . . . .	39,000	30,0%
Total . . . . .	130,000	100,0%

In respect to Northern Ossetia, Ingushetia, the Sunzhen Autonomous district and the autonomous town of Vladikavkaz, which were recently constituted as autonomous units, from the Mountain Autonomous Republic, it is difficult to cite figures concerning each of them separately.

Therefore, it will for the time being be necessary to confine figures to those given for the former Mountain Republics as a whole:

Ossetins . . . . .	128,705
Ingushes . . . . .	60,482
Russians . . . . .	90,894
Others . . . . .	209,067
Total . . . . .	509,053

Ukrainian S. S. R.		
Ukrainians . . . . .	19,298,000	74.0%
White Russians . . . . .	3,570,000	13.0%
Jews . . . . .	1,772,000	7.0%
Others . . . . .	1,325,000	5.0%
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>26,000,000</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

of which: rural population . . . . .	20,837,000	80.0%
urban population . . . . .	5,163,000	20.0%

White Russian S. S. R.		
White Russians . . . . .	1,233,670	75.5%
Others . . . . .	400,330	24.5%
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>1,634,000</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

of which: rural population . . . . .	1,176,480	72.0%
urban population . . . . .	457,520	28.0%

Armenian Autonomous Republic.		
Armenians . . . . .	556,000	46.0%
Tatars . . . . .	370,000	31.0%
Kurds . . . . .	97,000	8.0%
Turks . . . . .	98,000	8.0%
Others . . . . .	87,000	7.0%

<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>1,214,000</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
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of which: rural population . . . . .	1,082,000	89.0%
urban population . . . . .	132,000	11.0%

Azerbaijan Republic.		
Tatars . . . . .	1,182,000	56.3%
Armenians . . . . .	403,000	19.2%
Great Russians . . . . .	114,000	5.5%
Persians . . . . .	152,000	7.0%
Lesghians . . . . .	146,000	7.0%
Others . . . . .	100,000	5.0%

<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>2,097,900</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
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of which: rural population . . . . .	1,643,900	79.0%
urban population . . . . .	454,000	21.0%

Georgian Autonomous Republic.		
Georgians . . . . .	1,591,000	67.2%
Armenians . . . . .	246,000	10.5%
Great Russians . . . . .	116,000	4.9%
Ossetians . . . . .	87,000	3.7%
Abkhazes . . . . .	72,000	3.0%
Tatars . . . . .	81,000	3.4%
Turks . . . . .	57,000	2.5%
Greeks . . . . .	50,000	1.8%
Others . . . . .	72,000	3.0%

<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>2,372,000</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
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of whom: rural population . . . . .	1,685,000	71.0%
urban population . . . . .	687,000	29.0%

Turkmenistan population . . . . .	830,000
Uzbekistan . . . . .	5,300,000
<b>Total in U. S. S. R. . . . .</b>	<b>137,000,000</b>

## CONSTITUTION (Fundamental Law)

### OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC

#### Section I. Chapter I.

2. The Russian Republic is a Socialist State of Workers and Peasants which is being built up on the basis of the federation of national soviet republics. Within the precincts of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, all power is vested in the Soviets of workers, peasant, Cossack and Red Army deputies.

4. In order to guarantee to all workers real freedom of conscience, the church is separated from the State and the school from the church, and freedom of religious and antireligious propaganda is bestowed on all citizens.

5. In order to guarantee to all workers real freedom of opinion, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic abolishes the dependence of the press on capitalism and places at the disposal of the working class and the peasantry all the technical and material means for the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, and all other productions of the press and guarantees free circulation for them throughout the country.

6. In order to guarantee to all workers freedom of assembly the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic bestows on the citizens of the Soviet Republic the right to freely organise assemblies, meetings, processions, etc., and places at the disposal of the working class and the peasantry all the premises suitable for the holding of meetings.

7. In order to guarantee to all workers real freedom of association, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, having destroyed the economic and political power of the propertied classes and having thereby removed all obstacles which in the bourgeois social order prevented the workers and peasants from enjoying freedom of organisation and action, gives the workers and peasants its full support for their unification and organisation.

8. In order to guarantee to all workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic makes it its business to give them the benefit of free, full and many-sided education.

9. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic declares labour the duty of all citizens of the Republic.

10. In order to fully protect the achievements of the great workers' and peasants' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic declares it to be the duty of all the citizens of the Republic to protect their Socialist country and introduces conscription. The honourable right to defend the Revolution by force of arms is bestowed only on the workers. Non-working elements have to carry out other military duties.

11. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic bestows all the rights granted by the constitution and the legislation of the Republic to the citizens of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic also on all the citizens of the other Soviet Republics who find themselves on the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

On the strength of the solidarity of the workers of all nations the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic bestows all political rights on foreigners, domiciled in the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic for the purpose of useful work and belonging to the working class, and also on peasants who do not employ hired labour, on the basis of the decisions of the supreme organs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

12. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic bestows the right of asylum on all foreigners persecuted for their political activity or their religious convictions.

13. On the strength of equality of citizens' rights regardless of race and nationality, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic declares it to be incompatible with the fundamental laws of the Republic to oppress in any form whatever national minorities or to restrict their rights, or to establish or allow any direct or indirect privileges for some nationalities; it recognises the right of the various nationalities to separation as autonomous soviet socialist republics and regions provided it is so decided by their congress of Soviets, and the decision endorsed by the supreme organ of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

All citizens of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic have the right to use their own language at congresses, in court, in administration and in public life. National minorities are guaranteed the right to teach in their own language in the schools.

14. In the interests of all workers, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives some persons and groups of rights which they use to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

15. All the land, forests, underground wealth, water ways, factories and works, railway, water and air transport, post and telegraph, constitute the property of the workers' and peasants' State on a basis determined by the special laws of the Union of Soviet Socialist Federated Republics and the Supreme organs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

## ARTICLE IV.

## On Local Authority.

## A. Congresses of the Soviets.

49. Within the precincts of the given territory — region, gubernia, district, uyezd and volost — the supreme authority within the limits of its own competence is the Congress of Soviets.

50. In the congresses of Soviets; regional, gubernia, district, uyezd and volost there participate representatives of all the Soviets on the territory of the given administrative unit.

51. In accordance with the Constitution (fundamental law) of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of 1918 and the decisions of the 7th All-Union Congress of Soviets, the Congresses of the Soviets are composed in the following manner:

a) Regional — of representatives of town Soviets and town settlements, factories and works situated outside the town settlements, and district soviets on the following basis: from town soviets, one delegate per 5,000 electors; from district congresses — one delegate per 25,000 of the population.

b) Gubernia — of representatives of town Soviets and town settlements, factories and works situated outside the town settlements and uyezd congresses of Soviets, on the following basis: from town soviets — one delegate per 2,000 electors; from uyezd congresses — one delegate per 10,000 of the population.

c) District — of representatives of town Soviets and town settlements, factories and works situated outside the town settlements and village soviets, on the following basis: from town soviets — one delegate per 1,000 electors; from district congresses of soviets — one delegate per 5,000 of the population;

d) Uyezd — of representatives of town soviets and town settlements, factories and works situated on the territory of the uyezd and village soviets, on the following basis; from town soviets — one delegate per 200 electors; from volost soviet congresses — one delegate per one thousand of the population, but not more than 300 delegates per uyezd.

e) Volost — of representatives of all the Soviets situated on the territory of the volost, on the following basis; one delegate per 300 of the population, but not more than 150 delegates per volost.

NOTE: In exceptional cases the All-Union Central Executive Committee has the right to change the quota laid down in this article of representatives of the various localities in accordance with local conditions.

52. There are regular and emergency congresses of soviets. The regular congresses of soviets are convened once a year. Emergency congresses of soviets are convened:

a) At the proposal of the aforementioned congresses of soviets or their executive committees.

b) By the competent executive organs of the Soviet power on their territory (executive committees), at the proposal of the latter and also at the demand of Soviets which represent not less than one third of the population of the given district.

53. The Congresses of Soviets elect their own executive organs — the Executive Committees. The number of members in these committees for the congresses of the Soviets of each administrative territorial unit is determined by the decisions of the All-Union Central Executive Committee or its Presidium.

## ARTICLE IV.

## C. Re Deputies' Soviets.

59. Deputies' Soviets are constituted as follows: a) in towns — one deputy per each thousand of the population, the number of deputies not to be less than 50 and not to exceed 5,000, b) in settlements, villages, church-villages, cossack settlements, boroughs, towns with a population of not less than 10,000 villages in the Eastern border republics, farms, etc.) on the following basis: one deputy for every 100 of the population, but not less than three and not more than 50 deputies per village soviet.

NOTE: Any change in the quota of representatives laid down in this article is effected by decisions of the All-Union Central Executive Committee.

## E. Subjects within the Competence of Local Government Organs.

64. Regional, gubernia, district, uyezd and volost organs of the Soviet Government — the executive committees and their presidiums and also the deputies' soviets — must:

a) Introduce measures for raising the cultural and economic level of the given territory;

b) Draw up and endorse local budgets;

c) Put into practice the decisions of the competent supreme organs of the Soviet Government;

d) Decide questions of local importance to the given territory;

e) Coordinate Soviet activity within the precincts of the given territory.

f) Guarantee revolutionary justice and maintain law and order and public security within the precincts of the given territory.

g) Discuss questions of national importance on their own initiative and also at the proposal of the higher executive committees.

65. The Congresses of Soviets and their executive committees exercise control over the activity of the lower local soviets and their executive organs.

## PART IV.

## ARTICLE VI.

## Soviet Elections.

## A. The Active and Passive Vote.

68. The right to elect and to be elected to the Soviets is bestowed regardless of sex, religion, race, nationality, residence, etc., on the following citizens of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic not under 18 years of age on the day of the election:

a) On all those who earn a living by productive and useful social labour, and also on persons engaged in domestic work which enables the former to perform productive labour.

b) On members of the Red army and navy.

c) On citizens belonging to categories enumerated in paragraphs "a" and "b" of this article, who are unable (to some extent or other) to work.

NOTE: Among the persons who have not become citizens of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic the active and passive vote is bestowed on people designated in Article II of the present Constitution.

69. Persons who cannot elect or be elected even if they fitted into one of the enumerated categories are:

a) People employing hired labour for the purpose of profits.

b) Persons living on unearned incomes such as: interest on capital, income from enterprises, receipts from property, etc.;

c) Private traders, trading and commercial middlemen.

d) Monks and the clergy of various cults of all persuasions and denominations for whom this occupation is a profession.

e) Employees and agents of the former police, of the various corps of gendarmerie and secret service departments, members of the former ruling houses and also those persons who have conducted the activity of the former police, gendarmerie and punitive organs;

f) Persons recognised in the established manner as mentally deranged or lunatics;

g) Persons condemned for covetous and vicious crimes, for a period established by law or by the court sentence.

## B. On the Holding of Elections.

70. Elections are held on the days established by the local Soviets or their executive committees.

71. A protocol is drawn up concerning the result of the elections signed by members of the electoral commission.

72. The order for conducting elections and also participation in them by the trade unions and other workers' organisations is determined by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or its presidium.

### C. On the Verification and Annulment of Elections and Recalling of Deputies.

73. Verification of the validity of elections to the Soviets is conducted by the electoral commission and verification of the validity of the delegates elected to the Soviet Congresses — by the **Mandate Commissions**.

74. In the event of the invalidity of the election as a whole, the question of annulling the elections is decided by the immediately higher organ of Soviet power. The supreme cassation organ of the Soviet election is the All-Russian Executive Committee and its **Presidium**.

75. Electors who have sent deputies to the Soviets have the right to **recall them at any time and conduct new elections**:

## The Main Features of Development of Peasant Mutual Aid.

By A. Avdeyev.

The organisation of peasant mutual aid originated in the difficult years of famine in the Soviet Union. The decree legalising the inauguration of mutual aid committees (on the initiative of the peasants themselves) was signed by V. I. Lenin in 1921.

What were the real factors evoking this new social organisation in the countryside?

The plundering policy of the Czar's government in former Russia excluded every possibility of raising the economic level of the peasant farms. While a handful of landowners owned sometimes from 10–15 dessiatins of land and cultivated this land with perfective methods, with the aid of expensive foreign machinery, 22 million peasant farms for the tillage of their miserable plots owned only the most primitive agricultural implements and eked out a miserable existence.

The imperialist war tore away from the land the main cadre of agricultural workers and made the situation still worse. Then the blockade and civil war came. At that time the peasants with rifle in hand, together with the workers, defended the Soviets and were again torn away from their farms.

When the famine came all these causes were bound to have fatal results — they greatly increased the difficulties in fighting the famine in the countryside, and caused extreme decrease in the defensive capacity of the starving middle and poor peasants against the kulak strata of the countryside.

It was in these difficult conditions that the idea of peasant mutual aid societies was organisationally formulated.

In order not to die of starvation during the famine years, in order not to fall once more into enslavement to the kulaks, in order to oust the speculators the peasants began spontaneously to organise peasant committees of mutual aid at the time the state distributed funds to the peasantry.

It is true, that at first in 1921–22 and even to a certain extent in 1923 the work of the peasant committees amounted merely to distributive functions. A village receiving a subsidy from the State elected a committee which was applied not only to distribute correctly the State loan received, but also to look for funds supplementary to this loan with the aid of social labour. According to the instructions of the committee, every citizen in the village had to work a certain number of hours gratis in order that the committee, as a result of his labour, could render aid to the poor peasants and invalids of the villages, etc. Hence it is comprehensible that in the years of famine, peasant mutual aid served almost exclusively those sections which should have been under the jurisdiction of the social welfare organs; for instance the families of red army men, war and labour invalids, widows, orphans, etc.

In order that the village work of the social welfare organs would not escape the control of the peasants themselves, the decree established that all aid to the countryside rendered by the State must pass through the peasant mutual aid committees. At the same time, in order to obtain greater coordination of work, the committees were attached to the social welfare organs.

The first period of organisational formulation of peasants mutual aid did not last long. Already commencing from 1923–24 peasant mutual aid adopted the path of a wide peasant organisation. The mutual aid committees, having in view in the main all the cadres of poor peasants, at the same time commenced to aid also the middle peasants who had fallen into need as a result of various spontaneous disasters: fire, loss of cattle, etc.

Moreover, as material funds became strengthened, peasant mutual aid commenced rendering wide support to village co-operation. It paid the share contributions for the poorest peasants, organised all kinds of labour artels for them, taught them collective labour in the sphere of agriculture, prepared more and more new cadres of peasants in agricultural collective farms, handicraft co-operatives and others organisations. In certain provinces, for instance, the organisation of village invalid artels was very successful. For the year 1925 alone, 869 of such artels were organised with 9,513 members.

The main occupation of the mutual aid committees was common tilling. In 1925, 192,351 dessiatins were occupied under common tillage.

It is extremely important to note that the work in common tilling is to a large extent conducted under the supervision of agronomists with perfective methods and with the aid of machinery. The number of machines in the mutual aid societies steadily grows from year to year. In 1924 for instance, they had 113 tractors and in 1925 already 881 tractors. As for less elaborate machines, such as threshing machines, etc., there were tens of thousands of these.

Further, in order to get suitable corn of good quality for the given district, the mutual aid societies organised their own seed funds. In 1925 the seed fund of the peasant committees comprised 1,193,428 poods of various cereals.

This fund is distributed not only for social enterprises, belonging to the peasant mutual aid society, but also as seed loans to separate peasant farms both in cases of need of seeds in general, and also with the object of improving the crops.

The growth of the small enterprises in the villages organised by the peasant committees mainly for improving agricultural products is remarkable. These include mills, butter factories, workshops for making agricultural instruments, etc. For instance, already on January 1, 1925, there were 3,794 such enterprises, and on January 1, 1926 there were already 7,632.

All these enterprises are now exclusively owned by the village peasant mutual aid committees, although up to 1924–25 the uvesd and gubernia organs also had a right to engage in their productive activity. Out of a turnover of 7.5 million roubles, these enterprises yielded a net profit of 686,716 roubles during the last economic year. This assistance to the measures undertaken by the Soviet State in the countryside is in particular valuable in that it comes from the self-activity of the peasants themselves and is directed into the same Socialist channel as the factory industry of the U. S. S. R.

If we take the entire economic activity of these peasant mutual aid committees for the R. S. F. S. R. as a whole, we find that according to information from 65% of them, there is a floating capital of 22 million roubles.

Unfortunately this information is not complete as the leaders of the committees are often illiterate and cannot give any substantial information as to their activity.

Aid to the needy is rendered in various forms: material aid in the form of redeemable and unredeemable loans; labour aid in the form of tilling the fields of poor peasants, collecting the harvests by social labour, etc., and finally, juridical aid. The latter form of aid is rendered by the committee, which keeps a register of all poor peasants, giving them the right of defence; it sends its representatives to all State institutions such for instance as the Agricultural Tax Commission, acts on behalf of the peasants in Courts, and maintains permanent contact with the juridical office of the village reading rooms through which the peasants also receive the legal advice and information they need.

Space will not permit us to refer in detail to the other aspects of the many-sided activity of the peasant Mutual Aid societies. But one may see the high degree of vitality of this organisation if only from its continuous growth.

As a result of its five year's work, Peasant Mutual Aid has now grown to 45,000 organisations with 7.5 million members. The material basis of the societies is also growing: the figures cited above bear eloquent testimony to this.

There have been, however, no small number of errors and deviations in our work, for instance as an overwieldy apparatus, self-consumption of resources, and defraction with productive or trade activity. But the main obstacles are already behind us and the Peasant societies of Mutual Aid are now proceeding along the correct path, taking an active part in the work of Socialist construction in the countryside.



To what a degree the peasant Mutual Aid Societies have become a necessary organisation in the villages is clearly shown by the resolution of the XIII and XIV Congresses of the C. P. S. U. (b). The Party has allotted to the peasant committees a fairly responsible sector of work in the way of establishing the alliance with the middle peasants in the villages, and in the way of defending these strata from the enslaving terms of the kulak.

In 1926 there took place the 4th Congress of the Peasant Mutual Aid Societies which thoroughly elaborated the subsequent tasks of our organisations. In the main, the Congress marked out the following lines:

a) Continue directing all the work of the Peasant Mutual Aid Societies along the channels of Socialist construction, linking this work closely with that of the social welfare organisations.

b) Liquidate the dependent psychology which has remained in certain places from the period of military Communism.

c) Intensify still more the self-activity of the masses, for which the entire work of the committees should be conducted, with the approval of the general meeting of members.

d) Continue to increase the committee's attention to the poor peasants, invalids, families of Red-Army men and middle peasants who are in need, with marked attention to the struggle against child destitution in the villages; take all possible steps for caring for homeless children in the villages.

e) Prepare new detachments of the unorganised population to be brought into the co-operatives, collective farms, etc.

Thus in support of the main organisations in the country-side — the Soviets and Co-operatives, — there develops and grows stronger a third social organisation — Peasant Mutual Aid, based exclusively on the self-activity of the peasant masses.

## Soviet White Russia.

By V. Ignatovsky.

White Russia is the former "North-Western Borderland" of the Czarist Empire, a land where in 1863 Muraviev "the hangman" operated, and where afterwards the policy of russification of the borderland was conducted. Even the miserable *zemstwo* which formerly existed in Russia was lacking here. Only just before the war was a kind of *zemstwo* granted to the Eastern provinces of White Russia. This is where the Jews had been artificially driven into the "pale", and were suppressed by the "provisional" regulations of 1882 in town and village; they were forbidden to take up agriculture in rural districts. The White Russian peasants engaged in agriculture on small narrow strips of land surrounded on all sides by large estates. The little towns and villages crowded with poor Jews were unable to absorb the surplus free labour power of the landless peasants. The czarist authorities on the basis of the situation they had created endeavoured to incite the White Russian masses in the villages against the Jewish masses in the towns; they organised Jewish pogroms.

Meanwhile they were Russifying this country. The village population spoke the White Russian language which was recognised as the jargon. Both these languages which served the majority of the White Russian countryside, country towns and cities were an object of persecution and ill treatment. In the same position were the Lithuanian, Polish and Lettish languages used by the other national minorities of White Russia. The Russian language was grafted by force on everyone as was also the official Russian culture. There were no higher schools in White Russia. Nikolas I distinguished himself after the Polish rising of 1883 by punishing White Russia with the closing down of the Vilna University.

This country was in an extremely difficult position. Increased emigration in search of bread commenced. This emigration was caused both through general causes and also by the fact that the towns of White Russia and Ukraine were artificially crowded thanks to the "pale" and the "provisional regulations of 1882". Emigration proceeded to far Siberia and to still further America.

The imperialist war ruined this borderland still more. White Russia became one of the cock-pits of the world war. Lines of trenches cut the land practically in half and from these trenches destruction and death was on both sides. The fields grew wild, the forests were chopped up for military purposes, villages and towns were burned and the mounds of the graves of the cannon-

fodder of the imperialist powers grew higher and higher. The wave of refugees swept out of White Russia, which had become a desert. Nearly a million inhabitants left the land. The poor peasants left on horses; all roads were choked with refugees wagons. The fields by the way-side were filled with the single or collective graves of the refugees who had fallen from disease. Even now one can follow the winding path of the refugees by these graves.

Such was the position of White Russia when the revolution of 1917 came. The revolution affected only the part that was on the Russian side of the front. The February Revolution merely raised those problems which the great October Revolution afterwards solved. In time the revolution came to White Russia, concentrating its forces in Minsk. White Russia began to revive; the workers and then the peasants began to build up a new life. But... the triumph of October only lasted a hundred days. The Brest-Litovsk peace did not stay the imperialist lust of the German junkers. The German army moved forward in an offensive and by February 1918 almost the whole of White Russia was under German occupation. Increased exploitation commenced. The landowners and factory owners driven out by October returned and redeemed their losses at the expense of the workers and peasants of White Russia. Only the German Revolution which commenced in autumn of 1918 liberated White Russia from the occupation. In December 1918 a workers and peasants government was organised in White Russia and on January 1st, 1919 the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. Great October victoriously moved further forward to the West. Soon the Soviet Republic was set up in Lithuania. Both Republics unite their forces and form a Lithuanian-White Russian Soviet Republic. But the worker and peasant masses of Lithuania and White Russia cannot work at putting into force the ideas of October for long. In the autumn of 1919 White Russia fell into the hands of Poland. The eleven months of Polish occupation was absolute torture for the country. Whereas the German occupants crippled the country very close, the Polish occupants absolutely bled it dry. Only in the summer of 1920 did the Red Army, together with the rebellious workers and peasants, liberate White Russia from the Polish White Guards. On August 1st 1920 Soviet White Russia was restored, comprising the Eastern part of ethnographical White Russia.

By the Riga Peace Treaty, the western half of White Russia remained in the hands of imperialist Poland. It awaits its October. The position of the working and peasant masses in western White Russia are indescribably difficult. Landowners' Poland is conducting a policy of violence and unceremonious plunder. This part of Poland is experiencing a tense life and is like a gunpowder magazine ready to go off.

Soviet White Russia is experiencing a different life. Here the workers and peasants are building a new life. The land which has been ruined by war and various occupations is being built up again. The ruin is so great that many branches of production have had to be started right from the beginning on bare foundations.

Soviet White Russia occupies a territory of 110,000 square kilometres (in the former Minsk, Mogilevsk and Vitebsk provinces). The authorities have already succeeded in dividing it into districts on the basis of economics, number of population, climate, etc.; it is composed of ten regions, 100 districts and 1,202 village soviets. The division into districts has considerably aided the normal development of the economy of this borderland and the restoration of the economic position.

The population of White Russia according to the calculation of August 1, 1925 comprised 4,254,000 people. The increase of population during the last few years in connection with the restoration of economy is greater than pre-war. Before the war the increase of population was 18-20 per thousand, while during the last few years the growth of the population has been 23-24 per thousand. On the basis of this one can estimate the present figure of the population of White Russia at about 4,350,000 people. The population of White Russia is composed of various nationalities. In percentage proportions it is composed as follows: White Russians 70.7%, Great Russians and Ukrainians — 15.5%, Jews — 11%, Poles — 2.1%, and others 0.7%. All these, except the Great Russians are former oppressed nationalities, who after the February Revolution were released from national oppression. The Soviet constitution ensures normal fraternal relations between the toilers of various nations. The languages of all nationalities populating White Russia are recognised with equal rights; the main language is White Russian, as it is most widely

diffused. The majority of institutions in the republic have already adopted the White Russian language, commencing with institutions closely connected with the White Russian countryside. But in these institutions communications with the population of White Russia of various nationalities is also ensured in all the local languages. In those places where a national minority in White Russia lives in a compact mass and comprises the majority of the population, national village soviets are organised. These are gradually being set up and there are now 22 of them in White Russia. In these national village Soviets, the chief language is the language of the particular national minority. One of the chief measures in the national question is the liquidation of the consequences of the czarist policy towards the Jewish masses who were artificially kept off the land. The Government of White Russia has been the first to adopt the policy of allotting land to the Jews. The growing desire of the Jewish poor for land is being satisfied. By January 1925 there were 79 collective farms organised and 7 settlements of Jewish agriculturalists. Altogether 10,000 dessiatins have been distributed. The work in this direction has only commenced, but the results are tremendous.

The economics of the country are being restored. The peasants who have received the land of the banished landowners (1,327,271 dessiatins) have settled down to free labour. The productivity per dessiatin has increased during the last three years and remains higher than the pre-war. Agricultural machinery has been set going and the adoption of grass crops and the introduction of the crop rotation system has become a feature in the peasant farm. Bog lands are gradually being drained. During the budget year 1924—25 alone, 31,553 hectares of marshes were drained. Cattle breeding which was destroyed during the previous years of war and occupation is now being energetically restored. It has already reached the figure of prewar development.

Industry is also developing despite the enormous damage suffered during the preceding years. During the war and occupation entire factories and works were removed to the depths of Russia or destroyed during the military activities. Certain forms of industry have had to be constructed all over again: premises have had to be built and repaired, machinery ordered, equipment installed and special lists secured. Now there is an extensive development of those forms of industry which are connected with agriculture, cattle-breeding and forestry. At the present time the production of industry in White Russia is 65% of pre-war. The number of enterprises by October 1925, increased to 262 while the number of workers engaged rose to 17,626. The majority of enterprises are in the hands of the State. Out of 17,626 workers, 14,541 work in State enterprises. The handicraft industry is also developing. There are 15,000 people engaged in it in towns and villages. Cooperation which was practically

unknown in White Russia under czarist Russia is developing in the towns, and is now beginning to penetrate into the remotest corners of the countryside. By October 1, 1925 there were 546 consumers cooperative unions with 224,578 shareholders and 404 agricultural coop unions with 5,000 shareholders. Besides this handicraft industry, housing and invalid cooperative also began to spring up. The cooperatives get State credit.

In respect to culture, White Russia has grown almost beyond recognition. This border land, which under czarism did not have a single higher school, now has a State university, a Communist university, an agricultural academy and veterinary institute, etc. The university has a Jewish section. The agricultural academy provides for the training of students in connection with allotting land to toiling Jews. A supreme scientific-cultural institution — the Institute of White Russian Culture — has grown up out of nothing; it is beginning to be formed into an academy of sciences. Attached to the Institute of White Russian culture is a network of investigation organisations which embrace all districts of White Russia and study the life of all national minorities of the country. The interests of the national minorities are ensured in the institute by the existence and work of the Jewish and Polish departments. Beginning this winter a Lettish department will be organised. Before the October Revolution there was absolutely no vocational training in White Russia, but during the past few years it has developed extensively. There are 24 technical colleges and 23 trade schools. Particular attention is devoted to the training of teaching and agronomical staffs. Teachers are trained for work both in White Russian schools and also in the schools of the national minorities. Schools for social training are organised on the basis of the labour principle and serve the many nations inhabiting the country in the native language of the children. The children's homes and kindergartens are organised on the same basis. There are 237 seven-year schools in White Russia, 4,042 four-year schools and 581 stations for liquidating illiteracy. Year by year the network of schools increases and at the same time the cultural demands of the toiling masses also increase.

That is how the Republic of Soviets of White Russia, daughter of October, is living and developing. Every year brings more and more accomplishments. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics renders constant support in the economic and cultural work of the Young Republic. And on the other side of the cordon, under the chains of imperialist Poland, western White Russia is languishing. Nevertheless, the workers and peasants of both White Russias live in the hope of unification within the frontiers of the U. S. S. R. The great liberator of the oppressed — October — will come eventually, also for western White Russia fettered in the chains of Polish imperialism.