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## The Results of the VI. World Congress of the C. I.

Report by Comrade **BUKHARIN** to the Party Functionaries of the Moscow Organisation of the C. P. S. U.

### I.

General Characterisation of the VI. Congress and its Work.

Comrades. The Congress which has just ended will live in the history of the Communist movement as one of the most important of its congresses. The agenda of the Congress consisted of five points: 1. The international situation and the tasks of the Communist International; 2. Methods of the struggle against the danger of imperialist war; 3. The programme of the Communist International; 4. The colonial question; 5. The situation in the Soviet Union and in the C. P. S. U. Other questions, of lesser importance, included applications from various expelled groups for readmittance into the Comintern, enrolment of new parties, etc. About 500 comrades took part in the work of the Congress. It is interesting to note that the composition of the Congress itself mirrored its really international and revolutionary character. If we compare the composition of the II. International in its best days (the time of the Stuttgart Congress 18th/24th August 1907) with that of the VI. Comintern Congress, we find the following:

Total Number of delegates	Delegates from non-European countries		Delegates from dependent and colonial countries	
	in absolute figures	in percentages	in absolute figures	in percentages
Stuttgart 884	28	3%	5	0.5%
Moscow 515	100	20%	74	14.4%

The percentage of "non-Europeans" at the Moscow Congress was therefore six times as great as the corresponding percentage at Stuttgart, and the proportion of representatives of colonial and dependent countries in Moscow 28 times as great as the corresponding number at the Stuttgart Congress. If we include in our comparison the Brussels congress of the II. International, we find that the colonial countries were scarcely represented there at all, unless we count those few guests who expressed their indignation at the "work" of the congress in the colonial question.

The work of the Congress lasted a considerable time. The Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" finds this a suitable opportunity for innuendos gratifying to the international police and elegant fools

of imperialist diplomacy. No. 248 of this newspaper publishes an article containing the following gem:

"Six weeks long the Congress of the Communist International has been sitting in Moscow. To be sure, if one has the resources of a great state behind one, it is easy to enjoy the luxury of a lengthy congress, visited by hundreds of delegates."

It is scarcely necessary to reply to what Marx would have called a "bug-bite", or "literary barking". What is essential is the fact that the tasks of the Congress were so complicated and vast that they could not be accomplished in a shorter time. And no Congress has ever achieved such efficient inner work, efficient in the sense that every question has been made the actual subject of collective consultation. A few figures suffice to show this. The discussion on the first point of the agenda (international situation and tasks of the Comintern) was taken part in by over 90 speakers. The programme question was debated more exhaustively than any question has ever before been debated at our Congresses. The Programme Commission was the scene of detailed discussion on the programme, every participant, even those not members of the Congress, being given the opportunity of free expression of opinion. An enormous amount of work has also been done with regard to other important questions: the colonial question, the war question, etc. Much of this work is not even observable from outside, being carried out in special commissions.

When we inquire into the general character of the work of the Congress, we find that the level of principle maintained by the Congress with respect to the questions on its agenda has been extremely high. Such an important question as that of the programme, indeed, demands a high level of discussions. It is not a transient political question, not a question confronting us today and gone tomorrow, appearing on the political horizon only to vanish without leaving a trace. The manner in which this one question was approached suffices to characterise the Congress. Many comrades expressed the opinion that it would have been better for the Congress to confine its work to the first point of the agenda and to the programme, since these two questions alone represented ample work for a whole congress. Could we have devoted the whole of our time to these two points, it would have been most advantageous. But a considerable period has elapsed since the V. Congress, and we have had to summarise the results of a great historical period, filled with events of extreme political importance. We find ourselves in the midst of such important phenomena as the changed character of the general crisis of capitalism; we have witnessed many magnificent struggles of the working class — the great Chinese revolution; the whole political and economic face of the world is changing, the fundamental relations among the powers of the capitalist world, between them and the colonies, between them and the Soviet Union, are shifting; and at the same time we witness the growth and advancement of the country in which Socialism is being built up. This country is faced by fresh difficulties and fresh tasks; great changes have taken place in the camp of our enemies, both among the imperialists of the "purest water" and among their social-democratic agents. The fact therefore, that the VI. Congress set itself the task of establishing our programme, and the fact that we have had to lay down our tactics on the basis of a summary of the events of a great historical period — these facts impart a peculiarly fundamental character to the work of the VI. Congress.

## II.

### The Programme of the Communist International.

#### a) The Form of the Programme.

First of all I should like to speak of the programme. In the discussion on the programme (in the press and at the Congress itself) there was raised the question of the form of the programme: if it should be long or short, if it should be in the form of a manifesto or in the usual form, if it is possible or not for it to be given a popular form in the widest sense of the word. A number of comrades have advanced decidedly categorical demands on these points, which may be formulated as follows: The programme must be as short as possible, only a few

pages; it must be expressed in the briefest terms; it must be so popular in form that — to use the words of one comrade — every word can be understood by an Egyptian fellow, that is, by the most backward colonial peasant. The comrades making these demands substantiate them by references to Marx, Engels, and Lenin. But these demands, however attractive and plausible, possess "only" one drawback — they are impossible of execution. Even the most convinced advocates of brevity, popularity, etc., must admit that their actual proposals tend to lengthen the programme. The first draft, published in the "Pravda", emerged from the melting furnace of the Congress with a number of additions, corrections, and re-arrangements of material, longer than before, not shorter. The fact is that those comrades who demand from us such excellent things as popularity and brevity, leave out of account the times in which we live, and what special organisation the programme is meant to serve.

Up to the present no Party document has existed formulating the ideological and tactical principles of the totality of all parties belonging to the international revolutionary mass movement. The II. International has never been able to formulate such a document, and is less able than ever at the present time, for the disagreements among its own sections are so great that it dare not even raise the question of a common formulation, but must replace this by empty and lying declarations. At our last two Congresses (IV. and V.), and the present one, therefore, we actually made the first attempt to formulate an international programme. It is precisely this circumstance which makes the above-mentioned demands impossible of fulfilment. We must remember what our international programme must represent. We are living under extremely complicated conditions, in an epoch of extraordinarily variegated international and national relations, amidst events causing the world revolution to mature at varying speeds and in different ways in the separate countries, whilst it has already gained the victory in the Soviet Union. The Congress, in drawing up a programme, and not merely a statement of principles, for several dozen Parties could not simply make use of such all-embracing terms as "capitalism" for instance. The capitalism of the United States is in the midst of one stage of development, that of China in quite another, that of Spain or Poland again in another. We must take into account all these varying conditions of development, for our programme today, in the era of the struggle for power, must contain at least the outlines of the fighting conditions, the aims and the standards of the struggle in countries of different types.

Under these circumstances it is self-evident that the programme of the Communist International cannot be compressed into "six short pages"; nor can it, even when permitted greater dimensions and kept as popular in tone as possible, hope to lay any great claim to actual popularity. It requires suitable explanations, commentary, etc. It requires a whole series of pamphlets, devoted solely to the programme.

#### b) The International Character of the Programme.

What is the fundamental feature of the accepted programme? The fundamental features of the whole programme is its international character. The types of programme to which we have been accustomed, the programmes of the individual "national" Parties, could of course never possess this feature. The international motif is the peculiar characteristic of the Comintern programme, and runs through it from beginning to end, from the introduction to the closing sentences. This is forcibly expressed in its attitude towards world capitalism of today, with which it does not deal in the abstract, but purely in the concrete. It analyses the reciprocal effects of the various parts of present-day world economy; the Soviet Union is subjected to a special analysis, but again in relation to the hostile capitalist countries. When the programme speaks of the revolutionary proletariat, it stresses the international character of the revolutionary process and defines it as it really is, that is, not as an entity uniform and simple in every part, not as a process free of all complications, but as a process exceedingly diversified in its parts, profoundly complicated, and with developments running by no means parallel. The revolutionary process is multifarious, for it consists of proletarian insurrec-

tions, as well as colonial revolts and wars of national emancipation. It is multifarious, it matures here and there at different times, but however different the manifestation or moment of revolutionary advance, from the historically objective standpoint every part of the process goes to form one uniform whole, working towards one end and aim, the destruction of the capitalist order and its substitution by the new socialist order already being built up in the Soviet Union. The international character of our programme is again emphasised in its **definition of our ultimate goal**, the communist state of society. The programme speaks of the **world system of Communism**, of the distribution of productive forces to the various countries, etc. It speaks of the **world dictatorship of the proletariat**, consisting of the dictatorships in the different countries, and of dictatorships which are not actualised all at once: In some countries revolution passes through a number of intermediate stages, developing gradually into proletarian revolution. The programme determines at the same time its "demands". It sets revolutionary process in various types of countries. In this the programme achieves a broad survey of the development of the international revolutionary process from the standpoint of its movement forward in the direction of the world dictatorship of the working class. This international motif of the programme determines at the same time its "demands". It sets different tasks for the colonial countries and for the more developed countries, but this does not by any means signify that these different tasks lead in different directions. On the contrary, they all proceed along the same path, the path to the world dictatorship of the proletariat. In the programme the Congress has also given us a criticism of the anti-communist ideologies which are still only too prevalent among the working masses in different countries. In our International we unite not only the revolutionary section of the European proletariat; the Communist International now sends its message to the uttermost ends of the earth, penetrates into the remotest regions, and leavens the masses of the most backward proletarian and working classes. Therefore, our programme differs from the old programmes, which are adapted chiefly to the needs of the European working class, in dealing with even such currents as Sun-Yat-Senism in China, Ghandiism in India, Garveyism among the Negroes of North America. Our programme is a generalisation of revolutionary experience, not only of that gained by the industrial workers of Europe and America, but by the Chinese proletariat, by the first steps of the Indian labour movement and by those proletarian strata which social-democracy regards as outside the pale of "civilised" workers.

The theoretical organ of Austrian social-democracy, "Der Kampf", publishes in its August issue a leading article to the effect that the social democrats are actually ready to extend their "spiritual friendship" to even the proletariat of the backward colonial countries. This is the standpoint of the European lord who resolves, with some repugnance, to admit these "dirty" folk into his house. Our standpoint is the standpoint of the **revolutionist** who fully realises that unless the broadest masses of the working class and the toilers of every race and every continent join us in the struggle, we shall never overthrow international imperialism; that our strongest force, the actual guarantee of our final victory, lies in our ability to hurl upon imperialism the irresistible avalanche of the suppressed and humiliated colonial masses.

Therefore, the international motif of our programme is the fundamental principle of the whole programme of the Comintern. The content of our programme makes it the **programme of the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat**.

#### c) Our Programme — the Programme of Struggle for the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

There is a story in which a revolutionary sailor is always insisting that things are to be carried out "on an international scale". (Laughter.) In this comical characteristic: "on an international scale", there is nevertheless great revolutionary pathos, the expression of which is already moving great masses of the international working class.

We regard our task of accomplishing the world revolution as a practical task. We are carrying out this task under the conditions given by the general crisis in capitalism, by the

fact that a proletarian dictatorship already exists in the Soviet Union, and by the mass movements in the colonial countries. This estimation of the present epoch as an epoch of struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat forms the dividing line separating our programme from the programmes of all reformist socialist parties.

As early as the beginning of the war, at the time when "international" social democracy capitulated so ignominiously and deplorably, a pamphlet was written by one of the greatest social democratic theoreticians, Heinrich Cunow, having for its object the definite rupture with every remnant of the revolutionary "illusions" still cherished by various circles of pre-war social democracy.

In this pamphlet H. Cunow presented the position as follows: All the talk about socialism being imminent is unfounded; capitalism is still at the height of its power; there are many countries in which capitalism has new achievements ahead; we must look things in the face; even the world war does not mean the collapse of world capital; the war brings with it a fresh period of intense capitalist development everywhere; capitalism is just entering the supreme stage of its prosperity and might. At this juncture there can be no thought of the struggle for power; that is the Utopian delusion of the dreamer.

H. Cunow's theory was eminently adapted to "justify" the despicable retreat of social democracy at the time. It might, however, have been supposed that the whole of the post-war period would have relegated this theory to the lumber heap. But now, after a considerable lapse of time, this theory has been refurbished up again, and not by Cunow, who was and remains a Right social democrat, but by the "Left" social democrats, the Austro-Marxists.

The publication "Der Kampf", which I have already mentioned, has published a number entirely dedicated to the Brüssels Congress, and in this Cunow's theory is repeated word for word. Allow me to quote a passage from the leading article, written by Oskar Pollak. He writes:

"Capitalism has overcome the convulsions of the war and post-war periods. The world has become stabilised again since the war.

"In the Far East we see national revolution striding over vast territories. Industrial revolution marches across Asia, overthrowing the ancient civilisations in its path and absorbing these gigantic territories in capitalist economy. Millions of people are passing through bourgeois revolution, are wrestling for national freedom and independence. The proletariat, still confined within the boundaries of the developing bourgeois order, is taking its first tentative steps towards its constitution as a class.

"The whole of the European East, headed by the vast lands of Russia, has experienced a fundamental redistribution of the soil. In a territory inhabited by two-fifths of European humanity, agrarian revolution has shattered feudal land ownership, bourgeois revolution has been consummated in many new states, and the peasantry (a class hitherto without history) awakened to political action.

"In Central Europe the working class has completed the bourgeois revolution begun in 1848, overthrown the compromise between the capitalist bourgeoisie and the feudal monarchy, and created the democratic republic under the pressure of the working class.

"In the European West, in the countries of the old democracy, where the bourgeois revolution has long since been accomplished and complete political freedom attained, the great war brought no change in the economic or the state order. Capitalism stands as firmly as before; the working class is fighting its way slowly forward to majority and power.

"On the other side of the ocean a new power is growing, gathering force, arming. American imperialism extends its tentacles far beyond its own frontiers, and is preparing to subordinate the world economically and politically to its rule."

At a cursory glance it would seem that all this is true enough: The revolution in the East, the abolition of landownership, the extermination of Tsarism in Russia. But look more closely and see "wherein the meaning of the whole philosophic lies". The meaning

of this estimate of our epoch is that no proletarian dictatorship exists, nor can exist for a long time to come. The worthy "Kampf" believes that all that has been achieved during and since the war is the completion of the bourgeois revolution i. e. of that which the great French revolution accomplished in France more than one hundred years ago and the English revolution accomplished in England as early as the seventeenth century. The post-war period is the period of the completion of bourgeois revolution, and nothing more. There is no thought of any proletarian revolution having taken place in the Soviet Union. All that has happened in one-time tsarist Russia is an agrarian revolution overthrowing landownership, carried out by the peasantry, and not involving the working class at all. This same estimate is made of the movements in the East, whose sole task appears to be to clear the path for capitalist development.

In order to bring these opportunist theses in any way in harmony with reality one must obviously do violence to this reality or to its most important facts. And that is just what social democracy — and "left" social democracy, to boot — presents as its theory. The October revolution cannot be "denied", therefore why not classify it under the heading of bourgeois revolution? The existence of conflicts between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries cannot be "contested". Why not include them under "conflicts between imperialist coalitions?" There is no gainsaying the fact of the influence of the Soviet Union over the colonies, especially over England's greatest colony — why not have the impudence to refer to the policy of the Soviet Union as the "continuation" of tsarist designs on India? And so forth. Here there is a radical and unbridged difference in the whole estimation of the epoch, in the judgment of the rôle being played by capitalism, in the judgment of the Soviet Union; a difference of necessity involving deviating estimates of the tasks of the working class, of the perspectives of development in general and of the colonies in particular!

At the same time it is characteristic that the social democrats, when forming their present estimate of capitalist development, from the capitalist point of view, are much more optimistic than the leading ideologists of the bourgeoisie itself. If I am not mistaken, I quoted at the 15th Party Congress one such leading bourgeois scholar, Sombart, who had said that capitalism is already feeling the effects of old age, that it has "white hair", that it is losing its teeth. Bernhard Harms, a specialist of some note in international economy, is of the opinion that Europe is falling into senility, that it has much in common with classic Rome on the eve of its decline. Professor Mises, whom another equally "first class" German bourgeois economist, Adolf Weber, described as "the most penetrating critic of collective economy" ("Allgemeine Volkswirtschaftslehre"), writes in his work on collective economy: "The world is moving towards Socialism, for the reason that the overwhelming majority of humanity wish it". Professor Schmalenbach (see his article on "Fettered Capitalism", Vossische Zeitung No. 225) observes with regret the enormous spread of monopolist decay, the parasitism, the growing degeneration of the captains of industry.

(To be continued.)

## POLITICS

### Concerning "Disarmament".

By Georg (Berlin).

The autumn meeting of the League of Nations, as the annual general meeting of this august body, had to decide on the further fate of the "disarmament negotiations". It is hardly worth while to enumerate the different acts of this farce. It suffices to call to mind that the "Preparatory Commission on Disarmament" met for the first time less than a year ago, in November 1927; that is to say, it required a good nine years merely for its "preparation". When at that time Benes, replying to the urgent demand of the Soviet Delegation that a definite time be fixed for the actual Disarmament Conference, stated that the Conference would be called in the course of the year 1928

"if everything goes well", there was a general titter, in fact loud laughter in the Conference Hall.

For already at that time those who were in the know were quite aware that everything would not go well. In order to evade dealing with the Soviet disarmament proposals, Boncour set up a "Security Commission". The purpose of this Commission was to "secure" the League of Nations against any further unexpected disarmament attacks on the part of Litvinov. In July last, this Commission crowned its activity by working out "model treaties", after the Preparatory Disarmament Commission had already held its second meeting in March. In March the Soviet Delegation, as is known, enforced the public discussion of its disarmament proposals, with the result, naturally, that there was set up against it the united front of all the capitalist governments. Faced with the embarrassing business of a discussion of the Soviet Russian partial disarmament proposals which were submitted immediately afterwards, the Commission had recourse to adjournment, it is true with the "promise" forced from it to deal with the proposals later.

This was the situation which now confronted the autumn meeting of the League of Nations, the third main commission of which is entrusted with the conduct of the "disarmament business". It decided that the next meeting of the "Preparatory Commission on Disarmament" should be convened in the year 1929 — without mentioning a word regarding the actual Disarmament Conference. This is more than simply "indefinitely postponed". The spokesmen of the various government and their press satellites this time said more openly than ever that any disarmament conference would be perfectly futile "in view of the existing differences". In fact ever more loudly was the wish expressed that an end should be made of all the "Disarmament Commissions" — for all the talk about disarmament disturbs the war preparations.

The class-conscious workers can only welcome the settling of such a pacifist swindle as are the disarmament promises and discussions of the League of Nations gentry. The more obvious the insincerity and deceit of the capitalist talk of disarmament, the better are the prospects of rallying the working masses for the fight against the danger of imperialist war and its instigator — capitalism. Meanwhile, it will not suffice to conclude our consideration of the disarmament debates of the League of Nations simply by recording their bankruptcy and self-exposure. What was revealed in Geneva this time was much more: it was a vividly illuminated section of the world situation, which is characterised by ever more definite groupings of powers and war alliances. This League of Nations' meeting and its disarmament debates were overshadowed by the Anglo-French war-alliance, the significance and details of which are becoming more obvious every day. In keeping with this alliance is the firm, aggressive tone employed by the English and French delegates in contradistinction to their former oily diplomatic formulas. Briand, Boncour and Cushendun alternately declared that armaments are necessary, and even modest limitation of armaments is impossible, because the United States and above all — the Soviet Union are arming. Within a day or two after the solemn signing of the Kellogg Pact to outlaw war, which, it was proclaimed, would inaugurate a new era of peace, and even when deprived of the argument that the Soviet Union was refraining from joining the Pact, and in face of the reminder of Litvinov actually to discuss the Soviet Russian proposals for partial disarmament — the League of Nations' leaders were not ashamed to speak in such a manner.

The Anglo-French front, which can be directed against the Soviet Union, is perfect (Germany's alignment in this front is only a matter of time); with the United States there is proceeding a bitter, persistent, and, for the time being, diplomatic struggle for hegemony or the provisional sharing of power in order to obtain a free hand for the holy war against the Soviet Union. That is to say, extension of the basis of war preparations against the Soviet Union and sharpening of the Anglo-American struggle for power. That is the background of the present international political situation. It still remains the chief activity of social democracy to spread clouds of fog to hide this reality.

## Big Communist Success at Swedish Election.

By A. J. Smolan (Gothenburg).

The Riksdag elections in Sweden are now practically over. They have, it is true, brought an essential **strengthening of the Right**, but at the same time the Communists, so fiercely opposed by all other parties, have **more than doubled their number of votes**. The advance both of the Left and of the Right was effected at the expense of the Social Democrats and the petty-bourgeois "Freeminded" Party, the former losing 14 and the latter two mandates. The keenest disappointment must certainly be felt by the Social Democrats, who went into the fight with high-sounding slogans, with the full intention of gaining the absolute majority in the Chamber and therewith also the Governmental authority, instead of which they have suffered a considerable set-back, which they feel all the more seriously in view of the fact that they will now be excluded from participation in the Government for the next four years.

According to calculations made to date, it appears that the **Communists** have polled 122,726 votes, representing an increase of 66,012 or 116.4 per cent. In consequence, the Party will have six mandates in the place of four in the old Riksdag. When the Stockholm results are finally known, the Party will probably be found to have netted two more mandates in addition to these six. The **Social Democrats**, with their 788,128 votes, show an increase of 17.2 per cent.; the resulting 82 mandates will, however, represent a loss of 14. The **Liberal Party** polled 55,409 votes, or 2250 less than in 1924; they will continue to be represented by three members in the Riksdag. For the **Freeminded Party** 294,162 votes were recorded, which was 32.6 per cent. more than four years ago; nevertheless they will have only 27 seats in the new Riksdag, as against 29 in the old. The **Conservatives** (Högern) polled 605,330 votes or an increase of 49 per cent.; they will have 67 seats, which is eight more than at the last elections. The **Farmers' Union**, the organisation of well-to-do farmers, secured 259,090 votes, representing an increase of 68,694 votes, or 37 per cent., more than in 1924. The Union will be represented in the Riksdag by 27 members, or four more than hitherto.

The Swedish Riksdag is divided into two Chambers. The Upper Chamber corresponds more or less to the former Prussian "Herrenhaus", since its 150 members are elected by the provincial diets and municipal assemblies. Those who are elected to this distinguished body must be at least 35 years old and possess a fortune of 50,000 crowns or a yearly income of 5000 crowns. Before the war, the Social Democrats moved the abolition of this body, which they were wont to call the "old men's house", but now 52 Socialists are themselves members of the Upper Chamber and join with the bourgeois parties in resisting the Communist demand for its abolition.

The Second Chamber consists of 230 deputies, elected for a period of four years. All electors must have entered upon their twenty-third year in the twelvemonth preceding the elections; thus most of those who vote in Sweden are quite twenty-four years old. This "reform" was put through after the war by the **bourgeois and Social Democratic parties**, and all attempts on the part of the Communists to extend the franchise to the earlier twenties have hitherto met with a united resistance on the part of these factions.

The last election was held in the autumn of 1924. At that time the Social Democrats succeeded in gaining 105 seats and in overthrowing the Government of the Right. They had promised to reduce military expenditure by 50 per cent. and to introduce a general unemployment insurance. It was to these promises that they mainly owed their success. For the third time in the history of Sweden they undertook the Government of the country, but although they were in power for almost two years they did nothing towards the fulfilment of the promises they had made. Though in 1924 they had maintained that they would spend at most 88 million crowns for national defence purposes, their military budget figured at 138 millions, added to which their most influential leader helped the Right in 1927 to gain a further 105 millions for the increase of the fleet. To what degree they allowed themselves to be influenced by the bourgeois parties appears from the fact that they did not even venture to suggest to the

Riksdag the realisation of the unemployment insurance project, although they had already drawn up the relative Bill. Thus Sweden is one of the few countries paying no unemployment benefit at all, although there has been a chronic state of unemployment since 1920 with an army of unemployed of about 120,000.

In 1924, 1,765,000 out of 3,300,000 persons entitled to vote (or barely more than the half) took part in the elections. Of these, 752,000 were Social Democrats and 63,000 Communists. At this year's election there was a participation of 2,100,000 voters, about 900,000 of whom voted for the Social Democrats and 110,000 for the Communists. The results from Stockholm may be expected to increase these totals by some 100,000 for the Social Democrats and 20,000 for the Communists, so that the aggregate of Communist electors will have increased between 1924 and 1928 by about 67,000, or by well over 100 per cent.

The Social Democrats, who in the old Riksdag had 105 seats, will have to content themselves in the new house with 92 or at the most 93 seats. The Communists, who had hitherto four seats, will have seven, or at most eight. This proves the "justice" of the electoral system so zealously defended by the Social Democrats. It is a proportional system, but without general lists like in Germany, so that the big parties are greatly favoured at the expense of the small.

This also appears from the fact that in the old Riksdag there was a Social Democrat deputy to every 7000 votes, a Freeminded deputy to every 13,000, and a Communist deputy to every 17,000 or more. Thus, if the seats had been justly distributed, the Communists would even in the old Riksdag have occupied no fewer than 12, and the Social Democrats 97, instead of 105, seats.

The electioneering campaign, which began in the spring, showed an extraordinary accentuation of class differences in what was hitherto often termed "idyllic" Sweden, with an especially virulent increase of the policy of calumny against the **Communist Party and the Soviet Union**. In this respect the Social Democrats vied with the extreme Right, and it is hard to say which of the two deserves the palm. The petty-bourgeois Government of the "Freeminded" Party took part in the election struggle by arresting, with the help of a "White-Russian" agent provocateur, one of the employees of the Soviet-Russian telegraph agency "Tass", on the charge of **espionage**, an event which was exploited for several weeks in the most infamous way by bourgeois and Social Democrats alike. The police investigation showed the complete baselessness of the charge, as was proved by the fact that the prisoner was released after three days and the charge dismissed. Instead of proclaiming the truth and withdrawing their accusations, however both the bourgeois and the Social Democrats continue their attacks on Russia. One of the reactionary newspapers of the capital published an idiotic article on an "intended trial mobilisation" of the Communists, which, incredibly stupid as it was, was **reprinted word word by the central organ of the Social Democratic Party**.

All this, however, did not suffice to impede the advance of the Communists, which shows a welcome **development towards the Left** on the part of the Swedish working class. Nevertheless, the fanatical anti-Bolshevist campaign was not without results. It roused an incredibly large proportion of the "indifferent" and increased the participation in the elections by 20 per cent. Hundreds of thousands of these new voters were driven by their fear of Bolshevism to **vote for the Right**, regarding this as the best means of banishing the spectre of Communism, as were even many who had hitherto given their support to the Social Democrats. This outcome also lies at the door of the Social Democratic leaders themselves.

The success of the Communists is all the more to be appreciated if we consider that they had to fight under far more unfavourable conditions than had their opponents. Thus the Communist Party with its 16,000 members has only **two daily papers**, one of them in the capital and the other in northern Sweden, so that at Gothenburg, the second city of Sweden, with a typically industrial population, the Party is restricted to an insignificant bi-weekly publication, while its opponents have at Gothenburg alone five big dailies at their disposal. In the whole country, which is almost as large as Germany, the bourgeois parties run 350 dailies, besides innumerable weekly and bi-weekly publications, while the social

democracy, subsidised by the trade unions, run 30, partly important, dailies. Thanks to the collective affiliation of the trade unions, this party also receives annually several hundred thousand crowns for propaganda purposes, while the Communists are obliged to raise the bulk of their funds by voluntary collections, though it is not intended to deny that in this instance it received more than usual from the local trade unions whose sympathy it enjoys.

The increase in the number of Communist votes, amounting in all to more than 100 per cent., is unequally divided. It is greatest in the typically industrial areas of central, north, and west Sweden, where in some cases it figures at 300 per cent., while the Social Democrats have in those parts gained but little, even losing a few hundred votes in one particular district. The Social Democrats have gained most in purely petty-bourgeois regions and among the working class of Gothenburg, which is still greatly influenced by the church.

The next result of this unexpected outcome of the elections will presumably be the replacement of the petty-bourgeois Government, which has for the last two years maintained office only by a constant vacillation between the Right and the Social Democrats, by a pronounced Government of the Right, which will naturally help to clear the general situation.

## The Coming Election Campaign in Great Britain.

By W. M. Holmes (London).

With the beginning of the Autumn, all parties are furiously pushing ahead their preparations for the General election in May or June, and we are entering a phase of intense political activity.

National Conferences of Conservatives, Liberals and Labour are shortly to take place and will lay down the plan of campaign for the election. The Conservative Party is likely to be exclusively concerned at its conference with the thorny question of safeguarding industry, a very strong minority being in favour of the widest extension of this scarcely veiled form of protection.

The Liberals will be chiefly exercised on the question of their tactics after the election, for no one expects them to do much better than hold their present position, with perhaps the addition of a few seats in rural constituencies. With them, therefore, the question of whether or not their support shall be given to a Conservative or Labour Government is of first class importance. There seems little doubt that the left-wing of the party, whose views are expressed in the influential "Manchester Guardian" are the majority. Whether they will be able to win over the party machine and funds, which are firmly in the hands of Lloyd George is a matter for some doubt.

The Labour Party Conference at Birmingham is to be concerned exclusively with its programme, to which no amendments are allowed. The I. L. P. is to move the reference back of certain sections, but it is unlikely that they will press the matter to a vote and in any case, they would be certain of heavy defeat.

The Conference will be solidly to the Right and it is doubtful whether any revolutionary voice will succeed in getting heard. The opposition of Maxton will be confined to the limits of the I. L. P. fraction, and if it challenges the programme at all, will not do so on fundamental issues.

It is unlikely that the question of collaboration with the Liberals will be discussed at the Conference, but it will be in all minds. Snowden is the chief protagonist of the Liberal-supported Labour government on a strictly liberal programme. He has dropped the surtax entirely out of his financial policy for the future Labour Government and openly states the Labour Government will look for revenue to Death Duties, Income Tax and Land Values, the three pillars of the Liberal Administration from 1906—1915. Snowden is making a deliberate bid for the Premiership and would undoubtedly be the man most acceptable to the Liberals.

Openly, the Labour leaders are talking of an "absolute majority" at the election. Secretly there is no doubt that a great deal of intriguing with various Liberal leaders is going on. Although a big increase is certain, no one really believes in the "absolute majority".

The Communist Party is holding its conference in November and is preparing the first big test for its new policy in the municipal elections the same month, when undoubtedly, many seats will be won. Twenty candidates are now in the field for the parliamentary elections next year, and the successful Party fight at Aberdeen when 2,618 votes were polled and the Communist came ahead of the Liberal, has proved that big support awaits them.

Aberdeen also showed that no real test of its strength can be made so long as the Party is confined by organisational weaknesses to a limited number of constituencies. The General Election can only be a General Rehearsal for the Communist Party, whose real importance will be felt at the election following that. The most important result of Aberdeen was that where formerly there were 10 Party members, there are now 60, and the independent fight of the Party is undoubtedly going to build up its membership in the coming years of political instability.

## CHINA

### Japan's Complicity in the Murder of Chang Tso-Lin.

By Asiaticus.

It will certainly be remembered how, immediately after the bombing of the train which was carrying Chang Tso Lin from Peking to Mukden, the Japanese telegraph agency lost no time in "establishing" that the bombs came from Soviet Russia. From this both the Japanese and the British press promptly inferred that interested Soviet circles are implicated in the crime. At that time the press of the Soviet Union already declared these false reports to be nothing but a "put up" camouflage on the part of Japan. In the meantime revelations have also been made by circles hostile to the Soviet Union, which indicate quite indubitably that the attack on the life of Chang Tso Lin was deliberately planned and carried out by the Japanese and that the official Japanese quarters in Manchuria approved of the deed.

A month ago the British press in China reported on a statement made by Lennox Simpson, well-known in and outside China under his pen-name of Putham Weale, in which he, openly and on the basis of observations made by him at Mukden, accused Japan of having carefully planned and executed the bombing of Chang Tso Lin's train. For many years, indeed right down to the time of Chang Tso Lin's death, Lennox Simpson was his adviser, just as he was at the same time unofficial representative of Great Britain in the camp of that general. Upon his return to Mukden from his latest journey, he reported to the "Peking and Tientsin Times" of August 18th that the murder was the work of a Japanese secret society and that prominent persons in the Japanese army were its aiders and abettors.

Simpson quotes a whole series of proofs. According to his account, the assassination happened somewhat as follows:

The explosion occurred in the Japanese railway zone, which was patrolled by Japanese soldiers. Whereas on other occasions Chinese soldiers were also employed to control the line when Chang Tso Lin was travelling, the Chinese detachment sent north for this purpose was in this instance repudiated by the Japanese commando and had to remain at some distance from the line. Foreign authorities on combustibles have, moreover, established that the dynamite charges, 12 in number and each weighing about eight pounds, were inter-connected by wires. These charges were inserted in respective containers and placed at a point where the south-Manchurian railway crosses a viaduct. Close by there are two Japanese block-huts controlling the point in question. It is impossible that the guard should not have observed the preparations for the crime, unless, as Simpson asserts, they had received orders to see nothing. Before the train bearing Chang Tso Lin entered the Japanese zone, some Japanese advisers, who were accompanying Chang, quitted the train on the pretext of being obliged to remain behind. Finally, the very precision with which the explosion ensued, is a proof that it had been prepared long in advance, so that the coach in which Chang Tso Lin sat should on no account be missed and that the explosion should have its full effect.

At the end of his report Simpson declares that immediately upon receipt of the news as to what had occurred, it was a generally accepted fact at Mukden that Japan was implicated. Chang Tso Lin's son, Chang Hsue Liang, who proceeded to Mukden a few days later, only ventured on this trip through the Japanese zone in the disguise of a simple soldier, while the rumour was spread in advance that he would arrive by aeroplane. At the same time when he arrived by train, an aeroplane actually landed at Mukden, having been sent there as a blind.

In this connection it is also of interest to examine the result of the "official investigation" instituted into the circumstances of the assassination. The report of the investigation committee was signed by the Japanese representative only, the Chinese members of the committee having expressly refused to sign. Nor yet might the entire report be published. Even such extracts of the report, however, as were published by the Japanese, were repudiated by the Chinese as being biased and contradictory.

The Japanese report states that the Chinese detachment sent for the purpose of guarding the line had not been provided with the necessary authority and had therefore to remain outside the Japanese zone, but that the Japanese guard remained in touch with this detachment. To this the Chinese reply that application was expressly made to the Japanese for authorisation to guard the stretch in question, which was at first granted and subsequently withdrawn. Nor is it admitted that the guard detachments remained in touch with one another.

The Japanese investigation committee goes on to state that two "suspicious looking" Chinamen, armed with hand-grenades, had been seen close to the spot where the explosion ensued and had been arrested and executed by the Japanese soldiers after the explosion. This account is repudiated by the Chinese as a Japanese invention. Furthermore it is pointed out that the Japanese report is contradictory in regard to the locality where the combustibles were placed. It has been proved, the Chinese assert, that preparations had been made in the manner described by Simpson. Reuter's correspondent closes by remarking that in spite of the committee's report the actual reason of the catastrophe remains a riddle.

These sensational revelations make it fairly obvious that the assassination of Chang Tso Lin was a well-planned measure of Japanese policy in Manchuria for the purpose of getting rid of a man who had for years been servile to the Japanese in that area but who had become useless and a nuisance. Japan thought the time had come for an open policy of annexation in Manchuria. For this reason Chang Tso Lin had of late years grown more and more of a nuisance to the Japanese. The same applies to his son, Chang Hsue Liang. And the present policy of Japan in Manchuria is directed quite openly towards creating — by the means of mutinies in the Chinese army and through the aid of the demoralised remnants of the armies of Chang Tsung Chang and Sun Chuan Fang — a state of affairs which will furnish the Japanese with a pretext to occupy further portions of Manchuria in the interest of "law and order". The same object may be traced in the recent spread of reports by the Japanese on an alleged Soviet war on Barga, which would enable them to refer to the danger of Soviet influence in Mongolia.

## THE BALKANS

### Declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

Sofia, September 18, 1928.

Regarding the communiqué of the Bulgarian police on the organisation and activity of the Communist Party of Bulgaria the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria declares as follows:

1. Three quarters of the "data" published are mere inventions of the police; the rest has been extorted by frightful torture of the arrested, of whom one, Pando Titov, preferred death rather than endure further torture.

2. It is a contemptible lie to say, that the C. P. of Bulgaria had planned terrorist activity. The terrorist and bloodthirsty Sgovor government require such a lie in order to justify the daily acts of violence against the Labour movement. The C. P.

of Bulgaria does not resort to acts of individual terror; it organises the masses for the revolutionary political mass struggle.

3. The assertion that the Labour Party and the independent trade unions are "sub-departments" of the Communist Party is also a contemptible lie. The Communist Party has no organisational connections with these organisations.

4. The delegates to the Congress of the R. I. L. U. were sent not by the independent trade unions but by the supporters of the R. I. L. U. in Bulgaria, who are to be found in all the existing trade unions in Bulgaria.

5. The newspaper "Novini" and the rest of the legal press of the workers are not organs of the C. P. of Bulgaria. The C. P. of Bulgaria has only the following organs and publications: a) the periodical "Kommunistitschesko Zname" (Communist Flag); b) "Rabotnitscheski Vestnik" (Workers' News); c) "Communist Flag" library; d) "Narodna Zastita" library; and e) Leninist Library.

6. No money has been given by the C. P. of Bulgaria to the Peasants' League deputy G. Dragnev, nor have any meetings with him taken place.

7. The statement that the Soviet Government subsidises the C. P. of Bulgaria is an invention and a lie. The C. P. of Bulgaria obtains its means exclusively from its own members, numbering many thousands, as well as from its numerous sympathisers. The C. P. of Bulgaria is an international party and can, therefore, in case of need, receive help from the international proletariat.

8. The Red Aid has always supported the victims of the white terror in Bulgaria. It supports all victims of the fascist dictatorship: Communists, non-party, intellectuals and all other fighters against fascism. This organisation exists quite legally in all countries with the exception of fascist Italy and Bulgaria.

9. The C. P. of Bulgaria is fighting for its legal existence. So long as it has not won this existence, it will continue to exist illegally and to lead the masses in the fight until the final victory.

The C. P. of Bulgaria calls upon the working class and all the rest of the toilers to take up their own fight still more energetically against the bloody Sgovor regime and for the overthrow of the criminal bourgeois dictatorship.

Down with the defence of the realm act!

Full and unconditional amnesty for the victims of the fascist dictatorship! Down with the fascist Sgovor government, the agent of Anglo-French imperialism!

Long live the fight of the working class for the Soviet Government in Bulgaria!

Long live the C. P. of Bulgaria!

Long live the Communist International!

September, 1928.

The Central Committee of the C. P. of Bulgaria.

## FASCISM

### Comrade Terracini in Danger of Death.

By J. F.

The functionaries of the Communist Party of Italy, members of the executive, party secretaries and trade-union functionaries, journalists and members of parliament who were sentenced on June 4th of this year to an aggregate of 400 years of imprisonment were transferred shortly after their conviction to prisons which are dangerous to health. Comrades Gramsci and Terracini are in Sancto Stefano prison, others are in Portolongone, others again are in San Gemignano, Omeglia and Volterra.

These are the sadly notorious death chambers of Italian bourgeois justice, prisons with subterranean solitary confinement cells, real torture chambers, whose pestilential air undermines in a few months the power of resistance of the most robust people especially as the prisoners may receive

no food beyond the completely inadequate jail diet, so that within a short time the prisoners inevitably suffer, as a consequence of this systematic malnutrition, the worst forms of tuberculosis. These prisons were previously used for the most dangerous murderers and criminals to bury them alive and to expose them to a very certain early death, as the Italian criminal law does not yet include the direct death sentence.

The conditions that must prevail in these prisons are evident from the circumstance that even reactionary bourgeois jurists, barristers, judges and professors have demanded for many years the abolition of these prisons, which they themselves term "Italy's stigma". I will mention one of many examples, Cesare Civoli, professor of criminal law at the University of Pavia, refers in his Manual of Criminal Law, published in 1900, to this form of punishment as a "terrible application of the death sentence". (Manuale del Diritto Penale, Milano 1900, page 117.) For this reason, Comrade Terracini was right when at the pronouncement of judgement he shouted to the Fascist black shirts who figured as "judges" at the special trial:

"You have not the courage openly to condemn us to death! But you know only too well that you have really condemned us to death in sending us into those subterranean cells!"

So far it has not been possible to establish fairly regular communication with the comrades buried in these prisons. They are shut off hermetically from the outer world. They may write only once in several months and then the prison censor will permit to pass only letters which say nothing. So far they have not been allowed visits from relatives. Concerning the fate of most of these comrades we are, therefore, in complete ignorance.

In regard to Comrade Terracini alone our Italian comrades have succeeded in getting a few reliable messages; messages which are in the highest degree alarming. Prior to his arrest Comrade Terracini's health left much to be desired. The insufficient diet during the two years he was on remand further weakened his physique. Italian comrades, who saw him at the time of the trial, all said that even then he was reduced to a skeleton. Apart from Comrade Gramsci, who was very ill, our Italian comrades were, therefore, chiefly concerned about Comrade Terracini. But the reports that we are now able to get concerning his state of health surpass our worst expectations. Comrade Terracini is suffering under especially painful symptoms of tuberculosis. The veins of his left arm have swollen enormously and for some time the ends of his fingers and toes have been bleeding regularly. His is lying in high fever and is helpless.

Comrade Terracini is lying in his prison cell, for his transfer to the prison hospital was refused, although the prison doctor declared that he has no medicament wherewith to prevent the further advance of the disease. His diet has also not been improved: the governor of the prison declares that he has not the power to grant an improvement of diet, as for "such" prisoners as Terracini the order can be given only by the Department of State!

As soon as the reports concerning the acute illness of Comrade Terracini got into the foreign Press, the Italian Government was compelled, obviously for the purpose of misleading, to publish a denial which said nothing. In spite of this denial, it is beyond doubt that the reports concerning the condition of Comrade Terracini, which come from an absolutely reliable source, are all too accurate. The Government wishes to prevent the transfer of Comrade Terracini to hospital or, at least, to delay it until his condition is so bad that medical treatment can no longer save him.

The only possibility of frustrating this criminal plan of Mussolini consists of mobilising public opinion in Italy and abroad. In Italian working class circles the reports have caused no little excitement. Abroad, too, and especially in France and England they have already met with response. It is urgently necessary that protests should be addressed to the Italian Government by factories, trade unions and the organisations of the workers in other countries. There is not a minute to lose! Quick's the word!

## THE INTERNATIONAL PERSECUTION OF COMMUNISTS

### The Trial of Peter Iskrov.

Vienna, September 18th, 1928.

The trial of the arrested Bulgarian revolutionary, Dr. Peter Iskrov, took place here to-day. Iskrov was arrested on July 9th on a charge of instigating from Vienna an armed revolt in Bulgaria. After nearly ten weeks of imprisonment on remand the trial was commenced. Just as in the sensational trial of Bela Kun, the only concrete evidence that could be brought up against Iskrov was the proof that his pass was not quite in order and that he had consequently reported himself falsely to the police. As though any other possibility were open to a proletarian revolutionary in "red" Vienna! Naturally, if Iskrov had trusted himself to the Schober police he would have been cleared out of Austria very promptly. For such is the practice of the Schober police, which is closely connected with the Police departments of the White Terror countries and which deport every proletarian emigrant they can get hold of. Comrade Peter Iskrov is condemned to death in Bulgaria. If he had reported himself "properly" to the Vienna police, he would have done so at the risk of his life.

Immediately after Iskrov's arrest numerous house searches were made in the circles of Vienna Balkan emigrants. Manuscripts were confiscated and — as the sequestered material was not incriminating — documents were forged. The Schober police hastened to submit "compromising material" to the Sophia murder government and, as a matter of fact, the organ of the Bulgarian Fascists, "Svobodna Rjec", of the 13th instant attributed the recent mass arrests of Bulgarian revolutionaries to the information of the Vienna police. The nature of the forgery utilised in Vienna is illustrated by the case of the document which is still playing a part in the indictment of Iskrov: In Comrade Iskrov's possession was found a copy of a long published article concerning the lessons of the Bulgarian insurrection of 1923. Out of this the Vienna authorities made a "plan for the preparation of an armed revolt in Bulgaria" and on the basis of this despicable forgery the mass arrests were carried out in Sophia!

The trial of Comrade Iskrov took place before the Czerny Court of Jury, which was the court that also heard the trials of the arrested July fighters as also that of Bela Kun. The room was occupied by the numerous spies of the Bulgarian embassy. Although the indictment was deplorably meagre, the Public Prosecutor as also the president of the court tried to make political capital out of the hearing for the Bulgarian Government.

Comrade Iskrov pleaded not guilty and then delivered a courageous speech against the Bulgarian murder regime. Though continually interrupted by the president, Iskrov described the persecutions which the Bulgarian workers and peasants have had to suffer since the July putsch of 1923. When he began to speak about the death sentence passed upon himself, the president of the court denied him further speech.

The counsel for the prosecution made an interesting communication: The Police Department in Sophia had denied in a communication to the Vienna court that Comrade Iskrov was condemned to death. By means of this stupid and impudent lie they wanted to gain surreptitiously the extradition of the persecuted revolutionary. The counsel for the defence, Comrade Dr. Schoenhof, was able to prove immediately that the death sentence was published at the time even in the Government Press of Bulgaria. Another interesting detail was the communication that among the papers seized at Iskrov's house were in the first place — writings by Marx and Engels!

Defending counsel Dr. Schoenhof gave in his speech a moving description of the Bulgarian murder government.

The president also interrupted the defending counsel, although his statements were directly connected with the subject of the trial, namely, with the proof that Iskrov acted on compulsion. All the proofs submitted by the defence were rejected.

After a short deliberation judgment was passed: two months' imprisonment and deportation from Austria. A fresh proof of the "Democracy" and of the right of asylum in Austria.



## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

### Industry in the Soviet Union in the Economic Year 1928/29.

The Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union on the Subject of Control Figures.

The Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union has investigated and discussed the control figures of industry for the economic year 1928—29.

As Comrade Kossior has pointed out in his report, the gross output of industry will be increased in the coming economic year by 20.1 per cent. (from 10,900 to 13,100 million roubles), the output of the heavy industries rising by 22 and that of the light industries by 18.7 per cent. The output of merchandise will increase by 18.5 per cent. The labour power employed in industry will be 5.1 per cent. over this year's level. The sums provided for labour protection and the construction of dwellings are to increase by 8.9 and 18.6 per cent., respectively. The initial costs of production throughout industry will be diminished on an average by 5.9 per cent. (in the heavy industries by 6.7 and in the light by 5.4 per cent.). The objective of reducing the costs of production by a full 6 per cent. will thus remain unattained. Prices ex works will be reduced on an average by 1.1 per cent. in comparison with this year's level, the price reduction in the heavy industries amounting to 3 per cent., while in the light industries there will be no alteration.

In analysing the financial position of industry, the reporter points out that the extent of additional investments in industry including electrotechnical construction (capital investments for the extension of plant, new constructions, and repairs) will figure at 2110 million roubles in the coming year. This will mean an increase by almost 27 per cent. This sum will comprise a provision of 522 million roubles for new constructions (45 per cent. more than in the economic year 1927—28), 758.3 millions for the extension and reconstruction of industrial plant (11.7 more than last year), 142.8 millions of active capital (an increase of 17.1 per cent.), 65.1 millions for scientific research work (an increase of no less than 172 per cent.), and 138.5 millions for the construction of dwellings (19.3 per cent. more than in 1927—28).

The net proceeds are estimated at 1152 million roubles as against 740 millions in the preceding year. Of this sum, 525 millions will be passed to the fund for the improvement of the standard of living of the workers, while the balance of 625 millions will represent the accumulation of industry.

The industrial estimate provides for an active capital of 2110 million roubles, viz., 291 millions for the development of the means of production, 9 millions for the subvention of inventions, etc. The total expenditure of industry in 1928—29 amount to 3062 million roubles, 1151 millions of which will be covered out of the accumulated funds, while the balance must be supplied from outside.

The intended growth of industry in the coming year, says Comrade Kossior, represents the maximum of what is feasible, a fact which must be taken into consideration by the individual institutions of the Supreme Economic Council and the representatives of the individual industries, whose demands cannot nearly be fully satisfied. There are a number of limitations to the further increase of expenditure and the further increase of production, viz. the financial position of industry, the limited amount of imported machinery which we are in a position to buy, the amount of building material available, and finally our own preparations and the possibility of realising our plans.

Starting from these limitations, the reporter arrives at the conclusion, that the demands raised by the individual industries must be diminished rather than increased. The demands made upon the budget are as great as they well can be. Economic progress in the Soviet Union must continue to be slow, expensive, and unsatisfactory. True, certain points have been scored in the programmatic organisation, for while on October 1st of last year only 7 per cent. of the building plans were confirmed, the percentage this year amounts to 40 and by January 1st, 1929, 75 per cent. of all building projects will have been

confirmed. In the organisation of building activity there has thus been satisfactory, albeit as yet insufficient, progress. The dearth of building materials will continue to be felt in the coming year too, but the measures adopted will make it possible for the prospected building activity to be realised. Steps towards enhancing the qualification of the staff of workers and employees and the employment of foreign experts ensure the necessary cadres for the building industry.

Comrade Kossior underlines the advisability of a distribution of funds between the light and the heavy industries, as provided for in the control figures.

Whatever line of industry we take, he says, the complaint will be raised that it has been stingily treated. But it is impossible for us to give more than we have given.

At the close of his report he analyses the control figures from the standpoint of the directives of industrialisation, development of the foundry industry, chemicalisation, and electrification.

As foreseen in the report, the subsequent discussions entailed many complaints on the part of the representatives of individual industries to the effect that the sums provided by the control figures by no means suffice for the vital demands of the industries they represented. This idea was voiced in various forms in almost all the speeches.

Comrade V. V. Kujbyshev declared in the course of the discussion:

Any one who is at all acquainted with the position of our budget will maintain that the 1300 million roubles demanded by industry in comparison to 700 millions last year are unbearable for the budget. It is impossible that the entire increase of the budget should be employed for industry while agricultural and cultural demands are ignored. I therefore suggest that our demands on the budget be reduced by 200 millions. In other words, I suggest that by a yet greater effort of industrial energy and by an extension and enhancement of work, we refrain from increasing the burden of those tasks which are incumbent upon us. To this end we need not decrease the additional investments. We must find some possibility of solving in the rate of development of industry. The additional investment cannot be regarded as too great. The demands of the individual great enterprises are thoroughly justified. From a financial standpoint there can be no question of a considerable reduction in additional investments. We must find some possibility of solving the tasks incumbent upon us without making unbearable demands on the budget. In the first place we must absolutely achieve a reduction of initial costs by 6 per cent., for every per cent. by which the initial costs are reduced means an economy of 12 million roubles, a sum which is not to be despised. At the same time the net profit fixed by us at 1152 million roubles, can be increased by 30 millions, i. e. to 1182 millions. Such an increase may be effected without any particular risk, since the experience of the last few years shows that the net proceeds were always calculated very cautiously and even underestimated. In regard to expenses, too, which are provided for an extension of the means of production, we can content ourselves with an increase of 8 instead of 11 per cent., which again means a saving of 75 million roubles. An increase of bank credits by 50 million roubles would also not be out of place. All these measures together make a sum of 200 millions, by which amount the demands on the State budget may be decreased.

At the suggestion of Comrade Kujbyshev, the figures mentioned in the report of Comrade Kossior were accepted as a basis of the control figures of the industry of the Soviet Union for the economic year 1928—29. These figures will be included in the economic plan of the State, which will be supplemented by the corrections made in the control figures. These corrections will be effected by means of a special investigation of the question of additional investments from the standpoint of the new construction.

## The Red Army at its Post.

Speech by Comrade Voroschilov.

Moscow, 21st September 1928.

At the close of the Red Army manoeuvres, Comrade Voroschilov held a speech in the town Soviet at Kieff, expressing on behalf of the revolutionary war council cordial thanks to the Kieff proletariat for the brotherly reception given to the Red troops. The feeling of the proletariat for the Red Army was well shown today, when the path of the returning troops was strewn with flowers.

Comrade Voroschilov dealt with the international situation and the inner situation of the Soviet Union. The relations between the Soviet Union and its nearest neighbours have become strained of late years. The relations to Roumania have not improved in the least. We have had a number of severe conflicts with Poland, and only the persistently peaceful measures taken by our government have relieved the strain. The working masses of the whole world have frequently had the opportunity of convincing themselves that the avoidance of an armed conflict with Poland is solely due to our consistent peace policy.

Comrade Voroschilov adduced a number of facts showing that in the capitalist countries certain strata dream of an intervention against the Soviet Union. The action taken by the Volhynian voyevode Yusefsky is the best proof that our neighbours, only 200 km distant from us and working in cities inhabited by Ukrainian working people, have visions of the transformation of the Soviet Ukraine into a Ukraine under the protectorate of Poland. Yusefsky is not the only one who dreams of the overthrow of the Soviet power in Ukraine. Others too cherish this dream, and dreaming is not prohibited. But the supposition that a state with 40 million inhabitants cannot realise its independence except under the protectorate of Poland, is not dreaming, but deliberate preparation for an intervention. We are aware that the Soviet Ukraine has always been the main object of desire of the aggressive tendencies prevalent in both the diplomatic and the military circles of Poland. The fact that a so-called Ukrainian government exists on Polish soil, doubtless aided by the Polish state treasury in its zealous efforts for the "emancipation" of Ukraine, shows that the Polish dignitaries will not be content to dream, but will attempt the realisation of their dream.

Comrade Voroschilov pointed out that the relations between the Soviet Union and Germany have improved. He further explained the reason why the Soviet Union has signed the Kellogg Pact. Had the Soviet Union refused to sign, a pretext would have been supplied to all bourgeois governments and the whole capitalist press for a campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union, and we should have been accused of "red imperialism". The Soviet government, deciding to sign the Pact, has cut the ground from under the feet of all those who speculate on the legend of Red imperialism. It demonstrates thereby at the same time its sincere will to peace. The Kellogg Pact, though of course entirely incapable of preventing war in any way, possesses a certain significance for the immediate future in so far that it restricts the possibilities of open preparations for war and armed attacks. The Kellogg Pact is to a certain extent a moral obligation imposed on the bourgeois governments in their relations to the broad masses. It must however be emphasised that the clauses added to the Pact by the imperialist powers greatly reduce its value. Here again we see plainly the war danger with which the Soviet Union is threatened.

No one can guarantee that the Soviet Union will not be attacked. Therefore we are forced to expend certain sums for the maintenance of the army. The Soviet Union would be more than pleased to devote these sums to peaceful construction. But so long as we have no security that the Soviet Union will not be attacked, it is our duty to expend the means at our disposal to the best purpose.

In the midst of enthusiastic applause, Comrade Voroschilov declared that the technical level of the Red Army is not inferior to that of its nearest neighbours, or perhaps even surpasses it. The great manoeuvres in Kieff have again shown the mighty achievements of the Red Army. (Enthusiastic applause.)

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Realist Policy of the Austro-Marxists.

The Party Congress of the Austrian Social Democrats.

By Willi Schlämm (Vienna).

The party congress of the Austrian Social Democrats which has just taken place was occupied exclusively with sober internal problems. So occupied, indeed, was the congress with these questions that it completely "forgot" to turn its attention to the resolutions of the Brussels Congress of the Second International.

It was rather less than a year ago that the last party congress of the Austrian Social Democratic Party took place. That congress was overshadowed by the July insurrection in Vienna, and forced it to institute a great political debate, which was decided by the attitude of Karl Renner; a pronounced revisionism triumphed in the "Left" Socialist Party of Austria. This year's congress was more "uniform". Whereas last year the desire of Austro-Marxists for self-preservation made it necessary to hoodwink the proletariat with the appearance of a struggle between the "Right" and the "Left" wing, the party congress now terminated was a demonstration of the most loving concord. Since it dealt with concrete questions of policy, an argument between "Right" and "Left" would have been altogether foolish, for in practice Karl Renner has long had no reason to complain of his colleagues on the "Left".

But naturally this party congress was also under the impression of the same factors which brought about the 15th of July and its tragic end, viz. the systematic offensive of the Austrian bourgeoisie and the perfect readiness to capitulate on the part of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. It is no matter of chance, but a consequence of the development of Austria's interior politics, that the party congress of the Austrian Socialist Party should just have taken place in an atmosphere of Fascist aggression, in the midst of the preparations for October 7th.

Convoked in the summer as it was, the congress was originally intended to have introduced a bolder policy on the part of the Austrian Socialist Party. Had it developed according to the desires of its arrangers, it would have been the preliminary for new elections, to which the leaders of the Party attached no small hopes in connection with the popular platform of tenants' protection. Things turned out otherwise. Seipel's bourgeoisie, which has learnt to fight outside Parliamentary limits, wrang from them a capitulation of memorable significance. Under the pressure of a "general rehearsal of the march on Vienna", by the Home Defence League fixed for October 7th, the Social Democrats could be got to anything that was required of them. Probably Seipel will now spare them the 7th of October, in return for which they will have to sacrifice their tenants' protection.

It is a well-known fact that tenants' protection is a focal problem of Austrian internal politics. For the bourgeoisie it represents a violation of private capitalist rights which is incompatible with their increased sense of power; for the proletariat it is the frail barrier protecting them from a fall into a slough of misery unthinkable even for Austrian conceptions. For the Social Democrats it has hitherto formed an effective platform. This problem, therefore, is a knot which ever since the failure of the July rising the bourgeoisie has been anxious to sever at a blow. For the time being it has succeeded. The Social Democratic party congress has fulfilled the bourgeoisie's desires. Both the report of Otto Bauer and the unanimous resolution on this main subject of discussion of the party congress have, to the unconcealed satisfaction of the bourgeoisie, left no manner of doubt as to the readiness of the Social Democrats to sacrifice tenants' protection.

Otto Bauer would naturally not be Otto Bauer had he not supplied a theory "proving" most accurately that the abandonment of the tenants' protection is nothing less than a revolutionary duty for the Social Democrats. This famous theory

first sets about shifting the problem by asserting that the important point is not the maintenance of tenants' protection but the construction of new dwellings for coming generations. The same theory then ventures to shift the burden of this new construction completely onto the shoulders of the working population, wringing thousands of millions out of the workers under the device of proletarian solidarity. The "solution of the tenants' problem" as suggested by Bauer provides for an increase of the present rental to the threefold (Seipel himself demands no more for the time being) on the condition that new dwellings are constructed with the money thus wrung from the proletariat. As soon, therefore, as for the sake of a profitable compromise, the Government sets up a doubtful building programme, the Social Democrats will be willing to sacrifice the entire tenants' protection. Seipel and Bauer have come to terms. The Fascists may save themselves the journey to Wiener Neustadt.

Renner, who cannot but speak as a pronounced reformist, has unwillingly passed apt verdict on Bauer's "socialist housing policy". So as to make it all the more palatable to the house-owners, he quite rightly points out that it is in reality the housing policy of Poincaré, "who can certainly not be accused of Bolshevism", and of all the other wise politicians of the West which is being realised by the Social Democrats in opposition to Seipel's narrow petty-bourgeois methods. And the same congress declared that the famous "Socialist" policy of the Vienna municipality is nothing but a "simple and correct method of economy". Why should a few truths not be uttered even at a Social Democratic congress?

The capitulation, however, was not restricted to the vital question of tenants' protection. Also in the matter of a division of tax revenue among the Federal Government, the provinces and the municipalities and boroughs (**Dues Division Bill**), a solution was arrived at which will cost the proletariat of the cities in general and Vienna in particular millions in the form of new taxes. Nor lies the least among the achievements of the party congress in the birth of a "new" (alas, how old!) theory of parliamentarism. In support of the, now superfluous, claim to new elections, Otto Bauer, with the approach of the entire congress, pointed out that "a Parliamentary majority sanctioned by the majority of the population had the right to resolve whatever it thought fit". A delightful prospect. Wherever a majority can be found — and in what capitalist State can it not? — ready to resolve on the then hours' day, the militarisation of the broad masses, the prohibition of trade unions, the destruction of the labour movement, and the like, the Social Democrats will not prevent them, for "the majority is sanctioned by the people". So simple has the problem of class struggle become for the Austro-Marxists.

Little was said at the congress in express relation to **October 7th**, but all the more was thought and all the more did this thought dominate the resolutions. All of them, all the **Otto Bauers** and **Julius Deutsches**, were ready to whitewash the Prelate Seipel, the main instigator of the massacre of July 15th, which called for no less than 90 victims, of the implication of being a Fascist or a man of violence. On the contrary, they expressed the confident hope, albeit in no direct terms, that he would "save the Republic from Fascism", since such was after all his duty. And before all, there was a great difference between capitalist democracy and Fascism. To make Fascism superfluous, i. e. by a voluntary renunciation of tenants' protection, that is the essence of the policy of Austro-Marxism. In expressing this, Otto Bauer has followed in the footsteps of Renner and has proved his loyalty to the Coalition and the Government.

At the same time, the big capitalist press has also begun to beat a retreat in regard to October 7th. The "Innsbrucker Nachrichten", the organ of Steidle, chief of the Fascists, writes as follows:

"Thus (through the resolutions of the party congress) the way might be found to a salutary compromise. The peace must be kept for the duration of these negotiations. It would be unwise to continue the offensive and to keep all nerves at high tension."

This is the actual result of the Social Democratic party congress. The Austro-Marxists are ready to capitulate un-

conditionally. They have shown their ability to "rule" at peace with the Fascists.

The recent congress of the S. P. of Austria marks another considerable stride on its march. In spite of all the unity of their party, which has been maintained up to the present, they are unmasking themselves more and more. The working masses, which are still to a great extent chained to the monstrous apparatus of the S. P., will bitterly regret the unity of this party congress, which is at the same time the unity between Bauer and Seipel. Daily experience is teaching them at the cost of heavy sacrifices that the Austrian Communist Party is the one and only anti-Fascist force, the only representative of vital proletarian interests, the courageous leader in the class struggle. More than ever is it the duty of the Austrian Communist Party, after the party congress of the Austrian Socialist Party, to wage a determined fight against these apostles of unscrupulous capitulation.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Complete Edition of Lenin's Works.

By Robert (Moscow).

On the occasion of the Congress of the Comintern, a complete international edition of Lenin's works was exhibited at Moscow. This final and comprehensive edition of the works of Lenin, which is of the very greatest practical and theoretical importance, has been preceded by several years of propaganda for Leninism. A survey of the foreign language editions of Lenin's writings (i. e. outside the Soviet Union) shows that there have been 451 such editions in 24 languages with a total of 44,831 pages of print. This comprises 94 editions in German, aggregating 7,401 pages, 47 editions in French with 4,630 pages, and 41 editions in English with 4,631 pages.

A special map of the world shows the spread of Lenin's three best-known and most important works, "State and Revolution", "Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism", and "Radicalism, an Infantile Sickness of Communism". A whole series of countries as yet possess no special edition of these standard works of Leninism, among them being Mexico, the South American States, Asia Minor, and India.

Besides these and other original works of Lenin (in Germany a collective volume of 800 pages, now entirely out of print, appeared in 1925; in France, England, Italy, Spain, and Norway selected works were published in four volumes; besides this there were editions in Chinese and Japanese and articles and brochures in the principal languages) copious and valuable literature has appeared for the purpose of the propagation of Leninism. The "Marxian Library", which aims at creating foundations for the theoretic work of the Communist movement, has appeared in German, French, and Chinese. The most successful item of this series was "Problems of Leninism" by Comrade Stalin.

It is on this gigantic basis that the complete international edition of Lenin's works is built up. Their publication in the most important languages is being effected by three publishing concerns, the "Verlag für Literatur und Politik" of Berlin and Vienna (for the German language), The "Editions Sociales Internationales" of Paris (for French), and the "International Publishers" of New York (for English). The publication has the authorisation of the Lenin Institute at Moscow. The complete international edition of Lenin's works will comprise about thirty volumes and will have the nature of a final and comprehensive edition. Hitherto there have appeared, in German, Volume XIII ("Materialism and Empiric Criticism" XXXII and 486 pages) and Volume XX ("The Revolution of 1917", from the Overthrow of Tsarism till July", XIII and 581 pages\*); in French, Volume XX ("The Beginnings of the

\* In the meantime also the second half-volume — June/July — has appeared. Editor.

Russian Revolution", X and 756 pages); in English, in two parallel editions, for England and the United States, respectively, Volume XIII ("Materialism and Empiric Criticism", XXIV and 342 pages). Added to these we have a Japanese edition, published by the firm of Kibokoku and appearing at the same rate and in the same make up as the European and American editions.

A special table affords a survey of the publishing programme and the progress of translation work in the most important languages. It shows that in spite of the great difficulties, especially in the technicalities of the translation, the work is progressing satisfactorily. The programme is being pursued with the greatest energy and in each of the principal languages from four to six volumes may be expected to appear annually, the Japanese edition presumably keeping pace with the others, so that in the course of the next few years the workers of the leading capitalist countries may have the occasion of reading and possessing the entire works of Lenin, i. e. the entire historical experience of the Bolshevik movement.

Very ample material is furnished by the exhibition in regard to the propaganda for the works of Lenin. In the "Democratic" countries the compilers have to contend with the greatest difficulties on the part of the Governments and of the monopolist enterprises on the book markets. In France one of the official bodies of the bourgeois book trade has presumed to exercise an anticipatory censorship of the text of the Lenin edition. Another monopolistic organisation has refused to distribute prospectuses on the grounds that its customers might easily take umbrage at such a suggestion. In spite of all these difficulties great progress has been recorded in the matter of distribution. One of the most successful methods adopted in France has proved to be the special offer of four volumes of the Lenin edition at a reduced price on the instalment plan and the propaganda effected by means of the "Bulletin de Diffusion", a small periodical serving the purpose of distributing Communist literature.

An exemplary propaganda has been made for the German edition. All printed matter, all the leaflets, the form and colour of the paper and the binding, all show a uniform, rational, and effective system of enterprise. The propaganda itself is on the same systematic lines. All the newspapers, including the bourgeois and Social Democratic ones have been furnished with gratis copies on the condition of discussing the publication, and this discussion is most accurately controlled. The Communist and other sympathising organs have published detailed discussions, besides various suitable commentaries and extracts, all of which benefit the sale of the works. An instance of the accuracy and the success of this systematic propaganda is afforded by the advance sale of Volume XIII. The propaganda matter distributed comprised

30,000 prospectuses, 5,000 subscription lists, 33 pages of advertising, and 55 preliminary announcements in the Party and other sympathising organisations;

20,000 prospectuses, 5,600 circulars and letters, 36 pages of advertising, and 80 preliminary announcements in the bourgeois book trade.

The outcome of this propaganda was 3000 advance orders before the appearance of the book. Of these, 800 fell to the share of the Party and 2,200 to that of the bourgeois book trade.

A constructive diagram shows the careful treatment and the development of the work of translation. Starting from the original text of the Russian edition of the Lenin Institute, we can trace the work of translation by means of various specimen sheets at different stages. An illustrative survey shows the course of publication from the preliminary proofs to the finished volume and the preparation of subsequent new editions. Special mention should be made of the method of consultation employed in translation. In the absence of an ideal type of translator with an equally perfect knowledge of various languages and of all the diverse realms of thought, besides at least thirty years' experience of the Bolshevik movement in theory and practice, it was necessary to arrange for a division of work in the sense that the rough translations were checked by various collaborators from the standpoint of special realms of thought, the final publication being effected on this basis. By this method the greatest degree of success was attained.

A glance at the comparative production of bourgeois and Social Democratic publishers shows that the entire get-up of the Lenin edition is above criticism and technically surpasses the best publications of the bourgeois book trade. As regards price, a number of instances show that it has been found possible to reduce the costs of production to a minimum and thus to publish the complete international edition of the works of Lenin at a price defying all competition and amounting to no more than half, and in the case of the German edition to no more than one third, of that of the corresponding editions of Social-Democratic and bourgeois concerns.

The complete international edition of Lenin's works is therefore, not only theoretically and politically but also from the standpoint of its comprehensive character, a unique occurrence in the history of Socialist literature. The scientific character of this edition, which has even been recognised by leading bourgeois experts, and the extraordinarily low price, which renders the acquisition of the books possible for every politically minded worker, are factors which are bound to break all previous records in regard to its sale.

In summing up we may say that the Lenin Institute in co-operation with the Communist Parties of all countries has succeeded in carrying out the decisions of the C. P. S. U. and of the Communist International and in making accessible the heritage of Lenin to the proletariat of the world.

## SOCIAL POLICY

### International Health Insurance Congress in Vienna.

By Willi Schlämm (Vienna).

From September 10th to 12th the International Health Insurance Congress was held in Vienna. The relative discussions hardly afforded any instructive survey of the status of workers' insurance in the various countries, to say nothing of the fruitful discussion of a programme of action or of the adoption of effective fighting measures.

Indeed, the composition and character of the congress did not permit of any illusions in this respect. The Health Insurance International is a loose combination of the health insurance institutions which are dependent upon the bourgeois Governments of the various European countries. No wonder that at the congress not a single word was spoken against any of the said Governments. The insured masses of workers, indeed, were not represented at all, so that the supreme insurance officials had it all to themselves.

Two facts were characteristic of the entire congress. The main authoritative personality present was **Albert Thomas**, who brought the congress the blessing of the International Labour Office at Geneva. The other fact is yet more significant. Among the three countries that were **not** invited was the **Soviet Union**. The provocative intention underlying this omission is particularly apparent in view of the fact that the other two countries thus slighted were Hungary and Italy. In all three cases the same motive was put forward, viz. that in the said countries the health insurance institutions are not administered by the insured themselves, which forms a presumption for membership according to para. 2 of the statutes of the "International Centre of Health Insurance and Relief Associations".

In **Hungary** and **Italy**, it is true, the health insurance institutions are anything but organs of the insured working masses, but, to tell the truth, this is also the case in a number of other countries which were nevertheless invited. In the **Soviet Union**, however, the self-administration of the workers' insurance institutions has been more radically effected than anywhere else. The Soviet Union is the **only** country in the world in which the health insurance institutions are administered exclusively by representatives of the insured; neither private enterprises nor even the State economic organs are represented on their boards.

In other countries the employers on the one hand and the (bourgeois) State on the other can take such an essential part

in the administration of the insurance institutions that in most cases there can really be no question of a self-administration of the insured.

In the place of the representatives from the Soviet Union, numerous employers' delegates were welcome guests, inter alia the secretary of the Association of Austrian Industrialists.

The provocative intention embodied in the non-invitation of the Soviet Union was only too apparent. **The spiritual leaders of the health insurance international are Social Democrats.** Quite in keeping with the Brussels tactics of a uniform treatment of Bolshevism and Fascism, it was the intention that not only Italy and Hungary but also the Soviet Union should here be held up to the workers as a power hostile to the workers' interests. The arrangers of the congress had, indeed, every reason to fear a participation of the Soviet Union, for it is just in the realm of the workers' insurance that the character of the Soviet Union as a Socialist and progressive workers' State is most apparent.

This could be confirmed by comparison with each individual report submitted with insurance conditions in the Soviet Union. At the congress the fact could naturally not be concealed that the general tendency of workers' insurance in the participating countries aims at letting the insured parties themselves bear the costs of insurance. The risk incurred in the exploitation of working forces is not to be borne by the exploiters but by the exploited. In the Soviet Union, however, the onus of social insurance expenses falls **completely** to the charge of the employers, irrespective whether it is a question of the few private employers or of State enterprises; though the insured parties alone administer the insurance institutions in the Soviet Union, they contribute nothing to the cost of their upkeep.

In reporting on **family insurance**, the French Senator **Jauniaux** had willy nilly to point out that the insurance funds are by no means sufficient and ought therefore to be increased. The Soviet Union is the only country in the world in which sick relief is paid in the full value of the **forfeited wages**. Nay, yet more, for if in the Soviet Union a worker is sent to a sanatorium or convalescent home he is not obliged to pay anything for this benefit but continues to draw his full wages.

A special item on the agenda of the congress pointed to the necessity of **compulsory insurance for agricultural workers**. The speaker reporting on this matter was **Lehmann**, Chairman of the Main Association of German Health Insurance Institutions. In the Soviet Union the insurance of agricultural workers is not only a matter of course and an essential component of national insurance, but insurance in rural districts even extends to poor peasant farmers.

In the report, by **Eldersch** of Vienna, on "**Health Insurance and Social Hygiene**", no country could naturally furnish even a fraction of the gigantic work of mass hygiene and the prevention and counter-action of disease which is effected in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the reporter and such others as spoke on this subject were constrained, though naturally in a very moderate form, to complain of the lack of understanding and responsibility evinced by most official quarters in question of social hygiene.

The nature of **social insurance in the capitalist countries** was aptly expressed in the reasons advanced by **Harris** (London) for the necessity of an "international agreement on health insurance". "The States", he said, "which have introduced health insurance, are interested in seeing a similar protection of all workers obtain in other countries too." What is therefore social insurance? Nothing but an element of capitalist competition. The health of the worker is not to be safeguarded for its own sake but only so that there should not be too great a difference between the costs of production in the individual countries.

Thus the course of the congress most clearly proved that in regard to social insurance the workers of all capitalist countries can gain a thousand times more inspiration in their struggle for the protection of the workers from the study of social insurance conditions in the Soviet than from the discussions of the insurance bureaucrats of capitalist Europe.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### The Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

Moscow, 15th September 1928.

The 16th session took place yesterday afternoon under the chairmanship of Comrade **Rust** (Great Britain).

Comrade **Mehring** made his closing speech on "The Y. C. I. and the Sport Movement": In the question of the united front tactics, the Congress of the Red Sport International adopted a programme for fighting the social democracy, winning the workers away from the bourgeois sport organisations, applying the united front from below and strengthening the mass work. Our congress must be the commencement of real mass work on the part of our leagues in the sport organisations.

#### Comrade Auer (Germany)

made the report of the committee on credentials. There are 138 delegates with decisive and 95 delegates with consultative votes representing 44 countries with decisive and five countries with consultative votes. Of 132 delegates included in the statistics, 105 are members of the Party, 91 members of Trade Unions, 88 workers, 27 employees and students, 16 peasants. The congress adopted the report of the committee.

Comrade **Miltschakov**, the secretary of the Y. C. I. of the Soviet Union reported on the "**Youth in the Building up of Socialism**":

For ten years the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union has co-operated actively in the work of socialist construction. The League will defend the Soviet Union with all its forces. The League has now 2,100,000 members. The chief tasks of this mass league are the struggle against the hindrances to the work of socialist construction, illiteracy, etc. This struggle is carried on by means of mass work in the Soviets, the trade unions, the co-operatives and other mass organisations. The so-called "light cavalry", i. e. groups of young communists whose special task it is to fight against the bureaucracy, are of particular importance. The central organ of the league, the daily newspaper "**Komsomolskaya Pravda**" plays an important role. The independence of the young workers is being widely developed. The league is the pioneer of socialist rationalisation and gives the masses of the workers an example of labour discipline and introduces new forms of the labour process. Special groups exist in the factories. Unfortunately, the youth take too little part in the productive discussions and in the work for the collectivisation of agriculture.

The tasks of educating the new generation in a communist spirit are very different from the tasks of the league in the civil war. The League must educate revolutionary internationalists in the spirit of the Y. C. I. Close contact must therefore be established with all sections of the Y. C. I. Nationalism amongst the national minorities must also be opposed. Other important tasks are the work for carrying on the cultural revolution, fighting against illiteracy by organising a campaign to teach the illiterate to read and write, and above all the abolition of illiteracy in the league itself. Broad cultural mass work is being conducted in the clubs, in the cinematographs and other theaters, through the radio. It is specially important to win the youth away from the class enemy, particularly from the influence of religion. The League fights against alcoholism; by collective and healthy life the League will be victorious.

The education of the children is very important for the League. There are 2,000,000 pioneers in the Soviet Union. The work of the pioneer organisation must proceed under the increased leadership of the League. The connection between cultural and proletarian work in the League is particularly important. The League is carrying on a campaign to organise the whole working youth. At present 45 per cent belong to the League. The proletarian leadership in the village must be strengthened.

The basic principle of the economic work of the League is the setting up of a close connection between the productive

work and the education of the young workers. There are approximately 2,000,000 young workers employed in industry, in the R. S. F. S. R. there are 456 factory schools. The League has two types of factory schools, one with a two years course to turn masses of young workers into qualified workers and another three to four year course to produce highly specialised workers. The first type of school is being temporarily maintained as also the organisation of pre-school courses, above all, for the unemployed. The factory schools are the nuclei of the socialist organisation of the young workers. These schools do not produce automats, but workers with an all-round training. Parallel with the factory school there are the seven or nine class general schools. The number of young workers engaged in production and the number of those visiting the evening schools are increasing as also is the number of young workers attending workers faculties and the university. Last year the wages of the apprentices increased and are now approximately fifty per cent of an average wage. The League demands further increase of the tariffs. The working youth have four weeks paid holidays which they can spend in sanatoria or recreation homes. In connection with the introduction of the seven hour day, the League proposes the introduction of the five hour day for the youth. In connection with the five years' economic plan, the League proposed a number of improvements in the apprentice system and the labour protection regulations. It also proposed wage increases for young workers and special measures against unemployment.

In the League there is a growth of interest for the application of new methods in the mass work, the development of League democracy and the improvement of the standard of the officials. The number of officials is growing as also is the percentage of young comrades belonging to the party. During the last two years the League handed over 140,000 members to the party. The League recognises that it has still great deficiencies. Under the slogan of self criticism it is carrying on an energetic campaign. The League is rallying the broad masses of the young workers and peasants for a decisive struggle for communism. (Storms of Applause.)

Comrade **Blenkle** (Germany) read the following resolution signed by the Young Communist Leagues of China, France, Great Britain, Germany, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Sweden:

The fifth World Congress of the Y. C. I. approves completely of the policy and activity of the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. The World Congress observes with pleasure the successful activity of the League for drawing the masses of the working class youth into the work for the construction of socialism. This policy was expressed particularly in the training of new groups of qualified workers and technical specialists and in the continuation of the work for the socialist reorganisation of the youth work. The Congress observes in particular the successes of the cultural revolution, the work for the collectivisation of agriculture, for the participation of the League in the campaign of self criticism and in the struggle against bureaucracy. With satisfaction the Congress observes that **Trotskyism** has been completely defeated.

The Congress recognises the great work which has been done to support the Leagues in the capitalist and colonial countries, particularly in China both morally and materially. The Congress regards the establishment of closer connection between the working youth in the capitalist countries and the working youth in the Soviet Union to be important work. The chief tasks of the League in the Soviet Union is to strengthen the defence of the Soviet Union against the attacks of the imperialist powers. The Congress is convinced that under the leadership of the Leninist Y. C. I. the working youth will be the most heroic defenders of the workers' State. The league will receive energetic support in its work from the proletarian youth all over the world. The Y. C. I. pledges itself to mobilise the working youth of all countries to defend the Soviet Union and to fight until the World October has been won.

A discussion then followed concerning the international relations between the sections of the Y. C. I. and the League of the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 17th September, 1928.

The 17th Plenary Session was opened today with Comrade **Dalland** (Norway) in the chair. The report on the **Position and Tasks of the Communist Children's Movement** was delivered by

**Comrade Darcy** (U. S. A.):

Child labour and child misery are characteristic of the life of the proletarian children. The abolition of the laws protecting children and of the free materials and food hitherto supplied, has greatly worsened the position of the workers' children. The health of the children has deteriorated, and undernourishment dooms a high percentage to tuberculosis. Since the war rationalisation has greatly increased child labour, a retrogression for which the weakening of the trade unions and of labour control is responsible. Child labour is especially prevalent in agricultural work.

The bourgeoisie is adapting the schools to the needs of war preparation and rationalisation, employing methods of increased militarisation, furtherance of patriotism, propaganda against the Soviet Union, intensified religious teaching, severer discipline accompanied by corporal punishment, open support of Fascist and scout organisations, persecution of revolutionary children's organisations, technical preparatory training for simple processes of work, and finally, propaganda for class co-operation.

The bourgeois and social-democratic children's organisations have grown during the last few years.

In spite of favourable conditions, our leagues work feebly, do not protect the interests of the proletarian children sufficiently, and participate but little in the struggles of the adults. We can, however, record a certain amount of success during the last two years.

We must increase our demands for the practical needs of the children, and prevent their conditions of life from sinking lower; this means inducing them to take active part in the election campaigns and strikes, demanding food for strikers' children, combating militarisation, corporal punishment, and religious instruction. We must fight for the legality of the revolutionary children's organisations. The foundation of the revolutionary children's organisation is the participation in the class struggle, accompanied by the improvement of the inner organisatory life, the introduction of new methods, such as games, songs, theatrical performances, with a political purpose, in order to develop our leagues into mass organisations.

The organisations have fallen off numerically, but have become stronger organisationally, and have learnt to define clearly the rôle falling to them. One conspicuous political success was the delegations to the Soviet Union. The weakness of our children's organisations is partly due to the lack of support by the Party and by the Communist Youth. More support from these bodies is a prerequisite for the further development of the children's organisations.

Our main task is to intensify our work in the schools, to ensure the participation of the children in the struggles of the adults, to strengthen our oppositional work, and to induce the Parties and Young Communist Leagues to give practical help. (Applause.)

The Congress was then addressed by a delegation of young railway workers from Rostov, who brought presents for the Congress.

The discussion on the report on the position and tasks of the Communist Children's movement was then opened.

**Comrade Sothmann** (Germany):

The German state school law aims at clericalising the schools. We must combat energetically the "Children's Friends" and other social-democratic organisations.

**Comrade Lynch** (England):

The development of the economic struggle of the children is of special importance. In England we organised children's strikes, got the children to take part in the election campaigns, and won over proletarian children from bourgeois organisations. Our work must be furthered by practical aid from the youth leagues.

**Comrade Billoux** (France):

The most important question for us is to combat the militarisation of the children.

**Comrade Sorin (International Children's Bureau):**

We must devote more attention to such methods of work as excursions, camps, living newspapers, etc. Communist education is of great importance. We must take care that the pioneer movement is not isolated in its struggles. It is also our task to develop international connections.

**Comrade Adam (Czechoslovakia):**

The standpoint of the Party with respect to the children's organisations is one of the causes of their weakness. In Czechoslovakia our children's organisation is compelled to work with illegal methods. The exploitation of children in agricultural labour must be more energetically combated. Another main task is the training of leading functionaries.

**Comrade Wiesner (International Children's Bureau):**

The military preparation of the children is being carried on more energetically than ever. The Fascist and scout organisations are steadily increasing. It is of great political importance that our Parties support the children's organisations.

**Comrade Darcy then replied to the discussion:**

The main direction in which our discussion leads is clear: The resolution lays down the main lines for our work, and the International Children's Conference to take place shortly will give us the opportunity to define our tasks in detail.

\* \* \*

**Moscow, 17th September, 1928.**

The eighteenth session of the V. World Congress of the C. Y. I. was held this afternoon, with Comrade Limanovski (Poland) in the chair.

**Comrade Fokin**

**gave the report of the colonial commission:**

The Y. C. I. of China has before it the task of overcoming the sectarian and liquidatory tendencies, of strengthening its trade union work, and improving its social composition. These tasks are the main problems of the Chinese league. One of the most important tasks of the Y. C. I. is the founding of a Young Communist League in India. This requires much ideological clarification, and also the aid of the English Y. C. L. We have accomplished but little towards the solution of the Negro problem; the Y. C. L. of the United States, and the Latin American leagues, must provide the required cadre of functionaries. The section of the theses dealing with South America, with the tasks of the mother countries, and with the part played by the colonies in war, should be extended. A commission should be appointed to deal with the questions of the working and peasant youth associations. The theses on the colonial question were then passed unanimously.

**Comrade Young**

**gave the report of the commission for economic and trade union work:**

The commission has examined the experiences acquired by the leagues in the sphere of economic and trade union work, of strike strategy, and of the vocational school problem. The speaker stressed the defects of the trade union work and the deficient trade unionist organisation of the members. It is our immediate task to insure that the members of the youth leagues are 100 per cent. organised in the trade unions. The tasks incident to the formation of factory nuclei must be combined with the trade union work. Mass work must be carried on in the revolutionary trade unions. When working in the trade unions, we must issue definite slogans and fight for the demands of the young workers; functionaries representing the youth must work in the unions and gain the works and factories for the movement. The theses must be complemented with respect to the imminence of the war danger. The speaker dealt further with the theory of youth strikes, and with the part played by Fascism in trade union work.

The theses on economic and trade union work, the lines laid down for strike strategy, and the resolution on vocational education, were then passed unanimously.

**Comrade Pioneer (China)**

**made the following declaration:**

The Chinese delegation is in agreement with the criticism

on the work of the Chinese Y. C. L. It emphasises that it itself fully recognises these faults and deficiencies; the assertion that it has failed to recognise them is, however, not correct.

**Comrade Grigoryev**

**read the report of the peasant section:**

The discussion has dealt with the deficiencies of work in the rural districts. It is extremely necessary to combat militarism more determinedly in the country, to fight more energetically against Fascism and to intensify the work among the women. Our activities among the young peasantry in the colonies must be increased. We must gather together the masses of peasant youth in relief organisations, and draw up a far reaching programme of partial demands.

The resolution on this question was passed unanimously.

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**Moscow, 18th September, 1928.**

The nineteenth Plenary Session of the V. World Congress of the Communist Youth International was held under the chairmanship of Comrade Benario (Germany).

**Comrade Wiesner (International Children's Bureau)**

**reported on the work of the Young Pioneers commission, which proposes some alterations in the theses.**

The theses on the position and tasks of the communist children's movement were passed unanimously.

**Comrade Barbé (France)**

**reported on the work of the anti-militarist section:**

The theses dealing with anti-militarist work have been more precisely delineated in the questions of the reorganisation of imperialist forces, and of the rôle played by the social democratic leaders and the Socialist Youth International. The social democratic leaders and the S. Y. I. not only spread abroad pacifist illusions, but take active part in the preparations for war. We must work energetically to gain supporters in the army and to organise the broad masses. The principles and tactics of our struggle against the military training of young people were dealt with. It is necessary to employ a differentiated tactic; the struggle against the military organisations must be combined with political and economic demands.

The theses on anti-militarist work were passed unanimously.

**Comrade Leo (Germany)**

delivered the report on the work of the organisation commission. He summed up the experiences gained by the leagues in the work of training staffs of instructors for works and factories; in the organisation of factory newspapers, mutual information, etc. The results of the work done by the organisation commission, in the form of a written report, will be placed at the disposal of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. for reference in its future work.

**Comrade Holmberg (Sweden)**

**reported on the work of the Statutes Commission, which has made some alterations in style in the statutes submitted. The statutes were then passed unanimously.**

**Comrade Auer (Y. C. I.)**

**spoke on the work of the Sport Commission. The resolution stressed the development of the bourgeois sport organisations in the direction of factory sport clubs. (The resolution was adopted as a basis).**

**Comrade Geminder (Y. C. I.)**

**reported on the work of the Agitprop Commission. Some alterations have been made in the theses: the sub chapters have been rearranged under the different spheres of work. New sections have been added on the work among young girls and in the rural districts. The chapter on the illegal leagues has been enlarged. In the chapter dealing with the press more stress is laid on the importance of the worker and peasant correspondents.**

The meeting, after taking cognisance of the proposals made to the E. C. of the Y. C. I., that the results of international experience should be exchanged, an international Agitprop conference convened, and an international school for functionaries be organised for the period of six months, and after resolving to draw up instructions in the training question, passed the theses unanimously.

Moscow, 18th September, 1928.

At the twentieth Plenary Session of the V. World Congress of the C. Y. I., held in the evening of 18th September under the chairmanship of comrade Gorkic,

#### Comrade Schueller

gave his report on the work of the Programme Commission.

The Programme Commission has accepted the draft programme unanimously. The discussion showed us that the young people are greatly interested in theory, but that up to the present we have not done enough to organise this interest and to direct it in the right paths. It must be the task of the Congress to give this interest a firm foundation, by means of combining our slogans with the ultimate aim by theoretical enlightenment, and by better political training.

The programme is a programme of working youth in the fight for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. It signifies more than a complement to the programme of the Comintern. We are an international organisation, and our sphere of activity is the whole world.

The programme shows clearly the character of the revolution as a social revolution. It gives a general survey of the position of the juvenile workers in the capitalist countries and in the colonies. A special chapter gives instructions to the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union.

The working class is the leader of all toiling classes. Therefore the programme insists on the necessity of recruiting the majority of the members of the Young Communist Leagues from the proletariat.

The Y. C. I. has already had one programme. The present one makes use of all that is best in the Stuttgart programme, and also makes use of Leninism.

The Young workers, being in a weaker position, are more exploited than adults under capitalism. In consideration of this and also of the special tasks to be fulfilled by the proletariat after it has seized power, the programme includes a special chapter on the position of young people under Socialism and Communism. We must carry on more propaganda for the ultimate aims of Communism. The fundamental principles to be observed towards youth under Socialism demand special protection for juvenile workers, and education in Socialism. We reject the social-democratic proposal to lengthen the school period; we are in favour of permitting juvenile workers to be employed, but with efficient protection against exploitation. Socialism fulfils the task of the social reorganisation of juvenile labour. All our struggles are subordinate to this aim. The social education of the new human being is impossible under capitalism, and is only possible under Socialism. The education of the new social human being has begun under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The programme further demonstrates the necessity of the Young Communist Leagues. The establishment of Young Communist Leagues is in the interests of the whole working class. The working class is struggling with the bourgeoisie for the allegiance of the young people. The Communist Party requires a preparatory school and a reserve force. Therefore, the programme emphasises the necessity of forming Young Communist Leagues in all countries. The social democratic idea of the activities of youth organisations is the culture movement, the development of the new human being by means of the fight against alcohol tobacco, pernicious literature, cinema, replacing these by outings, games, sport, art, etc. Our educational work is a continuation of our struggle, is learning on the very basis of the struggle. The central question of the programme of the Young Communist Leagues is mass training for Communism.

We have discussed the organisational independence of the Young Communist Leagues, and have decided that we must hold congresses of our own, but must continue to be politically subordinate to the Party.

We have corrected the errors committed by the second congress of the Y. C. I. We have established the necessity of auxiliary and mass organisations alongside of the Y. C. L.'s. It is incumbent on us to ensure that the non-party youth do not remain politically neutral. The programme raises once more the question of the organisation of economic organisations for the youth. We must refuse to form such organisations where they are to be formed only as result of the failure of the reformists to protect the interests of the juvenile workers, and are likely to replace the much more necessary work in the trade unions. Separate organisations for young workers may only be organised where the youth cannot be organised in the trade unions.

The programme places the combating of reformism in the foreground of the economic struggle. We have defined our demands more clearly, and the programme now shows the actual connections between our partial demands and our ultimate goal of social reorganisation.

The programme makes as its central point the fight against war. We combat on principle the bourgeois military youth organisations; we advocate proletarian military training by the working class. For this reason we organise such defence organisations as the Youth Force (Jungsturm). The bourgeoisie pretends that its military organisations are neutral. We must make it clear to all, firstly, that this is not the case, and secondly, that our standpoint is precisely the opposite. It is most necessary to carry our influence into both the compulsory and the volunteer organisations. We do not call upon the juvenile workers to join the volunteer organisations.

We have made alterations considerably improving the chapter on the colonial question. We show the necessity of forming Young Communist Leagues in the colonies, and of organising the masses.

The concluding chapter, dealing with the Soviet Union, shows concretely the manner in which Communist Youth works under the proletarian dictatorship. The Soviet Union is a shining example for the juvenile workers of the whole world. The unanimity of the Congress is a good sign for the future of the Y. C. I. The Congress has given the working youth a new programme, a new weapon a new fingerpost on the road. Youth is the purest flame of revolution. (Enthusiastic applause; the Congress sings the "International").

There then follows the discussion.