

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 7. No. 48

18th August 1927

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

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The Results of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and of the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

By D. Bennett.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. sat for little less than two weeks, from the 29th of July to 9th of August. It was able to examine all the most important questions which are of great interest not only to the working-class of the Soviet Union, but to the workers of the whole world. The main questions on the agenda were: 1. The international situation; 2. the control figures of national economy for the economic year 1927/28; 3. the activity of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection; 4. the action of the Opposition; 5. the question of the Party Congress.

On the basis of the most careful and all-round examination of the international situation, the Joint Plenum came to the conclusion that it is characterised by the military intervention of the imperialists in China and by the organisation of a new war on the Soviet Union. In the resolution we read: "The danger of a counter-revolutionary war on the Soviet Union is the most acute problem of the present period". The Plenum affirmed the correctness of the persistent policy and the persistent fight for peace which is being conducted by the Soviet Union. At the same time it noted the success of those preliminary measures which have been undertaken for the defence of the Soviet Union. The resolution states: "The appeal of the Party and of the Soviet Power for all-round preparation for

defence of the proletarian country has met with the warmest response on the part on the working class of the Soviet Union, who have shown during the Defence Week their determination, their capacity to lead the peasantry and to protect the centre of the international revolution against the attacks of imperialism".

The resolution on the international situation contains a special point relating to the Chinese Revolution. The resolution, in this section, records the correctness of the line of the Comintern in all the phases of development of the Chinese revolution. The resolution points out that the Comintern foresaw in good time the transition from one phase to another, and did everything that lay in its power to prepare the masses for the approaching transition. The relative youth of the C. P. of China and the opportunist attitude of the leaders of the Party often prevented the directions of the Comintern from being carried out correctly and in good time. This whole section of the resolution is permeated by a confident revolutionary optimism and a deep conviction that the Chinese Revolution will survive all its severest tests and will fulfil its historic mission.

The resolution on the economic situation enumerates the most important indications of the development of economic con-

struction in the current year. We give these here in full: 1. Average increase of output by State industry in 8 months of 20 to 21%; 2. capital outlay in the sphere of industry and electrification amounting to over a milliard roubles, and commencing of such works as Dnieperstroi and Semiretchensk railway; average increase of real wages in the past nine months of 11.5% compared with the same period in the previous year, with simultaneous increase in the productivity of labour; 4. commencement of reduction of prices of industrial products; 5. stability of grain purchasing prices in the course of the whole year and reduction of the selling price of grain; 6. extension of the areas under cultivation, special seeds in the year 1927; 7. domination of the market by the co-operatives and the State trade at the cost of private capital, which is being ousted; 8. achievement of a favourable balance of foreign trade, which in 8 months amounted to 102 million roubles, as against an unfavourable balance in the last two years; 9. successful carrying out of the State budget in spite of a considerable deficit in the railway budget; 10. increase of the purchasing power of the rouble.

It goes without saying that the Joint Plenum subjected to a most careful examination all those shortcomings and difficulties which the work of socialist construction encounters. After comparing the favourable and unfavourable factors the Plenum arrived at the conclusion that the "general economic results of the current year, so far as they can be judged from the returns to date, have proved to be favourable".

The resolution on the activity of the workers' and peasants' inspection contains a clear analysis of the achievements of the Party and of the Soviet power in the fight against bureaucratic degeneration. It is known what extraordinary importance Lenin attached to this organ. He wrote that "with us the State apparatus is so wretched, not to say, abominable, that we must think very seriously in what way we can combat its failings". The resolution of the Joint Plenum shows that the Party is following these instructions of Lenin very seriously and exerting all its forces in order to bring the Soviet apparatus into harmony with the tasks of socialist construction. The resolution declares that this work will be carried out successfully only if broad masses of the proletariat take active part in the fight against every failing and degeneration on the part of the Soviet apparatus.

The Joint Plenum was compelled to pay tremendous attention to the Opposition. This opposition, in spite of its solemn promises given on the 16th of October 1926 and of the emphatic directions of the May Plenum of the Comintern, is energetically continuing its fractional and anti-Party activity, which in the last few months reached its highest point. The Central Control Commission of the C. P. S. U. were compelled, in full agreement with the decisions of the 10th Congress of the C. P. S. U., to submit to the Joint Plenum the question as to the expulsion of Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky from the Central Committee on account of their obviously disruptive activity. It was only after the Joint Plenum had declared itself for the expulsion of those two comrades from the C. C., that the Opposition, in view of the immediately threatening expulsion, made a new declaration containing more or less evasive answers to the plain questions submitted to it by the Plenum. At the same time the Joint Plenum, in the interests of unity and in view of the retreat of the Opposition and its new promises "to fulfil all the decisions of the C. P. S. U. and its C. C.", decided to withdraw the question of the expulsion of Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky and to confine itself to giving them a severe censure. It is hardly necessary to mention that this strong censure is the last warning of the C. P. S. U. to the Opposition, which has lost all support. The fate of the opposition, which consists of generals without an army, lies in its own hands. It has the full possibility of returning to the bosom of the Party, if it is so minded. If, however, it is determined to continue its disruptive work and to sink still deeper in the swamp of menshevism, it will soon be outside the proletarian Communist movement.

The Congress of the C. P. S. U. will be opened on the 1st of December. This Congress will draw the balance of the tremendous struggle of the most eventful decade in the history of mankind and lay down those new tasks which confront the first Socialist State.

In conclusion, it should be remarked that the meetings of active Party members in Leningrad and Moscow have fully and

entirely endorsed the decisions of the Joint Plenum. One can be certain that the resolutions of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. of the C. P. S. U. will meet with the widest response among the revolutionary workers of all countries.

RESCUE SACCO AND VANZETTI.

Appeal of the International Red Aid.

To all Toilers and Intellectuals, to All Right-Thinking Men and Women!

We appeal to you at the last and decisive moment.

Your powerful protest has for a moment prevented the executioners of Sacco and Vanzetti from carrying out the vile murder.

But the executioners have not abandoned their intentions.

They do not release their victims from their iron clutches.

They are subjecting them to the most cruel torture imaginable.

The execution has been postponed for a few days solely in order to reduce the pressure of the powerful campaign and to weaken the tremendous wave of growing indignation.

Reply this cruel and cynical challenge to the millions of workers with a still more powerful protest.

Demand with all your powers, with all means the immediate release of the two martyrs of the working class.

May your threatening protest force the hand of the executioners to tremble!

Put an end to the insolent scorning of the workers!

Release the innocently condemned!

Act!

The Executive Committee of the
International Red Aid.

Energetic Protest Action of the French Proletariat against the Hangmen's Justice of American Capital.

By Michael Hollay, Paris.

The proletariat of France once more breathed freely on August 11th, but the nature of the relief was the cause of further indignation.

Twelve days' postponement! Sacco and Vanzetti are not free! It is true the American diehards have yielded before the tornado of the working masses' indignation. But another twelve days of excruciating death agony for Sacco and Vanzetti; twelve days of paralysing anxiety for the whole of the international working class.

The masses were already on the move in France. This diabolic sadism will bring them to boiling point.

For the last 14 days the French working class has been mobilised. For 14 days the C. P. F., the C. G. T. U., the Red Aid and the other revolutionary organisations have been sounding the alarm day after day. For 14 days the "Humanité" has been calling for proletarian protest actions in a manner which our Communist newspapers usually adopt only in regard to matters of the gravest importance; a manner which proves the extent to which truly proletarian, international solidarity is given expression in our Press.

As the mouthpiece of all revolutionary organisations, the "Humanité" depicted the true class significance of the Sacco-Vanzetti affair, showed it to be a challenge to the international proletariat and pointed out the relation between the torture of Sacco and Vanzetti and the persecutions and murders in other bourgeois countries, the growth of international hatred of capitalists for the proletariat, the Fascist movement. It made the demand for the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti the leading point in a huge campaign for a general international amnesty. It threatened in the name of all the revolutionary organisations of France to take up the offensive in case Sacco and Vanzetti

should be executed. There is no lack of opportunities of getting in some telling blows at American imperialism.

The numerous meetings and demonstrations of protest, which during the last 14 days have set in action hundreds of thousands of workers in all the larger working centres of France; the powerful and disciplined demonstration, which on Sunday, August 6th brought on to the streets of Paris over a hundred thousand proletarians, the majority of whom marched under the red, Communist flags; the mass meetings which are now being held daily in Paris; the imposing general strike of the vanguard of the French proletariat held last Monday — all these events are features of the steady storm of protest against American and international bourgeois terror.

This storm will become a hurricane in case Fuller and Thayer, those modern priests of the Golden Calf, sacrifice the worker-blood of Sacco and Vanzetti to their god.

The revolutionary trade unions have already issued the slogan as to boycotting all American goods, whether produced in America or in France, and all American films, etc., and are already energetically preparing it. A reception by the proletariat is being prepared for the 30,000 Fascists of the "American Legion", who wish to hold their congress in September in Paris — at the cost of French tax-payers (three and a half million francs has been allotted as subsidies for them by the French Government).

To what extent this whole movement can count upon the sympathy of the entire population can be estimated from the fact that nearly the whole of the intelligentsia and even many bourgeois politicians have sent letters of protest to the American Legal Department. Even though they are only appeals to "Humanity", they are still the expression of the tremendous excitement of the working masses of France. Though the left-bourgeois and Social-Democratic journals, too, have conducted an energetic campaign "on grounds of humanity and justice" for the rescue of Sacco and Vanzetti, they do so merely because they are afraid that the vanishing belief in American bourgeois justice might cause the French masses to draw from this crass case a general conclusion, which might also be used by them upon "Democratic" class-justice in France. Their hypocrisy is shown most clearly by the circumstance that neither the Socialist Party nor the reformist trade unions have done anything to inaugurate an effective proletarian solidarity movement.

Another twelve days! The flood of protest from the workers must be increased twelve-fold. The class-will of the German, the British, the international proletariat and, first and foremost, the French, must be exerted to the utmost to render the proper answer to this new provocation, this prolongation of the torture of the workers. Should the justice of American plutocracy dare to tear these two living cells out of the international proletarian body, it will learn to its cost that the proletariat will not allow such an inhuman game to be played with it.

Socialist Leaders Assist in Placing Sacco and Vanzetti in the Electric Chair.

By H. Shaw.

The struggle to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti has evoked a response from millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals. In every country all sections of the labour movement have united in one effort to rescue the two Italian workers from the torture chamber.

Despite the heroic stand made by the two victims, despite the wonderful solidarity shown by millions of workers in their efforts to save Sacco and Vanzetti, the yellow socialist leaders, ever true to their shameful role as protectors of the bourgeois state, have once again shown their real face.

Their one aim has been, not to join in the fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti as a class issue, but to prevent the anger of the workers taking forms dangerous to the bourgeoisie. To side-track every movement of the masses into "safe" channels, to strangle at its birth every effort of the workers to unify and strengthen their power; such is the role of the American Socialist leaders as of the Social Democratic leaders of every other country.

Recently 30,000 workers protested in New-York against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. This demonstration was possibly the largest workers demonstration ever seen in New York and was certainly a significant act of solidarity. For the workers the demonstration meant a united front; but for the Socialist leaders, a dangerous event in which the Left wing might be strengthened.

Ben Gold, a popular left-wing worker of the Furriers Union, was in the demonstration, he was recognized and at once carried on the shoulders of the cheering workers to one of the platforms. When he started to climb on the platform Abraham Weinberg, socialist chairman, called for the police. The great throng kept demanding: "Gold! Gold!" at the same time booing the socialist chairman and the police.

But the police charged into the crowd, mounted men in the lead, and drove them back.

Followed by thousands of cheering workers, Gold was carried to a platform at the eastern end of the square, the crowd continuing to demand "Gold! Gold!"

When he started his speech, in response to thunderous demands of the great crowd that he take the platform, again the socialists, August Claessens and Sam Friedman, called for aid from the police. Not content with thus violating the spirit of the meeting and nullifying the overwhelmingly expressed desires of the thousands of workers there, Claessens and Friedman took part in the police assault on Gold, and Claessens personally kicked him in the chest as he fell down before the massed rush of the New York bomb squad. The meeting was broken up.

Although the left-wing workers, the most advanced section of the trade union movement, have carried the burden of the fight for the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti, the campaign for the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti had been made by the whole labour movement. Half a million workers in New York alone made a one hours strike on their behalf.

The Socialist Party leaders who are directly responsible for the breaking up of the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration not only struck a blow at the solidarity of labour, but directed an attack at the very life of the labour movement itself.

The Socialists in the conventions of the American Federation of Labour, at Atlantic City, in 1925, and at Detroit, in 1926, were silent on the Sacco-Vanzetti issue. They joined with the reaction in evading the issue.

The Socialists merely added another chapter, therefore, to their betrayal of Sacco and Vanzetti when they, with the aid of the New York police, refused to permit Ben Gold to speak after thousands of enthusiastic and militant workers had demanded that he mount the speakers' stand and address them.

The working class of the whole world must, despite the efforts of the social-democratic leaders to sabotage their solidarity, unite in an overwhelming effort to secure the release of these two brave fighters who for seven years have suffered torture at the hands of the most callous and cruel section of world capitalism.

The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti would signify a victory for the bourgeoisie over the world labour movement. Not only two brave lives are at stake, but the American bourgeoisie have thrown a challenge to the working class. The challenge must be accepted. The saving of Sacco and Vanzetti will be a victory for the working class. Sacco and Vanzetti, two victims of a dastardly frame-up must be released!

CHINA

The Recent Developments in China.

By Tang Shin She.

The Flight of Chiang Kai-Shek from Nanking to Shanghai.

Already for some time past the news from China pointed to the approaching defeat of Chiang Kai-Shek. Up to the last few days "The Times", the official British organ, reported that high officers of Sun Chuan Fang had taken up quarters in the foreign hotels of Shanghai for the purpose of preparing for the entry of Sun Chuan Fang's troops, and there were even reports that Chiang Kai-Shek and his staff were removing from Nanking to Shanghai. The flight to Shanghai seems, according

to all indications, to mean the preparation for the entire retreat of Chiang Kai-Shek to his home in Chekiang. According to the opinion of "The Times", the Nanking government has already ceased to exist.

Who has delivered this crushing defeat to the hitherto so victorious Napoleonic war-lord, Chiang Kai-Shek? According to the opinion of the press the defeat is due to the ruler of Shantung, Chang Tsung Chang, who had been almost annihilated, and Sun Chuan Fang who has gone from defeat to defeat, and whom even Chang Tso Lin was prepared only recently to abandon in favour of an alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek and Feng Yu Hsiang. Even at the beginning of July, when Chiang Kai-Shek (from the Pukow—Tientsin railway line) and Feng Yu Hsiang (from the Lunghai line) were undertaking an attack on Shantung and an eminent under-general of the remainder of the troops of Sun Chuan Fang, who held possession of the coast district and an important railway line of Shanghai, went over to Chiang Kai-Shek, Sun Chuan Fang and Chang Tsung Chang were in the last stage of the death struggle.

That these two generals should have recovered, and that so quickly, and are today proceeding aggressively and victoriously against Chiang Kai-Shek, is, of course, only to be attributed to the active aid of the imperialists. There are in China at present over 100,000 foreign soldiers. Owing to the tropical heat these foreign troops are almost all concentrated in the Northern province of Shantung: the Japanese being in Tsintao and the English in Wei-Hai-Wei. During their Summer stay in this province, the foreign troops have been engaged in most active work. Sun Chuan Fang and Chang Tsung Chang's troops who had long been without any pay and who, owing to lack of munitions, were almost incapable of fighting, were suddenly provided with modern weapons and sufficient funds. That is the solution of the riddle of their sudden recovery.

That the English supported their old lackey, Sun Chuan Fang against Chiang Kai-Shek, who openly sympathises with Japan and France, is to be understood. But why Japan, even if it did not openly support, favoured Sun Chuan Fang's march on Shantung by agreeing without demur to England aiding Sun Chuan Fang, is not clear at the first moment. A closer view, however, reveals several reasons for this action.

1. On a world-political scale: Japan hoped at the Naval Disarmament Conference in Geneva to have the opportunity of bringing about again the old alliance with England against America in the Pacific Ocean. It was probably for this reason that it suddenly agreed to the division of China: England dominating the South and Japan the North of China.

2. Japan had insisted on the triple alliance: Chiang Kai-Shek, Chang Tso Lin and Yen Shi San, but was against an alliance between Chiang Kai-Shek and Feng Yu Hsiang. It therefore endeavoured to prevent any common action on the part of Chiang Kai-Shek and Feng Yu Hsiang in Shantung, and sought to prevent, even by an open intervention, the sending of troops to Tsinan.

3. Japan had realised that Chiang Kai-Shek was not capable of exercising sufficient power over the people, that he was not even able to suppress the anti-Japanese boycott of goods in Shanghai and South China. That he had the will to do this is to be seen from the official Japanese organ "Shun-tien Shihpao" published in Peking, which wrote at the beginning of July: "Chiang Kai-Shek is against the boycott of Japanese goods. He stated in a speech: 'The sending of Japanese troops to North China is not directed against us, but in the first place against the Communists.'"

Chiang Kai-Shek was nevertheless still dangerous for Japan; perhaps more dangerous than Chang Tsung Chang and Sun Chuan Fang. For this reason Japan was not sorry to see a reduction of the power of Chiang Kai-Shek by the other side.

Already before and immediately after his open treachery in the middle of April last, Chiang Kai-Shek declared that it was impossible to achieve the abolition of the unequal treaties by revolutionary methods, by force; one must do this by means of negotiations. Using the same argument that the Communists wished to achieve everything by means of force, he proceeded to disarm the workers' defence and caused the workers to be shot, in order thereby to win the confidence of the great Powers.

In order to ameliorate the financial difficulties, to satisfy the native bourgeoisie and to continue the attempt, commenced

by Japan after the Peking Customs Conference, to destroy the British trade monopoly in South China, Chiang Kai-Shek has fixed the increased customs duties to come into force on the 1st September.

In order to obtain most favoured nation conditions, Japan immediately sent the Japanese Ambassador from Peking to the negotiations at Nanking. England, on its part, immediately held discussions in the diplomatic corps for the purpose of common intervention, and on the other hand took measures for strengthening Sun Chuan Fang's troops, so that the latter could immediately commence the march on Shanghai to annihilate Chiang Kai-Shek.

After the bargaining in the diplomatic corps the Japanese adopted a passive attitude and sacrificed their friend Chiang Kai-Shek. Chiang Kai-Shek has suppressed the "Red spectre" in Shanghai, he can go. The situation is similar to what it was 15 years ago. In 1911 Sun Yat Sen was betrayed by the Right Kuomintang in order to please the imperialists and General Yuan Shi Kai. In 1913 the traitors were themselves driven bag and baggage out of China by Yuan Shi Kai. The imperialists always have and always will choose the most reactionary of the military rulers as their assistants.

The Triple Alliance against Feng Yu Hsiang.

Acting in accordance with the Japanese policy of dividing up China, Chiang Kai-Shek, already at the beginning of the present year and behind the back of the Kuomintang, entered into negotiations with Chang Tso Lin for the purpose of forming an alliance. Before the treachery of Feng Yu Hsiang against the Kuomintang at the Hsuehchow Conference with Chiang Kai-Shek, the preparations for a triple alliance of Chiang Kai-Shek, Chang Tso Lin and Yen Shi San were in full swing. The triple alliance was to be directed chiefly against Feng Yu Hsiang; formally it was directed against Communist Wuhan. Urged by his great longing to recapture Peking, Feng Yu Hsiang came to an understanding with his rival Chiang Kai-Shek and committed the blackest treachery to the revolution. From the notorious Conference at Hsuehchow he called upon the Wuhan government to dissolve and to send Borodin back to the Soviet Union.

Chiang Kai-Shek, who wished to become master of the whole of China, considered it better to work for the time being with Chang Tso Lin than with Feng Yu Hsiang; for he believed that it would be easier to push aside Chang Tso Lin after the capture of Peking than Feng, the "Kuomintang" man. Although it was agreed at the Conference of Hsuehchow that Feng Yu Hsiang should rule North China and Chiang Kai-Shek South China, the latter constantly endeavoured to gain a foothold in the North. He nominated Li Djin Lin, the former governor of Chili, who at the end of 1925 fought actively against and vanquished Feng Yu Hsiang, as propaganda commissar for Chili and Shantung. Feng Yu Hsiang was thereby again obviously driven to friendship with Wuhan rather than with Chiang Kai-Shek. The front of the two "revolutionary" generals for the purpose of "completing the national revolution" was destroyed.

Before Chang Tso Lin had lost the two important strategic points of Hsuehchow on the Tientsin-Pukow line and Tchenchow on the Peking-Hankow line, he had, in his negotiations with Chiang Kai-Shek and Yen Shi San, only wished to enter on a common military fight against the Reds and would not make any further concessions. After his defeat, however, he declared at the end of June in his message of peace in Peking: "Sun Yat Sen was my old good comrade. My struggle against the Reds is quite in accordance with the principles of my old comrade". This means that he wished now to subordinate himself formally to the Kuomintang. In the middle of July representatives of Chiang Kai-Shek and Yen Shi-San arrived at Chang Tso Lin's quarters in Peking for the purpose of negotiating an alliance.

The "Youth Group" of the Chang Tso Lin clique was prepared, for the sake of the alliance, to sacrifice the ruler of Shantung, Chang Tsung Chang, and to enter a coalition government with Yen Shi San in Peking. It was not only Chang Tso Lin who put forward as the chief condition the annihilation of the power of Feng Yu Hsiang; the representatives of Yen Shi San did the same. The triple alliance which had been almost concluded, finally failed to materialise owing to the difficulties raised by the "old group" of the Chang Tso Lin clique and the

unexpected rapid restoration of the forces of Chang Tsung Chang and Sun Chuan Fang.

The representatives of Yen Shi San and Chang Tso Lin are still negotiating today regarding an alliance; only Chiang Kai-Shek, in order not to rouse the population against him still more, has caused it to be officially declared that he had never sent representatives to Peking to negotiate with Chang Tso Lin. The whole hide-and-seek game with the triple alliance negotiations is in reality a manoeuvre on the part of the "young group" to deceive the "old group" of the Chang Tso Lin clique (Chang Tsung Chang belongs the "old group" and the "young group" have long wished to annihilate him.) and a deceitful manoeuvre on the part of Chiang Kai-Shek against the revolutionary masses in his territory and his party comrade Feng Yu Hsiang. If Sun Chuan Fang captures Nanking and Shanghai, Chang Tsung Chang's power in Shantung and Chili will be strengthened; the fight among the Northern generals will, as a result, assume more violent forms.

The Revolutionary Insurrection in Nanchang.

Every revolutionist will be of the opinion that a government consisting of elements treacherous to the revolution and supported by officers and big landowners, must in all circumstances be overthrown. The revolt in Nanchang under the leadership of Generals Yeh Ting and Ho Lung is the beginning of the fight against the Wuhan government. A new revolutionary centre is being formed. Yeh Ting is the most capable general of the former so-called iron revolutionary 4th army corps. He has long been a member of the Communist Party. After the failure of the revolt in Nanchang the troops of Yeh Ting and Ho Lung numbering 20,000 bayonets proceeded on the way to Kwantung. Perhaps they will succeed in capturing the old revolutionary headquarters.

In spite of the most fearful suppressive measures of the dictator of Kwantung, Li Dji Chin, many villages in the province, even including those quite close to the town of Canton, are occupied by armed peasants. In other provinces also in which powerful peasant risings have taken place, as Hunan, Kiangsi, Hupeh, the peasants, especially in those parts far removed from means of communication, still have the power in their hands. The present time is particularly suitable to a further peasant movement. The harvest has commenced. The landowners are demanding the immediate payment of the high rents. It will of course come to a sharp struggle between the peasants and the big landowners. The armed peasant troops who are in hiding will again appear in order to conduct the fight against the landowners. There are sufficient revolutionary forces available.

The counter-revolutionary Wuhan government and the treacherous Kuomintang leaders are the play-thing of generals who are greatly divided even among themselves. The group of the Hunan generals are nominally under the leadership of General Tang Sen Dji: as a matter of fact, however, General Ho Tien has a great power. An old Hunan general, Tan Yen Kai, is likewise attempting to overthrow Tang Sen Dji and to go to Wuhan as ruler. The reactionary coup of May 20th in Changcha was organised by Tan Yen Kai and originally directed against Tang Sen Dji.

General Ho Tien, who is in Wuhan, is again sharply menaced by Feng Yu Hsiang. If Feng is unable to capture Peking he will, driven by lack of funds and munitions, of course seek to win Wuhan for himself. The treacherous Kuomintang leaders, as Wang Ching Wei, Kuo Min Yu and Chu Tien, are more inclined to Feng Yu Hsiang than to the Hunan generals. Kuo Min Yu and Chu Tien are acting openly as representatives of Feng Yu Hsiang in Wuhan. As we see, the bloc of these traitors is also crumbling.

The Insurrection in Nanchang.

Moscow, 13th August 1927.

The correspondent of the "Pravda" reports from Wuhan: The insurrection in Nanchang is in the central point of general interest. Whether this insurrection is merely a heroic episode or whether it is really the beginning of a decisive phase in the Chinese revolution, cannot yet be said. Much depends upon the courage and determination of the leaders, upon whether the Communist Party of China shows itself big enough to deal

with the situation and upon the success of the insurrection in securing support from the broad masses of the peasantry.

The insurrectionary army already consists of 20,000 men. A considerable number of the commanding positions are occupied by communists.

The last revolutionary troops left Nanchang on 5th August. At the moment the whole insurrectionary army is advancing; its aim is to occupy the Eastern district of the province of Kwantung. There are very great difficulties in the way. The district attacked is occupied by five hostile divisions under general Ku Pei-te. Should the insurgents succeed in accounting for the latter, then they would have to break the resistance of the army of Li Chi-shen which is being swiftly concentrated on the borders of the Kwantung and Kiangsi provinces.

The Nanchang insurrection was not unexpected for the Wuhan government; but it did not think that it would take such a powerful and organised form. When the present Central Committee of the Kuomintang decided to break with the Communist Party, it knew of course, that it would have certain difficulty with the working class. It did not think, however, that, in addition to the proletariat in the provinces of Honan and Hupeh, the proletariat of Kiangsi would take up such a hostile attitude to it.

In the provinces of Honan, Hupeh and Kiangsi indignation at the policy of the present Central Committee is spreading to ever growing circles of the active membership of the Kuomintang, and this indignation is beginning to take organised forms in many districts.

With regard to the working class itself, the recent events in Wuhan, where the government has not been able, up to the present, to break the strike of the arsenal workers, the events in Kiukiang and the attitude of the railwaymen on the Nanchang-Kiukiang line, who rendered important support to the insurrectionaries in Nanchang, proves its fighting spirit. The news concerning the peasant movement in the provinces of Hupeh, Honan, Kiangsi and Kwangtung, shows that despite stern oppressive measures, the movement is by no means suppressed. In the South East of Hunan, considerable activity is being shown again by the peasants. The coming months, which bring the harvest and at the same time the lease payments, will be of decisive importance.

All this, together with the general and unusually sharp financial crisis and the militarist quarrels, which are proceeding on an unusual scale even for China, intensifies the situation extremely. This is the situation in which the Nanchang insurrection has taken place. The latter has great possibilities.

White Terror in China.

By J. Shabsin.

Scarcely three months have passed since the treason of Chiang Kai-Shek, and already the blood of workers and peasants is flowing in streams in the streets of the towns and villages of the territory ruled by Chiang Kai-Shek.

Naturally, the White Terror in China was never idle in the days prior to the treason of the new-fledged militarist.

The first massacre in the period of the last Chinese civil war took place in the year 1923, when Wu Pei Fu bestially suppressed the strike on the Peking-Hankow railway, which he himself had provoked. This slaughter of strikers, instigated and led by the English Imperialists, taught the Chinese generals new methods of fighting the labour movement. Since that time, the refined methods of the European torture chamber have been added to the previous stock of purely Asiatic methods of torture. From that time there began in China the epoch of White Terror, whose landmarks are: the slaughter in Champsha, the terrors of the Shanghai events in 1925, the bombardment of Fort Taku, the unprecedented bestialities in Wanhsien, etc.

As the People's Army with Chiang Kai Shek at its head was marching towards Shanghai, mad Sun Chuan Fang and the English Imperialists dyed the paved streets of the European settlements as also the narrow turnings of the Chinese quarter of Shanghai red with the blood of piles of murdered Shanghai workers.

These atrocities took on such proportion that not even the prostitute bourgeois Press could pass them over in silence. The correspondent of the "New York Herald" and "Tribune" was forced to state that "the Chinese militarists have degenerated to barbarians". Strangling, beheading, exhibiting of the severed heads in cages, public executions, have become every day occurrences, in Shanghai. Li Boa Chen, the right hand of Sun Chuan Fang, declared cynically that in the five days immediately preceding the occupation of Shanghai by the Canton troops he executed a hundred people, fifty of them publicly. In reality, the number of the victims of Li Boa Chen was considerably larger. In these "statistics" the data concerning the secret murders, publication of which he did not believe necessary, were not included.

This method of secret executions, so widely spread in China, about which nearest relations of those executed are never able to get information as to what happened to their suddenly vanished kinsmen, was also adopted by the defender of "the three principles of Sun Yat Sen", Chiang Kai Shek. Since the day of his treachery, innumerable arrests take place every day in the territory ruled by him, dozens of people daily disappear to be heard of again only when their executions can no longer be kept secret or when their publication for some tactical reason appears advantageous to Chiang Kai Shek himself. His staff offers a reward of 500 to 1000 dollars for the capture of a Communist. The trade unions and other workers' organisations have been smashed.

In the days immediately following his treachery, all trade-union leaders who were arrested between the 11th and 15th of April were shot by order of Chiang Kai Shek. Even according to official data, more than 100 persons were executed in Shanghai alone up to May 15th.

As might be expected, all those who refused to join Chiang Kai Shek in his treachery attracted his special hatred. All supporters of the Wuhan Government, irrespective of whether they adhered to the Communist Party or to the left wing of the Kuomintang were ruthlessly shot; for instance, the secretary of the Nanking Communist Organisation, Hsiang Wen Chin, the members of the Nanking Political Committee, Hu Hsiang Siau and Chang Hsiu Shi, the member of the political department of the National Army, Sun Chin Wei, etc.

The English imperialists were naturally delighted about Chiang Kai Shek's treason, but in the beginning they were not quite sure of him. They watched him and declared with characteristic cynicism that the more Communists he executed the sooner they would find "a language in common" with him. They permitted the Chinese authorities to make arrests and to search the houses of all those suspected of Communism in "their territory"; indeed, they themselves gave a hand and delivered to the Chinese police anybody of whom they were suspicious. The extraterritorial right of the foreign settlements is strictly observed in the case of a reactionary leader, but it does not hold good for a revolutionary.

The exact number of the victims of Chinese reaction can not be ascertained. According to data gathered by the Red Aid and based chiefly on newspaper reports, alone in the first quarter of 1927, i. e. before Chiang Kai Shek's treason, in the Northern Provinces of China 1174 persons were killed without trial and 2219 wounded. Furthermore, 2286 persons were condemned to death by courts — other than military courts.

After Chiang Kai Shek's act of treachery the number of victims rose considerably. In April alone 215 persons were executed on the ground of court judgments and 346 without judgment, while 999 were wounded. In May 158 were legally executed, 822 were killed without court trial and 134 were wounded. During these two months more than 10,000 arrests and house searches were carried out by the foreign and Chinese police.

So far, no data have come to hand for June and July, newspaper reports show, however, that the White Terror is constantly growing in China.

THE PARIS CONGRESS OF THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL

The Bankruptcy of the I. F. T. U. Congress.

By August Enderle (Paris).

I.

The Fourth Congress of the International Federation of Trades Union has shown the complete moral and political bankruptcy of this international to an extent not dreamt of by the greatest pessimists. It began with the incredible spectacle, unheard of in the history of the international working class movement, that the opening speech of the chairman was immediately and publicly disavowed in the sharpest tones by the vice-chairman in the name of "a number of executive members". And the congress ended with a complete scandal, with the demonstrative withdrawal from the congress by the 18 delegates of the British unions which represent more than a third of the I. F. T. U.

The whole congress from beginning to end was nothing but the washing of dirty linen in public, an ever intensifying round of mutual abuse and exposure of the foul morass which has collected since the reformist trade union international was patched together again in 1919. The congress was not able to treat seriously even one of those many questions relating to the development and the strengthening of capitalism, not to speak of any attempts to answer them or show the way to their solution. The empty decisions which were made upon the many points of the agenda cannot hide this fact. These decisions are not worth the paper on which they are written.

At the beginning of the congress we declared that the masses of workers organised in the unions affiliated to the I. F. T. U. were completely indifferent to the congress and to its work; it can now be said that this indifference included the greater part of the delegates to the congress itself. During all the speeches the greatest possible unrest reigned in the hall. Journalists and curious guests were almost the only listeners, whilst the delegates sat together according to nationalities and discussed amongst themselves. The voting took place with an average participation of 20% of the delegates; the majority of the delegates were so indifferent that they hardly knew what the voting was about.

This fact is all the more significant because the working class of the whole world is economically and politically in a terrible situation. During the course of the last three years since the last congress of the I. F. T. U. in Vienna, the 8 hour day has been lost in almost all capitalist countries, there have been considerable extensions of the working day and considerable reductions of real wages. In this period lies the great British strike, the great defeat of the British working class and the complete failure of the I. F. T. U.

What has the I. F. T. U. done to show the working class the way, to decide upon concrete methods of struggle, to prepare the working class internationally? Nothing, literally, nothing!

To the agenda point: "Fight for the 8 hour day" Leipart talked nonsense for fifteen minutes like a schoolboy about the cultural and social significance of the 8 hour day. The only "fighting" measure proposed by him was the ratification of the Washington Convention, a comedy which has been played now for eight years and which has long ago been recognised by the most simple-minded worker as the greatest swindle. Upon this point on the agenda the only communist delegate to the congress, a simple worker from Basle named Meklin was permitted to speak for five minutes. In simple words he pointed out how the workers in almost all countries had won the 8 hour day in a revolutionary struggle and how it was lost again by co-operation with the capitalists, the Geneva Labour Office and similar organisations. The workers and the unions could therefore only win back the 8 hour day by an active revolutionary struggle.

These words were sufficient to cause the German reformist Bernhard and the Swiss reformist Obrecht to declare to the howling of the whole I. F. T. U. pack that Meklin was an "agent of Moscow" and that he had spoken on the "instructions of the Communist Party". Apart from this no single delegate said one

word in the discussion upon this extremely important question for the workers.

The indifference prevailing was shown even still more on the agenda point: "Mutual International Assistance in Wage Struggles"; and this is a question which for a real trade union international in the period of the international concentration of capital is of great and decisive importance. Without debate, a scheme was adopted which will limit even the present miserable arrangements for international financial support and make them practically impossible, because in the future all international financial assistance — sympathetic strikes or any other form of fighting solidarity were not even mentioned — can only take place through and with the permission of the highest body of the I. F. T. U.

The question "The War Danger and the Fight against Militarism" was settled by Jouhaux in a speech which lasted — five (5) minutes! Including the time necessary for translations and for the voting on a resolution appealing to the League of Nations, the whole problem was settled in twenty minutes. That was the way in which this congress treated the terrible question of approaching war, which perhaps can plunge millions and millions of proletarians into the horrors of a new mass murder and force them into new misery.

It is superfluous to treat the other "problems" before this congress — for the I. F. T. U. there are no such things as "Problems", the fact is, as leading reformists themselves have admitted, the congress failed in every respect. That is also the deeper reason for its catastrophic end.

II.

Although all interest was lacking for the great and vital questions of the working class, the congress developed an extraordinary interest in the internal personal and organisation questions of the I. F. T. U., in the struggle for the leading posts in the I. F. T. U. Here it was shown that the differences in the relation of forces which have taken place in the capitalist world in the last few years, have not been without their reflection in the I. F. T. U. From the formation of the present I. F. T. U. in 1919 up to 1924, the political superiority of the British unions was so strong that the leadership, the chairmanship was uncontestedly in their hands, although Purcell and the British delegation in 1924 at the Vienna congress acted just as "radically". Now however, in consequence of the re-strengthening of the German economic system, the political weight of the German unions in the I. F. T. U. has become greater. The German reformists are therefore fighting for the leadership. That is the significance of all the fights upon personal and organisational questions, the struggle for the alteration of the seat of the I. F. T. U.

Grassmann, Sassenbach and Co. have manoeuvred very cleverly. Up to shortly before the end of the congress they stood quite in the background. They let Jouhaux disavow Purcell on the first day, they took no part in the quarrel upon the question of the delegation to Mexico, and in the beginning they expressed themselves not at all to the sharp collision between Brown and Oudegeest. Thus in the beginning the antagonism between the A. D. G. B. and the British unions expressed itself in a furious struggle between the British delegation on the one hand and the French, Belgians and the Dutch on the other. In one or two of the votings the Germans even voted together with the British.

This clever reserve of the Germans went so far that when, in the decisive point, the election of the chairman, the British delegation proposed Purcell, the little Swiss delegation was pushed forward to propose the Britisher Hicks. Only when this manoeuvre failed were the Germans forced into the open. Only then did it become clear that the struggle Brown-Oudegeest, the dispute about the Mexican journey and the exposure of the moral morass in the Amsterdam bureau were subordinate questions which were very cleverly utilised by the Germans. Leipart, who was completely directed by Tarnow and Grassmann, then came out brutally, and Jouhaux and Mertens took up the small role. Leipart declared briefly and decisively: Under no circumstances whatever, will we elect Purcell as chairman; we propose Hicks and demand that the General Council of the British T. U. C. annul its decision for Purcell and recognise the candidature of Hicks.

What was the purpose of this manoeuvre? Is there such a tremendous difference between Hicks and Purcell that the Germans were prepared to risk a break-up of the congress sooner

than accept Purcell? Certainly there is a difference. Hicks is a little nearer to Leipart and Co. than Purcell is; but this question and this difference was not the reason and stands in no proportion to the risk the Germans took of a break-up of the congress and even a disruption of the I. F. T. U. itself. The real aim was, on the one hand, to split the British delegation by this manoeuvre and to strengthen the right wing in the General Council in England, and, on the other hand, to split the forces of the British and thus weaken their influence in the I. F. T. U. Hicks as chairman would no longer be the "strong" British chairman, acting only according to the instructions of the British General Council, but a chairman relying for his support upon Sassenbach, Leipart and Co.

To a great extent the German manoeuvre has succeeded. They have remained the victors at the congress; their fanatical hatred of the Soviet Union was cleverly used to strengthen their position in the I. F. T. U. at the cost of British influence, and at the same time they opposed the increase of French and Belgian influence. The increase of the seats in the council by Madsen (Denmark) is completely in their favour, and by the Czech Tayerle partly in their favour. Sassenbach is now "temporarily" the only secretary, and it is practically certain that the seat of the I. F. T. U. will come to Germany. Leipart and his comrades want Berlin, the Austrians, Czechs, Swiss and also the British want Frankfurt-am-Maine.

• Towards the end of the congress, Jouhaux and above all Mertens were by no means in agreement with this turn of events. Mertens ran around the congress hall quite beside himself in the last hours of the congress.

There only remains one question, and that is whether the manoeuvre of the Germans has not been too heavy a speculation upon the attitude of the British General Council: whether the right wing in the General Council will be victorious under the pressure of circumstances and force a recognition of Hicks. A number of circumstances speak for this, but there is the injured susceptibilities of the British trades union movement to be taken into consideration. There is "the interference of the Germans in the internal affairs of the British Trades Union Movement" to be considered, as is well known, the British are very touchy upon this point. Then there is another important factor, the mass of the British proletariat would by no means agree to this solution of the problem, and this from political reasons. The British proletariat feels the establishment of an international trade union front to be of vital interest. Their need to establish connection with the unions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is much greater than that of any other country, and they know that they can only obtain this via the unions of Russia.

The German leaders in the I. F. T. U., however, are irreconcilable enemies of this policy. For this reason it is probable that the next session of the British General Council will produce a surprise and that the "victory" of the Germans, of the conscious right-wingers in the I. F. T. U., will raise once again the whole question of international trade union unity in a way very unpleasant for the "victors". It will show in the final report that the masses recognise far more than hitherto that a reformist trade union international is impossible and that there is no other way than a revolutionary policy serving the interests of the working class by a real international of the class struggle.

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

Informatory Statement.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. met from the 29th July to 9th August of this year. The Conference was participated in by members of the Central Revision Committee.

The Plenum discussed a number of important questions dealing with international politics, economic construction, and inner Party life, especially the questions of:

1. The international situation.
2. The control figures of national economy for the economic year 1927/28.

3. The report of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection on the rationalisation of the state apparatus and the economic apparatus, and on the savings regime.

4. The latest actions of the opposition and the violation of Party discipline by Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky.

5. The Party Congress.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolution on the International Situation.

(Resolution passed by the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., after hearing Comrade Bukharin's report of 9th August 1927.)

I. The International Situation and the Soviet Union.

1. The present international situation is mainly characterised by the extreme tension in the relations between imperialist Great Britain and the proletarian Soviet Union on the one hand, and the military intervention of imperialism in China on the other. The danger of a counter-revolutionary war on the Soviet Union is the acutest question of the present period. The sharpening of antagonism to the Soviet Union, and its capitalist encirclement, are the main tendencies of the present period, though this does not, of course, exclude the possibility of this or that epoch of a certain improvement in conditions on this or that fighting front.

2. This aggravation of antagonism originates in the fact of the strengthening of capitalism — both in the purely economic sphere and in the sphere of politics — in Europe, where it had been greatly shaken by the war, and in Japan and the United States, and in the simultaneous increasing success of revolutionary constructive socialism in the Soviet Union, the development of the people's revolution in China, the wide-spread ferment among the colonial peoples, and the noticeable swing to the Left among the proletarian masses of Europe. (Events in Great Britain, Red Front Fighters' Day in Germany, Vienna, etc.)

This process of the consolidation of capitalism, developing amid the general disorganisation of the post-war period, causes continually fresh and increasingly acute antagonisms within the capitalist system itself, and thereby intensifies all imperialist tendencies to the utmost. Therefore the so-called "Russian" and "Chinese" questions are the acutest political questions for international imperialism. European imperialism, in the midst of its stabilisation, is concerned with these questions from two viewpoints: From the view-point of economic expansion (markets, capital investments, sources of raw materials), and from the view-point of preventive war against revolution.

3. The economic stabilisation of European capitalism is being accompanied at the present time by its radical reconstruction (rapid growth of the trusts and other combines, technical reorganisation of production by means of new machinery, new metals, in part new raw materials, introduction of the conveyor, etc.). At the same time a remarkable adjustment of industry to war may be observed, whereby the chemical industry is coming more and more to the front together with the metal industry. The extensive investments of capital as foundation capital causes a great increase in the productive capacity of the industrial apparatus, and the home markets being entirely inadequate, the question of foreign markets and foreign spheres of investment becomes more and more acute. Precisely for this reason the question of the Soviet Union and China is of extreme economic importance for the imperialists.

Whilst European capitalism (especially French and German) is rapidly increasing its productive forces on the whole, British imperialism is labouring under a chronic depression, despite the frantic efforts at stabilisation being made in the country itself. Faced with the necessity of competing with the Continent of Europe and with the United States of America, and threatened by the colonial movements in the East, British imperialism naturally becomes the leader of the reactionary imperialist forces.

4. The economic stabilisation, which is unfolding its profound internal contradictions and intensifying the class struggle (Great Britain, Austria, etc.) is accompanied by the simultaneous political consolidation of the bourgeoisie. The series of Fascist

upheavals, the formation of the "bourgeois bloc" in Germany and its consolidation, the firmer establishment of the reactionary government in France, the rule of the "die-hard" Conservatives in Great Britain, the consolidation of the ruling classes in Poland, the present collapse of the coalition governments in Europe, are all factors which promote the aggressive policy towards the Soviet Union, for they increase the basis of the economic and general class antagonisms between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers encircling it.

5. The change in the relations between the State of the proletariat and imperialism has been promoted to a great extent by the growth of the Soviet Union itself, by its economy, its state power, its education and organisation of the broad masses of the workers, and its international revolutionary importance. The system of socialist foreign trade monopoly, protecting the interests of the Soviet Union as exporter, securing the growth of socialist production, and preventing the Soviet Union from being transformed into an agrarian appendage supplementing the economic "hinterland" of world capitalism; the policy of the industrialisation of the country, pursued on the same lines; the collapse of the hopes set on the internal degeneration of the economics and political superstructure of the Soviet Union; the collapse of the illusions of the imperialists with respect to the so-called "peaceful penetration" of imperialism into every pore of our economics; and finally, the mighty revolutionary influence of the Soviet Union (China, Great Britain) — all these are highly important facts which have called forth, and continue to call forth, a growing aggressiveness on the part of counter-revolutionary imperialism.

6. The preparation for war on the Soviet Union signifies nothing more nor less than the reproduction of the class struggle between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the victorious proletariat, merely on a broader basis. Precisely the same will be the class import of this war. Those who, like the opposition in our Party, doubt that this war bears this character, or who fail to see that the root of the attack on the Soviet Union lies in the growth of constructive socialism in the Soviet Union and in its revolutionary influence, and fancy it to lie in the "national reformism" of the proletarian party, display a social democratic deviation, one doubly harmful in the present international situation, and giving objective aid to the enemies of the proletariat.

7. The system of diplomatic and military alliances against the Soviet Union, aiming at the so-called encirclement of the Soviet Union (agreements between Poland and Roumania, between Italy and Roumania, etc.; Great Britain's activities in the Baltic States, in Poland, in the Far East, in Persia; the "pressure" on Germany, especially since Locarno, up to the last attempts at the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc at Geneva; the raid on the Arcos, the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; the increased pressure on France, in order to induce it to break with the Soviet Union; the like pressure on Italy, Greece, etc.; the ever-increasing pressure now being put on Germany), is the most characteristic fact of the present moment.

The British Conservative government, in preparing for war on the Soviet Union and on the working class of its own country, is doing this by carrying on a diplomatic struggle everywhere against the Soviet Union, organising a credit and economic blockade of the Soviet Union, arranging conspiracies and terrorist actions on the territory of the Soviet Union, supporting the counter revolutionary groups in the Caucasus, especially in Georgia, the Ukraine, etc., and the like. At the same time a number of bourgeois states are preparing the ground by other measures. (Mussolini's laws against the workers and the terror against the Communists in Italy; the anti-trade union law and the plan of "reform" of the Upper House in Great Britain; the military laws of the "socialist" Paul Boncour and the arrests of Communists in France, etc., and the like.)

The ideological preparation for the war on the Soviet Union is being participated in not only by the bourgeoisie, but by the so-called international social democrats in combination with the "ultra Left" renegades from Communism: general discrediting of the Soviet Union as a state; slanders as to degeneration, Kulak policy (Levi) and Bonapartism; outcries over "Red imperialism", on the alleged role of inciter played by the Soviet Union, which is "to blame" for the violation of that peace so carefully "safeguarded" by the League of Nations. (Compare, for instance, Bauer's standpoint, the Marseilles resolutions of the Second In-

ternational, the "shell campaign", the last appeal of the social democratic government of Finland to the League of Nations, etc.) All this has to serve as a **cloak and justification** of the class struggle of the imperialist bourgeoisie against the proletarian state, and to divert the workers of Europe from fulfilling their proletarian duty of defending the Soviet Union with all means. Under such conditions the sermons of the opposition of the C. P. S. U. bear an extremely embarrassed and criminal character.

8. While the inner antagonisms between the separate imperialist States bear within them the germs of tremendous conflicts between these states themselves (between Great Britain and the United States, Italy and France, Poland and Germany, Japan and the United States, in the Balkans, in Central Europe, etc.), the possibility is not excluded of a temporary bloc among these states against the Soviet Union, that is, a direct military or financial aid to the forces engaged in direct operations against the state of the working class. The furious propaganda being carried on in France for the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; the adoption of a hostile tone towards the Soviet Union by a considerable section of the German press; Japan's policy in the Far East, etc. signalise the real possibility of this danger.

9. As counteracting factors we have in the first place the working class in the capitalist countries, which is fighting against imperialist war, and beyond this a part of the petty bourgeois strata, pacifistically inclined and afraid of war. Besides this, the bourgeoisie realises that war against the Soviet Union would certainly unfetter, sooner or later, all the forces of international revolution, and this misgiving acts as a restraining factor with the imperialists when determining the time at which they shall attack the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, an important role is again played by the conflict of interests between the various capitalist powers and, between the capitalist groups within the separate capitalist states themselves. In Central Europe, Germany is anxious to postpone events, for the dynamics of development are undoubtedly leading to the absolute and relative growth of the economic and political importance of Germany. At the same time, it is more to Germany's advantage than to that of other countries to develop economic relations with the Soviet Union. All this does not, however, mean that capitalist Germany, in the event of decisive issues, would be certain to remain neutral. Having bargained the most favourable possible position for itself, it may easily join the united front of the enemy at the critical moment.

The United States, too, are not anxious for a catastrophe in Europe, since this would involve risks for America's gigantic investments of capital. But should it come to a conflict, then the United States will, of course, support British imperialism, in spite of the antagonism existing between the United States and Great Britain, again evidenced by the latest disagreement with Great Britain on the question of naval armaments, etc. The antagonisms between the various imperialist states therefore serve only to postpone the conflict, but they do not alter its increasing probability and inevitability.

10. An undoubted undermining of the whole system of imperialism, especially of the British, an undermining demonstrating the profound disorganisation of the whole world capitalism, is expressed in the Chinese revolution. The danger of the proletarian revolution in Europe, the necessity of carrying on a war against the Soviet Union at the same time as against the Chinese revolution, the great dangers threatening from the colonies (risings in Indonesia, spread of the national revolutionary movement in India, etc.) — these are the increasing difficulties of imperialism.

11. The above determines the policy of the Soviet Union. This is before all a peace policy. In view of the impossibility of "foreseeing" the moment of the military attack upon the Soviet Union, and in view of the necessity of arming for this attack, the Soviet Union must pursue a definite and logical policy, strengthening the position of the proletarian state from year to year and from month to month. For the furtherance of the struggle for peace, the Soviet Union must enter into suitable economic relations with the capitalist states. At the same time the government of the Soviet Union will safeguard with all means the principles of its proletarian economic and state con-

stitution, which are at the same time the principles of its existence as a **proletarian state**.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. places on record that the working-class of the Soviet Union has responded enthusiastically to the call of the Party for a general preparation for the defence of the proletarian state, and has proved, during the Defence Week, its determined unity, its capability to lead the peasantry along with it, and its readiness to protect with the lives of its members the centre of proletarian revolution against the attacks of the imperialists.

2. The International Situation and the Comintern.

12. The coming war against the Soviet Union creates a situation which will differ considerably — and in some important points **fundamentally** — from the situation in Europe in 1914. In 1914 the war was **between imperialist states**, and imperialism found itself on both sides of the front, but in the war against the Soviet Union imperialism will fight against the proletariat organised as a **state power**.

It was for this reason that the last Plenum of the E. C. C. I. very rightly emphasised that here we can and must speak of an **attack made from one side (the imperialist) on the other (the proletarian)**; we must speak of the defence of the **socialist Fatherland** (which did not exist in 1914), and of the defence of the Chinese revolution; this means that it is necessary not only to propagate the slogan of **defeatism** in the capitalist countries, but this must be supplemented by the slogan of **active aid** for the state of the proletariat; here the slogan of **fraternisation** merges into the slogan of going over to the side of the Soviet Union, and is immediately connected with the slogan of the overthrow of the imperialist governments by the people of their own country, etc.

13. The most important question of the ideological preparation for war is the question of the propaganda of defeatism in the capitalist countries. The Trotzky bloc, however, has not made a single declaration on the revision of the Trotzkyist standpoint as expressed during the war. But without a revision of this standpoint there can be no thought of a Bolshevik preparation for war. While during the war of 1914 Trotzkyism opposed the slogan of the defeat of the capitalist Fatherland and the slogan of the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war, setting up in place of these the pacifist slogan of an abstract peace, during the present epoch the Trotzky bloc has not even expressed its present views with regard to this error.

The E. C. C. I. has very rightly rejected the abstract slogan of peace for the coming period, and has chosen the concrete slogan of the defence of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, the preparation for the proletarian general strike and insurrection against imperialism, and the combating of that strike phraseology adopted by the reformist leaders who are in reality supporting imperialism.

14. The issue of the coming war will depend in the main on the comparative class forces in the West, and still more in the Soviet Union and in China. The estimate of the situation formed by the opposition ("Swing to the Right" on the part of the working class in the West, actual degeneration of the government of the Soviet Union, or, in other words the denial of the actual leading rôle played by the proletariat both in the sphere of economy and of the state policy of the Soviet Union in general), is in its essence a false and defeatist standpoint towards the Soviet Union. (The main trend in the Western proletariat is **towards the Left, even though** this is accompanied by a Right trend on the part of the leading aristocratic elements. The main trend in the Soviet Union is the process of the **firmer establishment** of socialist economics, **even though** this is accompanied by a greater activity of the strata hostile to the proletariat, the Nep-men, the bourgeois intellectuals, nationalist counter-revolutionary tendencies, etc.) The theories of the opposition are equally wrong when they assume a rupture of the bloc between workers and peasants in the case of war, and when they oppose a proletarian war to a people's war.

As a matter of fact the proletariat will not carry on a war forced upon it as an isolated class, but as a **hegemonic class**, carrying with it the broad strata of the masses of the people.

15. The opposition is endeavouring to circulate the slander that the blame for the approach of war danger is to be attributed to the "wrong" policy pursued by the Party, and that im-

perialism is preparing to attack us because we have become weaker. Such an "explanation" as this of the war danger betrays not only to a maximum of fractional blindness and fractional madness in the opposition, but a complete lack of comprehension of the objective reasons rendering an aggravation of the antagonisms between imperialism and the Soviet Union inevitable in the given stage of development. (The stabilisation of capitalism accompanied by constant crises in the background, the Chinese revolution, our **growth**.)

Such an "analysis" of the causes of the impending war against the Soviet Union in fact weakens the forces of the international proletariat, places a trump in the hands of social democracy, and actually helps the bourgeoisie by its distortion of facts.

16. The social democrats are endeavouring, by means of propaganda for co-operation between the classes and for coalition, by means of participation in the League of Nations, of active participation in war preparations (Boncour law), and of systematic agitation against the Soviet Union, to secure for themselves, with the aid of the so-called "Left" wing, the leadership of the growing cadre of radically inclining workers. While the Right social democrats, who are openly hostile to the Soviet Union and openly counter-revolutionary (Kautsky, MacDonald, Renaudel), are falling more and more into discredit with the working class, the "Left" (Otto Bauer, Levi, Longuet, etc.) pursue a much more skilful policy of deception of the working class, and even "defend" the Soviet Union at times in words, only to take sides with the bourgeoisie when the decisive movement comes.

The exposure of the "Left" wing is one of the most urgent tasks of the Comintern. The betrayal of the general strike and the miners' struggle in Great Britain, and the social chauvinist attitude adopted with respect to the question of imperialist war against the Soviet Union, have unmasked the "Left" members of the General Council and the leaders of Amsterdam (Purcell, Hicks, & Co.) in the eyes of the broad masses of the workers. The betrayal of the rising in Vienna has completely exposed the true character of the strongest and best organised section of the "Left" wing of the Second International, the Austrian social democracy. These facts must be thoroughly utilised and turned to account by the Communists. Among the social democrats our greatest enemy is the "Left", and our main fire must be concentrated upon it, for it is precisely the "Left" which helps the Second International to retain its hold upon the radically inclining cadres of the social democratic workers.

17. The social democratic outcry over "Red imperialism", "Soviet shells", etc. can, however, make but little impression on the working masses. Therefore these masses are being "influenced" against the Soviet Union at the same time "from the Left", by the so-called "ultra Left" renegades of the stamp of Ruth Fischer-Maslov, Urbahns-Korsch, etc., who work hand in hand with the openly Right renegades of the type of Souvarine, Rosmer, Monatte, etc.

This group is striving to isolate the Soviet Union from the revolutionary proletariat of the West, by means of slanders regarding an alleged degeneration of the Party and the Soviet Power, to an undue Kulak influence, to Thermidor, etc., deriving all their arguments therefrom from the ideological arsenal of our opposition. In this manner the "ultra Left" counter-revolutionaries are trying to persuade the revolutionary proletariat of the West that the fate of the Soviet Union is quite a matter of indifference as regards the fate of the world revolution. Whilst the social democratic leaders are striving to bring the working masses into line with the bourgeois attack on the Soviet Union, the "leaders" of the ultra-Left apostates are striving to "neutralise" the working masses in the coming conflict between capital and labour.

The bloc with this group of apostates from Communism is the best proof of how far our opposition has fallen.

18. The swing to the Right on the part of the heads of the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy has again been evidenced in the treacherous attitude adopted by the leaders of the General Council and its representatives in the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Communists in the General Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union (A. U. C. T. U.) have in general correctly criticised the treacherous acts of the General Council. At the

same time they have rightly abstained from taking upon themselves the responsibility for the splitting and dissolving the Anglo-Russian Committee, and have thus exposed to the last shred the treacherous tactics of the leaders of the General Council.

The A. U. C. T. U. must utilise its "legal possibility" of connection with the British trade unions to stigmatize systematically the treachery, the compromises, and the social imperialist measures of the leaders of the General Council. At the same time every effort must be made to animate the international work of the A. U. C. T. U. in the fight against war, against the offensive of capital, and for the unity of the trade union movement both in the West and in the East (see trade union conference of the countries of the Pacific Ocean, etc.). In the same way all efforts must be made for more energetic work in this direction on the part of the Red International of Labour Unions.

3. The Problem of the Chinese Revolution.

19. Three main lines of tactics could be laid down for a proletarian Party in the Chinese revolution — and three main lines have been laid down — all of which must be objectively estimated, and each of which forms a different judgement on the Chinese revolution itself. The first line of tactics (the Right deviation, merging directly and immediately into Menshevism) assumes that until the victory over imperialism and the unification of China, it is necessary to maintain the unity of the national "revolutionary" front, including the bourgeoisie, in every stage of development, for which purpose many concessions are to be made. (Hampering of the agrarian revolution and actual fight against it, hindering of the labour movement and combatting of the "exaggerated demands" of the workers, etc., the necessity of "not frightening away the bourgeoisie".) The second line of tactics (the Trotzkyist) rejects (though only later) on principle the admissibility of entering into any agreements or alliances with the bourgeoisie **altogether**, in any stage of development of the revolution. It assumes that agreements and alliances with the bourgeoisie can only weaken the proletariat, etc. The third line of tactics (the Leninist, carried out by the Comintern), finally, considers agreements with the bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries to be necessary, but only in certain stages of development, and under quite definite conditions. At the same time it maintains that these agreements are to be dissolved, and determined fight to be waged on the former allies, as soon as the conditions of development have changed, the class forces have regrouped themselves, and the like.

20. The Right deviation, of which the leaders of the C. P. of China were guilty in spite of the instructions of the Comintern, is based upon an entirely wrong conception of an antagonism between the national and the agrarian revolution. The representatives of this deviation assume permanent relations between the fundamental class forces of Chinese society; they do not grasp the complete necessity and inevitability of a development of class antagonisms within the formerly united national revolutionary front, nor do they comprehend the complete inevitability of the resultant regroupings of the classes, of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the hegemony in the national emancipation movement, the inevitability of the transformation of the bourgeois revolution into a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and the prospect of the bourgeois democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution. In the last resort they deny the class struggle standpoint, and hence slide unavoidably down the road to Menshevism. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. is now in a position to state with satisfaction that this Right deviation in the leadership of the Chinese brother Party has now been liquidated, and the policy of the leadership corrected.

21. The Trotzkyist point of view seeks its formal basis in an analogy with the revolution in Russia in 1905, when the Bolsheviki fought determinedly against an understanding with the liberal bourgeoisie, which was advocated by the Mensheviki. The gravest error of the Trotzkyist standpoint is the fact that Comrade Trotzky and his adherents (Comrade Zinoviev, etc.) do not grasp the fundamental difference between an imperialist and a colonial country, between revolution in an imperialist country and revolution in a country bearing the banner of the fight

against imperialism. Just on this difference Lenin wrote as follows:

"What is the most important, the main idea of our theses? The difference between oppressed and oppressor countries. We emphasise this difference, ignored by the II. International and bourgeois democracy. It is especially important for the proletariat, and for the Communist International, to ascertain the actual existing economic facts, and to take concrete realities as the point of departure for the solution of all colonial and national problems, and not abstract principles." (Lenin. Vol. XVIII. p. 274.)

Lenin writes further:

"The Communist International must make temporary agreements, and even alliances, with the bourgeois democracies of the colonies and backward countries. But it must not amalgamate with them; it must retain the independence of the proletarian movement itself, in its most primitive form." (Vol. XIX. p. 270.)

And finally:

"We Communists must and will support the bourgeois emancipation movement in the colonial countries only in such cases where this movement is really revolutionary, and where its representatives will not prevent us from enlightening and organising the broad masses of the peasantry and the exploited in the spirit of revolution."

We see that Lenin's standpoint differs from that of Trotsky. Trotsky's standpoint is a gross distortion of Leninism, based upon a flat disregard of the differences between the countries of imperialism and the colonies; this method is extremely characteristic of the social democratic deviation.

22. The characteristic fundamental of the line taken by the Comintern consists of the analysis of the various stages of the revolution and of the various class groupings. The Comintern was in favour of supporting the national bourgeoisie in China during the period of the developing revolution, at the time when the bourgeoisie was still revolutionary, that is 1. whilst it was carrying on a real struggle against imperialism; 2. so long as it did not prevent the Communists from educating the working and peasant masses in the spirit of revolution, forming revolutionary workers' and peasants' organisations; 3. so long as it did not prevent the formation, consolidation, and expansion of an independent Party of the Communist proletariat.

These were the conditions during the period of Canton and the Northern campaign, up to the defection of Chiang Kai Shek. His treachery was the outward expression of the defection of the national bourgeoisie into the camp of counter-revolution. During this time not only the Chinese C. P. greatly increased in strength, but the workers' and peasants' movement made great progress. Mass organisations of the proletariat (trade unions) and of the peasantry (peasants' leagues and peasants' committees) were formed. During this stage of development an agreement with the bourgeoisie has facilitated the growth of the forces of the working class and the peasantry. It is just herein that lies the justification of the Leninist tactics in a colonial country, its justification in the existence and evolution of the class struggle.

Chiang Kai Shek's coup d'état signifies a fresh grouping of class forces. Therefore the Comintern laid down a new line of tactics for this new stage of development. This line consisted of a determined and relentless fight by the bloc of the workers, peasants and city poor, against the bloc of the imperialists and Chang-Tso-lin and at the same time against the bourgeoisie and Chiang Kai Shek. One part of the radical and petty bourgeoisie, which has remained in the Left Kuomintang and in the Wuhan government, declared war against Chiang Kai Shek, and enabled the Communist Party to continue work. The Communist Party had to make use of this possibility, in order to organise the "defence against the Cavaignacs" and to mobilise the masses.

The development of the class struggle and the pressure exercised by the imperialists led however to a fresh regrouping of forces. The majority of the Wuhan government and of the leaders of the Left Kuomintang deserted the revolution, and the suppression of the workers and peasants' movement began. This stage again brought with it a corresponding change in tactics and slogans: Withdrawal from the Wuhan government, declaration of war by the Communists against this government, which had ceased to be "really revolutionary".

23. During all the stages of this development the Comintern, which had rightly foreseen the transition from one stage to another, considered it necessary to prepare the masses for this transition. The Comintern considered it to be not only necessary for the independent Communist Party of China to work with the utmost energy, but attached much importance to a far-reaching criticism of all the vacillations of the former allies of this Party, including the extreme Left, and to a systematic preparation of the forces of the Party itself, the mass organisation of armed forces, etc. the formation of suitable points of support, giving the workers, peasants, and city poor the greatest possible guarantee for the further development and deepening of the revolution. The development of the agrarian revolution, the seizure of the land by the peasants on their own initiative, the development of the labour movement, the arming of the workers and peasants, the democratisation of the Kuomintang and removal of its vacillating leaders these were the main slogans of the Comintern.

24. The Comintern drove the revolution forward. But at the same time it was opposed to leaps over stages of revolution which had not been properly passed through. It rightly condemned the withdrawal from the Kuomintang, a mass organisation, under conditions tantamount to delivering the Kuomintang over into the hands of the Right, and isolating the Communists from the masses of the Kuomintang. It was rightly opposed to the slogan of the Soviets at a time when this slogan would have signified a leaping over the Wuhan government and the Left Kuomintang whilst these were still pursuing a revolutionary policy in the above sense of the term. At the same time the Comintern energetically fought against all Right deviations, both among the leaders of the C. P. of China, who sacrificed the interests of the agrarian revolution and of the labour movement to their vacillating allies, and within the C. P. S. U. itself, where some oppositional theoreticians preached a perfect apology for the bourgeoisie (Radek with his "Workers' and Peasants' government" of Canton, etc.), or developed extremely opportunist theories on the Chinese revolution (the customs theory of comrade Trotsky).

25. If the Chinese revolution has suffered a severe defeat in spite of the correct tactics of the Communist International, this is due in the first place to the relations of class forces both in the country itself and internationally. This defeat is further explained by the circumstance that the masses of the workers and peasants have not yet had sufficient time to organise forces powerful enough to enable them to achieve victory over the united or simultaneously proceeding forces of the enemy: over the forces of foreign imperialism, of the feudal elements headed by Chang Tso Lin, and of the counter-revolutionary national bourgeoisie; finally, by the fact that the working class is not yet strong enough to form a strongly organised Communist mass Party. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the C. P. of China, in systematically rejecting the instructions of the Comintern, partially bears responsibility for the defeat of the working class and the peasantry in China.

26. The characteristic features of the present period of the Chinese revolution are this severe defeat, and a simultaneous radical regrouping of forces: A bloc of the workers, peasants, and city poor is being organised against all the ruling classes and the imperialists. Seen from this aspect, the revolution is striding forward to the highest phase of its development, to the phase of direct struggle for the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. The experience of the past development shows plainly that the bourgeoisie is not capable of solving the problems of national emancipation from the yoke of imperialism, as it is conducting a fight against the workers and peasants; that it is not capable of conducting a consistent fight against foreign imperialism and is becoming more and more inclined to a compromise with the last-named — to a compromise which in fact leaves the domination of imperialism almost completely undisturbed. The national bourgeoisie is equally incapable of solving the inner problems of the revolution, for the reason that it not only fails to support the peasantry, but actively combats them, and in this way inclines more and more to a bloc with imperialism, without even having solved the elementary problem of the bourgeois democratic revolution. On the other hand, it is almost impossible for the bourgeoisie to enter into any compromise with the peasantry, since in China even the scantiest land reform would involve the expropria-

tion of the gentry and small land owners, an action of which the bourgeoisie is absolutely incapable. It is therefore much more likely that the temporary defeat of the revolution will be followed in a comparatively short time by a fresh revolutionary advance.

27. At the present time the Communist Party of China is a Party against which the fire of all the opponents of revolution is directed. It is confronted by the most difficult and responsible tasks. First of all it must free itself from the liquidatory elements in its own ranks, recognise the errors which its leaders have committed, consolidate the Party on the basis of the instructions of the Comintern, reform the leadership, appoint new leaders from among the members possessing actual revolutionary experience, and at the same time extend its illegal apparatus in the Wuhan territory.

The Communist Party must carry on an energetic and systematic fight against all theories which bring into conflict the interests of the national emancipation movement and the interests of the class struggle of the workers and peasants. These counter-revolutionary ideas, spread abroad by the betrayers of the revolution (Chiang Kai-Shek, Feng Yu Hsiang, Wan Ting-Wei, etc.) who deceitfully hide themselves beneath the cloak of Sun-Yat-Senism, have as their object the subjection of the masses of the people to the interests and the leadership of the counter-revolutionary national bourgeoisie. The Communist Party must declare that the victory over imperialism, the revolutionary unification of China, and its emancipation from the yoke of imperialism are only possible on the basis of the class struggle of the broadest masses of the workers and peasants against the feudal lords and capitalists.

Further, the Communist Party must take all measures necessary to arouse the lower strata of the Left Kuomintang against the upper, and must institute an energetic campaign to this end. At the same time the Communist Party must carry on energetic propaganda for the idea of Soviets.

Should the efforts of the Communist Party for the revolutionisation of the Kuomintang, not meet with success, and should it be found impossible to democratise this organisation and to convert it into a broad mass organisation of the workers and peasants; and should, on the other hand, the revolution make a fresh advance, then it will be necessary to change the propagandist slogan of Soviets into a slogan of immediate fight and to proceed at once to the organisation of workers', peasants', and artisans' Soviets.

At the same time every effort must be made to develop the agrarian movement, to employ every means to arm the workers and peasants, and to lay the foundations for a really revolutionary workers' and peasants' army. The Party must systematically expose the treachery of Chiang Kai-Shek and Wuhan, ruthlessly tear every mask from their faces, and act as the real advance-guard of the working class, fighting for the hegemony of the working class, and marching at the head of the broadest masses of the peasantry and the city poor.

Resolution on the Violation of Party Discipline by Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky.

(Resolution passed by the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. after hearing the Report of Comrade Ordschonikidze, 9th August 1927.)

Since 1923, the opposition, at first headed by Comrade Trotzky, and from 1926 headed by Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev, has made use of every difficulty which the Party has had to overcome in the work of socialist construction in the country, for the purpose of striking a blow at the unity of our Party and its leadership, and in so doing has not shrunk from violating Party discipline.

In 1923, at the moment when the first serious difficulties arose in connection with the Nep as a result of the market crisis and the money reform, Comrade Trotzky and his group, whose attitude reflected the vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie, attempted to exploit these difficulties for fractional purposes, and declared that the country had been brought to the verge of ruin by the policy of the Party. Facts have proved, however,

that the opposition were wrong, and that what they took to be the ruin of the country was their own defeat in the eyes of the masses. At this time the Party and the Comintern condemned the standpoint of the Trotzky opposition as a petty bourgeoisie deviation.

At the end of 1925, when fresh difficulties arose in the sphere of the relations between the working class and the peasantry, Comrades Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others went over to Trotzkyism.

The XIV. Party Conference (December 1925) pronounced a unanimous judgment on the deviation of the "new opposition" (Comrade Zinoviev, etc.) from Leninist views, as expressed in their denial of the socialist character of our industry, in their under-estimation of the middle peasantry, in their demand for the freedom to form groups and fractions, etc. In the spring and summer of 1926 the bloc of the "new opposition", with Comrade Trotzky and the other fractional groups, whose views have been repeatedly condemned by the Party, took a definite form, the "new opposition" headed by Comrade Zinoviev going over finally to the ideological standpoint of Trotzkyism.

In the summer of 1926 the opposition, in the course of their continuous attacks upon the Party, accomplished the complete organisation of their fraction, the conversion of the same into an illegal fraction, and even the holding of illegal mass meetings in the forest (Lashevitch affair, etc.) Developing their fractional activity further, the opposition proceeded from illegal meetings to open fractional actions (in the nucleus of the "Aviopribor", of the "Red Putilov Worker" etc.), and endeavoured to force the Party into a discussion on questions which had already been settled by the Party Conference. Thanks to the unanimous front presented by the whole Party and to the determined resistance of the workers' nuclei of the Party, the opposition was obliged to capitulate, and to promise the Party to abstain from any further fractional struggle. (Declaration of 16th October 1926.)

In this declaration the opposition recognised it as "their duty to carry out in reality the decisions of the Party with regard to the inadmissibility of fractional formations."

In this declaration the opposition acknowledged that "any support given to the activities of persons who have already been expelled from the Comintern, such as Ruth Fischer, Maslov, etc." — who had solidarised with our opposition — was "especially inadmissible".

In this declaration the opposition declared that:

"The decisions of the XIV. Party Conference, of the C. C. of the Party and of the C. C. C. are absolutely binding for us; we subordinate ourselves unconditionally to them and shall carry them out."

At this time the opposition further declared:

"We deny categorically that anyone carrying on any kind of agitation against the Comintern, the C. P. S. U., or the Soviet Union, has the right to claim any solidarity with us."

In this declaration they decisively condemned any "criticism of the Comintern, or of the policy of our Party, which passes into a campaign likely to weaken the position of the Comintern as a fighting organisation of the proletariat, the position of the C. P. S. U. as the van-guard of the Comintern, or the position of the Soviet Union as the first state of the proletarian dictatorship."

The activities of the opposition since these October pledges show, however, that they have not fulfilled a single one of these pledges. They have not only failed to diminish their fractional work, but have on the contrary directed their efforts towards a definite split and the organisation of another Party.

Although the XV. Party Conference, whose decisions were confirmed by the E. C. C. I., emphatically condemned the line of the opposition as a social democratic deviation, a Right deviation masked by Left phrases, and although the opposition failed to find support from even a single Party nucleus, they obstinately continued their fractional activity, and threatened the unity of the Party to an ever increasing extent.

Recently the opposition concentrated its attack on the Party on the line of our international policy (England, China), in connection with the special difficulties confronting the Soviet

Union in the international situation, and of the partial defeat of the Chinese revolution. The sole reply of the opposition to the daily increasing danger of war threatening the Soviet Union has been to bring forward declarations which undermine the work of the Party for the mobilisation of the masses for the struggle against war danger and for the increased defensive powers of the Soviet Union. The declaration on the Thermidor degeneration of the C. C., on the national conservative course, on the Kulak tendency in the Party à la Ustryalov, further, the declaration that "the greatest danger is the Party regime" and not the war danger — all these declarations which lead to an undermining of the will of the international proletariat for the defence of the Soviet Union, were estimated by the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. as "means resorted to, in the face of the war danger, to conceal from the workers their own desertion".

All this has been openly accompanied by anti-Party fractional work, assuming lately an entirely inadmissible character. The opposition, instead of fulfilling the pledge to observe Party discipline which they undertook on the 16th October, have issued and published fractional literature, not only among the Party members, but among non-Party circles; have organised illegal fractional groups, circles, and conferences; and have spread the profoundly anti-Party declaration of the 83, containing unheard of calumnious accusations against the Party. Further we must recollect the attitude adopted by Comrade Trotzky at the 8th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in May 1927, unanimously designated as hostile to the Party by the E. C. C. I., and the flagrantly fractional action of Comrade Zinoviev, who on 9th May 1927 came forward at a non-Party meeting with an appeal to non-Party circles against the Party and its leading organs, an action violating every tradition of the Bolshevik Party and the most elementary Party discipline. And finally, at the session of the Presidium of the C. C. C. (July 1927), Comrade Trotzky came forward with an unheard of slander, accusing the Party of Thermidor degeneration.

Although the question of the disruptive standpoint of Comrade Zinoviev had been submitted by the C. C. of the Party to the C. C. C. for judgment, and although the E. C. C. I. had condemned the attitude of Comrade Trotzky as being obviously fractional, Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev, on 9th July 1927, at a time when the Soviet Union was exposed to the sharpest attack on the part of English imperialism, took part in a political, anti-Party demonstration, organised by the opposition on the pretext of a send off for Comrade Smilga, who had sabotaged for some weeks the decision of the C. C. with respect to his departure to work in the Far East. At this demonstration at the Yaroslav station, participated in both by the opposition convened by the fractional apparatus and by the general public, Comrade Trotzky delivered a speech.

By this Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev have proved that:

- a) their promise to observe discipline was merely a tactical manoeuvre intended to deceive the Party;
- b) at the moment of war danger, when the main task of the Party is to strengthen the home front, and the main condition for consolidating the home front lies in the increased preparedness to fight and discipline of the Party — at this moment the opposition seeks to destroy Party discipline for the sake of its own fractional ends, and furthers the unfettering of the anti-Soviet forces in our country.

As early as the X. Party Conference, Lenin pointed out, in the resolution on the unity of the Party, that the Party must be made to realise "the experience gained in former revolutions, where counter-revolution has supported the petty bourgeois groups standing nearest to the revolutionary party, in order to shake the revolutionary dictatorship, and to smooth the path for the complete victory of the counterrevolution of the capitalists and landowners".

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. draws the attention of the whole Party to the fact that the opposition, thanks to their fractional action against the Party, have become objectively the centre around which those anti-Party and anti-Soviet forces are gathering, and upon whose disintegrating activities counter-revolution both at home and abroad is already calculating at the present time.

The Party has for several years displayed the utmost patience and tolerance, has warned the opposition again and again,

and attempted to induce the leaders of the opposition to submit to Party discipline.

The latest actions of Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky show, however, that the Party, after exhausting all means of warning, have been unable to attain any real subordination to Party discipline from the leaders of the opposition, that the leaders of the opposition continue to violate, grossly and systematically, the principles of the Party and Party discipline, binding on every Party member without exception, and that the opposition, under the leadership of the oppositional members of the C. C., are carrying on a fractional activity, undermining the unity of the Party and heading directly for a split.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. therefore found themselves compelled, in view of the above facts, and in consideration of the discussions heard at the present Plenum, to declare as follows:

1. The opposition (Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky), in their fractional blindness, have strayed on to a path leading away from the unconditional and unreserved defence of the Soviet Union in its fight against imperialist intervention. The opposition endeavour to justify their erroneous course by the allegation that the existing leading organs of the C. P. S. U. and the Soviet Union have fallen into a "Thermidorian" degeneration, so that, in the opinion of the opposition, the first necessity is the removal of these organs, in order then to proceed to the organisation of the defence of the Soviet Union. (Theses of Comrade Trotzky on Clemenceau.)

2. The Opposition (Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky) are following the path of a direct split of the Comintern by forming a second Party in Germany with Maslov and Ruth Fischer, who have been expelled from the Comintern at the head, and converting it into a means to split the other European sections of the Comintern.

3. The opposition (Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky) follows the path of organising a new party against the C. P. S. U., of bringing about an open split in the C. P. S. U. by their systematic violation of the decisions of our Party, of Party obligations, and Party discipline, by which they actually aid in disarming the proletariat of the Soviet Union in the face of the approaching war danger.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. cannot but place on record that the leaders of the opposition (Trotzky and Zinoviev), thanks to all these crimes against the Party and the proletariat, have run themselves into a blind alley, into hostile relations with the Party, and have placed the Party under the necessity of applying to them the decisions of the X. Party Conference of our Party with respect to Party unity.

The decision of the X. Party Conference on Party unity makes it the duty of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. to raise the question not only of the expulsion of obvious splitters and disorganisers of the Party from the C. C. and the Comintern, but from the Party. In spite of this the Presidium of the C. C. C., prompted by the desire to afford the leaders of the opposition the opportunity of correcting their errors and making good their crimes against the Party, confined itself to a proposition for the expulsion of Comrades Zinoviev and Trotzky from the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Besides this, the Presidium of the C. C. C. and the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. actuated by the desire to find a means of escape for the leaders of the opposition from the blind alley, and to secure the peace of the Party, made a last attempt to retain Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev in the C. C., and proposed to them, to this end, the acceptance of a number of elementary conditions absolutely binding on the members of the Bolshevik Party and indispensable for the peace of the Party. These are:

1. To abandon the semi-defeatist theory of Comrade Trotzky in view of the war danger (Comrade Trotzky's theses on Clemenceau), to adopt the line of unconditional and unreserved defence of our socialist Fatherland against imperialism and to condemn the oppositional slander with regard to a Thermidor degeneration of the leaders of the Party and the Soviet Union.

2. To abandon splitting policy in the Comintern, to condemn the Party of Maslov and Ruth Fischer, expelled from the Comintern, to break off all connection with this anti-Leninist and

splitting party, and to carry out all decisions of the Communist International.

3. To abandon the splitting policy in the C. P. S. U., to condemn the attempt to create another party, to disband the fraction, and to undertake the obligation to carry out all the decisions of the C. P. S. U. and of the Central Committee.

Despite the conciliatory attitude of the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., and despite the elementary nature of these conditions, the leaders of the opposition refused to accept them.

It was not until the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. had been compelled by this refusal to accept the resolution on the expulsion of Comrades Trotsky and Zinoviev from the C. C. of the Party that the opposition found it necessary to beat a retreat, to abandon a number of their errors, and to declare themselves in the main, though with certain reservations and after submitting a corresponding "declaration", in agreement with the proposition of the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C.

As a result the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. decided to withdraw the question of the expulsion of Comrades Zinoviev and Trotsky from the C. C. of the Party from debate, and to give them a severe reprimand and warning.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. is of the opinion that this may signify a certain step towards peace in the Party. The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. is, however, far from regarding the peaceful "declaration" of the opposition as an adequate action, capable of ensuring the necessary peace in the Party.

Nevertheless, the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. has every reason to place on record, with satisfaction, that:

1. The opposition have found themselves obliged, in their "declaration", to abandon a number of errors and vacillations in the question of the character of the future war of the Soviet Union against the intervention and in the question of the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism. The opposition have, however, by their refusal to pronounce a direct condemnation of the semi-defeatist theses of Comrade Trotsky on Clemenceau, left themselves a back door for the entry of possible future vacillations with respect to the unconditional defence of the U. S. S. R.

2. The opposition have found themselves obliged to abandon their anti-Party slander on the Thermidorian degeneration of the Party leaders, although in this case they again leave themselves a back door for further attacks on the Party in this direction, by means of their reservation with reference to the inadequacy of the fight conducted by the Party against the Thermidor tendencies in the country.

3. The Opposition, if only out of formal considerations, have found themselves obliged to abandon organisatory connections with the schismatic and anti-Leninist Urbahns-Maslov group. Their refusal to abstain from any support of this group, however, again leaves a back door open for future attacks on the Comintern.

4. The opposition have found themselves obliged to abandon the formation of fractions within the C. P. S. U., and to acknowledge the necessity of exterminating the elements of this fractional formation. Here again, a back door for fresh attacks on the C. P. S. U. is provided by the attempt at a reservation, and at justifying their present splitting activity by accusations against the "regime in the Party".

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. have no reason to undertake a guarantee that the retreat of the opposition, and their abandonment of a number of their errors, is perfectly sincere. The experience already gained with a similar "declaration" given on 16th October 1926 shows that the opposition are not always inclined to carry out the assurances which they have given the Party. The reservations of the opposition in their present declaration with respect to the questions set the opposition at the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. go to show that the opposition has no intention of giving up all further struggle against the leaders of the Party and the Comintern. In view of this consideration, the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. makes it the binding duty of the opposition to disband the fraction at once, and calls upon all organisations and all members of our Party,

to take every measure necessary for the unconditional liquidation of all fractional forming, fractional action, and fractional groupings.

The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., whilst carrying out a systematic inner-Party democracy, and placing no hindrance whatever in the way of purposeful and comradelike criticism of the defects of the Party, is of the opinion that the Party organisation must let itself be guided hereby by the decision of the X. Party Conference, which states:

"It is necessary that every organisation of the Party takes the strictest care that the absolutely necessary criticism exercised on the deficiencies of the Party, every analysis of the general line of the Party or the resumés of practical experience, the inquiries into the carrying out of decisions, the methods of correcting errors, etc. are never to be submitted to the judgment of groups formed on this or that "platform" but solely to the judgment of the Party members."

The Party organisations, if they are to destroy all fractional formations, and safeguard the unity and iron discipline of the Party, must further be guided by the decision accepted at the same X. Party Conference, as follows:

"The Party Conference orders that all groups formed on this or that platform are to be dissolved at once, without exception, and commissions all organisations to devote the strictest attention to the prevention of any fractional action. Failure to carry out this decision involves the immediate and unconditional expulsion from the Party."

Decision on the XV. Party Conference of the C. P. S. U.

Decision of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. of 9th August 1927.

It is decided:

I. To convene the XV. Party Conference on the 1st December 1927.

II. To place the following points on the agenda of the XV. Party Conference.

1. Report of the C. C. (political and organisatory).
2. Report of the Central Revision Committee.
3. Report of the C. C. C. and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.
4. Report of the delegation of the C. P. S. U. in the E. C. C. I.
5. Five years' plan of national economics.
6. Work in the village.
7. Election of the central organs of the Party.

Declaration of the Opposition at the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 11th August 1927.

The declaration of the Opposition at the joint plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union signed by comrades Avdeyev, Bakayev, Yevdokimov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Lisdin, Muralov, Peterson, Pyatakov, Rakovski, Smilga and Trotsky contains the following:

Ignoring the polemical form of the questions put to us, we answer them according to their significance as follows:

The first question: We are absolutely and unreservedly for the defence of our socialist Fatherland against the imperialists. We are naturally absolutely and unreservedly for the defence of the Soviet Union also under the present Central Committee of the Party and the present leadership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. If the passage concerning Clemenceau in the letter of Trotsky has led to an obviously false interpretation of this comparison in the sense of a struggle for power and the utilisation of the war difficulties, then we reject decisively all such interpretations. At the same

time we maintain our conviction that the Party should not reject all criticism even during the war, or refuse to improve the policy of the Central Committee should it be incorrect.

In our draft resolution upon the international situation, we put forward the following slogans: the defeat of all bourgeois States fighting against the Soviet Union — Every honest proletarian in the capitalist countries must work actively for the defeat of "his" government — Every foreign soldier should desert to the Red Army if he is not prepared to assist the slave holders of "his" country — The Soviet Union is the Fatherland of all toilers, since the 7th November 1917 we are for its defence, our war for the defence of the Fatherland (Lenin) will be a war "for the Soviet Republic as the troop of the world army of Socialism", our "War for the defence of the Fatherland will not be the way to the bourgeois State, but the way to the international socialist revolution" (Lenin) — Whoever is not a defender of the Soviet Union is a traitor to the international proletariat.

With regard to the question of the Thermidor, we say, in this country there are Thermidorian elements growing which have a sufficiently serious social basis. We do not doubt that the Party and the proletariat of the Soviet Union will overcome these dangers with a correct leninist and inner-Party democracy. What we demand is that the Party leadership fight these phenomena and their influence upon certain parts of the Party, more systematically. We do not say that our bolshevist Party, its C. C. and its C. C. C. is Thermidorian.

With regard to the second question: We admit that the communist movement in Germany is threatened with a direct split and the formation of a second Party. Subordinating ourselves to the decisions of the Comintern concerning the impermissibility of maintaining organisatory connections with the expelled groups Urbahns, Maslov, we demand expressly and we will work for this inside the Comintern, a revision of the decisions for expulsion, having regard to the fact that amongst those expelled are hundreds of old revolutionary workers who are closely connected with the working masses, who are devoted to the work of Lenin and who are honestly prepared to defend the Soviet Union to the last. The formation of a second Party in Germany would evoke a tremendous danger. We propose that the C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union through the E. C. C. I. carry out the following measures to avoid this danger.

Upon condition that the organ of the Urbahns group ceases publication and that the group subordinates itself to all decisions of Comintern Congresses, the re-admission of all those who accept this condition into the Party together with a guarantee that these comrades may be permitted to express their opinions in the press and in the ranks of the Party and the Comintern.

With regard to the third question: We emphatically condemn all attempts to form a second Party in the Soviet Union. We consider the way to a second Party in the Soviet Union to be absolutely false and dangerous for the revolution. We will use all our power and all our forces to fight against any such tendency for the formation of a second Party. We condemn the disruptive policy just as energetically. We will carry out all decisions of the Communist Party and of its Central Committee. We are prepared to do everything possible to destroy all fractional elements which have formed themselves as a consequence of the fact that on account of the inner-Party regime we were compelled to inform the Party of our opinions which were falsely reported in the whole press of the country.

The "Pravda" on the Declaration of the Opposition.

Moscow, 11th August 1927.

The "Pravda" declares that the plenary session has acted correctly and wisely in its decision with regard to the Opposition.

The highest criterion for the plenary session was the interests of peace and unity within the Party.

In its decision the plenary session has acted from the recognition of the stage which the struggle of the Opposition against the Party has entered. The plenary session described this stage as the transition of the Opposition from the tactic of the

oppositional struggle to the tactic of the disruption of the Party and the Comintern at the same time obviously ignoring the anti-soviet and anti-Party forces which are waiting impatiently for the moment when they can go into action.

The plenary session did everything to assist the oppositional leaders to save themselves from the cul de sac into which they had fallen through their own fault. However, a guarantee for peace is not yet given. The whole Party declares that the declaration of the Opposition which leaves the possibility everywhere of a renewal of the struggle against the Party, is insufficient.

The rest depends upon the leaders of the Opposition. The Party will observe with the greatest possible attention how the promises made by the leaders of the Opposition are kept in practice.

If the declaration of the Opposition should suffer the same fate as the declaration of the 16th October, then so much the worse for the Opposition. The Party will take care to protect its unity from the Opposition leaders.

The Moscow and Leningrad Party Organisations Endorse the Decisions of the Plenum.

Moscow, 12th August 1927.

Meetings of the active members of the Moscow and Leningrad party organisations unanimously adopted a resolution expressing agreement with the decisions of the Joint Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The first meeting adopted its resolution after hearing a report of Comrade Rykov and the second after hearing a report of Comrade Bukharin.

The resolution which was adopted by 3000 members in the Moscow meeting was unanimous (one vote was cast against and one vote was withheld), and approved unanimously of the decisions of the Plenary session, which expressed correctly a Leninist policy in the basic questions of international and internal policy. The resolution points in particular to the importance of the decisions of the Plenary Session, and declares that the attitude of the leaders of the opposition in the Plenary session to the questions of the defence of the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution and the economic constructive work in the Soviet Union has shown the complete ideological collapse of Trotskyism. The resolution approves absolutely of the decisions of the Plenum to rebuke and warn Zinoviev and Trotsky sternly, and regards this decision as a last attempt to settle the internal party struggle as painlessly as possible. This attempt was made in accordance with a wish to restore the unity of the Party. The resolution declares that a rejection of this last attempt to provide the opposition with the possibility of an honest retreat into the ranks of the party, could only be regarded as disruption and a wish to break with the Party. The resolution expresses indignation at the so-called platform of the fifteen — Sapronov, Smirnov and others, which in its content is still more hostile to the Party than the platform of the eighty-three and which leads to open Menshevism. The resolution demands that the C. C. C. take action against the signatories of this platform, even up to the extent of expelling them from the Party.

In the debate following the speech of Comrade Rykov, only one oppositional comrade, Ivan Smirnov, participated and declared that the Party was in danger of falling into a "trap" and that the opposition pointed to this danger. The utterances of Smirnov produced only laughter and indignation. The meeting was a wonderful demonstration of the final and complete isolation of the opposition.

The meeting in Leningrad decided against a debate, following upon the report of Comrade Bukharin, and adopted a resolution against six votes approving of the decisions of the Plenary Session of the C. C. and the C. C. C., the same resolution which had been adopted a day previously at the Plenary Session of the Gouvernement Committee and the Gouvernement Control Commission following upon lively discussion. One of the six members of the opposition present at the meeting moved a second resolution containing statements concerning the incorrectness of the policy of the Central Committee, the correctness

of the policy of the opposition and containing even accusations of a Thermidor degeneration of the party leadership. The meeting answered these statements with an outbreak of stormy indignation, and despite the proposal of the presidium refused to listen to the text of the resolution to the end. The Leningrad organisation considers the warning given by the Plenary Session of the C. C. and the C. C. C. to the leaders of the opposition to be final, and appeals to all comrades who have joined the opposition to break with it and return to the Leninist ranks of the Party. The Leningrad organisation promises the Central Committee of the Party its complete support in the defence of party unity against the disruptive activity of the oppositional bloc and considers it necessary to continue the decisive struggle against all forms of fractionalism and against any violation of the undertakings made towards the Party.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Session of the Plenum of the Executive of the Young Communist International.

The session of the Executive of the Y. C. I. met in Moscow June 18, 27. This conference was of great significance for the further work of the Young Communist League. It met first of all, to discuss the urgent question of the danger of war and the tasks which arise therefrom for young workers and the Y. C. L. The Plenum gave definite instructions to the Leagues on this question. It decided that the struggle against imperialist war and against militarism is now the chief task of the Young Communist Leagues and that the work of the Y. C. L. must be carried on accordingly. Of course, the Leagues must continue their activity in other spheres of youth work (economic struggles, educational work, etc.); but also these tasks must be dealt with from the point of view of the central task; struggle against war. This is the chief result of the last Plenum of the Executive.

The Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. took place after the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Therefore its first work was to consider the decisions and the policy of the Communist International. After a long discussion it completely and unanimously supported the estimation of the position and the decision on tactics also on the question of the Opposition arrived at by the Plenum of the C. I. The Plenum shows that the opposition has no support whatsoever in the ranks of the Y. C. I. and that the Communist youth of the whole world support the policy of the Comintern and the C. C. of the E. Y. C. L. S. U. Although during the discussion chief attention was directed towards fighting against the disgraceful activity of the ultra-Left Opposition a definite attitude was adopted against opportunist deviations such as for example have found expression amongst certain members of the German Party.

One of the most important tasks of the Plenum was to draw attention to the peculiar phenomena which result from the present position of young workers and characterise the position of young workers and their attitude. For example, the Plenum dealt with capitalist rationalisation and the results which accrue from it for young workers. Despite individual objections the Plenum endorsed the attitude of the last Enlarged Executive of the C. I. that the role of the youth is growing in production and not decreasing as a result of capitalist rationalisation. Although rationalisation (besides various other factors) simplifies the individual functions of the productive forces and youth work is organised more cheaply and on a smaller scale it requires a comparatively greater amount of unskilled workers and juveniles. Thus, the comparative proportion of juveniles to adult workers in rationalised industrial concerns grows although at the same time the youth are hard-hit by mass unemployment and certain sections of the youth suffer extremely from this.

In accordance with the growth of the role of the youth within the rationalised productive process so too the role of the youth in the political struggle increases as a result of the growing danger of war. It is a well-known fact that armies in peacetime as well as in war-time are to a large extent composed of young people.

These two circumstances are the reason for the intensified fight for the youth which we now witness; this struggle for the youth plays an important part in the preparations of the bourgeoisie for new wars. In a somewhat covert form this work for the bourgeoisie is also being carried out by the Amsterdam Trade Union International which has decided to strengthen its work amongst the youth by creating trade union youth sections, educational committees, etc. It is no easy task to win over young workers for the bourgeoisie and their "Socialist assistants", for the present generation of young workers has grown up in the post-war period; i. e. during a time of the greatest vacillations of capitalism and the greatest revolutionary struggles and is as a result free from a number of prejudices which the period of "peaceful" development of capitalism involves. This fact and also the growth of exploitation and reaction under which the young workers suffer explains a number of defeats which the Socialist Youth International has recently experienced.

The German Section in the words of their leaders themselves have lost half the membership during the last two years (membership of the Socialist Youth fell from over 100,000 to 56,000) and a revolutionary opposition has developed in their midst — which cannot be mistaken for "Lefts" after the pattern of Levi — primarily in Berlin and also in Leipzig and has finally become united throughout the entire Reich.

Also the Congress of the British Section (Youth Guilds of the I. L. P.) the Left wing, half of whom supported the Communists on the question of the united front, won the day on many points and a resolution which demanded the united front with the Communists was rejected only by a majority of 4 (29 to 25). It is true that this opposition in Great Britain is still full of senseless pacifist prejudices and the Utopian hope of a change of the League into a revolutionary organisation. Still this kind of pacifism of honest revolutionary masses must be distinguished from the pacifism of the Left and Right Social Democrats.

In the Belgian Section of the S. J. G. (Jeunes Gardes) the opposition which demands united front with the Communists and protests against the coalition policy of the Labour Party is very strong.

In France too, and in other countries, a growing opposition is apparent amongst the members of the S. J. I.

In short, we see that as a result of capitalist rationalisation, the growth of reaction and the threatening danger of war, the radicalisation of young workers, to which former conferences of the Y. C. I. drew attention, is making great progress.

The Y. C. I. would be a bad leader of the youth if it did not with all determination point to a dangerous spot and the weak point in the constitution of the present generation of young workers. This generation of young workers did not participate directly in the last world war and therefore does not know from its own experience, either the true face of the imperialist war nor the questions of the political struggles of 1914—1918. Both the intrigues and the treachery of social patriotic propaganda and the struggle of Leninism of the Liebknecht group during the World War are only known to them superficially and by hearsay.

From all this arises the danger that a considerable section of young workers can be deceived and misled especially in case of a war between the imperialist States, by the deceptions and sophisms of the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats, propaganda of the State, of the press, school, sport clubs, etc. Therefore the Y. C. I. must work with all the forces at its disposal in order to win over the young workers from the influence of bourgeois and Social Democratic propaganda for war and militarism in all the various questions and to mobilise them for the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and militarism.

It was already been pointed out that the Plenum directed its chief attention to the struggle against war danger. The Socialist Youth International remains absolutely inactive in respect of imperialist war, or more correctly said, supports the imperialist pacifist attitude of the Second International whilst the Y. C. I. struggles all its might against the imperialist war danger and against militarism. For this reason anti-militarist work of the Y. C. I. has good results to show.

The first place is taken by the brilliant work of the Y. C. L. of France which together with the Party's well organised work

within the army and navy has brought the broad masses of soldiers and sailors under the influence of Communism.

Furthermore, there are such examples as the work of the Y. C. L. amongst the imperialist troops in Shanghai and Hankow, which has aroused the attention of the entire international police, although it did not meet with success; the work which the Y. C. L. of Great Britain carried out amongst the troops sent to China, the reception which was given to the French fleet which visited England and the activity of the Scandinavian and Baltic youth leagues amongst the sailors of the British fleet who visited the Baltic Sea.

As usual the Y. C. I. was strong in self-criticism. On the contrary it spent less time over its successes in anti-militarist work than in dealing with the shortcomings which arose in this domain, for this work is inadequate in the face of the enormous tasks and the Communist youth must exert their forces still more. The Plenum mainly denounced the following errors:

1. Partial unclarity about our attitude to war and militarism, especially pacifist deviations in the agitation of individual Sections.

2. Inadequate practical work within the army in many countries.

3. In many, although not numerous leagues, a certain kind of "provincialism" which does not present a special point of view but is expressed by inadequate reaction to international events and campaigns.

The Plenum pointed out the immediate tasks of the League in anti-war work as follows:

1. Mobilisation of the masses in the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution by the application of united front tactics mainly from below; organisation of mass organisations together with the Party.

2. From the point of view of content better anti-war propaganda and a systematic planned, thorough and immediate concrete exposure of the propaganda of the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy.

3. Intensified work in the army and navy and amongst the youth under military age. In every regiment and on every ship there must be a nucleus of at least one reliable comrade. That is the present main task of all leagues. The Y. C. I. must meet imperialist deeds and Social Democratic phrases with practical struggle against militarism and the preparation for the transformation of imperialist war into a civil war and the victorious proletarian revolution.

The Plenum furthermore devoted the greatest attention to questions of economic struggle of young workers and the work in the trade unions. It would be a great mistake if because of the danger of war this work should suffer in any way. Capitalist rationalisation, the attack on the economic position of the proletariat must on the contrary be considered as the most important weapon of the bourgeoisie in preparation for war. At the same time the necessity to win over the youth for the anti-war struggle necessitates more than ever that we bring every means into action to penetrate into the masses of the young workers in order to bring them under our leadership. The economic struggle of the youth and trade union work which will play the greatest role in the next war is one of the most important means to attain this.

At one of the congresses (at the Second Congress in 1921) the Y. C. I. adopted a fundamental attitude to our economic struggle and trade union work. At that time it did not permit the formation of any special forms and organs for trade union work amongst the youth, because it counted on the Communist Youth Leagues themselves developing into Communist mass organisations of the youth and thereby would carry on trade union work amongst the youth through their direct contact with the trade unions. This was the reason why the Second Congress of the Y. C. I. definitely opposed youth sections in the trade unions. These decisions were insofar correct that the Communist youth should participate immediately in the economic struggles and this work should be used as a means of transforming youth organisations into mass organisations. At this Congress there was a minority report which put forward the opinion that the Y. C. L. itself could not take part in the economic struggle and that this should be the task of special economic youth organisations. This incorrect attitude had to be fought. The conclusion was correct that the Y. C. I. must win the re-

cognition of the leaders and the representatives of the interests of the young workers and take the lead in trade union work amongst young workers.

Experience has shown that the Second Congress overestimated the tempo of the mass development of the Communist youth in the capitalist countries and that special organisations for the mobilisation and leadership of the masses of young workers in trade unions are necessary. These are primarily the elected youth representatives and youth committees which have been recently created in the red and reformist trade unions in a number of "legal" countries. But there are also countries where the Y. C. L. is illegal where youth sections have been formed in revolutionary trade unions.

The Plenum considered it necessary to re-examine the whole question of the forms of youth work in trade unions. The Plenum decided on a revision of the old decisions of the Second Congress of work in the trade unions and this revision is to take place at the next Congress; it furthermore decided in view of the urgency of the question already now to issue new instructions to the Leagues. This is all the more necessary since the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the S. Y. I. recently increased their endeavours to form youth sections in all countries, which, of course, will only carry out purely reformist work according to their point of view and are intended to revive the declining S. Y. I. (These youth sections are as a rule to be in organisational contact with the S. L. Y.).

The Y. C. I. must carry on a decisive counter-campaign against these endeavours of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the S. Y. I. for the Y. C. I. is naturally opposed to such forms of work amongst the youth. It opposes to these the special organisational forms of youth work which it considers correct and which lead a revolutionary economic struggle and bring the youth into the general struggles of the working class. These forms are as a general rule in legal countries; elected youth representatives and youth commissions, in illegal countries there are youth sections, in exceptional cases also in a number of legal countries which, however, then carry on quite different activity and should have different organisational tasks from those of the reformist youth sections.

Furthermore, it is necessary in view of the definite endeavours of the Amsterdam International to found youth sections, to determine our activity in individual countries on the basis of the concrete situation.

The Plenum authorised the Y. C. I. to develop extensive work for the creation and development of special forms of youth work in trade unions (especially youth representatives, youth commissions, etc.) This has been made absolutely necessary by the present position and at the same time is the best answer to the disgraceful campaign of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

The Plenum thoroughly discussed the programme of our demands in respect to the education of young workers and of unemployment amongst the youth. In this connection the Plenum again dealt with the Social Democratic slogan, "Extension of the school age" (i. e., extension of compulsory education and withholding the youth from production until 16 years of age), which the reformists of England, Austria and Germany put forward. The Plenum confirmed the decisions of the V Enlarged Executive of the E. C. of Y. C. I. (1926) and rejected this slogan. This proposal, which had been advanced under the mask of struggling against the unemployment of the youth in reality does not do so, but only conceals it. It arises from the narrowest craft attitude of the labour aristocracy which considers youth work just as women's work, and that of immigrant workers merely as tiresome competition which must be done away with. They do not understand that adult and juvenile workers must carry on a joint struggle for the mutual improvement of their position.

In this way they are trying to make the youth bear the burdens of unemployment by forbidding them to enter production and leaving them in schools. No support, or only very inadequate support is to be given in place of wages which also shows the reactionary nature of this proposal and its connection with the capitalist offensive which is now in progress. Furthermore, the education which the youth are to receive instead of their participation in production is the old elementary or intermediary education which is almost useless for the requirements of the modern working youth.

The Y. C. I. is in favour of prolongation of education, but this education is of a different kind from that which is proposed by the reformists. It takes place on the basis of production in factory schools, educational institutes in factories for the entire youth up to 16 years of age and longer (at present such schools are only accessible for a negligible number of the youth of the labour aristocracy), the pupils to receive payment (i. e. young worker's) in accordance with trade union rates. This point is dealt with very thoroughly in the resolution.

The Plenum of the E. C. also dealt with the demands which the youth must put forward in connection with capitalist rationalisation and the intensification of work ensuing therefrom (viz. the conveyor belt).

The discussion on the position and the tasks of the Communist Youth of China at the Plenum received no less attention if anything even more. Our Chinese Youth League during the last half year has increased the number of its members from 12 to 35,000. It has become an important factor in the Chinese revolution. Hand in hand with this, the Pioneer movement works, which in the province of Hupeh alone has 80,000 members and throughout all China 120,000 members. It must be remembered that as a result of the youth of the entire movement the Y. C. L. and the Pioneer movements are not exactly differentiated, for in the Pioneer movement there are not only children but also numerous young people over 15 years of age.

The Y. C. L. of China has a very difficult task. It is still young and inexperienced and the conditions under which it works are extremely complicated. First of all the regrouping which took place in connection with the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat of Chiang Kai-shek brought about corresponding changes in the ranks of the youth. The Chinese students who for some years had played the leading role in the national liberation movement split up in two camps and a considerable section of the students remained in the bourgeois camp. On the other hand the activity of the young workers and peasants on the basis of the growing agrarian revolution and the intensification of social contradictions has grown exceedingly. Not only young industrial workers but also large sections of young workers occupied in handicraft work are now beginning to join the struggle. The Chinese Y. C. L. must understand how to become the real leader of this fomenting and struggling mass of young workers. Its origin was in the ranks of the students and now the students form still more than half of the members of the League and the majority of the officials. Care must be taken to bring in larger numbers of young workers into the League so that the kernel of the League will consist of young workers. The economic struggle of the young workers must be carried on in an energetic manner, work in the factories must be increased and the work in the village improved. At present in the villages there are still very few nuclei of Communist youth, whereas large sections of the youth are to be found in Leagues affiliated to bourgeois organisations. Work must be carried on in these bodies.

The most important task of the League at the present moment is practical participation in the political struggle. The Plenum warned the Chinese Youth League against the danger of counter-revolution and opportunist errors of the Communist Party of China and emphasised that the most important political task of the League is participation in the advancement of the agrarian revolution. The Plenum also pointed out that one of the most important tasks of the League is the systematic work with a view to disintegrating the reactionary army and building up a reliable revolutionary military power. In connection therewith the demand for arming the workers and peasants was put forward and the Plenum decided to proceed with the creation of an extensive military sport youth organisation in connection with the various trade unions and peasant organisations.

Certainly the Chinese Communist League also made mistakes; for quite a considerable time within its ranks underestimation of the agrarian revolution and the mass movement was apparent; but generally speaking our League adopted a correct policy and especially during the past months it has adopted a correct attitude in regard to Party political questions. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party has been guilty of very serious opportunist errors and has not followed the policy of the Comintern, but our League has opposed these errors and advocated an absolutely correct political policy, the policy of the Comintern. It has honourably carried out its revolutionary duty and observed the revolutionary traditions of the Y. C. I. in the struggle against opportunism. So that the Com-

intern also in the future can rely on the correct revolutionary attitude of the Y. C. L. of China. The Y. C. L. of China has now a most important task to assist in the liquidation of the errors of the Communist Party leadership and to help in the recuperation of the Party.

The Communist Youth of China is at present working under the most difficult conditions of reaction, which at this moment, whilst our Plenum is sitting, openly threatens to take over the government in Wuhan; our League will be persecuted everywhere. Almost everywhere our League is illegal or at best semi-legal. On this account a number of very difficult tasks result in respect to the organisational composition of the League, but there is no doubt that the Communist youth of China also under the new conditions, — the victory of reaction, — will remain the leader of the struggling masses of the Chinese youth.

Events in China during the Plenum were in a state of flux and the Plenum authorised a special commission of the Presidium to draft the policy of the Plenum and the policy of Presidium into a form as directions for the work of the Chinese Youth League. These directions were developed and applied in the work of the Y. C. L. in China and the Chinese Communist Youth League.

The Plenum finally devoted great attention to the Y. C. L. of Great Britain. This League is at one of the most responsible and difficult posts on the revolutionary front. As a result of the fact that it is working in the country of the most aggressive imperialism which is carrying out in all parts of the world today, intervention and war policy, and acts as the leader of the campaign against the Soviet Union, our League in England must carry out a task on behalf of the entire Y. C. I. The Plenum recognised the great successes of the British League both in anti-military and trade union work and also its activity on behalf of the united front. The Plenum, however, also pointed out the weak spots in the British League which the British comrades must overcome:

1. The slow growth of the League, which in spite of its great influence amongst the masses of young workers, is still numerically small;
2. The weakness of the organisational apparatus, especially the official body;
3. Inadequate political educational work.

The Plenum designated the tasks of the League and pointed out the most important fields in which it should overcome its weaknesses and continue its successes in order to develop into a real mass organisation of the young workers of Great Britain. The Y. C. L. of Great Britain has especially important tasks in the struggle against British imperialism, against war in China and against the danger of another imperialist war.

These constitute the most important results of the Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. It was a session to rally the broad masses of young workers in the struggle against imperialist war, and against the struggle of the economic and political, capitalist offensive. It was also a session marked by the most intensive practical work at which the methods of the struggle of the Y. C. I. anti-military work, trade union work, etc. were discussed in detail. The task now is to realise the most important results of the Plenum, i. e. that the struggle against imperialist war and militarism is the chief task of the entire Young Communist movement.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Press Gagged in the Interests of the Entente.

Amsterdam, 20th August. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency). The Provisional Government is preparing to pass a bill against newspapers hostile to the cause of the Allies, or publishing articles offensive to the Allies. The maximum penalty to which the responsible publishers can be sentenced is 18 months imprisonment.

The Bourgeoisie afraid of the Constituent Assembly.

Amsterdam, 20th August. The Provisional Government had fixed the date of the election to the Constituent Assembly for 30. September, but as the greater part of the work of drawing

up the lists of the electors falls to the municipal authorities and Semstvos, which must themselves be chosen by general election. The election to the Constitutional Assembly has been postponed till 25th November.

THE FACTORIES FIGHT AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

"Only the Soviet power can save the revolution."

Petrograd. 11th August. The workers of the "Perun" works, 800 in number have passed the following resolution: "1. The existence of organisations which were formed with the approval of the Tsar Nicolas Romanov, such as the State Duma and the State Council, is a disgrace to democracy. We are indignant at the actions of the police officials, at the provocatory attitude adopted towards the revolution, and demand the arrest of these reactionaries, who are endeavouring to spread disunity, misery, and terror, in order to be able to force the workers into fresh serfdom; 2. We demand the immediate release of the comrades arrested for political reasons; 3. We maintain that only the organ of revolutionary democracy, that is, the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' deputies, can save Russia and the revolution; 4. We demand the abolition of the death penalty."

The Moscow Factory Councils support the Bolsheviks.

Moscow. 11th August. The Conference of the Moscow factory councils has passed a resolution on the present situation. This demands the abolition of capital punishment, the dissolution of the State Duma and the State Council, the placing of the power in the hands of the Soviet etc. The resolution protests against the persecution of the Bolsheviks.

The Mensheviks and the S.R. left the meeting before the division, on the ground that the meeting had no right to discuss political questions. The resolution was accepted by 191 votes of the Bolsheviks and Internationalists.

The Reactionaries Released — the Revolutionists Remain in Prison.

Petrograd. 19th August. By decree of the attorney general, a number of prominent representatives of the old regime have been released, and have hastened to disappear. The release of these counter-revolutionaries leads the people to pass sentences for themselves, as evidenced by the murder of the provocateur Lavrov by the populace.

... They Receive the same Treatment as under Tsarism.

Petrograd. 15th August. "Rabotshi i Soldat" publishes today a letter of political prisoners, sent from prison. These comrades describe the Tsarist methods of treatment in the prisons; the prisoners are kept in solitary confinement, although this is against the regulations, they are not brought up for hearing until weeks after their arrest, although according to law prisoners are to be heard within 24 hours after their arrest. The political prisoners protest against this treatment, and are fighting for the democratic achievements of the revolution, which are being trodden underfoot by the officers and reactionary prison directors.

The Printing Office Workers Defend the Freedom of the Press.

We workers of the "Syelskiy Vvestnik" protest against the attitude taken by the chairman of the autonomous commission, K. Dyesyatnikov, and by the member of the autonomous commission I. Safranov, who have decided on their own initiative to refuse to publish the resolution of the Petrograd Conference of the Bolsheviks, which has already appeared in the newspaper "Rabotshi i Soldat", No. 2.

We workers of the "Syelskiy Vvestnik" declare categorically that we tolerate no censors amongst us, and demand their immediate removal.

We call upon our fellow workers in other works and factories to join us in our protest. 32 signatures.

* * *

We workers of the "Rabotshaya Gazeta" enter a voluntary protest against the influencing, by the junkers, of the "Syelskiy Vvestnik" printing offices.

We protest against the provocatory attitude of the chairman of the autonomous commission, Konstantin Dyesyatnikov, and of the member of autonomous commission, Ivan Safranov, who on their own initiative prevented the publication of the resolution

of the Petrograd Conference of the Bolsheviks, after this had already appeared in the newspaper "Rabotshi i Soldat": We demand the immediate removal of these persons, who are servants of the old regime and enemies of the working class. There is no room for them amongst us. We call upon our fellow workers to support us in this protest.

The Conference of the Co-operative Workers.

Petrograd. 14th August. The Conference of the Co-operative workers was opened today. The following points formed the agenda: 2. The workers' co-operatives in Russia, 2. The most important tasks and fundamental principles of the workers' co-operatives, 3. The relations of the co-operative workers to other forms of the labour movement, 4. Reports on the organisation question in the co-operatives, 5. The food supplies question and the co-operatives, 6. The cultural and enlightening work of the co-operatives, 7. Municipal administration and the co-operatives, 8. The employees of the workers' co-operatives, 9. The International Co-operative Conference, 10. Election of the central, 11. The co-operatives and the present situation.

The Tsar in Siberia.

Petrograd, 19th August. The Provisional Government states that the ex-Tsar and Tsarina have been sent to Siberia for reasons of state expediency. They have been taken to Tobolsk with all necessary precautionary measures, and remain here under guard.

The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

The Feeling in the French Army.

("Rabotsh i Soldat", 15. August.)

The French newspapers contain more and more frequent references to the discontent, war weariness, and strivings for peace, among the French front soldiers. Hervé, in his newspaper the "Victoire", admits that the Russian revolution has exercised a great influence upon the French soldiers. "This accursed revolution" writes Hervé "has done more to shake the moral balance of the front soldiers than the weariness, the rare leave of absence, and the rumours of risings in Paris. Hervé relates that the letters which he receives from soldiers at the front express the hope that France will follow Russia's example, and will tread the path of revolution.

In the "Petit Parisien", first lieutenant Rousset relates that he receives reports more and more frequently of the discontent among the soldiers. Rousset ascribes this to the agitation carried on by "German agents". (Both the French and the Russian imperialists are always inclined to attribute everything to the malicious agitation of "German agents". They find this simpler than an analysis of the deeper reasons, the weariness of the long war and the growth of class consciousness among the soldiers, who are beginning to grasp, all over the world, that the fairy tale of "home defence" is only a figment veiling the capitalist greed of profit.) Rousset acknowledges that the discontent is increasing.

Hervé and Clemenceau, these war fanatics, are extremely uneasy at all this propaganda for peace, and demand that the French government should take the most decided measures against all persons carrying on such propaganda.

The 6th Party Conference of the Bolsheviks.

(Third, fourth, and fifth days.)

Petrograd, 13th August. On the third day of the Party Conference (10th August), Podbielsky gave a report on the Moscow organisation, which already counts 15,000 members. "The greatest difficulty in the work is the lack of old Party members". But all mass actions in Moscow have been carried out under Bolshevik slogans. In the Soviets the Bolsheviks have gained much ground; they have won over six of the ten districts. They have the majority in various trade unions. The great influence of the Bolsheviks is demonstrated by the impressiveness of the demonstration made on 4. July.

After the reports on the war organisations had been heard, Larin spoke on behalf of the internationalist socialists, in favour of unification with the Bolsheviki.

At the afternoon sitting reports from the provinces were heard. The most important of these were from Helsingfors, Kronstadt, the Ural, Krasnoyarsk, Riga, Samara. These reports showed that in the large cities the Bolsheviki have one third of the Soviet mandates in their hands.

* * *

On the fourth day comrade Bukharin held a speech on the situation and the war. He was followed by comrade Stalin on the political situation. These addresses aroused a lively debate, which is being continued today. The resolutions were handed over to a commission.

This was followed by reports on the Party press, and by Milyutin's report on the economic situation.

6th and 7th sessions (closing session).

Petrograd, 16th August. Yesterday a resolution was passed on the organisation of work among the Youth, as also a resolution on the war, based on comrade Bukharin's report.

* * *

Petrograd, 16th August. At today's sitting the Party Conference passed Milyutin's resolution on the economic situation. The plan of preparation for the election to the Constituent Assembly was discussed.

Glebow gave the report on the trade union movement. The economic position of the worker is bad. The wages fall further and further behind the prices, the worker toils for 9 to 10 hours in many places, it is he who bears the main burden of our economic decay. The trade unions do not carry on any real struggle in the interests of the working class. "The trade unions are a quicksand", declared Glebow, "but the more reason for us to combat the opportunism which has grown so strong among them".

Yurenjev spoke on the "Unification of the Party" with the Meschrayonzi. The resolution on the unification was accepted. The elections and Nogan's closing speech followed, and the Party Conference concluded.

Chronicle of Events.

August 11.

The workers' organisations of Kronstadt declare a boycott against the newly appointed government commissary Kolossov (member of the S. R. party).

August 12.

6th Party Conference of the Bolsheviki. Bukharin's report on the war and Stalin's on the political situation. Discussion.

A members' meeting of the Moscow tailors' trade union sends a message of greeting to the Bolshevik Party Conference.

The naphtha owners of Baku decline to enter into collective agreement with the workers.

August 13.

Government decision on the convocation of the "state consultation" at Moscow on 25th August.

Introduction of the death penalty in the fleet.

Opening of the Congress of the All Russian Peasants' League.

6th Party Congress of the Bolsheviki. Continuation of the Discussion on Bukharin's and Stalin's reports.

August 14.

The provisional Government resolves to issue a state loan to the amount of three milliard roubles.

All Russian Co-operative Congress.

August 15.

The Putilov workers send a resolution of sympathy to Lenin and the political prisoners.

The shop stewards meeting of the Langensipen factory passes a resolution demanding the establishment of a "revolutionary dictatorship".

August 16.

Closing session of the Sixth Conference of the Bolsheviki. General Kornilov reports to the Provisional Government on the strategic position at the front.

The Peasants' League meeting at Moscow declares itself in favour of compensation for the landowners should the land be given to the peasants.

August 17.

The Provisional Government confirms the appointment of the General Secretariat for the Ukraine, which is to hold office until the Constituent Assembly meets.

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