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CONTENTS**Editor.**

G. Péri: The Position in the Paris Reparations Conference.

Politics.

W. Koenen: The Result of the Elections for the Diet in Saxony.

A. G. Richman: The Mass Migration of American Farmers.

Against Colonial Oppression.

The British Trade Union Council and the Bombay Strike.

The White Terror.

K. Londos: The White Terror in Greece.

Against Imperialist War.

Nemo: Uninterrupted Transports of War Material for Use against the Soviet Union.

J. Körös: "Disarmed" Hungary.

XVI. National Conference of the C. P. S. U.

Report Delivered by Comrade Kuybyshev on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy.

Fascism.

New Terrorist Sentence of the Fascist Exceptional Tribunal at Rome.

First of May.

Resolution of the Enlarged Berlin-Brandenburg District Party Committee of the C. P. G. (Conclusion).

In the International.

Martin Jones: Organisational Steps towards Bolshevisation of the American Communist Party.

The Balkans.

Declaration of the Balkan Communist Federation on the „Croatian-Macedonian Alliance“.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.

The Plan of Socialist Construction in Action.

The Seven-Hour Day in Industry.

In the Camp of our Enemies.

W. Ensee: The Geographical Morality of the English Independent Labour Party.

Proletarian Women's Movement.

Ann Stanley: Textile Strikes in Southern United States.

G. Bark: The Co-operative Movement and the Women.

The Position in the Paris Reparations Conference.

By G. Péri, Paris.

The conference of the experts in Paris has already lasted more than three months, but the participating imperialist powers have not yet been able to find a platform on which they could agree. The conference seemed on the verge of disruption when the German delegation declined the original proposal made by the allies: to pay for 37 years an average sum yearly of 2198 million gold marks and a further 20 annual payments of 1700 million gold marks and one of 900 millions. In response to the allies' memorandum Schacht proposed on April 17th 37 annuities of 1650 million gold marks. At the present rate of exchange the claims made by the allies amount to 40,000 millions, while the German proposal amounts to 27,000 millions, the difference being 13,000 millions. The sums which Schacht proposed were so tremendously high no State in Europe would have undertaken to pay them. Nevertheless, this offer was brusquely rejected. Thereupon, the reparations conference was regarded as a failure and the whole "Western orientation" of Germany threatened to vanish into thin air.

At this point, however, the Americans started in. Owen Young worked out a fresh plan providing for average annuities of 2050 millions for 37 years, 1700 millions for 20 years and 900 million gold marks for one year. The annuity of 2050 million gold marks is composed as follows: 1988 millions, plus amortisation of the Dawes loan. The first portion of the payment (37 annuities of 2050 millions) can be commercialised for the current monetary requirement of France. This portion commercialised in the favour of France, which, according to the allies' memorandum of April 13, should amount to 500 million marks, would, according to the American proposal, amount to only 435 million marks. The difference corresponds to 57 annuities of 50 million marks. In order to arrive at a settlement, several possibilities were conceded in private conferences, inter alia, the attachment of the profits of the proposed Bank for International Payments. On the other hand, it was proposed that France, with the permission of the other creditors, might "mobilise" for its needs during 37 years 500 million marks

instead of 435 millions. This stopped one gap only to cause a fresh one elsewhere. The French creditor would raise his capital from 43,000 to 50,000 million francs, but in his payments to the United States would have to take up a sum of 7000 million which would not be covered.

All these plans were discussed before the conference was informed of the German reservations. The leader of the German experts, Schacht, is now working with the principal British delegate, Stamp, on a second draft of a report of the Young Commission to the Government. Thereby it is hoped to create a document, which, at least, in its main portions, will meet the approval of all experts. The system of re-arranging the reparations presented in the first draft of the creditor group, further, the figures of the Young Plan and, finally, the German reservations, in which Schacht declared himself in agreement with the Young figures, as also the reservations of the various delegations of creditors, who are chiefly concerned with the distribution of the annuities to be paid by Germany, are to be united in a "uniform harmonious whole".

According to reports, the German reservations are as follows:

1. A guarantee providing for the revision of the agreement in case the Young Plan estimate of Germany's capacity should prove too high.
2. The granting of a moratorium for the protected portion of the annuities.
3. The reduction of the customs tariffs which injure the Germans.
4. The release of the pledged German State revenues and of the industry mortgage and of the railway mortgage.
5. The abolition of all foreign control over German finance.
6. Germany's participation to the greatest possible extent in the profits expected from the Reparations Bank.
7. The maintenance of the German deliveries in kind throughout the duration of the Reparations Agreement.
8. The assurance that the German obligations will be reduced in case of a commercialisation of parts of the German annuities in excess of the present resolutions.

The Young Plan means a step forward of the greatest significance for the American bourgeoisie. After declining to subscribe to the demands of the creditors, they have taken the German debtor under their protection and control. They have set up the German-American front against their British rival. England is not in the least disposed to accept the Young proposal in its present form. The whole of the English bourgeois press rejects the suggestion that in the proposed English "solution" of the reparations problem England should be the only creditor to suffer. And Churchill has declared in the House of Commons that the British Government will under no circumstances accept the proposals made by Owen Young. In Belgium, too, Young's payment plan has provoked resistance. In an official report the Belgian Government has declared that it insists upon the maintenance of the receipts which Belgium has had up to the present.

The united front of the Allies against the United States has been strengthening. The expression of this united front was the plan of the dividing of the reparations payments into one portion to cover the payments of the Allies to America, the extent of which should depend upon the further fate of the inter-Allied debt settlement, and another portion actually accruing to the Allies as reparations, whereby the former portion should continue to remain under transfer protection, which means that the transfer of the reparation sums by the reparations agent from his account at the German Reichsbank to the foreign creditors should take place only to an extent which would not endanger the German currency and, in a broader sense, German economy, a protection on which the German experts still insist. The other does not. The political significance of this division by the Allies is that it would create enmity between Germany and the United States, for through it Germany would be interested in bringing about a reduction of the debts of the Allies to the United States, which reduction would be exclusively in Germany's favour, and a means to this end would be a united front of the Allies with Germany against the United States. Young's plan aims at frustrating this design. It is therefore not merely a question of deciding the number and amount of the German annual payments but rather

of the foreign political role of Germany within the big posing groups in the world: Great Britain — United States and, again, the capitalist world — Soviet Union.

In any case, the burden of the reparations payments will continue to be thrust upon the German workers. The growing exploitation of the German proletariat, however, means a reduction in the standard of living of the workers of the other imperialist countries. This, again, means that a determined fight on an international front must be put up for the defence of the standard of living and for an advance in wages for the workers. This fight must be fought in conjunction with the demand for the annulment of the debts arising out of the imperialist war.

POLITICS

The Result of the Elections for the Diet in Saxony.

By W. KOENEN, Berlin.

The election fight for the diet of Saxony has resulted in an important redistribution of the political forces.

The election fight was on this occasion carried on in Saxony in the form of a general attack of all the bourgeois parties on their Social-Democratic helpers upon "Left radicalism". The Communist Party itself determined this arrangement beforehand. It took up a sharp fighting attitude against all the other parties as the sole anti-State party with a genuine revolutionary election platform. It permitted no illusions regarding any parliamentary government possibility under eventual Communist toleration. The left-wing Social-Democratic minority government as a fresh political manoeuvre was put on one side early in the election fight by the clear recognition of the fact that such a government could only take office as a tool of finance-capital. Every proletarian elector had therefore to make a clear decision for or against the dictatorship of the proletariat in voting for or against the Communists.

The general attack upon the "Left radicalism", which resulted from the clear enunciation of the problem in the election fight became, in view of the events of the early part of May, a general murderous agitation of all bourgeois elements. Social-Democrats and renegades against the C. P. G. A positive flow of calumnies, vituperation and foul accusations was poured over the Communists. Renegades and deserters gave their active help in this unscrupulous action. But the bourgeois-social democratic-Brandlerist agitation did not shake the position of the Communist Party among the Saxon industrial proletariat. Though the number of votes cast for the Communists, which was somewhat in advance of that at the last Diet election, (having risen from 341,112 to 345,817, did not reach the full height of the parliamentary election figures of May, 1928, (391,068 votes) that is merely evidence of vacillation on the fringe under the influence of the petty bourgeoisie and of a certain effect which the renegades and deserters were on this occasion able to have upon the former Communist supporters.

The renegades themselves, the Böttcher, Lieberasch and Siewert, who entered the election fight with five seats stolen from the Party, were defeated, as we predicted. These liquidators could not gather together in the whole of Saxony the number of votes necessary for a single seat, though it must be admitted that they put up a desperate fight. They exerted every effort they were capable of and they had at their disposition adequate means supplied to them by the petty bourgeoisie and by circles of the Labour aristocracy.

Their counter-revolutionary success is, in the first place, that through the internal quarrels they prevented the Party from fully concentrating its resources, as it did in previous election fights, in the second place that they deprived the Party temporarily of 22,000 Communist voters and made a great number of others indifferent, and, in the third place, they became through their liquidatory, open opportunism direct helpers of the S. P. G., for they prevented Social-Democratic workers from coming over to Communism.

In spite of the security, which the Brandlerists afforded them in certain districts, the S. P. G. fell far short of the parliamentary election figures of May, 1928, though they recovered from their big defeat of 1926. They evidently had losses

the National Socialists and the Economic Party. The fact that the S. P. G. is able at present to hold its own in Saxony against the Communists, is in a large measure due politically to the circumstance that the S. P. G. has not participated in recent years in the government of Saxony and that it has, therefore, long been in a position to play the part of a sham tactical opposition.

Our Saxon comrades have not yet succeeded in properly posing this sham opposition of the State-supporting S. P. G. to the masses. Just as this confusing effect of the sham opposition of the S. P. G. upon the working masses was previously derestimated, it has also been neglected to make it sufficiently clear to the hesitating middle-classes, to clerks and employees, to small peasants and independent workers, that the fight against exploitation by finance-capital, against the bourgeois-tyrannical government and against reaction is carried on and can only be carried on with seriousness and determination by the Communists and in common with the Communists. This inadequate knowledge and this neglect were magnified in several important districts, because the fight against the deserters to the Right was not started early enough and carried on thoroughly.

Furthermore, the tactical change which brought fresh masses into other big industrial districts of Germany was practically not carried out at all in several of the big towns of Saxony and that new success has therefore not yet been achieved there. Chemnitz and in Leipzig the tactical turn to independent effort on the basis of the broadest proletarian united front in the factories, in wage movement and in works council elections has hardly been applied at all. This also applies to the Saxon coal-mining areas. In certain places this means absolute losses for the Party. On the other hand, in the district of East Saxony, where it first dealt with the right-wing liquidators and where the tactical turn was carried out with the greatest effect, the Party got the best results.

In the ranks of the bourgeois parties several changes have taken place. These do not indicate any falling off in the bourgeois masses of the electorate, but rather an aggravation of the internal conflicts. The greatest losses have been sustained by the Old Socialists, the Democrats and the National Rights Party — all of them typical split off parties. The National Socialists have been successful, for they have increased their number of seats from two to five. This is not very surprising, in view of the social-Fascist methods, which the S. P. G. leaders themselves employ for the destruction of the democratic and parliamentary system.

A slight gain on the part of the German People's Party, doubtless made at the expense of the Democrats and of the German Nationalists in the big towns, is not of essential importance, but it goes to prove that the People's Party is gradually becoming the leading party of the German bourgeoisie. We are the more desirous of pointing this fact out, as it is particularly with this leading party of the German bourgeoisie that the S. P. G. maintains the closest coalition fellowship. The big coalition is now also coming up for consideration again in Saxony. The election result is compelling the Saxon "Left" to disclose its true face in the coalition question.

The increased participation in the voting this time over that of the previous election to the Diet is due directly to the violent agitation of the whole bourgeois and Social-Democratic press after the Berlin barricade fights. The Bolshevik bogey has once more had its effect upon the bourgeois electorate. The anti-Bolshevik rallying cry: "Never again Soviet Saxony!" was revived by the agitation of the bourgeois press.

But, though the bourgeoisie had by this means succeeded at the time being in harnessing petty-bourgeois strata to their chariot, it must be emphatically stated that the steady number of Communist votes from the industrial proletariat is of still more significance now than in the years 1926/28, when neither the decided rejection of every Social-Democratic government nor the possibility under Communist toleration had been declared nor the open fight against the bourgeoisie and reformism had broken out in the street and in the factories.

The result of the election in Saxony, which has brought us no fresh success, should therefore induce us, with our consolidated Party and the reliable support of more than 300,000 voters, the more thoroughly to carry out the revolutionary policy of our Party on the broadest front and with the utmost initiative, and thereby rapidly to lead Communism among the Saxon industrial proletariat to fresh victories.

The Mass Migration of American Farmers.

By A. G. Richman.

The movement of over 10 million persons from American farms during the last 5 years makes up one of the greatest migrations of recent history. Rationalisation and the agricultural crisis (the scissors, etc.) which began in 1920 and still continues, are resulting in the evolution of the American peasant among those who remain on the farms, at the same time that they are driving millions away.

During the past 5 years (1924—28) 10,203,000 persons have left the farms: 1928 — 1,960,000; 1927 — 1,978,000; 1926 — 2,155,000; 1925 — 2,035,000; 1924 — 2,075,000. On Jan. 1, 1929, the farm population of the country was 27,511,555, a net loss of 4,103,000 as compared with 1920, and the lowest point in 20 years. (1909 was the peak, with a farm population of 32,000,000.)

The former head of the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Tenney, has characterised this migration as follows: "It is a tragic readjustment, and no one will ever fathom the human misery it means. Long continued, it might result in a deplorable degradation of the rural population as well as its numerical reduction." (Magazine of Wall St., Apr. 21, 1927, p. 111.) This was a remarkable admission from a government official, whose task seemed to be to hid or explain away the social significance of the statistics gathered.

Lenin summed this up well, when he said about migration from American farms: "The investigators do not even seem to suspect what amount of need, oppression and desolation is hidden behind these routine figures." ("New Data on the Laws of Capitalist Development in Agriculture.") A typical example of this we shall refer to shortly.

The decrease, small though it is, in the number leaving the farms in 1928 and 1927, as compared with 1926, was due, according to the Dept. of Agriculture, to the decrease in industrial employment in the cities, and to the "disillusionment of those who sought better economic conditions in the cities and who are now returning to the farms". (U. S. Daily, Mar. 2, 1928.) This latter point is interesting, and is corroborated by a study which we shall analyse in this article, which shows that 87% of those moving to farms had previous farm experience, and were now moving back to the farms in a bitter, vicious circle.

In 1928, as against the nearly 2 million who left the farms, 1,362,000 moved to farms from towns and cities. This tragic phase of the farm crisis, the government and other bourgeois statisticians like to obscure by speaking of net loss in population, which they arrive at by figuring in births and deaths. The birth rate is three times as great that of deaths, and for 1928 it changes the net movement away from the farms to a net loss in farm population of 188,000.

Much of the movement from towns to farms is the result of farmers returning to farms, and much of it is due to industrial workers in large cities moving to farm-houses in the suburbs in order to get cheaper housing and to do a little farming after work in order to reduce the cost of living. This is also true of large numbers of miners who have been forced out of the industry wholly or in part by the depression there, and who have become farmers. The former agricultural ladder of success, whereby labourers became tenants and then owners, has given way to an opposite condition, where owners are being forced into tenancy and then off the farms completely. Owners are leaving the farms in great numbers, due to bankruptcy and to ever increasing taxation and interest on mortgages, to crop and personal indebtedness, etc.

The question as to which kinds of farmers are migrating is one upon which we have been able to find practically no data. Lenin has summed up the situation with regard to this matter well:

"The question, very important from a scientific point of view, naturally arises as to which categories, which groups of the rural population, are deserting the farm and under what condition. But such questions are not asked; beyond the official routine conclusion: "The agricultural population declined during 1900—1910 from 59.5%

to 58.7%, investigation does not venture... The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois economists refuse to take note of the obvious connection between the desertion of the farm and the bankruptcy of the small producers."

Taking the various geographical divisions of the country, we find that migration from the farms was general throughout the country in 1928:

Geog. Divis'n	Pop. as of Jan. 1, 1928	Arrived at farms	Departed from Farms	Pop. as of Jan. 1, 1929
	(in thousands; i. e., 000 omitted)			
U. S.	27,600	1,632	1,960	27,511
New. Eng.	634	60	65	633
No. Atlantic	1,754	93	119	1,740
E. No. Cent.	4,274	218	209	4,227
W. No. Cent.	4,644	232	372	4,560
So. Atlant.	5,431	190	266	5,469
E. So. Cent.	4,518	167	253	4,527
W. So. Cent.	4,535	204	327	4,485
Mountain	923	95	135	898
Pacific	986	103	124	972

(From mimeographed release of Dept. of Agric., Mar. 14, 1929.)

The above table shows that every geographic division in the country showed a net loss in farm population during the past calendar year, except the South Atlantic and East South Central States (the "Old South"). As stated before, however, net movement to or from farms is far more significant than net loss, which includes births and deaths and complicates economic with natural causes. Every division in the country shows a movement away greater than the movement to farms.

In the Western states the movement from the farms was very large, nearly 15% leaving from the Mountain states, and nearly 13% from the Pacific states. In New England, which is a decaying economic section of the country 10.2% left. Even in the sections which show net increases, 4.9% (South Atlantic) and 5.6% (East South Central) left. For the whole country, 7.1% of the agricultural population left the farm last year.

The most recent data the Dept. of Agriculture has on the causes and character of this migration from and to farms, is a mimeographed analysis dated Oct. 1927, which is a study of 2745 farmers who left the farms between 1920 and the summer of 1927, and of 1,167 who came to farms from towns and cities. While the number is small, it seems to represent a cross-section. At any rate it represents beautifully the methods of the government statisticians referred to by Lenin.

The table in the study which gives the ages at which farmers left the farms shows that owner farmers of various ages left in about the same proportion, and not more of the older ones. This indicates that those leaving did not retire, and other information available on taxes, mortgages, tenancy, etc. shows that they are being forced off. This is further reinforced by data on tenants leaving, who do so mainly in the younger age groups.

The table of present occupations of former farmers is interpreted in a deliberately misleading way. Of the 1326 answering the question on their present occupations, 25.6% are grouped indiscriminately under the heading "all other occupations", so that we cannot tell what their present class status is. Another 23.3% are grouped as "no occupation", with the note "retired". We would assume rather that a goodly number of these are unemployed, or in a transition stage, not yet having found work in the cities. Of the rest 50% are labourers, workers in industry, etc.; 32% are government and city employees, teachers, salesmen, real estate agents, etc. — "white collar slaves", as they are popularly called, or the salariat; 13% are merchants, grocers, dealers in coal, feed, etc.; and 5% are listed as "garage, service station", though whether they are workers or owners, there's no way of telling.

These figures do not check with the conclusion reached by the author of the study (C. J. Galpin, economist in charge of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life):

"Not being able to make ends meet, while on the farm was the chief reason that a full third of these migrants left for leaving."

"Financial ability to live in the city counted with farmer out of every forty."

We have a gross underestimation of the number that leave the farms through poverty and bankruptcy, together with an admission that only 21.2% who leave are able to do so.

Ex-secretary of agriculture, **Jardine**, corroborates this in his comment on this study: only 21.2% "left after having gained a competence". (U. S. Daily, Mar. 2, 1918.) His predecessor, H. P. Wallace, stated in his 1923 report that 91% of those leaving the farms did so to better their financial status, 6% because of old age, and 3% for other reasons (the two latter groups delightfully vague as to economic causes)

In the table in this study on the part of present income received from farms by these ex-farmers, we read that 70% receive 70% or more of their income from the farms, which still own, that 9.3% get 50—60% of their income, etc. If we look further, we find that of the 1635 answering the question, 450 or 27.4% did not specify what percentage of income now received, and 258 more, or 15.8 said they got none of their income so. If we remember that, as bourgeois economists admit, only 21.2% of those leaving the farms can retire, we see the contradiction.

A study by Prof. **Zimmerman**, of the University of Minnesota in 1925 and 1926, involving 500 farm families, showed that children of more successful farmers (those with greater income) stayed on farms to a far greater extent than those of less successful ones, who migrated to cities to become wage workers. Of the latter, he found that 38% became unskilled labourers, 23% semi-skilled or skilled workers, 17% clerks or employees, 17% professionals (many of them nurses), and 4% owners of businesses. (Amer. Journal of Sociology, July, 1927, p. 241.)

The great employment of child labour on farms, even the children of owners, is another "drawback" with a distinct economic basis. A conscientious parent who cannot give his children the semblance of an education, is likely to want to move. Only 19 of 6440 children of the ex-farmers mentioned in the Dept. of Agriculture study (by Galpin) had finished more than the first 12 years of school (elementary and secondary schools). More than half (54%) went no further than the 8 school years, and 13% went no further than the first 4 years. For tenants' children alone, the figures were far worse than those for both owners and tenants, (only 1/16 finishing more than the first 12 years, 65% going no further than 8 school years, and over 26% going no more than 4 years.)

The causes of the migration described above are, of course, the poverty and bankruptcy brought about by the farm crisis, Rationalisation and greatly increased productivity (despite the decrease in the number of farms and farmers, the ravages of disease and pests, the decrease in the acreage of crop land, and the continuing decline in the number of horses and mules, and therefore in the amount of fodder grown) have been other tributary factors. Mechanisation and other forms of rationalisation have made tremendous strides recently, and have forced out many a poor farmer already on the verge of bankruptcy.

The basic cause, however, is the deliberate scissors policy of the Wall St. government. The tariff policy, taxation, mortgage and banking laws, the refusal to permit the formation of real agricultural co-operatives and pools, the monopolies, prices of the farmers' consumption goods, high freight and elevator rates, and the absolute denial of any relief legislation (despite the calling of a special session of Congress for the ostensible purpose) — these are some of the reasons for the chronic, one could even say acute, agricultural crisis of the past decade, and for the endless circle of migration from the farms back to the farms.

Hoover's proposals to the special session of Congress for the creation of a Federal Farm Board, undoubtedly, as usual, with banker members, and finance-capital in complete control of policies. This Board will "relieve" the farmers of the present Federal Farm Loan Board did in the cotton crisis of 1926, when Wall St. and local bankers got most of the money made available by the government, and the farmers got prices far below the cost of producing their crop

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The British Trade Union Council and the Bombay Strike.

The following statement is issued by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Great Britain:

"The capitalist press gives extensive publicity to an attack on the Bombay Textile Strikers which has just been issued by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress.

The General Council finds it "impossible to say" whether the 150,000 "illiterate mill workers" are genuinely on strike, or have merely been forced out by the closing of the mills. The General Council ignores the fact that these same 150,000 workers showed their spirit by holding out in a six month's strike last year, under the leadership of the "Red Flag" Union.

The General Council speaks of the "few hundred" members of the "Red Flag" Union. It conveniently forgets to mention that that Union has grown to 65,000 paying members in under 12 months, while the yellow Union led by the reformist corporation lawyer, Joshi, has vegetated for years at about 8 or 10 thousand.

The General Council says the "Red Flag" Union was formed last year because the "older union" was against making the dispute at certain mills into a general strike. It conveniently omits to explain that the whole 150,000 cotton operatives had been out for weeks when the "Red Flag" Union was formed, and that the "older union" had been openly seeking by every means in its power to break the strike — calling on the operatives to return to work, negotiating separately with the employers, etc.

The General Council pretends ignorance of the real cause of the present dispute, although this has appeared in the British daily papers on several occasions. It pretends not to know that the workers struck as a protest against the wholesale arrests of their Union officials.

On the contrary, the General Council echoes the police indictment of the 31 Trade Union Leaders in jail at Meerut by stating that "the whole affair is a move in carrying out the 'Drang nach Osten' policy of the Communist International. The General Council cannot be ignorant of the fact that most of the leaders of the "Red Flag" Union are not communists, and that the Workers' and Peasants' Party, to which they belong, is not a communist body.

But the General Council prefers to join hands with the British Government by supplying its voluntary piece of "evidence" against the accused leaders of Indian Trade Unionism. No more blackguardly action has ever been committed in the annals of the international trade union movement.

The Communist Party calls on British workers to record their disgust at the Imperialist policy of oppression in India, supported by the General Council and the Labour Party, by refusing to vote for the Labour Party at the coming General Election, by joining the Communist Party, and by subscribing to the Defence Fund for the arrested Indian Trade Union Leaders."

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror in Greece.

By K. L o n d o s (Athens).

The Greek bourgeoisie is making rapid strides towards the establishment of an open dictatorship. The suppression of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions is only a question of time. A bill for this purpose, after its approval in principle by Parliament, has been referred to a special Parliamentary commission for final acceptance. As a justification for this law Venizelos declared that the Communist Party is organising a general strike and is also responsible for the shooting

of workers by organs of the government. The bill bears the singular title: "On the defence of the social constitution and the protection of civil liberty" (!). Under this high-sounding title the bill aims at the complete abolition of all formal rights which are "granted" by the Constitution of the Greek Republic.

English imperialism has set all the countries bordering on the Soviet Union the immediate task of crushing the revolutionary proletarian movement. It is not by any means by chance that the same reactionary measures, differing only slightly in form, are being adopted by all the Balkan States, as for example the establishment of the monarchist dictatorship in Yugoslavia and the suppression of the Yugoslavian revolutionary trade unions, the recent dissolution of the revolutionary Roumanian trade unions etc.

In Greece the bourgeoisie needs all the more a reactionary policy as the stabilisation which was achieved at the cost of the subjugation of the country to foreign imperialism, is becoming more and more shaky, the masses are becoming more and more revolutionary and the presumptions for the maintenance of the democratic illusions are consequently disappearing. The Greek bourgeoisie is not capable of satisfying even the most elementary demands of the working masses. During the last four years wages have not only not increased, but in various industries have even fallen. Whilst the cost of living has increased twenty-fold, wages have increased only twelvelfold the pre-war level. The taxes, 65 per cent. of which are applied for the payment of State debts and for upkeep of armaments, devour 39 per cent. of the national income.

Under this pressure the radicalisation of the workers is increasing more and more. Wage movements are becoming more numerous and at the same time more obstinate. During the last ten months 65,000 workers have been on strike; the strikes lasted on an average four weeks. In the year 1927 only 35,000 workers participated in wage movements, while in the years 1925 and 1926 there were hardly any strikes at all. The armed peasant revolts, which had almost entirely ceased in the period from 1925 to 1927, again became common occurrences in 1928 and 1929.

The clerks and officials, and even the petty bourgeois strata of the urban population have displayed constant unrest in the last year or so. The toiling masses have for the time being given credence to the demagogic promises of Venizelos, who assured them that their position would be improved. But Venizelos has already been in power for nine months and not one of his promises has been realised. The cost of living has not fallen, but has even increased by 3 per cent. Every strike, be it for higher wages or the reduction of the ten to twelve-hour working day, is choked in blood, just as are all the protests of the peasantry against the high taxes. The regime of Venizelos differs in no way from that of his predecessors. In February and March the striking miners in Lawrion and the strikers in Eleusis, to mention only two cases, were fired upon. Needless to say, the lackeys of Chamberlain, following the example of their masters, try to throw responsibility for the murdered workers on the Communists who "receive gold from Moscow for the purpose of stirring up unrest".

But the Greek workers, who are unable to bear the heavy burden of their exploitation, are beginning to stir. Venizelos, who hitherto has been the last resort of the bourgeoisie whenever it has been necessary to deceive and trick the toilers, is now beginning to lose the masses who once followed him.

Simultaneously with the exceptional law, Parliament passed two other laws, which are closely connected with the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. One of these is a treaty of friendship between Greece and Yugoslavia. According to this treaty Yugoslavia is accorded the right of uncontrolled import of war material via the Greek port of Salonica. The second law provides for a radical reorganisation of the army and proposes measures for the most rapid acquisition of the necessary military equipment by economising in other items of the war budget. At the same time it contains proposals for expediting the mobilisation of the whole population in the event of war.

It is now clear what is the object of the exceptional law against the revolutionary organisations. The Greek bourgeoisie is attempting, not for the first time, to place the proletarian organisations outside of the law. On the occasion of all previous attempts the proletariat succeeded in averting these blows.

The fresh reinforced attack upon the working class has not found the Greek proletariat unprepared. At the head of the toiling masses and together with the proletarians of all the Balkan countries, the Greek working class will conduct a more energetic fight against the white terror, against capitalist exploitation and imperialist enslavement of the country, against fresh imperialist wars, for the defence of the Soviet Union and for a Balkan Federation of workers' and peasants' Republics.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Uninterrupted Transports of War Material for Use against the Soviet Union.

By Nemo.

Since the "Left" Senate of Danzig, under the leadership of the Social Democrats, withdrew the embargo on Polish munitions on the "Westerplatte" in August 1928 and allowed Poland the further use of this area for war transports and the employment of the harbour for the Polish navy, Poland has been making an increased use of the facility thus afforded it. Of late alarming reports have again been spread of extensive French transports of arms and ammunition for Poland having been effected via the harbour of Danzig.

True, it is not only of late that Poland has been making use of the Westerplatte as a disembarking, storing, and distributing basis for French and British war transports. When in the summer of 1920 the Red Army stood before the gates of Warsaw, the first French consignments of arms and ammunition found their way into Poland via the port of Danzig. More than 327,000 rifles, 2800 machine-guns, 48,000 revolvers, 518 million cartridges, 1494 guns, 10 million shells, 291 aeroplanes, 150 motore transport wagons, 4500 other vehicles, 400,000 greatcoats, 655,000 tunics, 540,000 pairs of trousers, 780,000 pairs of boots, and hundreds of thousands of blankets, knapsacks, etc. were supplied via the Danzig harbour from the old French army stocks. It is sufficiently well known what a decisive rôle this help played in the fight against the Red Army. The recent war transports to Poland deserve all the more attention, seeing that they coincide with the general increase in the war preparation against the Soviet Union.

It was no mere coincidence that extensive French consignments of arms and ammunition should have arrived at Danzig in December last, the very month in which the Polish Roumanian military alliance was strengthened and extended by the inclusion therein of Czechoslovakia. As a matter of fact, these transports were immediately forwarded to Stanislova and Tarnopol in East Galicia, places located close to the Polish-Ukrainian front.

Nor is it a coincidence that extensive new transports arrived at Danzig at the time when the French general Le Rond, the organiser of the military alliance between Poland and Roumania, was appointed chairman of the Danzig shipyards, in which connection it should be pointed out that this appointment was only rendered possible by the support of Great Britain on the Board of Control.

Between March 20th and 28th alone, three great war transports for Poland reached Danzig. In that one week the Swedish steamer "Libau" unloaded explosives, an English steamer discharged 192 tons of cordite, and a French ship brought a large cargo of war material. Barely one week later, on April 4th, the Swedish steamer "Egon" was reported by the official Polish statements to have unloaded a harmless "cargo of commodities", consisting in reality of gun-cotton and explosive material for war purposes. During the clearance of these war transports, the Westerplatte was closed to traffic of any kind, Danzig's so-called sovereignty was suspended, and serious damage was done to business, the dense working population of the region in question being particularly endangered. The clearance of the arms and ammunition invariably takes place under the protection of Polish men-of-war, which are regularly stationed outside the munition area in this connection. Apart from the transports referred to above, there is a regular traffic between Danzig and the French harbour of Cherbourg, which is carried on by the Polish military transport "Vilja" and which serves exclusively for consignments of arms and ammunition.

The instance of the steamer "Egon" leads us to suspect that countless war transports have been registered as mere "cargoes of commodities", of which, it is true, the public has not been informed.

In the case of the above consignments of arms and war material, however, it is only a question of such supplies. Poland was obliged to receive by way of Danzig and thus expose to public view, for the reason that the Polish war harbour of Gdingen was too small to receive the extensive transports in question. Not only for reasons of economic policy but also in the interest of secrecy in regard to all war preparations, the regular French and British war transports are transported via Gdingen. It is only in cases of emergency in the Danzig munition area is resorted to. This fact sufficiently give some idea of the tremendous volume of the total war transports. It will be remembered that M. Strassburger, Polish representative at Danzig, pointed to the necessity of an extension of the Gdingen harbour in view of the fact that the lack of deposit-areas placed Poland in a very precarious position with reference to its provision with war material.

We may see from the above what significance attaches to Danzig as a base of operations in the prospective fight against the Soviet Union. Since 1920 the clearance-capacity of the Danzig harbour has been greatly extended, while under the supervision of Le Rond its military importance is bound to grow considerably. At the same time, at a distance of 20 kilometers from Danzig, the Polish naval harbour of Gdingen has come into being and has already attained a clearance-capacity of two million tons per annum, while being in a position to afford shelter to the entire Polish fleet, which is of no small mean dimensions if measured by Baltic conditions in general. This gives some idea of the colossal extent of the war transports which Poland will be able to receive (and undoubtedly will receive) via Danzig and Gdingen in the future.

There can be no doubt but that the consignments of arms and ammunition arriving at these two ports are intended for a fight against the Soviet Union. They have been going on uninterruptedly ever since 1920, independent of the fact that in the meantime a great munition industry has come into being in Poland itself. The development of a powerful military and naval base on the Baltic affords the possibility of Poland's receiving material assistance in the way of troops and arms in the eventuality of a war.

What Gdingen represents for Poland, Galatz is now to become in the case of Roumania. Just as the Polish front is to be supported by way of Gdingen, the Roumanian front are to be seconded in their advance on Ukraina from the port of Galatz. Contracts have already been concluded, according to which a strong Roumanian naval base is to be created on the Black Sea, close to the harbour of Galatz. It may be assumed that the development of this naval base will be carried out with the same energy as has been expended on the incredible rapid development of the Polish naval port of Gdingen. Just like Gdingen, the new Roumanian war harbour will be nothing else than a military and naval base against the Soviet Union, which is to be attacked and overthrown at any cost.

"Disarmed" Hungary.

By J. Körös.

Hungary, with its population of 8 million, may not, according to the peace treaty of Trianon, maintain an army of more than 33,000 paid soldiers. For lack of volunteers (the term of service is 12 years) the army consists allegedly of 23,000 men and 1750 officers. According to estimates made by private citizens, however, the number of officers is 3552, as against the 4932 officers maintained by Hungary of the year 1913, when the country was three times the present size. In reality, general conscription, with musters, callings up and training, is carried on under the noses of the Entente commissions in Budapest. The dearth of recruits is remedied to some extent by country authorities with the aid of brutal violence and persecution. All soldiers and officers who took part in the war are carefully registered and from time to time they are called up for exercise either with the regular troops or apart from them.

But the numerical strength of Hungary's active military force does not cover its whole military strength. One must add: the State police, gendarmerie, river police and customs guard, all of which are trained military formations under military control and fully armed. The following is a more exact survey of the individual categories:

The State police consists of 11,511 men and a staff of officers out of all proportion to the number of men.

The gendarmerie consists of 11,811 men and 588 officers, including majors, generals, etc. The strength is much the same as it was before the war in the big Hungary of that time.

The river police is something very special. This category was only called into being after the fall of the soviet dictatorship. It served the double purpose: on the one hand, of regarding those members of the disbanded detachments who had distinguished themselves in the murder of workers by providing them with a sinecure for life, on the other hand, of organising a further military formation. It consists of 1390 men under a highly trained staff of military officers. The men are armed with rifles and bayonets.

For the whole of its armed forces Hungary allots annually about 213 million pengös. When to this sum is added those assigned under the most various names in the other divisions of the budget, as also the expenditure for the "Levente Association" and "National Labour Protection Organisation" (Nemzeti Munkavédelmi Szervezet), we find that Hungary spends annually on its armed forces about 35 per cent. of its total revenue.

At the present time munitions of war are being manufactured in four places: explosives at the Balaton powder factory, cannon and trench mortars at the Diosgyőr metal factories; rifles and machine guns at the Budapest arms and machinery factory; projectiles for the artillery and cartridges and hand grenades for the infantry are made at the Manfred Weiss works at Sepel. Nevertheless, the control commission concluded its activities in Hungary on March 31st, 1927.

The rulers of Hungary have undoubtedly realised that a paid army without corresponding cadres would not fulfil its purposes. In order to remedy this deficiency an organisation was founded to embrace the whole of Hungarian youth; this organisation is the "Levente Association". According to an Act passed in the year 1921, every youth between the ages of 14 and 21 is obliged to become a member of the Levente Association. The chief purpose of the "Levente" is supposed to be "to accustom working youths to the practice of sport".

The Hungarian ruling class, which allowed the working and peasant youth to go to the dogs, has suddenly opened its heart to them. Naturally, this is mere hypocrisy. The reasons for the foundation of the "Levente" were: first of all, to form a cadre that could be put straight into the field in the approaching war; secondly, to prepare a force to use against the workers and poor peasants in case of a civil war. Intermediate school students and university men are not obliged to serve in the "Levente". It is therefore chiefly worker and peasant youths who are trained as cannon fodder for the next war or as storm troops against their own class. The law is operated with unparalleled severity.

The training is conducted by former officers of the army and is of a thoroughly military character. The Levente instructors have been declared by the Home Office to be officers of the State, so they are under special protection.

Even at the time of the soviet dictatorship, the counter-revolutionary forces were organising themselves in secret societies. After the fall of the soviet republic, the secret societies hot up like mushrooms. Many of them have since died again, while others, for which important roles have been allotted in the event of war or civil war, have been kept up legally or, in case they have been nominally suppressed, illegally. Among these organisations there is wonderful division of labour.

The notorious "Association of Awakening Hungarians" was founded immediately after the fall of the soviet power, and it serves as central organisation for a number of counter-revolutionary secret societies. Its chief slogans were: nationalism, radical antisemitism and free choice of king. Numerous meetings and murders are associated with the name of this association. Recently its significance has diminished owing to internal differences. More is, therefore, heard of its alleged sports organisation known as the "Black

Eagles" (Fekete Sasok), who are known to enjoy the protection of the Minister for Home Affairs. It is a petty-bourgeois Fascist organisation. Outwardly, too, the members resemble the Italian Fascist, inasmuch as they wear black shirts. They are armed with "Fokos", a kind of axe and hold regular military exercises. Their training is conducted by gendarmes. It is the endeavour of the black Eagles to gain influence among the workers, and, as a matter of fact, there are misguided and ruffian proletarian worker elements in their ranks. Their sport consists of acts of violence against class-conscious workers, the dispersing of their meetings, strike breaking, etc.

The association called "Magyar Szittyák Táborá" is a similar body. At a meeting of this association the national president announced the formation of shock troops. The members are recruited among ex-service men only.

For the protection of the so-called commonwealth factories the "National Labour Protection Organisation" (Nemzeti Munkavédelmi Szervezet) was founded. This is the Hungarian emergency technical corps, but it is not only a strike-breaker organisation, but a politico-military one under the supervision of the political department of the Home Office. The members are recruited according to their political views. The individual sections of this organisation are administered by officers of high ranks, who address one another by military titles, even though they do not wear uniforms.

There are a number of secret organisations which were formally dissolved at the time of the "consolidation", but, in reality, they are still in existence and very active. The members of these organisations are recruited from all spheres of public life. On this account, the whole machinery of State is influenced through these secret organisations to the full extent of its ramifications. For instance, 200 members of the police force belong to such an organisation, namely, the "Society of Hungarians" (Magyar Köre). The members of these organisations are not only young hooligans but prominent State functionaries. Political murder is among their slogans. The members are subject to strict discipline and must swear to keep secret the activity and aims of the organisation.

There are similar organisations, such as "Magyar Hun Vérék Szövetsége", "Kettős Vérkereszt Szövetség", "Szt. György Rend", and "Etelközi Szövetség". The last was founded in the year 1920. Among their members are the present prime minister, Bethlen, and the franc forger, Count Teleky. It wields great political influence. Finally, there is "Alföldi Brigád", which was also formally dissolved, but still continues to exist under the leadership of Hejjas and Francia Kiss, those notorious murder bandits of the counter-revolution.

The secret organisations have a total membership roll of about 14,000 and have at their disposition "secret" depots of arms.

The above survey would be incomplete without mention of an important organisation, which might be termed the most prominent pretorian guard of the counter-revolution, namely, "Hero Capital" (Vitézi Szék). The members of this organisation are chosen by Horthy himself from among the precious murderers who distinguished themselves in the carrying out and consolidating of the counter-revolution. These "heroes" enjoy all kinds of privileges: estates, with stock and working capital as gifts, principally, near the frontiers; in municipal and State service they are shown favoritism. The "heroes" are distributed throughout the country and the country is divided into hero districts under a central hierarchy subordinate to Horthy only.

The immediate strategic aim of the armed forces of the Hungarian counter-revolution is, on the one hand, the recapture of the territories alienated from Hungary under the Treaty of Trianon; on the other hand, the protection of the counter-revolutionary regime against revolution on the part of the proletariat. The price of the slightest territorial rectification is, however, Hungary's entry into the anti-Soviet front. Up to the conclusion of the Anglo-French treaty, Hungary was the pawn of England and Italy against the East-European policy of France in relation to the Little Entente. This foreign political position of Hungary facilitated the departure from the military restriction imposed by the Treaty of Trianon. Since the Anglo-French treaty was concluded, the situation has changed somewhat. Hungary's freedom of movement due to exploitation of conflicts within the Entente has been greatly diminished. On

the other hand, Italy, which is itself to some extent a victim of the Anglo-French understanding, is lending the more support to Hungary's aspirations. The fact that Hungary's international position has suffered in some measure through the Anglo-French understanding has had the effect that Hungary is now not only prepared to enter the anti-Soviet front **without compensation**, it even demands a position on this front. Hungary is forced to this step through difficulties in home politics, through the constantly growing revolutionary movement of the Hungarian workers and the peasantry, who so badly need land. Without doubt Hungary will be just as faithful a servant of the "Holy Alliance" against Soviet Russia as it was of the "Holy Alliance" formed against the French revolution and Napoleon.

XVI. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE C. P. S. U.

Report Delivered by Comrade Kuybyshev on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of National Economy.

The situation in which the proletariat of the Soviet Union is building up the socialist structure, the technical backwardness of the Soviet Union, the split up condition of agriculture into small peasant farms, the circumstance that we are enclosed on all sides by the hostility of the capitalist countries, and the fact that the first necessity of our socialist construction is that we overtake and pass our capitalist foes in technics within the shortest possible time — all these factors render the problem of the rate of our development a central question of our Five-Year Plan.

There exists doubt in various quarters regarding the possibility of the rapid tempo of development envisaged by the plan. In my report at the Trade Union Congress I quoted some of the economists working in the state organs of the Soviet Union, who designated even the earlier and considerably slower tempo of the economic plans as unattainable and absolutely phantastic. On that occasion the matter in question was the draft of a Five-Year Plan containing, inter alia, proposals for a rate of development diminishing year by year, since at that time the idea was prevalent that in the period of reconstruction we could not develop economy so quickly as in the period of restoration. In the original draft made by the State Planning Commission for 1926/27, it was anticipated that we should have to calculate with the following percentage figures for the growth of production: 1926/27 17%, 1927/28 12%, 1928/29 and 1929/30, 9% each, and 1930/31 8%.

At that time we were not yet in a position to make a proper survey of the possibilities of Soviet economy in the period of reconstruction. Meanwhile, however, we have seen that practical results have been better than the earlier perspective plans ventured to anticipate. For 1926/27 a 17% increase of production was calculated upon, whilst the actual increase was 19%. In 1927/28 the increase was 23%, while the figure of the original draft was only 12%. The increase of production assumed for 1928/29 was 9%, but in reality it will be over 20%. The first six months of the current economic year have demonstrated that with regard to the qualitative changes to be made in the economic process, we can completely solve the task set by the Plan.

It has become evident that we can develop at a considerably higher speed than the capitalist countries. In the United States, which must be counted among the countries with the most rapid national economic development, the tempo of advance in the decades from 1850 to 1900 were 8.7 per cent., 8 per cent., 5.8 per cent., 4.9 per cent., and 4 per cent. respectively. The maximum is therefore 8.7 per cent. (1850—60). The curve of development in pre-revolutionary Russia took a similar course. In Tsarist Russia the rate of growth was 8 per cent. in the years of the so-called tempestuous development, and 5 to 3 per cent. and less in years of medium prosperity.

The rate at which we are developing our economy therefore considerably more rapid than that of the bourgeois countries. I need not refer here in detail to the statistical material of the Five-Year Plan. Most of these figures have already been quoted by Comrade Krischanovsky. I shall confine myself to the most important. By the last year of the Plan we reckon with the following production figures: iron and steel 10 million tons as compared with 4.1 million tons in this year; yearly increase more than 20 per cent.; chemical fertilisers 80 million tons as compared with 175,000 tons in the current year; coal 75 million tons as compared with the present 36 million tons. In the field of electricity, the rate of development will be even higher, and the present production of 5,000 million kilowatt hours may be expected to increase to 22,000 million kilowatt hours. In machine building the output will be tripled, etc. A total increase of industrial production of 175 per cent. is calculated upon. During the five-year period the yearly increase will be over 20 per cent.

This rate of industrial advance is based upon absolute actual data. The rate of industrial development is calculated at a somewhat higher figure than that of the other branches of our economy, in accordance with the rôle played by industry in the Five-Year Plan as the factor transforming, on a socialist basis, the whole national economy of the Soviet Union, including agriculture. I have already pointed out that in the Soviet Union economic development is much more rapid than in the bourgeois countries. How can we explain this fact and the fact of the possibility of drawing up such comprehensive plans for several years in advance? The explanation lies in the advantages of the Soviet system which came into being as result of the victory of the proletariat in October 1917: the nationalisation of the land, the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, the introduction of the factor of planned economy in every department of national economy, the inducing of the working class to take immediate part in the reconstruction of economy — all this places in our hands such aids to further advancement as are possessed by no other country.

The question of the tempo of development — a fundamental question for our progress — has, however, been the cause of certain doubts among some strata of our Party. We are told that the strain is too great, that a more moderate pace of development would be better, that the development of industry should be better adapted to that of agriculture, and so forth. This kind of talk is a reflection of the petty bourgeois vacillations obtaining in certain strata of our Party, and is comprehensible when we remember that the Soviet Union is a country of small and scattered private agricultural properties. I shall return to this in more detail later on.

In the first place it must be again emphasised that the question of tempo is the most important question of our Party policy, a question which has occupied a central place at our conferences, Party meetings, Plenary Sessions of the C. C. of the Party is devoting special attention to this question, for it is of fundamental importance not only in our economic policy but in the struggle for socialism against capitalism both within and without the Soviet Union. In this question the Party must not make the slightest concession to the defeatist mood, to the lack of faith, to those trends which find their way into our ranks from the petty bourgeois strata, and have penetrated into a part of our state apparatus, into some intermediate strata of the working class, and in part into our Party. In this fundamental question the Five-Year Plan of national economy strictly follows the Bolshevist line, the line laid down by the 15th Party Congress.

It need not be said that the tempo of development is the sole important point for us. The Party of the proletariat is interested not only in the development of productive forces — we need at the same time a similar growth of the whole of our national economy; for this provides the basis upon which the socialist state of society is to be built up. The first necessity for this is a more rapid rate of development in the industries producing the means of production.

The Five-Year Plan, the plan of industrialisation, the plan of building up a new industrial structure, depends for its realisation on the progress of the industrial producing the means of production. The Plan, envisaging a 170 per cent. general increase in industrial production, anticipates a 130 per cent. increase in the production of goods for consumption, and a

25 per cent. increase in the output of means of production. Practically the same applies to the development of industrial building activities. Of the 15,000 million roubles, in round figures, calculated for investment in the industries controlled by the Supreme Economic Council, including the electrical industry, 78 per cent. fall to heavy industry (means of production), and only 22 per cent. to light industry (articles of consumption), whereby the ratio between the investments in the building capital of heavy and light industry shifts from year to year, till in the last year of the Plan the share falling to heavy industry is 80 per cent.

The Growth of Heavy Industry.

First of all we must deal with that part of the Five-Year Plan referring to the sources of energy at the disposal of the Soviet Union, and especially to the building programme of the electrical industry. As Comrade Krichanovsky has already pointed out, the generation of electric energy may be anticipated to increase from approximately 5,000 million kilowatt hours to 22,000 million. Besides the great water power works at the rapids of the Dniepr, the "Dnieprostroy", there are at the present time 42 long distance stations in course of construction, including the power station at Sviry, the long distance station at Malaya Vischera, Shterovka (Donetz district), the power station near Suyev, long distance stations in the central industrial district, in the Ural, in the Nischny-Novgorod district, in Siberia, and in other border regions of the Soviet Union.

In my opinion the greatest tension is observable in the building programme of the iron works industry. We have been referred to this programme by the existing shortage of metals, and by the necessity of converting the Soviet Union at the present time into an iron and steel country, as made clear by the Comrade Dershinsky. We must do away with the shortage of metals which is hampering our further economic development. If the output of the Plan, 10 million tons, is to be reached, the existing works must be completely re-organised.

In the last year of the five-year period over 7 million tons will be produced in the works already existing, and only about 2.5 million tons in the new smelting works. The programme of industrial building work is nevertheless extremely comprehensive. It comprises such vast undertakings as those of Magnitogorsk, Krivoy Rog, the Yelbesk, Liptzk, and Hopersk Works. The development of the smelting industry in all the important industrial districts may be calculated upon to ensure the end of the shortage of iron in our machine-building trade, transport service, and agriculture.

The number of undertakings whose building is projected, during the course or at the beginning of the five-year period, may be somewhat reduced if we are successful in obtaining the maximum possible output in the existing works. The experience of Europe and America gives us a criterion, and we may also learn from our own experience, which shows that we have accomplished but little in this direction as yet. It is not excluded that improvements in the existing undertakings may enable us to increase production with a somewhat restricted building programme. However this may be, the means set apart in the Plan for this branch of industry should not be lessened, for the later development of the smelting industry is not only desirable but necessary in order to ensure a corresponding tempo of development in the coming five-year periods.

The coal output is to be increased from 36 million tons in 1927-28 to 75 million tons, an increase involving the rapid sinking of numerous new shafts. Not only the Donetz district is to be further exploited, but the districts in which the fuel deposits have been too little exploited up to the present: the Moscow coal district, Ural, and especially Siberia.

The oil industry has been provided with a comprehensive programme of production and utilisation. The amount of oil produced may be anticipated at double the present quantity, the amount refined at two and a half times the present.

With respect to the production of peat, Comrade Krshichanovsky has already mentioned the extensive tasks imposed by the Five-Year Plan.

The Plan provides for the growth of machine-building by three and a half times, of agricultural machine manufacture by four times the present amount.

Although the increase of the machine-building industry is so enormous, an even more rapid rate of development would be necessary (if the objective possibility existed) in order to enable this industry to satisfy fully the demands of the industrialisation of the country and the technical equipment of the whole of our agriculture. In actual fact, in spite of the extensive investments and in spite of the comprehensive building programme, there are still a number of machines our requirements of which we cannot cover by our own manufacture, but remain dependent on the capitalist countries.

The tractor-building programme envisages the following: the Stalingrad tractor works, the erection of which is to be commenced this season; a new tractor works in the Ural, building to be begun next year; the enlargement of the tractor department of the Putilov Works up to an output capacity of 20,000 tractors by the last year of the Plan; the extension of the tractor department of the Charkov locomotive works.

With respect to the building of motors and boilers, the erection of new factories and the comprehensive re-organisation and extension of the existing ones is projected.

The advancement in the building of big machines is to be furthered by the completion of the Sverdlovsk large machine plant works, and by the complete re-organisation of the Kratatorsk machine works, which are to provide the machinery for the iron works and coal mines of the Ukraine.

The machine-tool industry is to be promoted by the building of new factories, and the re-organisation and rationalisation of the old.

In addition to the factory in Rostov the programme for agricultural machinery provides for the erection of a new factory for sowing and grain-cleaning machines in Siberia, a factory for threshing and sowing machines in the Volga district, a factory for trieurs (grain-sifting machines) and sowing machines in the Ural, and agricultural machinery factory in Stalingrad, and a factory for trailer machinery (tractors) in the Ukraine.

The automobile industry is to be extended by the erection of a new factory in Nijni-Novgorod, the building of which is to be commenced next year. This does not by any means exhaust the programme. Further projects are the erection of a factory for three ton trucks and the extension of the existing factories in Moscow and Yaroslavl. It must be observed that the programme, even as drafted in the Five-Year Plan, does not suffice to meet the growing requirements of our economy. We shall find ourselves faced by the necessity of enlarging the programme and extending the manufacture of motor cars to numerous other districts.

Despite the comprehensiveness of this building programme, the demand for machinery will exceed the supply. Of the 6,000 millions which we shall have to invest in the purchase of industrial and transport equipment, we shall only be able to cover 4,500 millions' worth by our own production in the course of the five years. In other words, 25 per cent. of the equipment will have to be imported from abroad. The proportion of our own machinery increases, it is true, from year to year, and will have risen to 90 per cent. by the last year of the Plan, but the average is only 75 per cent. In the current year we are producing 64 per cent. of the machinery required for industrial and transport purpose. The deficit is especially conspicuous in the machine-tool trade, which will only be able to meet 40 per cent. of the demand during the five-year period.

With respect to machinery for power plant, by the last year of the present plan we may expect to meet the demand to the extent of 95 to 100 per cent.

I shall not enter further into the supplying of the other branches of industry with machinery. The facts already adduced suffice to show that in spite of a comprehensive programme we have not yet solved all the problems set the machine-building industry. It is therefore the less permissible to ignore or conceal the importance of the part played by the manufacture of machinery in the reconstruction of economy. The manufacture of machinery, as a branch of production completely re-organising our whole national economy in general and industry in particular, must be placed in the forefront of our Five-Year Plan. Its development must be furthered in every way by all state organs and by every organ of the Party.

The Building Programme of Light Industry.

I have already stated that the rate of development of light industry is slower than that of the industry manufacturing the means of production. The means invested are considerably less, totalling 22 per cent. Production is to be increased by 130 per cent. as compared with a 230 per cent. increase in heavy industry. Though this ratio in the growth of light and heavy industry must be acknowledged to be correct, still the fact must not be overlooked that light industry plays an important part, both in satisfying the demands of the population for articles of consumption and in establishing more firmly the contact between town and country. Light industry maintains communication with the village as supplier of articles of consumption and also as an industry principally working up agricultural raw materials. The development of light industry means a corresponding development in the cultivation of plants useful for industrial purposes: cotton, flax, hemp, beets, etc. In a word, every branch of light industry possesses this or that point of contact with agriculture, and exercises a certain influence on the development and technical progress of agriculture.

Moreover, light industry is a powerful lever facilitating the distribution of means and the financing of heavy industry. Its importance in this direction was unequivocally established at the November Plenum of the C. C. Therefore the rate of development laid down by the Five-Year Plan must be maintained under all circumstances.

The Five-Year Plan envisages a considerable growth of the home workers' trades. These may be expected to double their production and to increase the number of persons which they employ from 4 to 6 millions.

Speaking generally it must be said that the Five-Year Plan is in full accord, in all essentials, with the principles laid down by the XV. Party Congress, that it envisages an extensive increase in the production of the means of production, and that it thereby secures the actual industrialisation of our national economy.

Industry as a means for the socialist re-organisation of the village.

Care must be taken that the growth of productive forces is accompanied by the progressive reinforcement of the socialist elements and the elimination of the elements of capitalism, and that these productive forces develop along the line of socialist construction.

Viewed from this standpoint, the question of the reciprocal relations between industry and agriculture arouses special interest. Industry is determinative for our national economy. It is only industry and its rapid development which can secure the advance of agriculture in general and its guidance towards socialism in particular.

What has the Five-Year Plan to say on this point? The Plan lays down a considerable rate of development for the industries supplying agriculture with the means of production. I have already referred to this but should like to enter into it more in detail.

You are probably aware of our backwardness in the manufacture of tractors. During the first year of the plan, 1928/29, even with the aid of the Putilov Works and the works at Charkov, we shall only be able to make 3500 tractors. But if we are to satisfy the growing needs of agriculture, especially of the socialised sector, we must have a yearly output of at least 100,000 tractors. In the current five-year period the manufacture of tractors in the Putilov Works will increase from the present 3000 yearly to 5000 next year and 1930, then to 10,000, and by 1932/33 to 15,000 to 20,000. The works at Charkov too will increase their output. The tractor works at Stalingrad will be able to supply a certain number of tractors by 1930/31. Their production in 1931/32 may be reckoned at 10,000, increasing by 1932/33 to 30,000; that is to say, by the first year of the next five-year period, it will be possible to exploit the tractor works at Stalingrad to their full capacity. The new tractor works in the Ural will probably be making about 20,000 to 30,000 tractors by the end of the five-year period. Hence by the last year of the Five-Year Plan we may expect to have at our disposal over 60,000 tractors produced by our own industry. This does not suffice however. We shall be obliged to import a considerable number of tractors for the socialised sector of our agriculture.

The programme of agricultural machine manufacture provides for an increased output to the value of 610 million roubles, as compared with 153 million roubles in 1927/28. In spite of this enormously increased output, the projected extension of agricultural machine building is by no means adequate. The last Plenum of the Supreme National Economic Council therefore considered a further increase in the production of agricultural machinery. The opinion was expressed that by means of a distribution of the means provided for machine building, by means of forcing the building of numerous undertakings, and by the re-organisation of the existing factories making agricultural machinery, the value of the output could be raised to approximately 700 million roubles.

The programme for the production of chemical fertilisers has already been dealt with exhaustively here. The 8 million tons envisaged in the programme will only partially cover the demand. However, in our opinion the present programme suffices to fulfil our main task in the sphere of agriculture, that is to increase the harvests by 35 per cent. The projected extension of agricultural machine-building, the guaranteeing that the above-mentioned quantity of fertilisers will be made available and the sum set aside for combating insect and other pests, this is the basis upon which agricultural production can be raised, both in regard to quantity and quality, to the level proposed by the State Planning Commission for securing the speed of development of the collective agricultural undertaking.

In this connection I should like to touch briefly on the building programme of the chemical industry. We are investing 1400 million roubles in the chemical industry. The erection of numerous new undertakings and the enlargement of the existing ones are planned. Here it is actually a question of creating an entirely new industry. In my opinion the building programme of the chemical industry is the most complicated and difficult of all our building plans, because in the field of chemistry we possess the least experience, have but few qualified workers at our disposal, while at the same time the speed of development of the chemical industry should be higher than that of the other industries. It should further be observed that the chemical industry is of the greatest importance not only for agriculture and general economy, but for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The industrial building programme will give the Party the possibility of setting about the actual accomplishment of the task set by Comrade Lenin for the socialist reconstruction of the village. I repeat the most important of the figures already published here. The area cultivated by the socialised sector of agriculture will comprise 27 million hectares, 22 million hectares falling to the collective farms and 5 million hectares to the Soviet farms. The share of socialised agriculture in the gross production may be estimated to reach 16 per cent. of marketable production (grain) 43 per cent. We see what tremendous restructurings are impending for the village. What at the present time 10 per cent. of the upper strata of the peasantry, including one part of the well-to-do middle peasantry, have over 30 per cent. of the marketable grain in their hands, by the end of the five-year period 43 per cent. of the marketable grain will be in the hands of the socialised agricultural sector. It need not be said that with this change the whole grain problem, the provisioning of the cities and of the districts of growing sufficient grain for their needs, will assume a very different aspect. The state will possess such possibilities by regulating the exchange of commodities between town and country that the difficulties confronting us at present will be easily overcome.

The Building up of Socialism and the Class Struggle.

It is obvious that the revolution in the sphere of agriculture, the penetration of socialist elements into agriculture, is not simply a matter of the victory of technics. The re-organisation will be a result of the inexorable struggle carried on by our Party against the capitalist elements of the village, with the aid of the poor peasantry, the agricultural labourers, and the alliance with the middle peasantry. The social restructurings will inevitably be accompanied by class warfare. It is ridiculous to assume that the anchoring of socialist elements in agriculture can come about "peacefully", without an aggravation of the class struggle. I cite only one passage from the works of Comrade Lenin, who foresaw much that numerous comrades in our Party do not see or grasp even yet:

"The abolition of classes" — wrote Comrade Lenin — "is the result of a long, difficult, obstinate class struggle, which does not vanish after the overthrow of capital, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (as the ignoramus of the old socialism and the old social democracy imagine), but only changes its forms, and becomes in many respects acuter than before." (Lenin, Vol. 16. p. 227.)

At the present time we witness an obvious aggravation of the class struggle in the village, the result of a successful offensive on the part of the socialist elements. Statistics show that during the last and the current economic year the number of terrorist acts on the part of the kulaks have increased from quarter to quarter. Here we encounter a characteristic phenomenon of class warfare, assuming ever acuter forms.

The class doomed to extinction, the class being supplanted, will not surrender. At the moment when we strike at the roots of this class and the socialist elements gain a firmer foothold in the village, the rage and exasperation of this class rise to an ever higher pitch. Therefore, the village will not be socialised by peaceful means, nor will the collective and Soviet farms be reached by peaceful paths. The collective farms and Soviet estates mirror at the same time the leading rôle played by industry, which supplies the village with agricultural machines and implements to an increasing extent year by year; they mirror at the same time the successes gained in the class struggle being carried on in the country by the middle and small peasants against the capitalist elements.

The Five-Year Plan anticipates the rapid supplanting of private capital in the trade in commodities. It must not however be taken for granted that this supplanting is simply a reflex action, a mechanical result of the growth of our socialised industry and of the socialised sector of our agriculture. In this sphere too the victory of socialism will undoubtedly be the result of a definite class struggle. The N. E. P.-man and the kulak are a power which we have to subdue, a power which will place all manner of obstacles in our way as our socialist structure progresses.

Terror, appeals to the international bourgeoisie, sabotage, etc., these are forms in which the class hate of the dying foe finds expression. And this class war will not abate in the course of the five years' period, but become more and more embittered. This is the correct line of orientation for the Party, and not that emanating from the Right elements. It is only by means of a militant attitude against the heightened resistance of the bourgeoisie, against the last remnants of the bourgeois capitalist class in our country, that the Party and the working class can be really victorious. To represent matters as if, having recorded our steady progress, we have said all there is to be said, is bound to disarm the working class in the end, consciously or unconsciously. For us it is not merely growth itself which is important, but growth in the direction of socialism. And this growth inevitably arouses the resistance of the capitalist class, imposing on our Party and the whole working class the task of mobilising to suppress this resistance.

The Cultural Programme.

An exceedingly important section of the Five-Year Plan is formed by the cultural programme, which makes comprehensive provision for the cultural needs of the working class and the whole population. Extended dwelling space per head, expansion of communal building activities, erection of new clubs, baths, and other social provisions in the works and factories, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, an increase in real wages reaching 70 per cent. in the course of the five-year period, the ensuring of larger supplies of articles of consumption for the working and peasant population, etc. — all this will have enormously increased the prosperity of the working class and the peasantry by the end of the five-year period.

Working Discipline.

In order to carry out this far-reaching programme, essential changes must be brought about in the qualitative economic process. The figures in question have already been mentioned here: Increase in labour productivity by 110 per cent., reduction of costs of industrial production by 35 per cent., of transport costs by 25 per cent., of factory prices by 24 per cent., increase in the yield of the soil by 35 per cent. — these are the conditions for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

These qualitative changes presume the re-organisation of our working methods, mean greater discipline in our state apparatus and even greater activity of the working masses, without whose help the building up of socialism is impossible. With regard to working discipline, our position is none too good. This question is one of the most important of all. It includes not only the immediate discipline of the workers, but many other complicated factors. Our working class is by no means homogeneous in its composition. In numerous industries there is only a very small proportion of old workers, grown to be part of the undertakings themselves. The working class includes numerous peasant elements. In the five years the number of workers is to be increased by 700,000, and this means that much labour will have to be brought in from the rural districts. The training and schooling of this fresh army of workers is therefore a most important question, closely bound up with the questions of working discipline and the productivity of labour. For the victory of socialism over capitalism the question of the productivity of labour is of decisive importance. Comrade Lenin, in his: "The next tasks of the Soviet government", expressed himself as follows on this point:

"In every socialist revolution, after the proletariat has accomplished the task of seizing power, and in proportion to the extent to which the task of expropriating the expropriators has been essentially fulfilled, the fundamental task presses into the foreground: The creation of a state of society standing on a higher level than the capitalist, that is, the increased productivity of labour and at the same time (and for that purpose) the better organisation of labour.

An increase in the productivity of labour requires first of all the securing of the material basis of large-scale industry: The development of the production of fuels, of iron, of machine building, of the chemical industry.

Another prerequisite for the increased productivity of labour is, firstly, the cultural and educational progress of the masses of the population, and secondly, the preliminary condition for economic advancement is at the same time intensified discipline among the workers, the capacity for work, for rapid and intense work, the better organisation of work. (Vol. 15. p. 209.)

That which we have conquered, decreed, fixed by law, debated, and planned, must be firmly fixed in forms of daily working discipline. This is the most difficult of our tasks, but the most satisfactory, for it is only its accomplishment which can bring the socialist order. We must learn to combine the tempestuous democracy of the public meeting, with which the working masses sweep forward like a spring flood, with iron discipline during work, with unopposing subordination to the will of one person, the Soviet leader, during work." (Vol. 15, p. 220/21.)

Lenin declared openly that the lack of discipline in some strata of the working class mirrored the influence of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements:

"The bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements fight in two forms against the Soviet government: in the first place by means of armed insurrections, and in the second place from within, exploiting every element of decay, every weakness of corruption, every increase of lack of discipline, of vacillation, of chaos." (Vol. 15, p. 215.)

In another place we read:

"Does not the class struggle, in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, consist of protecting the interests of the working class against those sets, groups, and strata of workers who cling obstinately to the traditions and customs of capitalism, and continue to maintain the standpoint, with respect to the Soviet state, that this is to be given as little and as bad work as possible, for which the greatest possible amount of money is to be demanded?" (Vol. 15. "The character of our newspapers.")

As Lenin very rightly pointed out, iron working discipline must be coupled with comprehensive democracy, and with the participation of the broad masses in the administration of the state and of economy. This can and will be attained with the aid of the production conferences, and by winning over the workers to mass participation in the work of building up socialism. Our press too must realise that this problem is one of

its most urgent tasks. What was Lenin's attitude towards the participation of the press in economic life? I draw attention to the following passage from the original draft of the essay on the "Next tasks of the Soviet government", recently published in the "Pravda":

"It is our task to convert the press from an organ chiefly engaged in furnishing the political news of the day into an organ seriously engaged in the economic schooling of the masses of the population. Above all, however, the press will have to occupy itself with questions concerning work, and with their immediate and practical import. For the Soviet government precisely the organisation of work in the individual large-scale undertakings and village communities is a fundamental and urgent question of public life. If we examine our newspapers, we can easily convince ourselves that these still accord a disproportionately large amount of space to the subjects placed on the agenda by the bourgeoisie, and used by the bourgeoisie to distract the attention of the workers from the concrete and practical tasks of socialist re-organisation.

We must and will transform the press from an organ for the distribution of sensation, from a simple apparatus for spreading political news, from an organ of struggle against bourgeois lies, into a weapon for the economic training of the masses, into a means of teaching the masses how work must be organised in the new way. Undertakings or village communities which hold themselves aloof from all appeals and demands regarding the restoration of self-discipline and the increase of labour productivity, will be noted in the Black List of the socialist parties, and will either be placed in the category of unsound undertakings, to be treated by special measures, special steps and laws, or in the category of undertakings to be called to count, to be closed down, and their participants held responsible before the people's tribunal."

The Five-Year Plan — the Fighting Plan of Socialism against Capitalism.

When discussing the Five-Year Plan, we must refer, if briefly, to the situation in the first year of its coming into force. The difficulties facing us at the present juncture are due principally to the absence of strong and well developed industries, especially an industry producing means of production. The technical and cultural backwardness bequeathed to us by capitalism, the numerous contradictions still to be overcome, in the structure of our economy, the hostile capitalist powers closing us in on all sides, the necessity of certain reciprocal relations with the world's economy, since we cannot re-organise our economy without foreign technics, without the import of machines and raw materials for various branches of industry — all these factors multiply the obstacles in our road.

All the numerous difficulties will only be overcome by long and tedious measures. In the current year one of the most disadvantageous factors with which we have had to deal has been the difficulties in the grain supply and in provisioning the cities and grain-deficient districts with bread. These temporary difficulties naturally demand special measures. But are they to influence us to such an extent that we abandon the tasks set by the Five-Year Plan? Can we, for instance, adapt the tempo of development of our whole national economy to the situation in certain backward districts? Frequently enough such trends of opinion are met with in the Party. We are told that the speed of industrialisation must be slowed down: if there is a shortage of corn, then we must import grain from abroad instead of machinery and raw materials for industry, and so forth.

In my opinion it would be a blind policy to endeavour to overcome temporary difficulties by retarding the tempo of industrialisation, thereby hampering the development of the Soviet estates and collective farms and the growth of all socialist elements. Such a policy would be tantamount to sawing through the branch upon which we ourselves are sitting, making it impossible for us to overcome all these organisational difficulties. We do not need industrialisation for its own sake, but for establishing equilibrium among all the branches of our national economy. It would be a serious mistake to allow the influence of these difficulties to induce us to revise our general

line of policy with respect to industrialisation, our offensive against the capitalist elements.

We can find a means of escape if we make full use of all the means at our disposal. The decision of the Central Committee to take measures in some regions (Ural, Siberia, and Kazakhstan) compelling the large farmers to deliver up their grain offers one possibility of alleviating our present difficulties somewhat. Had the C.C. not resolved upon this measure, the difficulties would certainly have increased still further. The C.C. has acted as a proletarian Party must act when it recognises that difficulties exist, but does not therefore lose its head and seek to slacken the speed of industrialisation or weaken the struggle against the capitalist elements. We manoeuvre at the expense of the large peasants, depriving these of a portion of their surplus; but we do not touch the interests of the middle peasants. This measure is therefore a deviation from our agricultural policy. The Party continues to be of the opinion that in the sphere of agriculture we must set ourselves the task of helping the socialist elements forward to victory. The alliance with the middle peasant is the basis of our policy in the village. Such methods as the purchase of future harvests by contract, the provisioning of agriculture with machinery, the granting of credits, the organisation of great Soviet estates aiding the peasants to improve the cultivation of the soil, the establishment of hiring centres for tractors, the organisation of collective farms, etc., alter the forms assumed by the collaboration between working class and peasantry. These forms tend more and more to a radical alteration of the peasant farm, to its transformation from a small into a large undertaking, from an individual into a collective undertaking.

The difficulties of which I have spoken here, and which can be overcome only as a result of great victories of socialism in our country, call for the utmost exertion of the powers of the Party. We must realise the principle laid down by Comrade Lenin, that is, we must ensure that besides iron discipline in work, besides unreserved subordination to the will of the persons appointed to superintend the works and factories, there is at the same time an active participation of the whole working class in the administration of economy and in the re-organisation of society, an actual control from below removing the excrescences of bureaucracy. This can be ensured by the participation of the masses in the criticism of the errors and mistakes which will inevitably occur in our carrying out of the Five-Year Plan.

But if the working class is to be schooled to self-criticism and activity, this can only be accomplished if our Party holds strictly to its class line, and takes up the fight for socialism for the realisation of the Five-Year Plan, with closed ranks, convinced of the possibility of victory. This demands that all vacillations in the ranks of the Party be vanquished. A determined struggle is necessary against the Right deviation. At bottom this is nothing more nor less than an effect of petty bourgeois influence in a section of the working class and in some strata of our Party. It is only after the Right deviation has been defeated in our own ranks, only when the whole Party, as one man, is filled with fighting energy, with belief in our victory on the foundation of the line laid down by our Party congresses and by the C.C., that we shall reach the aims set before us in the Five-Year Plan. The Five-Year Plan is at the same time a Plan of inexorable inner and outer class struggle.

The Five-Year Plan is a Plan of the struggle of socialism against capitalism. The success of the Five-Year Plan will afford the guarantee that the working class of the Soviet Union after its victory in October, has raised the flag of socialism in our country once and for all, thereby increasing a hundred-fold the possibilities of victory for the proletariat of the whole world. To beat a retreat in face of difficulties, to retard the tempo of development towards socialism in town and country, would inevitably result in the proletariat of the Soviet Union being forced to abandon its positions in the great fight between socialism and capitalism. Therefore, the struggle against all vacillations, against all elements succumbing to petty bourgeois panic and despair, the struggle against the Right deviation, is the most important prerequisite for the realisation of the Five-Year Plan.

FASCISM

New Terrorist Sentence of the Fascist Exceptional Tribunal at Rome.

On the 11th May the fascist Exceptional Tribunal in Rome, after proceedings lasting five days, pronounced judgment in the trial of the "Goricia Communists". The following sentences were imposed:

Luigi Hvalik, worker, to thirty years' imprisonment; Agostino Lango, waiter, to thirty years' imprisonment; Luigi Marchig, worker, to thirty years' imprisonment; Dusan Krescak, worker, to 27 years' imprisonment; Vittorio Krasna, clerk, to 20 years' imprisonment; Milian Krescak, student, to 2½ years' imprisonment.

This judgment forms the first part of a large-scale political trial of a number of members of the Yugoslavian minority in Italy. The trial of the second and third groups is to take place shortly.

The charge brought against the first group which has just been sentenced, is that of "political murder". In the night of the 1st of August last year, Viktor Kogey, a police spy, was shot by Luigi Bregant, a worker; on the following day Bregant died as a result of a bullet fired by the police. The fact that Kogey as a police spy furnished the fascist Public Prosecutor with an opportunity to make of the case a highly important political trial and to place all the members of the Goricia Communist Party whom the spy was able to denounce as a result of his activity, or all whom he designated as such, before a fascist Exceptional Tribunal on the charge of murder.

The activity of the spy Kogey was described by the Public Prosecutor in his speech for the prosecution as follows:

"Kogey, who was formerly an adherent of the Communist movement, left it in order to become a fascist. Convinced of the erroneousness of Communist ideas, he lodged information with the fascist militia of Trieste, as is the duty of every good citizen to do. One day he learned that some Italian Communists wished to go to Russia in order to calumniate our country, and he therefore informed the militia thereof. The militia thereupon went to Krescak's house, where they found and arrested the Communists who were already prepared for their journey. Kogey fell under suspicion, and as a precautionary measure he was removed from Trieste as his life was in danger in that town. Through the mediation of Dusan Krescak, Kogey got into connection with some persons who belong to foreign anti-Italian organisations and attempted to enter the Communist Party again in order the better to be able to keep a watch on it. Dusan Krescak, who introduced Kogey to two representatives of an anti-Italian Yugoslavian association, also belongs to the Communist Party. In the same Communist nucleus of Piedimonte del Calvaria there are various elements — workers, students and commercial employees — who are united in their propaganda against Italy. There is no need for us to be frightened by this propaganda, but we must be on the alert: we are dealing with a poisonous snake which must be trodden on..."

No less characteristic is the filing up of the "witnesses". The "Corriere della Serra" of 9th May reported:

The first witness is police commissioner Midolo. He declares that the crime is essentially of a political nature. The murder was carried out with the connivance of all the accused.

The next witness is Carabineer Palumbo. He was immediately convinced that it was a crime committed from political motives.

The next witness is Vittorio Sirch, commander of the fascist militia, who testifies that various Communist books and a red flag were discovered during the search in Krescak's house.

Antonio Blasizza, member of the secret police of Piedimonte, testifies that the accused Marchig and Hvalik were friends of Bregant and are known to be Communist propagandists.

The last witness, Ubaldo Stefanelli, political secretary of the fascist local group of Piedimonte declared that the accused are enthusiastic Communists."

It was on the testimony of these witnesses that the fascist tribunal without the least proof that the organisation or its members had anything to do with the murder of the police spy, pronounced the above sentences.

FIRST OF MAY

Resolution of the Enlarged Berlin-Brandenburg District Party Committee of the C. P. G.

(Conclusion.)

The Next Tasks.

The May fights have considerably increased the will to fight and enriched the fighting experience of the working class. The proletarian masses have realised what a tremendous force they possess when they fight in a firmly united Front against political oppression and economic impoverishment. Trust capital and its social democracy will in the next weeks and months, as a result of the sharpening of capitalist contradictions, continue in a more energetic form the policy of preparation for imperialist war against the Soviet Union, the policy of a starvation offensive against the proletariat. The bourgeoisie, with the help of the social democracy, will attempt to reduce wages, to prolong the working day and, by means of heavy customs duties on food, increasing the workers' contribution for unemployment insurance, depriving hundreds of thousands of unemployed of unemployment benefit, to squeeze the proletarian masses still further.

Coupled with this there will be the severest pressure of the employers upon the workers in the factories and upon the red factory councils, and the attempt to correct the results of the factory council elections by victimisation and discharge of red factory councillors. In the carrying out of this offensive the few rights possessed by the workers will be still further cut down; the workers' right of combination will be abolished to an increasing extent, cultural reaction will be strengthened, the power of the executive organs of the capitalist State, the power of the police and of class justice to persecute and suppress the revolutionary Labour movement will be extended.

The bourgeoisie wish, by abolishing the right of combination, by suppressing the revolutionary organisations such as the Red Front Fighters League, as well as suppressing the revolutionary press and preparing to prohibit the Communist Party, to break the organised resistance to and the offensive fight of the working class against trust capital. In this the social democracy will to a still greater extent than hitherto play an organising and leading role. The apparatus of the reformist trade unions will be placed by the reformist trade union leaders and functionaries to an increasing extent at the service of the bourgeois offensive.

The policy which has already been commenced of clearing all revolutionary forces out of the trade unions, of splitting off whole portions of trade unions and converting them into strike-breaking organs, will make further progress. The policy pursued by the social democracy of disrupting the proletarian mass organisations (free-thinkers, workers' sport movement etc.) will likewise be carried out on a larger scale.

The working class must reply to this offensive with the exertion of all its revolutionary forces for the purpose of forming united front organs of the fighting proletariat in the form of militant factory and workshop committees, strike committees, self-defence organs etc. The bourgeoisie can for a time compel revolutionary organisations to continue their work illegally. It will, however, not succeed in preventing the formation of such united front organs. To the extent to which the C. P. proves able to develop proletarian democracy in the factories for forming such united front organs, to induce the masses of workers to take part in conferences and the adoption of decisions regarding fighting measures, so the terrorist measures of the bourgeoisie will encounter the resistance of ever broader masses of workers, and the decisive strata of the proletariat in the big factories will, under the

leadership of the C. P. G., conduct an offensive fight against the dictatorship of trust capital and its social democratic agents.

The fight against the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters League, for the further existence of this defence organisation of the proletariat, must be conducted as a fight of the whole working class against the terror of the bourgeoisie, against the repression of and against the preparations to prohibit the C. P. G.

The lessons and experiences furnished by the May fights must, by means of the work of the Party, become the common property of the whole of the working class, especially the lesson that the fight even for the liberty to demonstrate, the fight for the street, is in the present situation a fight against the capitalist class and its state organised power, and that it can be conducted with success only as a fight against the Muller-Stresemann coalition government, against social-fascism, for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, for shattering the capitalist State, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From the lessons and experiences of the May fights arise for the Party the following immediate tasks:

1. Mobilisation of the Party and of the working class in order to strengthen the fight for the streets, against the suppression of the revolutionary organisations and the press; adaptation of the working masses to the necessity of illegal organisation of demonstrations; laying of the main stress on the factories in the organising of demonstrations.

2. Letting loose of a new wave of wage and economic struggles; raising these struggles to political-revolutionary mass actions.

3. Development of all forms of revolutionary fighting organs of the proletariat in order to prepare and carry out its mass actions (committees for conducting struggles, strike committees of action; factory delegate conferences, anti-war committees); creation of a body of revolutionary shop stewards in the workshops and factories.

4. Organisation of proletarian self-defence against police terror, fascism and strike-breakers in the factories (gathering together of the most active and class-conscious workers in proletarian self-defence organs for the protection of the workers at demonstrations and in strikes etc.).

5. Fierce and ruthless attack on the social democracy; driving of its representatives out of their functions in the workshops and the mass organisations of the working class; instigation of an exodus from the S. P. G., the party of worker murderers.

6. Stronger offensive fight in the trade unions against the policy of disruption and the organisation of strike-breaking by the reformist trade union functionaries.

7. Increase of the initiative of the lower Party bodies in the carrying out of the decisions of the Party; securing the participation of all Party members in the work of the Party and the carrying out of decisions; exposition of the lessons of the May fights in courses of lectures and in addresses, at which all deviations, and in particular all tendencies to depression or wavering, are to be fought.

8. Adaptation of agitprop methods to the changed conditions; adjustment of the Party to methods of illegal work; elaboration of the revolutionary military-political lessons of the Berlin fight from the point of view of tactics, organisation and technics of fight; systematic publication of factory, residential and local newspapers.

9. Political strengthening of nuclei work and enlargement of membership of factory nuclei in the big factories; enrolment in the factory nuclei of those comrades who are employed in factories but are still organised in the street nuclei; active recruiting work for the Party in the big factories; systematic work to win new members for the Communist Party and new readers of the Communist press.

10. Increased activity for the development of revolutionary mass struggles for the defence of the Soviet Union as a reply to the war incitement of the bourgeoisie and its social democracy.

11. Most energetic preparation of the Party and of the masses for Anti-War Day on 1st August; formation of anti-war committees in the factories; linking up of the fight against imperialist war with the everyday struggles.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Organisational Steps towards Bolshevisation of the American Communist Party.

By Martin Jones.

The new statutes adopted at the last Convention of the Communist Party of America, reflect in themselves the ideological growth of our Party and the increased realisation of the present period demands, that we as speedily as possible proceed to perfect our apparatus, Bolshevise it, so as to make it capable to meet the tremendous tasks confronting us in the mobilisation of the American working class, for a determined struggle against American imperialism and its reformist lackey. The organisational Bolshevisation of our Party apparatus has special importance today in the struggle against the real danger which is the greatest danger confronting our Party in the present period. Though there is much room for improvement left, undoubtedly, the present Statutes are a vast improvement on the previous ones. In the main, the changes can be divided into the following groups:

1. a) Name changed from the Workers (Communist) Party of America to the Communist Party of America.

b) Emblem changed accordingly.

The change of the name will give us a better opportunity of acquainting the working masses of America with the character of our Party. The shortcomings of our old name have been shown in the last Presidential elections, where unquestionably the Party has lost a number of votes, due to the fact that, while we have carried on practically all our propaganda in the name of the Communist Party and where the slogan was "Vote Communist", the Party on the ballot was not permitted to appear under the name Communist, but was forced to use the word "Workers" only.

2. Minimum age of applicants to the Party is set at 18. The old Statutes did not specify age. The new provision will help to get in young workers into the Party and thereby lower the average age of our membership which is at present far from ideal.

3. a) City Central organisation done away with as a remnant of the pre-organisation period. b) Sub-Section done away with. c) Sub-District done away with. d) Section Committees are to function as political leaders in their territory. e) In agreement with the above, delegates to conventions are to be elected from nuclei to section conferences, from sections to district conferences and from district conferences to national conventions. f) Election of delegates in units are to be based on 55% attendance of the membership instead of 75% attendance in the Statutes.

The changes of this group are those that we learned from experience since the reorganisation. The sub-sections and sub-districts have been found wanting in capacities of directing activities in the territory, and the present intention of the Party is to increase the number of districts instead. The assigning of political direction to the section committees will greatly benefit the Party in developing a larger cadre of leadership from the rank and file.

4. a) The district Executive Committee must be composed primarily of factory workers. The old Statutes stated "partly of factory workers"; b) the Central Executive Committee must consist at least 51% of workers. The old Statutes were entirely silent regarding the social composition of the Central Executive Committee. c) Executive secretary of the Party must have at least 7 years Party standing instead of 2 years in the old Statutes.

The changes in this group are the ones that indicate most clearly how far behind our Party has left the pre-reorganisation period. Of special importance is the insistent provision in the Statutes of bringing proletarians into the leadership of the Party and of making the proletarians the dominant group in the leadership. These coupled with the provisions in the new Statutes, requiring increased Party standing and also expressing preference to workers and also setting down the principle that every organiser from the lowest unit to the highest

to be, not only elected by his unit, but must be also approved by the next higher unit, shows that the Party is regarding the importance of selecting its leadership very carefully.

5. a) The maximum membership in the nucleus bureau is fixed from 5 to 7. b) Special district conferences may be called by the district committee on demand of 50% of the members of the district. c) District Executive Committee departmentalised. District control commissions provided for. e) Org. Agitprop, Trade Union, Women's and Negro Departments are provided for in the new Statutes. These changes will benefit us in developing larger departmentalised activities and will improve the efficiency of the Party apparatus.

6. Initiation fees changed from 50 cents to one dollar.

On the whole we can see that the new Statutes differ radically from the old ones and this is easy to be explained. Our Statutes were written in the pre-reorganisation period, when the Party has not yet taken even the first step towards organisation of Bolshevisation. Our experiences were limited to dealing with a Party which had many autonomous language "units" within it.

The new Statutes show that the Party has recognised fully the importance of proletarianising its leadership, of centralising the apparatus, of building an apparatus which will be fully able of meeting the tremendous tasks confronting us.

The shortcomings in the new Statutes are mainly of a character of omission. More direct provision organisationally would be made to make clear that the basic unit is the factory unit and that the activities of the street unit must, to a large extent, concentrate around the problem of transferring its membership into shop units by concentrating its activities around the most important factories where the members of the given street nucleus work.

THE BALKANS

Declaration of the Balkan Communist Federation on the 'Croatian-Macedonian Alliance'.

The agreement concluded and ceremoniously proclaimed on the 20th in Sofia between the "Croatian guest" in Bulgaria, Ante Pavelic, and the "National Macedonian Committee", which is a legal body of the Fascist Macedonian organisation in Bulgaria (led by Michailov) and an instrument in the hands of the Nationalist Bulgarian bourgeoisie, for common proceedings against the military dictatorship in Yugoslavia — an undertaking not connected with Mussolini and Horthy — is in reality only an attempt to abuse the national freedom movement of the Croatian and Macedonian masses for absolutely foreign purposes.

The Fascist Macedonian organisation in Bulgaria, which, in account of its terrible crimes against the fight for freedom of the Macedonian people, is now bankrupt and distracted, hopes through this "agreement" to raise itself to a certain degree above the eyes of, and to mislead, the disappointed and dissatisfied Macedonian masses, who are tending more in the direction of the real national-revolutionary movement, with the home Macedonian revolutionary organisation (United) at its head.

For the Bulgarian Nationalistic-Fascist bourgeoisie, this "agreement" has the value of an instrument of pressure whereby to gain various concessions from the Pan-Servians in the regulation of the mutual relations of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, which regulation is to take place under the compulsive mediation of the Anglo-French entente for the purpose of the creation of an anti-Soviet Balkan block.

For Mussolini and Horthy it is a weapon in their competitive fight in the Balkans against Yugoslavia and its protector, French imperialism.

The group of Dr. Pavelic, which is endeavouring to replace the Pan-Servian military dictatorship in Croatia by an independent Croatian-Fascist State, tries to get foreign Fascist forces to help achieve its object and, at the same time, to keep the Croatian masses from the only proper way of overthrowing the military dictatorship in Yugoslavia — from the way of the revolutionary mass fight and mass revolt of the workers, the

peasants and of the oppressed nations of the whole of Yugoslavia.

To represent the "agreement" which has been concluded as a fighting alliance of the Croatian and Macedonian peoples against the military dictatorship in Yugoslavia, is flagrant ridicule of the fight for freedom of the Macedonians and Croats and a low-down political swindle.

This national-Fascist step is not a serious and proper fight against the military-Fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia; it is not a fighting alliance between the Croatian and Macedonian peoples; it does not all coincide with the interests of the Croatian and Macedonian populace; and it can have nothing in common with the national freedom movement of the Macedonians and Croats.

It is quite clear that the Macedonian Fascists, who keep the Macedonian population of Bulgarian Macedonia under the most cruel of regimes, who have bestially murdered the best Macedonian revolutionaries, who are a tool of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie for the capture of Macedonia and act like bands of murderers against the workers and peasants who fight so heroically against the Fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria; it is clear that they cannot take the lead in the fight for the liberation of the Macedonians and Croats from the yoke of the Pan-Servian military-Fascist dictatorship. The Bulgarian Fascist bourgeoisie cannot act in favour of the national liberation of the Macedonian and Croatian peoples, for on several occasions it has decimated the Macedonian people, has murdered 25,000 Bulgarian workers and peasants in order to maintain its Fascist dictatorship and for six years has subjected the whole working population of Bulgaria to a cruel regime. Mussolini and Horthy, both of whom have subjected the masses of their people to an intolerable pressure, are, of course, not at all in favour of the fight for liberty of the Croats and Macedonians. It is much more likely that Mussolini will try to find tools in Croatia for his imperialist policy, just as he has done in the Macedonian Fascist organisation and their "actions", for which the Macedonian people have dearly paid with their blood and life.

The Croatian and Macedonian workers and peasants, as also the Macedonian emigrants in Bulgaria, must be very cautious in regard to these "friends" and "protectors", who at the masses' cost design to achieve their own purposes and promote their own ends. The Croatian and Macedonian workers and peasants, who, under the Pan-Servian military-Fascist dictatorship, have to bear the terrible burden of a double yoke — social and national — must energetically continue, and in every way intensify, their fight against the Belgrade oppressors in conjunction with the revolutionary proletariat in Yugoslavia and under its leadership, supported by the revolutionary workers and peasants of the whole of the Balkans and of the international proletariat.

The Croatian working people, the peasant masses of the Radic Party, the urban petty bourgeois elements and intellectuals of the Croatian right wing party (Frankovzen) who want to fight earnestly against the Pan-Servian military-Fascist dictatorship, must recognise that the path to the necessary fighting alliance between the Croatian and Macedonian people does not lead through the Macedonian Fascists in Sofia, not through the Fascist "agreement" between Dr. Pavelic and the "Macedonian National Committee", nor yet through Rome and Budapest, but through a union of the genuine revolutionary forces of the masses of Croatia and Macedonia themselves.

The overthrow of the military-Fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, the national liberation of the Croats and Macedonians, is a matter of a fight of the working masses themselves, of their revolutionary mass fight, of the united revolutionary front of the proletariat, of the peasants and of the oppressed nations.

The Balkan Communist Federation regards it as its revolutionary duty to state all this plainly to the Croatian and Macedonian working masses, to direct their serious attention to the dangerous game, which is being played with the Croatian and Macedonian liberation movement, and to point out the true sense and objective of the "Croatian-Macedonian agreement" concluded in Sofia. The Balkan Communist Federation calls upon the Communists of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, as also of the whole of the Balkans, who are in the first ranks of the fight against national suppression, against the military-Fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria and the campaign of Fascism in all other Balkan countries, who are fighting for the national freedom

of the Macedonians, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Albanians, Dobrujans, Thracians and for their unification — with the other Balkan peoples — in the Balkan Federation of workers and peasant republics, to be on their guard and not to permit the national revolutionary movement to be misused for foreign imperialist and Fascist purposes. In this regard they will undoubtedly find in the Macedonian revolutionary movement and among the Croatian revolutionary workers and peasants complete understanding and support, because these before all are vitally interested in securing their independence and in finding the right path for their fight for freedom.

End of April, 1929.

Balkan Communist Federation.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Seven-Hour Day in Industry.

The "Pravda" Printing Office in Moscow has introduced the 7-hour day beginning with May 3rd.

In Kherson (Ukraine) the Petrovsky Harvesting Machine Works introduced the 7-hour day on the occasion of the May-day celebration.

In Petrozavodsk (Karelian Autonomous Republic) the huge Sumsk Sawing Mill has introduced the 7-hour day.

In Murom (R. S. F. S. R.) the 7-hour day was introduced in the Engine Repair Shop affecting over 2000 workers.

Two other railway repair shops will introduce the 7-hour day on May 15th., one in Voronezh and the other in Otrzhka.

The 7-hour day has been introduced on May-day in the Moscow Yeast Factory.

The Biggest Grain Farm in the World.

The huge government farm "Gigant", organised last year, has completed its spring operations. It had 700 tractors on the job. In the course of 9 days 48,500 hectares have been put under seed. Experts regard this tremendous job to be the first experiment of such extensive modern farming in such a short time in the world.

Azerbeidjan Past and Present.

A few days ago Azerbeidjan celebrated its 9th Soviet Anniversary. Nine years ago it joined the Federation of Trans-Caucasian Soviet Socialist Republics.

Azerbeidjan is now making rapid headway along the lines of industrialisation. The colossal growth and progress of the Azerbeidjan oil industry, which holds one of the foremost positions in the world, has already been pointed out many times. But the development of industry affects also other districts of this young Soviet Republic, apart from Baku. The cities of Ganja and Nukha are two new industrial centres. New textile mills, and a large oil refinery have been built there during the last few years and a silk-weaving mill is being completed. Electricity is also making rapid headway.

The position of the proletariat has greatly improved. Instead of the miserable huts in which the Baku workers dwelt in the past, they have now splendid homes built under the Soviet regime. About two-thirds of the workers live in new houses. Now they are beginning to work a 7-hour day.

The Azerbeidjan villages have also undergone a considerable change. Co-operation and collective farming have already conquered firm position. The ancient primitive wooden plough is swiftly giving way to the modern steel plough and the tractor.

Azerbeidjan has made particularly great progress in the domain of education. The number of children attending school has trebled as compared with pre-revolutionary days, and the number of native children attending school has quadrupled. The number of native girls attending school has increased tenfold.

The schools have introduced the latin alphabet which rationalises the cultural life of the nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Results of Municipal Soviet Elections.

The Soviet press has already published the preliminary results of the recently ended municipal Soviet elections in 441 towns of three republics — the R. S. F. S. R., Ukraine and White Russia.

The activity of the electorate as compared with 1927 has considerably increased almost everywhere. On the whole an average of 19.3% more electors have participated in the elections this time than in 1927. The participation of the organised electors (trade union members) has increased by 11.4%.

The activity of the women has greatly increased. For example, in the 1927 elections in the R. S. F. S. R. 9% of the women enjoying the right of suffrage participated in the present elections their participation was 70.1%.

The rate of participation in the elections is particularly high in the industrial centres — Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Donetz Basin and others — where it reached in some cases 98.3% of the voters.

The statistics concerning the social composition of the newly elected Soviet deputies are of interest.

In the cities of the R. S. F. S. R. the municipal Soviet consist of 53.5% workers (as against 50.5% formerly), 12.5% employees and teachers, doctors, engineers etc. and the rest are workers' wives, Red Army men, students and artisans.

In some industrial districts the percentage of workers in the Soviet is as high as 78.9. In the Ukraine (13 cities) workers constitute 73.8%.

The percentage of women deputies has greatly increased. Thus 52 towns of the R. S. F. S. R. show a return of 21.4% women deputies (as against 21.4 formerly).

Who Are the People Enjoying No Rights of Suffrage?

In the 52 towns of the R. S. F. S. R. concerning which figures are available, 5.5% of the population were denied the right to vote in the municipal elections.

Who are these people? They are people who employ labour as a source of profit, merchants, brokers, and other groups, the clergy, people who served in the Tsarist forces and the gendarmerie, colonels and the adult members of the families of those categories who are not engaged in useful occupations.

Soviet Trade on the World Market.

The recent issues of the Moscow press contained interesting figures on Soviet foreign trade in the various countries.

There is a constant decline in Soviet imports from Great Britain. During the five months October-February the imports from Great Britain amounted to 13,349,000 roubles as against 10,304,000 roubles in the corresponding period of last year. In consequence the British share in the general Soviet imports has dropped from 6.9 to 5.2%.

The general Soviet transactions with Germany during the same five months amounted to 149,111,000 roubles of which exports amounted to 77,702,000 and imports to 71,409,000 roubles. The specific gravity of Germany in the general Soviet import is 27.8%.

Soviet-American trade during the five months amounted to 50,371,000 roubles.

We also find interesting figures on the general trade of the U. S. S. R. in world exchange.

International trade in 1928 has increased by 28% compared with the preceding years. The foreign trade of the U. S. S. R. has increased by 17%. As a result the Soviet share in international trade has increased from 1.4 to 1.8% in imports from 1.41 to 1.74 and in exports from 1.51 to 1.83%.

The "Moskauer Rundschau".

Beginning with May 11 a new paper will be published in Moscow in the German language, entitled "Moskauer Rundschau". The founder and Head-Editor of the paper is Dr. O. Pohl, who has recently given up his post as Austrian Legation Potentiary in the U. S. S. R.

The Plan of Socialist Construction in Action.

New Factories and Works. Oil in the Urals. Blast Furnaces in Honour of the Workers Fallen in Berlin on May Day.

The machine construction plant in Sverdlovsk (Urals) has completed the construction of a gigantic department for the production of metallurgical machinery. The first machines produced will be used in the other departments of that plant now under construction in the Urals.

The building of a considerable part of the workers' settlement in the vicinity of the plant has been completed.

The construction of a new huge paper mill 450 kilometres from Leningrad, has been ended. The new mill will produce 1,000 tons of printing paper per annum which equals 25% of the printing paper now produced in the U. S. S. R. Working on its own hydro-power station the mill will produce the cheapest paper in the Union.

After some time the foundation will be laid in the same neighbourhood for a celluloid factory.

In Solikamsk oil deposits have been discovered. If further investigations will confirm the industrial importance of the oil it will cause an entire revolution in the fuel supply of the U. S. S. R. as well as in the Soviet oil industry. This new source of oil opens up wide prospects of development of the whole of national economy.

According to the latest news the industrial importance of the oil discovered in the Urals is fully confirmed.

In Dniepro-Petrovsk (Ukraine) Blast Furnace No. 4 of the Strovsky Foundry has been put in operation. Its capacity is 10 tons of pig iron per day. According to a decision adopted at a meeting of the workers the Blast Furnace will be named in honour of the German workers fallen on May Day in Berlin.

Soviet Industry in 1929—30.

Many Important Industries Will Surpass the Figures of the Five-Year Plan Wages Will Rise 7%.

The Supreme Economic Council of the U. S. S. R. is at the present time working out the industrial estimates for 1929—30. The figures given in the estimates stand for the second year of the great five-year plan of Soviet industry recently adopted. 1928—29 is the first year working according to the five-year plan.

The plan for next year is in the main based on the figures of the five-year plan for that year. However, this year's experience has already shown that the most important industries will next year considerably surpass the estimates of the five-year plan.

Thus, for example, the output of coal for next year has been fixed at 48.1 million tons — 700,000 tons more than the five-year plan. The output of oil will increase by 500,000 tons as compared with the plan; the output of peat — 800,000 tons; the output of coarse metals — 100,000 tons.

The output of agricultural machines will be raised to 300 million roubles' worth as against 262 million roubles of the five-year plan.

In the chemical industry there will be a sharp increase in the production of phosphates — 500,000 tons as against 170,000. There will be a considerable increase in the output of timber, paper, construction, fats and other industries.

Next year's plan is to reduce wholesale prices of manufactured goods, an average of 4.2%.

Wages will increase 7% as compared with this year.

The Soviet Fields.

More Land under Cultivation. Collective Farms of Entire Villages, Industrialisation Fields.

All districts of the U. S. S. R. report successful spring sowing this year which started rather late owing to unfavourable weather in April. Almost everywhere larger areas have been cultivated. This is particularly so in the collective farms, the number of which has greatly increased in the last few months.

The winter crops, as well as the spring crops are in good condition.

During the preparations for the spring campaign, short agronomical courses were everywhere being organised which,

according to preliminary figures were attended by over 200,000 peasants.

Siberia reports an interesting step of the peasants. The wave of approval of the measures taken by the government in the matter of industrialisation of the country has found expression in an original type of movement among the rural population. In the Omsk district the poor peasants, jointly with the middle peasants of the village of Ukrainka have collectively cultivated an "industrialisation acre", the revenue of which they have decided to contribute to the fund for the construction of the first gigantic metallurgical plant in Siberia. The village challenged the peasants of neighbouring villages to do likewise. According to latest reports, the other villages are enthusiastically following the example of Ukrainka. Thus, on May 1st, the villages of the Krutin district cultivated 400 hectares for the industrialisation of the country. The attempt of the rich peasants to interfere, failed. That district in its turn challenged others to do likewise. Several districts are already in the contest.

Practically from everywhere reports are coming about the cultivation of land for public purposes — for the purpose of combatting illiteracy, for electrification, the instalment of radio, etc.

There is a great movement to be observed from Siberia for collective farming. In the Bisk district alone, 27 new communes have been recently organised. Many villages have lately become collective farms.

Mass Collectivisation of Agriculture.

38,000 Collective Farms Throughout the Union. The Yield on Collective Farms Better Than on Individual Farms.

According to the latest but by far incomplete figures, the number of collective farms in the U. S. S. R. is 38,000. The rate of development of collective farming can be judged by the statistics on the state of collective farming in the R. S. F. S. R. In 1928 alone the number of collective farms has increased in the R. S. F. S. R. from 11,349 to 21,934, i. e. it was almost doubled.

Of these collective farms 21,379 are societies for communal cultivation of land and 13,174 are artels; 1967 are communes. In the artels the implements and cattle are commonly owned and in the communes everything is commonly owned.

The collective farms include over 550,000 households almost exclusively of poor and middle peasants. The role of the more well do peasants in the collective farms is practically nil.

There is already to be observed a revolution in the cultures raised by the collective farms. This revolution proceeds much more rapidly in the collective farms than in individual farming. They cultivate more profitable crops for the market. The collective farms break much more easily than individual peasants with the traditional three rotation system and resort more quickly to the use of choice seeds. In the R. S. F. S. R., for instance, 89% and in the Ukraine 100% of the communes use exclusively choice seeds.

The yield in the collective farms is better than in private farms. In the western district, for instance, the yield per hectare is 9 centnares in collective farms 7 centnares in private farms. In the Ukraine communes the yield is 13 centnares and in private farms 10 centnares per hectare, etc.

Giant Collective Farms.

Whereas hitherto the poor and small farmers have been organising only small groups, now, as a result of the acute class struggle in the villages, they are organising huge collective farms embracing entire villages and even several villages. This is done in order to be able better to fight the rich peasants.

There have recently been organised 127 very large collective farms with an area of over 400,000 hectares of arable land. Among them there is the "Zaveti Ilitcha" in North Caucasus of 12,000 hectares, the Digor Kombinat, Northern Ossetia, 16,000 hectares, the Krasnaya Niva, Ural — 11,000 hectares, the Unipakhar and Third International in Siberia — 14,000 hectares each. In Vologodsk there is a collective farm embracing 18 villages with an area of 14,000 hectares. In Tula a plan is on foot to organise a collective farm of 12,000 households with an area of 90,000 hectares.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Geographical Morality of the English Independent Labour Party.

By W. Ensee (London).

"At such times silence itself is an act."

Romain Rolland.

A generation ago, when the question of the House of Lords' veto was a hotly debated topic in English politics, it was aptly retorted in reply to the complaint of the Liberals that "the House of Lords goes to sleep when a Conservative Government is in power", that the "Non-conformist Conscience goes to sleep when a Liberal Government is in power. It can be said to-day with equal truth that the I. L. P. conscience goes to sleep whenever and wherever the social democrats are in power. This fact is strikingly exemplified by the strict silence maintained by the "New Leader", the organ of the I. L. P., regarding the massacre of workers, deliberately planned and carried out by the social-democratic chief of police in Berlin, with the approval and support of his party, on the occasion of the May Day demonstrations. One can search in vain in the last numbers of the "New Leader" for any reference to this social-democratic orgy of murder, which has roused the indignation of workers throughout the world and has called forth protests even from capitalist papers.

This silence, by which it hopes to cover up the vile deeds of its brother party, stands out in striking contrast to that pose of fearless and disinterested champion of Freedom, Justice, Humanity etc. which the I. L. P. invariably adopts whenever the Soviet Government or its organs do not show a sufficient degree of tenderness and tolerance towards those who by their actions threaten the safety of the Workers State. On the occasion of Trotsky's exile to Alma Ata, for example, the "New Leader", in its issue of January 27, 1928, published a full page article by R. W. Postgate protesting against Trotsky's exile "to some far off corner of Siberia", where he would "soon die". At the time of Trotsky's banishment to Constantinople, and when he had already compromised himself in the eyes of all honest workers by selling his pen to the most reactionary capitalist press organs, the "New Leader" again wrote: "It is a tragedy that the magnificent achievements, the heroic constructive work of the Russian revolution should be tarnished by despotic cruelty." But the organ of the I. L. P. apparently, has no words in which to describe the blood-bath with which "comrade" Zörgiebel and the German social democratic party celebrated the fortieth anniversary of International Labour Day.

This attitude of the I. L. P. is all the more nauseating when it is remembered that on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic, A Fenner Brockway, the Political Secretary of the I. L. P., took it upon himself to address an Open Letter to Comrade Rykov, giving the reasons why his super-sensitive soul would not permit him to accept the invitation given him by the Society for Cultural Relations in Moscow to visit Soviet Russia. He wrote:

"Even all my admiration for your work, my desire to break down the barriers which divide the Socialist Movement of Western Europe from you, my eagerness for co-operation with you in the task of overthrowing the cruelty and menace of imperialism, could not blot out from my mind, as I sat at your tables in Moscow, the thought of those lonely sufferers in the prisons of Wladimir, Tobolsk, Susdal and Jaroslav." ("New Leader" 4/11/27.)

One might wonder how a man of such exquisite sensibility and political scrupulosity could nevertheless feel no compunction in being the guest and appearing on the platform of a party with such a record as the social democratic party of Germany. Even after the Germany socialist party's share of responsibility in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had become an established fact, we had the spectacle of the high-souled Mr. Brockway appearing on its platform and afterwards writing enthusiastic accounts of his experiences, in which

he paid tribute to the Reichsbanner, which has since functioned as an organisation for murdering revolutionary workers. At that time we did not, perchance, have Mr. Brockway writing to the brother German party: "Much as I should like to do with you I should not be able to shut out from my vision I sat on your platform, the battered and bleeding skull of Karl Liebknecht, the mangled body of Rosa Luxemburg". However much the I. L. P. may strain at the communist's guilt it never has the least difficulty in swallowing the social-democratic camel. Its present silence, by which it condones the May Day massacre in the streets of Berlin, only serves to confirm this fact.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Textile Strikes in Southern United States.

By Ann Stanley.

North Carolina is one of the southern states of the United States of America where the textile industry has been growing in the past two years and Gastonia is one of the centres where recent textile strikes have frustrated the millowners' dream of huge production, long hours and small wages.

The growing militancy of the northern textile workers, the higher rate of wages in the North, due to the greater spread of organisation among the workers of the North, brought about the decision of the millowners to move South where labour is cheap, and labour organisations had hitherto not got a strong hold.

Capitalist real estate owners and the Chambers of Commerce of the southern cities, advertised widely throughout the North to bring the northern mills southward; boasting of the long hours and low wages which prevail there.

This campaign was started in 1921. Hundreds of mills moved South. Most of the Northern millowners operated in the South as well. When strikes hit their Northern mills they closed down the Northern mills and enlarged the Southern mills. The Southern mill was often used as an effective strike-breaking agency, as it was far-removed from the picket line and the influence of the strikers. Labour organisation in the South has been retarded partially due to extremely strong legal measures that are taken against any even vaguely resembling a labour organiser. In most of the Southern States, a so-called vagrancy law makes it possible for an officer to arrest a worker for no other reason than "invisible means of support" or merely on suspicion.

Citizen groups composed of manufacturers, bankers and city officials in the event of lack of legal excuse for the arrest or persecution of labour or Negro organisers, take the law into their own hands, and, hooded or masked, lynch, tar, burn their victims and burn and destroy the homes sheltering them. This was again repeated when in Gastonia, a group of masked men destroyed the strike headquarters and entered a relief store, scattering its foodstuffs throughout the streets of the surrounding country. Fifteen strikers were arrested as a result of this "disturbance" as the police called it. But strange enough, every member of the masked group escaped and has never been apprehended by the police.

But the growing radicalisation of the workers inevitably spread even to the textile baron's heaven — the South. The intensification of production, the stretch out system, (a system whereby a worker operates 72 looms instead of the 26 looms operated before and receives a paltry \$ 19 a week — \$ 1 more than when he operated 26 looms), brought the growing murmurs of unrest to a climax.

On March 14th, 1929, 1000 Elizabethton textile workers walked out, demanding withdrawal of the stretch out system, increase in wages and union recognition. The strikers, most of them women including a large percentage of Negro women, were very militant. They broke through the police-guard at the gate, stormed the mills, and called on the workers to come out and help them fight. Having learned from their Northern fellow workers, picket lines were thrown about every striking shop.

Within a week, 2500 additional workers had joined and the battle was on full force.

One of the demands of these workers was \$ 15 a week wages. They received \$ 8.50 before the strike. \$ 8.50 a week here the poorest, most miserable room and skimpy board costs, \$ 7 to \$ 10 a week. According to Government statistics, it costs a single person \$ 20 a week to live decently. This \$ 20 a week does not allow for medical expenses, good books, concerts or theatres. It allows only the mere necessities of life. Men, women and children working nine and ten hour days for as their leading demand \$ 15 dollars a week.

The discrimination against the Negro workers here is more intense than in the North. The wages of a Negro woman is \$ 1 to \$ 1.50 less per week than that of her white neighbour. She must put her clothes, and wash her hands, in the filthiest disease breeding corners of the mill. Often the laundry, the clothes rack and washstand are all in the same little corner and all in a dreadful state of filth. In the newer mills of course, facilities are better, but even here, the Negro separated from the white workers. She rides to work in a separate section of the street-car, she lives in a miserable shack in the "nigger" section, where only the blacks live, and she must step off the sidewalk when a white man or woman passes by, must suffer anything at the hands of the millowner and his son, and live in constant fear lest some day for some reason she or her husband, brother or son, be the victim of lynching party.

The Negro woman is being drawn more and more into the Southern mills. She has become intimidated through generations of living in fear of the white "master". Much of the slave psychology is still foisted on her. Her life in the South is no better, often much worse than it was in slave times.

But in industry, working side by side with her white brother, suffering the same privations under the same exploitation, it is inevitable that such a prejudice cannot long endure. As well is this shown by the thousands of women now working together in the Southern mill centres, fighting together, black and white against their common enemy, the capitalist class.

The bosses are frantically trying to keep up the antagonism between the white and black workers. The bosses have kept the standard of the Negro worker so low that the white worker had to accept the same standard in order to live. The Negro class-conscious, unorganised workers echoed the bosses' slogan, keeping up a race barrier between the Negro and white worker, and hindering attempts at organisation. Then rationalisation, murmurs of Northern textile strikes, the new National Textile Union, awakened their class consciousness. For the first time in the history of the South the barriers of race prejudices are crumbling, and workers white and black, shoulder to shoulder, are picketing in the first real strikes of the South.

The bosses are fighting the strikes in the South vehemently. In Elizabethton on the sixth day of the strike, two companies of infantry were called out. In Gastonia, 200 armed men, infantry and cavalry, were rushed to the strike field. In Loray and other centres, similar measures are being taken. Gates are heavily guarded. Attempts to smash picket lines have been made in all centres. Clashes with the local police proved them insufficient to deal with the determined men and women.

In North and South Carolina on the first of April, over 100 strikers were out. In Gastonia, where the new textile union, the National Textile Union, under the leadership of the communists, prepared the ground for the local strike and strikes for the surrounding territories, the strike organisation is much better than in Elizabethton, Tennessee. The demands for 40 hour, 5 day week, minimum wage of \$ 20 — cheaper rents and lights and better sanitation, are more militant. As a result, the offensive of the bosses is more arrogant. In their desperation, the millowners are turning to the great strike-breaking agency incorporated — the American Federation of Labour.

The American Federation of Labour with its usual methods when a spontaneous strike is called, sprang into the field. Organised locals, collected dues, and is now in conference with the owners to sell out the strike. The National Textile Union

was slow in getting into the field. The A. F. of L. in a few centres, including Elizabethton got the strikes in the first heat of the battle, and by the time the new union sent organisers into the field much regrettable damage was already done.

Two weeks after the Elizabethton strike commenced, the A. F. of L. seemed to have again accomplished its task. The strikers went back sold out. But scarcely a week later, the same strikers again walked out and the new strike was more determined and better than the first. Obviously, after one experience with the traitorous A. F. of L., these workers will not again so soon fall under its influence.

In Loray, where 95% of the workers are carrying on a militant strike under the leadership of the National Textile Union, the demands are for the 40 hour 5 day week, \$ 20 minimum wage, union recognition and better housing.

In the centres where the National Textile Union is active, the bosses are openly encouraging the A. F. of L. Even the capitalist press speaks of "growing public sentiment for union recognition — recognition of the United Textile Workers, the A. F. of L. textile union". Two organisers of the A. F. of L. were kidnapped in Elizabethton by capitalist agents, acting independently. When the matter was known the offenders were arrested, and the capitalists and their press apologised for the "unfortunate" mistake.

The mill barons have made it clear that they are willing to come to an agreement with the A. F. of L. union, providing the National Textile Union organiser is forced to withdraw. Broad hints, some very open, are made about running the National Textile Union organiser out of town. The millowners know that the A. F. of L. or a Company Union will do the bosses comparatively little harm, will placate the workers for a while, and the Company Union will obey orders and the other can be bought.

The offensive of the bosses and government in these strikes is intensified by the fact that a large percentage of the striking mills are rayon mills which can be converted overnight into dynamite producing munitions plants. With the war danger intensified as it is in America these mills become tremendously important. The Capitalist class fears that organisation, particularly organisation under the communist leadership of the National Textile Union with its anti-Imperialist war slogans, would be a menace to munitions production in the States. And they would be absolutely justified in their fears. The workers of the south, under the leadership of the National Textile Union and the Communist Party will fight energetically against the coming Imperialist war.

How long the bosses will be able to stave off a real militant organisation in the Southern mills is yet to be seen. A great deal will depend on the ability of the National Textile Union and the Communist Party to continue carrying on its organisational campaign in all textile centres of the South, to sense growing unrest in certain centres and to be on the job when a strike breaks out, so as to win leadership in the important first heat of battle.

The organisation of the South will be a tremendous step forward in the history of the revolutionary labour movement in America. It means the drawing into militant struggles and revolutionary activity of hundreds of thousands of Negro workers of the South and a solidifying of the ranks of the workers throughout the country, giving an excellent opportunity of struggle against white chauvinism, putting boldly to the forefront the slogans for absolute economic, political and social equality.

Struggle against the social reformism of the American Federation of Labour is also brought to the forefront, giving the Party great opportunities to expose its treacherous character to make clear the role of the C. P. and the principles involved in the Russian revolution.

The Party is beginning to fulfil its historic task in taking the leadership in organising millions of unorganised workers and building up a powerful revolutionary trade union centre in America.

The Co-operative Movement and the Women.

By G. Bark.

The trade unions and the co-operatives must be the school of revolution for the broad masses. Their ability to fulfil this task presupposes, however, systematic and indefatigable work on the part of the communists for revolutionising and winning over the progressive elements of the working class for the class struggle. The co-operatives as organisations which perhaps reach the most numerous and most backward strata of working women, even if not always directly, can and must, by their struggle for lower prices, customs duties, etc. become schools of class education. The co-operatives must take part in the class struggle, not because the communists want them to do so in the interests of their Party aims, as the reformists so often allege, but because in a capitalist state of society nothing but the class struggle gives them the possibility of representing the interests of their members in every respect.

The official leaders of the co-operative movement are never weary of repeating: "the co-operative lowers prices; it helps its members, especially the women". Is this really so? In every country the co-operative leaders are pursuing a policy tantamount to capitulation to the capitalists. Co-operative bureaucracy joins the employers in a policy forcing the prices upward. The reformists, instead of fighting against the indirect taxes and high duties on necessities, seek to console the working masses by persuading them — as the Labour Party in England is doing at the present time — that the coming election victory will bring a peaceful settlement with the bourgeoisie, which will be induced to abandon voluntarily the exploitation of the workers. In Germany the co-operative leaders refuse to support the proposals made by the communists in the Reichstag and Diets for the reduction of customs duties and the exemption of the co-operatives from taxation. In a word, we can observe in every country the complete passivity of the official leaders of the co-operatives towards the bourgeois policy of increased profits and exploitation of the masses.

When the workers demand, with right, that the co-operatives should not remain mere idle lookers-on at their struggles, then the reformists declare: it is not the business of the co-operatives to support the striking and unemployed workers; to do so would be to violate the co-operatives law. What practical help did the co-operatives give, for instance, in 1918, to the workers of Germany, Poland, and France, in their fierce struggles? In Poland only one co-operative helped the strikers. All others preserved "neutrality" towards the workers and their relations who were struggling to maintain the fight in spite of want and misery. In Germany the co-operatives resolved, during the great Ruhr struggle, upon the following "disinterested" action: After the private shop trade had agreed to grant the locked-out workers a 10 per cent. rebate, the workers' co-operatives resolved to grant the same privilege. The only co-operatives acting solidly with the strikers were those led by the communists, which organised collections for the Ruhr metal workers, etc. In France the same thing was repeated. During the textile workers' strike the reformists sabotaged the appeals of the strike committees and of the revolutionary co-operative union of the strikers for aid to be given to the strikers. The revolutionary co-operative, on the other hand, aided the struggling textile proletariat with money and food.

We see the same sabotage of the interests of the workers and their dependents in the unemployment question. The co-operative bureaucrats take no measures to alleviate the serious position of the unemployed. It need not be said that it is not a question of almsgiving but of class solidarity, of material and moral aid, of participation in the struggle with unemployment, a problem of the utmost importance in view of the intense acuteness of the unemployed question (in England 11½ million, in Germany 3½ million unemployed). The practical aid of the co-operatives must be expressed in the formation of special funds enabling mass credits to be granted to the unemployed, in participation in all measures taken by the revolutionary labour organisations for securing the subsistence minimum for the unemployed, and in the granting by the central co-operative organisations of credits in goods and money to the co-operative societies supplying the unemployed.

The reformists seek to excuse their anti-proletarian policy by pointing to the special character of the co-operatives, and do

not fail to adduce such arguments as that the co-operative knows only "consumers", and makes no difference between classes, and that the co-operative movement leads gradually, peacefully, without class war and revolution, to the "co-operative system". The systematic propaganda carried on at meetings and in the whole reformist press is not without influence on the women, and these represent a considerable force to reformism, even where the working women are themselves suffering from the negative aspects of capitalism, the exploitation, the afterpains of imperialist war, etc. Millions of women see with horror the approach of a fresh war and are ready to prevent war by every means. But the reformists with their pacifist theories lose belief in the desire for peace of the League of Nations, the possibility of being able to avoid new wars. The leaders of the co-operatives proclaim: The co-operative secures peace, maintain that war can be abolished by the co-operative and economic collaboration. Their agitation among the broad masses of the workers is still attended by success, although at the outbreak of the last imperialist war the whole world solemnly declared the co-operative organisations, and especially those of the International Co-operative Alliance, their way into the waste paper basket, and the co-operatives hastened to join the other reformist organisations in standing protectingly before their national bourgeoisies.

Without a struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie, the reformists will not even the sincerest will to peace can prevent war. Moreover, pacifism does much harm among the working masses by spreading illusions and diverting them from the fight against the sole cause of war, the capitalist system.

Much work still remains to be done among the women organised in the co-operatives, in order that they may be brought to realise that the sole real struggle for peace is the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, for active proletarian solidarity with the country in which the bourgeoisie now holds sway — the Soviet Union. The visits paid to the Soviet Union by numerous active women members of the co-operatives have resulted in greatly increased sympathy for the Soviet Union and the socialist system being built up there, in friendly relations which have come about between the members of the co-operatives of the Soviet Union and those of Great Britain (women's guilds), must be extended to other countries. Solidarity with the Soviet Union must be expressed by the active participation of the women in the class struggle in the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet power in their own countries. The fighting front of the millions of women organised in the co-operatives in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries will give fresh powers to the revolutionary proletariat, and accelerate the victory of the class over the bourgeoisie and the complete emancipation of the oppressed and exploited women.

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