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The 29th of September in Austria.

By R. Schüller (Vienna).

The 29th September has placed the government of Schober office. It is true, the Schober government was formed some days before the 29th of September, but its formation is none the less the "deeper meaning" of the 29th of September, about which the Heimwehr made mysterious threats in their proclamations. The formation of the Schober government was the direct fulfilment of the notorious Heimwehr ultimatum in which the Heimwehr delivered the "final warning". In this ultimatum the Heimwehr called upon the government to resign in order to make way for "a strong government" "in which the Heimwehr would possess the influence due to it".

The purpose of the 29th of September was, in the first place, to form this government of the "strong hand". The object of the civil war parade on the 29th of September was to help the bourgeoisie to set up a fascist dictatorship. The Constitution is to be altered in this sense, and an anti-terror law is to deprive the workers in the factories of every right of combination and to strike and to establish a true prison regime.

The working class will never submit to this! The bourgeoisie knows this, and hence the Heimwehr terror. On the 29th of September, the encirclement of Vienna and the threatening march on Vienna, with the aim of establishing a fascist government of civil war or even the dictatorship. And this fascist government has been formed in the shape of the Schober government. The Schober government is to secure the closest connection between the Heimwehr, the police, the gen-

darmerie and the army. It is to give a legal veneer to the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, which it will carry out in the fiercest fight against the working class. It is to conduct civil war while claiming to uphold legality. And the fact that in establishing the fascist dictatorship it wishes to make use of the appearance of legality, secures for it the sympathy and support of the social democracy.

The Schober government openly announced this task in its declaration (which was nothing else but the Heimwehr programme of the fascist dictatorship) in the following words: "It will be our task to maintain a suitable contact with the Heimwehr and to guide the movement into those channels which will lead to a fulfilment of its demands by legal means". These "legal" means include, of course, the Heimwehr, which in some provinces has already been recognised as a "legal" special police, and whose civil-war parade on the 29th of September was Schober's second act as Federal President. We say the second, because the first act was the communist persecutions which set in immediately on the formation of the Schober government.

And the Heimwehr leaders Steidle and Pfrimer declared on the 29th of September: We stand firmly behind the Schober government; the Schober government is our government. The government will now endeavour to carry out our programme. If anybody seeks to oppose the government, then we will intervene with armed force.

One can at the same time see from these statements what importance the 29th of September had for the Schober government, and also that the fight for the fascist dictatorship has not been concluded by the 29th of September, although it characterises its decisive stage. The 29th September, which led to the formation of the Schober government, will remain the government method of Schober; and this must intensify to the extreme the class struggles in Austria. For the alteration of the Constitution which Schober wishes to achieve, cannot be carried out in Parliament, but only in the street.

True, if it were only a question of the social democratic parliamentary fraction, then the alteration of the Constitution and the anti-terror law would be settled in Parliament. But it is a question of the working class, which is not willing to permit the establishment of the fascist dictatorship even if Schober, with the support of the social fascist leaders, would give this a legal veneer.

The leaders and the press of the social democracy are feverishly endeavouring to remove from the way every obstacle within the working class to the establishment of the fascist dictatorship by calling attention to the "legal" means by which it is being realised. When the Schober government was formed it was warmly welcomed by the social democratic press. When the working masses heard of the formation of the Schober government a cry of indignation went through their ranks. Every day it came to demonstrations and collisions between workers and police in the streets of Vienna. But the social democratic leaders were immediately on the job and sought to appease the workers, while at the same time they welcomed and praised Schober. The social democratic leaders persuaded the workers that this Schober government would bring peace, would mean the rescue of democracy from a fascist coup d'état or putsch. The social democratic "Kleine Blatt" welcomed the Schober government with a big headline right across the page "A government against the coup d'état".

The fascist-clerical "Reichspost" scornfully wrote "that this social democracy now welcomes this man (Schober) as a rescuer, whom, out of maliciousness, it for two years depicted as an ogre. Today it must kneel to one whom it so long insulted and abused".

Thus there is today plainly revealed the social-fascist role of the Austrian social democracy. Despite its use of Left demagoguery, its sole endeavour today is to see to it that in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship there is maintained the greatest possible appearance of legality. Thus Schober is simultaneously the man of the Heimwehr and of the social fascist leaders, and the collaboration and the division of labour between social fascism and Heimwehr fascism becomes every day clearer.

This collaboration was shown on the 29th September. The whole activity of the social democratic leaders and of the Re-

publican Defence Corps was directed solely to protecting civil war parade of the Heimwehr from the indignation the attacks of the workers. For this reason they arranged counter-demonstrations on the 28th of September in the local where the Heimwehr was to parade the following day, and the 29th in the neighbourhood of the places of the Heimwehr parades, but not at the actual scene of the parades! In fact, to say, they drew the workers away in order to leave a free field for the fascists. The Republican Defence Corps was in readiness, but not to proceed against the fascists but against militant actions on the part of the working class. That was so plainly and clearly on the 29th of September in Mödling. There the workers demonstrated, under the leadership of the Communists, against the fascists, and the Republican Defence Corps proceeded against the workers, beat them, and then fetched the police to arrest the Communists. The same thing happened in Stockerau, where the workers fought against the fascists and the Republican Defence Corps assisted the gendarmes in drawing a cordon against the workers.

These tactics of the S. P. and of the Republican Defence Corps will only serve, however to widen the fissure between the revolutionary minded and militant social democratic workers and their leaders. In this connection it is the task of the Communist Party to proceed with the organisation of the working front of the broadest masses. The Communist Party has foreseen the deeper meaning of the 29th of September and the formation of the Schober government; right from the beginning it has conducted a fierce fight against the Schober government, has called upon the workers to hold street demonstrations to carry out a mass strike; it has called in a clear and determined manner for revolutionary resistance and for an offensive against the civil war parade on the 29th of September and its aim: the setting up of a fascist dictatorship. Since the formation of the Schober government it has day after day led the workers in demonstrations in the street and set up in a Conference of revolutionary functionaries a determined revolutionary programme of action.

The Communist Party is the only enemy of the Schober government, and for this reason the first actions of the government were the confiscation of the "Rote Fahne", prosecution for high treason, wholesale arrests, armed attacks upon Communist demonstrations.

With the formation of the Schober government, with the 29th of September, the crisis in Austria has not been solved, nor is the fight ended. It has only been raised to a higher stage. In the daily great struggles in the factories and in the streets the great fight of the classes will be continued at an accelerated pace in order to decide, whether the bourgeoisie will succeed in setting up the fascist dictatorship in Austria or whether the working class will shatter fascism and establish its own power.

Letters from Austria.

By Fritz Rück.

(Special Correspondent of the "Inprecorr".)

I.

Schober's Mission.

Vienna, 28th September, 1929.

The couple of dozen people who were standing about on the 12th November Ring when we arrived, were not discussing the political situation. They were wondering which door the social democrats would choose to enter parliament and which the deputies of the Christian Social Party. And they glanced first at one entrance and then at the other. They were waiting for the Schober Cabinet to make its constitutional and customary bow to Austrian democracy, which has fallen even farther in the Stock Exchange notations than the Schilling.

The situation was explained by a slight hitch in the stage management of this session which was to listen to a completely fascist programme from the mouth of Schober. The public gallery and the distinguished strangers gallery were filled to overflowing, but the body of the hall was still empty. The American Ambassador, whose automobile, by the way, was seen recently on more than one occasion before the doors of the Police Pre-

sidium, the previous headquarters of Schober, waited in scarcely concealed boredom for the pre-arranged play on the stage to begin. An hour and a half passes, and the reporters of the evening newspapers clung despairingly to the telephone call boxes, inventing reports of the opening of the session, but the body of the hall remained empty.

The government declaration was not yet ready. The parliamentary and non-parliamentary leaders of the Heimwehr demanded that Schober should come out still more clearly and more definitely in favour of the Heimwehr than he had in the case already intended to do. And Schober, recognising clearly that his task was to carry out the fascist programme of the Heimwehr supported upon the State apparatus and upon the Heimwehr movement, granted their demands.

But this fact by no means detracts from the significance of the pressure exerted by the fascists upon Schober, the man who is being praised by all the fractions of the bourgeoisie.

he saviour. It was the second time that the Heimwehr had approached Schober with demands during the few days of his office. The first demand, to take an open representative of the Heimwehr into the government, was refused, but the second demand, to alter the government declaration into a hymn of praise of the Heimwehr was carried out in all haste, and Schober declared the task of his government to be the fulfilment of the Heimwehr programme with legal means.

The deeper significance of the mission which the cabinet of Schober has received from its wirepullers, the "economic forces", in other words, the leaders of Austrian and international high finance, is made clear in this declaration. Those circles which had encouraged the Heimwehr movement, began to fear the growth of the movement which they had themselves fostered. The Heimwehr began to become a little too independent, it began to push the leaders of the bourgeois parties to the wall, whilst its armaments took on such forms as were bound to lead inevitably to open civil war in Austria, a matter somewhat too risky when other methods of achieving the same aim still existed.

The 29th September became a sort of trial of strength for the Heimwehr. But not only for the Heimwehr; the mood of the workers in the factories became more and more militant. In addition broad petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois circles began to show signs of panic. The petty-bourgeoisie began to withdraw its savings from the savings bank, the Schilling began to fall, slowly, but steadily, and international finance showed through the reactions of the Stock Exchanges that it had other and greater troubles, and that it was not prepared to pay for a fascist experiment in Austria with a doubtful ending by granting further credits to the Austrian State. Thus it came about that the bourgeois parties and with them the "economic forces" began to show signs of restiveness; the Streeruvitz Cabinet with its reform proposals was sent into the desert and the strong man of the Austrian bourgeoisie, who organised the ruthless crushing of the revolutionary workers during the stormy days of the revolution of the 15th June 1919 at the orders of the social-democratic leaders, and who organised a further blood-bath, this time at the order of Seipel, on the

15th July 1927 which cost the lives of over a hundred Austrian workers — Schober was brought to the front. The Austrian bourgeoisie expects from Schober that he will solve the crisis by carrying out the essential points of the fascist programme based upon the legal power of the State apparatus and at the same time check as far as necessary the extra-parliamentary fascist forces, thus avoiding the civil war which would inevitably be the result of a Heimwehr march upon Vienna.

"Austrian industry hopes for better days", wrote the "Neue Wiener Abend Blatt" in welcoming Schober, and this hope is expressed in one form or another throughout the whole of the Austrian bourgeois press. The President of the National Bank expects "a complete and immediate pacification of economic circles" as a result of Schober's appointment. The "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" writes: "Economic interests have decided concerning the political change." This is the soothing melody for the Austrian bourgeoisie, whilst the petty-bourgeoisie hope to be able to take their monies back to the savings banks where they will earn the normal interest under the protection of the police.

It is not difficult to see that this whole jubilant mood before the decisive struggle is nothing but the old remedy of sticking one's head in the sand in the face of the unpleasant fact that the extra-parliamentary parade of the class forces in Austria has created a situation which does not permit of any parliamentary solution of the problem and which cannot be solved for the bourgeoisie by a simple coup d'Etat from above. It is not within the power of the Austrian bourgeoisie to whistle back the Heimwehr in the face of every decisive situation, not even when the whistle is between the teeth of Schober. And it is still less within the power of the Austrian bourgeoisie to prevent the continued development of the resistance of the Austrian workers to the fulfilment of the fascist programme, no matter in what form the bourgeoisie may attempt to do so. Schober's mission, to carry out the fascist programme without resorting to civil war, will break down in face of the intensified situation. It will only accelerate the open collision and deepen its effects.

II.

The Parade of the Heimwehr.

Mödling, 29th September, 1929.

On the way to Mödling this morning there was little to show that anything of importance was taking place in the neighbourhood. Ramblers, little groups of youths and girls, hiked along the roads of the pretty undulating countryside in the neighbourhood of Vienna. It is probably always like that on fine Sundays. Police posts were stationed at a number of bridges and cross-roads. Motor-cycles with side-cars whizzed past. But the nearer we came to Mödling, the more often we met little groups of armed gendarmes with steel-helmets on their heads and rifles slung over their shoulders.

In Liesing we met a guard of the social-democratic Republican Defence Corps guarding the buildings of the workers organisations. Otherwise the members of this organisation have received instructions from their leaders not to show themselves in the neighbourhood where the fascists are parading.

Near Mödling, on a stubble field, we came upon the Heimwehr standing in ordered ranks. They did not fill the field. Their leader Steidle was speaking. The usual tirade against what they call the "Austro-Marxist terror". He described the taking over of the reins of government by Schober as a victory for the Heimwehr, and warned the bourgeois parties not to let the reform of the constitution be delayed in the backwaters of parliamentarism. The Heimwehr was prepared. The significance of the 29th September was not a Putsch, but a demonstration that the Heimwehr had closed the armed ring around Red Vienna.

In military formation the members of the Heimwehr greeted the remarks of their leader with organised shouts of "Heil!". Steidle closed his speech with the words "For Freedom, God and Fatherland!" The march through the town then commenced. The streets were lined with a thin trickle of civilians who had

mostly pinned on the white and green badge of the Heimwehr. A number of business houses exposed the Heimwehr flags, but the flag of the town Vienna was also to be seen frequently. Very few workers were to be seen on the streets. They were being held away by force whilst at the time they were demonstrating energetically in their own quarters against fascism.

Police from Vienna were doing street service. In the neighbourhood of the railway station the Heimwehr fascists marched past their leaders. Considerably less than 10,000 fascists took part in the parade. According to the figures given by the Heimwehr a total of 22,000 uniformed Heimwehr took part in the various parades around Vienna. The composition and the uniforms of the various detachments were various. There was a detachment of the ex-soldiers, a detachment of Lower-Austrian peasant youths, one or two strong detachments of German-Nationalist students from Vienna with their supercilious visages scarred with sabre slashes won in many but safe duels, the future lawyers and judges of Austria. Amongst the Vienna detachments very few proletarians were to be seen. Those that were there were for the most part from the slum-proletariat, bought by the five Schillings paid by the Heimwehr.

Before each detachment a few officers. A number of detachments wear steel-helmets and have revolver cases at their belts. Their rifles have been left in the depots. Thus they march through Mödling and feel themselves a power in the State. And they are a power in the State. The bourgeoisie cheers them, the police and military are at one with them. The damaged and battered middle classes ruined by the constant crisis hope for a return of the "good old days" through the Heimwehr.

This time the "March on Vienna" has been postponed. For the Heimwehr fascists still feel themselves too weak to try conclusions with the revolutionary workers of Vienna. In the

meantime Schober is to work for them and their armaments must be increased and developed. The parade on the 29th September showed one thing clearly however, and that is that if the equipment and armament of this civil war army is continued, and it will be continued, then the real march on Vienna will take place in the not all too distant future. As long as these fascists do not make close acquaintance with hard proletarian fists, as long as the organised power of the Heimwehr is not faced with the full development of the forces of the Austrian working class, they will feel themselves the masters of the situation and will act as such.

"The decisive hour is drawing nigh!" announced the leaders of the Heimwehr prior to the 29th September. To-day's demonstration did not bring this promised decision, but they showed that the decision will come all the more quickly and be all the more unfavourable for the Austrian workers, the longer the mobilisation of all the great active masses of the working class is delayed. The hands of the clock are approaching twelve! The workers must be prepared!

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The International Position of the Soviet Union.

The Fundamental Contradiction in the World Situation.

By V. Molotov.

The following is the first, international-political, part of the report held by Comrade Molotov at the recent Party Conference of the Moscow industrial district on the development of Socialism and the anomalies of its growth. The second, home-political, part of the report will appear in our next issue.
Editor.

The Capitalist World and the Soviet Union.

Comrades! Exhaustively as we have treated questions of economy, the problem of the main perspectives of the proletarian revolution has at all times been the focus of our attention. In view of the constant aggravation of the crisis of international capitalism, this question is now of particular significance. The building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union is proceeding at a time when the capitalist world is more and more shaken and the disintegrating contradictions within it are increasingly serious and menacing. In this connection we must pay special attention to the following facts, established in the resolution of the 10th plenary session of the E. C. C. I.:

"In spite of the rivalry and acute friction within the capitalist camp, the crucial and all-dominating antagonism between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union becomes more and more apparent as a difference between two economic and political systems diametrically opposed to one another. The main danger is and remains the attack of the imperialists on the Soviet Union." (Emphasises mine. M.).

It is not sufficient to establish the fact of an aggravation of the fundamental differences in the present international development. We must also be fully aware of the proportionate strength of the capitalist world and the Soviet Union in a concrete sense and of the tendency in the development of their relations. It is obvious to us that in a technically economic sense the Soviet Union is far behind the leading capitalist countries. In so far as techniques and available economic resources are concerned, our strength is far smaller than that of the capitalist world as a whole and even of certain capitalist countries in particular. But if we look back we can affirm with full conviction that the proportion of strength between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union has altered since the time of the October revolution and is continuing to change in our favour. However slow this progress may be, the tendency is unmistakable. This is extremely significant, not only for the working class of the Soviet Union but also for the entire international proletarian

Nor may we forget that the ruling classes of the imperialist countries are coming more and more to recognise this. Hence the growing endeavour to hinder the Socialist development, hence the fresh attacks upon us in the international arena, hence the ever-growing danger of a new intensification of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. It is only in this light that we can rightly appraise those features of international relationships that at the present moment attract the attention of workers in general and of the workers of the Soviet Union in particular.

The Conflict over the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

Chief among these features are the events in the Far East. I refer to the occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the further development of the Russo-Chinese conflict.

The occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway on the 10th was more than a mere predatory attack; it was a direct provocation of war. Under the obviously well-thought-out preparation of a fight against "Communist propaganda", the Chinese imperialists saw fit to break the treaty concluded in 1924 between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Government. The seizure of the railroad had long been prepared. The imperialist Powers are backing up Mukden and Nanking had been systematically urging the Chinese authorities to take this step. This predatory move was effected with the obvious purpose of provoking the Soviet Union into a war. The obstinacy evinced thus far by the authorities of Mukden and Nanking shows that they are being backed up by powerful imperialist forces. The diplomatic interest taken by the imperialist governments in the dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railways only serves to confirm their participation in the Harbin provocation.

Events, however, have proved that the intentions of the war-mongers were not destined to be realised. The imperialists who aimed at causing the Soviet Union to appear as the disturber of the peace and the instigator of war, now desire to criticise the pacific attitude of the Soviet Union as a sign of weakness. Such an attempt is in itself a provocation, albeit of another kind, but in connection with the events accompanying the dispute in the Far East this ruse of the imperialists is likewise being disclosed, thanks to the firmly-consistent attitude of the Soviet Government.

The robbers of the Chinese Eastern Railway, meanwhile, are not enjoying the fruits of "victory". Day by day they are faced by greater difficulties resulting from the dispute. The decay of the railway and the helplessness of the Chinese administration — both that of the railway itself and that of the civil and military authorities — grow greater from day to day. On the other hand, the policy of the Soviet Government in this connection gained the sympathies of the workers not only of the Soviet Union itself but also of all other countries. Mukden and Nanking were forced to have recourse to fraudulent manoeuvres so as to veil their helplessness and vacillation. It will be remembered that these two quarters have repeatedly applied to the Soviet Union with suggestions for negotiations for the settlement of the dispute. The Soviet Government has systematically exposed the hypocrisy of these proposals. The Soviet Union was ready to limit itself to a minimum of the conditions formerly advanced, for the sake of rendering negotiations possible. One of these minimum conditions was the stipulation that the Soviet Union should immediately appoint the manager and deputy-manager of the railway in keeping with the Mukden agreement in force prior to the dispute. Obviously such a condition was essential if the dispute was to be settled by mutual agreement. The Mukden-Nanking authorities, however, make relative promises one day and withdraw them the next, thus again giving proof of the dishonesty of their policy. Such a double-faced character is likewise apparent in the latest proposal advanced by Nanking for the immediate appointment of one deputy-manager of the railway by either country, a suggestion which is to replace the previous agreement of the Nanking Government to the appointment by the Soviet Union of both manager and deputy-manager. Needless to say that such "manoeuvres" on the part of the Nanking Government merely tend to detract from its authority.

It must therefore be pointed out that this policy on the part of Nanking and Mukden is not at all calculated to create

the elementary premises for a settlement of the dispute by way of agreement.

The Soviet Government, therefore, adheres to its original attitude and maintains its claim to the minimum presumptions for the convocation of a Russo-Chinese conference to regulate the dispute. Our attitude unmasks each and all of the warmongers and at the same time implies that the Soviet Union will offer unflinching resistance to any attempt at an assault. The troops of the Red Army have already given sufficient proof of the resistance they are ready to offer to all attempts of the White Guards and Chinese troops to cross our frontier. The fresh attempts of the White Guards in Manchuria and the fresh attacks of the Chinese militarists shall be answered with the necessary firmness and ruthlessness.

Contrary to the imperialists who enjoy concessions in China, the Soviet Union not only voluntarily offered to administer the railway jointly with the Chinese authorities and to hand over half the takings of the Soviet line on Chinese territory to the Chinese State; it also took steps to ensure that the workers and employers of the railway should enjoy the same privileges as the railway workers and employees within the Soviet Union (eight-hour day, protection of labour, housing, accommodation, hospitals, and schools). The Soviet Government now merely desires the restoration of the state of affairs agreed upon between the Soviet Union and China in 1924 and destroyed by the predatory attack on the railway. This attitude on the part of the Soviet Union is entirely in accordance with the interests not only of the Soviet workers but also of the Chinese workers and also of the international proletariat.

The most important task of our international policy in this connection lies in the enlightenment of the broad masses in the Soviet Union and all the world over as to the equity of the policy of the Soviet Union and in securing greater support, in particular on the part of the international proletariat. We may say with full conviction that the policy pursued by the Soviet Union in connection with the dispute in the Far East is fully in keeping with such a task. Under the given circumstances this is of particular importance, seeing that the dispute aroused through the occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway virtually reflects the growth of differences and the aggravation of the conflict between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union. The dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway is not only and not so much a dispute between the Soviet Union and the Chinese militarists, as one of the most important elements in the struggle of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union. This fact is confirmed by the above-mentioned circumstance that the fundamental antagonism between the economic and political systems of the capitalist world and of the Soviet Union, respectively, is more and more in the very focus of international differences.

It is from this standpoint that we must consider the mutual relations of the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

With the accession to office of the Labour Party in Great Britain, the question of relations with the Soviet Union had necessarily to enter on a fresh stage. During the election campaign, MacDonald's party promised immediately to recognise the Soviet Union. When it came into power, however, it started a series of peculiar "manoeuvres". The documents exchanged of late between the Governments of Great Britain and the Soviet Union, respectively, have been published in the press. From this exchange of Notes it appears that, under the pretext of discussing the procedure of negotiations, the British Foreign Secretary was endeavouring to start negotiations regarding the most important points at issue even prior to the recognition of the Soviet Union. Mr. Henderson obviously wanted to show that he was able to get concessions out of the Bolsheviks which the Conservative Government had failed to attain. In this case Mr. Henderson acted as the representative not only of the British bourgeoisie but of the entire anti-Soviet world of imperialism. He apparently wanted to show that in relation to the Soviet Government he is more advanced than the bourgeois governments and therefore determined -- in return for a resumption of diplomatic relations -- to gain concessions from the Soviets which no imperialist government had ever gained before. It is only thus that the dishonest manoeuvres can be explained in which Mr. Henderson has been indulging of late. His invitation for the discussion of the "quickest procedure" in the ultimate negotiations, for which at his subsequent meeting with Comrade Dovgalevsky he attempted to substitute the dis-

ussion of the most important points at issue, can only be understood in this sense. If Mr. Henderson had succeeded in gaining even partial concessions in this connection, he would naturally have been a hero in the eyes of all the imperialist world. But this hope proved as short-lived as a soap-bubble. Government circles in Great Britain appear only now to have recognised the fruitlessness of these expectations and now a fresh invitation is to hand, again only in regard to the formal question of procedure.

This does not mean that now all the rest will be plain sailing. It does not mean that no further obstacle will be placed in our way. One thing is certain: our directives in regard to our mutual relations with Great Britain remain unchanged. It is only after the re-establishment of normal diplomatic relations that negotiations can commence regarding the essential points at issue, regarding claims and counter-claims. This is the attitude we observed throughout the former period of our relations, and such is the basis upon which we have hitherto systematically established our international position and upon which we hope to continue to establish it in spite of the "manoeuvres" of the British and international bourgeoisie.

The fact that the first Labour Government in 1924 recognised the Soviet Union without any prior condition, whereas the present Government of the same MacDonald attempts to exercise a pressure on the Soviet Government even before the resumption of diplomatic relations, clearly shows the aggravation of the crucial international antagonism, the antagonism between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. Our chief task is and will continue to be that of unmasking the policy of all and every imperialist party and of revealing to all workers the line of the proletarian State in relation to the capitalist Powers. The fight for the resumption of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union merely helps us to unmask in the eyes of the masses, the thoroughly bourgeois policy of the Labour Party, a policy which becomes apparent wherever there is a question of defending the interests of capitalism, of the bourgeoisie, and protecting imperialist positions. The line of a truly revolutionary, proletarian international policy is coming to be more and more fully understood by the masses, and this enlightenment constitutes our foremost international task.

The dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway (in the East) and the struggle for the negotiations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain (in the West) are just those crucial points in international politics which most pronouncedly reveal the aggravation in the relations between the Soviet Union and the imperialist world, an aggravation which is the natural outcome of the development of the capitalist world in one direction and that of the Soviet Union in the other.

On "Stability" in the United States and "Prosperity" in the Soviet Union.

I shall now attempt to characterise the development of the capitalist countries, taking the United States as a typical example.

The United States of America is the most powerful and full-blooded capitalist country. It is therefore of particular importance to analyse the economic development of that land. In this connection I should like to make mention of a book which was published in the United States in May last. I refer to the report of the Government commission under the chairmanship of Herbert Hoover, now President of the United States. The committee in question, which counts among its members such well-known American politicians as Owen Young (creator of the famous Young Plan), William Green (chairman of the American Federation of Labor) and various leading bankers, professors, and lawyers, issued a report in two volumes on "Recent Economic Changes in the United States" (Graw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New-York, 1929) describing the economic development of the country from 1922 to the beginning of 1929. In view of the undoubted competence of the authors in regard to American economics, this book deserves to be translated into Russian immediately. In spite of serious shortcomings, such as are to be expected in such a typical product of bourgeois mentality, this book contains important material and is highly instructive.

I should like to deal shortly with the main inference of this book; first, however, I must acquaint you with part

its contents, particularly as regards two interesting tables contained therein.

These tables afford a survey of the economic position of 17 of the biggest countries, between 1919 and 1921 in the one table and between 1922 and 1927 in the other. The 17 countries, with the United States at their head, comprise all the more important capitalist states, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, China, India, and so on. There is also some mention of "Russia", naturally in the very last column. By means of such expressions as "revival", "depression", "decline", and "prosperity", these tables characterise the economic position of the countries in question in the various years and even half-years. The result is a very simple but interesting survey of the economic development of practically the whole world in the last few years. I need merely point out what is said of the Soviet Union. In the first table the corresponding columns of the years in question (1919, 1920, 1921) contain the short but expressive remark "depression". In the following years the aspect of things changes in the following way: 1922 "depression", "revival"; 1923 "revival", "decline"; 1924 "depression", "revival"; 1925 "prosperity", "decline"; 1926 "prosperity"; 1927 "prosperity". These tables show that it was only in regard to two other countries, Canada and Australia, that the committee felt justified in recognising a pronounced "prosperity" in 1926 and 1927. With reference to the United States, the tables report as follows for the last few years: 1925 "prosperity"; 1926 "prosperity", "slight decline"; 1927 "slight decline". For the years 1926 and 1927, therefore, the worthy committee of Messrs. Hoover & Co. was bound to recognise a "prosperity" in the Soviet Union such as did not even obtain in the United States. As regards a number of other countries, it is established that they experienced a regular depression during the years in question and in some cases also for a longer period. The above-mentioned "impartial" indications of the Hoover Committee in regard to the "prosperity" of the Soviet Union cannot but cause us a certain satisfaction, seeing that they come from the leaders of a Power so hostile to ourselves. We may well compare these admissions on the part of our enemies with the complaints of the Right in regard to "degradation".

But enough of this. Let me pass over to the main conclusion, at which the Hoover Committee arrives in the short report at the commencement of the book.

"Although we are living at a time of great economic activity and industrial productivity", says the report, "and have attained a stage of economic stability which must be considered very high, and although America has a very promising future before it — especially if we take into consideration the reorganisation necessitated in post-war times in all branches of economic life and the transfer from war to peace production — the present investigations nevertheless show up the fact that we shall not be able to maintain our economic advantages or hope fully to realise our economic future, if we do not consciously adopt the principle of stability and apply it sagaciously to all aspects of economy.")

A subsequent passage says:

"Our complicated economic machinery can produce, but if it is to produce uninterruptedly its stability must be observed. During the last few years stability was thoroughly maintained. We have not lost an undue number of working hours through strikes or lockouts. Until recently, the savings out of production were not employed for speculation. There was a stability among economic forces; no complete stability, but yet a stability which made it possible for the complicated machinery to work and to serve the interests of our people. It seemed we could advance with a growing degree of activity; we can, however, only do so provided we employ the technics of stability. The Committee is of opinion that the efficient work of economists, engineers, and statisticians who prepared the investigation upon which we base the present facts and inferences, will greatly benefit such technics.")

*) Translated from the Russian.

A more detailed occupation with the line of thought indicated would be advisable, but I shall merely limit me to the main thing, the consideration of the problem of "stability". This theory of "stability", of the "principle of stability" or the "technics of stability" deserves a great deal of attention. The committee of bankers, bourgeois professors, and imperialist politicians proves most convincingly that under existing circumstances the economic advantages of the United States cannot be maintained, if the principle of stability is not consciously applied and skillfully employed in all spheres of economic life. It is yet more interesting to see how the committee approaches the task of practically realising the principle of stability. It represents the matter as if all that is necessary is the application of "technics of stability". The committee expresses the hope that the "thorough work of the economists, engineers, and statisticians" employed in preparing the map worked up by the committee, "will benefit these technics". The committee hopes that the economists, engineers, and statisticians of the United States will so elaborate the "technics of stability" required by American capitalism that the United States will be able to continue along the paths of capitalist "prosperity". It is not difficult to perceive, however, that this thin veil of phrases regarding the "technics of stability" serves to hide the very real fear of the American bankers, capitalists, and bourgeois politicians regarding the destiny of American capitalism. Their hopes of attaining an economic stability in the capitalism of the epoch of finance-capital do not tranquillise them. It is not without reason that the report is couched in very moderate terms. The dream of economic stability under the rule of capitalism must needs be dispersed as soon as ever it comes into contact with actual life. For ultimately it coincides with the idea of "organised capitalism", a thing which never existed and never can exist on earth. The hopes and vacillations of bankers and bourgeois politicians in regard to the question of economic stability merely stresses the fact that capitalism has outlived its time and that there can be no one real solution and true realisation of the principle of stability, the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of a systematic Socialist economy. The dream of working out some "technics of stability" is nothing but an empty illusion. The systematic economy under conditions of capitalist anarchy which is constantly aggravating the contradiction between the growth of productive forces on the one hand and backward society on the other, in which the masses are constantly forced down to a lower level as regards their material and cultural conditions. The fact that the Soviet Union has now for seven years successfully realised the economic plans it set itself that we are now proceeding to realise the "Five-Year Plan" must cause the ruling classes of the bourgeoisie to despair, master and organise capitalist anarchy. The conclusions of the Hoover Committee prove, for all their vagueness, their contradictions, and their obvious helplessness, that capitalism is incapable of actually realising economic stability. These expatiations of Messrs. Hoover, Young, Green, and others, show very clearly that the capitalist world is getting more and more entangled in its own contradictions; that the crisis of capitalism is getting more and more acute, and that capitalism can see no way out of the difficulty and is steering towards its complete annihilation. Meanwhile the Soviet Union, the country engaged in building up Socialism, is being successfully reconstructed on the basis of a systematic Socialist economy. This is confirmed by the report of the Hoover Committee, thus arriving at the same fundamental conclusion as the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the development of capitalism.

The growth of contradictions in the system of capitalism has been proceeding more and more rapidly of late years. At the present time the accentuation of class differences in the world has reached dimensions which induce us to recognise that there is a new revolutionary upsurge in the workers' movement of the capitalist countries and also of the colonies where the forces of the revolutionary emancipation fight against imperialism are growing. This was established beyond doubt by the last plenary session of the E. C. C. I.

(Comrade Molotov deals with the question of the growth of class antagonisms in the bourgeois countries; he speaks of the deterioration in the economic position of the working class and of the growth of the resistance offered by the workers to the offensive of the capitalists, also in the colonies. By me-

concrete examples the speaker illustrates the fact that the revolutionary tendency in the Labour movement has a distinctly international character. He then proceeds to appraise the rôle played by the Social Democracy.)

The Rôle of the Social Democracy.

Under these circumstances the Social Democracy is turning more and more obviously into an instrument of imperialism. This fact is confirmed by the accession to office in Germany of a coalition of parties representing the Second International. Regardless of the fact that the German Social-Democrats possess more than one third of the total number of seats in the Reichstag, while the Labour Party holds less than half the seats in the House of Commons, the German Government has more than a year been presided over by a Social-Democrat, and in Great Britain the bourgeois parties, possessing a majority of seats, suffer a Labour Government under MacDonald. Obviously, the bourgeoisie has reason to trust the Social-Democratic parties as the German Social-Democrats and the British Labour Party. At the present juncture it is in the interests of the bourgeoisie to appear before the masses under the mask of a "Labour", of a "Democratic" or "pacifist" rule. The bourgeoisie is not afraid of Socialists of the Müller stamp. It needs such men for the purpose of casting pacifist sand in the eyes of the workers.

Of late there has been an increase in the number of pacifist projects, which have been rendered popular by the imperialist press. By such means they seek to mask their preparations for new imperialist wars and for intervention against the Soviet Union. In this sense the French Government under M. Briand is perhaps the most active of all. Briand's plan of the United States of Europe obviously aims at outbidding the pacifist intentions of the Social-Democrats ruling in Great Britain and Germany. In reality this plan is nothing but an imperialist programme of the most powerful capitalist State on the European Continent, the purpose of which is to set up a barrier against American competition and to realise a united front of European imperialists against the Soviet Union. But the results of the Hague have sufficed to show how impossible it is for the imperialists to bridge the differences existing between them. The Hague Conference, engaged in the revision of the so-called Young Plan, is a typical characteristic of the impotence of the imperialists, who are unable to get over the growing contradictions of capitalist development. Almost all the governments participating in the conference interpret its outcome in a sense favourable to themselves. A tremendous fuss has been made over the miserable "victory" of Snowden, who, by bringing pressure to bear on other countries, managed to secure an additional 36 million marks for Great Britain. This "success" earned Snowden and the entire MacDonald Government the praise of the whole British bourgeoisie. The Chancellor of the Exchequer of the "Labour" Government may really be said to have done his best for his bourgeoisie. At bottom this "victory" is not worth anything much, entailing as it does fresh difficulties for the MacDonald Government. The "Temps" had good reason to point out that "Great Britain is risking the occurrence of serious difficulties for its policy if the state of affairs established by Snowden leads to a liquidation of amicable relations." Snowden's "success" at the Hague must needs lead to a certain redistribution of forces in the imperialist camp, a fact which undermines the general inconstancy of mutual relations among the imperialist Powers of Europe, not to speak of their relations with imperialist interests in other parts of the world. Obviously the results of the "victory" at the Hague may be tangibly felt in the pockets of London bankers. But such a "victory" can by no means create the presumptions for even a small improvement in the position of the British workers.

The parties of the Second International which are in power in Great Britain and Germany are doing nothing at all for the improvement of the workers' lot. At the same time they are being used by the bourgeoisie as cat's paws for a further offensive against the workers and for the development of fascist tactics in the fight against the proletariat. An example of this is the deterioration of legislation regarding national insurance in Germany, put through by the Social-Democratic leader Wissell. At a slightly earlier date, Zörgiebel, Berlin's

Socialist chief of police, organised a massacre among the workers which earned the praise even of the Fascists. The Social-Democrats are proceeding rapidly along the path of fascistisation.

Even in Austria, the so-called "Left" Social-Democrats maintain a kind of semi-alliance with the Fascists. At the moment when the Fascists are actively working for the overthrow of the constitution, the "Left" Social-Democrats under the guidance of Otto Bauer have nothing better to do than to enter into the discussion of a "mutual disarmament" of workers and Fascists. The latter naturally profit by the delay for the purpose of continuing their armaments. Such is the policy of the Social-Democrats, who are clearing the way for a Fascist coup. Such a policy cannot but arouse the increasing indignation of the working masses. The utter collapse of the Social-Democratic policy is more and more imminent.

(Comrade Molotov proceeds to characterise the situation in the Comintern and its individual sections, therewith terminating the first part of his report on the international situation.)

POLITICS

The Nationalist Bomb Throwers and their Allies.

By Werner Hirsch (Berlin).

Infernal machines and bomb attacks — in all, fourteen conspiracies of national-Fascist organisations — have during the last few weeks and months been keeping the German public in a state of alarm. While in Austria the Fascist "Heimwehr" formations have gone over to methods of pronounced civil war and are co-operating with the Government and with the forces of the capitalist State apparatus in preparation of a political coup, the Fascists of Germany have not been idle either.

Immediately after the first bombing attempts of the national-Fascists the Communist Party of Germany pointed out to the masses of the working class where the culprits were to be found. The press of the C. P. G., led by the "Rote Fahne", in vehement words showed up the inactivity of the authorities, who did not take the least trouble to put a stop to the pranks of the conspirators and incendiaries. It was only the incriminating and fully substantiated accusations of the Communists that finally induced the police to arrest a small number of perpetrators, seeing that a failure to pursue and arrest the obvious culprits would have harmed the prestige of the police too greatly. But even now that steps have finally been taken against the long-denounced clique of conspirators after the fourteenth instance of attempted crime, the police investigations draw the line at the culprits, the wire pullers and instigators of the bombers, with quite particular reference to the spiritus rector of the radical, national-Fascist bands in connection with the German army.

Already in the first stage of the bomb scandal, the "Rote Fahne" pointed out that there must obviously be connections between the bomb throwers and certain circles of the army. The only answer of the German Republican authorities to this serious charge was the fatuous announcement that the War Office would prosecute the "Rote Fahne" and another publication that had made a similar statement, which means that a lawsuit would be started for the purpose of suppressing these awkward accusations.

About a week later, the central organ of the Communist Party opened fire with the disclosures it directed against the War Office. Day after day documentary evidence was published in proof of the close connections existing between all circles of the army, from the supreme command down to the lowest military authorities, and the radical Right cliques in the Fascist camp.

The bombardment began with the publication of a letter in which the former first-lieutenant Weschke, one of the avowed conspirators who had been arrested, had received from a certain Lieutenant Jaeschke of the standing army, in which the latter solicited an interview with the conspirator. The meeting in question was to take place, so the writer requested, in the army quarters of the 6th regiment of infantry at Lübeck, in the room of a certain Major Tiedemann. This letter alone would have sufficed to refute the War Office's attempts at denial.

in regard to a connection between the army and the bombers. But besides this the "Rote Fahne" was in position to prove that the conspirator Weschke had paid more than one visit to the officers' casino at Lübeck.

At the same time the central organ of the Communist Party published a further sensational letter, addressed by Baron von Gaza, a notorious monarchist and a leader of the Right-radical agrarians, to Major-General von Hammerstein, chief of the "troop" department of the German army. This letter contained neither more nor less than the pronounced request that the general in question place himself at the service of the endeavours towards bringing about a "dictatorship of generals" in Germany, and recommend a member of the army fitted for the office of dictator, in which connection it was hinted that possibly von Hammerstein himself might be best suited for this position.

There followed the reproduction, accompanied by a photographic facsimile, of a further letter, again addressed to General von Hammerstein. This was written by Baron von Eckardstein-Prötzel, formerly of the German general staff and now a prominent agrarian, and treated of a mysterious "Hirschmann Association". From the letter it appeared that the officers forming this association were engaged in tasks of a military-strategic nature, so-called "applied tactics". The "Rote Fahne" came to the conclusion that it could only be a question of military and technical plans for war or civil war, pointing in the same direction as the political programme of dictatorship mentioned by the Fascist Baron von Gaza in his communication to General von Hammerstein.

In following up its campaign of disclosures, the "Rote Fahne" now announces that its accusations also extend to General von Heye, the head of the German army, though the main responsibility for the army scandal must lie at the door of War Minister Groener, the colleague of Social Democrats like Hermann Müller and Severing.

As a matter of fact this suspicion that Minister of War Groener should have favoured the connection between the army and Right-radical national-Fascists, could not but be substantiated by the Minister's own acts, for from the moment of his first denials and his threats against the "Rote Fahne", Groener continued to attempt an exculpation of the culprits.

As regards the attitude of General von Hammerstein, the War Office states that the general in question received a letter from von Gaza but destroyed it unanswered. In contradiction of this, even the bourgeois press affirms that either von Hammerstein's explanation was mendacious or more than one letter of this kind must have been addressed to the general, seeing that it would have been impossible for the "Rote Fahne" to photograph the letter in question if it had been destroyed. A still more grotesque explanation was given by the Ministry in regard to the "Hirschmann association", which, so the public was told, was a society for the breeding of dogs for sport purpose.

Finally, the German War Minister declared roundly that in future the War Office would simply refuse to vouchsafe an answer to the publication of letters and documents obviously "stolen" from the army. This declaration, an undeniable admission of guilt, even upset some of the bourgeois papers considerably.

Thus the campaign of disclosures directed by the Communist Party and the "Rote Fahne" against the German army commanders may be looked upon as a very decided blow to German militarism and military armaments. In the eyes of the workers the connections between the forces of the capitalist State apparatus and the Fascists is very clearly manifest. Besides this, the disclosures reveal the miserable and cowardly rôle played by the Social Democrats, who have answered the increased activity of the Fascists merely by an increase of their own social-Fascist policy, thus proving their collusion with national-Fascism.

The one and only force which is willing and able to take up the fight against the Fascist danger, the bourgeois plans of dictatorship, and the subservience of the Social-Democratic lackeys, is the Communist Party of Germany. The Communist fraction in Parliament will broach the subject of the bomb attacks and the army scandal from the Parliamentary platform too, so that the masses may be further aroused for the fight against imperialism and Fascism.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Anti-Communist Pogrom and the Heroic Fight of the C. P. of Yugoslavia.

(A Letter from the Yugoslav Frontier.)

Shortly before the 1st of May, in the night between the 24th and 25th, our comrades **Giuro Diakovitch**, candidate of the E. C. C. I. and organisational secretary of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, and **Niko Hetchimovitch**, secretary of the Yugoslav Red Aid, were foully murdered. Both of these comrades had been arrested at Zagreb on April 20th at 8 o'clock in the evening. Immediately after their arrival at the police-station they were brutally beaten. It has been established that the very day Comrade Diakovitch could not stand on his feet, two of which were completely lacerated through the torture he had undergone. He was dragged up the stairs to his cross-examination by two constables, who were obliged to support him by his elbows all the time he was being examined. Needles were inserted underneath his nails; a piece of iron was placed in his mouth and hammered upon until his teeth all broke; pencils were pressed between his fingers and the finger-tips pressed together and bound, a particularly atrocious form of torture, wrenching the bones of the hand.

The whole of his body was beaten with sacks filled with sand. After this terrible treatment Comrade Diakovitch was thrown into irons together with Comrade Hetchimovitch and escorted by gendarmes to the Austrian frontier, where both of them were murdered. The police report states that they were shot while trying to escape, but the judicial commission has established that both the prisoners were shot from in front at close range with revolvers. The same commission affirmed that both were also greatly injured by maltreatment, that they would have succumbed in a short time even without being shot.

Before August 1st five comrades were murdered, three of them at Samobor near Zagreb and two at Sarajevo. Those murdered at Samobor were Comrade **Janko Misitch** and his brothers **Oreski**. According to the police report, they are supposed to have been killed in fighting with the gendarmes who surrounded their dwelling-place. There is, however, also the possibility — or probability, in view of the position of the victims and of the testimony of a workman — that gendarmes made their way into the house and shot them out of hand.

At Sarajevo, Comrade **Barun**, a metal-worker in the workshop and secretary of the district committee of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, was arrested at his lathe at half past five on June 29th; at half past eleven the same night he was shot. The next day a great flagration broke out in the workshop, causing damage to the value of 10 million dinars. The Government is of opinion that this fire represented an act of protest on the part of the workers at the assassination of Barun.

Among some 500 workers arrested in the district of Sarajevo prior to August 1st, there was also a writer named **Han Cengitch**, who was not a member of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, but who had severely criticised the dictatorship. For this reason he too was assassinated. The police assert that he committed suicide by jumping from a window on the 4th floor.

The murders detailed above are by no means all that the dictatorship has perpetrated.

At Mostar, the tailor **B. Finzi** was arrested on the 24th (by the chief-of-police at Sarajevo) of having printed Communist handbills. He died under torture, and the police laid the blame on the rails of the Mostar-Sarajevo line, so that it should be over and the traces of torture obliterated. The police report stated simply: "Run over in trying to escape".

At Belgrade on August 25th, **Dr. Nesitch**, general-secretary of the Government Red Cross and member of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, was arrested and murdered the same night. The Yugoslav police spread the account abroad that he had committed suicide by jumping out of a window of the 4th floor of the police headquarters. To understand the full cynicism of this report it should be known that the Belgrade police headquarters have no 4th floor, being a one-story building.

In this campaign of the dictatorship against the working masses the Russian White Guards play an important rôle. It is they who originally organised the Yugoslav "Ochraha" (or department for defence of the realm), and thus they conduct, both politically and organisationally, the entire campaign against the workers, peasants, and oppressed non-Serb nationalities, and particularly against the C.P. of Yugoslavia. The White Guards are the truest henchmen of the Yugoslav dictatorship. They are employed in the most important police offices as specialists for the inquisition and murder of imprisoned proletarians. **Nikolski**, formerly belonging to the Tsarist Ochraha, is the most influential and most "experienced" man at the Belgrade police headquarters, an expert in inquisition and murder. In 1926, he was mainly the instrument in breaking both legs and the spine of Comrade **Anko Vulc**, whose body was thereupon sunk in the Danube.

Above all, Macedonia and the Vojvodina are the provinces where the White Guards develop their main activity of torture and assassination. The frontier police in those parts consists to a large per cent. of such reliable servants of the dictatorship, and where the murder of Macedonian peasants is a daily occurrence. The massacre of Macedonian peasants, which was one of the most heinous acts of the dictatorship, was effected by White Guards and their Serb partisans.

So as to be able to hold out longer against the workers and peasants, the dictators have greatly elaborated their espionage and gendarme service. In Zagreb, e. g., the number of police constables was trebled, added to which special detachments of gendarmes were attached to the police.

In connection with their plan of a physical extermination of the Communists with a view to destroying the C.P.Y., the dictators seek to smuggle their provocateurs into the Party. In this connection the conditions have been promised great rewards.

It is well known that the police will pay as much as 50,000 dinars for the betrayal of members of the C.C. of the C.P.Y. The police frequently warns citizens not to grant any housing accommodation to Communists. Those who transgress this order are punished with five years of hard labour. In practice, things are still worse, as was to be seen in the case of Dr. Nesitch, who was murdered on the mere suspicion of having placed his name at the disposal of Communist meetings.

As regards the number of the prisoners, it must be admitted that it is impossible to furnish exact numbers, firstly because the arrests are made frequently and wholesale and secondly because the police refuse to give any information as to the number or names of their prisoners. For this purpose the prisoners are registered under wrong names. Upon the establishment of the dictatorship, more than 15,000 were sent to prison; at present the total number of prisoners is certainly not less than 6000.

As a rule, no news can be received from the prisoners. They may not procure any extra rations to supplement the dry bread they receive. The amount of bread allowed per prisoner was recently curtailed, so that the prisoners are actually starving.

The majority of the arrestees are flogged. Many of our comrades have died under blows and torture, among them Comrade **Larganovitch**, who was arrested last March and died from the effects of torture in the police jail four and a half months later. At the post mortem examination it had to be admitted that he had been given seven deadly blows with a blunt object.

But in spite of all its terrorism, the dictatorship has not succeeded in destroying the C.P.Y. or in stifling the revolutionary fight of the working masses and oppressed nationalities. On the contrary. All the problems the dictator hopes to solve through the violence of the White Guards, are at present more acute than ever, the economic crisis, the national crisis, the agrarian crisis, and the general State crisis. In the near future Yugoslavia may expect a great increase in the revolutionary fight of the workers and peasants. The imminence of this revolutionary wave may be seen in the recent spontaneous strikes with their economic and political demands. The C.P.Y. is conducting its fight in the direction of an armed revolt and of the establishment of a workers' and peasants government.

FASCISM

Woldemaras' Resignation.

By A. Draugas (Kovno).

The tyrannical **Woldemaras**, the Lithuanian "Duce" who has just resigned, cannot claim to have been the one to introduce "white terror" into Lithuania. The system of brutal oppression practised on the workers was merely brought by him to the highest perfection.

The Lithuanian State, a creation of the German imperial generals in 1918, has from the very beginning been characterised by reactionary and arbitrary rule. Irrespective of what government happened to be in power, whether the clerical bloc of the Christian Democrats or the Left Government of the Popular "Socialists" and Social-Democrats, the broad masses of workers and peasants have had to suffer under a preposterously severe oppression. Governments came and went — only the notorious **Zwalgys**, a worthy successor of the Ochraha, remained and continues to act as the almighty executive instrument of the landlords and capitalists. The class-conscious workers, with their political organisations and newspapers, were from the first relegated to a state of illegality and made the victims of espionage and persecution. Mass trials and terrorist verdicts of class justice were even then the order of the day. Such were the government methods of the clerical and "Socialist" forerunners of Fascist dictatorship, practising white terrorism under the cloak of bourgeois democracy.

Woldemaras discarded this hypocritical mask. In imitation of his master, Mussolini, whose achievements he was soon to outdo, he openly and cynically proclaimed Fascist dictatorship and put it into brutal execution. The military dictatorship, which set in after the "putsch" of December 17th, 1926, immediately proceeded with the greatest severity and on a broad scale against the working class.

The workers' publications were all prohibited; the trade unions were dissolved; arrests began to take place on a large scale.

On December 20th, 1926, numerous trade union leaders of the Opposition were arrested, and on the following day 480 Communists were imprisoned at Kovno alone.

The drumhead courts-martial, which permit of no defence and no appeal, and at which the lives of the accused are at the mercy of the generals, began their sanguinary activity. On December 27th, the first death-sentences (on K. Tchemy, K. Gedris, J. Greifenberger (Victor), and K. Pozella) were carried out. In the course of the first eleven months of the Woldemaras regime, 70 death-sentences were passed, 20 of them being put into execution and the others commuted into lifelong imprisonment. The pretext for these sentences was the "attempts" on the life of the dictator and "conspiracies" against the Fascist State, which occurred with remarkable mathematical precision about once a week for years. These provocative measures were exaggerated to a grotesque degree, and even the bourgeois press of foreign countries ("Frankfurter Zeitung", "Berliner Tageblatt", "Manchester Guardian") has frequently pointed out that these so-called attempts and conspiracies were merely an excuse for, and an attempt to justify, the bloody regime.

The system of espionage and provocation has been made the very basis of the government policy in Lithuania. The Zwalgys rages more unscrupulously than ever. A few words of criticism may entail interment in a concentration camp. If some one is found to be in possession of a forbidden publication, he may be sent to prison for from three to five years, and if the Zwalgys succeeds in discovering several such publications, which as likely as not have been purposely smuggled into the abode of the prospective victim, the latter may end his days in jail. In September 1927, three German Communists, **Pöls**, **Schmidt**, and **Sakaitkis**, who had distributed literature in the Memel district, were removed to Kovno and there sentenced to nine or three years' jail, respectively. The prisons are crowded with workers and intellectuals, charged with "crimes" of a similar sort.

The prison regime is unbearable. The prisoners are subjected to the most brutal ill-treatment, not only at the cross-examinations immediately after their arrest but also later. In

the torture chambers of the Zwalgyba, the mediaeval brutality of primitive peasants is combined with the scientific ingenuity of up-to-date methods of torture. Thus it is hoped to extract "confessions". Brutal beatings and electrical currents have driven many prisoners mad. The violation of women is a daily occurrence. Frequently massacres are instituted. The sanitary conditions in the prisons and concentration camps defy all description. Any attempt at communication with the outer world is rigorously punished. The political prisoners are condemned to physical and mental destruction.

Thus Lithuania has apparently become a charnel-house under Woldemaras' rule. "Apparently" — for still the raging of the Fascist hordes has not succeeded in exterminating the labour movement. White terrorism is sounding its own death-knell. Again and again, every 1st of May and 1st of August, on the international Youth Day, the tyrants learn afresh that even in Lithuania the workers' movement is not to be killed.

In the first three months of 1929, the following obviously incomplete figures became known in regard to the effects of White terrorism and class justice:

1 murder, 30 cases of acute torture, 20 trials with an aggregate sentence of 290 years, and 2088 days of hunger-strike in the prisons.

In the course of the year the terrorism increased tremendously. The number of death-sentences grew alarmingly; the hangmen were fully occupied. And from the prisons come the most heart-rending reports of the brutality of the police.

Woldemaras has resigned — the Fascist dictatorship remains. "Lietuvos Aidas", the semi-official organ of the autocratic government, hastened to remark on September 20th that "there could be no question of a change of directives". White terror continues to reign in Lithuania.

Thus the working masses in Lithuania are still faced with the task of a revolutionary fight to the finish against this brutal regime. It is up to the international working class to prove their active proletarian solidarity with the workers of Lithuania.

THE BALKANS

The Self-Extermination in the Camp of the Macedonian Fascists.

The Murder of George Bashdaroff at Varna.

By Ivanov (Bulgaria).

After the murder of General Protogeroff on July 7th, 1928 by the hand of his former friend Ivan Michailoff, the so-called I. M. R. O. (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation) split up into two mutually hostile sections. The one party has since then been led by Ivan Michailoff, while the other was until recently headed by Georg Bashdaroff, who is known to have been the most determined and most influential friend of Protogeroff and now to be the deadliest enemy of his murderer, Michailoff. Now Bashdaroff, too, has gone, having been shot by Michailoff's terrorists in the street at Varna (Bulgaria) on the 18th of September.

Without doubt, this murder will only tend to enhance the crisis within the I. M. R. O. The question naturally arises as to the underlying reason of this acute crisis, which leads to so many murders of prominent leaders of the organisation.

The main reason is to be found in the character and ideology of the organisation. The founder of the present-day I. M. R. O. was Todor Alexandroff, who was murdered in 1924 at the instigation of Protogeroff. The old I. M. R. O., which prior to the Balkan wars comprised the great majority of the Macedonian population, fought against the absolute rule of the Turkish Sultan and against the economic exploitation practised by the beys and pachas. In this fight it relied on the revolutionary force of the oppressed Macedonian peasants. It was completely independent of outside factors and was directed, by means of revolutionary fight against the Sultan's tyranny and the imperialist aspirations of the Balkan governments, towards the establishment of an autonomous Macedonia.

After the European war, Alexandroff founded a new I. M. R. O., which coincided merely in name with the old I. M. R. O. of the Macedonian people. True, officially it set itself a noble aim, the autonomy of Macedonia. But in reality this was and

is only a cloak, behind which the irredentist endeavours of the Great-Bulgarians are at work. Thus the new I. M. R. O. Alexandroff became an instrument of the "revenge policy" of the Bulgarian Governments and wholly lost all social and political ties with the broad masses of the Macedonian people. And thus, without being socially or politically rooted in the Macedonian people, the new I. M. R. O. came to play the part of a band of terrorists, which in the course of the last few years did away with more than 1000 Macedonians in Bulgaria until at length its leaders started rend one another.

The motive for these final quarrels, divisions and sanguinary feuds in the present I. M. R. O. did not lie in any deep-rooted differences but merely reflected the intrigues and rivalries within the government party in Bulgaria, or rather between its two wings, led by Liaptcheff and General Vrabco on the one hand and by Zankoff and General Russeff on the other. The fights within the Fascist I. M. R. O. are merely but a reflection of the fights within the Bulgarian government party. It is a well-known fact that the assassination of Protogeroff — stated by Michailoff to have been out of revenge for that of Alexandroff — was in reality a blow at the Zankoff-Russeff group, which just at that moment intended to depose the Liaptcheff group by means of a fresh military "putsch". The latest murder, that of the new leader of the Protogeroff group, again underlines the ascendancy of the Liaptcheff group over that of Zankoff, though it naturally does not mean that the fight is at an end. On the contrary, the fight is growing in intensity. We may expect not only a further succession of murders among the leaders of the Fascist I. M. R. O., but also an aggravation of the crisis within the Bulgarian government party the results of which cannot be foreseen.

As regards the fight for the emancipation of the oppressed Macedonian people, however, it continues to gain ground. Its champion is the so-called "United I. M. R. O.", which has inherited the revolutionary traditions, ideology, and experience of the original formation. It is the true successor of the old I. M. R. O., which in 1903 organised and carried out the great rebellion in Macedonia. The basis of the United I. M. R. O. is in Macedonia and its aim is an independent Macedonian part of a Balkan Federation. Its tactics lie in the direction of a fight of the masses on a united front with the aid of national and social revolutionary forces in the Balkan Peninsula. Though it only came into being in 1925, it already commands the best elements of the Macedonian movement and enjoys the full confidence of the broad masses in Macedonia.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Trade Union Congresses and the Struggle against Reformism.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The two French trade union federations, the revolutionary C. G. T. U. and the reformist C. G. T., simultaneously held their congresses in Paris in the week between September 15th and 22nd. This temporal coincidence of the two congresses only served to show up the abyss dividing the two organisations. When by order of the Home Office the Prefect of the Seine Department brusquely refused the C. G. T. U. the requisite public premises and gave orders in this sense to the communal authorities in the suburbs, the C. G. T. had everything placed at its disposal in a roomy municipal building, post and telegraph staffs, the finest halls of the borough hall of the 11th Paris precinct, etc. While on the first evening of the revolutionary congress M. Mousseau, general secretary of the C. G. T. U., who has been working for two years in a state of illegality, was arrested, Jouhaux was in position to tell his delegates that he might possibly be appointed Minister in a bourgeois government.

The economic and political situation makes these differences altogether comprehensible. The French capitalists see with concern the increasing restriction of the markets of their full-blooded industry. They experience a growing anxiety in view of the movement among the peasantry resulting from the disastrous price-slump in grain. For the French capitalists it is an absolute necessity that the intensity of the working output be enhanced, the increasing wage-movement broken, and the war-preparations accelerated by means of a persecution of growing severity. To fulfill this task, which grows more and more difficult in view

the spreading activity of the masses and of the agitation of the Party against war, the Government must broaden its Parliamentary basis and assume the aspect of a broader concentration of an orientation decidedly more towards the "Left". The movement, which has taken hold of the reformist organisations of late, and the defection of old functionaries of the Socialist Party, who have joined our ranks, threaten to overstep the narrow limits of a merely superficial opposition in the Socialist Party and the C. G. T. In view of growing difficulties within and without, it is therefore to the advantage of the Socialists to recruit the aid of "Left" elements, such as Paul Bour and Jouhaux, who are thus afforded a better possibility of damping down the revolutionary ardour of the masses guiding it into peaceful channels.

At the same time it is obvious that the prospects of the working class capitalists and their Fascist policy towards the Communist Party are engendering twofold results. On the one hand our influence among the most exploited classes is increasing, in the same degree as they recognise the political purport of their electoral movement. It is no mere matter of chance that of late we have seen 13 strikes of workers belonging to reformist organisations and that the reformist dock-workers' union of London, which was deserted by the union leaders in the midst of the strike, has joined the C. G. T. U. On the other hand, the prospect of increasingly serious fights and of redoubled persecution is having a demoralising effect in our ranks and particularly among our old and bureaucratic trade union functionaries in the form of dangerous opportunist tendencies. This explains why the Congress of the C. G. T. U. was characterised by a hard struggle between the Communists and a whole number of reformist tendencies, which were ideologically crushed by a great preponderance of the latter. Hence there resulted the line of the C. G. T. Congress, the policy of a timid minority with very vague ideas as to the process of development of the working masses, by an extremely eloquent but empty of pacific platitudes and of class co-operation culminating in participation in the Government.

The Congress of the C. G. T. U. was occupied for almost ten days out of seven with a very exhaustive debate on the report of the executive committee, the main matter of discussion being pronounced revolutionary orientation of the entire organisation as an alternative, what the representative of the R. I. L. U. in his speech called "immersion in the reformist swamp". There were speeches by various functionaries, some of them in very favourable positions (e. g. the secretaries of the dock workers and foodstuff workers); almost all of them had been expelled from the Party, some long ago, others only a few days back; all more or less developed the political platform of the moderate trade-union league. Their chief expatiations tended to view that capitalism was in fullest bloom and might look forward to another forty years of stabilisation, that there was no imminent danger of war, and that the radicalisation of the masses was a mere invention. They were merely obstinate, for which no reliance should be placed on the unorganised workers whose favour was being courted so markedly. The connection between the C. P. and the C. G. T. U. was leading the latter into a policy of adventure which might easily entail a state of illegality. If legality was to be maintained, the connection with the C. P. must be broken off and the C. G. T. U. must virtually capitulate to the Government.

Obviously, an undiluted reformist and anti-Communist conclusion. One of the most essential results of the Congress consisted in the fact that it compelled the minority, by means of a thorough discussion, to assume a counter-revolutionary attitude of so pronounced a nature as has so far only been proclaimed by a Party like the Trotsky trade-union league ("generals without armies", naturally). The minority had to show itself in its true colours, which it had often concealed beneath a criticism of our matters. Thus it came about that some misguided individuals, who recognised in the course of the debate whither the current of their opinions was leading them, joined the Communists during the session of the Congress. It is therefore certain that we have managed to separate the greater part of the misled workers from the minority which has elected to adopt a reactionary platform of the anarcho-reformists.

The result of this great discussion is that 943 trade unions with 1512 votes approved the report and the resolution of the Communist majority regarding the orientation of the C. G. T. U., while the various oppositional minorities had 148 trade unions with 214 votes on their side. These figures afford no exact idea

of the proportion of forces, since there was also a certain number of "centrist" or conciliatory elements, who are in general members of the Party and who did not dare, by reason of fractional discipline, to act overtly; with them we shall still have to carry on the fight. This refers, for instance, to the functionaries of the teachers' union, at whose last congress in August a very ambiguous policy and bad opportunist tendencies were noticeable, as is always the case with conciliators. In any case the outcome of the Congress marks an important stage in the transposition of the Party and in the development of the French workers' movement. (To be Concluded.)

TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The International Significance of the Twelfth Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution.

By Paul Reimann.

The sections of the Communist International are at present confronted with the task of utilising the approaching anniversary of the October Revolution to mobilise the working masses on a larger scale for the defence of the Soviet Union, of the socialist fatherland of the toilers of the whole world. In view of the general international situation, this task is of paramount significance especially this year. The organisation of this campaign within the next few weeks must therefore engage the chief attention of all Communist parties.

The character of the October campaign is, on the one hand, marked by the tremendous progress of the first Workers State in regard to socialist development; on the other hand, by the most recent signs of the sharpening of the attack of the imperialist world on the Soviet Union.

It is already certain that the new forms of the socialist construction, in connection with the execution of the Five-Year Plan, are attracting the attention of the broadest masses. This fact is all the more important because the campaign of most Communist Parties for the popularisation of the Five-Year Plan is extraordinarily weak and in most cases is not of a systematic character. In spite of this position it is apparent that the interest of the masses for the problems of socialist development is growing tremendously in all countries, so that even the bourgeois press is compelled to treat these questions seriously.

At the present time the superiority of socialist economy over capitalist economy is becoming very apparent. This is not due entirely to the figures concerning the rate of socialist development, which figures could not be attained in a capitalist country, but to the fact that it is possible to give such precise figures with real practical significance in regard to economic plans for a territory which comprises a sixth of the globe. At the end of the first year of the Five-Year Plan it was clear that these figures were not only of thoroughly real character but that it is even possible to surpass them. Immediately before the twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution, the C. P. S. U. is in a position to consider the question of curtailing the periods provided for the Five-Year Plan.

The chief explanation of the circumstance that in the very first year the figures provided were exceeded is the tremendous development of mass initiative through socialist construction. In the process of realising the Five Year Plan there arise in the Soviet Union new forms of engaging the broad masses of the proletariat on the front of construction. The most important basis of the development of mass initiative is socialist competition which, carried on on the largest scale, has already shown the best results. In addition, there arise out of the masses such organisations as the Comsomol Brigades, which in the individual factories have set themselves the task of leading by means of their own example the fight for the improvement of Labour discipline and for the promotion of the productivity of the individual factories. The initiative of the

masses is also proved by the carrying out of the Industrialisation Day on August 6th and also by the willingness of the Soviet proletariat to undertake an uninterrupted working week, which in the very shortest time will cause a tremendous acceleration of socialist construction. In the country districts new kinds of farms are arising. In place of the little peasant farms are to be seen big agricultural enterprises, which are of the type of grain factories. These big State agricultural enterprises surpass even the most advanced forms of agriculture in the capitalist countries. The contrast between industry and agriculture, so characteristic of the whole development of capitalist economy, is beginning to disappear in the Soviet Union. To awaken understanding for the tremendous historic significance of this process of transition in the Soviet Union, to urge on the masses of the world proletariat through this magnificent example, is one of the chief tasks of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries. This task must be taken in hand in the preparation and execution of the campaign for the twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution.

The twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution cannot, however, in the capitalist countries be exclusively a day of propagation of the basic idea of socialist construction, but this propaganda must be inseparably linked up with the development of the international solidarity of the toiling masses for the Soviet Union. It must be made clear to the masses of the capitalist countries that the fight for the revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union, the fight for the destruction of the imperialist attacking front, which to-day more than ever is coming under the leadership of the parties of the Second International, is the most important guarantee for the further advancement of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The twelfth anniversary must therefore be regarded as a **continuation and enhancement of the campaign for August 1st, the first big, uniformly conducted international campaign of the Communist Parties against imperialist war.** The solidarity of the world proletariat with the Soviet Union must find expression in breaking through the police terror in the capitalist countries, in the fight of the Communist Parties for the capture of the streets, in extension of the proletarian united front through the creation of new organs of the united front from below, of anti-war committees, anti-Fascist committees, training of proletarian self-defence corps, etc.

The development of new forms of socialist construction must proceed parallel with the new forms of the fight of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, which under the perspective of the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship must concentrate more than ever upon the present main strategic objective of the Comintern, upon the capture of the majority of the working class. To-day, in the time of development of a new revolutionary revival among the masses, the way to capture the majority of the working class is the way of conscious leadership of the workers' struggles. Upon this fundamental idea depends that turn emphasised by the 10th Plenary Session, whereby the Communist Parties must gain the leadership in this new revolutionary upsurge. This is possible only if the Communist Parties continue the practical turn in the campaign for the 12th anniversary, if this campaign relies more than previous ones upon the factories and converts them into a base for the fight for the aims of Communism. In the campaign for the 12th anniversary, it is the duty of every individual section of the Communist International to study the problems of the tactical turn in accordance with the situation in the country in question and to apply it in the light of the experience gathered by the Communist Parties in the campaign of August 1st.

In this direction new perspectives are being opened to the Communist Parties through the development of the revolutionary competition. Just as the Soviet proletariat in the fight for socialist construction strengthened its ranks through the setting up of quite concrete tasks and agreements among the factories, the proletariat of the capitalist countries must set themselves concrete tasks in the fight for the defence of the Soviet Union, in the mobilisation of the working masses. Upon this basis the revolutionary competition between the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the proletariat of the capitalist countries must reinforce the international solidarity of the workers. The campaign for the 12th anniversary renders it possible to

spread the idea of revolutionary competition among the proletarian masses of the capitalist countries.

The significance of the fulfilment of these tasks may be seen from the present international situation. It is characterised by the most glaring antagonism in world politics of the present moment, the antagonism between the Soviet Government and the social-imperialist labour government of MacDonald. A few months of the existence of the government of the third bourgeois party in England have already brought about great disillusionment among the masses. Snowden's attitude at the Hague, MacDonald's active advocacy of the imperialist armistice plans at Geneva, the bloody massacre perpetrated by the MacDonald Government in Palestine and, last but not least, the non-recognition of the Soviet Union have been tremendous lessons for the world proletariat. The leading participants in the preparation of the imperialist war against the Soviet Union is the first characteristic of the present policy of the Second International. The active participation in the setting up of Fascist dictatorships in the capitalist countries is the second

Zoergiebel, the Berlin murderer of workers, and Weisner, high priest of the social-fascist dictatorship are not isolated. Their path is being followed by the paragon party of the Second International, the party of Otto Bauer in Vienna, who, after adopting the Fascist reform of the constitution and concluding a pact with Schober for the bludgeoning of the Austrian proletariat, Austrian social democracy, the most "leftward" in the world, is going the way of all social-democratic flesh, the way to social-fascism. The third characteristic of the present social-democratic policy: Cutting down of the unemployed benefit in Germany, reducing of the textile workers' wages in England. The policy of attack upon the standard-of-living of the working masses, the rationalisation offensive of world capital are being realised to-day with the aid of social-fascism.

In this manner, in the arena of the international fight for the emancipation of the working class, the conflict between the revolutionary world front, led by the Communist International, and dependent upon the success of the Soviet Union, and, on the other hand, the social-fascist and social-imperialist Second International is constantly becoming more pronounced. The fight between these two camps for the capture of the masses of the world proletariat permits no vacillation and no standing on the fence. Every attempt to camouflage this fight or to minimise it, every attempt to bridge the unbridgeable gap leads to desertion and to a surrender of the principles of Communism. It is, therefore, no mere chance that the reformist and the conciliatory elements no longer stop at a retreat to the camp of the enemies of the Soviet Union. Where the social construction of the Soviet State leads on to new successes, while the Soviet proletariat is taking up the decisive fight against the capitalist survivals in its own camp, the right wing is spreading disbelief in the strength of the Soviet Union and is trying to undermine the class fight against the capitalist elements. In this manner, the right wing of the reformist and the conciliators are converted on the whole front into supporters of social-fascism, because the development of the new revolutionary upsurge of the masses is making any vacillation between Communism and Social-Fascism impossible. The October campaign of the Communist Parties the posture of the right wing and of the conciliators must, therefore, be exposed, as also their reformist views concerning the social development in the Soviet Union.

The mobilisation of the masses for the protection of the Soviet Union will again kindle the wrath of the imperialist bourgeoisie against the Communist International. In the campaign of August 1st, the Communist Parties proved their ability, in spite of the increased Fascist offensive of the bourgeoisie. If there is a proper and energetic carrying out of mass mobilisation for the Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution, the Communist Parties will be strong enough to frustrate the new attack of the international bourgeoisie. The Twelfth Anniversary will be characterised by international proletarian solidarity, by the fight for the defence of the Soviet Union, by the strengthening of the attack upon Social-Fascism and by the fight for the proletarian world-dictatorship!

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Position of the C. P. of Sweden.

By A. J. Smolan.

The open letter of the E. C. C. I. to the members of the C. P. of Sweden which pointed out the danger from the Right Wing opportunist course of the party leaders, was accepted unanimously at the session of the E. C. C. I. on August 31st. The letter was also signed by the three representatives of the C. P. of Sweden who attended, namely, Comrades Kilboom and Arvid Olsson of the majority and Comrade Linderot of the minority, and these three comrades undertook to work out the carrying out of the instructions given in the letter. This promise has, however, been broken by the representatives of the majority. A full week before the publication of the open letter in the party press, Comrade Kilboom published an article in the central organ, the "Folkets Dagblad", entitled "Lying Information", which contained the most of attacks upon the leading comrades of the Comintern. In this instance, Comrade Kilboom asserted in all seriousness that Comrade Kuusinen gave a false survey of the party relations in his report to the Tenth Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. and that he deliberately lied in order to cast suspicion upon the Party. The conclusion of his article Comrade Kilboom states: "that the members of the Party must refute such lies and that persons who spread them must be stigmatised as enemies of the Party."

Protest was raised against this dastardly fighting method by a member of the minority of the executive, who is at the same time a responsible member of the staff of the "Folkets Dagblad" and assistant to Comrade Kilboom in the editorial department, namely, Comrade Johanson, but his article was allowed to lie for nearly a week and was only then published in an obscure position. The representative of the E. C. C. I. who made objection and declared Kilboom's article to be an intentional attack upon the Comintern. He also stated that the majority of the C. C. declined to deal with his objection immediately and that on this occasion Kilboom admitted that he had acted deliberately and after due consideration. The organ of the Young Communist League, "Stormlockan" also protested against Kilboom and said "that since the expulsion of Högland in the year 1924 it was the first time that a vicious attack of that kind had been made on the leaders of the Comintern in the Swedish party press."

The Polit. Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. objected to Kilboom's article and on September 12th it sent a telegram to the E. C. C. I. The telegram ran as follows:

"The article 'Lying Information' in the 'Folkets Dagblad' of September 7th is nothing but an attempt to twist the discussion concerning questions of principles and the Right Wing deviations of the C. C. majority and to convert it into a polemic against individual members of the E. C. C. I. and its collaborators of the journal of the Comintern. The Polit-Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. does not forbid the central organ of the C. P. of Sweden or the comrades of the C. C. to raise objection to inadequate expressions in any article in the 'Communist International' or to the statements of speakers at the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I., but the article entitled 'Lying information' and the political attitude outlined therein is an open action against the 'open letter' of the E. C. C. I., which was signed by Comrades Kilboom and Olsson. Such a fight against the Open Letter, which corrected the mistakes of the central committee of the C. P. of Sweden, proves that in the central committee of the Party there is a Right Wing opportunist tendency, which is already endeavouring to force the Party out of the positions of the Comintern."

"The E. C. C. I. warns all members of the C. P. of Sweden against the inadmissible manoeuvre of the right wing elements, who voted for the Open Letter but are in fact preparing to fight against the Comintern."

"The Polit Secretariat calls upon all members to insist upon a discussion on the basis of the Open Letter and not to permit political questions to be set aside through personal quarrels, whereby the right-wing opportunists hide the significance of the Open Letter and prevent the

correction of the line taken by the Party. The E. C. C. I. calls upon the C. C. of the C. P. of Sweden to repudiate the article through which Comrade Kilboom desires to lead the Party into a fight against the Comintern. This telegram must be brought to the notice of all local party organisations and party newspapers."

Comrade Kilboom did not publish this telegram immediately but only on September 19th, and he then added to it a fresh challenge to the Comintern. He published at the same time as the telegram a resolution of the majority of the C. C. containing the following:

"The C. C. fully and entirely approves of the publication of the article 'Lying Information'. The statements of the minority that this article is an attempt to attack the Comintern are beside the point. It is the duty and task of the central organ to refute all incorrect data concerning the Party, no matter from what side these attacks may come."

The publication of the "Open Letter", which was accepted by the E. C. C. I. on August 31st, took place on September 12th. Comrades Kilboom and Olsson, who signed the letter in Moscow, added thereto in a short statement that the formulation was not as they desired it to be, but then declared themselves once more prepared to fight for the carrying through of the matter. Then followed a second, four-page long, statement of the majority of the C. C. (7 comrades against 6 comrades of the minority), which contained so many reservations, so many ifs and buts, that its contents practically amounted to **repudiation of the Open Letter**. Then a number of leading comrades, mostly trade-union functionaries, were mobilised, and in a succession of articles they represented the members of the minority as **job-hunters and demanded immediate convocation of the party congress, close of the discussion, and several of them the ejection of the "brawlers"**.

None of them went into the matter of the questions brought up. The old veteran of the Swedish Labour movement, Hinke Bergergren, who before the war was leader of the Anarchists, wrote "that the Party was in need of peace and quiet", and the well-known lyric poet, Ture Nerman, set forth his own 21 theses, wherein he repeated the song of praise of the Swedish Party sung by Comrade Flyg at the Tenth Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I., and put the matter in such a way that it appeared as though there was on the whole nothing at all wrong. After the supporters of the C. C. majority had written in this manner for nearly a week and had filled the central organ with their articles, the declaration of the minority was published on September 17th with their objective consideration of the contents of the Open Letter. It enumerated the mistakes made by the C. C. during the past two years and showed that in practically all important questions there were fundamental differences of opinion, and thereby repudiated the assertion of the majority of the C. C. that it was a purely personal quarrel which was supported by the E. C. C. I.

In the meanwhile, the majority of the C. C. utilised the party apparatus in every conceivable way for faction purposes and convoked conferences, to which only the supporters of the majority were invited. Under the leadership of Kilboom, the central organ of the Party has become distinctly a faction organ of the Right wing. He publishes only such resolutions as suit him, and whoever reads this paper only might easily be led to believe that the great majority of the party members are behind the C. C. This is, however, by no means the case. It is possible that a great many members are still of the belief, owing to the misleading communications of their central organ, that it is only a matter of a personal quarrel and are still undecided. Their attitude will no doubt change as soon as they see how the land lies, as soon as they realise that they are being led against the Comintern.

It was just the same in the year 1924, when the leader of that time, Högland, thanks to his past as founder of the revolutionary opposition in the Swedish Labour movement, possessed much greater authority than his followers Kilboom and Samuelson, the leaders of the present C. C. majority. At that time Högland was sure that the big majority of the members would follow him; and also various leaders of the opposition at that time, including Comrade Kilboom, feared this, but when the workers saw that it was more than a personal fight and they had to choose between the International of Lenin and the faint-hearted

leader, the big majority of them decided without reserve in favour of the Comintern.

A considerable portion of the members have already done this in the present instance. Chief among these is the Young Communist League, which in this country is almost as strong as the Party itself and has a membership of 15,000; it is publishing a special weekly discussion journal in support of the minority. The district of Norrbotten (of the most northerly part of Sweden), one of the strongest districts of the Party, which dominates the whole of the trade-union movement of this country and owns a big daily paper, is solidly backing up the minority, as is also the district and the party organ in Kalmarlaen. The district executive in Wermland (West Sweden), which is also one of the biggest districts, adopted a resolution in August, before the position had become clear, and sent it to the C. C. This resolution was not intended for publication, but the members of the Right "corrected" it and published it three weeks later as a resolution against the minority. This manoeuvre failed completely; the district party committee protested in a sharp resolution against the method of procedure and declared that "it would do everything it could to keep the district for the Comintern". The three districts mentioned above constitute at least a quarter of the whole Party, so that it is certain even at this early stage of the discussion that the present C. C. majority will also not succeed in leading the revolutionary workers of Sweden in the direction taken by Höglund, and that the bulk of the members of the Party wish to remain true to the Comintern.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Revolt in Palestine.

Communique of the C. C. of the C. P. of Palestine.

(Conclusion.)

c) From National Struggle to Anti-Imperialist Insurrection.

Things, however, did not develop quite as the clever British politicians had intended; for their purposes a modest "massacre of St. Bartholomew" among the Jews would have sufficed, justifying an increased British occupation (such as had become requisite in view of the active war preparations) and strengthening the British position of arbiter between the "wild Arabs" on the one hand and the "menaced Jews" on the other. The Jewish blood shed during the pogrom and the Arab blood to be shed during the inevitable consequent "punitive expedition" would have done very well to oil the wheels of British imperialism in the Arab East. The attitude of the masses, however, had not been taken into account.

The elementary force of the outbreak after eight years and a half of cruel and systematic imperialist oppression (the last rising, which also took the form of a pogrom, having been quenched in blood in May 1921) under the unscrupulously arbitrary rule of a handful of colonial officials and without the safety-valve of even apparent democracy or right of appeal, was far greater than the British imperialists or even the clerical leaders of the movement had ever imagined. A local movement in Jerusalem turned in a few days' time into a Pan-Arab insurrectionary movement with aims far exceeding the massacre of the Jews. The situation thus became threatening for British imperialism. If it had been properly organised and systematically conducted (which it could have been only by the working class), this mass movement, which had spread to hundreds of thousands of peasants, bedouins, and city workers, would have taken the form not of a senseless religious war but of a powerful anti-imperialist revolution, ensuring a victory over imperialism at many important points.

A small example will show the truth of this assertion. If the powerful rural movement round about Jerusalem, combined with the rising of workers within the city on August 24th and 25th, i. e. before the arrival of the first British reinforcements, had, instead of pitting itself against the Jewish settlements, moved concentrically towards the interior of the town, it could undoubtedly have stormed the central Government buildings and got possession of the Government apparatus.

The Zionists, however, also did their share towards serving British imperialism and not permitting a development in the sense above indicated. Though unable at the first moment to

deny the obvious responsibility of the British Government, the Zionists immediately started to exploit the situation in the sense of a further accentuation of Jewish-Arab differences and established a united front with the British against the Arab. Mere self-defence against the attacks of the fanaticised mob was exceeded by the Zionist Fascists, who proceeded to revenge themselves on innocent Arabs wherever they were found or surrounded by Jews, and here and there there were regular counter-pogroms. Thus two poor innocent workers were beaten to death with truly bestial fury by a crowd of Jews in the main street of Jerusalem on August 24th; close to the British Museum a poor fellah woman was foully murdered; at Haifa Jewish Fascists murdered an entire Arab family of women and children; three Arab houses situated near the Jewish settlements were pillaged and burnt down on the 26th (in revenge for the burning and pillage of the Jewish colonies of Hartov, Huldah, and Beit Tuviah); on the road to Jaffa Arab shops were broken up and plundered. Though there were no organised attacks on Arab settlements — which would have been absurd seeing that the Jews are but a small minority in the country — the Zionist Fascists yet did all they could to confirm the Arab belief that it is really the Jews who are their chief enemies, to prevent the treacherous Arab leaders from having an occasion to allow the fury of the mob to turn against their real enemy, the British imperialists.

Nevertheless, such a change of front was not altogether impeded. In the purely Arab districts (Nablus, Tulkarem, Gaza, Transjordan) the angry Arabs collided immediately with the British soldiery. At Jaffa, Hamdi-el-el-Husseini, secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League in the Arab territory and leader of the national-revolutionary wing of the Arabs, openly advocated an anti-imperialist rising in place of the murder of innocent Jewish inhabitants. At Haifa, the representative of the workers in the Young Moslem Association warned his fellow-members against instituting pogroms and called upon them to unite with the Jewish workers for the destruction of imperialism and its Zionist adherents. Finally, the same tendency was to be seen in the numerous skirmishes which took place (at Samakh, on the Syrian frontier, at the outlets into Transjordan, in southern Palestine, etc.) between the Bedouins and the British troops that entered the land towards the end of August.

Just at the moment when the clerical leaders of the movement betrayed their followers most basely (on the 27th August, the chairman of the Moslem Medjless — the spiritual rector of the movement — the Mohammedan mayor of Jerusalem, and the chairman of the Arab Executive Committee issued a declaration, calling on their followers to submit to the movement had almost all along the line turned into an anti-imperialist rising. This fact is confirmed by the circumstances that on September 1st John Chancellor, the British High Commissioner, issued a proclamation in which he expressed his indignation at the atrocities — only of the Arabs — and announced that as a "punishment" he had interrupted negotiations in progress regarding constitutional changes in Palestine (i. e. the Arab national-reformist demand for a parliament); this at the same time revealed the imperialist "negotiation" of the massacre and constituted a fresh provocation to the Arabs.

Besides this, the British "reprisals" are being effected cruelly and unscrupulously that, apart from the fighting on the borders, the indignation of the masses may easily lead to a renewed outbreak in the country itself. In any case the Arab rising, deflected as it was into anti-Jewish channels, by no means represents the end of the entire movement, but is the first stage in a new Arab revolution, just as the Syrian rising in 1925 was part of the same great anti-imperialist revolt. It has shown that the stability of British rule and the Zionist agencies in Palestine is just as unreliable and shaky as is that of French rule in Syria (where the Palestine movement caused a demonstration of solidarity of many thousands) and that of the British vassals Feisal and Abdullah in Iraq and Transjordan, respectively (where serious friction also occurred).

By an unheard-of terrorism the troops of MacDonald and Henderson attempt to stamp out the symptoms of emancipation, which in spite of the most ingenious imperialist precautions have become apparent among the Arab colonial masses. Hundreds of suspects are arrested and put into irons; villages and towns are bombarded, maximum contributions imposed and collected with brutal force (the Zionists and Zionist-Social-

including the treacherous "Left" Poale Zion, co-operating in this imperialist terrorism against the Arab peasants and workers and developing an awful propaganda which exaggerates the Arab excesses tremendously and carefully conceals those of the Jews.) Apart from their "organised" reprisals, the occupation troops practice a form of sport, racing around in cars and sniping at the Arab "natives" (including the women and children) in passing. Humanity and civilisation held a triumphal entry over smoking ruins.

The pogrom-leaders of the Arab national-reformists and of the Zionist Fascist remained just as immune as did the British officials. But the revolutionary nationalist leader Hamdi Husseini, who had spoken against the pogroms and in favour of an anti-imperialist fight, has been arrested and is threatened with capital punishment; hundreds of innocent Jewish and Arab peasants are being condemned behind closed doors.

d) The Working Class and the Communist Party.

In this revolt the working class of Palestine did not come forward as an independent force with demands of its own, though there can be no doubt but that the working class of the cities (Arabs and Jews together) has grown substantially of late years and would, so far as its numbers were concerned and in view of the bad economic position of the workers, well have been in a position to play an important, nay a leading, rôle in the recent mass movement if it had come forward in a determined revolutionary spirit.

But the activity of the Zionist social-reformists has driven a wedge into the working class, not only by founding a Jewish chauvinist organisation, the "Histadruth" which upon the outbreak of the revolt became an appendage of Jewish fascism and the British imperialists, but also by exploiting the monopoly of organisation it had procured from the British and Zionists for the purpose of keeping the Arab workers out of the "Histadruth" and preventing their revolutionary organisation by all possible means. Further, there do not exist any purely Arab, revolutionary mass organisations in the country.

Thus the only international revolutionary organisation in the country was the Communist Party of Palestine, which is yet in its infancy and much harassed by constant persecution on the part of the British Government apparatus and the Zionist and Arab bourgeoisie. This Party alone stood for the interests of the working class as such. Untiringly it sought, in pamphlets, handbills, illegal assemblies, and even demonstrations (in the face of official terrorism, on August 1st), to impress on Jewish and Arab workers alike: Do not fight one another, but unite against British imperialism and its Zionist and feudal Arab bourgeois adherents. It may be said that at the outbreak of the movement the estimation of the position by the C. P. of Palestine — British imperialism desires national-religious bloodshed so as to strengthen its own rule at the expense of Jewish and Arab workers — was shared by the majority of both Arab and Jewish workers. The last appeal of the C. P., on the day when the revolt began, was approved by 99 per cent. of the workers at the Haifa railway shops, including many Jewish workers and even Socialists. As a matter of fact, though there was no fraternisation of Jewish and Arab workers, there were various remarkable instances of solidarity (individual Jewish workers being saved by Arabs in various cities and, again, Arabs being saved by Jews from the revenge of the Zionist Fascists). But, obviously because the influence of the C. P. was too weak in relation to both Jewish and Arab workers, there was a total absence of mass action, which could indeed only have taken the form of a fraternisation against British imperialism.

The course of events, however, clearly proved that if the proportionate strength of the workers and peasants had been greater (or, rather, if the fellahs had been under the influence of the workers instead of that of the feudal and clerical interests), there would have been every possibility of a victorious revolution and the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

It is just for this reason and to prevent such a development, at the head of which the C. P. would undoubtedly place itself, that the Zionists on the one hand and the Arab feudal chiefs on the other are doing their utmost to widen the national chasm yet more and to make religious warfare permanent. The "Davar", the press organ of the Social-Fascists, publishes "songs of victory", which culminate in a eulogy of the massacres and conflagrations and are intended to fan the national hatred

among the workers. Similarly, the Arab national-reformists still proclaim that what is needed is a revolt against the Jews and not against the British and spread illusions abroad in regard to a prospective "neutral" British mission which will "bring the truth to light".

Meanwhile the Communist Party proclaims: "Peace to the working people — war to the imperialist rulers! Continue the fight, not against one another but with one another against imperialism, Zionism, and the Arab national traitors. Do not allow yourselves to be disarmed. Create a government of workers and peasants which alone can guarantee to safeguard the interests of the workers. All Arab countries unite to form an independent republic of workers and peasants."

If the Palestine workers and peasants can be sure of the solidarity and help of the proletarian masses in England, America, France, Germany, and the other imperialist countries, then — notwithstanding all MacDonal's aeroplanes and armoured cars, warships and machine-guns, notwithstanding all the diabolical pogroms initiated by his officials, in spite of the agitation of the Zionists and Social-Fascists and in spite of the treachery of the Arab feudal lords and bourgeoisie — they may be certain of realising the great task of liberation.

FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT DANGER

Characteristics of Soviet Economy.

By A. Leontiev.

During the elaboration last autumn of the economic plan for 1928/29, Comrade Bukharin came forward with this "Remarks of an Economist", which were destined to acquire a rather regrettable notoriety. The train of thought expounded in this work and in the relative speech by Comrade Bukharin on the political testament of Lenin, became, so to say, the gospel of the Right elements in the Party. In the slightly masked form of fairly transparent allusions and circumscriptions, Comrade Bukharin in these utterances formulated an entire system of views on the present fundamental questions of economic construction. He attempted to outline a definite attitude in regard to economic politics, an attitude essentially differing and deviating from the general directives of the Party. That he, who was one of the most prominent economic theorists of our Party — in which capacity he can look back upon an undoubtedly meritorious activity — should in the first and most difficult period of the fundamental reconstruction of economy have started to oppose the Party directives, is a fact calling for the serious attention of the entire Communist Party.

I.

The concrete political conclusions resulting from the present attitude of Comrade Bukharin, conclusions which he put forward in a somewhat veiled but yet sufficiently transparent form, are on lines parallel to the universally known demands of the Right elements in our Party; they are directed against the rapid and allegedly unbearable and exaggerated rate of industrialisation, which is said to be the chief reason of our economic difficulties, against the forced and allegedly "artificial" imposition of Communism upon our rural districts, against the rapid development of the Soviet and collective farms, and against the resolute pressure brought to bear on the leading capitalist elements in the villages. Such are the conclusions which have already been revealed to the broad mass of Party members. The apprehensions of Comrade Bukharin regarding the present economic year have not been realised, and his prophecies have failed brilliantly; they could not stand the test of practice. This failure is fully apparent now that the results of the economic year 1928/29 in the most important branches of economy are to hand and the prospects of the coming year 1929/30 assume tangible forms. The reality of our economic development is treating the prophecies and suggestions of the Right in the same way that the Arabian sages recommend in regard to the counsels of women, viz. "listen to them and then do the contrary."

The results of the year 1928/29 and the prospects for 1929/30 bear witness in the first place to the greatest successes and achievements of Socialist construction, which have been realised in spite of the pessimistic prophecies of the Right panic mongers and doubters. In answer to their laments over the "unreal and unbearable" rate of industrialisation, reality shows

the programme of 1928-29 to have been exceeded as regards the growth of the total production (24 per cent. instead of 21.4 per cent.), while the coming year is to entail an accretion of from 32 to 35 per cent. in place of the 20.2 per cent. of the five-year plan, which in the opinion of the Right already amounted to an "ultra-industrialisation". Already there are indications to hand that the allegedly "inflated" programme of industrial construction will be fully realised. For the coming year, the provisional programme of industrial construction envisages a sum of 3100 million roubles, which represents an increase over the current year to almost the double and an increase by more than 40 per cent. over the original figures of the five-year plan. Fairly considerable results have also been attained in regard to the qualitative factor in industrial activity; the productivity of labour has increased by 16 per cent. (instead of 17 per cent., as envisaged in the plan) and initial costs have been decreased by 5 (instead of 7) per cent.

The development of agriculture has responded to the outcry of the Right at what was considered an "artificial imposition of Communism" by a very vigorous growth of the socialised forms of farming, considerably exceeding the first fairly bold plans in this respect. A yet speedier growth of the Socialist section of agriculture is to be expected in the coming year. The Soviet and collective farms and the machinery and tractor "stations" are to increase the area under their cultivation from between 3.5 and 3.8 million hectares in 1928-29 to 10 million hectares in 1929/30, which will put up their quota of the entire area under cultivation from 5.5 to 13.5 per cent. In the year 1929/30, the Socialist section of agriculture is to yield about 150 million centals of grain of all kinds, including about 65 million centals of marketable grain. If we consider that this vigorous rate of development in the socialisation of the land only started on a large scale two years ago, and that from very small beginnings, we must admit that such figures are highly eloquent.

The rapid growth of the socialised section of agriculture and the remarkable rate of industrialisation are not based on a degradation of agriculture, as the Right would wish to make out, but rather on a further, albeit still insufficient growth and further technical reconstruction. This year the cultivated area of all agriculture has increased by 5 or 6 per cent., in which connection it was to be observed that the smaller amount sown by the capitalist circles in the rural districts was amply made up for and even exceeded by the accretion in the cultivated area of the middle and poor peasants as also of the socialised estates. For the coming year, a further extension of the cultivated area by 7 per cent., an increase in harvest results per hectare by 7 per cent., and an increase in the total output of agriculture by 17 or 18 per cent. are projected. The technical improvement in agriculture, meanwhile, is confirmed by such irrefutable facts as the increased employment of machinery, the larger production of fertilisers, the greater distribution of sorted seed corn, the increase in the actual amount sown, and the extension of the park of tractors.

The first stages of the comprehensive reconstruction of the agriculture of a vast country must inevitably entail difficulties, the roots of which do not lie in shortcomings in the general directives of the Party but in the entire objective situation of our development. In spite of the remarks of Comrade Bukharin, such an admission by no means implies that "if there are to be difficulties, we may as well give up the whole enterprise". On the contrary. The Party, which clearly recognises the objective causes of these difficulties, the removal of which is after all not simply a matter of good will, is consciously mobilising the energy, activity, and enthusiasm for their removal. In the second year of the five-year plan, the difficulties accompanying our present achievements are by no means negligible. The grain problem still remains a matter of great tension, for in spite of a certain enhancement of the harvest and in spite of its favourable geographic distribution great efforts and much activity will be required if we are to carry out the task of grain provisioning which we have set ourselves, a task which this year comprises not only the alimentionation of consumers but also the creation of a certain grain reserve. In the immediate future, too, great economy must be observed in the consumption of grain. Another crucial matter is the question of the quality of our industrial products, which has of late deteriorated. In agriculture, again, the unfavourable position of cattle-breeding calls for active measures.

But all these circumstances do not upset the fact that the real course of our development has absolutely refuted the prophecies and expectations of the Right and that practical experience has proved the concrete suggestions advanced by the Right to be both fundamentally wrong and fully unsound. The economic difficulties accompanying the economic growth and the very great achievements of Socialist construction, have been and are being actively overcome, whereas the Right demands that we capitulate unconditionally in the face of these difficulties. One year's experience of economic development has proved anew that we are faced with difficulties of great magnitude but that some very tangible achievements of Socialist development have been attained, which inspire the broad masses of workers with courage and energy. In such circumstances it is obvious that the smallest concession to these suggestions of capitulation would merely tend to increase the difficulties hundredfold, the real removal of which is only possible through the all Right opportunist suggestions aiming at an alteration of the general directives of the Party are definitely rejected.

(To be continued.)

OUR MARTYRS

Comrade Pang Pei.

By Tsiu Vito.

In Shanghai four more comrades have been shot, among them being Comrade Pang Pei.

Comrade Pang Pei was one of the first pioneers of the peasant movement in China. He began to work among the peasant masses of the province of Kwantung at the end of 1923. He came from a landowner and petty gentry family which had become so impoverished so that he could hardly complete his studies in a high school. As a student in Canton he joined the revolutionary movement in the year 1919 and then also participated in the establishment of the first socialist circle in the province of Kwantung. He opposed both the utopian theories of Sun Yat-sen as well as the "socialist liberalism" of Tcheng Kung Po, Liang Ting Siang and others. He was right from the beginning an advocate of mass action. In the year 1920 he joined the Communist Party of China and was one of the founders of the Party organisation in the province of Kwantung. After he had worked among the Canton workers he soon went to his native place, Hankow, and there began to work among the peasants.

He was a worker in the mass movement who understood how to deal with the peasants, to gather them round him, to discuss with them the daily questions and to suffer starvation and misery with them. His "report on Hailuföng" was the best and most important document on the peasant movement in China.

In the Wuhan period he went to Hankow and was elected to the provisional Executive Committee of the Peasant League of China. During the 5th Party Congress of the Communist Party of China he defended, in the land commission of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the clear revolutionary line in the agrarian question.

The 5th. Party Congress of the Communist Party of China elected him as member of the Central Committee. At the time of the upheaval in Hankow he prepared the insurrection in Hankow and also conducted the insurrection of Hailuföng which led to the establishment of the Soviet Power and to the extension of the revolutionary movement in the villages of the province of Kwantung, Hunan and Kwangsi at the end of 1927 and at the beginning of 1928.

Comrade Pang Pei was elected people's commissar for agriculture by the Soviet of Canton and worked in Hailuföng up to the overthrow of the Soviet Power. The 6th. Party Congress of the C.P. of China elected him member of the C.C. Later he became member of the Polit-Bureau and worked in the C.C.

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Revolution have suffered a severe loss by the death of Comrade Pang Pei.

The reactionary Kuomintang is jubilant over the corpses of the best sons of the Chinese revolution. But they will not succeed in annihilating the advance guard of the Chinese proletariat. Hundreds and thousands of new fighters will continue their work commenced by Comrade Pang Pei.