

- INTERNATIONAL -

Vol. 9. No. 65

PRESS22nd November 1929**CORRESPONDENCE**

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna. — Telephone: No. A-10-1-28.

CONTENTS

Paul Langner: A Magnificent Victory of the C. P. in the Berlin Municipal Elections.

Politics.

Resumption of Relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

J. Berlioz: The Programme of the Tardieu Government.

W. Pagnansky: Nadir Khan's Accession to Power.

A. J. Sm.: The General Strike in Finland.

W. Petrik: The Situation in Persia.

The Balkans.

D. Ivanoff: The Situation in Bulgaria and the Trial of the "52".

China.

The Military Situation in China.

The International.

Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

D. Manuilsky: The October Revolution and the Soviet Union as the Source of Fighting Experience for the World Proletariat.

The Labour Movement.

Rayna: The Miners' Strike in Salgotaryan.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.

W. Nodel: The Mass Influx into the Collective Farms of the Soviet Union.

The Patronage Factories of the Comintern Deliver their Report.

A. C. B.: A Tractor Every Six Minutes.

Against Colonial Oppression.

The Struggle of the Indonesian People for Independence.

The White Terror.

A. S.: The Conclusion of the Hunger Strike of the Political Prisoners in Hungary.

The Campaign of Falsehoods against the Soviet Union.

W. Hirsch: Concerning the German Peasants in the Soviet Union.

A. J. Sm.: How the "Mass Flight" of the Peasantry from the Soviet Union is being Organised.

Against the Right Danger.

The Party Organisations of the C. P. S. U. against the Right Opposition.

Five-Year Plan.

Decline in the Importance of Small Industry under the Five-Year Plan.

Proletarian Youth Movement.

Ten Years of the Young Communist International.

A Magnificent Victory of the C. P. in the Berlin Municipal Elections.**The C. P. of Germany the Strongest Party in the Working Class Districts.**

By Paul Langner (Berlin).

The municipal elections on 17th of November resulted in a magnificent victory for the C. P. G. in Berlin. Since the last elections to the Berlin town council, which took place in 1925, the Party has increased its vote from 347,382, to 565,595. The social-democratic party, which in 1925 polled nearly twice as many votes as the Communists, has suffered a severe set-back; it has polled only 651,735 votes.

The Communist Party is advancing uninterruptedly. Whilst the social-democratic party at the Reichstag elections in May 1928 received 194,000 votes more than the Communist Party, this difference has now shrunk to 86,000. Since the last Reichstag elections the social-democratic party has lost 164,000 votes in Berlin. That is the reply of the Berlin workers to the social-fascist policy of the social democracy and to the bloodbath carried out by the social-democratic chief of police Zörgiebel in May last.

In the most important working class quarters the Communist Party has overwhelmingly defeated the social democracy. In Wedding the C. P. G. polled 82,259 votes, or 40 per cent of all the votes cast, while the social-democratic party polled 61,043 votes. In the district of Friedrichshain the C. P. G. received 64,950 votes and the S. P. G. 50,581. In six other districts the Communist Party polled nearly as many votes as the social-democratic party. In Neukölln, for example, where at the Reichstag elections the social-democratic party of Germany polled 18,000 votes more than the C. P. of Germany, the difference now is only 6000. As the social-democratic party receives the votes of many petty bourgeois elements living in the working class districts, it is clear that in these districts the overwhelming majority of the workers voted for the Communist Party.

In Berlin the Communist Party is engaged in a fierce struggle with the social-democrats for the leadership and the majority of the working class. The results of the elections show that in this struggle the Communist Party is the victor.

The social democracy made the most desperate efforts in order to prevent this victory. Zörgiebel organised the bloodbath on the 1st of May in order to frighten the workers away from the Communist Party; Severing and Grzesinski, the social-democratic Minister of the Interior and the social-democratic Chief of Police for Prussia respectively, prohibited the Red Front Fighters League and are threatening to prohibit the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie, together with the social-democrats, put up a regular barrage of lies against the Communist Party. The terrorist measures against Communist demonstrations were increased shortly before the elections. Thus, for instance, Zörgiebel suppressed an election placard of the Communist Party which enumerated the crimes of the social democracy. Hundreds of Communist election workers were arrested on Sunday; Communist demonstrations were attacked and broken up by the police.

All this has not helped social democracy. The workers have given the proper answer to the party which murders and betrays the workers. The Communist Party was master of the streets. In the districts where the barricade fights took place on the 1st of May, the answer of the workers was downright annihilating. In that part of Neukölln where the fighting took place, the Communist Party polled 2285 votes whilst the social democracy polled 1078 votes. In the Köslinerstrasse in Wedding the C. P. G. received 876 votes, the S. P. G. only 196 votes.

The success of the Communist Party must be appreciated all the more because it openly propagated its aim, the proletarian dictatorship.

In addition to the Communist Party, the fascists are able to record some gains. The fascists did not succeed in penetrating the working class districts. The workers followed the slogan of the Communist Party: "Beat the fascists when you meet them!" There is no doubt that many petty bourgeois, who have hitherto voted for the social democracy, this time gave their votes to the fascists.

The splendid election victory of the Communist Party has called forth dismay and fury among the bourgeoisie and social democracy. During the election campaign the "Vorwärts" repeatedly prophesied that the Communist Party would be converted into a sect. The "Vorwärts" is now mumbling that the Communist Party has not achieved its aim of becoming the strongest party in the capital town. The "Vorwärts" can no longer conceal the truth and must now admit that the difference in the voting strength of the C. P. G. and the S. P. G. has constantly diminished since 1925 and that the scale is dipping in favour of the C. P. G.

The Bourgeois press is frantic over the election victory of the Communists. One paper writes: "Exactly a quarter of the Berlin electors who went to the poll on the 17th of November, cast their vote for the Communist candidates. That is a fact which the whole of Berlin must face". The "Berlin Tageblatt" the organ of the democrats, who have likewise suffered an annihilating defeat, is demanding electoral reform, i. e. a limitation of the franchise.

It is obvious that the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats will not stick at half-measures. The bourgeoisie is already declaring that the newly elected town council will be incapable of functioning. It will intensify its fight against the Communist Party.

The elections in Berlin signalise the intensification of the crisis and the approach of a revolutionary situation. The Party is replying to its threatened prohibition and the prohibition of the Communist Press by mobilising the workers and with a campaign to increase its membership. On the eve of the election day 25,000 workers assembled before the Karl Liebknecht House, the headquarters of the Communist Party. On Sunday and Monday over a thousand workers joined the Communist Party, thereby expressing the fact that the Communist Party is the party of the masses. The Communist Party will lead the

POLITICS

The Resumption of Relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

(From the "Pravda" of 10th November 1929.)

On the 15th of November the English Parliament pronounced itself by an overwhelming majority in favour of the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union. The exchange of Ambassadors will take place shortly, whereupon diplomatic negotiations will be entered into regarding disputed questions in particular on the "mutual pretensions" as well as on the trade agreement which was cancelled in 1927 by the one-sided action of the English government.

Is this important foreign-political action of the Labour Government in contradiction to the traditions of the Conservative policy, of the imperialist content of this policy which MacDonald and Henderson have taken over from Baldwin and Chamberlain? The answer must be given to the negative. Although the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union means the final collapse of the adventurous die-hard policy, it is not the Labour Government which has brought it about, but an open and determined struggle against the Conservative and in accordance with the election slogan which it issued. On the contrary, the MacDonald government obviously lags behind events in this question. Timidly and with constant glances to the Right wing of the Conservatives led by Joseph Hicks, the government yielded not only to the pressure of the English working class but also to that of considerable sections of English commercial, industrial and financial circles.

Although the slogan of immediate resumption of diplomatic and trade relations had obtained the absolute majority during the election campaign, although the English industrial delegation which had visited the Soviet Union and numerous Conservative Statesmen and papers had declared themselves in favour of the restoration of normal relations, the MacDonald Government delayed the decision for five months. It was under the pressure of the working masses and by aggressive articles of the liberal press ("Manchester Guardian") and the ironical praise of its Conservative "opponents" that the MacDonald Government decided, after negotiations with the Soviet representative had been twice interrupted, to submit an appropriate motion to Parliament.

Diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union are a vital necessity for England's economy. English industry is most badly equipped and prepared for the present intensified struggle for markets and raw materials among the imperialist big Powers. Whilst Germany, America and to a certain extent also France have fairly quickly rationalised their production and trade apparatus, English industry has lagged behind. The policy of Chamberlain, Churchill and Hicks towards the Soviet Union, China etc. has further weakened the economic position of England.

The main slogan of the English bourgeoisie therefore is the rationalisation of industry, of course at the expense of the working class; rationalisation of foreign policy at the expense of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. After the failure of the "die-hards" new people are needed for the realisation of these tasks. The Labour Government has proved to be the most apt and obedient tool of imperialism. "Rationalisation" is being carried out inside the country. Tens of thousands of workers are being thrown on the street. "Rationalisation" is being carried out in foreign policy. The result is the understanding arrived at with the Egyptian bourgeoisie at the expense of the suppressed fellahin and the Pact with the Indian bourgeoisie at the expense of the Indian workers and peasants.

How could the Labour Government, which is conducting the struggle for markets on behalf of the English bourgeoisie, which is realising capitalist rationalisation, ignore the Soviet market? Only the blind do not see the enormous economic progress of the Soviet Union. And only a "die-hard" fails to realise that this gigantic growth of economy of the Soviet Union is accompanied by a growth of its foreign relations. The English bourgeoisie is at last beginning to take this circumstance into

unt. It has had to admit to itself that trade between the et Union and America and Germany has trebled, it has sed what an important market has been closed to it owing e narrow-minded policy of the Conservatives.

The English bourgeoisie is confronted with the question: rder to raise English industry, economy must be reorga- l and placed on a basis of a mass supplying of the mar- with standard goods. The Soviet Union can become one hese markets. Therefore, the resumption of relations with Soviet Union was urgently necessary for the English bour- sie. MacDonald met the requirements of English industry, very inadequately as was ascertained by the representatives his industry.

The Soviet Union records with satisfaction this decision he House of Commons. The working class of the Soviet on can now realise the final bankruptcy of the openly ile policy of the Conservatives. The hopes of English im- alism to isolate the Soviet Power by breaking off relations, nforce concessions from it in the decisive questions of home foreign policy by means of economic and political blockade, e been completely shattered. In spite of Chamberlain and son Hicks the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union made enormous strides, and the economic relations with foreign countries are growing and extending from day to . The change in the English policy towards the Soviet on is therefore quite understandable.

If, however, today the toiling masses of the Soviet Union rove the resumption of relations with the Soviet on, they cannot forget the Arcos raid and the numerous s of the hostile anti-Soviet policy of English imperialism r the breach of 1927. We cannot forget that only yesterday srs. Chamberlain and Churchill were still conducting a tical campaign against the Soviet Union and that the English eral Staff is still today everywhere forging the weapons e anti-Soviet Bloc. We cannot believe that the Labour ernment, which in spite of its pacifist phrases is in all uestions of international policy following the footsteps of "die-hards", will now break with the anti-Soviet policy of r predecessors.

The toiling masses of the Soviet Union, who unconditionally port the peaceful policy of their government, are entitled to ume that this policy will meet with the equal support of English proletariat. In brotherly unanimity with the English king class, the toiling masses of the Soviet Union will at- ively follow all machinations of English imperialism.

The Programme of the Tardieu Government.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The Tardieu-Briand Cabinet, composed of representatives of most various bourgeois parties of the Centre and of the ht, got a big majority in the Chamber of 332 against 253 r a short debate concerning the programme declaration. The ority, apart from the Communist Party, consists chiefly of old parliamentary opposition and comprises in addition to eral small groups the two big fractions of the so-called "it", the socialist party and the radical party.

Such a considerable majority had really not been expected. e hundred deputies of the republican-Democratic Federation, ver, voted en bloc for the Cabinet and only 52 radicals used the vote of confidence. The upper hand is, therefore, still dy by the same majority that loyally supported the Poincare icy practically to the last.

As is well known, the decisive factor in the various stages the crisis was that, in view of the revolutionary revival among proletariat and the excitement among the masses of peasants of the petty bourgeoisie, the Government was obliged to give policy a sort of left-wing aspect. The most suitable means this end was to transfer government power, either partly or olly, to such political parties as the illusion-fed population nceive to be able to carry on a left-wing policy. This pt was bound to fail, for it was premature.

In the expectation that things would develop in the direction desired by them and which is finally inevitable, the most intelligent leaders of the big bourgeoisie, among whom the adventurer Tardieu may surely be counted, found a second expedient. In all the prominent newspapers they organised a systematic campaign under the slogan "Government Crisis", "Danger to Republican Thought", "Danger of a Dictatorship", in case the Cabinet should be overthrown, in order to intimidate the vacillating elements of the left-centre, to give them an argument to put before their constituencies and to get them to join Tardieu. But the most important thing was that it was decided to put before the Chamber technical rather than political programme and proposals in order to make a better impression on the public.

The declaration of the Tardieu Cabinet justifies the reputation of its leader as a "practical politician". It speaks of the prosperity of the nation through the raising of the standards of living of all social classes. The advancement of imperialistic France must be effected in the sphere of foreign politics as also in that of domestic politics. The attempt was made to draw from these premises the conclusion that all-workers, peasants and capitalists — would thereby profit, provided that they would all contribute in a spirit of co-operation and good will. The speeches of Briand and Tardieu supplemented the programme and secured for it the open or concealed support of all parties, excluding, of course, the Communists.

In regard to foreign policy, adroit use was made of paci- fist phrases concerning the organisation of world peace through Hague conferences or Young plans and of the simultaneous formal assurance that France's frontiers must be protected and the freedom of the seas guaranteed, i. e. secret preparations for war. In domestic politics alleviation of taxation is promised in order to pacify the peasants, lesser industries and small trade. Special emphasis is, however, laid upon the "five-year plan" of national development at a cost of five milliards. This plan provides for an improvement in national invested capital: construction of roads and canals, harbours, generating stations, elec- trification of country districts, broadcasting, colonies etc. It also provides for social reform: education, combatting of industrial diseases, support for large families, immediate social insurance, etc. Tardieu concludes with a definition of prosperity: "A prosperous nation is a nation which sees at the same time growth in production, in factory turnover and in the wages of the workers".

When Briand proposed the foreign programme he met with unanimous ovations. There prevailed among the parties a veritable competition in defence of the Locarno idea, which was on this occasion again brought forward by Briand. The Marian group declared its complete agreement with a policy, which clashed only on unimportant questions with that of the heavy industries, as by evading the question of ratifying the Young plan and of the evacuation of the Rheinland it even permits these industries fruitful negotiations with those of German capitalism. Paul Reynaud and Boncour, too, are delighted that it has been decided to bring the French army up to highest possible pitch. They all acclaim the intention to find ways and means of bringing about an understanding among the imperia- lists with the object of forming a solid front against the Soviet Union, for which important task lesser conflicts must be elimi- nated.

As regards the plan of promoting prosperity at home, all appear to be in agreement therewith. None of the Left-Wing deputies raised serious objection. The socialists also recognise that it is a question of a highly admirable plan, and all they have to say against it is that the present Government majority is incapable of executing it. Among the socialists the advocates of participation in the government are gaining ground so fast that it may be prophesied that their party conference at Christ- mas will no longer be opposed to a Daladier-Boncour Govern- ment or even a Boncour-Daladier-Tardieu Government.

This programme, which is addressed especially to the reform- ists with the appeal for co-operation and which will be fully supported by them, is dangerous chiefly because it awakes cer- tain illusions in the working masses. At the same time, it is probable that the policy of repression against Communism will be carried on in a more skilful form than heretofore, Tardieu has significantly declared that he "would not permit the formation in the State of a State managed and maintained from abroad with its own general staff and functionaries, with a general staff

whose objective is the capture of the street." He has also outlined his method of fighting: "Order at home to exclude violence and promote unity". Social demagogy will be more cleverly combined with sentences of imprisonment and measures for the dissolution of our Party with the help of the reformists and of the elements among us who are disposed to capitulate, as also with the help of the renegades whom we shake off.

Our fraction in the chamber has moved a vote of lack of confidence in Tardieu. In the declaration it is stated that "at a time when the bourgeoisie is trying to find a way out of the crisis at the cost of the proletariat, the latter should rally to its organisation in order to break the Fascist offensive of the Government by street demonstrations and political strikes." During the crisis our Party has not completely fulfilled its task. The "Humanité" has not adequately presented the connection between the crisis and the mass movement; to the dissolution and the increasing instability of the regime, which is indicative of the crisis, we have failed to oppose with the necessary emphasis our revolutionary slogans: preparation of political mass strikes, Workers' and peasants' Government. Our organisations have not been able to exploit the commotion in the political parties of the bourgeoisie to spread the actions of the workers. The lesson of the crisis, which is but temporarily liquidated, and the politisation of the proletarian fights, even the most elementary ones, must render it possible for our Party rapidly to develop the revolutionary advance of the proletariat.

Nadir Khan's Accession to Power.

By W. Pagsmanky.

The regime of the "Emir Habibullah" came to an end in Kabul on the 21st October when Bacha i Saquo and Seid Hussein were taken prisoners by Nadir Khan. The most important thing is of course not the personal fate of Bacha i Saquo, and it would be a very superficial judgment to suppose that with his removal all the deep socio-economic and foreign political factors underlying the Afghan events would also disappear. With the formation of the Nadir Khan government, which is already recognised in the most important provinces of the country, the civil war in its sharpest form probably came to an end, but it is being continued with "peaceful means" as far as the most important social and national problems of present day Afghanistan remained unsolved.

Nadir Khan has taken over an extremely difficult situation from Bacha i Saquo. Eleven months of internal struggles were sufficient to smash the weak State apparatus and to destroy the beginnings of the constitutional regime. The deep internal crisis, conditioned by the special social and national caste structure of the Afghan State, led to the degeneration of the material and human resources of the country, to the destruction of its economic system, to the disruption of its territorial unity and in general to decay.

The complete decay of the country as a consequence of the strengthening of the national-autonomist (themselves the result of the weakening of the State power), separatism on the frontiers (Herat and Masar) and the process of disruption amongst the tribes (in the southern and eastern provinces), these are the chief results of the civil war evident at the moment of Nadir Khan's accession to power.

Even in Afghanistan's most difficult periods it was clear that the future of the country lay in the hands of its uniting forces. After a long lull in hostilities Nadir Khan and his supporters commenced operations again in the middle of September, and these operations developed swiftly and led to the taking of Kabul on the 8th October. On the 15th October Nadir Khan was elected Padishah and on the 17th October the Afghan Foreign Minister sent a radiogram to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union in the name of the new Afghan government expressing the wish to "continue the close and friendly relations already existing between the two countries".

Nadir Khan is continuing the general line of Amanullah's policy as far as foreign relations are concerned, as witnessed by the radiogram of the 17th October, but as a supporter of

the moderate wing of the Afghan nationalists he will probably act differently with regard to internal policy. He will take into consideration the power of the religious and other traditions and of the clerical reaction. It must be pointed out that Nadir Khan has restored all the government institutions which existed under Amanullah, with the same functions and with the same staffs. As is known, the Foreign Ministry was formed even before the new government in order to demonstrate in this way the intentions of the new government to maintain independence.

We are in possession of information according to which Nadir Khan will pursue a policy both internally and externally in accordance with the interests of the independence of Afghanistan and of the economic and cultural development of the country. Let us wait for the actions of the new government before we judge whether Nadir Khan's actual efforts are in accordance with his declared aims. One thing is clear, and that is that the government which will pacify the country must draw the lessons of the civil war to heart, conduct a decisive struggle against the clerical-feudal reaction, enlarge its social base, granting the main demands of the most important sections of the peasantry, and satisfy the interests of the national masses. With regard to foreign policy the government must consistently and unswervingly pursue a policy for the maintenance of complete independence of Afghanistan.

Various indications confirm the intentions of Nadir Khan to pursue a foreign policy calculated to secure the independence of Afghanistan. This fact probably explains the anxiety of the British press, which first of all supported Nadir Khan in the first days of his rule and then went over to a position of reserved scepticism. An article in "The Morning Post" is characteristic:

"We do not yet know what attitude Nadir Khan will adopt towards England. We must not forget that formerly he belonged to the anti-British party and even broke with British-India. It is to be hoped that in his own name Nadir Khan will seek friendly relations with England, the one country which is able to defend the independence of Afghanistan. Nevertheless, his first step was the recognition of the Soviet government. Nadir Khan must convince himself on the basis of experience, if he does not already know, that the Soviet government is the bitter enemy of all governments in Asia which are not soviet governments."

It would be ridiculous to enter into any polemic with "The Morning Post" concerning its hypocritical attacks on the interference of the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of the Eastern States. One of the most important lessons of the events in Afghanistan is perhaps that the masses not only in Afghanistan, but all over the East are learning more and more to understand the difference between the position of the Soviet Union and that of Great Britain. The reply of the Indian military clique to Afghan efforts to secure an outlet to the Indian Ocean was the support of the movement in Afghanistan leading to the complete collapse of the country. The policy of Beaconsfield is still alive on the North West frontier, the dreams of placing the Indian frontier along the Hindu Kush and order later to thrust it along the Amur-Darye in the mountains of Soviet Asia. The programme of Beaconsfield and Curzon seem to have suffered bankruptcy despite all the efforts of Baldwin and the Anglo-Indian administration which is continuing its old policy under the MacDonald government. The prevention of these plans in the future depends upon the Afghan government.

It is not so long ago that the European press published the words of Baldwin to the effect that the world would observe with envy a new jewel in the crown of the Empire of India. There was no doubt that Baldwin was referring to Afghanistan. In reply to a question regarding the aims of his recent world tour, Amanullah declared: "I am journeying to Europe in order to show that Afghanistan demands its place on the map of the world." Capitalist Europe needed little lesson in geography because when, in 1919, Afghanistan freed itself for the first time from British dependence, it claimed its own place in the world, the Soviet government was the first to recognise Afghanistan. The recent events in Afghanistan have proved that Delhi still fails to understand Amanullah's simple geography lesson. The Nadir Khan govern-

It must now show that it is also well able to maintain the right of Afghanistan to "its own place on the map of the world".

The leading article of "The Morning Post" refers to the fact that Nadir Khan once broke into British-India. That was in 1919, when Great Britain answered Afghan's declaration of independence with the Third Afghan War. As later events have shown, the Anglo-Indian government is still unwilling to admit the fact of Afghan independence.

The new Afghan government has been formed in a difficult situation: an empty treasury, an empty arsenal, disorganised economic system, the devastation of wide districts, the impoverishment of the peasantry in consequence of the civil war, intensification of the tribal and international contradictions, growing activity of the feudal-clerical reaction and British aggression on the North Western frontier. Under such complicated circumstances the new government must make a start in solving the social, national and foreign political questions which are facing the country and which have all been intensified in consequence of the recent events. The establishment of national unity, the continuation of the work for the modernisation of the country, the reconstruction of Afghan economy, the solution of the agrarian problem, the establishment of internal peace and the maintenance of complete national independence, is the only basis upon which a free and independent future for the Afghan people can be worked out.

The General Strike in Finland.

Victory of the Political Prisoners.

By A. J. Sm.

The government negotiated today with the representatives of the political prisoners in the Ekenäs prison. The negotiations ended with the complete success of the hunger strikers' whose demands had to be fully granted by the government.

This result is more than a local event; it is a victory of class-conscious Finnish workers who effectively supported the fight of the hunger strikers by mass demonstrations and a general strike for a definite period.

Class antagonisms in Finland have of late experienced a noticeable intensification. This is due both to economic and political causes. The economic position of the country becomes worse every day. The favourable business situation, which lasted for such a considerable time as a result of the lowness of the currency, has finally come to an end; the number of unemployed is increasing daily as well as the discontent of the impoverished and all peasants.

The political causes of the increased antagonisms are to be sought in the growing radicalisation of broad strata of the workers and peasants and in the growing militancy of the class-conscious proletariat.

This change is reflected also in the inner struggles of the trade union movement. Since its revival after the victory of the Whites 11 years ago, the Finnish trade union movement has been subjected to the fiercest persecution; numerous local groups have been dissolved and hundreds of the best members thrown to prison. It was hardly possible to forbid the movement as a Communist movement, as was done in the year 1923, because social-democratic workers belong to it and because numerous social-democrats occupy important posts in it. The social-democratic leaders have long realised that they will never be able to capture the majority in the movement by legal means. Hence they waited impatiently until the time when they would be able to crush it and capture it with the help of the police.

The growing economic crisis in connection with the intensification of the political antagonisms brought them the long desired opportunity. The social-democrats felt that their time had come and proceeded to act. Their splitting conference on the 30th of October has already set up the framework of the independent organisation; a few of the unions under their control have, without consulting their members, disaffiliated from the Trade Union Federation, which they now denounced as a Communist organisation.

The hunger strike of the political prisoners can be regarded as a striking expression of the increased antagonisms. There have always been political prisoners in the Finnish Republic, even when the social-democrats were in power, and their treatment has always been bad. Many of them contracted incurable diseases, and in fact perished. The increased militant spirit of the masses, however, penetrates prison walls and gradually spreads to the imprisoned class champions, spurring them to resistance. In the notorious Ekenäs prison they enter unitedly on a hunger strike. The news spread like lightning over the whole country and roused the greatest excitement among the population. The inmates of other prisons likewise entered on a hunger strike.

In order effectively to support this struggle a nation-wide general strike was called by the trade union federation, a decision which was welcomed by numerous mass demonstrations. The social-democrats once again came forward as enemies of the workers by appealing to the working class through their press not to obey the strike slogan; and the bourgeois telegraph agencies, together with the social-democrats, spread the news throughout the whole world that the strike was a failure. This assertion is not in accordance with the facts.

The general strike was complete in many localities, especially in Northern Finland. But it was, of course, considerably hampered by the treachery and the sabotage of social democracy. The attitude of the government shows that the general strike acquired a far greater importance than the enemy wishes to make believe. The fact that only a few days ago the government had considered the question of forcibly feeding the hunger strikers proves that the government gave way only under the pressure of the general strike. The hunger strikers have won thanks only to the support of the whole of the Finnish working class.

The Situation in Persia.

By W. Petrik (Moscow).

The insurrection in the South of Persia, beginning in the province of Fars in March, spreading to the North in the direction of Isfahan in June, and taking a very dangerous turn for the government when joined by the Bachtiyars in July, came to a standstill at the beginning of August. The government has succeeded in neutralising a number of the insurgent tribes by means of negotiations, and in driving the main Bachtiyar forces out of the Isfahan district. It may therefore be assumed that the rising is practically liquidated, and some conclusions may already be drawn.

The movement among the tribes in the South of Persia was undeniably of common origin, and was aroused by the serious dissatisfaction felt with regard to the political and economic measures of the present Persian government. The policy of centralisation, of abolishing the autonomy of the tribes, of collecting taxes through the agency of special officials instead of by the chiefs of the tribes, the appointment of military governors, the introduction of military service with its resultant recruiting measures, and the simultaneous disarmament of the tribes — all this aroused the discontent of the nomads. To this came the attacks upon and pillaging of the tribes by the military authorities entrusted with the execution of the measures.

It must, however, be remembered at the same time that during the last few years South Persia has been experiencing an agricultural and economic crisis, due to the reduction of the area under opium cultivation, to the stagnation in trade, and in part to the opening of the western transport route across the Persian Gulf, which inevitably undermined the importance of the southern provinces of Persia as a transit area. The government opium monopoly was a severe blow to the decisive masses of the population in these provinces. Those who suffered were not only the peasants, but a large number of trading middlemen, besides the wholesale dealers in whose hands the export of Persian opium had hitherto been concentrated.

A further characteristic feature of the insurgent movement in South Persia is the fact that an essentially reactionary po-

litical programme was drawn up. The demands restricted themselves principally to the narrow interests of the individual tribes. The rebellion was led by reactionary elements anxious to make capital for themselves out of the dissatisfaction of the masses, and seeking to force the government, with the help of the masses, to restore feudal rights and privileges. The organising driving force was the clergy, who had lost much of their influence of late years. In the Southern states of Persia the clergy declared a "holy war" against the Teheran government. The clergy, though unable to arouse any comprehensive movement against the government, on the other hand, alienated from the movement the so-called "advanced" circles of Persia.

These advanced circles at first sympathised with the rising, in the hope that the government would be induced to grant reforms. As soon as they observed, however, that the feudal large landowners and the clergy were seizing upon the leadership, they sided with the government, fearing a repetition of events in Afghanistan. The passive attitude of the radical elements resulted in the political crisis in Persia taking a turn in favour of the representatives of the old regime.

As a matter of fact, the insurrection was liquidated by means of compromises with the old regime. The government reinstated into power the chiefs of the southern tribes. They sanctioned the return of Dowle to Shiraz, and restored administrative powers to the old khan of the Bachtiyars, Mofacham.

The line taken by the concessions of the government may be seen from the fact that in Teheran the women, who during the last eighteen months had the right to appear in public places accompanied by men, and to visit theatres, cinemas, etc., have on the pressure of the clergy, been deprived of these rights again. The sole economic measure which the government has seen fit to undertake under the influence of events in South Persia has been the reorganisation of the opium monopoly, which has been placed in the hands of a group of wholesale dealers.

The government believes that by this compromise with trade capital it will avoid the necessity of economic reforms. The press, apparently not without a hint from above, has opened a campaign against the abuse of official power by the tax officials. This is advanced as the reason for the dissatisfaction of the population with a taxation system good in itself.

From all this it may be seen that Persian government circles, whilst finding a loophole for escape in these concessions to the clergy and the large landowners, are by no means inclined to remove the causes forcing the broad masses into a struggle against the present regime.

The results of the rebellion in South Persia bear witness to the beginning of a counter-attack on the part of the feudal lords and the clergy who have exploited the rising to fortify their positions. This turn of events is doubtlessly extremely agreeable to the English imperialists. English imperialism, as the Persian press has maintained in opposition to the denials of the Reuter Agency, had its hand in the game, seeking to weaken and split up Persia. The movement in South Persia must be viewed in connection with the analogous happenings in Afghanistan and Kurdistan where the participation of English agents has been ascertained beyond all doubt. At the same time the internal driving forces of the Persian rising must be comprehended, the more that Persia is in the midst of a serious economic crisis, a commercial stagnation, and its state budget shows a serious deficit. A further development of events in Persia is therefore well within the bounds of possibility. What direction it will take greatly depends, however, on the extent to which the present regime will draw the lessons from the insurrection.

"Imperialism is capitalism passing out, not capitalism gone; it is capitalism dying, not dead. Not pure monopolies, but monopolies alongside of competition, exchange, markets, and crises, — this, generally, is the most essential feature of imperialism.

"... It is this very combination of contradictory principles, of competition and monopoly, that is the essence of imperialism, it is this that leads to the final crash, the Socialist revolution."

Lenin, Collected Works Vol XX, part, 2 page 331.

THE BALKANS

The Situation in Bulgaria and the Trial of the "52".

By D. Ivanoff (Sophia).

The big trial of "the 52", of the illegal members of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Bulgaria and a number of functionaries thereof and of leaders of the legal class labour movement has been fixed for November 20th of this year. The trial is to take place at a moment of extremely intense political and class conflicts in the country. On the other hand, the Government and of the "oppositional" Fascist bourgeoisie is exploiting the murder of the three judges of the district in Sevlievo and is creating around the trial a heavy atmosphere of murder by demanding the passing and execution of sentences in accordance with the State Protection Act.

The inner political situation of the country is characterised by complete anarchy — every day there are murders and threats of murder; this murderous activity is not in the least interfered with by the Government, for it also takes part in the structure. The division and the murders among the Macedonian nationalist circles are now passing over to military circles of the Government circles. The last threats to murder the former of the academy of war, Colonel D. Weltscheff, the former Minister and present parliamentary speaker, the blood Professor Alexander Zankoff, have caused great panic among those interested, and this panic is finding expression in sharp discussions and public exposures — in "open letters" in the press: The Ministry of War and its higher officers are characterised openly as organisers and executors of the political murders, for instance, Colonel Porkoff. The State police authorities are "accused" of not yet having arrested a single (!) murderer of the hundreds of murderers among the Macedonians.

Financially and economically the country is on the verge of collapse. Several weeks ago one of the oldest and biggest banks, Bakloff Brothers, collapsed; numerous bankruptcies are reported from the provinces. The balance of foreign trade for the first nine months of the current year shows a deficit of 1,800,000,000 Levas! The working masses are living in a state of describable poverty.

The foreign political position of the country and government is no better. The whole so-called "public opinion" is awaiting in great tension the decision of the Paris conference on "eastern reparations". According to the most recent reports Bulgarian reparation payments are to be raised and no concession is provided for.

In consequence of this hopeless position and as result of the upsurge of the masses and to the attacks started by the working class (general strike of tobacco workers, etc.) the Government is greatly increasing the Terror and is trying by means of a sequence of new political mass trials to deal with the class movement in the country, at the head of which stands the C. P. of Bulgaria. In addition to the approaching trial of "the 52", the following trials have also been indicated:

In **Sofia**: 32 persons in connection with August 15, 1923, including all the members of the Central Committee of the Labour Party and of the independent trade unions;

In **Plovdiv**: 23 persons, including all the members of the C. C. of the Independent Tobacco Workers Federation, etc. There are also a number of trials of individual Labour functionaries pending.

The suppression and persecution of the legal class struggle is being carried on with special brutality. Since August 1st (August 1st) there have been arrested and charged with the protection of the State Act: nine editors of the "Rabnochesko Delo", three editors of the "Edinstvo", two editors of the "Amnestie" and several from the youth journals "Mladost" and "Mladesha Duma". In consequence of the systematic confiscations these papers often fail to appear for weeks.

The most important task at the moment is the immediate introduction, expansion and intensification of the international action for the repulse of the attack upon the C. P. of Bulgaria and upon the legal class organisations in the country. It is a matter of protecting those heroic champions of the C. P. of Bulgaria who are still alive and who are marked for the most terrible tortures and draconic imprisonment.

nces. The old nationalist criminal and English agent Michail **Madsharoff** (ex-Prime Minister) prescribes through the intermediary of the Government banker journal "Slovo" that the King should approve the 20 or so death sentences recently submitted to him and in future not hesitate over the approval of death sentences or refuse to sign them (!). It is well known that King Boris, as honorary president of the Fascists, is a supporter of political murder without trial. He is not willing to risk putting his name to so many written sentences of death.

As far as the murder of the three judges from the district of Sevlievo is concerned, this is an act of petty-bourgeois anarchist elements. Even the men who committed it, the insurgent group of **Dotcho Usunoff**, describe their deed as "revenge on behalf of the Peasants' League". In the question he put to the Government, the Fascist deputy **Charisanoff** admits the political nature of this deed. It is of importance to mention that this murder took place in a locality in which every summer since the **Liaptsheff** rule began there have been several blood baths, in which members of the peasant league and Communists have been murdered in great numbers (**Trojan, Lovetch** and others) at the command of the savage **Liaptcheff** police and military punitive force. Hence the hatred of the populace for the bloody Fascist power; hence the support given to the insurgents by the populations of these towns. — Punitive forces are again in these districts, and even papers like the "Narod" and "Zname", whose Fascist tendency is well known, report on the "excessive efforts" of the Government robber bands in regard to the local population.

The following cases are characteristic of the cruelty and cynicism of Bulgarian Terror justice: Within the last few days the district court of Plovdiv has passed life sentences upon the young peasants who were convicted in connection with the attempts made last summer on the life of the Minister. And this in spite of the declaration made by the two experts appointed by the court that the weapons of the accused had not been used! The chief accused exhibited to the court a piece of the skin that had been torn off his body in the process of extracting a "confession" from him. The medical expert testified that the skin was real "human skin". The yellow press ("Utro" and other papers) published this as a sensation. On the other hand, the court martial, final cassation court, at Sofia, recently confirmed the acquittal in the trial of several colonels, who were accused in connection with the explosion which took place in the arsenal last spring, in which attempt to blow up the whole place 33 workwomen and several workmen were burnt to death.

The only hope remaining to the heroic champions of "the 52" is the support of the Bulgarian and international proletariat. In March of this year a special committee was formed for the defence of the prisoners. By means of public meetings and through its actions of protest this committee exposed the terrible tortures practised upon the prisoners in the infamous police headquarters at Sofia. The enraged authorities condemned the members of this committee and two worker editors each to three years' imprisonment and 20,000 levas fine! A special committee for the defence of the prisoners has now been formed of representatives of worker organisations, of factories, etc.

It is the duty of the international proletariat to repulse by means of a broad mass protest the attack upon the C. P. B., which is now being aimed at the accused in the trial of "the 52", as also against the legal Labour movement.

CHINA

The Military Situation in China.

When the Nanking clique succeeded, in the spring of 1929, in defeating the Kwangsi generals (**Pei Shun Tsi, Li Shun Tsen, Li Ti Shin**, etc.) and driving back their troops into the interior of the Province of Kwangsi, it seemed as if Nanking was about to attain its object, the political unification of the country.

At that time the Nanking government spoke of the disarmament of the Chinese army as one of the first items on the agenda. The Washington Conference estimated the numerical strength of the Chinese army at 1,200,000 men (at the present time, however, the strength of the whole of the troops under the various generals is 2.5 millions. The army swallows up 75 per cent. of the total state expenditure). The Nanking go-

vernment plans a reduction of the army to 800,000 men. The head of Chiang Kai-shek's general staff declared boastfully that the disarmament would be accomplished by September 1929.

And how do matters stand in reality? Scarcely a week after these declarations, the conflict between Nanking and Feng Yu Hsiang broke out. A group of generals under the leadership of the president of the Provincial Government at Shensi applied on the 10th October to Feng and Yen Si Shan, with the demand that a punitive expedition be organised against Chiang Kai-shek.

According to official Chinese sources, Nanking then gathered together 26 divisions, totalling 260,000 men, on the frontier of Hupeh and Hunan. Nanking felt itself especially threatened by Feng Yu Hsiang in connection with the attitude taken by Yen Si Shan (who is supported by an army of 200,000 men). Yen Si Shan has declined the honour of being nominated "Representative of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Nanking on land, water, and in the air". He has also refused to meet the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek.

Feng Yu Hsiang, his rear thus covered, has taken up war operations in Honan, and threatens the strategically important Chengchow (junction of the Peking-Hankow and Lunghai railways).

These operations are being carried out in the section Hen-fin (Feng) — Misian (Nanking troops). The telegraphic reports on the progress of the struggle are extremely confused and contradictory. Nanking is, however, certainly in a serious and sition on this section of the front. The two places above named are of great importance in that they are the key positions in the direction of Chengchow and Laoyan.

The severest blow for the Nanking government has, however, been the defection of the troops of Chang Fa Khui, commander of the fourth "iron division". Chang Fa Khui has advanced via Hunan to Kwangsi and defeated the Nanking troops, although he is numerically weaker, taking 5000 prisoners (China Weekly Review). The latest reports state that Chang Fa Khui's troops, said to consist of about 30,000 men, have occupied the strategically important point Wuchow on the Kwangsi and Kwantung frontier. The object of Chang Fa Khui's offensive is the conquest of Canton and the rich province of Kwantung as operating basis for a campaign towards the North. General **Lu Wun Im**, commander of the Wuchow garrison, has also risen against Nanking (this before the occupation by Chang Fa Khui).

At the present time, therefore, Nanking is being closed in from both the North and the South.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 18th November 1929.

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union took place from the 10th to the 17th inst. inclusive and dealt with the following questions: 1. the control figures for the current economic year 1929/30; 2. the results and the further tasks of the collectivisation; 3. the report of the C. C. of the C. P. of the Ukraine concerning the work in the village; 4. the People's Commissariat for Agriculture; 5. the carrying out of the decisions of the July 1928 plenary session concerning the training of new technicians, and 6. the question of the right-wing danger. Having regard to the fact that the right-wing leaders, **Bukharin, Rykov** and **Tomski** have not abandoned their deviations, the session decided to remove comrade **Bukharin** from the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and to issue a warning to the others that any attempt to continue their fractional struggle against the Party would result in organisational measures against them.

The members of the Central Committee **Kotov, Michailov, Uglanov** and **Kulikov** made a declaration to the session according to which they have abandoned their right-wing deviations.

The plenary session fixed the next Party Congress for May 1930, and elected the leader of the Political Administration of the Red Army, **Gamarnik** into the Organisational Bureau of the C. C. and comrade **Schvernik** as substitute member of the Orgbureau.

TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The October Revolution and the Soviet Union as the Source of Fighting Experience for the World Proletariat.

By D. Manuilsky (Moscow).

The October Revolution has enriched the theory and practice of the revolutionary proletarian struggle. In the fire of the October fights the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the dictatorship of the proletariat was finally forged, sharpened and tested. The October upheaval imparted to this teachings muscles, nerves and blood of the proletarian revolution. The international working class gathered experiences which could not have been conveyed to it either by the most profound theoretical investigations or volumes of encyclopaedias. On the roads pioneered by the proletariat of the Soviet Union millions of proletarians of other countries will advance more firmly, more boldly and with greater assurance to the victory of world communism. In the fight for the proletarian dictatorship Bolshevism set up a flawless system of views regarding the driving forces of revolution, which the lessons of October have confirmed and which constitutes the guiding line for the Communist Parties which are now advancing towards the proletarian revolution. Unlike the opportunists of the Second International and the anarchist braggarts who have never dealt seriously with the questions of the proletarian revolution, Bolshevism has in the actual practice of long years of revolutionary struggle thoroughly examined the question of the allies of the proletariat both in the democratic and in the proletarian revolution. Here also the October victory was a splendid opportunity in order to test the correctness of the Leninist standpoint. And finally, in October there also stood the test, Lenin's teaching regarding the Party, which prepares and organises the revolution and leads the proletariat to the revolution, the Party which seizes the leadership of the spontaneous movement, the Party as the advance-guard, as the pick of the best, bravest and most self-sacrificing forces of the working class.

All these decisive elements of Leninism and of the October revolution are to-day an integral part of the bolshevisation of the Comintern sections. They form that great political capital of which no power can deprive the international working class. What we called bolshevisation of the sections of the Comintern was the implanting in the international communist movement, which has arisen and is developing under various national conditions, the twenty-five years' experience of Bolshevism and the October revolution; the overcoming in this movement, first and before all, of the opportunism of the social-democratic traditions, and secondly of the influence of those manifold political doctrines and tendencies which found a fertile soil in the split up condition of the international labour movement before the war.

The October revolution gave the international working class Leninism as the only international theory and practice of the revolutionary proletarian fight. The founding of the Communist International laid the foundation stone of the victory of Leninism and of October in the international labour movement. For the first time this movement received an international organisation of the proletarian advance-guard, which supports itself on the victorious proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and has at its disposal the rich experiences of the Party which is leading this proletarian dictatorship. Thus there was created the platform for the ideological hegemony of the C. P. of the Soviet Union in the Comintern, a hegemony which is not artificially imposed from the outside but which inevitably results from the historical importance of the October revolution.

The C. P. of the Soviet Union, Leninism and the October revolution can neither be separated from each other nor from the Comintern. Whoever deals a blow against one of these members deals it at the same time against the October revolution. Whoever spurns the experiences of the C. P. of the Soviet Union is bound to become the enemy of the Comintern, which grew up politically and organisationally out of these experiences.

Hence Brandler and Kilboom, who are fighting against the "hegemony of Moscow" under the slogan of "independence" of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries from the C. P. S. U. and the Comintern, are agents of international counter-revolution, whose sole aim and endeavour is to force the Labour movement from the path of world October. In the period of revolutionary rallying of proletarian forces these miserable remnants of opportunist sectarianism, the spectres of the pre-war period of the labour movement, endeavoured, without success, to turn back the wheel of history.

The history of the C. P. S. U. up to October 1917 teaches the international proletariat how to prepare and organise the proletarian revolution. Again, October 1917 teaches how the proletarian revolution is to be carried out, and the past twenty years show how the proletarian dictatorship is to be consolidated and socialism built up. In their totality these lessons form the content of the revolutionary practice of the Communist Parties which are fighting for the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship. At the same time the decisive stages in the development and consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the successes on the path of socialist construction are closely bound up with the fate of the international communist movement, with its rises and falls, with its victories and temporary or partial defeats. Hence there exists in the class strategy and tactics a Leninist unity which is a guarantee of the success of the communist world movement as a whole.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union is conducting the offensive against the Nepman, the kulak and the bureaucrats; it thereby forcing the offensive of the working class in the capitalist countries against capital. Our Five-Year Plan is an inseparable part, the most important part of the plan of world revolution. On the other hand, the successes of the communist movement abroad, as a factor seriously shaking the capitalist stabilisation, change the relation of class forces in the international arena in a sense favourable to the proletariat and serve as a basis for successful socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The close connection between the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the communist world movement secures the uniform political line of the C. P. S. U. and of the other sections of the Comintern. Every deviation from this line in the C. P. S. U. has immediate effects in the other sections of the Comintern. The Right elements in the Communist International, for example, rally round the Right opportunist deviation in the C. P. S. U. and seek in it political and organisational support. Every political action of the Rights in the C. P. S. U. rouses the hopes of the whole of the international right-wing for a "change of course" in the Comintern. On the other hand, the rights elements of the C. P. S. U., in the fight against the line of the Party, rely for support on the analogous groupings in the other sections of the Comintern and use them, so to speak, as crutches.

The unity of revolutionary aim, thought and will of the Communist movement found expression in the united tactical attitude of the recent X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Take, for example, the question of self-criticism. In the Soviet Union we are at present engaged in increasing the initiative of the millions of workers in the interest of successful socialist construction. We are making self-criticism a means for the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, for drawing the backward strata of the toilers into the vanguard. We are making the building up of socialism the actual business of millions of workers and peasants.

Many foreign comrades draw from this the conclusion that with us Bolsheviki the slogan of self-criticism has arisen only in recent time and is determined by the reconstruction of our national economy; that the C. P. S. U. permitted self-criticism both within the Party and among the toilers only after it had suitably prepared the membership for it and had overcome the various deviations. Such a conception makes of self-criticism a sort of luxury, which can be allowed only on exceptional occasions. Others go even farther: they believe that the slogan of self-criticism has a specifically "Russian" origin; that in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries it plays only a subordinate role. Such a view regarding the attitude of the Communist-Bolsheviki to self-criticism is fundamentally false and is refuted by the whole history of Bolshevism.

The development of Bolshevism in the 25 years of its existence is characterised by the most ruthless criticism of every opportunist tendency in the Russian labour movement. It

ulture are being greatly increased (2,600 million roubles compared with 1,200 million in 1928/29), signifying a three-fold increase for the collective farms — from 101 to 300 tons.

The successes of the advance of collective farming cannot not lead to a concealment from the broad masses of difficulties and unsound symptoms which have revealed selves of late. The energetic attack being made on the peasant, the restrictions placed on his possibilities of taxation, the organised pressure being exercised against him by the poor and middle peasantry, force him to seek other means and to maintain his influence. The big peasant and the well-to-do peasant are trying to penetrate into the collective farms, to disrupt them from within, to place themselves at head of the separate collective farms, and to employ the methods advanced by the state for their individual enrichment. The specific weight of the farms of the big and well-to-do peasantry is fairly considerable in some districts, reaching 4 to 5 per cent., and even more, in some places.

The struggle going on at the present time in connection with collective farms, and within these between the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements on the one hand and the rich peasants on the other, is the best illustration of the fact that the advance of collective farms does not mean the cessation of the class struggle in the village, but that it assumes new forms, and the struggle is waged around other questions. The struggle centres on the question of the fulfilment of the obligations undertaken towards the state (the punctual and complete delivery of grain, the reimbursement of credits, the undertaking of the maximum of agronomic measures, etc.); it hinges on the tempo of the socialisation of the separate processes of production, and the means of production still in individual use (horses, cows, buildings); it turns on the question of the utilisation of individual savings for the needs of collective agriculture, etc. Serious cases of arson in collective farms, destruction of their property, and of the murder of the leading members of collective farms, bear witness to the degree of acuteness reached by the class struggle at the present juncture.

The acuteness of the class struggle in the question of the advance of collective farming movement, the necessity of mobilising the whole of the forces of the rural poor and of the middle peasantry to break the resistance of the big peasants, is the best demonstration of the complete bankruptcy suffered by the Rights with their misguided idea of the possibility of a "peaceful growing of socialism on the part of the big peasants". The struggle at the accelerated pace of development of collective farming, the ruthless extermination of the roots of capitalism, is impossible without a simultaneous, energetic, and constant struggle against the Rights and their misguided methods, which in actual fact help the big peasant to frustrate our work, and to slow down the pace of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

The new stage reached in the reorganisation of the village before the working class a number of new tasks. The village needs only the joint leadership of the processes of socialist reconstruction. It needs at the same time leaders and organisers for the work who reorganise the progress of agriculture form craft and home industries to industrial undertakings on a factory scale. The experience gained in factories and works, in the mines, at industrial centres; the proletarian discipline and organisation evolved in decades of work in industrial undertakings — these must be transferred to the fields of the peasantry, and the petty peasant must be transformed into a disciplined worker in agricultural industry.

These new tasks raise for the labour and trade union organisations the question of the changes to be made in the system of patronage, of the formation of firmly established organic relations between the individual sections of the city proletariat and the broad masses of the peasantry. The sending of workers' squads, the adoption (patronage) by large industrial undertakings of the newly organised Soviet farms and collective agricultural undertakings, the appointment of organisers for each newly created Soviet and collective farm, and the daily participation in the working out of the production plans of these undertakings — this is the new word which the town worker has to say with respect to the real support given the village during the last few months.

The Patronage Factories of the Comintern Deliver their Report.

At the session of the Pol-Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on 6th November there appeared quite unexpectedly a big delegation from the workers of the mining undertakings "Comintern" in order to deliver their report to their Chief on the results of the first year of the Five-Year Plan. The E. C. C. I. at once interrupted the discussion of the great political problems of the Indian Revolution and received a short and lively report on the results of the socialist construction in the mining undertakings "Comintern".

The workers spoke simply but with great enthusiasm of their achievements. The few figures quoted on the growth of production, of wages, the reduction of prime costs showed the great success of the miners in the last two years. The workers of all the mining undertakings of which the Comintern is the patron, drew up a common report. The delegation had been elected at mass meetings of 5000 miners, and consisted of Party members and non-Party workers. The delegation also included a woman worker and an old worker bent with years of toil, who was so deeply moved by the proceedings that tears stood in his eyes.

Comrade Ulbricht, the representative of the C. P. of Germany, welcomed the delegation on behalf of the E. C. C. I. He emphasised the great impression which the successes of the socialist construction have made upon the workers in the capitalist countries. Among other things he referred to the socialist competition, The Mensheviks and the bourgeoisie calumniate the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, they describe the socialist competition as exploitation of the working class and lowering of the standard of living of the Soviet proletariat. The working masses, however, are following with indescribable enthusiasm every advance on the path of socialist construction and competition. The best reply to the report will be that the Comintern brings it to the knowledge of the workers of the whole world. Comrade Ulbricht made the proposal that a permanent connection be established between a big factory of which the Comintern is the patron and a corresponding factory in a capitalist country, say in the Ruhr district. The workers of the mining undertakings "Comintern" should conclude an agreement of revolutionary competition with the miners of Western Europe and get their comrades in the capitalist countries to undertake to achieve the same successes in the sphere of the revolutionary organisation of the masses and in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, as the workers of the mining undertakings "Comintern" have achieved in the sphere of socialist construction.

The concluding speech of the leader of the miner's delegation Lutzky was very characteristic. He reminded the E. C. C. I. of Lenin's words: "On the 24th the proletarian insurrection may be premature and on the 26th it may be too late; the staff of the world revolution must always be prepared to lead the working masses at the proper time into decisive battle". The workers desire of their patron, the Comintern, that it be able to choose suitable leaders for the Communist world movement. The miners appeal, through the Comintern, to all class-conscious workers of the world, actively to support the socialist construction in the Soviet Union. We often receive damaged machines. The "G. P. U." mine recently received machines from abroad with unsuitable parts. The Communist and the class conscious proletariat in the whole world must assist the Soviet proletariat in this matter.

Comrade Manuisky then gave, on behalf of the E. C. C. I., a short survey of the position of the Communist world movement.

When taking their departure, one of the workers explained: "Up with the revolution in another country!"

The report of the delegation and the whole session left a great impression upon all present.

A Tractor Every Six Minutes.

By A. C. — B.

Not so very long ago there was a semi-desert steppe here near Stalingrad between the Volga and the rivulette "Mokraya Mechetka".

When our train, packed with workers stopped 12 kilometres from Stalingrad we eagerly sought the famous steppe and the "Mokraya Mechetka".

On the left side of the road, beyond the tramline, where there was not a single tree in former days, there is now the verdure of a new park, further there is a street with two and three storey houses, still further there is a row of unfinished buildings, and finally, there are the wooden sheds where the pioneers of the Traktorstroi (tractor factory) are to be found.

To the right, down to the Volga, there is a colossal stretch of timber, cranes, roads, watch towers, woodstacks, steam engines, tractors, — the first giant tractor factory in the U. S. S. R. is in construction.

The area where construction is going on, including the workers' settlement, occupies more than 500 hectares. The stream of workers descending from the two trains were immediately lost on this vast territory.

There are 8000 people employed in the construction of the tractor factory, but there is nobody to be seen. There are more machines than men. It is the machine that determines the tempo and nature of the work.

At the entrance gate there is a sign board saying: "The factory shall be ready for the XIII. October anniversary". This slogan means something definite. The factory will be set in motion by the XIII. anniversary of the October Revolution and will supply the country in 1930 with the first consignment of 30 powerful "International" tractors.

Finally, in 1933 a finished tractor will come out through the doors of the assembly department every 6 minutes.

The Stalingrad factory will produce 141 tractors daily. Forty thousand "steel horses", an aggregate of 1,200,000 h. p. will be annually contributed by the Traktorstroi for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture*).

The builders of the Traktorstroi have been given the task of getting ahead of America. The McCormik Duhring tractor factory in America, which is the largest in the world, produces only 110 tractors per day, the Traktorstroi will produce 31 more.

This is no easy task but will be fulfilled. The enthusiasm of the builders, which is unusual even for the U. S. S. R., is a guarantee.

* * *

Formerly there were all kinds of obstacles, there was a lack of material; but now this is forgotten. What is lacking is skilled labour, there are not enough bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, — is what an engineer tells me.

The manager in charge of the construction tells me what is already finished. There is the repair mechanical shop which has been set in operation two months earlier than expected. The tool shop is almost finished and now the benches are being set. The main shop is being finished. The vocational training school and laboratories are already roofed. Eleven brick houses with 30—40 apartments each are already finished, 21 are in construction, the walls already being up. Foundations are being laid for other houses. By 1931 about 10,000 workers will be settled in the neighbourhood.

The auxiliary departments of the factory are almost finished. The main departments — the assembly room, the smithy and foundry, which are the backbone of the factory, are being completed.

It should be observed in this connection that the architecture of the foundry gives certain difficulties even for America. It occupies about 3 hectares of land. But the builders say calmly that the foundry has to be ready by April and that it will be ready in time.

* * *

*) According to the last reports the programme for the factory has been changed and it will have to produce 50,000 tractors annually.

We are on our way to the place of construction. Among the woodstacks and timber we can see the mechanical workshop, the first shop of the gigantic factory where American technique is multiplied by the socialist organisation of labour. There is no resemblance whatever to any even the best factories built prior to the revolution.

The entire building, 3800 square metres in space, is of glass and concrete. One marvels over the lightness of construction, the mass of light and air.

Entering the building we come first to the dressing room where there are 200 individual cupboards. Then there is the washing and bath room, then follows a huge room with a boiler called "Titan" with neat little tables. This is a living room. Still further comes the workshop.

The business of this department is to keep the tractor equipment in good shape. In it there is a complete set of kinds of machines, a small smithy, a boiler department, even a painting shop — one may call it a factory within a factory.

At the present time they are experimenting on the tractors in this department. The first party of tractors already being worked upon. Seventy five machines are ready by the end of the year. On the experience of the tractors will be verified the drafts, details and materials. Mass production will begin the repair shop will do its work, repair the factory equipment.

It is of interest to note that there is a special shower not only for people but also for machines...

Any machine or part of a machine in need of repair goes through the shower where it is washed by special machines with brushes, after which it goes to the workroom.

The department like the whole factory is built on the conveyor system. The material enters in one end and comes all ready at the other end.

The "International" consists of about 5000 parts. Each part must go through a number of processes. Not a single part goes back. After each process it goes forward, nearer the end, to the conveyor where the tractor is assembled.

A tractor every 6 minutes, such is the speed of the conveyor. Every minute part must be made in time for each tractor. The Traktorstroi will be the first factory in the U. S. S. R. producing tens of thousands of uniform machines, and so on else.

My guide is in a hurry to get his English lesson. He is the language that people are very much interested in at the Traktorstroi. Two hundred and sixty engineers and workers are going to America to study.

The problem of skilled workers is a very serious one. The factory will have to employ 10,000 workers, about 5000 of whom will have to be skilled people who can work 24 hours a clock, they will have to work on the most modern machines. That is why, the vocational training school is already being built where cadres of "Soviet-Americans" will be trained.

* * *

The sun has long ago plunged into the loose clouds. A clear morning has replaced a cold autumn rain which we had not to notice.

Our feet were slipping along the slippery mud. The darkness of territory made themselves felt. The Volga swelled and turned dark. With the gray river as a background there a gigantic crane raised like a finger towards the heavens.

These are decisive days, said my guide, a young man who is about to go to America. The building season is coming to an end. We have taken the American tempo. We learn to appreciate the value of a day during the summer. The problem before us now is to keep up our tempo, to make use of every hour and every minute.

And everywhere we can read the wall newspapers on the walls with the big headlines: Speed up!

Soviet agriculture which is being reorganised along socialist lines must have tens and hundreds of thousands of tractors. The workers of Stalingrad are going to produce

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Struggle of the Indonesian People for National Independence.

Statement of the League Against Imperialism.

The Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian National Independence Party) in Holland took part in the first world congress of the League against Imperialism which took place in Brussels in February 1927. It was mandated by the whole national movement of Indonesia and took part in the work of the congress with a strong delegation. The affiliation of the Perhimpunan Indonesia was an expression of the sympathy of the Indonesian masses with the aims of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, and at the same time an expression of the will of the masses to join the united anti-imperialist front.

The participation of the Perhimpunan Indonesia in the work of the first world congress of the League against Imperialism provided the pretext for the arrest of four of the Indonesian leaders by the Dutch government. These four were afterwards acquitted, but not until they had been seven months in prison awaiting trial.

This acquittal before an imperialist court was no sign of the mercy of imperialist justice. It was a carefully planned manoeuvre to trap the young Indonesians into co-operating with the Dutch social democrats who had undertaken the defence in court, in order to break the resistance of the Indonesian movement.

In July 1929, shortly before the opening of the second world congress of the League against Imperialism in Frankfurt am Main, the Dutch Press Agency "Aneta" reported the arrest of 25 of the leaders of the Sarekat Kaum Buruh Indonesia (S. K. B. I.) in Surabaya. 20 other persons were arrested in Surakarta. The Dutch authorities sought to justify the arrests by declaring that the S. K. B. I. was affiliated to the League against Imperialism and that it allegedly maintained connections with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

What was the S. K. B. I. which has in the meantime been completely suppressed by the Dutch government? It was not a national-revolutionary organisation, but a purely trade union organisation which organised the workers in the towns and in the State undertakings and which had commenced to work also amongst the employees of the sugar plantations in Sidhoardjo in Java.

Simultaneously with the arrests in Surabaya and Surakarta (Java), the police raided the offices of the Indonesian newspaper "Pevarta Deli", and the offices of the Chinese newspaper "Sin Huat Po" and arrested Kusuma Sumantri in Medan (Sumatra).

Press reports show that a whole meeting of Indonesians was arrested in Bandung (Java), including the most popular leader of the Indonesian national-revolutionary movement, Sukarno. The Dutch imperialists are following the example of the other imperialists in other countries (India, the Public Safety Bill, the Trades Disputes Bill, the gagging laws against the press etc). Declaring that it is fighting only against the growing communist movement and not against the national movement, the Dutch government is striving to disrupt the joint struggle of the Indonesian masses and separate the national-revolutionary elements from the revolutionary sections of the workers, in order then to defeat both sections separately. A new law is being prepared against the national movement in Indonesia and the Dutch imperialist press is conducting a furious campaign of incitement against the Perhimpunan Indonesia. The Dutch Social Democratic Party is eagerly assisting the bourgeoisie, and now that its plan to win the Indonesian nationalists has been unsuccessful it is busy in its press and meetings, terming those Indonesians who demand a real independence for Indonesia "communists" with a view to discrediting them and making it more easy for the Dutch imperialist government to persecute them.

All these facts show clearly that the Dutch imperialists who have failed in detaching the Indonesian masses from the struggle for complete independence, are now doing everything

in order to intimidate the working class movement and the national organisations by a wave of terror and to cut them off from the international anti-imperialist movement. The imperialists however will not succeed in crushing the will to freedom of a whole people and in isolating them from their allies in the outside world.

Mass protests in Indonesia are being violently suppressed on the basis of the existing laws. It is the duty of the workers and peasants of the whole world in general, and of the Dutch workers and peasants in particular to express their solidarity with the struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses in Indonesia. Only strong pressure on the part of the international proletariat can force the government in the present situation to stop the brutal persecutions in Indonesia, to release the banished revolutionaries from Boven Digul, and to establish freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of organisation in Indonesia. The oppressed peoples and national minorities all over the world must show their active solidarity in an energetic struggle against their own oppressors and answer the new push of the Dutch imperialists in Indonesia with a determined refusal to permit any section of the international anti-imperialist movement to be cut off from the main body by the arbitrary violence of the Dutch imperialists.

October 31st 1929.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Conclusion of the Hunger Strike of the Political Prisoners in Hungary.

By A. S.

The political prisoners of the Hungarian jails have stopped their hunger strike; in as just as well organised, simultaneous and disciplined manner as they began it.

The counter-revolutionary Hungarian Government boasts that it broke the hunger strike, compelled the political prisoners to give it up without making any concessions to them.

This fight was fought with very different weapons: on the one side the Terrorist Government with all the instruments of power in its hands; on the other side the prisoners, cut off from the outer world and at the mercy of the hangmen. The prisoners knew very well that through their action they could achieve no immediate, tangible result and that the hunger strike was only the first step in the fight which the Hungarian proletariat is starting with the support of the international proletariat. The prisoners wanted to rally the oppressed toilers of Hungary, to call upon the proletariat of the whole world to support them, to expose to the whole world the conditions in the Hungarian prisons, the terrible position of the political prisoners in the "consolidated" Hungary of the Horthy-Bethlen regime. In this they were successful.

This hunger strike was an action in the class struggle, and was regarded as such by the enemy. The Bethlen Government tried with lies and calumnies to discredit this hunger strike in the eyes of the public at home and abroad. But they did not succeed in deceiving the world. In every country it is known that in Hungary those who participate in the fight for the emancipation of the proletariat are punished with hard labour and gradually done to death through a cruel prison regime.

The disclosures were very disagreeable to the Horthy-Bethlen Government and it tried to avenge itself on the defenceless prisoners. The most cruel forms of forcible feeding were resorted to and the hunger strikers were thereby maltreated and tortured with heavy disciplinary punishments. All this the heroic fighters suffered with fortitude and only gave up their hunger strike when they were sure that the Hungarian and also the international proletariat had learned of their fight and declared its solidarity with them.

This hunger strike exposed not only the Bethlen Government but also Hungarian Social Democracy, which thereby played a hypocritical role. The factory workers and the trade-union workers compelled the Social-Fascist press to publish reports of the hunger strike. The press, however, merely published complaints that the political prisoners were worse

off than common criminals. The Social-Democratic press contented itself with an appeal to the government to grant the prisoners at least the regime provided by the law. Social Democracy would not take the matter up in parliament; the trade-union bureaucrats never mentioned the hunger strike anywhere and terrorised any worker who wanted to bring the matter up.

The Hungarian proletariat was not yet strong enough effectively to support the hunger strikers. The Communist Party of Hungary and the socialist Labour party raised a cry on behalf of the political prisoners, the broadest masses of the workers were in sympathy with the fighters, but no organised demonstrations or sympathy strikes came about.

The fight of the political prisoners in the Hungarian jails cost big sacrifices. Alexander Löwy, one of the best, most enthusiastic and most unselfish leaders of the Young Communist League, is dead. Alexander Sztaron, a non-Communist worker, gave his life in proof of his solidarity with the fight of the proletariat. All the others who participated in the hunger strike suffered in health therefrom.

But these sacrifices were not in vain. The hunger strike has come to an end, but the fight continues still more vigorously on a yet broader front. The proletarians and poor peasants of Hungary are not indifferent to this fight, and they will succeed in getting a humane regime for the prisoners and finally in procuring complete amnesty for them.

The oppressed proletarians of Hungary have faith in their own strength and in the support of the international proletariat. It is only a single battle that has come to an end. The class war continues.

THE CAMPAIGN OF FALSEHOODS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.

Concerning the German Peasants in the Soviet Union.

An Exposed Anti-Bolshevist Agitation.

By W. Hirsch, Berlin.

"German Brothers in Need" — "Ten Thousand German Peasants Starving before Moscow" with sensational headlines of this kind the pack of Social-Democratic-bourgeois-Fascist mercenary writers are trying to arouse all the nationalistic instincts of the population of Germany against the Soviet Power. Evidently the anti-Bolshevist agitation at this particular time, viz. before the elections on November 17th, was designed to weaken the agitation of the German Communists, who in their election campaign fervently advocated the gathering of forces for the overthrow of the bourgeois republic and the creation of a Soviet Germany.

Naturally, this election demogogy is not all that is behind the bourgeois-Social-Democratic agitation against the Soviet Union in the matter of the German colonists. Here, just as in the Swedish precedent, it is a question of the general policy of the international bourgeoisie against the socialist development of the Soviet Union. Fight against the realisation of Socialism with the help of the five-year plan in the Soviet Union — that is the banner under which the "colonist" agitation is being carried on.

It is not mere coincidence that, for instance, in Germany at the present time an extensive collection of money is being introduced by a number of societies, including the German "Red Cross", with the active support of the Government for the "German brothers in need", whereby certain big banks are nominated for the receipt and care of the money, all of which belong to the London International Creditor Committee, a consortium of anti-Bolshevist creditors of the Tsar.

The Communist Party of Germany and its Press have right from the beginning shown in an aggressive and energetic manner the mendacious and imperialistic character of this new Russian agitation. The "Rote Fahne" has now published a secret letter, which the German Minister in Moscow, Herr von Dircksen, addressed on August 1st of this year to the Foreign Office in Berlin in the matter of the German colonists. This letter from the German Minister, who certainly cannot be suspected of being an "agent" of the Bolsheviks, exposes at a

single stroke the whole dishonesty and demagoguery of the bourgeois-social-democratic attack on the policy of the Soviet Union in regard to the German colonists. In the above-mentioned letter Dircksen objected to the plan, then being projected, of an organised press campaign or the purpose of intimidating the Soviet Union. He also argued against the lack of seriousness and responsibility in the manner in which the colonists are united by a "system of consolations and platonic sympathy" instead of being told the truth.

The bourgeois Minister of bourgeois Germany actually wrote that the alleged complaints of "German brothers in need" was merely a question of the resistance of a small minority of the German colonists, whose privileges are threatened through the socialistic course of the Bolsheviks. It is not the masses of poor German rural populations in the Volga German Republic or in Siberia and other parts of the Soviet Union that are desirous of leaving the country of proletarian dictatorship; on the contrary, it is only a thin upper strata of the big peasant exploiting elements in the country, typical Kulaks, to whom socialism is becoming dangerous. Their "complaints" and emigration plans are "the direct result of the measures of the Soviet Government aiming at the fulfilment of one of its most important political programme items, viz. the socialisation of agriculture. Dircksen expressly adds that "in contrast to the upper strata the poor German rural population is tending to make peace with the Soviet Government and to become reconciled with its attempts at collectivism".

These admissions, which the Minister of the German Government in the Soviet Union makes, it is true, only in a confidential letter to the German Foreign Office, clearly show the real facts of the case. Socialism in the country, this tremendous world historic stage on the road along which the proletarians of the Soviet Union are advancing under the proletarian dictatorship, is naturally being obstructed by all the exploiting and anti-proletarian elements among the rural population. The socialist course in connection with the five-year plan means gradual elbowing-out and eradication of the Kulak elements in favour of collective farming.

It is only natural that among the colonists of the various nations dwelling in the Soviet Union the Kulak elements are opposed to the course being pursued by the Bolsheviks, while the great masses of the working farmers and peasants are being won over to a greater and greater extent to socialism.

The most important aspect of the new anti-Bolshevist agitation is that the bourgeoisie in the capitalist States, of course in close alliance with the Social Democracy, are acting openly as spokesmen of the anti-proletarian elements within the Soviet Union in opposition to the Soviet Government. From this organised press agitation a straight line leads to the military intervention plans of the imperialists for the purpose of preventing the socialist development in the Soviet Union and destroying the proletarian dictatorship.

"German brothers in need?" No: it is international capitalism which feels that, owing to the socialist development of the Soviet Union, through the thriving socialism in one corner of the globe, it is being driven into a corner and into "privatisation". It is not a question of a few thousand colonists but of socialism of the five-year plan, aye, of the existence and constructive work of the proletarian dictatorship! Repulsion of this new anti-Bolshevist agitation-offensive is therefore the duty and task not only of the German but of the international proletariat!

How the "Mass Flight" of the Peasantry from the Soviet Union is being Organised.

By A. J. Sm.

Last summer 900 "Swedish colonists" left their homes in the Dnieper in South Ukraine and emigrated to their "native country". It is true that they had never seen their "native country", but about 500 years ago, when Sweden was still a great power and ruled the countries of the Baltic, their forefathers came from Finland, and Gothland to the island of Dagö where they settled as peasants.

In order to escape the inhuman serfdom under their Swedish "countryman" and great landowner Sternbock, they found a

ace of refuge in barbarous Russia of all places, where thearina Catherine II put land at their disposal. In 1780 they unded a colony, Gammal-Svenskby, on the Dniçper in South kraine.

During the famine following the failure of crops in 1921, air village was discovered by Swedes from Sweden, the "Red, ross" sent food and utensils, and the social democrats sent a cond-rate writer who wrote a book about them and made mself a name.

The pastor of Gammal Svenskby, a rich peasant's son, ceived large sums of money from Sweden, and commenced opaganda on a large scale for a collective emigration. The e-time big peasants agreed at once to his plan, for they were ssatisfied with the division of the land. The middle and poor asantry, on the other hand, showed little inclination at first to ave the village which they had defended in bloody struggles gainst the counter-revolutionary white bands. But they were pproached one by one by the pastor, who worked upon these ackward and pious souls, threatening them with all the tor- ents of hell, and at the same time bribing hundreds of them, or this purpose he spent about 2000 roubles monthly, and pro- mised everyone who would come with him a large farm on uitable soil. His efforts were aided by the Swedish embassy, which thereby interfered in the inner-political affairs of the oviat Union, since the inhabitants of Gammal Svenskby are ussian subjects.

Matters finally reached such a point that most of the easants sowed no seed this spring, but made preparations for heir departure. Meanwhile the whole bourgeois and social de- mocratic press of Sweden had taken up nationalist propaganda on a gigantic scale, combining this with savage attacks on the soviat Union and the "Bolshevist economic mis-management"; at the same time a committee composed of royal princes, big apitalists, and social-democratic bosses, undertook voluntary ollections all over the country, in order to enable the colonists o "return home". This propaganda lasted for years, culminating his spring, and the social-democratic press made full use of the opportunity to malign the Soviet Union.

So far everything had gone off in accordance with the pro- gramme, but now came a great disappointment. Contrary to all pectations, the Soviet Union granted the 900 deluded per- mission to leave the country. This upset the calculations of the anti-Bolshevists, who had hoped to the last that permission to eave the country would be refused. In this case they would ave gained two points: 1. Opportunity for fresh anti-Bolshevist slanders on the "lack of freedom in the Soviet Union"; 2. Relief from the obligations which they had incurred towards their "suffering brothers" in Gammal-Svenskby.

The Soviet Government did not do them this favour, but proved once more that in shrewdness and foresight it is far superior to these bourgeois and social-democratic intriguers, seeking only the success of the moment.

After months of delay a steamer was sent off, and this bore the impatiently waiting peasants from Gammal Svenskby to their new home.

But alas! Here they did not by any means find that land flowing with milk and honey which had been so falsely pro- mised them. Instead of receiving a farm of their own, with fertile soil, they were herded together in a disused barracks, where they were treated like prisoners and isolated from the rest of the population. In the autumn they were sent as day labourers to large farmers in various districts, where they were given tumble down stable buildings as dwelling, and were paid lower wages than the native workers. Even the central organ of the social democrats, which had shortly before carried on zealous propaganda for the immigration, has been obliged to admit sadly that the treatment received is unworthy of human beings.

The affair now being exhausted from the propagandist standpoint, the "national circles" have lost all interest in the so eagerly awaited settlers; now they have no wish to sacrifice anything more for them, least of all to give them farms and land of their own. Instead of this, the idea of packing most of them off to Canada is being considered in all seriousness.

But the best is still to come. The peasants of Gammal-Svenskby, foolish enough to let themselves be misused by the enemies of the Soviet Union, are filled with disappointment at their reception. Now they realise that in spite of all drawbacks they were better off in fruitful Ukraina, and say bitterly that "there they had large farms and a home of their own". How

sincerely they long to be back may be seen from the fact that many of them have had enough of the blessings of their native country after a few months; they have begged the Soviet Russian embassy for permission to re-enter the Soviet Union which they have left, and to return to Gammal-Svenskby.

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

The Party Organisations of the C. P. S. U. against the Right Opposition.

Moscow, 13th November 1929.

The "Pravda" publishes the decisions of party organisations in various towns demanding energetic measures against the right-wing opposition.

The plenary session of the Nishni-Novgorod district committee declares that Bukharin and his group, which promised not to conduct fractional work, have broken their promise and that the slanderous and disruptive measures of the Bukharin group are reminiscent of the Trotzkyist activity. The committee declares that the right-wingers are violating party discipline, and demands that energetic organisational measures be taken against them.

The plenary session of the Kiev party committee welcomes the ruthless struggle of the Party against the right-wingers and demands the application of the organisational measures against them decided upon at the April plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party.

The party collective at the Sverdlov University declares that the right-wingers have refused to subordinate themselves to the decisions of the July plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party and to the 10th plenary session of the E. C. of the C. I., and that they are continuing their fractional activity and slandering the Party in the same way as the Trotzkyists. The Sverdlov collective suggests the expulsion of the leaders of the right-wing fraction from the Party.

Meetings of party members also took place in a number of large factories in Moscow and demanded stern measures against the right-wing opportunists who seek to undermine the iron discipline of the Leninist Party.

Moscow, 13th November 1929.

The party members in the Leningrad factories, in detachments of the Red Army, and in the high schools have unanimously adopted resolutions condemning the opportunist theories and the fractional activity of the right-wingers.

The plenary session of the party committee of the Krasny Treugolnik factory, the great Leningrad rubber works, has adopted a resolution condemning the right-wing deviation as petty-bourgeois and opposed to the offensive of socialism against the kulaks, and demands energetic organisational measures against the fractionalism of the right-wingers.

The plenary session of the party committees of the Lenin-grad metal works condemns the impermissible double game of the right-wingers, who have recently strengthened their fractional struggle, and demands that Bukharin and the other leaders of the right-wing fraction should dissolve the fraction and subordinate themselves completely to the decisions of the Party.

Moscow, 15th November 1929.

The C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union is receiving numerous telegrams from all parts of the Soviet Union from party organisations demanding energetic organisational measures against the right-wingers. The Charkov organisation declares that the sooner the Party puts an end to the right-wing oppositional fraction, the sooner will the work for the building up of socialism be completed, and demands the removal of Bukharin from the C. C.

The party organisation in Odessa demands that the right-wingers should immediately cease their fractional struggle, failing which severe organisational measures must be adopted. Tashkent, Tula, Ivanovo-vosnessensk, Kasan and other organisations make similar demands.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Decline in the Importance of Small Industry under the Five-Year Plan.

Development of the Production of the Whole of the Soviet Industry (in millions of Roubles reckoned according to prices in 1927).

| I. Large and Medium Industry*) | 1927/28 | 28/29 | 29/30 | 30/31 | 31/32 | 32/33 | in five years | 1932/33 as Percent to 1927/28 |
|---|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Factories and works under the management of the central authorities for planned economy: | | | | | | | | |
| a) Means of production | 4,393 | 5,516 | 6,960 | 8,818 | 11,330 | 14,547 | 47,175 | 331.1 |
| b) Articles of consumption | 6,516 | 7,731 | 9,131 | 10,831 | 12,990 | 15,990 | 56,584 | 245.3 |
| c) Total | 10,909 | 13,247 | 16,091 | 19,649 | 24,320 | 30,447 | 103,759 | 279.1 |
| 2. Other works and factories: | | | | | | | | |
| a) Means of production | 1,196 | 1,307 | 1,620 | 1,972 | 2,384 | 2,836 | 10,115 | 273.0 |
| b) Articles of consumption | 1,777 | 1,885 | 2,174 | 2,479 | 2,858 | 3,238 | 12,723 | 182.2 |
| c) Total | 2,973 | 3,192 | 3,794 | 4,451 | 5,242 | 6,164 | 22,883 | 207.3 |
| 3. Total large and small factories: | | | | | | | | |
| a) Means of production | 5,589 | 6,823 | 8,580 | 10,790 | 13,714 | 17,383 | 57,290 | 311.0 |
| b) Articles of consumption | 8,293 | 9,616 | 11,305 | 13,310 | 15,848 | 19,228 | 69,307 | 231.9 |
| c) Total | 13,882 | 16,439 | 19,885 | 24,100 | 29,562 | 36,611 | 126,597 | 263.7 |
| II. Small factories and works: | | | | | | | | |
| a) Means of production | 372 | 410 | 469 | 543 | 632 | 744 | 2,798 | 200.0 |
| b) Articles of consumption | 4,058 | 4,315 | 4,655 | 5,000 | 5,390 | 5,841 | 25,201 | 143.9 |
| c) Total | 4,430 | 4,725 | 5,124 | 5,543 | 6,022 | 6,585 | 27,999 | 148.0 |
| III. Whole of Industry: | | | | | | | | |
| a) Means of production | 5,961 | 7,233 | 9,049 | 11,333 | 14,346 | 18,127 | 60,088 | 304.1 |
| b) Articles of consumption | 12,351 | 13,931 | 15,960 | 18,310 | 21,238 | 25,069 | 94,508 | 203.0 |
| c) Total | 18,312 | 21,164 | 25,009 | 29,643 | 35,584 | 43,196 | 154,596 | 235.9 |

*) This refers to the so-called Census Industry, which includes all undertakings employing over 16 workers at machine and over 30 on handwork.

Development of the Individual Branches of Industry within the Compass of the Five-Year Plan.

a) In absolute figures (According to the level of factory prices in 1927):

| Group A (Industry producing the means of production): | 1927/29 | 28/29 | 29/30 | 30/31 | 31/32 | 32/33 | percentage proportion to total industry | |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|--------------|
| | | | | | | | 1927/28 | 1932/33 |
| 1. Fuel industry | 926 | 1,101 | 1,290 | 1,512 | 1,787 | 2,093 | 8.5 | 6.8 |
| 2. Mining | 50 | 74 | 110 | 150 | 190 | 235 | 0.5 | 0.8 |
| 3. Metal industry | 1,861 | 2,292 | 2,833 | 3,512 | 4,506 | 5,798 | 17.1 | 19.0 |
| 4. Electro-technical industry | 190 | 258 | 330 | 460 | 645 | 896 | 1.7 | 2.9 |
| 5. Building material | 311 | 384 | 538 | 720 | 942 | 1,131 | 2.9 | 3.7 |
| 6. Wood industry | 493 | 695 | 925 | 1,190 | 1,510 | 1,990 | 4.5 | 6.5 |
| 7. Chemical industry of Group A | 256 | 341 | 454 | 643 | 925 | 1,312 | 2.3 | 4.3 |
| 8. Undertakings working up fibrous materials | 306 | 371 | 480 | 631 | 825 | 1,092 | 2.8 | 3.0 |
| Total of Group A | 4,393 | 5,516 | 6,960 | 8,818 | 11,330 | 14,547 | 40.3 | 47.5 |
| Group B (Industries producing articles of consumption): | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Textile industry | 3,525 | 3,968 | 4,551 | 5,304 | 6,313 | 7,829 | 32.3 | 25.7 |
| 2. Clothing industry | 296 | 430 | 630 | 883 | 1,182 | 1,600 | 2.7 | 5.3 |
| 3. Leather and Footwear industry | 617 | 909 | 1,025 | 1,191 | 1,385 | 1,500 | 5.7 | 4.9 |
| 4. Porcelain and china industry | 44 | 47 | 54 | 65 | 78 | 98 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| 5. Paper industry | 138 | 175 | 252 | 292 | 331 | 400 | 1.0 | 1.3 |
| 6. Typographic industry | 76 | 93 | 102 | 114 | 129 | 150 | 0.7 | 0.5 |
| 7. Chemical industry of Group B | 422 | 531 | 627 | 751 | 879 | 1,056 | 3.9 | 3.4 |
| 8. Food industry | 1,381 | 1,559 | 1,870 | 2,260 | 2,720 | 3,250 | 12.7 | 10.7 |
| 9. Salt industry | 17 | 18 | 20 | 21 | 23 | 25 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Total of Group B | 6,516 | 7,731 | 9,131 | 10,831 | 12,990 | 15,990 | 59.7 | 52.2 |
| Total of all industries | 10,909 | 13,247 | 16,091 | 19,649 | 24,320 | 30,447 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

b) Annual increase per cent.:

| up A (Industry producing means of production): | 1928/29 | 29/30 | 30/31 | 31/32 | 32/33 | Increase per cent. in five years |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| Fuel industry | 118.8 | 117.1 | 117.2 | 118.1 | 117.1 | 226.0 |
| Mining | 148.0 | 148.6 | 136.3 | 126.6 | 123.6 | 470.0 |
| Metal industry | 123.1 | 123.6 | 128.9 | 128.3 | 128.6 | 311.0 |
| Electro-technical industry | 135.7 | 127.9 | 139.3 | 140.2 | 138.9 | 471.6 |
| Building materials | 123.4 | 140.1 | 133.8 | 130.8 | 120.0 | 363.7 |
| Wood industry | 140.9 | 133.0 | 128.6 | 126.8 | 131.7 | 403.7 |
| Chemical industry of group A | 133.2 | 133.1 | 141.6 | 143.8 | 141.8 | 512.5 |
| Undertakings working up fibrous materials | 121.2 | 129.3 | 131.4 | 130.7 | 132.8 | 356.9 |
| Total of group A | 125.5 | 126.1 | 126.6 | 128.4 | 128.3 | 331.1 |
| up B (Industries producing articles of consumption): | 1928/29 | 29/30 | 30/31 | 31/32 | 32/33 | Increase per cent. in five years |
| Textile industry | 112.5 | 114.6 | 116.5 | 119.0 | 124.0 | 222.1 |
| Clothing industry | 145.2 | 146.5 | 132.6 | 141.5 | 135.2 | 540.5 |
| Leather and footwear industry | 147.3 | 112.7 | 116.1 | 112.0 | 112.3 | 243.1 |
| Porcelain and earthenware industry | 106.8 | 114.8 | 120.3 | 120.0 | 125.6 | 222.7 |
| Paper industry | 126.8 | 114.0 | 115.8 | 113.3 | 120.8 | 289.9 |
| Typographic industry | 122.3 | 109.6 | 111.7 | 113.1 | 116.2 | 194.5 |
| Chemical industry of Group B | 125.8 | 118.0 | 119.7 | 117.0 | 120.1 | 250.2 |
| Food industry | 112.8 | 119.9 | 120.8 | 120.3 | 119.4 | 237.1 |
| Salt industry | 105.8 | 111.1 | 105.0 | 109.5 | 108.6 | 147.1 |
| Total of Group B | 118.6 | 118.1 | 118.6 | 119.9 | 122.4 | 244.0 |
| Total of the whole of industry | 121.4 | 121.4 | 122.1 | 123.7 | 125.1 | 279.0 |

The first table shows the advancing concentration of production of Soviet industry in the big factories and undertakings. A closer examination reveals that the share of small industry in the whole of industry will decline from 24 per cent. to per cent.

The second and third table give a detailed picture of the development of the different branches of industry (it must be continually borne in mind that in actual fact the development will be much more rapid than envisaged in the plan). Of special interest are the last columns of table a), showing the alteration of the structural composition of industrial production. There is to be seen a considerable change in favour of the industries producing the means of production; at the same time, by the particularly rapid development of some branches of group B, care is being taken to overcome the shortage of goods.

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Ten Years of the Young Communist International.

Moscow, November 1929.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International issued an appeal to all sections of the C. I., to the working youth all over the world and to the workers of the world in connection with the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Young Communist International on the 20th November:

Ten years ago the Berlin conference of the Socialist Youth International decided to constitute itself as the first congress of the Young Communist International and to affiliate to the C. I. This decision was only the logical continuation of the activity of the revolutionary socialist youth during the world war. The Youth International was the first international proletarian organisation to raise the standard of the class struggle during the world war. This organisation was the first to answer the call of Lenin and Liebknecht to break through the wall of class harmony and to take up the struggle against imperialist war. The socialist youth organisations which created the Young Communist International in Berlin had played a prominent part in the preparations during the war for the foundation of a new, communist, international.

The ten years of activity of the Y. C. I. have been one of unflinching and self-sacrificing struggle for the proletarian revolution. The youth have shouldered with the Communist Parties under the leadership of the C. I. The communist youth led by the Bolshevik Party in Soviet Russia defended the land of the Soviets with their lives during the years of the civil war. The communist youth were in the front ranks of the bloody revolutionary struggles in Germany, Vienna, Shanghai, Warsaw, Peking, Canton and Athens. To-day the communist youth all over the world are carrying on an energetic struggle against fascism and white terror.

On the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Y. C. I. we declare before the whole revolutionary working class that the youth of the revolution have completely fulfilled their duty during the last ten years, despite tremendous sacrifices and brutal suppression and persecution.

The Y. C. I. was and is a loyal supporter of the C. I. From the moment of its foundation it has conducted a merciless struggle against all unbolshvist, social-democratic and petty bourgeois elements which have sought to lead the communist movement away from its Leninist path. The Y. C. I. was the main support of the C. I. in the struggle against the Trotskyists, the right-wingers and the unprincipled conciliators. The activity of the Y. C. I. was one of those factors which has enabled the C. I. not only to overcome all deviations, but to consolidate its ranks internally.

The tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Y. C. I. falls in a period of rising class struggle. The events of the 1st and 2nd of May in Berlin, the 1st August all over the world, the powerful strike movements in all capitalist countries and in the colonies, the intensification of the class struggle all over the world and the successful offensive of socialism in the Soviet Union, all these factors are signs of the new revolutionary wave.

In all class struggles the important role of the youth was evident as one of the most exploited sections of the proletariat. The proletarian youth are taking a prominent part in the new revolutionary wave and represent one of the most active factors in the proletarian front. As a consequence of the capitalist rationalisation in recent years the role of the youth has increased in the process of production, as has also their role in connection with the intensification of the danger of imperialist war and in particular in connection with the imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. Therefore the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries is doing its utmost to bring the masses of the proletarian youth under its influence. A well-organised network of bourgeois youth organisations, supported by the State, aims at suppressing the revolutionary struggle of the young communist advance guard. The socialist youth organisations play a particularly counter-revolutionary role in this connection. These organisa-

tions split away from the revolutionary youth international during the war and to-day they march together with the Second International along the path of social-fascism.

In the capitalist countries the bourgeoisie, with the assistance of their social fascist agents, strive to suppress the revolutionary mass struggle of the working class youth, whilst in the Soviet Union everything is done to ensure the broadest possible development of the revolutionary initiative of the young workers under the leadership of the Young Communist League.

The working youth in the Soviet Union, like the working class in general, is enthusiastic for the building up of socialism. The working youth takes the initiative in the organisation of the socialist competitive scheme in the factories and workshops, for the raising of working discipline and for the struggle against slackness and careerism. The two million army of young communists in the Soviet Union is conducting an energetic struggle against the opium of religious superstition, against old and reactionary forms of life and for the creation of a new humanity, a new communist society.

Recently the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries has subjected the working class youth and their organisations to a furious campaign of persecution, because it knows what a danger for the dominance of capitalism is the radicalisation of the working youth and the increasing communist influence. These persecutions cannot prevent the continued development of the Y. C. I. Under the conditions created by the intensification of the class struggle the Y. C. I. will place itself at the head of the fighting masses of the working class youth.

The Y. C. I. was born in the great class struggles which developed in the period of the first imperialist world war, and it will celebrate the tenth anniversary of its existence in a period of a new intensification of the war danger. The Y. C. I. must therefore carry out its main task, the winning of the majority of the working class youth, in the closest possible connection with the struggle against the danger of war.

The ten years of the existence of the Y. C. I. has proved that it is the only revolutionary organisation of the young workers in the world. In view of the open class treachery of the Socialist Youth International, the tenth anniversary of the existence of the Y. C. I. must be a tremendous appeal to the working class youth of all countries to strengthen the ranks of the Y. C. I. as the only organisation which defends the interests of the working youth and organises the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the ten years of its existence the Y. C. I. has upheld the banner of the proletarian class struggle. Great new struggles are facing it. In order to carry out its tasks the Y. C. I. must strengthen its mass work and carry out a change in its methods which will enable it to become the real leader of the working youth in a period of the intensification of the class struggle. Only in this way will the Y. C. I. be able to fulfil its historical task.

The winning of the broad masses of the working youth is only possible through the factory, the workshops and the proletarian tenements. The problem of young worker shop stewards in the factories, the problem of penetrating into the shop councils, the formation of young worker factory groups, the strengthening of the work amongst the young girl workers, the penetration of all mass organisations, and in particular of the trade unions and the sport organisations, the strengthened work in the imperialist armies, the struggle against the militarisation of the youth, all these are tasks which face the Y. C. I.

In order to lead the mass movement of the youth and in order to make the Y. C. I.'s into mass organisations, the Communist Parties must pay the greatest attention to the work of the leagues. It is the duty of the parties to pay far more attention to the leagues than has previously been the case. The cause of the working youth is the cause of the whole working class, the cause of the Communist International.

The tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Y. C. I. must be conducted in the spirit of an intensified struggle against the increased exploitation of the working youth and against

the capitalist rationalisation. The young workers must raise the banner of the Y. C. I. for a struggle against capitalism under the slogan of "Equal pay for equal work!" The tenth anniversary of the formation of the Y. C. I. must become a new milestone in the history of the communist youth. The broad masses of the working class youth become acquainted with the splendid history of the Y. C. I. this will promote their influx into the leagues. Broad self-criticism in the ranks of the leagues will facilitate their path to the masses.

The Y. C. I. therefore appeals to all its sections, to all revolutionary workers and to all mass organisations which unite upon the basis of the irreconcilable class struggle to join the masses of the working class youth on the 20th November in celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Y. C. I. under the banner of the C. I.

Working men and working women! Young communists of both sexes! Demonstrate on the 20th November for the proletarian class struggle of the young workers of the world, against social fascism and against the social fascist youth international, against the fascist terror and against the political oppression of the working class youth, against capitalist rationalisation and for the economic demands of the working youth, for the mobilisation of the broad masses of the working youth in the struggle against the danger of war, for the revolutionary solidarity of the working youth with the workers and peasants State which is successfully carrying out the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction!

Long live the revolutionary class struggle of the working class youth of the world!

Long live the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the leader of the working class youth of the world, the Young Communist International!

"Without drawing the women into social service, into militia, into political life, without tearing the women from the stupefying domestic and kitchen atmosphere it is possible to secure real freedom, it is impossible to secure democracy, let alone Socialism."

Lenin: "Letters from Afar."

TO OUR READERS!

The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| England | 2 sh. |
| Germany | 1.50 marks |
| Austria | 2 sh. |
| Norway | 1.50 crowns |
| Denmark | 1.50 crowns |
| U. S. S. R. | 1 rouble |

For other countries the subscription rate is six dollars one year.

Readers in the United States will please note that the agents for the "Inprecorr" in the U. S. A. are the Workers Library Publishers, 39, East 125th Street, New York, N. Y. whom all subscriptions should be sent. The subscription rate in the U. S. A. are \$ 2 for three months, \$ 3.50 for six months and \$ 6 for one year.

The Business Manager