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## The Year of the Great Change.

By J. Stalin.

The past twelvemonth was one of great changes on all fronts of Socialist development, changes which once more ensued in the form of a great offensive of Socialism against the capitalist elements in town and country. The characteristic peculiarity of this offensive lies in the fact that it has already entailed a series of decisive achievements in the main realms of the Socialist reconstruction of economy. It follows that the Party has succeeded in making good use of the retreat effected in the first stages of the New Economic Policy, with a view to the subsequent organisation of a change and a successful attack on the capitalist elements.

The success attained on the front of economic construction to be seen in three different ways.

Firstly, we have a decided change in regard to the productivity of work, which has found expression in the display of creative initiative and a tremendous enthusiasm for work on the part of millions of workers on the front of Socialist development.

The development of creative initiative and of zest for work on the part of the masses, has ensued along three parallel lines, namely, a fight against bureaucracy by means of self-criticism, a fight against the shirkers and slackers and underminers of pro-

letarian discipline by means of Socialist emulation, and a fight against routine and against backwardness in the works by the organisation of the uninterrupted working week. The result is to be seen in great successes on the working front, in enthusiasm and mutual encouragement of the millions of workers throughout the immense country. The significance of this achievement is really inestimable, for it is only by the impulse to work and by the enthusiasm of the millions of workers that a guarantee can be provided for that progressive enhancement of productivity, without which the ultimate victory of Socialism over capitalism is inconceivable.

With this first achievement of the Party, its second achievement is indissolubly connected. It lies in the fact that in the course of last year we have arrived at a satisfactory solution of the fundamental problem of an accumulation for big constructions of the heavy industries, while at the same time attaining an accelerated rate of development in the output of means of production and creating the premises for the transformation of our country into an area of metallurgical production. The significance of the achievement of the last twelvemonth lies in the fact that the hopes of the capitalists have been completely dashed. The past year has proved how, in spite of an open and covert

financial blockade of the Soviet Union, we have not sold ourselves to the capitalists, but have of our own strength solved the problem of accumulation, laying the foundation-stone in the realm of the heavy industries. This is a fact that not even the most obstinate enemies of the working class can any longer deny.

If last year the capital investments of the leading industries amounted to 1600 million roubles, of which about 1300 millions were invested in the heavy industries, and if in the current year the capital investments of the leading industries figure at more than 3400 millions, more than 2500 millions of which fall to the share of the heavy industries — if, furthermore, the gross production of the big industries in the past year showed an increase of 23 per cent., with an increase of 30 per cent. for the heavy industries alone, and the gross output of the current year is estimated to increase by 32 per cent., with an increase of 46 per cent. for the heavy industries, then is it not obvious that the problem of accumulation for the development of the heavy industries is no insurmountable difficulty?

How can it be doubted that we are advancing with ever quicker steps in the development of the heavy industries and are leaving our old backwardness far behind us? Can it be wondered at in view of the above that in the past year the estimates of the Five-Year Plan were surpassed and that the maximum eventuality, which is looked upon by the bourgeois scribblers as "fantastic and unrealisable" and awakens fear in the breasts of our Right opportunists (Bukharin group), has in reality come to represent the minimum eventuality of the Five-Year Plan?

The past twelvemonth has shown that the Party is successfully mastering this task and decidedly overcoming even the most serious difficulties in its path. This naturally does not mean that industry will not be faced by any further difficulties. The task of developing the heavy industries is not only rendered difficult by the problem of financial accumulation. It is likewise faced with the problem of cadres; the problem of recruiting tens of thousands of loyal technicians and experts for the work of Socialist construction and of training Red technicians and specialists from the ranks of the working class.

If the problem of accumulation may in the main be considered to have been solved, the problem of the cadres still awaits its solution. And in view of the technical reconstruction of industry this problem of cadres is a decisive problem of Socialist development. Therefore, it is the duty of the Party to tackle this problem immediately and carry through its solution without fail.

The third achievement, which is organically related to the first and second, lies in the radical change in the development of our agriculture from a primitive system of individual farms to an advanced form of collective farming, to joint tillage, to machinery and tractor stations, and to working co-operatives and collective estates based on up-to-date methods of cultivation, and thus finally to gigantic Soviet estates equipped with hundreds of tractors and combine-machines.

In this connection the great success of the Party lies in the fact that it has managed to transfer the main mass of the peasantry in a number of districts from the old capitalist path of development (by which only a handful of rich peasants and capitalists profited while the great majority of the peasantry were merely able to vegetate in misery) to new methods of Socialist development (by which the rich peasants are ousted and the middling and poorer ones equipped in a new manner and supplied with new tools, tractors, and agricultural machinery, so as to give them the possibility of emerging from their need and their dependence on the kulaks and of proceeding on a path of co-operative, collective cultivation). The achievement of the Party lies in the fact that it has succeeded in organising this radical change in the peasantry itself and in taking over the lead of the broad masses of middle and poorer peasants, notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties placed in its way and the desperate resistance of all sorts of sinister forces, from the pope and the kulak to the Philistine and Right opportunist in its own ranks.

In this connection I may cite a few figures. In 1928, the area under cultivation in the Soviet farms figured at 1,425,500 hectares with an output of more than 6 million metric centals of grain, while the cultivated area of the collective farms was 1,390,000 hectares with an output of roughly 3.5 million metric

centals. In 1929, the area of the Soviet farms under cultivation was 1,816,000 hectares with an output of about 8 million metric centals of grain, while that of the collective estates stood at 4,262,000 hectares with a production of roughly 13 million metric centals. In the year 1930, again, the area of the Soviet estates will, according to the estimate, figure at 3,280,000 hectares with an output of 18 million metric centals of grain, while that of the collective farms is to amount to 15 million hectares with an output of roughly 49 million metric centals. In other words, the commercial grain production of the Soviet and collective farms together is estimated to amount in the coming year to more than half the output of all our agriculture.

Such a vigorous rate of development is unknown even in our Socialist industry, the development of which is undoubtedly characterised by sufficiently prodigious strides. Is it not obvious, therefore, that our young Socialist agriculture has a great future before it and is capable of real wonders in the way of development?

This gigantic achievement in the development of the collective farms is attributable to a number of reasons, of which the following at any rate may be mentioned.

In the first place this success is to be ascribed to the fact that the Party has pursued the Leninist policy of an education of the masses and has systematically led the peasants in the direction of collective cultivation by a promotion of the co-operatives. It is to be ascribed to the further fact that the Party successfully opposed both those who sought to exaggerate the movement and to foster the development of collective farms by means of decrees (i. e. "Left" phrasemongers) and those who sought to retard the action of the Party (i. e. the half-brothers of the Right).

This exceptional success in the direction of constructing collective farms is, moreover, attributable to the nice perception of the Soviet authorities in regard to the peasants' growing requirements of new implements and a new technique, as well as in regard to the hopelessness of the peasants' position so long as the old methods of cultivation were retained. By the introduction of tractors and machinery and the institution of tractor stations, by the organisation of common cultivation, by the establishment and promotion of the collective farms, and, finally, by the all-round support of the peasant farms by the collective estates, timely aid was provided. It is the first time in the history of the world that a power has arisen, the power of the Soviet Union, which has proved by deeds its willingness and its ability to render systematic and continual aid to the working masses of the peasantry in their work of production. Is it not obvious that the working masses of the peasantry, who have for so many years been suffering from a lack of implements and the general wherewithal of their activity, will eagerly seize this aid and join in the movement towards collective farming? And is it not to be considered a wonder that the old slogan of the working class, "Face to the village!" should possibly even be supplemented by a new slogan on the part of the collective farms: "Look towards the Cities!"?

The tremendous success in the development of collective farms, finally, is the outcome of the fact that the progressive workers of our country have taken this matter in hand, and that the speaking of the working brigades scattered in hundreds of the main areas of our country. It must be admitted that among all the possible propagandists for collective farming the best from the point of view of their success among the peasant masses are the worker-propagandists. Can it still be wondered at that the workers have succeeded in convincing the peasants of the merits of collective farming in comparison with the individual farms, especially seeing that the existing collective Soviet farms are an eloquent illustration of such advantages? It is in this way that our success in the direction of constructing collective farms was possible, a success which must be regarded as the most important and most decisive of any in the few years.

The objections of "scientists" to the possibility and visibility of an organisation of great grain factories with 50 to 100,000 hectares of land, have proved futile. For the countries with their private landed property rights, the organisation of great grain factories is impossible without the chase of land or the payment of absolute rent, which would greatly burden production. For us, no such restrictions of neither absolute rent nor the purchase and sale of land.

have no private landed property rights. Therefore there are no favourable conditions for the development of large farms.

In the capitalist countries, the large grain-farming enterprises serve the purpose of attaining a maximum of profit or at least such a profit as corresponds to the so-called average rate of profit. In our case, on the other hand, the big grain estates, which are State property, require neither maximum profits nor large profits for their development, but can restrict themselves to a profit minimum or at times manage without any profit at all. In other words, the conditions are most favourable for the development of such large scale cultivation.

Finally, the capitalists have neither special credit facilities nor special taxation amenities for their large grain-producing estates, whereas under the Soviet order of things, which is the socialisation of the land, there are and will always be such privileges.

The lie has been given to all the assertions of the Right Opportunists (Bukharin group), to the effect that the peasants do not join the collective estates, that the accelerated rate of development of the collective estates can but call forth discontent among the masses and a separation of the peasantry from the leading class, that the "great highroad" of Socialist development in the rural districts is formed not by the collective farms but by the co-operatives, and that through the creation of collective farms and the attack on the capitalist elements in the countryside the country might easily be left without bread. All this has proved untrue and fallen to pieces, like the old Bourgeoisial rubbish it is.

The peasants have joined the collective farms — whole villages and districts at a time. The mass movement of collective farming does not weaken, but rather strengthens, the alliance of working peasants and furnishes them with a new productive force. Now even the blind must recognise that the peasants are joining the new collective farms and that, if there is any cause for discontent among the peasantry, it is not because of the collective-farming policy of the Soviet authorities but because they are unable to keep pace with the development of the collective system and with the requirements of the peasants in regard to machinery and tractors.

The quarrel in regard to the "highroad" of Socialist development in the rural districts is a scholastic quarrel, a quarrel among petty-bourgeois Liberals of the type of Eichenwald and Kow. It is obvious that, so long as there was no mass movement for collective farming, the primary forms of Socialist development, the co-operatives and associations of supply and distribution, constituted the "highroad"; when, however, the more advanced form, that of collective farms, appeared, it automatically took their place as the main channel of Socialisation. The highroad of Socialist development in the rural districts is the collective plan of Lenin, comprehending all forms of agricultural co-operation, from the simplest to the most elaborate. To set the collective system against the co-operative would mean to make a mockery of Lenin and impute to him the ignorance of critics.

Now even the blind must see that without an attack on the capitalist elements in the rural districts and without the development of the collective and Soviet farm movement, we should have neither any decisive achievements to show for the present year in regard to grain provisioning nor yet those tens of millions of poods of grain which are already in the hands of the State. Indeed, it may rather be affirmed that, thanks to the development of the collective and Soviet farm movement, we are at length emancipating ourselves from the grain crisis, we have not already done so. And if the development of the collective farms and Soviet farms proceeds at a quicker rate, there can be no doubt but that, in a matter of five years or so, the country will be one of the greatest, if not indeed the very best, of the grain-producing countries of the world.

The new and decisive thing about the present collective farm movement is the fact that the peasants are joining the collective systems, not in individual groups, as was formerly the case, but in entire villages, neighbourhoods, or even districts, at a time. This means that the middle peasants, too, are joining the movement. This constitutes the nucleus of that radical change in the development of agriculture which must be looked upon as the most important achievement of the last twelvemonth.

The Menshevik conception of Trotzky and his adherents, to the effect that the working class and the main masses of the peasantry are not able to carry out the task of Socialist construction, has broken down and proved fallacious, as the Trotzkyists themselves must now own. Now it is apparent to all that those who do not believe in the Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction or in the possibility of the construction of Socialism in our country, are also not entitled to acclaim the Plan. The last hope of the capitalists of all countries for the restoration of capitalism and of the "sacred principle of private property" in the Soviet Union, has been frustrated and brought to naught. The peasants, considered by the capitalists as manure for the ground of capitalism, are on all hands abandoning the famous banner of "private property" and placing themselves on the basis of collectivism and Socialism. The last hope of restoring capitalism is vanishing.

This fact explains the desperate attempts of the capitalist elements of our country to mobilise all the forces of the old world against the advance of Socialism, attempts which only lead to the aggravation of the class struggle. The capitalists find it impossible to "stomach" Socialism. Hence the furious outcry against Bolshevism raised by the various watchdogs of capitalism, such as Struve, Hessen, Miliukov, Kerensky, Dan, and Abramovitch. It is indeed no trifle that the last hope of restoring capitalism should be disappearing for ever. Lenin said that if the peasants could be supplied with a hundred thousand tractors, the middle peasants would join the cause of Communism. The past year has shown that the Party is successfully advancing on this objective. It is well known that in the spring of 1930 we shall have more than 60,000 tractors, one year later more than 100,000, and two years after that 250,000.

What a few years ago was looked upon as "fantastic", can now be realised and even surpassed. That is the reason why the middle peasants have turned to Communism.

All this shows that we are going full-steam ahead to Socialism on the path of industrialisation and are leaving our century-old backwardness behind us. We shall become a metal-producing country, a country of automobiles and tractors. Then let the capitalists, who boast of their "civilisation", try to catch us up. Then we shall see which countries are backward and which progressive.

## POLITICS

### The British Labour Government and the Unemployed.

By Wal Hannington (London).

As the winter approaches we are witnessing a rising discontent amongst the great army of unemployed in Great Britain which today stands at 1,207,000 registered unemployed as compared with 1,165,000 when the Labour Government was formed in May. These figures, it must be remembered, are the index of only those registered at the Labour Exchanges. There is at least another 750,000 unemployed throughout Great Britain who are not registered today.

The indications are that still further increases are to be expected as the capitalist class, aided and encouraged by the Labour Government, push forward with the plans of rationalisation in industry.

Masses of the unemployed who had high hopes of improvement in their conditions under a Labour Government are fast becoming disillusioned and indignant, because they are now finding by bitter experience that the persecution of the unemployed through the administration of the unemployment Insurance Scheme and Poor Law Relief, is even fiercer under the Labour Government than it had been under the Tory Government.

Prior to the General Election in May of this year the National Unemployed Workers Movement had succeeded by its constant agitations and struggles in arousing a very extensive and pronounced feeling amongst the working class as a whole, against the administrative practices adopted at the Labour Exchanges whereby thousands of unemployed persons were being disqualified from benefit each month. Many of the Labour candidates exploited this feeling of resentment to win votes by

declaring that such harsh methods of administration would be removed immediately following the return of a Labour Government. But what have the past five months shown in this respect?

In the first place MacDonald loses no time in assuring the capitalist class that they need have no fear of the Labour Government being in the least bit extravagant in its treatment of the unemployed, for in the appointment of Margaret Bondfield as Minister of Labour and J. H. Thomas as Lord Privy Seal with a special portfolio to dabble with the problem under the title of "Minister of Employment", the matter was in safe hands.

The name of Margaret Bondfield stinks in the nostrils of the unemployed, because of her particularly vile record as an adviser to the Baldwin Government through the infamous Blanesburgh Commission which severely attacked the conditions of the unemployed in 1927.

Expectations have been borne out by experience and we find that the Labour Government has out-Toried the Tories in its treatment of the unemployed. Here are some interesting comparisons concerning the disqualification of unemployed applicants for benefit at the Labour Exchanges by the Local Insurance Officers. We will first take the figures of those claims disqualified under the Fourth Statutory Condition of the Act, commonly termed "Not Genuinely Seeking Work". Let us take the corresponding period under the Tory Government of 1928 with that of the Labour Government in 1929. (Figures taken from the official Government Publications, the "Ministry of Labour Gazette"):

Under the Tory Government Month ending	Under the Labour Government Month ending
June 11th, 1928: 11,208	June 10th, 1929: 19,868
July 9th, 1928: 14,153	July 8th, 1929: 18,999
Aug. 13th, 1928: 17,021	Aug. 12th, 1929: 24,141
Sept. 10th, 1928: 15,803	Sept. 9th, 1929: 16,518
<b>Total: 58,185</b>	<b>Total: 79,526</b>

We see here that the disqualification of claims by local Insurance Officers on the grounds of "Not Genuinely Seeking Work" has increased in the four months under the Labour Government by 21,341 compared with the corresponding period of 1928 under the Tories.

But there are also other statutory conditions under which a claimant can be disqualified from benefit. In these figures of the total disqualification of claims by the Local Insurance Officers, we find:

Under the Tory Government	Under the Labour Government
June 1928 . . . . . 51,632	June 1929 . . . . . 46,236
July 1928 . . . . . 39,766	July 1929 . . . . . 45,704
August 1928 . . . . . 41,490	August 1929 . . . . . 98,513
September 1928 . . . . . 38,985	September 1929 . . . . . 65,540
<b>Total: 171,873</b>	<b>Total: 255,993</b>

Increase under the Labour Government 84,120. In the disallowances by Courts of Referees we again find the number higher under the Labour Government than even under the Tories:

#### Disallowances by Courts of Referees.

Tory Government Month ending	Labour Government Month ending
June 11th, 1928: 11,877	June 10th, 1929: 14,866
July 9th, 1928: 12,041	July 8th, 1929: 14,827
Aug. 13th, 1928: 11,123	Aug. 12th, 1929: 16,857
Sept. 10th, 1928: 10,335	Sept. 9th, 1929: 14,862
<b>Total: 45,376</b>	<b>Total: 62,412</b>

Increase 17,036.

Now let us take a few more examples of the way in which the Labour Government is treating the unemployed:

Prior to the General Election the Labour Party had created the impression that the Boards of Guardians in West Ham, Chester-le-Street, and Bedwelty, which had been dissolved by the Tory Minister of Health and replaced by administrative dictators, would be restored to status and power by a Labour Government.

Naturally, immediately following the election of the MacDonald Government the cry was raised by the workers for the restitution of these Boards of Guardians. But this was answered by a definite refusal from the Labour Minister of Health. After a good deal of pressure he did finally agree that the Tory Dictators should be replaced by Labour dictators, the Guardians could not be restored.

The Labour dictators in these areas are now carrying on the administration of Poor Law Relief in exactly the same human manner as their predecessors did.

Task and test work is a pernicious slave system of employment under which the recipients of Poor Law Relief are put to work on roads, Parks, sewerage, etc., receiving at the end of their week's work a ticket for Poor Law Relief of course amounts to very much less than the recognised value of wages. This scale of relief often amounts to 10 or 12 shillings for single persons and about 25 to 30 shillings for married men with families.

This form of employment is actually increasing under the Labour Government and even where Boards of Guardians have shown themselves willing to discontinue this form of work the Labour Minister of Health, Arthur Greenwood, has insisted that it must continue.

Let us take a few cases out of many that can be given as a solution to abolish task work, they forwarded a copy to the Minister of Health and he promptly informed them that they must rescind that resolution and continue the task work.

The Romford Board of Guardians received a letter in September from the Labour Minister of Health complaining that a number of able-bodied men in receipt of Poor Law Relief at Romford and asking for a full report with particulars of arrangements the Guardians have for imposing a work test as a condition for the receipt of Relief.

The Dewsbury Guardians received instructions from the Minister of Health insisting that task work must be continued and that no departure from that regulation would be permitted. It further laid down that the Ministry could not approve the practice of the hours of work being proportionate to the amount of relief granted as was proposed by the Dewsbury Board of Guardians. The letter insisted that the recipients of relief be kept in full employment irrespective of the amount of relief paid.

In the discussion that took place at the Guardians meeting it was pointed out that already in Dewsbury men were working on this task work 32 hours for 10/-.

During the 1926 Miners' lockout big debts by the recipients of Poor Law relief were incurred by the miners and their families. Since then the local Boards of Guardians have been endeavouring to recover these amounts by weekly deductions from the wages of the miners. The wages are so low here that the guardians have found extreme difficulty in getting payments on these debts, in spite of an enormous number of police prosecutions that they have made in an effort to recover these amounts.

The result is that many Boards of Guardians are despondent of liquidating the remaining debts and making no further attempt to force repayment. They seemed to have the impression that this line would be permitted under a Labour Government, what we find that also in this respect the Minister of Health, Arthur Greenwood, was as inaccessible as and no more pathetic than his predecessor, Mr. Neville Chamberlain.

Such is a little of the evidence which shows the MacDonald Government in its true role as the persecutor of the unemployed and the tool of British capitalism in general.

It is not surprising therefore that we are witnessing a rising temper amongst the unemployed as they rapidly become disillusioned concerning their treatment under a Labour Government.

The National Unemployed Workers Movement is carrying on a keen agitation against the Labour Government and are now being carried out for an intense winter campaign in order to mobilise the unemployed for all-round improvement of their conditions. At the same time it is our task to make clear, that the Labour Government neither can nor will remove the causes and consequences of unemployment, viz. the capitalist system and assist the unemployed by providing work or maintenance. For this reason we must combat the treacherous Labour Government and fight for a real revolutionary workers' Government.

## The Municipal Elections in Berlin.

By Albert Norden (Berlin).

The municipal elections in Berlin are being participated in by twenty-one parties — a record number. This split up state of the parties is not a chance phenomenon. In order to avoid defeat at the polls on account of their policy, which is so inimical to the interests of the great mass of the people, the bourgeois factions come before their electors in ever fresh guises. If this is happening on a larger scale in the present elections the reason herefor is to be sought in the nest of corruption scandals which have been exposed by the Communist Party in the past month. The Communist Party has, of course, not made this exposure merely on account of the scandal itself, but because this scandal constitutes a symptom of the decay of the private capitalist order of society which makes its appearance in such a general form only in its last stage.

That two persons who had been placed by our Communist Party in responsible positions had also sunk into the swamp, has not prevented the "Rote Fahne" from stigmatising their crime and from delivering them over to public contempt. Whilst the Communist Party, with the approval of the proletarian population, of course ruthlessly got rid of such elements, the social democratic lists for the municipal elections are still headed by a number of open and pronounced criminals. Their financial and political corruption are closely linked up with each other. Whether they are bribed with the furs of Sklarek or with Cabinet seats in the coalition government, amounts to one and the same thing in the long run. That which with the Communist Party is an exceptional case which is punished at once with expulsion from the Party, with the social democracy is a regular system.

The most urgent municipal problem in Berlin is the housing shortage, by which actually millions are affected. There is a shortage of 350,000 dwellings in Berlin. 22,500 basement, 15,500 attic dwellings, 47,000 old and 8000 emergency dwellings in barracks and huts bear eloquent testimony as to how badly big sections of the proletariat are housed. 1,100,000 people in Berlin are living in dwellings without lavatories. New houses are being built only to a ridiculously insufficient extent. All the motions of the Communists to impose high taxes upon the propertied classes in order to undertake a large-scale construction of houses have been rejected by the combined bourgeois-social democratic front on the municipal council. At the same time the rents have been enormously increased and are again to be increased by 20 per cent. on 1st of January 1930.

In the tramway and district railway undertakings, which are under the influence of the municipal council, the staffs are most brutally exploited, while the fares are far above the normal level. They are also to be increased by 25 per cent, but far demagogic election reasons the increase is deferred until after the 17th of November.

Equally miserable conditions prevail in the school system, relief institutions etc. The enormous contributions paid by the municipal council of Berlin for the upkeep of the police are simply hair-raising: The Berlin police by whose hands so many proletarians have fallen victims, receive in this year alone from the municipal council more than 15 million marks. The bigger the expenditure for the apparatus of suppression of the ruling class, the smaller the sums for removing the worst social ills and defects.

The Communist Party clearly realises that the big bourgeoisie will never allow a working policy to be carried on in the municipality which would call in question its national and provincial legislation and its reactionary policy in general. Therefore, the Party is making it quite clear that a real social municipal policy can be conducted only with the advent of the proletarian dictatorship. While fighting against the anti-labour policy in every single administrative department, the municipal elections are for our Party only a means to mobilise the working class for the fight against the threatening war danger, for the overthrow of the capitalist State, for the annihilation of the Young Plan.

The election campaign has not yet reached its culmination. But already to-day the social democracy is forced on to the defensive by the offensive of the Communist Party. The election

demonstrations of the S. P. are welcomed with thundering cries of "Red Front". Several trade union meetings convened by the S. P. of Germany, at which social democratic leaders delivered speeches, ended up with the acceptance of resolutions in support of the Communist candidates. In the A. E. G. (General Electric Company) at Treptow, the social democratic woman speaker who was invited by the social democratic workers, was obliged to make a hasty departure in face of the staff who declared their determination to mobilise all their forces in order to assist the Communists in achieving a victory on the 17th of November. Numerous other factory staffs have declared themselves in favour of the Communist Party.

A serious opponent in these elections are the national socialists, who skillfully conceal their financial connections with the industrial and bank magnates and are developing a very active propaganda among the employees, clerks and workers. The Party will have to expose their pseudo-revolutionary agitation much more energetically than hitherto in order to prevent an invasion of the fascists into the revolutionary stronghold of Berlin.

The fronts plainly confront each other. There remain only a few more days and the world will know that the Berlin workers have not forgotten Zörgiebel's bloody May Days any more than they have forgotten the armoured cruisers, the starvation campaign against the unemployed and the robbery of the people by the coalition government's taxation and customs policy.

## Growth of the Political Crisis in Poland.

By G. Henrykovski.

The occurrences on the occasion of the opening of the Polish Sejm on October 31st mark a further stage in the growth of the political crisis of the Polish Fascist dictatorship, a crisis which is based on tremendously aggravated class differences and develops along the lines of the growing class struggle.

In the coal-mining districts there is a rapid growth in the discontent of the workers. At all congresses and assemblies, the outrageous award of the Fascist arbitration commission is unanimously denounced while the proclamation of a general strike throughout the coal-mining district is demanded. Both the miners and the metallurgical workers declare their readiness to fight. Under the stress of this revolutionary attitude on the part of the masses, the Social Fascists proclaimed a one-day strike to take place in the entire mining area on November 6th. The object of this one-day strike is that of disorganising the fight of the workers and delivering them into the hands of the Fascists and the employers on the pretext of instituting a new arbitration commission. This fact is confirmed by the furious agitation with which the Social Fascists of all shades oppose the Communist campaign for a continuation of the strike.

In the open country, the resentment among the masses of poor peasants has reached its limits. Reported conflicts between police and peasantry are more and more frequent.

A permanent state of war prevails in the occupied regions of Western Ukraina and Western White-Russia. The more active and resolute the opposition of the working masses of these regions under our guidance to the Polish Fascist occupation, the more terrible is the police terrorism and the more unbearable the oppression exercised by the dictatorship.

The symptoms of an approaching revolutionary phase and of a growing influence of the Communist Party of Poland are more and more apparent.

In this acute situation, the friction among the individual groups of interests within the possessing classes is increasingly marked. Contrary to the opportunist assertions of our Right wing, however, these differences in no way impair the united front of the bourgeoisie under the lead of the Fascist Government for the fight against the revolutionary movement and for preparation of the imperialist campaign against the Soviet Union.

The comedy of resistance played on the Parliamentary stage on the part of the Social Fascists and their national-democratic allies under the leadership of that old traitor Daszynski, serves but one purpose, that of deflecting the fight of the masses against Fascism into the channels of a "defence of menaced democracy", of blunting the revolutionary point of the mass movement, and of disorganising and demoralising the masses.

Out of its present position and out of the present serious political crisis, the Fascist regime can find no way back to Parliamentary democracy. The events of the last week show that Piłsudski aims at a further invigoration of his regime of oppression and war-preparation. At the same time he is endeavouring to exploit for the enlargement of his political basis such confidence as the Social Fascists still enjoy among the masses. The Social Fascists are naturally only too willing to support him. The object of their action is not the removal but rather the stabilisation of Fascist dictatorship. All they want is a small change in the outer façade of the dictatorship in the form of a greater consideration of their own adherents in the Government apparatus.

The actual contents of the miserable comedy, the wretched swindle practised by these cowardly and corrupt "oppositionists" in the Sejm at the opening of the new Parliamentary session, is most drastically illustrated by the fact that already after October 31st — i. e. at a time when throughout the country the police was engaged in the dastardly murder of workers and peasants, when at Lodz Comrade Hermann was massacred by a policeman in the street — the Social Fascist leader Niedzialkowski declared that the Government had "not yet surpassed the limits of what was lawful".

The further aggravation of the political crisis in Poland confronts the C. P. with very serious tasks. The Party must break through the counter-revolutionary manoeuvres of the Social Fascists and awaken the activity of the working masses. In all political and economic fights, the entire agitation and propaganda of the Party are now concentrated on the problem of power, the slogan of an armed rising of the proletariat against Fascism, and the formation of workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils. The Party calls upon the masses to hold mass demonstrations in the streets and to elect anti-Fascist committees in all works and in the open country.

The development of events in Poland is of the greatest international importance.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### MacDonald's Prison Law in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The death sentences in Haifa, the maltreatment of children in Nablus, the mass arrests, mass trials, police persecutions and the military Terror are — so it appears, — only the modest prelude of the terrorist, reactionary regime, which the socialist of His Majesty intends to introduce in Palestine.

While the imperial commission appointed by him is trying to gull the public with an appearance of impartiality (whereby they are fully assisted by the treacherous "national" leaders of the Jews and Arabs), the MacDonald Government itself is proceeding to eradicate every revolutionary movement in the country and every new advance and before all, to render impossible for the future any movement for freedom. On October 25th there was decreed for Palestine a law which is an absolute prison law directed against the revolutionary Labour movement. This law is to take the place of the Ottoman laws concerning high treason, insurrection, etc., which have obtained up to the present. It is, however, much more cruel and mean than the law of the Sultan.

Whereas in the former laws it was chiefly national and religious agitation that the Turkish Government treated to punish, in the present law the penalties are almost eliminated in that direction. There was only one of the bloodiest Jewish programs of recent history and a not less terrible slaughter of Arabs — every door has been left open for a repetition of such a blood-letting. But all the lightning of his legislation is directed by the Labour Colonial Minister against the anti-imperialists; anti-imperialistic propaganda ("preparation for revolution against the mandatory power in word or writing") — life-long imprisonment; — inciting to civil war — the same penalty; agitation among the troops or police — imprisonment for life. And then "lesser" offences, offences against the "social order": membership of an illegal party or organisation which is not registered (the registration of the Red Aid, for instance, in fact even of workers' cultural clubs, has been refused (!) one to

three years; agitation for the class struggle (!) three years; distribution of revolutionary proclamations — five years; insulting the British flag — three years; contributing to an "illegal" organisation — six months (for instance, to the Red Aid). Neither Piłsudski nor Horthy would need to be ashamed of this law; but the fact, nevertheless, is that neither the Lloyd George nor the Baldwin Government — in spite of repeated demands from the Palestine police — dared to issue the prison law. This honour was reserved for the "great man" of Social Democracy.

The law is mentioned openly in the press as the anti-Communist law, and as such it is naturally hailed with joy by the "humane", "pacifist" and "idealistic" Zionists. It is becoming into force immediately: mass raids by the police have commenced for the purpose of putting all those suspected of Communism under lock and key at once. Behind the prison walls, however, the conditions are such that a few weeks, not to speak of months and years, suffice to make imprisonment "lifelong", i. e. completely to ruin the prisoners physically and morally.

The mass hunger-strike of political prisoners, which has broken out within the last few days, throws a vivid light on the conditions in MacDonald's prison infernos. The only answer which the prison administration could make to the requests of the workers for humane treatment, political regime, abolition of disciplinary reprisals, was the carrying out of corporal punishment — the abolition of which was promised by the conservative Colonial Minister — on several political prisoners! Others were beaten until they bled by the brutal warders and put in chains after eight days of the hunger-strike, the prison officials deprived them even of water in order to hasten their death.

MacDonald's barbarity of the Middle Ages, a reaction more reactionary than that of the Die-Hards, is only equalled by the attitude of the local sections of the Social Fascists. For five days the chief Social-Democratic newspaper published reports of the hunger-strike, which had already been mentioned by the bourgeois press and even by the Fascist paper. We finally, — under the pressure of the indignation of the workers against this treachery in regard to the fight for the political regime, for which the Social Democrats took the responsibility a year ago — an article appeared but was shortly followed by a telegram of provocation against the Communists, designed to incite the workers once more. The Left Wing Poale Zion was even more interested than the police in throttling the hunger-strike, for they openly opposed every support of the strike and spread the most poisonous calumnies against them.

After all this, there can be no doubt that the whole reaction of course with MacDonald at its head, wishes to organise a new wave of such persecutions of the workers and the revolutionary national movement in the country, designed to wipe out the movement as such and destroy its members. Precisely because the revolutionary wave is on the rise, because the radicalisation of the masses is progressing, the sympathy for Communism growing in spite of the agitation against it, MacDonald's anti-Communist offensive will lead to very stubborn fights. The support of the revolutionary workers in England and the pressure brought to bear by them upon the lackeys of the bloodsucking imperialism may thereby prove to be the deciding factor.

## For the Struggle for Freedom of the Arab People.

From an Appeal of the League Against Imperialism.

The events in Palestine go to prove the fact that the Arab national question constitutes today one of the most important items of world politics. Also the Arabs have the right to abolish the dismemberment of their countries and to form a united, strong, independent, perfectly free State, a great Arab national State, the form and fate of which are to be determined not by the exercise of force of imperialist foreigners but by the will and the interests of the toiling masses of the native Arab population, peasants, workers and bedouins.

The League Against Imperialism and for National Independence, impressed by the splendid demonstration strike on November 2nd in Palestine and in view of the powerful development of the national movement in all Arab countries, sends

dial greetings to all fighters for Arab National emancipation. Consider it necessary in connection with the struggle for Arab national emancipation, to express two ideas which arise from the general experience of the international struggle against imperialism.

The Arab people must not believe in the hypocritical manoeuvres and the honeyed words which the British imperialists use every time their position is endangered, while at the same time employing bombs and machine guns (the fraudulent Treaty with Egypt, the investigation commission in Palestine, the play with Iraq etc.). The Arabs must realise that the called "Labour Government" of MacDonald was purposely trusted with government power in Great Britain in order to nip down the growing revolutionary indignation of the masses of the suppressed countries by means of deceit; to corrupt the leaders of the nationalist movements by means of hypocritical promises, and in this way to consolidate and extend the bases of imperialist exploitation.

The second experience of the international struggle against imperialism teaches that a people can conduct a successful struggle for national emancipation against the imperialist power only, if the leadership sets up a programme of social demands of the great majority of the nation, of the toilers, fights for it itself and places the organisation of the national struggle not in the hands of a small group, a narrow circle of rich landowners, religiously influential and privileged individual persons, but in the hands of the broad masses of the toiling population. It is necessary that in every city, in every village, in every bedouin camp there exist a fighting committee against imperialism and for national emancipation and unity. These committees which are to be composed of the most tried fellahin, workers and bedouins, shall make all decisions regarding the organisation of the anti-imperialist struggle in their districts. They shall also elect in every separate country a Central Arab national-revolutionary Committee, and these committees shall in turn elect for the whole area an "All-Arab National Revolutionary Council". Such an organisation, built from below, is capable of mobilising all the forces of the people in the struggle for national liberation. It is at the same time a guarantee that the struggle will not be ended before a real victory is achieved. Hence the creation of a broad, militant organisation is the command of the hour.

In the fight for this aim the Arab people can reckon upon the active support of the League Against Imperialism and for national Independence. The Arab national movement has reached, such a stage that it appears expedient to establish a close connection between it and the international organisation, the League Against Imperialism. Form therefore in every country a section of the League Against Imperialism! Form in all important districts local branches of the League. Such local branches can also be formed in the big villages. Unite the sections of the various Arab countries in an "All-Arab Committee of the League Against Imperialism".

Long live the liberation struggle of the Arab People!

Down with the imperialists, down with the dismemberment of the Arab countries, the mandatory system and the Balfour Declaration!

Long live the Federative, really free and independent great Arab State!

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

### The Facts Regarding Alleged Emigration of Mennonites from the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 9th November, 1929.

The Moscow correspondent of the "Inprecorr" is able to state, from a reliable source, the following facts with regard to the group of Mennonites desirous of emigrating from the Soviet Union:

The Mennonite and other organisations in Germany and America have long been doing their utmost to alienate the descendants of German colonists, adherents of the Mennonite and other sects, living in the Soviet Union, from the general process of economic development going on in Russia. These organisations have not succeeded in their aim among the enormous ma-

majority of the colonists living in Siberia, Ukraine, Crimea, etc. These are solid with the Soviet power, and support its measures, especially the latest efforts towards collectivisation. The foreign organisations then organised energetic propaganda among the kulak elements among the Mennonites, and endeavoured to induce these to emigrate to Canada. The promises of the shipping companies, anxious for their own profits, have further been directed towards strengthening the resistance of these kulak elements against socialist reconstruction in their villages.

Under the influence of this foreign propaganda about 6000 persons, mostly well-to-do Mennonites from South Siberia, travelled to Moscow and requested the Soviet government to permit them to emigrate. The Soviet government, in accordance with its principles, gave permission, and requested the German government to allow the emigrants to cross Germany. The German government has, however, not yet given this permission, nor has the Canadian government given permission for the emigrants to enter Canada. These Mennonite groups are the victims of a counter-revolutionary agitation which has promised them mountains of gold in America, and deprived them of the excellent position which they enjoyed in their villages in Siberia.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### The Great Constructive Works of the Five-Year Plan.

Automobile Factory with Output Capacity of One hundred and forty-thousand Cars a Year.

By H. Ostrov.

To overcome the economic backwardness prevailing in pre-war Russia and to raise the national economy of the Soviet Union to a level corresponding to the present state of world technics, is one of the fundamental elements of the whole economic policy of the Soviet power and one of the essential features of the Five-Year-Plan. This line of development is expressed in the idea of general industrialisation, in the mechanisation of agriculture, in the introduction of tractors, in the rapid electrification, and of late also in the increased application of chemistry. Just as the Soviet Union is going energetically ahead in all these spheres, so also is it making use of automobiles on a large scale.

One of the most important projects of the automobilisation plans is the erection of a great modern automobile works near Nijni-Novgorod, which according to the original computations was to achieve an annual output of 100,000 cars. Now that the project has in the meantime been further examined and now that the introduction of uninterrupted production is increasing the output capacity of every individual works and factory, it is found that this annual output can be increased to 140,000 automobiles. To this quantity there is to be added the output of other automobile works already existing in the Soviet Union and which according to the Five-Year-Plan are to turn out 30,000 cars of various types annually. The plan is not concluded even with this proposed augmented output, but further projects are being considered.

In order to insure that the factory will be constructed on the most up-to-date lines and use made of the best foreign skill and experience, a contract was concluded on the 31st of May, 1929, in Dearborne between the Soviet government and Henry Ford Limited, in which Ford undertakes to give the greatest possible technical assistance in the erection of the automobile factory, in return for which orders amounting to 30 million dollars are to be placed with Ford within the next four years for the delivery of Ford products at privileged prices. In this way there is provided the possibility of rapidly promoting the automobilisation of the country already before the new automobile factories commence working.

Meanwhile, a further contract has been concluded with the American Building firm "Austin Comp", according to which this firm is to undertake the erection of buildings. The contract provides that the building operations are to be commenced on the 1st of May, 1930, and to be completed within a period of two years, within which period parts of the factories are already to commence work. It is not a mere chance that the Soviet economy, the development of which is proceeding at

such a rapid pace, should seek to adopt American methods in these spheres, as American technic is better adapted than European technic to the rapid solution of big building and production tasks.

The conclusion of the big contract with Ford is not only a sign of the constructive activity of Soviet economy; it is also

an indication that the American capitalists have been forced to recognise the power of Soviet Russian economy. The granting of the so-called technical aid means also the recognition that the extension and development of Soviet economy cannot be hindered by any boycott actions on the part of the capitalists abroad.

## Revolutionary Figures.

The following figures are mainly taken from the collection of tables contained in "The Five-Year Plan for the Development of Industry in the Soviet Union in tables and diagrams" published by the Moscow "Communist Academy".

### The Development of the most important branches of Industry in Comparison with pre-war.

#### a) In Absolute figures:

Branch of industry	unit of measure	Annual production			
		1913	1922/23	1927/28	1932/33
<b>Group A (industry chiefly producing means of production):</b>					
1. Coal	millions of tons	28.9	11	35.4	75
2. Naphtha	millions of tons	9.3	5	11.7	22
3. Peat	millions of tons	1.6	3	6.9	16
4. Iron Ore	millions of tons	9.2	—	5.7	19
5. Pig iron	millions of tons	4.2	—	3.3	10
6. Martin Steel	millions of tons	4.2	—	3.9	10
7. Rolled iron	millions of tons	3.5	0.4	3.2	8
8. Agricultural machines	million roubles*)	67	14	125	498
9. Cement	million barres	12.3	1	11.9	41
10. Bricks	in millions	2144	213	1785	9300
11. Superphosphate	thousand tons	55	5	150	3400
12. Sulphuric acid	thousand tons	150	35	208	1450
<b>Group B (industry chiefly producing means of consumption):</b>					
13. Cotton cloth	million metres	271	75	328	620
14. Woollen cloth	million metres	95	22	96	270
15. Linen	million metres	—	93	165	500
16. Granulated sugar	thousand tons	1290	211	1340	2600
17. Salt	thousand tons	1978	950	2300	3250
18. Galoshes	million pairs	28	10	37	75
Production of the whole census industry**)	milliard pre-war roubles	6.4	2	8.1	21

#### b) in percentages (1913 = 100):

Branch of Industry	Annual Production			Branch of Industry	Annual Production		
	1922/23	1927/28	1932/33		1922/23	1927/28	1932/33
<b>Group A:</b>				<b>Group B:</b>			
1. Coal	38.1	122.5	259.5	13. Cotton Cloth	27.7	121.0	228
2. Naphtha	49.5	125.8	233.3	14. Woollen Cloth	23.2	101.0	281
3. Peat	162.5	450.0	1000.0	15. Linen	—	—	—
4. Iron Ore	4.3	62.0	210.0	16. Granulated Sugar	16.4	103.9	201
5. Pig Iron	7.1	78.6	238.1	17. Salt	48.0	116.3	194
6. Martin Steel	11.9	95.2	247.6	18. Galoshes	35.7	126.6	331
7. Rolled Iron	14.3	91.4	228.6	<b>Production of the whole census industry</b>			
8. Agricultural Machines	20.9	186.6	743.3		32.8	126.6	311
9. Cement	11.4	96.7	325.2	<b>Real wages of the industrial worker (including the municipal social benefits and advantages)</b>			
10. Bricks	9.9	83.3	433.8		54.2	122.5	261
11. Superphosphate	9.1	272.7	6181.8				
12. Sulphuric acid	23.8	138.7	966.7				

The above tables characterise not only the aim of the Five-Year Plan, but also indicate the point at which the socialist construction commenced, which was considerably lower than pre-war level. Thus, for instance, metal production sank during the war and civil war to a 25th of the pre-war level. The proletariat of the Soviet Union has rapidly re-established its industry with its own forces, so that at the beginning of the Five-Year plan in 1928/29 the industrial production had attained in almost all branches of industry a higher level than the pre-war level.

It is true, there are specially "weak points", such as metallurgy, the building industry, which in the year 1927/28 (the last year before the Five-Year Plan) had not yet reached the pre-war level. The development of these branches of industry is

specially emphasised in the Five-Year Plan. In the above figures the strong development of the chemical industry and the production of agricultural machinery is particularly striking; these industries are of special importance for the socialisation and technical development of agriculture.

The development in the first 13 months of the Five-Year Plan points to the fact that the above indicated figures for 1932/33 will be reached a year or eighteen months earlier in some branches of industry.

\*) In pre-war prices.

\*\*) Factories with more than 16 workers at machines and 30 hand workers.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Orgies of Bloody Terror in Yugoslavia.

Prevent Fresh Murders and Imprisonments!

By P. D.

The murder in Yugoslavia in the course of the last six months of 50 Communists and national revolutionaries, the mass arrests, maltreatment and inquisitorial torture of thousands of workers, fighters for national freedom and oppositional intellectuals have caused several big bourgeois newspapers, including "Manchester Guardian" and "The Nation", to protest against Terror in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian blood government, which has maintained a stubborn silence in face of the wave of protest from the international proletariat and the numerous meetings of protest, resolutions and telegrams, has now, finally, agreed to answer. The official Belgrade telegraphic agency "Avala" published on November 2nd a kind of "correction". As all newspapers in Yugoslavia are obliged to publish without reservation whatever the police send in to them, this "correction" is reproduced by the whole of the Yugoslavian press ("Obsor", "Politika", "Hrvatski List", etc.) — Not a single one of the readers mentioned and made known to the public is denied, the accusations against the Dictatorship are confirmed word for word by the Dictatorship itself. In the famous correction the following appears, in a few lines:

"Several foreign newspapers publish with hostile intent against our State a list of murdered persons and maintain that it is a question of the innocent victims of an alleged (!) Terror in Yugoslavia. The published list contains the names of several Communist terrorists (?), who were arrested in connection with the discovery of the chief Communist organisation in Yugoslavia... That it is a question of Communists cannot be doubted. It is equally easy to prove that there is no question of murder, for the majority of the persons mentioned committed suicide (!) with the object of preventing all further investigation on the part of the authorities designed to discover their secret organisation, while several of the other arrested Communists attempted to escape and thereby killed gendarmes..."

In the "correction" the murder of the Labour leaders Djavich, Hetchimovich Marganovich, Janko Mishich, Mijo and Avko Oreshki, Baron, Finzi, Brazanovich and Neshich is commended. The dictator government even admits four further murders not previously published in the Yugoslavian press: the murder of the workmen Josip Crnek, Dragotin Bodshak, Milan Kossorich and the workwoman Anka Grzetich, whose name has been mutilated by the police into "Ante Grozetich". According to the police report, Crnek, Bodshak and Grzetich "escaped", while Kossorich committed "suicide". The three who "escaped" were murdered, for no trace of them could be found.

But a number of murders are omitted from the "correction" of the dictator government. Among the 50 victims of the military dictatorship there are 30 Albanian, Macedonian, Croatian and Bosnian nationalists. Not a word is said about these, for these murders might not so easily get the moral support of the European bourgeois and Social-Democratic press as the murder of Communists.

The "correction" of the "Avala" telegraphic agency was, in the first place, published in order to weaken the attack of the foreign press upon the Terror in Yugoslavia and, on the other hand, to prepare public opinion for fresh cruel sentences of imprisonment, fresh tortures, mass prosecutions and monster trials, which are to be carried out in Belgrade, Zagreb and other towns. Openly and brutally the bloody dictatorship states that it also intends to continue its system of Terror. The last sentence in the "correction" runs as follows:

"But it is certain that the authorities will continue to proceed with all the severity of the law against all revolutionary and criminal elements."

The torture of our imprisoned comrades in the Belgrade police prison "Glavnjatsha", in the prisons of Zagreb, Osijek,

Sarajevo, etc., are still being carried on in the most cruel and terrible fashion.

Our comrades in the police prison of Osijek succeeded in smuggling several letters out of the prison. In these letters the terrible maltreatment of the political prisoners is described. The workman Hauk was tortured to death and then thrown out of the window. In the official "correction" his name is not mentioned, for in this case it was a difficult matter to make out it was a suicide, as he was thrown out of a window on the first floor.

A letter smuggled out of the Belgrade police prison is a desperate cry from more than 50 comrades, who are delivered defenceless to the police beasts:

"We learn that we are not to be transferred to the court prison, but that our examination is to be continued in the police prison... The public, and particularly the international juridical circles, must be informed that the accused remain in the police prison throughout the duration of the court investigation and sessions. On the basis of the new law concerning the constitution of the State Law Court, it is illegal and forbidden to keep the accused in the police prison during the court examination. It is completely impossible to tell the examining judge the truth so long as we are in the power of the police beasts.

"The atmosphere in which we live: Murder, prisoners being thrown out of the prison windows, maltreatment until the victim loses consciousness, torture by driving iron nails into the legs and stirring around the flesh, constant threats of murder and beatings, not to speak of the abuse and curses of the political agents of Vuykovitch, Stankowitch, Kosmayatz and others, through whose constant sadistic and inquisitorial treatment it is rendered impossible for us to speak openly to the examining judge. We cannot set right before the examining judge the false "confessions" and statements, which are forced out of us, we cannot say a word about the terrible treatment in the police prison, so long as we are within the reach of these beasts, whose misdeeds can no longer be measured by any human standard, for such action on our part would only lead to fresh bloody collisions. Shortly before the dispatch of this letter, the well-known Communist lawyer, Rajko Jovanovich, who compiled the brochure "The Glavnjacha as a System", has just had a toe torn off his foot during torture.

Only an immediate protest strike of the international proletariat can help us in our truly terrible position..."

We reproduce this appeal of our incarcerated comrades to the international proletariat and call upon the workers of all countries to put an end to the terrible position of the political prisoners in Yugoslavia by holding meetings of protest, despatching protest telegrams and demonstrating in front of the Yugoslavian embassies.

## FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

### Appeal of the Communist International to the Members of the C. P. of Sweden.

The open splitting of the C.P. of Sweden by the former Samuelson-Kilboom group of leaders causes the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. to appeal once again direct to the members of the Party. After a thorough and all-round examination of the situation in your Party the E.C.C.I. decided at the end of August to send the Open Letter to your Party. The Open Letter demands a change of the political course, and fight against opportunism and its bearers in the Party. The representatives of the then majority of the Central Committee, Kilboom and Arvid Olsson, who were in Moscow, put their signatures to the Open Letter and thereby to all the demands contained therein. Instead, however, of carrying out these demands in the Party, the Kilboom group organised the fight against the Comintern.

The Kilboom group has trodden under foot all the decisions of the Communist world party and the discipline of the Comintern. It has stifled discussion of the Open Letter in the Party and suddenly convened a Party congress in order to lead the Party against the Leninist line of the Comintern.

At the same time the Kilboom group has set up a political platform, as did Höglund in 1924, which it seeks to veil by means of radical phrases, but which serves as the basis for the creation of an "independent" party hostile to the Comintern. Just as was the case with Höglund, every means of deception and illusion are to be used in an endeavour to lead some thousands of workers to the social democratic party. With this aim in view the leaders of the Comintern are being accused of conducting a sectarian policy in order to shatter the communist parties. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is represented as being a hindrance to the development of the Comintern. When the group round Kilboom were removed from their leading functions in the Party they answered with brutal splitting measures and methods of violence.

The E. C. C. I. now made a final attempt in order to prevent a split. At its behest the Central Committee was convened in order to liquidate the Kilboom group and to secure the holding of the Party Congress on the basis of revolutionary discipline. The Kilboom group sabotaged this C. C. Plenum as well as the summons of the same to cease the disruptive measures, to deliver over the newspapers in the hands of the majority and to submit to the discipline of the Comintern. The Central Committee issued instructions that all measures be adopted in order to secure the unity of the Party on the basis of the revolutionary policy of the Comintern and expelled ten leaders of the Kilboom group as renegades from the Party. This decision was fully and entirely approved by the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

The leaders of the Comintern did everything in order to prevent a split in the Communist Party of Sweden. Their aim was to overcome opportunism in the ranks of your Party, but not by mechanical methods but by a discussion in all questions within the frame of the Party, upon the basis of the VI. World Congress, of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., and of the Open Letter to your Party. To this Kilboom, Flyg, Samuelson and others who, just as like Höglund in 1924, have abandoned Leninism, replied by splitting the Party.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. is convinced that the comrades who have already elected delegates to the splitting congress of the Kilboom group were not clear as to the significance and the aim of this congress; that these comrades do not wish to follow the path of the renegades in order to found an independent party. Comrades! You have taken seriously the phrases of the renegades regarding their fidelity to the Comintern just as their phrases as to "bad information" and the personal nature of the Party fight. For the Kilboom group and its independent party there is no other development than that of sharpest fight against the Comintern, and, just as was the case with Höglund, back to the social democrats.

Comrades! We know that you do not wish to break with the Comintern. But if you do not wish this then you must break with those who are vilifying and fighting the Comintern and betraying the revolutionary Leninist policy. We call upon all comrades in the C. P. of Sweden, regardless of whether they sided with the former majority or minority, to carry on the sharpest fight against the Kilboom group and their disruptive endeavours in the Party and the Youth movement.

Misguided organisations which have already elected delegates to the splitting congress, must reconsider the position so as to be represented at the Party Congress of the C. P. of Sweden, section of the Comintern. The greatest efforts of every member are necessary in order to prevent honest revolutionary workers from being led into the camp of the social democrats by means of these renegades.

As in all capitalist countries, the situation in Sweden is becoming acute. In connection with the intensification of the imperialist antagonisms and the preparation of war against the Soviet Union, the character of the class struggles in Sweden also must assume more revolutionary forms. Only the Communist Party can lead the Swedish working class in these political

and economic mass struggles. The Party can only face this task if it overcomes opportunism in its own ranks, if it does not make a cowardly retreat before the difficulties, if it ruthlessly fights against social fascism, for a really Leninist revolutionary Party. On the basis of the revolutionary policy of the Comintern the Kilboom group must be finally defeated and annihilated. But the Communist Party of Sweden must grow and fulfil its historical role, the capture of the mass of the working class and the carrying out of the proletarian revolution.

Down with the splitters!

Forward for a united, revolutionary, Leninist Communist Party of Sweden!

Moscow, 29th October 1929.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

## FOR LENINISM

### On the Inner Situation of the C.P. of the Soviet Union.

By St. Kossior.

From a speech delivered at the Charkow Functionaries Conference of the C. P. S. U.

Since the spring of this year our differences of opinion, the Right wing have considerably increased. You are aware that the April Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. did everything to enable these comrades to rectify their errors.

At the same time the Central Committee — in accordance with the wishes of the whole Party — unanimously confirmed the attitude and the opinions of the Right group, headed by Comrade Bukharin, and declared these views to be incompatible with the general line of the Party. The Plenum called upon these comrades to carry out the decisions of the Party and of its organs without any contradiction and warned that in the event of the least attempt to frustrate the decisions of the C. C. and of its organs, all measures will be adopted which are necessary for safeguarding the iron unity of the Party.

At present the situation is such that in spite of all the warnings the Right oppositionists have increased their fratricidal attacks upon the C. C. On the basis of the general intensification of the class struggle in the country we perceive an intensification of the class struggle in the country we perceive an intensification of the differences of opinion between the overwhelming majority of the Party and the Right elements. This is understandable, as the Right elements do not agree with the line of the Party regarding the accelerated pace of socialist construction. And you know that lately the ousting of the capitalist elements has been taking place at an accelerated pace, which again means a serious intensification of the class struggle in our country.

It suffices to point out what happened this year with regard to obtaining grain. The terrorist activity of the kulaks has grown. The kulaks who are being ousted from their positions are conducting a desperate life and death fight. Of late a number of murders of village functionaries, of acts of arson, of increased compared with last year. A number of counter-revolutionary organisations have recently been discovered. The old revolutionary bourgeois-intellectual elements are getting more active, but they are experiencing defeat.

In such circumstances of intensified class struggle we must overcome enormous difficulties and to exert all our forces in order to carry out our tasks and our programme; in order to reorganise our whole work in accordance with these tasks, to develop self-criticism to purge the Soviet apparatus and the Party and to adopt a number of other measures so as to increase the fighting capacity of our ranks.

Self-criticism shows already the first results. We are purging our ranks and the Soviet apparatus from the disintegrated

en elements, we are renewing the weak links with whom we could not be able to make any progress.

At such a moment we observe a decisive revival of the positional activity of the Rights. Although Comrade Bukharin and other comrades declared at the last Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. that they will not do any fraction work, it is well seen that these good intentions have not been realised. These promises were immediately broken after the Plenum. Comrade Bukharin has made a number of attacks on the line of the Party in the press and in speeches. Of late we see a decided revival of the activity of Bukharin's followers. In Moscow they issued an anonymous leaflet. During the Party purge in Moscow, a number of Bukharin's followers openly came forward in defence of the Rights. At the same time the representative of Bukharin's school among the youth, Slepikow, who is now working in Samara, delivered a speech in which he openly declared himself to be a follower of Bukharin and repeated the opportunist attacks upon the Party and its C. C.

If these facts are taken together then one realises that there is something common, a certain plan to be discerned in these actions. It is not possible that it was by mere chance that first Zeitlin and Slepikow spoke at the meetings held for Party purging, without Bukharin and his adherents having known anything about it beforehand.

A certain group is arising, is crystallising in our Party. We are observing a revival of the work of the Rights, which reveals all the elements of fractional activity. We have reached a point at which the question of the Rights must be energetically dealt with. At the last Plenum of the C. C. the Rights were given a first categorical warning. It is obvious that the C. C. must deal with this question again at its next Plenum.

In connection with our growing differences of opinion with the Right Bukharin group we must also take into account the small "Left" group existing among the youth. I refer to the actions of Comrades Schatzkin and Sten and their followers. Great difficulties and changes in our life are always accompanied by great vacillations in our ranks. And if we are able to observe the actions of the Right opposition, on the other hand, it is a matter of course that there also with us representatives of Trotskyist tendencies.

It is not by chance that the Party has to fight on two fronts: against the Right and against the "Left", against the Trotskyists and all sorts of Trotskyist and semi-Trotskyist tendencies. In the fight on two fronts the Party is forming its cadres and consolidating its ranks. I believe that by combating these errors, by averting the errors of the youth, we are rendering the Party a great service. It is here a question of minor errors which, however, in their further development can lead to a break with the Party and to a going over into Trotskyist paths. The Party is in duty bound to warn in time against such errors and vacillations.

In conclusion, some words regarding the Trotskyists. We are confronted with the complete disintegration of the Trotskyist opposition. You know that Trotsky has been abandoned by his chief cadres: Serebrjakov, Radek, Preobrashensky, Smilga, others like I. N. Smirnov, Bieloborodov, etc. are still vacillating. This means a complete disintegration of the Trotskyist opposition and self-discrediting of Trotsky. The former Trotskyists are now coming forward in masses and requesting their readmittance into the Party.

In this connection I want to say that no other opposition has gone so far as the Trotskyist one. The Trotskyists have conducted against us a direct counter-revolutionary activity; and now, when the former Trotskyists own their mistakes, we must not straight away readmit them into the Party. We are in duty bound to proceed with the greatest distrust when examining their application for readmission into the Party. This is all the more necessary as there are undeniable cases in which certain Trotskyists wish to return to the Party only in order, under the cloak of a confession of their errors, to carry on disintegrating work within our Party. In my opinion we have to guard the Party against such friends.

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### The International Relations of the Italian Trade Union Federation.

The following resolution was adopted at the recent conference of the Italian Confederation of Labour.

The National Conference of the Italian Trade Union Federation (C. G. d. L.), after discussing the problem of the international relations of the Italian Trade Union Federation, adopted the following decision:

The Amsterdam Trade Union International, by its programme of class collaboration, by the part which it plays against the class struggle of the workers, by its activity within the International Labour Office, which has been created by imperialism in order to subjugate the proletariat still more to its rule, and by its policy in the service of the ruling classes which supports the bourgeoisie of the various countries in the preparation of imperialist war, especially of war against the Soviet Union, is nothing but an anti-Labour and counter-revolutionary organisation.

It is precisely as an organisation in the service of imperialism that the Amsterdam Trade Union International refused to recognise and to accept the Italian Trade Union Federation which was rescued by the Italian proletariat at the Congress of February 20, 1927, in face of the combined manoeuvres of the former reformist leaders and of fascism.

The Amsterdam Trade Union International, which sent its representatives Citrine and Sassenbach to Italy in order to negotiate with the Rigola group, thereby adopted the standpoint of this group, i. e. the standpoint of open collaboration with Italian fascism.

This attitude on the part of Amsterdam was emphatically condemned by the Congress of February 20, 1927, which, while condemning the treacherous leaders of the trade unions, led the Italian Trade Union Federation on to the path of revolutionary class struggle.

In view of the fact that the Central Committee of the Italian Trade Union Federation had already previously decided to raise the question of the necessity of an open breach with the Amsterdam International;

in the conviction that the Italian proletariat, which at all congresses and conferences held in the period in which it was still possible for the trade union federation to function legally has constantly proclaimed its opposition to Amsterdam, will perceive and grasp this necessity;

in the conviction that for the purpose of carrying on a successful fight for the defence of the Italian proletariat and against fascism the Italian Trade Union Federation must be closely and organisationally connected with the international proletariat through its trade union organs;

realising that the only international trade union organisation expressing the class-consciousness and the revolutionary will of the Italian proletariat and its Trade Union Federation is the Red International of Labour Union, which has its seat in Moscow;

in view of the fact, however, that the problem of the Red International of Labour Unions and of the affiliation of the Italian Trade Union Federation to the same has not been sufficiently discussed since the Congress of February 20, 1927 —

it is resolved:

1. To sever all relations with the Amsterdam Trade Union International;

2. to carry out in the trade union press a campaign for the purpose of rallying the great masses of the Italian proletariat on the basis of the R. I. L. U. without reserve, and to convince them of the necessity for the affiliation of the Italian Trade Union Federation with the R. I. L. U.;

3. to place the problem of the organic connection of the Italian Trade Union Federation with the R. I. L. U. on the agenda of the next conference or of the Congress of the Trade Union Federation;

4. to empower the Central Committee of the Trade Union Federation to decide itself on affiliation if in view of certain political circumstances they consider this to be immediately necessary and if under certain circumstances it should not be possible to convene a conference or congress;

5. to instruct the Central Committee of the trade Union Federation to seize every initiative in the international field which, without deviating from the trade union political line laid down by the present Congress, is considered necessary in order to secure the connection of the Italian proletariat with the proletariat of other countries through the mediumship of the Italian Trade Union Federation.

## OUR PROBLEMS

### The "Observations of an Economist" in the Light of the Results of the First Year of the Five-Year Plan.

By K. Rosenthal (Moscow).

Standing, as we are, at the beginning of the second year of the Five-Year Plan, the year 1929/30, and looking back at the twelvemonth of 1928/29, we are in a position to judge, on the strength of all the necessary data, the "justification of the doubts" of Comrade Bukharin as to the correctness of the economic policy of the Party. Is it true that the past economic year was characterised by a disturbance in the course of reproduction? Was there really a disturbance of the most important economic proportions in the country, calling forth a readjustment of classes disadvantageous to the proletariat? Was the political equilibrium of the country really disturbed and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry endangered? This is what Comrade Bukharin prophesied in his "Observations of an Economist". The results of the past economic year give a clear and unambiguous answer.

In **planned industry**, the total volume of gross production rose over that of the economic year 1927/28 by from 23½ to 24 per cent. and thus surpassed the original task according to the Plan by 2 or 2½ per cent. As results to hand show, the work of development will be executed to the extent established by the Plan.

Rather less favourable results may be expected in connection with the **quantitative indices** on the work of industry, the increase in the productivity of work, and the reduction of initial costs. The data to hand show a certain falling off in the systematised tasks as regards both the productivity of work (plus 15 or 16 per cent., as against 17 per cent. according to the Plan) and the reduction of the initial costs of industrial production (minus 4½ to 5 per cent., as against 7 per cent. under the Plan), and also a certain super-fulfilment of the Plan in the increase of nominal wages. In spite of this somewhat unfavourable position as regards the quantitative indices of the output of industry, the results of the past economic year in industry cannot be considered small, far less can they be thought to disturb the course of reproduction and the execution of the entire Five-Year Plan.

A decided change has come about in the economic year 1928/29 in respect of agriculture. The area under cultivation has increased in its total extent by 5 or 6 per cent., that of individual farms by 1.8 per cent. This last figure reflects the most important and far-reaching processes taking place in agriculture. The increase of the area under cultivation in the year 1928/29 in the individual section of agriculture was secured by a considerable extension of the cultivated area of the farms belonging to poor and relatively poorer middle peasants at the cost of the cultivated area of the kulaks. This fact must be rated as one of the most important symptoms for the accuracy of the Party's policy in the rural districts. It represents not only an economic but also a political strengthening of the alliance between the

working class and the poor and middling peasantry and a further accentuation of the struggle against the kulak.

Also in the direction of the socialisation of agriculture, great change took place in the past economic year. The Plan provided for an extension of the cultivated areas of the collective farms by 112 per cent.; in reality, however, they have increased by more than 330 per cent. In the year 1927, there was in the R. S. F. S. R. a total of 11,306 collective farms. On October 1st, 1928 there were 21,394, and on July 1st, 1929 the total already exceeded 35,000. In the same space of time the cultivated area of the Soviet farms increased by 143 per cent., which was also more than what had been provided for by the Plan. Besides this, 50 fully mechanised grain factories were established. In extent, these enterprises are the largest in the world.

I we add the returns in regard to the increase of extraction, which also considerably surpass the systematic estimates, those in regard to the increase of the area sown with seed of high value, and those concerning the multiple-field farms etc., the entire aspect of the results of agriculture is sufficiently clear. This aspect of things has none of the characteristics of disturbance of the course of reproduction or of a readjustment of the classes disadvantageous to the proletariat.

The increased growth of the output of economy, especially as regards its socialised section, over the estimates of the Plan also called forth an increase of work in connection with transport. The entire goods traffic in 1928/29 figures at 175 or 177 million ton-kilometres, as against 165 million ton-kilometres according to the Plan.

The execution of the budget for 1928/29 also shows an increase in comparison with the Plan, standing at 7,925 million roubles as against 7,231 millions.

The economic year 1928/29 shows a further, exceedingly speedy growth of the socialised section in the turnover of goods.

The rapid rate of development throughout economy is, however, accompanied by a certain tardiness in the case of individual products, the slower development of which somewhat disturbs the general satisfactory rate of progress and tends to create a certain disproportion between the different branches of economy. This applies to iron-ore, the coloured metals, vegetable raw materials, grain cultivation, and some other branches. In view of this considerable lack of proportion between the levels of development of individual branches of industry on the one hand and economy in its entirety on the other, an equilibrium within the limits of the twelvemonth divisions of the Plan cannot be attained by the practical realisation of the reactionary, anti-industrial tendencies or by an adaptation to the "weak" sections, i. e. those branches of economy which have remained behind in their development. It is just this way, however, which Comrade Bukharin has chosen in employing, e. g. the existence of a deficit of building materials for the purpose of pointing to the necessity of restricting the volume of constructional enterprises and consequently of retarding the course of industrialisation. On the contrary, by forcing the production of the backward branches of economy, by a corresponding policy of capital investments, by the strictest economy in such materials as show a deficit, and, wherever possible, by the substitution of sufficiently plentiful materials, by the facilitation of construction, and the like, a full realisation of the entire programme of constructional work has been ensured, a programme which Bukharin thought to be endangered by the lack of materials and therefore designated as "unsound".

The Soviet Union plan of industrial development has not only been fully executed, but the conditions and presuppositions of a renewed tremendous advance in the year 1929/30 have been created. A 32 to 35 per cent. increase of industrial production, a 9½ to 10 per cent. reduction of initial costs, a 23½ per cent. increase of the productivity of work, and 3000 to 3500 million roubles of investments in constructional work — such are the factors of progress which are to a great extent the outcome of the entire foregoing policy and practice of economy in the Soviet Union. Bukharin called the accretion in constructional work for 1929/30, projected in the estimates of the Five-Year Plan (to the extent of 39.6 per cent.) a "fantastic leap". Well, the constructional work in industry in 1929/30 will be about double that of 1928/29 and exceed the estimates of the Five-Year Plan by nearly 40 per cent.

What barely a year ago Bukharin designated as "unsound" and "fantastic" has been fully and wholly realised.

## ECONOMICS

### The New-York Stock Exchange Crisis.

By P. Gabriel (Paris).

The New York stock-exchange crisis must be looked upon one of the most important episodes in the history of post-war times and as one of the most characteristic events of the third period of imperialist development.

As was to be expected, the panic of the last few days was followed by numerous dramas. Police reinforcements were ordered for safeguarding the banks against a possible onslaught of the unfortunate speculators. The most reputed securities were hardest hit. The shares of the Allied Chemical tumbled from 346 to 220, those of United States Steel from 254 to 174. The storm, however, said to have subsided. The intervention of the leading banks has allegedly put an end to the panic.

Whatever may be the further consequences of the event, the fact remains, the importance of which must not be lost sight of. The New York stock exchange has compromised the reputation which so long attracted European capital. The opinions of such as are generally considered to be experts, were used in praise of the credit organisation of the United States, which was frequently called the key to the secret of American prosperity. Now, however, the immoderate employment of credit and the fever of speculation resulting therefrom, have led to an absolute catastrophe.

The breakdown is also to be explained by the high rate of interest in London and the consequent reflux of capital to Europe. According to "Times" reports, the catastrophic events in the stock exchange were immediately preceded by considerable shipments of gold to Europe. A few days ago, the "Aquinia" carried 1½ million pounds' worth of gold to Southampton. This reflux of gold and other capital could not but exercise an adverse influence on the stock exchange.

Finally, the stock-exchange crisis is the outcome of apprehensions entailed by certain particularly disquieting economic symptoms.

The adverse position of United States agriculture has been a matter of discussion in the American press for many weeks past. The low prices of wheat, maize, oats, and cotton prove that the farmers are faced with tremendous difficulties in the sale of their produce. After having tried to sell their crops, they attempted to increase their revenue by the sale of securities. The market crisis in agriculture thus influenced the crisis on the stock and share market.

The regression of certain branches of industry, particularly the automobile industry, undoubtedly contributed to the panic of the last few days. As production is to be promoted with the greatest rapidity and unceasingly strengthened with the aid of fresh credits, any standstill or regress entails a catastrophe.

The breakdown decreases the purchasing power of customers in the United States and will therefore increase the competitive struggle for markets in certain branches of industry.

The crisis also represents a breakdown of the prophecies of the high priests of the Social Fascist church. The prosperity of the United States was the great watchword of the international reformists. Besides this, the Social Democrats so triumphantly prophesied the reconciliation of the two Continents and hailed MacDonald as the harbinger of peace between Europe and America. All these idols are fallen. The prosperity of the United States has proved to be rotten at the core. And in place of the reconciliation so treacherously promised, we have the menace of a tariff war, which at any time may turn into a war of arms.

## WORKERS' SPORT

### Social Fascism in the Sport Movement.

By Carlo Aksamit (Prague).

In the middle of October, the V. Congress of the Lucerne Sport International met at Prague. The outcome of this Congress plainly reveals the danger of Social Fascism in sport. The Prague Congress of the L.S.I. again furnished clear proof of the Social Democratic endeavour to bring about a split in the workers' sport movement with a view to its complete subordination to the purposes of the bourgeoisie and of their imperialist war-preparations.

As a matter of fact, the Prague Congress was engaged in establishing the extent to which the L.S.I. had fulfilled its tasks in connection with the preparation of a new war, the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union. Ever since the Helsingfors Congress of the year 1927, the Social Fascist leaders directed all their endeavours towards rendering the sport movement tractable for the reactionary plans of the bourgeoisie and making it into a link in the imperialist chain for the strangulation of the Soviet Union. Tens of thousands of class-conscious sport-practising workers were excluded from the associations in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Austria and other countries for having offered energetic resistance to the counter-revolutionary activity of the L.S.I. leaders. The Social Fascists at the same time consolidated their alliance with the Fascist and militarist organisations of the bourgeoisie, the Reichsbanner of Germany, the Sokol organisations of Czechoslovakia, and the like.

It would naturally be a mistake to assume that the L.S.I. leaders frankly avow their true tendencies. The special task of the L.S.I. consists in hoodwinking the masses of sport-practising workers and making the programme of Fascism and of the imperialist war-movement palatable to them by means of various radical phrases and misrepresentations. As a matter of fact, the Prague Congress did not only refrain from opposing the principle of war; the central organ of the Czechoslovakian Social Democrats went so far as to suppress the speech of the trade-unionist Tayerle on the common fight of the trade unions and sport organisations against all war preparations. Relations with the sport movement of the Soviet Union were definitely broken off by the Prague Congress.

The Prague Congress of the L.S.I. was faced with three questions viz. (1) maintenance of the independence of the workers' sport movement as a class movement or its complete immersion in the bourgeois slough, (2) readmission of the excluded workers and restoration of the unity of the workers' sport movement on a class basis or formation of a united front with the bourgeois organisations, and (3) resumption of relations with the sport organisations of the Soviet Union or continuation of the sport blockade against the Soviet Union as part of the imperialist war preparations against that country. Naturally we cherished no illusions whatever in regard to the other alternative; for the Social Fascists, who are bound to the bourgeoisie in life and death, there can be no return to the principles of the class struggle. We therefore sought to impress upon the masses our opinion, that a real international unity could only be attained through the overthrow of the Social Fascist L.S.I. leaders. For the class-conscious worker-sportsmen, the reactionary resolution of the L.S.I. could not come as a surprise, but great disappointment and indignation now prevails among those sections of the sport-practising masses that had not hitherto seen through the mask of the counter-revolutionary L.S.I. leaders. The Congress confirmed the splitting measures of the Social Democrats by the following resolution:

"The Congress establishes that by their mendacious principle of a united front the Communists have brought about a split in the workers' sport movement. The Congress likewise establishes with gratification that the Socialist comrades have done their utmost to resist this criminal tendency and have removed the splitters from among their ranks. In establishing this fact, Congress resolves that the associations of the S. A. S. I. (i. e. L. S. I.) may entertain no manner of relations with the organisations of the R. S. I."

Though we may remark the influence of Social Fascism on sport all along the line, we cannot but add that the process of radicalisation towards the Left has already spread to the broadest masses of sporting workers. In spite of the greatest terrorism and in spite of systematic expulsion, the resistance against the reactionary L. S. I. leaders grows from day to day. So far we have recorded the growth of class-consciousness among the masses only in regard to the associations practising actual sport. The participation of these sportsmen in the political and economic struggles of the working class is more and more active.

The outcome of the Prague Congress can have but one sequel: the strengthening of the Left revolutionary tendencies among the masses hitherto influenced by the L. S. I. leaders. The radicalised masses of workers-sportsmen will finally frustrate the counter-revolutionary plans of the Social Fascists and the bourgeoisie. The development of conditions within the L. S. I. in this direction is to a great degree dependent on the increase in the revolutionary activity of the oppositional groups in the various sections of the L. S. I. and of the entire Red Sport International.

A relentless and inexorable fight must be waged against the Social Fascist sport leaders. In the realm of sport, as elsewhere, Social Fascism must be destroyed.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Founding of Women's Sections in the Workers International Relief.

By Golda Fröhlich-Hartog.

In accordance with a decision of the International Congress of the W. I. R. held in Dresden in Spring last, an international women's section was set up at the Central Committee of the W. I. R.

Broad sections of proletarian women, who a few years ago were only proletarian house wives, have been drawn by capitalist rationalisation into the process of production and have become the most exploited of the exploited. This process is proceeding with giant strides in spite of the "simple" and "comfortable" slogan of the last international working women's Conference of the Amsterdam International that women should return back into the family! The profession of housewife as chief activity of the woman is altogether a thing of the past.

In Germany alone, with its 26 million of workers, employees and officials, 37 per cent. of them are women. In England there are, according to the last census of 1928, 5,500,000 working women, chiefly engaged in the textile and paper industries. In France the percentage of women working for wages or salaries amounts to 40 per cent. of the total number of workers. In Japan this percentage even amounts to 49 to 52. According to figures for 1927 in Italy, the proportion of working women among the metal workers, textile workers and cap-makers is almost 50 per cent. In India there are about 45 million working women, of whom 33 million are engaged in agriculture. Regarding Austria statistics report that 40.9 per cent. of all workers are working women. In America, according to old statistics, 34 per cent. of the factory and workshop staffs are working women, and it is to be presumed that their number has increased in the meantime.

The reformist trade unions are the last to take this development into account; with their gradual coalescence with the bourgeois State apparatus it inevitably follows that their members are more and more confined to the labour-aristocratic sections, while the working women, who belong to the worst paid and unqualified sections of the working class, are neglected and treated with contempt. Thus for instance some trade unions in England refuse to admit women. The low percentage of or-

ganised women is in no way a reflection of their lack of firm determination and class-consciousness.

Mention must be made of the participation of women in the struggles in the mining and metal undertakings, the struggles of the women textile and cigarette workers in Germany, the textile workers' strike in Czechoslovakia and the active support of the miners' strike by the Spanish women during the Morocco war. The heroic women of China have organised and carried out big women's demonstrations against the hangings of the proletariat. The 60,000 Indian women mine workers supported the English miners' struggle in May 1926 by a solidarity strike, also displayed a high degree of class-consciousness. Women fought in the front ranks in the English textile workers' strike. Finally, mention must be made of the heroic struggle of the textile workers of Gastonia, in which women actively participated and in the course of which a working woman was foully murdered by the vile thugs of the title capital.

The change of the work of the W. I. R. from general humanitarian relief activity to the support of the economic struggle, the degeneration of the reformist trade unions into fascist strike-breaking organisations, the increased specific weight of women in the production process and their political awakening confront the W. I. R. with the task of adapting its work to the wishes of these women. The W. I. R. is of course not to become a substitute for the trade unions. It merely represents a bridge to the higher forms of revolutionary labour organisations.

A great number of women already belong to the W. I. R. There is hardly any other organisation in which their percentage is so large. Nevertheless this strength of the women is not adequately reflected in the composition of the leading organs and the editorial staffs of the W. I. R. It will be one of the main tasks of the women's sections to be set up in all national committees, especially in those countries where no women at all are represented in the national committees, to train women members in order to convert them into active collaborators and functionaries.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand exceedingly well how to win and influence the millions of working women. These bourgeois organisations have an enormous number of members in their ranks. These bourgeois women's organisations are playing an important role in the preparation of the struggle against the Soviet Union, be it by the use of pacifist phrases or be it by nationalist agitation.

The political advance of the working class and the intensity of our work among the working women will disintegrate these bourgeois women's organisations and win new fighting women for the ranks of the W. I. R.

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