

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 69

13th December 1929

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schlesslach 213, Vienna IX.
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Victory of the Soviet Power in the Far-East.

The Intervention of the Imperialists Frustrated.

By P. Braun (Berlin).

The Mukden rulers have confirmed their capitulation by their signature to the agreement concluded in Nikolks-Ussurijsk. They have unconditionally accepted the demands submitted by the Soviet Union: the restoration of the status quo on the Chinese Eastern railway, immediate cessation of military measures and immediate release of imprisoned citizens of the Soviet Union. An agreement has also been arrived at in the question of who shall occupy the posts of Directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway. After Mukden had undertaken to recall the Chinese director Liu, the Soviet government, on its part, declared itself ready, in the interest of the restoration of peace, to appoint two other persons, in place of the former Soviet Russian directors Yemshanov and Eismont.

The Soviet government, of course, insisted on those obvious conditions which it had already submitted in the first Note at the commencement of the Manchurian conflict. Regarding this attitude Comrade Litvinov declared in his speech on the foreign policy of the Soviet Government delivered before the Central Executive of the Soviet Union:

"The Soviet Government is now in a situation in which the imperialist governments for the most part prefer not to enter into negotiations but to dictate conditions. The Soviet Government is not making use of the advantages of its situation and is not compelling China to accept any new conditions. The Soviet-Russian Manchurian protocol signed in Nikolks-Ussurijsk proves that the conditions submitted by the Soviet Union have remained the same as at the beginning of the dispute."

With the signing of the protocol of Nikolks-Urussijsk the first phase of the peaceful settlement of the Manchurian conflict is concluded and the basis created for a lasting settlement of the Chinese-Eastern railway question. The protocol sets the seal to the complete victory of the Soviet Power in the Far-East and the shameful defeat of world imperialism and its Chinese blood hounds, which it deliberately let loose in order to provoke the Soviet Union to war and to deal a mortal blow to the work of socialist construction. The events in Manchuria, the annihilating blow with which the Red Army

answered the continual provocative raids, the collapse in the camp of the counter-revolution, the increasing upsurge of the great Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution, the international storm of protest of the world proletariat against the war preparations of world imperialism in the Far-East — all these events have completely annihilated the hopes of the imperialists and of the Chinese generals.

The sudden capitulation of the Mukden government, caused by the fear of the powerful military superiority of the Red Army, by the complete economic decay in Manchuria and the demoralisation of the Manchurian army, has had the effect of a thunderbolt upon the imperialist powers. The recent attempt of the imperialists to prevent a peaceful settlement of the conflict over the Chinese-Eastern railway by an impudent interference, and for this purpose making hypocritical references to the Kellogg Pact, has come to grief as a result of the disunity among the Powers themselves, the bankruptcy of the Chinese counter-revolution and the rapid progress of the direct negotiations between the Soviet Union and Manchuria in Nikolks-Ussurijsk.

At the head of the imperialist Powers stood the imperialism of the United States, which for the first time in history has openly and actively taken up in the Far-East the fight against its imperialist rivals for a redistribution of the world.

America, in the role of guardian of the Kellogg Pact which it has taken on itself without a shadow of justification, wished to liquidate the victory of the Soviet Power, to wreck the negotiations in Nikolks-Ussurijsk and to make use of the expected new complications for the purpose of dealing a fresh blow against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government has exposed this attempt at intervention by America and repelled it with the sharpness it deserves. Its Note in answer to the "reminders" from Washington is a historical document of far-reaching importance, a classical expression of the victorious Soviet Power which is conscious of its strength.

In the meantime there is to be observed also in the camp of world imperialism signs of malicious joy at the way in which the true character of the intervention attempts of the American rival have been exposed. The Japanese press has only scorn and ridicule for the discomfort of its inconvenient neighbour on the other side of the Pacific. But also a part of the German bourgeois press, which, unlike the "Vorwärts" and the German Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, did not at once, with flags flying, rally round the star-spangled banner, but saw no immediate advantage for German imperialism to be derived from a participation in the action of the White House and therefore adopted a more or less waiting attitude, is highly amused at the eagerness with which America brought its "Kellogg idealism" into the field in order to serve as a cloak for its very material aims.

Thus, for example, the "Kölnische Zeitung" of the 5th of December writes:

"The fact that America, England and France undertook the step but Japan expressly characterised it as a mistake and did not join the Powers, shows that those Powers constitute a definite group regarding which even the non-Russian observer can assume that it is a political group with definite and common interests in Eastern Asia, interests which are contrary to those of the Soviet Government. It is also no longer a secret that the Chinese government is inclined to give way to the American capitalist interests which are striving for the internationalisation of the Chinese Eastern railway. It is here not a step resulting solely from the Kellogg idea; it is in the best case a mixture of the material aims of the Powers and Kellogg idealism. And for this very reason it could not reckon on meeting with approval in Germany and in Japan nor upon acceptance in Russia."

The Soviet Government immediately saw through the hostile and hypocritical character of the American peace action and completely frustrated it. Its Note in answer, which has called forth fear and astonishment in the whole capitalist world, is a sign of the victorious upsurge of the world revolution. It is an expression of the consciousness of power of the working class of the whole world. Its language is the language of the fighting and victorious world proletariat.

POLITICS

The New Anti-Socialist Law in Germany.

The Split in the German National Party.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

The storm of protest by the Communists at the Reichstag session of December 4th, by which the session was broken up eight times and Severing prevented from speaking for several hours, is merely a symptom of the excitement which seized upon the proletarian masses in view of the new Republican Defence Law of the Coalition. As a matter of fact, every paragraph of the draft worked out by Severing is solely directed against the Communists and the organisations associating with them. The first three paragraphs are enactments for the protection of Fascists and strike-breakers and threaten all "violence" with severe penalties of imprisonment and hard labour.

At least three months' imprisonment is the penalty for any one insulting the Republic, the national colours, and Presidents and Ministers of the Republic, alive or dead. Even the "glorification or express approval" of acts of high treason committed by others entails severe penalties of imprisonment.

Assemblies at which any of the above actions are committed, must immediately be dissolved by the police. As a matter of fact, all Communist meetings thus come under this law. We witness a revival of the times of Bismarck and Puttkamer when at all Socialist meetings a policeman sat beside the chairman, ready to make any attack on capitalism an excuse for dissolving the meeting.

The workers' press is tremendously gagged by the new Republican Defence Law. For preparing acts of high treason "propagating organisations hostile to the State", "undermining the Republican form of government", and the like, daily papers may be forbidden to appear for four weeks and other publications for six months. If the subscribers to the prohibited organ are in receipt of another publication during the suppression of the first, the second publication in question may likewise be forbidden to appear.

Most dangerous of all, as menacing the legality of the Communist Party, is Paragraph 5 of the law, which envisages a penalty of an indefinite term of imprisonment, of not less than three months, for any one who "takes part in or supports a secret association hostile to the State and pursuing the aim of undermining the Republican form of Government in the Reich or any of its provinces".

On the strength of this paragraph, the Communist Party, which is daily denounced by the Social Democrats to be hostile to the State and which has inscribed on its banners the fight against the bourgeois-capitalist Republic, can at any time be prohibited and its functionaries and members thrown into prison.

Thus, at a closer glance, the Republican Defence Act of the Coalition Government, allegedly created against reactionary circles, proves to be a sharp weapon against the Communist Party. That this law, the efficacy of which against the reactionaries has been completely annulled, should cancel both the ban on the return of the ex-Kaiser, still contained in the old Republican Defence Law, and the possibility of discharging prominent Fascist officials, is also no matter of coincidence.

A sudden rise of unemployment in Germany, which even to-day affects two and a quarter millions of workers, the oppressive burden of the Young Plan, the old and new taxation campaigns and usurious customs duties of the Social-Democratic Government of the Reich, evoke serious political crises and make the danger of proletarian mass uprisings more and more imminent. Hence the Republican Defence Act which aims at political insurance of the exploitation campaign of the bourgeoisie and whose function will be fulfilled when once, as in 1902 and 1924, the Communist Party is forbidden and its cadres and functionaries buried in the prisons.

The Communist Party is waging a broad Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary campaign of mass-mobilisation against this anti-Communist act of terrorism which is on the point of being passed. In a number of enterprises the workers have

already spontaneously expressed their will to fight. The Communist Party calls upon the workers to organise big demonstrations and to hold meetings in the streets in all parts of Germany.

The characteristic of the present situation lies in the fact that — in contradistinction to the year 1922, when the first Republican Defence Law was passed — the Right and the "Left" wing of the Social-Democratic Party no longer appear as advocates and champions of merely a coalition with the petty-bourgeois class, but unitedly co-operate to form a bloc against the workers together with the enterprises of the heavy industries and the reactionary groups of financial capitalists.

Mention should also be made in this connection of the sensational secession of the trade-union section, and partly also of the agricultural and industrial sections of the German National People's Party from their adherence to Hugenberg. During the last few days, no fewer than twelve deputies of the Reichstag quitted the German National People's Party, this number including representatives of trade-union interests, such as Lambach, Hartwig and Hülser, and representatives of big agrarian interests like Schlange-Schöningen, Lindeiner-Wildau, and Keudell. A number of industrialists, too, such as Lejeune-Jung, Frowein, and the well-known West-German steel manufacturer Klönne, who during the Paris Young-Plan Conference deliberated behind the scenes with Entente diplomats in regard to an alliance against the Soviet Union, have turned their backs on the Party. Count Westarp, who sympathises with these secessionists, has laid down the chairmanship of the German National fraction in the German Reichstag.

It must not be supposed, as the Democratic and Social-Democratic press triumphantly declares, that the members who have now separated from the German National Party are tending towards the Left, merely because Klönne declared in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" that in the given circumstances the present Republican form of the State must be accepted. That Klönne should just be the one to write this, though he is known throughout Germany to be quite a merciless slave-driver in his own concern, clearly shows what is really the point at issue.

It is not the German National Party that is tending towards the Left, but the whole bourgeois Republic that is tending towards the Right. The men just mentioned are practical politicians from heavy-industrial and big-agrarian circles, who see their political and economic wishes increasingly fulfilled by the Coalition under the leadership of the Social Democrats. Why should the former monarchists not come to the Republic, if the Republic comes half way to meet them?

The Formation of the New Government in Czechoslovakia.

By Al. Hahn.

Prague, 9th December, 1929.

After six weeks' negotiations, a new Government has been formed in Czechoslovakia. The concentration of the fascist forces for the carrying out of the further preparations for war against the Soviet Union, for the fascist dictatorship and for an increased exploitation of the whole of the working class is completed. The social-fascists have succeeded in bringing about a government in which they constitute the decisive force, and which embodies the will of the fascist Masaryk group. In this "Cabinet of the strong hand" the social fascists have the posts of Minister for Justice, for Education, Social Welfare, Food, Post and Telegraphs, and Foreign Affairs. In the last hours before the appointment of the Government Masaryk himself intervened in order to force the Agrarian Party on its part to appoint those elements belonging to the so-called "left" wing of the Agrarian Party. The greatest excitement prevails in the agrarian party as a result of this intervention. It is already announced that a bitter struggle will develop in the party.

The whole of the press receives the appointment of the Government with reserve, yet all promise to support this government so long as it fights for the interests of the State.

The Střibny press declares that it does not except anything from this government. The attitude of the open fascist

press to the formation of the government might cause one to believe that profound differences exist here. It is obvious, however, that the "Burg" (Masaryk) fascism and the Střibny-Cayda-fascists are working for a common aim — the realisation of the fascist dictatorship.

During the course of the negotiations on the formation of the government the Communist press pointed out day after day that the social fascists are striving to place themselves at the head of the movement for a fascist coup d'état. The Czechoslovakian social fascists however, just like the Austrian social fascists, will create the presumptions for the fascist dictatorship by "democratic and parliamentary" means. "Narodni Osvobosbeni", which supports Masaryk, published in its number of 8th December a leading article openly setting forth the aims of the "Burg" fascists. It states:

"Up to now we never had a government possessing such a large majority. This majority is so strong numerically that it can alter even the Constitution."

Here it is quite openly announced that the "Burg" wing of the fascist bourgeoisie (not without the approval of the rest of the fascist forces, but under the leadership of social fascism, under the leadership of President Masaryk) is toying with the idea of adapting the Constitution, after the Polish and Austrian model, to the changed "inner and outer political situation".

In this alteration of the Constitution the social fascists will not, as in Austria, merely play the part of a consenting party, but will form the initiative force and come forward with the proposal for a fascist reform of the Constitution, which can be

NOTICE.

Change of Address.

From the 23th December next the address of the "Inprecorr." will be

BERLIN, C 25, BARTELSTRASSE 1—5, III, GERMANY.

All communications, both business and editorial, intended to reach us on or after that date should therefore be sent to the above address.

adopted by the concentration majority without difficulties by "democratic and parliamentary means."

The German christian-socialists who have been pushed out of the government, as well as the Hlinka party and the Hungarian parties which stand aloof from the government, are carrying on active negotiations in order to form a minority bloc. Here also the role of social fascism is plainly to be seen. The German christian-socialist party is thrown overboard and its place taken by the German social democracy, which will be supported by the German agrarians in the government. The German social democracy offers a better guarantee for the coalescence of the Czech with the German bourgeoisie for the purpose of suppressing the working masses of the national minorities, for the fascisation of the Czechoslovakian State, and therefore German social fascism also must commence its government activity for the realisation of the fascist dictatorship.

The fact that the Slovak People's Party is excluded from the government does not mean that the process of coalescence of the Slovak and Czech bourgeoisie is being counter-acted. The Slovak bourgeoisie is rejected only in so far as it is represented by Pater Hlinka. The Slovak bourgeoisie is represented in the new government by the agrarian party and the Czechoslovak social democracy. The Ministers Slavik (Agrarian) and Derer (social fascist) have the task of demonstrating that the Czech bourgeoisie is drawing the Slovak bourgeoisie into the work of realising the fascist dictatorship.

Hlinka and the Hungarian bourgeoisie, who right up to the last moment hoped that they would be included in the government, are now taking definite measures to create a bloc of national minorities. The negotiations on the creation of the bloc of autonomists in Czechoslovakia are being continued.

Hlinka declared the other day that it is necessary, after preliminary press discussion, to sit at a round table and confer on the political platform of a bloc of autonomists. **Szentiványi**, the leader of the Hungarian national party, and **Szüllo**, the leader of the Hungarian christian socialist party, welcomed this declaration and expressed their readiness to found this bloc of autonomists.

The government of the strong hand, which is preparing the fascist dictatorship, will find itself confronted by the revolutionary working masses who are being mobilised by the C. P. of Czechoslovakia for the fight for the proletarian dictatorship.

The Social Democratic Party of Austria — Midwife of the Fascist Dictatorship.

By R. Schüller (Vienna).

On the 7th December the Fascist Dictatorship Constitution was passed by the Austrian Parliament. The introduction of this Fascist Constitution was the result neither of a putsch nor a Coup d'état, but of a unanimous decision of the fascist government parties with the agreement of the social democracy. The social democratic party has acted as the midwife of the fascist dictatorship, which is supported by the Heimwehr and the legal apparatus of power.

The social-democratic party of Austria has thereby committed the most shameful act of treachery in the history of the working class. For the first time there has taken place a fascist counter-revolution with the open collaboration of the social democracy. For the adoption of the Schober constitution is nothing but a fascist counter-revolution under the cloak of legality.

This constitution which has now been adopted means, when all its provisions are applied, nothing else but a fascist dictatorship. It is not at all necessary that all the clauses and provisions of this constitution should be applied at the beginning. The Mussolini Government did not in its early days make use of its arbitrary powers to the same extent that it does to-day.

If the fascist bourgeoisie of Austria is able to-day to carry through this constitution, it is only thanks to the assistance rendered by the social democracy. Without this the Schober Government, in spite of all the Heimwehr, the police and the army, would never have been able to overcome the resistance of the working masses.

It is characteristic that right up to the last moment the workers still imagined that the Socialist party of Austria were preparing for a decisive struggle against fascism.

Up to the 5th December the social-democratic press preserved complete silence regarding the agreement which had already been arrived at with Schober; and on the 7th December the constitution was passed by Parliament on the basis of this agreement. In order to cloak this treachery the social-democrats had weapons distributed in the factories and workshops and called upon the workers to prepare for the General Strike, for the decisive fight. As a matter of fact by means of this "Left" demagoguery, the social-democratic party of Austria is succeeding even now in deceiving the broad masses regarding the monstrous act of treachery it has committed. "Left" social fascism is once again proving itself to be the most dangerous enemy of the working class and of Communism. **Otto Bauer's** way leads to social fascism in its purest form, and to fascism.

The Communist Party of Austria has carried on and is carrying on the fiercest fight against the fascist constitution and against the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. It called upon the workers to enter on a protest strike and to demonstrate before Parliament on the 7th of December.

This fight has not ended with the adoption by Parliament of the fascist Constitution. This Parliamentary decision does not solve the Austrian crisis. The matter will be decided in the streets and in the factories. The Austrian working class is not vanquished, and fascism is celebrating its success not

as a result of the defeat of the working class in a bloody civil war, but as a consequence of the abysmal treachery of the social fascists.

The fascists and the social fascists who have co-operated in the passing of this constitution will find it a harder job to enforce it against the workers. At the same time the economic crisis is becoming more and more acute. Driven by the aggravation of the economic crisis the bourgeoisie is already proceeding to new attacks against the working masses.

The fascist constitution is now to be used for the purpose of a tremendous economic offensive of the bourgeoisie. This is bound to lead to big struggles. The issue of the struggles depends upon how far the C. P. of Austria is capable by intensive mass work and an offensive policy, to expose to the masses the shameful treachery of the social fascists.

The Austrian working class has lost the first round in the fight against fascism, thanks to the treachery of the social fascists. But the working class, under the leadership of the C. P. of Austria, will emerge victorious from the coming fights against fascism and against social fascism.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

How the Conference on Naval Disarmament is Being Prepared.

By P. Gabriél (Paris).

It appears that up to the present the Powers have not arrived at any understanding regarding the time of and the main questions to be dealt with by the Conference on "Naval Disarmament" to be held in London.

Originally it was intended that this Conference should meet in London on January 21st. As, however, this date would clash with the opening of the meeting of the League of Nations Council at Geneva, the Italian Foreign Minister, **Grandi**, has mandated that the meeting of the League Council should take place a week earlier.

Since **Ramsay MacDonald's** return from his negotiations with the President of the United States, **Hoover**, the conversations between the Governments of Great Britain and of the United States do not seem to have made any further progress. The only public demonstration which has been made in this sphere was the speech of President Hoover to the American Legion on the Freedom of the Seas. This speech was received by the British Press with great reserve, not to say hostility.

The differences between Great Britain and the United States, therefore, have not lost anything of their sharpness. At the same time however, the quarrel between France and Italy has become tremendously aggravated. As is known, the governments of France and Italy had decided to enter into special preliminary negotiations before the "Naval Disarmament" Conference. The Italian ambassador in Paris, **Signor S. E. Manzoni**, paid a visit to the French Foreign Minister **M. Briand**, to whom, it is said, he handed a Note setting forth "in a concise but very clear form" the standpoint of his Government regarding the limitation of naval armaments.

Briand now maintains that no such Note was ever handed to him.

In the meantime a United States newspaper has published the Italian Note, and high official functionaries of the French Foreign Ministry assert that this Note was examined in the Ministry.

Whatever the case may be, the desires of fascist Italy are well known. Before they were communicated to **M. Briand** the Italians had informed the French ambassador in Rome, **de Beauvilliers**, thereof.

Italy demands naval parity, which will allow it the right to build the same tonnage as France. Italy points out that the equality of interests of France and Italy is more obvious and real than that of Great Britain and the United States.

France had hoped to be able to rely on the assistance of Italy in order to be able to offer resistance to the offensive of Great Britain and the United States against submarines. Italy has not fallen into the trap. The Italian newspapers announce that the Italian statesmen reserve the right to determine their attitude to the question of submarines according to circumstances. If France refuses naval parity, then Italy threatens to demand the abolition of submarines.

France replied to this suspicious manoeuvre with two demonstrations, the provocative character of which is clear to everybody.

The reporter for the naval budget in France demanded from the Chamber of Deputies the construction of eleven new cruisers and submarines, work upon which is to be commenced between the 1st of January and 31st December 1930, and which are to cost 1300 million francs.

This reporter is not, perchance, a member of the Right or the Centre, but is **Jacques-Louis Dumesnil**, formerly Naval Minister in the Radical **Herriot** government, a man who would undoubtedly enter a Ministry of the Radical **Daladier** side by his side with the socialist **Blum**.

The second demonstration was that the submarines "Smeli" and "Osvetnik", which were to be conveyed from the Toulon docks to Yugoslavia, were to be escorted to their naval base in the Adriatic by three French destroyers under the command of the French Vice-Admiral. This would have been the first occasion on which, in peace time, foreign and French warships have sailed under a united command. The original programme, it is true, was altered somewhat in that the three French destroyers are first to proceed to **Bizerta** in the French colony of **Tunis**, which lies opposite to Italy, from whence they will catch up with Yugoslavian submarines in the Adriatic. Following this a great Franco-Yugoslavian naval demonstration is to take place between the 5th and 10th of December in the Yugoslavian harbour **Sibenik**.

These are some of the preliminaries to the Conference on "Naval Disarmament".

THE BALKANS

The 52 Accused from Sophia before the Fascist Court.

(Special Report to the Inprecor.)

Sophia, 3rd December 1929.

The monster trial of the 52 workers and workers' leaders is still proceeding. The examination of the accused lasted until the 28th November, and brought to light staggering facts regarding unheard of tortures upon which the whole case has been constructed. One of the prisoners, Comrade **Jordan Milev**, for many years a trade union functionary and general secretary of the Independent Trade Union Federation, described the inquisition to which he had been subjected. Several of the accused graphically demonstrated to the court how they had been tortured, throwing themselves on the floor, climbing on chairs, etc. All the accused denied the "statements" and "confessions" extorted from them by inhuman tortures during the preliminary examination by the police and the court of inquiry.

On the motion of the public prosecutor, these "confessions", these shameful proofs of the torturing of human beings, were read aloud in court, and accepted as the basis for the juridical examination.

The hearing of the witnesses, numbering more than 100, began on 29th November. All witnesses for the prosecution are police inspectors and detectives, the executioners and torturers themselves. Before the witnesses were examined, Comrade **Yonko Panov** demanded that these witnesses should not be permitted to give evidence, since these are precisely the persons who have extorted "statements" and "confessions" from

the accused by means of torture. Amid the energetic protests of all the accused, the court rejected this request.

One of the witnesses for the prosecution, the police physician **Dr. Portarsky**, tried to maintain that the prisoners had not been tortured. Comrade **Yonko Panov** asked him whether it was true that when he was being tortured, and when he, **Yonko Panov**, lost consciousness, the physician **Portarsky** was called, who felt the pulse of the victim and informed the torturers that he could still stand further beating. To this statement the physician replied that it was not in accordance with the truth. Immediately after this another prisoner, **Schamovitch**, showed a wound on his foot, caused by maltreatment, which had been bandaged by the police physician **Portarsky** himself. The witness could not but admit the tortures.

The maltreatment and tortures described before the court have made a profound impression on the whole population of **Sophia**. This is compelling even the bourgeois newspaper "Utro", "Zname", "Pladne", etc., to admit the facts and even to "protest". Thus the "Zname", the organ of the Democratic Party, writes as follows on 29th November, under the title of "Mr. Liaptschev's Police":

"... It is a disgrace not only for Mr. Liaptschev's police, but a disgrace for Bulgaria, that at the trial in **Alrene** (an "assassin of a minister" case) the accused actually produced fragments of their own skin, which had fallen off in consequence of the tortures. The Young Communists are now on trial in the capital of Bulgaria. The revelations made during the juridical examination are frightful. Intelligent young people have been tortured until some of them have lost their reason. Others have been thrown out of the windows of the police headquarters..."

The newspaper "Pladne" writes on 1st December:

"Most characteristic of all is the fact that the accused appear with irrefutable evidence -- fragments of their own skin -- confirming what is already known to all; at the same time the witnesses called by the public prosecutor state that nobody has been beaten... It must be assumed that the accused have tortured themselves."

The press of the ruling Fascists and of the social Fascists (whose organ is the "Narod") cynically deride the accused by the assertion that they have never been tortured at all. The government press goes even farther, and is carrying on a campaign demanding the stricter application of the death penalty paragraphs of the law for the defence of the republic.

The mass protest movement against the trial and against Fascism is spreading steadily. The Central Committee for the struggle against White Terror and Fascism has issued a Bulletin on the subject of the trial of the 52. A new daily newspaper, the "Rabotnitscheskoviini" ("Workers' News"), is also being published in connection with this trial; the three numbers which have appeared so far, containing material on the proceedings of the trial, were confiscated by the police.

Protest meetings are being held continually by the workers. The mass protest meeting called for 27th November was brutally dispersed by the police. The Club of the Workers' Party is kept under siege by the police; any gathering of the workers in the Club is prohibited, and the workers visiting the rooms are continually arrested and taken away. Among others, the secretary of the Workers' Party, **Petko Napetov**, has been arrested, as well as all thirty members of the Young Anti-Fascist Committee of **Sophia** and the **Sophia** district, and numerous members of the Workers' Party and the Central Committee for the struggle against White Terror and Fascism.

In **Philippopol** the police prohibited the mass protest meeting announced. The crowd of workers, numbering more than 1500, organised in spite of this a mighty demonstration, in the town gardens "Zar Simeon".

The court is flooded with a storm of protest telegrams from the country itself and from abroad. The protest action at home and abroad is growing and intensifying daily. This is the more necessary now that the trial is entering its decisive phase.

ECONOMICS

Japan and England in the World's Cotton Markets.

By U. (London).

There appears to be some misunderstanding of the causes of the decline in British Cotton exports, notably in an article published in the August 23rd issue of *Inprecorr.* and in the September issue of the *Labour Monthly* (same article). In this article Comrade Lee writes:

"The factor that has been responsible for reducing Lancashire's cotton export trade by 25% is the cotton manufacturing industries of America and Japan, where a highly developed technique is lowering costs of production far beyond the present level in Lancashire." . . . "This competition (that of the U. S. A.'s cotton industry, U.) has broken Lancashire's monopoly position in the world markets."

This statement gives a totally false perspective of the position of the British Cotton Industry in the World Market, for the competition of the U. S. A. has not as yet been felt by Lancashire in her principal markets, viz: India and China. It is Japan that has delivered the blow at the British cotton manufacturers; the U. S. A. actually exports far less to these Eastern markets than before the War, viz: a mere million sq. yards to China in 1927 as against 80 millions in 1913 and 5½ millions to India as against 13¼ millions in 1913. These quantities are negligible as against Great Britain's 1,550 mil. linear yards to India and 130 mil. to China in 1927.

The decline of about 40% in Britain's total export of cotton cloth on the pre-war figure is mainly accounted for, as already stated, by the decline in exports to India and China. These two markets between them account for 70% of the total decline. Before the War India took 43% of all the cotton cloth exported from Great Britain and China came second on the list of customers with 10%. To-day India still comes first with 37%, but China only takes 5½%, and S. America has assumed second place with 10%.

Now it is precisely in S. America that American competition is met and S. America takes a larger percentage (though a total 32% less than pre-war) than in pre-war days.

American competition against Great Britain is only felt in such relatively minor markets as Canada.

The total value of all the U. S. A.'s cotton piece goods exports in 1927 was only about £ 16,000,000 as against Great Britain's £ 110,000,000.

The following are the principal external factors accounting for the decline in British exports of cotton goods:

- Japanese competition in India, China and other Far Eastern Markets.
- Increased production of the Indian cotton mills and even of Indian hand-looms, coupled with decreased per capita consumption of cloth by the Indian people.
- Increased production by the cotton factories in China. This is a factor which will become increasingly important during the next few years.

The following figures illustrate the position:

Exports of cotton piece goods from Great Britain.

	1913		1928		% decline
	Million Yards.	Linear	Million Yards.	Linear	
Total Exports	7075		3968		41
Exports to India	3057		1453		53
Exports to China	773		216		71
Exports to Dutch E. Indies	539		309		43

Percentage of India's yarn and cloth imports supplied by Great Britain and Japan.

	(quantities)			
	Yarn.	Piece Gds.		Yarn. Piece Gds.
		1913	1926-27	
Great Britain	90%	97%	40%	78%
Japan	2%	0.3%	54%	16%

Percentage of China's imports of piece goods supplied by England and Japan.

	(quantities)	
	1913	1927
England	53%	27%
Japan	20%	67%

The Japanese cotton industry had a free field during War in these markets and it rapidly expanded, until in 1918 it was supplying India with 71% of her yarn imports as against 25% from England. Although this position was not held, Japan has never receded from the strong grip she had obtained. Her industry has enjoyed large profits all the last ten years, many companies paying dividends of 25% and 35% each year as well as putting large sums to reserves. All during the decade the Japanese have been increasing their productive capacity, improving their equipment and taking advantage of every new invention, enabled to do this by their strong reserve fund.

For a long time Lancashire has gone on thinking that Japanese labour, though so badly paid is inefficient and that actual labour cost is as high as in England. This is emphatically not the case at present.

The large majority of the Japanese cotton workers are young peasants girls, aged 14 to 18, who spend 2 or 3 years living in the mills and then go home worn out. Of late years the big spinning companies (which also do weaving) have slightly improved the living conditions for these girls, who at the same time continually increasing the intensity of the labour. The girls now get just enough food to enable them to last out their 2 or 3 years in the mill working (till last year 10 hours a day or night. They are housed in dormitories which are too overcrowded to cause an uneconomical amount of disease for too many girls getting tuberculosis means a heavy charge for recruitment expenses to get fresh labour from the country. The average space provided per girl now is 1½ mats, a mat being 6 ft. by 3 ft. and the day and night shifts now have separate dormitories. The food given consists almost wholly of rice and barley; a little fish is given two or three times a week and meat perhaps once a month. The rice is held down usually by pickled radish.

For this "board" the girls pay about 8/6 d a month and the management provides an equal sum.

The average wage in spinning is 2/1 d a day, and weaving 1/10½ d. This was the figure before last July, when late night work for women was abolished. It will be less now since the shifts are 8½ hours and piece rates have not been raised.

It should also be noted that it is only the big companies which have improved conditions recently. In the large numbers of small weaving sheds the girls sleep still in very unhealthy crowded rooms, and, where there is only one shift work 11 or 12 or even more hours a day in spite of the Factory Acts.

These little factory slaves in Japan are made to attend almost as many spindles and to as many looms as the Lancashire Workers. Wages for work done in weaving are only about one-third of the Lancashire figure.

In weaving, for instance, with the machinery worked as fast as in England, a girl weaver attending to 4 looms gets 2/1 d a day and on 6 looms 2/9 d. In Lancashire a weaver on 4 looms working 8 hours a day would be earning about 6/6 a day.

In spinning, the Japanese cannot yet, as a general rule, attend to as many spindles as in Lancashire, but some who have been in the factories two or three years can do so, and

each year the number of workers per thousand spindles in Japan grows less.

The English industry is, of course, weighed down by the tremendous load of debt acquired in the boom of 1919 and 1920, when mills changed hands at prices ranging up to seven times their original value, the banks financing these transactions and the new companies finding themselves, when the slump came, with enormous debts to the banks which they could never pay off. The following figures give a comparison of costs of production of yarn in England and Japan and bring out clearly both the burden of interest charges in Lancashire and the difference in labour cost between the two countries:

Cost of production in pence per 1 b.

Japan. 40's Weft.		England. 42's Weft.	
Labour	1.27	Wages	2.365
Other Expenses	1.65	Interest & depreciation	2.000
		Other Expenses	1.894
Total 2.92		Total 6.259	

The figures are, of course, not absolutely definite ones for the whole industry, but they give a sufficient idea of the difference. The Japanese labour cost in spinning is generally speaking about half the English one.

The leading cotton companies in Japan have recently been establishing new cotton mills in China or extending their existing enterprises there. At present they have 1.3 million spindles and 10,524 looms in China against 6.3 million spindles and 81,000 looms in Japan. (The total number of wide power looms in Japan in 1926 was 145,825, but more than half of these did not belong to the big companies, who are members of the Japan Cotton Spinners Association.) Last year China suddenly appeared as an important figure in India's list of yarn imports. China supplied 23% of India's total last year, and most of this yarn came from the Japanese-owned mills in Shanghai. The yarns exported were coarse yarns, in the production of which skill counts for little and cheap labour for much. It may confidently be prophesied that Japan will now concentrate the production of coarser yarns in her Chinese mills, where a man works 11 or 12 hours for about 1/— and women and children for 9d and 5d.

In weaving the Japanese workers attend far more looms than the Chinese workers, who usually attend to only 1 or 2, although a few in the Japanese mills only, in Shanghai, can attend to 3 or 4. The average in Japan is 5.5. The tendency in Japan is to establish a larger number of automatic looms, 20—30 or even more, which can be attended to by one worker. Since 1926 Japan has installed 20 to 25 thousand new automatic looms. The leading companies have ample reserves to enable them to follow the American example in every respect, and the wages they pay are, of course, infinitely lower. When the U. S. A. does try to establish herself in the Eastern markets, she will have little chance against Japan and against Japanese mills in China, or for that matter against some of the Chinese-owned mills.

Although Japanese competition accounts for so large a part of Britain's decline in exports to India, the increased production of the Indian mills is also a very important factor. The Indian mills are now producing just about double the quantity of cotton cloth they produced before the War, viz: 2,357 million yards as against 1,164 million yards in 1913—14. Since India's total consumption has changed very little since the pre-war period, it is therefore not surprising that her total imports of cotton piece goods have declined about 40%.

Wages in the Indian mills are about 10/— a week of 60 hours and labour is much worse housed and fed, and consequently less efficient, than in Japan.

Many of the millions of India have only one loin cloth, and many even of the women have cut down the size of the rag they wrap round themselves, whilst the age of nudity has been raised.

The position in India for Lancashire is that she has a much smaller share of a much smaller trade than in pre-war days.

Under Capitalism, the position of the British Cotton Industry is **absolutely hopeless**, and this is the lesson we have got to drive home to the cotton workers. No conceivable wage reductions in Lancashire can bring Labour cost down to the Japanese figure, as can be seen from the figures given above. The interest charges on the British industry are in many places almost the equivalent of the wages cost. Above all, we must make them see that under British rule the Indian masses are progressively impoverished and cannot buy the cloth they desperately require; that, on the other hand, if the Indian workers and peasants could establish a Soviet Government and if Britain were a Soviet Republic, not all the spindles and looms of Lancashire working full time could meet the demand for cotton manufactures.

We should bring home to them the significance to them of the Meerut trial and make them realise that the men on trial are leaders of the workers' revolutionary movement in India.

We must also drive home to the British cotton workers that the 6¹/₄ cut in their wages was only a beginning, and that even their present low standard will soon be attacked again. For although the British cotton capitalists cannot regain their lost markets, they can by wage cuts get a little more profit on the sales they make and with these profits instal automatic looms and generally "rationalise" their industry. This will, of course, lead to more unemployment in Lancashire. Each wage cut accepted by the cotton workers prepares the way for more unemployment, not for more employment as the Trade Union "leaders" try to make the workers believe.

If we can now bring home to the Lancashire workers the utter hopelessness of their position under capitalism they will repudiate their Trade Union leaders who are urging them to help their masters to win back markets "from the foreigner"; they will accept the leadership of the Communist Party and join hands with the Indian workers to overthrow capitalism.

The Growing Economic Crisis in the United States.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

The stock market crash of the past month dramatised a long continued decline in production. President Hoover, realising the seriousness of the depression in the basic industries, which the capitalist press at first strove to hide, began to mobilise the leading imperialists in the country to attempt to quell unemployment and complete shut-down in some important industries.

Steel production sagged considerably. Last May average plant output in all the steel corporations was about 90 per cent. of capacity. During the past six months there has been a steady drop. In Pittsburgh, the centre of the steel trust, production is down to 60 per cent. Finished steel plate production is down to 39 per cent. Unemployment in the steel industry is severe, and is steadily growing. Statements made by leading capitalists in this most important basic industry show that here is an expectation that production will decline still further.

The automobile industry is undergoing a crisis. Production in all plants is off 40 per cent. Unemployment is more widespread in the automobile industry than in any other section of production. The Ford Company has laid off over 40,000 workers. In Detroit every plant has fired thousands of automobile workers. Unemployment is so acute in Detroit that a mass unemployment council has been organised by the Communist Party, Young Communist League and the Trade Union Unity League. This unemployment council is meeting with enthusiastic response on the part of thousands unemployed workers.

The General Electric Company of Buffalo laid off 2,000 workers; Radio plants in New Jersey and Chicago have shut down; others are cutting down on the number of workers employed.

Building construction, which for years greatly accounted for the so-called prosperity, is suffering from severe depression. There has been a 9 per cent. drop in all construction work. "The Journal of Commerce", the leading expression of capitalist industry in the United States says: "American cities are overbuilt. We do not want more, but less buildings..." Wage-cutting campaigns are planned by the building bosses.

On November 19, President Hoover issued a call to all the leading capitalists in the country to come to Washington for the purpose of speeding up production in every field in order to overcome the present crisis.

Ford, Lamont, Du Pont, Rosenwald, Barnes and a host of leading imperialists were called to the conference. President Hoover adjourned a cabinet meeting in order to give his crisis conference precedence. There was severe disagreement between the assembled capitalists. The majority of them demanded immediate **wage-cutting campaigns**. Ford issued a statement saying he favoured present wages, while at the same time he closed down several of his plants and fired thousands of his workers. The entire purpose of the conference was to initiate drastic attacks on the standard of living of the workers.

After the leading imperialists had met with Hoover, a delegation of presidents and officers of the **American Federation of Labour** were called into conference with the President of the United States. Foremost in this delegation were William F. Green, president of the American Federation of Labour; Mathew Woll, vice-president, and Frank Morrison, secretary. After the Conference with these misleaders of labour, Hoover handed the press a statement saying that the American Federation of Labour officials had agreed "not to initiate any movement for the increase of wages". Green & Co. agreed to help the organised capitalists, most of whom represented blackleg organisations, to stop all strikes and help the imperialist movement to revive industry so that the capitalist's profits would not be interfered with -- at the expense of a slashing attack on the working class.

Not satisfied with the temporary conferences, President Hoover authorised Barnes and Butterworth, heads of the United States Chamber of Commerce, to call together 200 of the leading capitalists in the country for a **permanent body** to act in the place of the capitalist "democratic" state in an attempt to revive industry. The letter issued by the Chamber of Commerce, calling upon the capitalists to join this conference said:

"The conference will be opened by President Hoover and is the outgrowth of the conviction on his part that American business is so organised as to be fully capable of mobilising its forces in co-operation with the government."

In reality, the conference of 200 capitalists is to take over important government functions. It will be of an outright fascist nature and will direct the attacks on the entire working class. It will deal with production and unemployment, and will stress vast exploitation of the world markets in added competition with other imperialist powers. Hoover finds the usual apparatus of "capitalist" democracy too slow to meet the growing severity of the crisis.

In this growing attack on the entire working-class, the **Communist Party of the United States**, the Young Communist League and the Trade Union Unity league are the only organisations fighting against the capitalist onslaughts. The A. F. of L. has transformed itself completely into the labour strike-breaking agents of United States imperialism. The Lovestone counter-revolutionary renegades go even further to the right than the imperialist conferences in their "analysis" of the present crisis. "The panic in Wall Street", says Lovestone, "did not come as a result of the decline of American capitalist economy". The entire capitalist press freely announces that the present crisis is the result of overproduction and a distinct decline in capitalist economy.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Southern Textile Battle front in the United States.

By Alex G. Richman.

The struggle of the Southern textile workers continues for decent working and living conditions, and for a militant union through which alone they can realise such conditions. In Gastonia and Marion, North Carolina, the battle goes on the courts and in the factories. Throughout the country, workers, addressed by Gastonia ex-defendants and those convicted, now out on bail, are being mobilised by the Left Wing National Textile Workers Union, the International Labour Defence, the W. I. R. and the C. P., to prevent a Southern prison from entombing the convicted seven.

In Gastonia a farce is going on in the form of a "investigation" of the murder on Sept. 14 of Ella May Wiggin Union and I. L. D. organiser. The prosecution of 14 mill thugs for her murder is conducted by Solicitor Carpenter. The defence of these murderers is headed by Major Bulwinkle, chief Manville-Jenckes lawyer, and assistant to Carpenter in the Gastonia trial.

The purpose of this investigation is to save the "honour" of the State, by going through the forms of a trial, which will either whitewash the accused mobsters, or at most pick a scapegoat for light punishment.

The millowners have reached some of the former defence lawyers. Tom Jimison, local lawyer who participated in the defence of the 7 convicted, has seized \$ 15,000 of the money, practically disappeared from Charlotte, the trial court, and issued a statement deploring the fact that the Union organisers exposed Carpenter and Bulwinkle as leaders of the lynch mobs. He is attacking the I. L. D.'s activities during the recent trial, charging they hindered the defence, and threatening to get a restraining court order if they continue.

To turn to the situation in Marion, where 6 strikers of the Right wing United Textile Workers of the A. F. of L. were murdered and 20 wounded by the sheriff and his deputized mill thugs. The owner of the Marion mills, S. W. Baldwin cynically praised his gunmen for the murders: "Damn good marksmanship, I say. There were 3 tons of lead used for every enemy soldier killed in the world war, while Wednesday morning only 5 pounds of lead were shot and 5 were killed and 20 wounded. If I ever organize an army I'll give those deputies a job. They are damn good shots." This humanitarian commentary was made to newspaper reporters, not one of whom quoted it.

After the courts had whitewashed the murderers, the sheriff and his deputies continued their good work by evicting the blacklisted strikers' families, while the State militia sent in by the millowning governor, Gardner, stood by with fixed bayonets to aid. Many of those evicted are widows and mothers of slain strikers. To date 30 families have been forced out of their mill-owned houses, 3 forcibly evicted, and 24 more being evicted. Now that the dirty work is well on its way the governor has recalled the militia.

A further step was taken against the strikers when the pastor of the baptist church, an employee of the Marion mill, excommunicated 100 strikers, to force them to give up their union or leave the church. Since religion still has quite a hold on these backward workers, this is a powerful weapon in the hands of the bosses.

How the American Federation of Labour union and its allies, the Socialist followers of Muste, aid in spreading this religious dope may be seen from the funeral ceremony of the murdered strikers. The 1500 workers gathered at the grave listened to 5 preachers, one of them the Rev. A. J. Muste. He praised Governor Gardner and called upon the State to "wipe out this stain upon its honour". A banker, who owns half the country and who had settled the first strike, for the A. F. of L. also prayed for the dead -- and for the A. F. of L. union.

From the beginning the A. F. of L. and Socialists have used religion on the workers to kill their militancy. When the strike began Hoffman, Musteite and United Textile Workers organiser, urged the strikers to picket with Bibles instead of bullets. The mill thugs chose bullets.

President Green of the A. F. of L. has called 105 presidents of his unions to a conference in Washington on November 14 to "organise" the South, because, as the call states, unrest there has "distracted the attention of the nation". This is an answer to "those extremists among the employers in the South who classify the A. F. of L. as Communist and destructionist". He will show them — by an organised campaign against the Communists in the South, and by systematized betrayals of those Southern workers who show a desire for militant struggle.

The Left wing National Textile Workers Union, is continuing its organisation of the Southern textile workers, by leading 200 workers on strike in the Leaksville Woollen Mills, in Charlotte, and picketing, despite shooting by the mill thugs. Leaflets are being distributed and collections made at other mill gates. The new offensive against the Marion workers is in part attributable to the activity of the N. T. W. U. in the Leaksville strike.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Murder of Comrade Anka Grzetitch.

By Vera (Zagreb).

Among the many vile murders of Communists and national revolutionary fighters committed by the bloody military fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia, the murder of the textile worker Anka Grzetitch is one of the most horrible.

In addition to "shooting while attempting to escape" and "suicide by springing from a window", the bloodthirsty hangmen of General Zivkovitch have made a regular system of a new method: the fact of the arrest of a person is denied by the authorities; the victim is murdered; all papers which could lead to his or her identification are taken away, and the mutilated corpse is left at some place or other or thrown into the river. It was in this way that Comrade Grzetitch was murdered, after the failure of the previously arranged "suicide".

Comrade Grzetitch was among the numerous persons arrested on the occasion of International Red Day. The police accused her, among others, of maintaining the connection with Samobor, near Zagreb (where the functionaries of the Young Communist League, Janko Michitch and the brothers Oreški were murdered by the government bloodhounds) and of having journeyed there, as well as to Ossiek, on behalf of the Communist Party.

When the sadists of the Zagreb police did not succeed in extracting from her the desired confession which could serve the military-fascist regime for its further crimes, she was subjected to the most cruel tortures. But all this proved vain against the revolutionary steadfastness of our comrade and her fidelity to the working class. Although greatly enfeebled physically by reason of the fact that, as a female member of a large working class family, she had to bear the double burden of worker in the factory and as wife and mother in the home, she withstood the bestial tortures.

The fascist blood-hounds saw their hopes of getting on the track of fresh victims unfulfilled, and now proceeded to carry out that law which, though not contained in any written enactment or code, is in force throughout Yugoslavia: death to anybody who does not unconditionally recognise the blood-stained dictatorship. The comrade was flung from the second floor of the Zagreb police prison: She fell however upon a heap of sawdust and thus escaped death although sustaining severe internal injuries. Thus the authorities did not succeed in getting rid of this "communist criminal" by means of "suicide". A fresh plan was hit upon. The police suddenly considered it necessary to have the severely injured comrade conveyed to Ossijek, for the alleged purpose of being identified by witnesses. On the way the Police officers accompanying her flung her under the wheels of the train, which cut her body to pieces.

In the well-known declaration of the state press agency "Avala", which was intended partly to deny and partly to excuse the cruel deeds of the Yugoslavian hangmen, but which in actual fact is an unmistakable confession and a self-accusation, the case of Comrade Grzetitch was mentioned. It is true the declaration did not say that she had been thrown under the wheels of the train, but that she had "died" and "disappeared without leaving a trace". But in order further to wipe out the traces of this appalling crime, the hirelings employed in the press agency have twisted the surname of the murdered comrade and altered her christian name into that of a man, and referred to her as "the escaped Anka Grzetitch" instead of the murdered Anka Grzetitch.

The working class of Yugoslavia loses in Comrade Anka Grzetitch one of its most faithful fellow fighters, who has proved by her death her fidelity to the cause of the proletariat and of the international proletarian revolution.

The Persecution of the C. P. of New-Zealand.

In New Zealand there is raging a wave of suppression of all forms of working class activity. Strikes are illegal, free speech is not permitted, working class literature is banned, the workers' fighting organisations are suppressed and the militant leaders arrested.

The present laws and regulations which govern the prohibition of free speech, the banning of literature, and the persecution of the militants, were introduced during the Great War. Not only were these not repealed, but the powers of the authorities under them have been increased and the regulations more rigidly enforced. With the growth in the militancy of the working class they realise that they are now faced with a greater menace than during the war, and consequently will witness the cynical casting aside of the mask of "democracy" and the revelation of capitalist dictatorship in all its nakedness.

Recently, the police raided the Headquarters of the Communist Party in Wellington. Books and literature of every description was taken away to be "examined". Not content with this they stripped the offices of the hope that by so doing they could disorganise the Party and prevent it carrying on the work.

Following the raid summonses were issued to seven members of the Communist Party, under the War Regulations Act, for possession of "illegal literature". This "illegal" literature circulates freely in Britain and America. It is clear that any kind of literature which has the faintest trace of working class sympathies is not permitted in New Zealand.

Persons found selling prohibited literature have been deported.

In addition to these repressive measures of the capitalist State, there is in existence a fascist organisation called the Welfare League. This is led by the Chief Justice and Deputy Governor, Sir. C. Skirrett. This organisation is pledged to ruthless struggle against the Communist Party, and they are actively preparing for an attack.

The authorities will not allow the Communist Party to hire halls for meetings while the Alliance of Labour refuses to grant the Trade Union Hall for meetings. In this struggle the Labour Party has ranged itself openly on the side of the capitalist State. Its official organ has attempted to justify the arrest and imprisonment of Communists and declares its whole-hearted agreement with the ban on all militant and Communist literature.

A Labour Defence organisation has been formed and is already active in rallying the workers in defence of the Class War Prisoners. The ready support given to this organisation is proof of the keen resentment of the workers at the repression of the capitalists and at the attack upon the Communist Party.

The Communist Party of New Zealand is not passively accepting this onslaught, but is busily rallying its forces for the defence of the prisoners, and is leading the fight against the open capitalist dictatorship in New Zealand.

Again the Electric Chair!

Sound The Alarm — Accorsi Must Not Die!

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Salvatore Accorsi was arrested in September, framed up on the charge of killing Trooper John Downey who died in the attempt of the Pennsylvania State police to crush under their guns, their clubs and their horses' hoofs the protest demonstration of the Cheswick, Pennsylvania, coal miners against the judicial lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti in August 1927. There is no doubt that the police thug, Downey, known among the miners for his extreme brutality, died in the attack on the coal miners.

Salvatore Accorsi is a coal miner. At the time of the August 1927 demonstration, he was four miles away at his home. Everyone, including the State Police themselves, testified at the inquest into the death of Downey that they did not know who did the killing. The state policeman, Winnfred M. Brown, was especially emphatic in voicing his ignorance. No attempt was made to arrest Accorsi during the seven months that he continued to live in the Cheswick mine fields. Unemployment in the "sick" coal industry forced him to leave the district and find a job at Staten Island, New York, where he moved with his family and continued to live for 18 months more before he was arrested and charged with Downey's death.

At the very moment that Accorsi was being arrested and brought to the Pittsburgh prison, the coal and iron police, the private army of the Mellon and allied interests, at the Imperial Barracks of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, wantonly beat to death the coal miner, John Barcoski. The policemen accused of the murder, Walter J. Lyster, Harold Waggs and Frank Slapikas, are freed by a handpicked jury.

The International Labour Defence is organising the fight to save Accorsi from the electric chair.

Accorsi must not die! The decision is in the hands of the working class.

REVOLUTIONARY COMPETITION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Workers' Shock Troops of the Soviet Union.

By D. Saslavsky.

"Shock-Troops", this word is derived from the war, and it contains a war cry. The shock-troops are the hopeful experienced vanguard, the incorporation of revolutionary devotion, of bravery, of élan, of readiness for self-sacrifice, of capability to arouse the masses to follow.

There have been cases in history in which the classes hostile to the proletariat have formed shock-troops to increase the fighting capacity of their armies. But their "zone of influence", has been bound in the nature of things to be extremely limited. The essential class antagonisms have excluded the possibility of a profound and lasting influence of the shock-troops over the masses. Therefore, these shock-troops have been stigmatised by history as the servants of capital.

The workers' shock-troops in the Soviet Union, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, are something very different. Work in the Soviet Union is the class front against international capital. The success of the Soviet construction is the victory over world capital. In this sense the peaceful work in the Soviet Union is at the same time revolutionary war. This is the reason of the military terminology. The term "shock-troops" has been taken over by the working class of the Soviet Union from the terminology of war, but has been purged of all bourgeois patriotism and imperialistic militarism. In the gigantic land of the Soviets the armies of the working class are fighting for the building up of the socialist state of society. Their weapon is the increased productivity of labour. On this front, on which the imperative commands of the officers are

replaced by the slogans of socialist competition, the shock-troops of the workers are the expression of the voluntary urge to work, of the developed consciousness of proletarian duty, of the unselfish love for socialism. This is the production-vanguard of the working class. To take a simile from the old bourgeoisie, we may say: These are the knights of socialism.

* * *

Strangely enough, the factory in which these new knights assemble resembles a knights' castle even externally. The entrance is ornamented with pointed towers, the great gateway might decorate a Gothic cathedral of ancient Germany. A Russian capitalist had a strange taste in architecture; they are fond of the old styles of foreign countries. They built factories which looked like fortresses, with towers and sentry boxes. This was perhaps not so much the aesthetics of capital as policy. The factory resembled a fortress, since in reality it was a prison for the workers.

Here, however, the antique Gothic facade is the only vestige left of the capitalists. Here a well-known rubber factory stood at one time. On this site there now stands the new building of the Electric Factory, the young undertaking which is one of the favourite children of proletarian Moscow. The factory has only existed for four years, but it grows unceasingly. It is itself an unsurpassed example of the growth of the soviet industry. The Electric Factory has no capitalist heritage; it is not infected with the infirmities and diseases of the past. It is a soviet factory through and through, and its maladies (if it has these) are the unvoidable infantile complaints of a healthy and robust child. In this factory 7000 workers are now working, and fresh troops of the working class are streaming in daily, chiefly young people. New departments and workshops are being opened, and when we go through the broad passages, it still smells everywhere of mortar and fresh paint. Last year about 7 millions were invested in this undertaking, in the current economic year over 10 millions. Within a year the production of the factory has been doubled. It may, however, be emphasised that this 100 per cent. growth has been attained with an increase in the number of workers of 27.7%. This means a heightened productivity of labour and the technical development of the factory.

It must be added that among the workers of the factory there are over 1000 members of the C. P. S. U. and about 700 members of the Young Communist League. The social life of the factory is comparatively highly developed. A group of Electric Factory workers recently controlled the work of the People's Commissary for Finance. It might be thought that the thicket of valuta and budget calculations would be impenetrable for plain working men and women. But the workers of the Electric Factory accomplished their task very well. Proletarian honesty and class-consciousness helped them to discover and to expose some of the great bureaucrats of the People's Commissary. The whole soviet press is greatly interested in the results of direct control over the leading institutions by the workers. The work of the shock-troops in the works and factories is also worthy of special attention.

* * *

The "knights" gathered together in the great dining room of the factory. This hall is not inferior to the best restaurant of any European capital as far as light and air are concerned. It radiates cleanliness. Everything is simple and comfortable. There are large tables for 40—50 persons, but those who prefer to be alone can have small tables. The counter is resplendent with metal, everything is mechanised which can be mechanised.

About 300 workers attend the conference of the shock-troops. They sit at the tables, lunching and drinking tea. The conference looks like a friendly meeting — this makes the speeches simple and unforced. Those assembled are the active elements of the factory, communist and non-Party. All the workers in the Soviet Union must and will soon become like these.

How do they look? Almost all of them have a very good appearance, at least they are decently dressed. Shabby coal-torn sleeves, dirty hands are scarcely to be seen any longer. The women workers are especially well and carefully dressed, though simply. Technicians and engineers cannot always be distinguished from the workers at such a meeting. Almost

of them speak well, in a free and almost literary language, without seeking for words. Most of them are about middle age; old people are scarcely to be seen, and very few young ones. The reason for this is that the young workers of the factory have called their own conference of shock-troops for the day after tomorrow. Among the young people in general there is a tendency towards independence and separation. The leader of the young workers and the most energetic young men also attend this adult conference.

* * *

The shock-troops call their leaders "the General Staff". This term, too, is derived from military terminology. These belligerent words demand enthusiasm, energy, the endeavour to accomplish the work in the shortest possible time. The leader of this working staff, Comrade Nikitin, has a dry and energetic face, a quiet and convinced manner of speaking. He is the president of the production conferences in the factory. (According to the latest directions of the Party hundreds of such worker presidents of the production conferences are appointed Red Directors.) Comrade Nikitin knows the whole factory thoroughly; he himself has gone through every stage of work in it. His first assistant is Comrade Martinov, a sturdy worker of energetic appearance, obviously a general favourite. His name is extremely popular in the factory.

The report of the "Staff" outlines the history of the formation and development of the shock-troops of the Electric Factory. The troops under the youthful Comrade Lukack have voluntarily undertaken to increase the productivity of labour, to improve the quality of the products, to put a stop to slacking, and to promote every form of the culture of labour. This involves the careful treatment of tools, saving of material, constant care for the rationalisation and technical perfecting of the work. All this is done in the name of socialism, for the most rapid realisation of the five-year plan, for the participation of the working masses in the socialist competition. All egoistic motives must be left outside the factory. The member of a shock brigade is a knight of labour in the best sense of this word.

Not all the workers were in sympathy with the first shock brigade. Some mistrusted it, and regarded it as a new artifice on the part of the Bolsheviks. Do they not threaten wages, do they not require much more intense work, do they not "demand greater efforts from the workers", do they not put a stop to "free" dawdling? The egoists and saboteurs (there were still some of these here and there) were anxious. But these elements did not take the lead in the factory, they did not even venture to protest openly. The Electric Factory is no backward undertaking, still employing old cadres of workers from the villages, accustomed to work lazily under the capitalist employer, and for whom wages are the most important point, and everything else secondary. The Electric Factory is an undertaking which has been built up on the sound foundations of the Soviet order.

Over 70 shock brigades have sprung into being in the factory within a very short time. Their members are young and old workers alike, men and women. Class-conscious workers who are enthusiastic for socialist reconstruction, who grasp the fact that the new soviet factory needs new workers. The brigades have not proved a mere flash in the pan called forth by a slogan thrown among the masses by the Party. Not one of the brigades organised has dissolved; the number of their members increased steadily, and the brigades have already laid down the path to new forms for their work. This path is already being trod by whole workshops. The whole of the workers, in a workshop not wishing to lag behind the members of shock-troops, undertake to promote the socialist competition in every direction. The new worker is springing into being before our very eyes. We give one example out of many. The shock-troops of the house-painter Comrade Viktorov. He has not contented himself with increasing the productivity of his own labour and that of his group, but has controlled all the other workers and the other brigades of the house-painters. This aroused dissatisfaction among some of the backward workers: why does he want to stick his nose into our business! But the Viktorov brigade exposed the machinations of the Kotov brigade. This had made false calculations, worsening both the quality and the quantity of the work. Kotov acted as many

workers still do who are more concerned with their own pockets than with the common interests of socialist production. The newspaper printed by the Electric Factory itself drew the attention of all the workers to this conflict between the shock brigade and Kotov's brigade, and the new socialist labour morality was victorious over the old morality born of capitalist conditions.

What are the results of the activities of the shock-troops? The figures speak for themselves. The production programme of the factory, enlarged by 30 per cent. in the course of the year, has been exceeded by 4 per cent. The costs of production have sunk considerably. At the same time, thanks to rationalisation, the wages of the workers have been raised. The workers of the shock brigades have also raised the general cultural level of the factory, and have taken the lead in every social enterprise. They have shown special efficiency in the organisation of technical continuation schooling.

But if you think that the workers of the shock brigades, meeting over a cup of tea, merely praise one another mutually, boast of their successes, and retail the results gained, you are much mistaken. At this meeting they criticised one another with the utmost severity, especially their General Staff, the leaders of the shock brigades. The young communists took an especially energetic stand. These pointed out that the broad masses of the workers do not yet participate sufficiently, that there are still many Party members holding aloof from the work of the shock troops, that the speed of this work must be increased. The technical and engineering staff especially take little part. It is not that the intelligencia has little sympathy with the activities of the shock brigades, but in many cases the specialists have not been suitably approached; more attention must be devoted to them.

The young workers complain that they are accorded too little attention, and that their work is passed over. The adult workers reproach the young communists with working spasmodically, with letting themselves be carried away and then soon tiring. The initiative in the factory has proceeded from the young communists, but the leadership has passed entirely into the hands of the older generation. Besides this, the young people are inclined to separate themselves, and want to do "everything themselves..."

Many of the complaints and objections were justified. But this very dissatisfaction shows that the workers of the shock brigades are not resting on their laurels; that they are not content with what they have attained — for they are shock troops of the Bolsheviks. And in this sense they reflect the general trend of feeling in the leading stratum of the working class of the Soviet Union. The incredibly great successes, which strike the world surrounding the Soviet Union dumb with amazement, appear insufficient in the eyes of the working class of the Soviet Union itself. They want to do better, more quickly, and more! The Five Year Plan must be carried out in four years, in 3½ years! It was with this demand that the chairman, Comrade Nikitin, closed the conference of the shock troops in the Electric Factory, thereby linking up the fighting shock brigade work with the problem of the Five-Year Plan. For indeed the realisation of the Five-Year Plan is the shock troop work of the Soviet proletariat in the world revolution.

November Holidays in Ivano, the Russian Textile Centre.

By Anise.

It was pale dawn when our train pulled into Ivanovo, a night's ride from Moscow. The first snow of the early northern winter lay on the wide plains, a clear background against which were etched sharply occasional groves of black pines. Then suddenly, the town, dull and grey in November morning; with buildings thickening as we neared the station.

Across this grayness struck the swift loud blare of a band. Into our windows flared the terrific blaze of four movie "spotlights" focussed directly upon us. Already, it seemed, the November celebrations were beginning. We climb down the steps, blinking; and stumble into the friendly darkness beyond where workers of Ivanovo, six deep, are massed to greet someone.

Whom, we wonder, have these crowds and this band and motion pictures come to welcome? At last we discover them; and the motion picture operator, discovering them also, turns his lamps ahead on a group descending from a "hard seats" car. **Uzbeks** from Central Asia are coming down the steps. In small velvet skull-caps or great fur-edged head-gear, in long khalat, striped blue, red, green, yellow. From ancient Samarkand and from the sunny cotton fields of "empearled Fergana", six days and nights they have journeyed to these snowy plains of north Russia where they shiver and grin at the welcoming textile workers. Among them are two women.

They have come to sign a treaty between Uzbek cotton-growers and Russian textile-workers, a treaty of socialist rivalry. They have been elected for this purpose at mass-meetings of poor peasants and farm labourers all over Uzbekistan. They are promising the textile-workers to increase the area sown to cotton and the productivity per acre, so that Russia's mills may soon cease to depend on foreign imports. The textile workers, in their turn, promise to send tractor columns and brigades of skilled workers to show the use of modern machinery to the Uzbeks; and to raise their own production and cut costs of textile goods at the mill.

For three days we went about with the Uzbeks, we three women from America, two of us professors from a great university and I, a reporter. We from the modern industrial West and they from the ancient patriarchal East. — we saw Ivanovo celebrations together.

Nor were we the only foreign guests in Ivanovo. Thirty or forty students and workers of various nationalities also came over to see Ivanovo and bring greetings to her factory assemblies. English, French, Mexican, Chinese. — in all languages were speeches. Delegations of peasants also came. — from nearby villages which have also their special treaties of socialist rivalry with special factories in Ivanovo. — promising to increase wheat and live-stock.

All the world seemed bringing greetings to Ivanovo. This was the first significant thing I noticed, marking this "Red Manchester" off from all the other Manchesters of the world. The textile towns of the earth are hidden away in dark corners, like something the world is ashamed of.... And rightly. Nobody visits them from outside, except some merchant inspecting goods or some strike agitator, driven off perhaps before he arrives. What contact have workers in textile towns with the life of the world? But the workers of Ivanovo heard greetings from three continents.

We breakfasted in the dining-room of the Nar-Piet, with its factory-kitchen which prepares daily 17,000 dinners, sending more than half of them out to factory dining-halls. Its manager is a former weaver; I hear a waitress, perhaps a former fellow-worker, call her the familiar "thee"... We pass through the streets, overwhelmed by the number of new buildings. Overwhelmed also, be it admitted, by the mud, which is wide and deep. All the citizens apologise for it.... "But you see, we have just put in a city water-works, and are putting in a sewage system and the mains for light and telephone. We cannot put down good surfaces on the streets till the underground is finished"... So the mud must be endured another winter.

Here is a new Co-operative Department Store, with shining plate-glass windows three stories in the air; and a new Telephone Building and a new State Bank branch. A really splendid new secondary school building attracts our gaze, and we then whirl by the great white buildings of the Chemical Department of the Workers University, — so new that they are not yet open. A new four-story hotel is going up; we later learn a mild scandal about it. The workers on this hotel had no "socialist rivalry" among their gangs, and absences from work doubled during the summer. They will get panned for it by the other building workers in a big placard in tomorrow's parade.

Still more workers' apartment houses, some already inhabited, others just finished, others barely begun. For 170 families, for 240 families, for 400 families. The American woman professor looks disturbed: "Why do you crowd so many together" she says. And she points with more approval to the First Workers Settlement, with detached villas, each for six families. These suit her better.

The First Workers Settlement is indeed worthy of notice. Several hundred large houses, painted white and brown and yellow, set in a great field of green. Four or six apartments in each house. — wide lawns between the houses, wide streets between the lawns, — the result is charming. But the practical Ivanovo workers shake their heads: "These cost us more than the big brick apartments."

The Peoples House much impresses us, a mighty new building with columns ornamenting its sides. The first of the Workers Clubs, it is still the largest, though now there are nine club buildings among textile workers alone in the town of Ivanovo, and 200 in her whole textile district among 300,000 textile workers.

Ivanovo builds in a terrific hurry. Every few months she puts up a new factory, out in an open field a few miles from the city, surrounds it with workers' houses and then the city moves out and takes it all in.

It was fitting that the centre of Ivanovo's holidays should be the opening of a giant factory, — the **Melange Kombinat**, which when finally finished in all its departments will be the biggest of its kind in the world. But that will not be for another four years; today there are not enough skilled workers in Russia to man it. It is half built now, and will slowly add departments and a second and third shift, training workers and two years from now the other half will be started. At the same time, it is already a mighty structure; the whole, well finished with workers club and dwellings and machinery in place, will cost 89 million roubles.

Some of the departments have been working already, awaiting the holidays. Others would open later. All the same, formally, the great Melange Kombinat opened on November 7th, when under a blaze of cameras and movie-spotlights, a long red ribbon barrier was solemnly broken, and the machinery started, and the representatives of the Textile Trust, the Textile Union, and the Uzbeks, and the peasants delegates and the delegates from every factory in Ivanovo, and all the rest of us, individually and collectively, poured forward to dump armfuls of raw cotton into the jaws of a cotton-cleaning machine. Who knew to what far end of the land we weave stuff would be carried? It was the common affair of all of us, our common property, our common celebration.

Then we passed in crowds through the long spinning rooms, and the rooms whose dozen operations I do not know by name, and at last to the great weaving-sheds, through whose scores of sloping sky-lights the last dusk of evening came down on acres of Northrup looms, all made in the Soviet Union. The skilled workers at the machines explained them to us, answered questions as we passed; they were the hosts of the occasion. The head of the Textile Trust and the factory manager were lost somewhere in the crowd.

Where else in the world is the opening of a factory the centre of a city's holiday? Elsewhere when workers have holidays, their first wish is to forget the factory. Forget, and idleness and drink, if need be. Such is the dualism which modern capitalism has brought to men's lives, destroying the vital connection between accomplished work and celebration, which more primitive civilisations knew. Today in Ivanovo the building of socialism already builds the unity of the workers' life; his collective achievement in work is the centre of his collective celebration.

Another old dualism is also abolished. — that between worker and owner. In the headquarters of the Textile Workers Union the two delegations met, to consider the last details of their "Treaty of Socialist Rivalry". The Uzbeks asked penetrating questions about textile production; shrewd fellows these farm hands, though only one could read and write. They promised increase in cotton production. The textile workers made their promises also, of tractor help and workers brigades, all of which would be solemnly ratified by great mass meetings of textile workers that evening, with a band playing the International as each signed the treaty. But here in this conference there was no representative of management, and none of government, merely two groups of workers, from cotton fields and textile mills, discussing their joint problem of clothing the nation. Discussing it, like owners.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Socialist Transformation of Agriculture.

Yourkin, Manager of world's largest wheat farm, tells of year's work.

By S. Rubens.

Two million bushels of wheat from a single farm (50,000 tons) is a world's record. It was made by the famous Gigant, near Rostov, a soviet wheat farm which is the largest in the world. The amazing thing about this farm is not merely its size, but the fact that it was established in a single year by persons who have only recently had anything to do with farming. Its manager, Yourkin, was until the revolution, neither a peasant nor a farm specialist, but a metal worker.

Large scale farming has today become an industry, requiring rather skilled engineers and administrators than the old type of farm specialists. The first "industrial farm" to be established was the Campbell farm in the United States of America. Until last year it was the largest farm in the world. But today the Soviet Union has a dozen farms of about the size of Campbell's, while its Gigant, is more than three times Campbell's.

Located in the dry farming region east of Rostov, on soil hitherto used for livestock, and much of it never ploughed before, it is not expected that the Gigant's record per acre will be as high as in some parts of the Soviet Union. Last summer a dry spell brought poor crops to the entire region around the Gigant, and the grain was only partially saved by a rain which came just before harvest. The Gigant record of 60 poods to the hectare, (14 bushels to the acre) is not as large as in other soviet farms where the weather was better, but is twice as large as the peasant holdings produced in the same district. Moreover the grain was produced at a cost of 90 kopeks a pood (75 cents a bushel), a quite reasonable cost. This was in spite of the tremendous expenses incidental to getting started, with tractors commandeered from every direction and by no means the best for the purpose, and with a labour force organised out of untrained peasants taught on the job to run machinery.

Yourkin, the manager, rose during the revolution from his job as metal-worker to work in shop-committees and in factory management. A few years ago, he was sent by party orders to investigate the management of the Huterok farm which was unsatisfactory. Yourkin stayed at his job of "efficiency expert" on the Huterok farm for a year, after which he was made manager. His ability on this farm caused him to be chosen manager of the great Gigant in 1928 when it was organised. From this point on let Yourkin tell his own story, as he reports it to the workers of the Gigant, in an article written for their own newspaper published at their own typography on the farm.

"The organisation of the largest grain farm in the world is only a first small step in our building of socialism. The first proposal of its organisation was made at a meeting of farm workers at the Department of Agriculture in May, 1928. In July an emergency committee was organised and I was called from the Huterok farm, and told to begin immediate organisation of the Gigant. Our orders were to plough 60,000 hectares (150,000 acres) and sow 15,000 of them with winter wheat.

"In July we began the survey of the land, and simultaneously opened courses for tractorists and workers on various farm machinery. At the end of July came our first batch of tractors, — 192 of small size. We organised 15 machines to a tractor column and sent them out. The extremely dry autumn and the small size of the tractors made slow work on the hitherto unbroken prairie soil.

"Work speeded up with the arrival of a second batch of large tractors, in September. We worked two shifts, and ploughed 60,000 hectares by the end of October. After this we were able to plough 2,000 hectares for the peasants at the

nearby town of Yegorlikskaia, who were organised in a collective farm. We also ploughed 5,000 hectares for Soviet Farm No. 2. Thus, without any buildings whatever, without any trained gangs or general experience, we ploughed 67,000 hectares the first autumn, — the largest ploughing under a single management ever done in the history of the world. The cost of our work was 8 roubles a hectare.

"Winter proceeded in feverish preparations. We must work out production and accounting methods for the work ahead. The difficulties here were enormous, for there was no previous large farm on which we could base our systems. We had to think out everything but the beginning. We organised the teaching of 800 farm labourers, opened special courses for tractor brigades, and courses in field-work. We received and sent out to the fields 380,000 poods (over 6,000 tons) of seed in readiness for spring. This severely taxed our workers, for the coldest winter Europe has known for a generation gave us 30 degrees of frost, with many storms and our men were literally freezing in the fields. Only by heroic enthusiasm was it done.

"In spring we had a time limit of 10 days in which to seed 48,500 hectares ploughed the year before. We must also disk it once and harrow twice. We used 600 tractors, 250 four-meter seeders, 2000 toothed harrows and 350 diskers. All this inventory we received in February and March in the open air. Spring came late; in place of March, we could begin only by mid-April. This made the organisation of our labour force very difficult. Several times we began to collect it and were forced to stop by bad weather. At last we sent out to the fields 14 tractor columns of 28 to 50 tractors each: 3000 workers took part in the sowing, which was finished in 9½ days.

"In the period after sowing, we ploughed 28,500 hectares for ourselves and 1,200 for the local peasants, in readiness for fall sowing. Then came the harvest days. We must take the grain from 59,500 hectares. We began July 12, and finished in the first days of August. There worked in the fields 7,000 men, with 400 tractors, 25 combines, 30 threshers and others machinery in proportion. We cut grain, threshed at once and carted to grain elevators which loaded it at once on cars."

"This was the first use of combines in any amount on soviet soil. They justified themselves fully, gave cleaner grain and caused less trouble than the reapers and threshers. After the harvest we continued ploughing for winter wheat and then for the spring sowing. We seeded 35,430 hectares to winter wheat and ploughed 64,000 hectares for spring seeding..." Thus next years sown area will almost double this year's world record.

* * *

Fifteen months have passed since the day of the Gigant's organisation. Its work was carried forward in the midst of a storm of attacking rumors. "The tractors won't come; the seed won't come; they won't plough it; they won't sow it." And at last "They can't harvest it". When at last the harvest was in, the whispers changed to "the crop has cost them 8 to 10 roubles a pood!" These were all lies inspired by the class enemies in the rural districts, and spread about by the doubting and weak elements. The actual cost of grain, produced under all these difficulties, was 85—90 kopeks a pood, (75 cents a bushel). In this it must be remembered that land values play no part, since land is state-owned and therefore free in the Soviet Union. The land speculations which have raised the cost of farms in the United States of America will seriously handicap that nation in competing with Russia in the world's grain markets, as soon as the experience of the soviet giant farms becomes standardized.

"The cause of our success" says Manager Yourkin "lies in the correct policy of the Communist Party, and in its attentive leadership. The workers, office staff and specialists, united in their trade union, showed the ability to build this great socialist husbandry. Labour discipline, enthusiasm, and consciousness of our aim, were constantly present. Socialist rivalries between groups played a basic part in our speed.

"We have still many tasks ahead. First to sow more than 100,000 hectares the coming year. Then to raise the quality of our work, improve the care of machines, the oiling and re-pairing of each small trouble. All of us, tractorists, book-

keepers, chauffeurs, brigade leaders, must learn, and learn and learn, as Lenin said, in order to improve our organisation. And during the next year we must strengthen our aid to the surrounding peasants, helping them to organise collective farms and giving them machine help and also expert knowledge"... Such is the task of the large soviet farms, of which the Gigant is only one, the largest.

While this rapid production went ahead on the Gigant, other gangs of workers were busy preparing the coming model town for the Gigant's workers. Cottages infinitely better than the typical Russian village offers, went up around central club building and cinema. Electric light and a water system was also rapidly installed, for the working staff of the Gigant when they should return from their work in the tractor brigades. Never again will the Gigant employ such a disproportionate number of seasonal workers; better mechanisation is reducing this number, and making possible a cadre of year-round farm workers, many of whom say, in the words of a young farmhand in the 10th brigade, writing in the farm newspaper: "I promise never to leave the soviet farm in all my life, and to carry out all orders for socialist building."

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The First General Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition in Germany and its Significance.

By Paul Merker (Berlin).

The First National Congress of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Opposition in Germany, which met in Berlin on November 30th and December 1st, was very well attended, 1122 delegates and workers of both sexes, all elected in works, employment exchanges and trade unions, taking part in it. The agenda of the Congress consisted in its attitude in regard to the experiences of the latest period of the struggle and to the tasks of the revolutionary trade-union opposition. Besides the plenary sessions there were the meetings of industrial groups and conferences of the unemployed, of women, and of young workers, which were likewise well attended.

The strong international interest evinced in the Congress was confirmed by the numerous telegrams of greetings sent by the different revolutionary trade-union organisations and minorities. Besides these, hundreds of letters and telegrams were received from factory meetings and meetings of unemployed and other groups of workers.

It was the aim of the Congress to organise the fight against the Young Plan and against Social and National Fascism by impressing the forms and methods of fight on the mind of the masses in keeping with the resolutions of the Red International of Labour Unions, and to adopt a critical attitude towards the mistakes and shortcomings in the activity of the revolutionary opposition, while at the same time elaborating and generalising the experiences and lessons of the strikes organised of late by the said Opposition.

Both Comrade Thälmann, the representative of the Central Committee of the C. P. G., and Comrade Merker, reporter to the Congress, concentrated their speeches on these problems and insistently showed the necessity of developing new forms of fighting by means of revolutionary work councils, revolutionary shop stewards, strike committees, meetings of delegates, and the more compact comprehension and better organisation of the revolutionary trade-union opposition.

By their lively and interesting speeches, the speakers in the discussion proved that the resolutions of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress are taking more and more root among the proletarian masses and that the presumptions increase for the organisation and effectuation of further strike actions for higher wages and shorter working hours, as also for great political actions on the part of the masses.

The course of the Congress showed great unanimity and steadfastness of purpose on the part of the delegates. Both the report and the speeches very vehemently attacked the Right

liquidationists and the opportunist vacillations in the ranks of the revolutionary opposition, expressed most pronouncedly in the activity of some of the revolutionary factory councils. The radical phrases of sectarian group-leaders like Schabmacher, Kaiser, and Weyer, also met with the most unanimous opposition. The submitted resolution, representing a directive for the work of the revolutionary trade-union opposition during the next six months, was unanimously passed.

At all stages of the Congress, the closest connection between the revolutionary trade-union opposition and the Communist World Party or the C. P. G., respectively, found utterance. Comrade Thälmann, representing the C. C. of the C. P. G. was received with vociferous acclamations. More than 600 of the non-Party workers present joined the Communist Party during the Congress itself.

The composition of the Congress and the fact that the working masses have themselves raised all the means for its realisation are, in addition to the significant political results of the Congress itself, very strong assets in the fight against the Social Fascist trade-union bureaucracy, which even during the preparation for the Congress opposed the workers and started excluding the delegates from the unions.

Of the 1122 delegates, sent by 816 works and numerous employment-exchanges and trade-union organisations, comprising an aggregate of more than two million workers, 754 were members of the C. P. G., 53 members of the Young Communist League, 3 Social-Democrats, and more than 300 members of no party at all. 822 of the total number were organised workers, the number including 152 who had been expelled from their unions. The delegates had been elected by 936 factory, trade-union, and unemployment meetings. Among them were 221 metal workers, 174 building workers, 53 State or municipal employees, 77 traffic workers, 36 railwaymen, 104 chemical workers, 41 printers, 50 textile workers, 43 mine workers, 8 agricultural workers, 61 miners, and 24 clerical employees. The others were leather workers, workers employed in the foodstuff industries, and the like. There were 81 female workers and 58 juveniles among the delegates.

The Congress was a very effective preparation for the fight against the Young Plan, for the purpose of initiating mass action, and for the elections of factory councillors and local administrative functionaries. It is the first real trade-union congress that has taken place in Germany for decades, in that it was really elected according to proletarian principles and that its delegates were really workers. The delegates returned to their factories and labour-exchanges with increased courage to work and consciousness of their strength. Therefore, the Congress will be the starting-point for a material broadening of the Party and for a more stable, firm, and active movement of the revolutionary opposition in Germany, which will acquire the monopoly of the proletarian leadership under the guidance of the Communist Party.

Where is the Minority in the Revolutionary Trade Unions of France Going?

By Berlioz (Paris).

The Congress of the C. G. T. U. (the revolutionary trade unions of France), held in September last, represented an important stage in the strengthening of our struggle against every form of opposition in the trade union movement. Although the comprehensive discussion of the urgent problems of to-day, such as the character of the capitalist stabilisation, the radicalisation of the masses, and the leading rôle of the Communist Party unfortunately reached no further than the trade union cadres, that is, it was not brought before the broad masses — still produced the important result of forcing the opposition to adopt a definite political attitude, and to emerge from its customary reserve, thereby giving the workers the opportunity of seeing through the counter-revolutionary standpoint invariably concealed behind demagogic phrases.

The voting on the annual report (943 trade unions with 1512 votes for and 148 trade unions with 214 votes against) did not however bring any absolute clarity, inasmuch as numerous Centrists voted with the majority, giving lip acknowledg-

ment to the communist line in a declaration of submission fraction discipline made by some of them, whilst others, in view of the confusion prevailing at the Congress on the interpretation of the "leading rôle", believed themselves able to and for the communist line.

The struggle against the open or secret Right, and against the conciliators, accelerates the differentiation of the tendencies. The minority has developed rapidly to the counter-revolutionary standpoint. It has striven for the organisational unification of its various adherents. Waverers have had to make up their minds and take their places with the Right. In the present period of increased oppression of the proletariat by capitalism, embittered persecution, rendering the struggle according to the new methods increasingly difficult, no other solution could very well be possible. All those who were not unreservedly in agreement with the resolutions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., all those who have shown themselves to be fearful and anxious in the face of the direct threat of state of emergency against the French labour movement, pass over to-day from "reservation" to complete opposition.

A typical example of this is the leading body of the teachers' Union, which is affiliated to the C. G. T. U. At the national conference in August the (communist) committee avoided an exhaustive political discussion, in order to conceal its profound disunity with the Party behind the vague sentimental catchword of "affiliation of the Union to the C. G. T. U.". At the C. G. T. U. Congress these comrades preserved silence. The lively discussion before and after the Congress, however, induced them to formulate their views in a document demonstrating their unequivocally Right standpoint. Above all, they deny the revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat. They constantly oppose the trade union interest to the interest of the Party, and reject the leading rôle of the Party in the whole labour movement. They have even gone so far that Aubert has congratulated them because they "are determined to shake off the tyranny of the Party".

Since the Congress of the C. G. T. U. the struggle against the opposition has greatly increased in acuteness. The minorities do not only continue their base campaign of calumination against the Party and its leaders, but they have shown by their deeds that they actually injure the immediate interests of the proletariat. The leaders of the dock labourers union, affiliated to the C. G. T. U., showed for instance their complete incapacity to lead to a successful finish the strike of the dock workers at Nantes, lasting over two months. The leaders of the Paris traffic workers, by their persistent application of anarcho-syndicalist methods, caused the street demonstration of the motor bus and tram conductors to fail owing to insufficient preparation.

The various fractional groups forming the minority, whilst disagreeing with one another on the great international problems, are all at one when meeting on the anti-communist basis. Attempts are being made to establish organic unity among the leaders of Monatte's Syndicalist League, which is a really anti-communist party. The minorities have formed a committee for the "independence of syndicalism", with membership cards and subscriptions, and announce the publication of a weekly periodical, "Le Cri du Peuple", which is to appear shortly, and to be developed into a mass organ. Those elements which have been expelled from the Party, as for instance the six municipal councillors excluded in Paris as traitors, have joined the minority.

All these enemies of communism fraternise with one another, and demonstrate by numerous actions their determination to achieve an open split. They refuse to co-operate with the central bodies of the C. G. T. U. They have prevented the intervention of the delegates of the C. G. T. U. at the conferences of the Food Workers, the Dock Workers, and the Railwaymen of the state railways. They further refuse to submit to the will of the general meetings. The leaders of the Gas Workers in Paris, when in the minority, did not resign their offices. The secretaries of the Glas Workers' Union, disavowed by the national committee of their organisation, refused to call the extraordinary conference demanded by the committee in accordance with the statutes. In the Paris organisation of the traffic workers a comrade was expelled from the committee because he was set up as candidate to the executive commission on the list of the majority and elected.

It need not be said that the reformists in the C. G. T. welcome this disruptive manoeuvre under the pretext of the

struggle for the "independence of syndicalism", and express quite openly their hope to "unite the workers under their flag".

The fight against the opposition, against the counter-revolutionists, must be carried on inexorably. Opportunism finds its foothold in the unfavourable social composition of the C. G. T. U. and of the Communist Party. Its influence extends to the "upper" and intermediate strata of the working class. With the aid of the most exploited classes, which we have not yet been able to gather around us, we shall defeat opportunism. We shall defeat it by a discussion on the basis of the broadest trade union democracy, by winning over the masses in the works and factories for our fighting methods. Above all we shall defeat it in the economic struggle, with the aid of the programme of immediate demands drawn up by the Congress; in struggles the leadership of which we undertake and the economic character of which we shall know how to intensify. The dictatorial measures of the oppositional bosses will not save them from isolation; from this they will only be secure in the arms of Jouhaux, their right place.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Struggle against Opportunism in the C. P. of Canada.

By Steward Smith (Toronto).

The right wing factionalists of the 6th convention of our Party, who organised their caucus on the basis of the so-called language blocks, demonstrated to our Party the close connection between opportunist policies and social-democratic federalism. The "whole" convention including the right wing factionalists agreed to the line of the C. I. and the resolution on Party organisation, calling for the liquidation of federalism and the building of a Bolshevik Party. No sooner was the convention over, than the right wing factionalists, who had organised their secret caucus at the convention to "save" the Party, commenced a campaign of slander against the Communist International by declaring that the struggle at the 6th convention for the policy of the Communist International had been a "squabble for power and control of the Party".

The comrades, who had carried on the struggle against the "saviours" of the Party, had declared time and time again that the real struggle against opportunist tendencies in the Party would take place in the carrying out of the "formal resolutions" and not in the voting for them. The plenum of the Central Executive and subsequent developments have demonstrated the basic truth of this assertion.

The organisational proposals of the minority of the Central Executive were accepted by the plenum. Comrade Popovich refused to stand for the Political Committee on the grounds of his "health". No Ukrainian comrade on the C. E. C. which was elected by the "saviours" at the national convention, had supported the line of the C. I. The Majority at the convention had "punished" comrade Halpern for his alignment with the C. I. against their faction by defeating his election to the C. E. C. Thus neither a "Jewish" or a "Ukrainian" "representative" was elected to the Political Committee of the Party. This was a serious blow to the right wing factionalists, and above all a serious blow to the federalist traditions of the Canadian Party. In connection with the Finnish "representative" on the Polcom of the Party, the plenum of the C. E. C. decided to "disobey" the decisions of the Finnish fraction convention, which some months before had already picked out Comrade Tom Hill to be the Finnish member on the Political Committee. While recognising that Comrade Hill had differentiated himself at the convention from the right wing factionalists, the minority of the C. E. C. considered that it was necessary to replace Comrade Hill on the Political Committee by some comrade, who could better succeed in breaking down the federalist relations between the Polcom and the E. C. of the Finnish Organisation. In searching for such a comrade the minority found Comrade Vaara, whose record of struggle for reorganisation, and whose training in the Party seemed to fit him for this post. The election of the polcom, therefore, represented a first application of the organisational resolution of the 6th convention, which was written by the minority but "supported" by the "whole" convention. The Party leadership elected was as follows: M. Bruce, T. Ewan, J. MacDonald, B. Buhay, T. Buck, A. Graves, S. Smith and

A. Vaara. The polcom was composed of a majority of long-standing leaders of the Canadian labour movement and the Communist Party, with several new comrades. The Political Committee elected by the plenum of C.E.C. represented the first polcom in the history of the Canadian Party, which was not "appointed" by the "language section caucuses".

In carrying through the policy laid down in the letter of the Communist International, the Central Committee had "violated" the decisions of the Finnish fraction meeting. The Executive Committee of the Finnish Organisation refused to accept this decision, and decided upon a policy of splitting the Party. Not only did they violate the organisational decisions of the Party, but they came out openly with a programme of struggle against the Communist Party and the Communist International.

The time has come for the Finnish workers of Canada to discard the policy of passivity pursued by the Executive of the Finnish Organisation. The Finnish workers of Canada will uphold the revolutionary traditions of the Finnish proletariat.

Expulsion of Roy from the Comintern.

In accordance with the resolution of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. (On the International Situation and the tasks of the Communist International, Par. 9.) and the decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of 19. 12. 1928 according to which adherents of the Brandler organisation cannot be members of the Communist International, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. declares, that Roy, by contributing to the Brandler press and by supporting the Brandler organisation, has placed himself outside the ranks of the Communist International, and is to be considered as expelled from the Communist International.

WORKERS' DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Conditions in Russian Textile Factories.

Statements by Two English Textile Workers on their Impressions in Russia.

I.

On behalf of the British Textile Workers Delegation, I would like to give a few impressions of our recent visit to Ivanovo-Voznesensk. In the first place let me state that we have never before seen anything to compare with either of the three factories we have visited, namely, Djerzensky Milatovi Combine, and Krasnie-Talka. From what we could see the conditions of the workers are better than any other textile workers we know of, including those of our own country. The things that impressed us greatly were the lighting system. The modern methods of production, the building itself, where we found hundreds of windows so placed as to catch the maximum amount of sunshine, and the wonderful ventilating system. Compare these with the conditions obtaining in the majority of factories in England, i. e. obsolete methods of production, bad lighting, lack of sunshine and poor machinery, and you get the reason why, in our opinion, you will soon be miles ahead of English textile production, if you continue at the present rate of progress. Another few things which impressed us: the dining rooms, the workers' wardrobes, hours of work (7) and the creches where you are rearing your future generation, a wonderful scheme this, and lastly the happiness of the workers. I say this only after careful and personal investigation.

F. Conroy (England).

II.

I would just like to say how pleased I am with your working conditions in your mills. I noticed how spacious were the different departments and how well lighted both by day and by night. It would be a pleasure to work in such mills,

and everybody seems so pleased and so happy and asked how we liked their mills. They seemed so delighted about it themselves. I have never seen anything like them in our country. I come from Scotland. I work in a jute mill and would be only too pleased if our mills were so well equipped and had such breathing space, brightly lighted. Also your kitchens, I have sampled those also, and it is wonderful this communist kitchen way of getting good food and comfort for the worker at a cheap rate. Also your splendid clubs with concert and cinema hall combined. Your creches are marvellous, we do not have anything so well equipped. I shall be able to put my hands down the throats of those who try to condemn you.

All power to the Soviet Union, the Workers Republic, the first workers' government in the world. I only wish other countries will follow your example.

E. Mackenzie (Scotland)

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The United Clothing Workers' Union and the Women Workers.

By S. F. Gows.

A militant Union for the Clothing industry has been formed at last. Out of all the unions catering for this industry — there are about twenty of them — only of the "United Clothing Workers Union" can it be said that the interests of the workers are looked after. Unlike the Tailors and Garment Workers and other such unions, the Clothing Workers' Union approaches the question of organising the workers from all angles, adult men and women.

About 80% of the workers in the industry are women. These women in the past have been difficult to organise. There are a number of reasons for this. One being lack of militant leadership and two, inability to retain those women who did join. The importance of organising these women is realised by the new union. It has set up a committee of workers direct from factory and workshop to assist it in this work. This Women's Committee, which has been in existence since May, tackled the problem of organising women on the following lines:

1. Personal contact by women speakers.
2. Literature dealing with women in the industry, including special appeals to women etc.
3. Special work.
4. Women's Committee taking active part in general organising work of the union.
5. Drawing women into the general life of the union.

Already the women are on the platform, and to further work a speakers' class has been set up. Again personal contact has been obtained by members of the committee attending shop branch and section meetings.

A leaflet, pointing out that women are used as cheap labour and asking the women to organise with the men, is being distributed along with general organising leaflets of the Union by members of the committee. On the social side, work has been very successful. Successful dances have already been organised and have proved an attraction both to the men and women workers. For the coming winter months a number of dances are being arranged. In addition, the Women's Committee is taking over a stall for the Sunday Worker's Bazaar — profit for the Sunday Worker. All the members, but especially the women workers will be asked to help to make the stall a success.

Finance and having no premises hamper the work of the committee in every direction. Special lectures, classes etc. of our own women members are necessary. The educational work must not be neglected.

That women are taking an interest in the work of the union is proved by the attendance at members' meetings. At one time not a single women member could be seen at a meeting.

A beginning has been made. A great deal remains to be done. The Union has much to learn in the clothing industry. Experience will teach.