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A Victory of World Revolution over World Imperialism!

The Capitulation of Mukden to the Soviet Power.

By H. Neumann (Berlin).

The victory of the Red Army in the Far East, the capitulation of the Mukden Government to the Soviet power, is without doubt an event of world-historic significance. From the first days of the Manchurian events it was clear to everybody that it was not a question of an ordinary conflict between two States, but of a fight between two worlds, of a fight of two classes, of a trial of strength between world imperialism and proletarian world revolution. It is necessary to regard in retrospect the events in the Far East in order to grasp their meaning.

On July 10th, 1929, the Harbin military authorities on instructions from the Mukden Kuomintang Government occupied the Chinese-Eastern Railway, and the telegraph offices, closed

and sealed all Soviet organisations and Soviet institutions, began to arrest and deport hundreds of subjects of the Soviet Union. Several weeks prior to this violence the Harbin General Consulate of the Soviet Union was occupied by police troops under the insane pretext that a "secret session of the III. International" had taken place in the basement.

To these provocations the Soviet Union replied with a sharp note of protest and a categorical demand that all hostile measures be rescinded, the agreement of 1924 restored and all questions at issue be settled at a common conference of the two Governments. The Mukden generals answered the demands of the Soviet Union by declaring a state of war, arresting more subjects of the Soviet State and then concentrating the Manchurian army

on the frontier of the Soviet Union. The Nanking Kuomintang generals, who felt that they are the "Central Government of the Republic of China", urged on the Mukden militarists. The deportations and arrests were followed by the maltreatment, torture and shooting of workers and officials of the Chinese-Eastern Railway. At the head of the North China regular troops, the Terrorist bands of the Russian White Guardist emigrants began "operations" in the frontier territory. The attacks upon the territory of the Soviet Power, the raids by the bands, the crossings of the frontier, the shooting of sentries of the Red Army became more and more frequent.

The Chinese Kuomintang, that reactionary bloc of the bourgeoisie with the feudal landowners, wished to compel the State of proletarian dictatorship either to begin war or to suffer without resistance the robbery of its property and the armed attacks upon its frontiers.

The Kuomintang was backed up by world imperialism, international finance capital and reaction of all countries. The White generals of Chinese counter-revolution were only the burglary tools in the hands of American capitalists, who want to occupy the sales market of Manchuria; in the hands of Japanese imperialists, who want to extend their sphere of influence in North China; in the hands of the English bourgeoisie, who are carrying on a desperate fight to maintain their colonial domination over China; in the hands of French financiers, who wish to regain the right of possession of the Chinese-Eastern Railway, which they had under Tsardom. But over and above these immediate material interests of the individual imperialist powers, they were all united by one paramount common aim. World imperialism drove its irresolute, dishonest agent, the Kuomintang Government, to war against the State of the October Revolution, i. e., against the **October Revolution**. It drove it to war against the socialist development, to war against the execution of the five-year plan, to war against the centre of power of proletarian world revolution, which is a menace in every part of the world.

When the first shots were fired on the frontiers of the Amur zone and of the coast district, the first "mediation" of the imperialist Governments took place. The war-mongers played the part of "peacemakers", the incendiaries played the part of "arbiters", the burglars of policemen. America unrolled the document of the Kellogg Pact and the League of Nations drew attention to its statutes. A "neutral court of arbitration" and the "internationalisation of the Chinese-Eastern Railway" were offered to the Soviet Union, which was to be discredited in the public opinion as a bad neighbour, as the guilty party in the war which world imperialism had started against it.

Fire was directed against the Soviet Union from three fronts. The hangmen of the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution furnished the armed mercenary bands for the war. The imperialist Governments of Europe and of America furnished the money, the weapons, the political leadership and the diplomatic support. But the heaviest artillery of war agitation, the rapid fire of calumny and abuse, of unscrupulous incitement was taken from the arsenal of the **II. International**. The executive of international social-Fascism declared immediately after the outbreak of the conflict

"that it was the right of China to demand the elimination of Russian control over the Chinese-Eastern Railway, as the Russians themselves provided the pretext for this persecution of the workers by misusing Labour organisations on Chinese territory as tools for Russian politics".

The proclamation of the **II. International**, signed by **Vanderelde** and **Sassenbach**, proclaimed the full, unreserved solidarity of Social-Democracy with the hangmen of China. The proclamation is a declaration of principles for the new world war. It is the pledge of international Social Democracy, of the government parties of England and Germany to promote, justify and support any attack of bands, any war of intervention upon the Soviet Union.

That was the triple alliance which in July, 1929, marched to war against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The Soviet Union opposed to world imperialism the full strength of its arms. The central committee of the Bolshevik Party saw through the provocation plan of the attackers in its whole significance and in its details. In the country of proletarian dictatorship the alarm was sounded. The Party was

mobilised. The million masses of the workers and peasants offered their aid. The Red Army sent off its best striking force, its most experienced divisions, its most capable and most brave commanders to the front of the Far East.

But the central committee of the Bolshevik Party watched over the fortunes of the Soviet Power in the name of the triumphant proletariat, performed not only wonders of revolutionary energy but also wonders of revolutionary bloodedness. In accordance with the Leninist general line of policy, the Soviet Government did not permit itself to be provoked into war by threatening notes, by rifle shots, by mail or by raids. With cool deliberateness it declined the impudent "mediation proposals" of the imperialists. And it pulsed with shells and aeroplane bombs the frontiers of the Russo-Chinese White bands.

The Soviet Union did not want war. It avoided and prevented war. But the Soviet Union is no vassal state of imperialists. If the Soviet Union had bowed down before Chinese militarists, the same thing would happen tomorrow on the European frontier as yesterday happened on the African frontier. Every **Pilsudski**, every little Fascist border State, the Baltic would follow the example of the Kuomintang Government.

The Soviet Government therefore replied in Bolshevik manner. It liquidated the war by defeating the attackers. August 12th the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army of the Far East was formed. The chief command was accepted by **Com. Blücher**, metal-worker from the Urals, Bolshevik of the period, hero of the civil war, active fighter in the workers' and peasants' revolution. The formation of the Army of the Far East was the signal for a revolutionary movement, for a fighting initiative of the million masses of factories and villages, preceded only in the greatest part of the history of all revolutions. On August 16th the mass of the partisans of the civil war resolved: "Our horses saddled, our lances are sharpened, our powder is dry." The Putilov workers declared on the same day in Leningrad: "We are ready at any time rifle in hand to defend the October Revolution." A day later the big factories in Moscow declared: "We regard ourselves as mobilised and are prepared to go to arms immediately." Ten of thousands streamed into recruiting offices and garrison headquarters of the Red Army as volunteers in the Red Army. Hundreds of thousands of working women, hundreds of thousands of juvenile workers and young Communists demanded to be sent to the front. Meetings, gigantic demonstrations, offers of hourly and daily wages in the factories, offers of grain in the villages, collective farms — such was the answer of the toilers of the Soviet Union to the attack by Chinese reaction, by world imperialism and by international Social Democracy.

And still another answer came: the voice of the **Communist International**, the chorus of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries of the bourgeoisie. The class-conscious workers of the whole world demonstrated for the protection of the Soviet Union. In the capital towns of all the capitalist States, persecuted and forbidden by the coalition governments, by the Social-Democratic governments and by the governments of World Terror, the labour masses marched through the streets. August 1st and November 7th.

The Red Army of the Far East took up the offensive and delivered the last decisive blow to the White bands. It pushed the invaders across the frontier, disarmed on a single day 300 soldiers, 300 officers, captured 10,000 rifles, numerous aeroplanes and tanks. The military power of the Mukden Government collapsed under the blows of triumphant socialism. What followed was the rapid, complete and humiliating capitulation.

The victory of the Soviet Power over the armed mercenaries of world imperialism in the Far East is of tremendous significance.

The Red Army has furnished proof that it is the invincible, deadly sword of proletarian world revolution.

The Red victory in the Far East is a defeat for world imperialism. It is a terrible defeat for Chinese counter-revolution. It is a disgraceful defeat for international Social Democracy. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Far East will give the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution fresh impetus of tremendous

ver. The starving, martyred working class of China, bleeding in thousands of wounds, the class which made the insurrection in Shanghai and Canton, which during the events on the Chinese-Eastern Railway, organised with immortal heroism demonstrations and strikes against the enemy at home, rising again under the leadership of the Communists for new acts, which in magnitude, force and audacity will put all those of the past into the shade. The Chinese peasantry is accelerating in a hour of the wild, ruthless settlement with the landowners, militarists and profiteers, who have shot, hanged, beheaded, angled, buried alive or publicly burnt more than half a million village poor. The victory of the Red Army is the signal attack for the new revolutionary movement in China.

For the Communists and revolutionary workers of the East, the capitulation of the Chinese White bands is a day of pride, joy and proletarian consciousness of power. But the attack on the Chinese Eastern Railway, which has been beaten off by the organised force of world revolution, will shortly be followed by fresh provocations and big impudent attacks upon the Soviet Union.

Our socialist fatherland has won a victory of world-historic magnitude! Long live the defence of our Socialist Fatherland! Long live the victory of proletarian revolution at home and abroad!

POLITICS

New Attacks upon l'Humanité and the C. P. of France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The strong sympathy of the masses for the Communist Party is shown above all in the defence of the Humanité. The Government knows very well what a tremendously important rôle our central organ, with a daily circulation of more than 100,000, plays in connecting the Party leadership with the rank and file of the Party and also in spreading our ideas in the factories and workshops. The position of our paper is so important that the government does not wish to risk an open proposition of the paper, it therefore prefers to achieve its aims by round-about methods.

In the first place the bourgeoisie, as it openly said, attempted to aim a blow at its finances. The courts on every possible occasion imposed enormous fines. Every time Humanité polemicised against a bourgeois paper, actions for damages were brought, and one of the bourgeois papers received by this means in the course of a year more than one million francs. Upon the orders of the Minister for War Painlevé, all officers whose subordinates wrote to Humanité regarding the treatment they received at the hands of the officers, brought actions and likewise demanded damages. Naturally, all these suits were used in order to bring the managers and most of the editors into prisons.

But Tardieu wished by means of the Workers' and Peasants' Bank to give Humanité its death blow. Humanité had received considerable credits from this bank in order to cover a deficit caused by these persecutions. The government involved the bank in the great "conspiracy against the internal and external safety of the State" in order to be able to search the papers of the bank and set up two justiciaries who were entrusted to supervise all operations of the bank. These officials made it their chief task to demand from Humanité immediate payment of its debts under the pretext that the small depositors must be protected. Humanité's debts to the bank amounted to over 2 million francs, and it was intended, by demanding immediate repayment, to render it bankrupt.

But this plan, which was exposed by us, called forth a mass movement in order to rescue our paper. The collections which began on the 10th of August yielded in three months more than 800,000 Francs. Meanwhile the first million has been passed. Throughout the whole country hundreds of "Committees for the Defence of Humanité" were formed, mostly under the leadership of sympathisers, in order to organise collections of money, increase the circulation of the paper, and to mobilise

the workers round it. In a few weeks there arose a circle of about 100,000 active workers who organise the agitation and collect money.

In order to pay back its debts within the shortest possible time, the Humanité, on the one hand, reduced its expenditure to the lowest possible minimum and, on the other hand, offered the board of directors of the bank to pay instalments of 200,000 francs a month, and if possible even more. It began this repayment in September, and by the end of October and already paid 400,000 francs.

In face of this determined defence of Humanité by the working class the government decided to adopt even more brutal measures. The official receivers in the Workers' and Peasants' Bank a few days ago demanded from Humanité the immediate payment of all its debts, which by tricks of calculation they have fixed at 2,500,000 francs. The bourgeoisie hope that we shall not be able to withstand this blow. But the first result was that the proletariat was roused to furious indignation. The daily inflow of money, which had sunk to an average of 4000 Francs, suddenly rose to 15,000 and 20,000 francs. The C. G. T. U. and the French section of the Red Aid called upon their followers and supporters to make a special contribution in order to bring to nought the criminal plan of the government. The trade unions are mobilising all their available means for the Humanité. The union of depositors in the Workers' and Peasants' Bank (the total deposits of this association amount to over 6 million francs) is considering what measures it can resort to in order to give support to Humanité.

The movement is in full swing; our paper will be saved. We're in the midst of a great battle in which international solidarity will be of incalculable value to us. The French workers have hailed with enthusiasm the remittance of about 6000 marks from the Berlin and Hamburg workers.

At the head of the board of directors of the Workers' and Peasants' Bank are two of the treacherous city councillors whom we have driven from our Party: Louis Sellier and Garchery. The board of directors of the bank have not given any answer to the proposal made by Humanité with regard to the mode of repayment; and it appears that they waited with complaisance the appointment of official receivers. At the same time the management of the bank demanded of numerous labour organisations, including our provincial papers, that they immediately pay back their debts, failing which legal proceedings would be taken against them.

It is obvious that the government, the renegades and political adventurers are acting in collusion in this attack. There are rumours to the effect that the expelled city councillors intend to make use of the bank, after it has again been rendered solvent by the social-democrats and big capitalists, in order to found a new, anti-Communist daily paper or at least to give financial support to a weekly journal of the syndicalist-anarchist reformist opposition in the C. G. T. U. which is to appear shortly.

All these manoeuvres will prove futile in face of the proletarian resistance. Already last Saturday a splendid meeting was held in the constituency of the two expelled councillors, at which the renegade Louis Sellier, who had got up to speak in order to calumniate the Party, was shouted down. As even the "Temps" and the "Echo de Paris" candidly admit, the influence of the Party is still very great. It is being transferred to a new basis.

The Second Hague Conference.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

When the Hague Conference, after endless debates of unusual vehemence, came to an end in August of this year, it was resolved that it should meet again in October. The Conference, called to discuss the Young plan, had not completed its work. Hence various commissions were appointed to clear up the remaining questions. The most important of the commissions was that meeting at Baden Baden; this was composed of the leading financiers of the different countries, and its task was to draw up the statutes of the "International Bank".

It soon became apparent, however, that the work of the commissions would not be completed so speedily, and the prospective date of the Conference was postponed again and again. And now, when the commissions have finished their work, the French government has come forward with a request for further postponement. After a lengthy dispute, in which the British government in particular urged the immediate convocation of the Conference, the French proposal of the 3rd January 1930 as first day of the second Hague Conference has been fixed (for the time being!).

The lengthy duration of the commission sessions, and indeed the long time occupied by the preparations for the Conference, are not so much due to technical difficulties as to the political changes which have meanwhile taken place.

Among these changes the new French cabinet takes the first place. Briand was overthrown by a coalition of the Left and the nationalist Right; this latter, the Marin group, desired the fall of Briand's ministry for the reason that in their opinion Briand had made both Great Britain and Germany too many concessions at the Conference at the Hague. They were especially dissatisfied with Briand for his promise to evacuate the Rhineland. At the Hague the evacuation of the so-called third zone of the Rhine country by 30th June, 1930, was agreed upon. This was opposed by the whole nationalist Right, the representatives of the military and of heavy industry. These based their viewpoint on the (probably intentionally!) ambiguous formulation in which France undertakes to evacuate the last zone by 30th June 1930, but solely on the condition that the Young plan be approved by the parliaments and put into force!

The French nationalists cite these words, and assert that it does not suffice for the German parliament to undertake the burden of the Young plan: the plan must be put into force, that is, the "International Bank" must begin its work. Not until this Bank, by the pledging of German payments, has placed its first loan and thereby enabled the French bourgeoisie to pocket the first fruits of the enslavement of the working masses of Germany under the Young plan — not until then will the nationalists evacuate the Rhine country!

Briand did not wish to have his hands tied. But his Right opponents demanded clarity. And when in parliament he again evaded a clear statement, Marin, Mandel, and their adherents voted against the Briand cabinet and overthrew it.

After a lengthy crisis, the Tardieu government took the place of the fallen ministry. Although Briand has again taken over the ministry of foreign affairs, Tardieu is nevertheless dependent on the support of the Right, and has accepted in all essentials their policy in the evacuation question. This is already observable, even externally, since Marginot takes over the important position of war minister in place of the "Left" Painlevé. Whilst Briand preserved silence, Tardieu declares openly that the date 30th June is not valid unless the Young plan has meanwhile come into operation.

And Briand himself stated, at a sitting of the parliamentary commission for foreign affairs on 23rd November, that it would become clear the end of February 1930 whether the Young plan comes into force at once.

"Should this not be the case, then there will be no more talk of a further evacuation of the Rhinelands."

With this Briand has practically joined forces with Tardieu and Maginot; and it is simply the usual reformist swindle when the social democrats make out that there is a difference between the "nationalist" Tardieu and Briand, the angel of peace. As if Briand were not precisely just such another champion of French imperialism and militarism as his colleagues!

The second Hague Conference will, therefore, not be confined to mere technical details; on the contrary, the great questions are still unsolved, the antagonisms have become increasingly acute in the course of the endless discussions, French imperialism has again made uncertain the definite promise to evacuate the "third zone", and it will depend on the further compliance of the other parties whether this evacuation takes place. It is probable that Tardieu himself will represent the French government at the Hague, and he will demand as a prerequisite for the evacuation not only the subordination of

the German Reichstag to the Young plan, but the issue of a loan by the International Bank, of which the lion's share will fall to the French bourgeoisie!

The second Hague Conference will have to decide various other questions. The Committee for the organisation of the International Bank has completed its work, and chosen Brussels as the headquarters of the Bank. This frustrates Snowden's hope who wanted the Bank to be in London.

But the Swiss Bank is only a compromise. French imperialism is anxious to have this important weapon, the International Bank, quite under its control. And therefore Belgium, the vassal state of France, refused to yield to the majority of the Committee on this point. The Belgian Government demands that the headquarters of the Bank should be in Brussels, and it will advance this demand at the Hague.

The commissions appointed in September have not accomplished all their aims. The question of the "eastern reparations" in particular has not been decided. Hungary and Belgium refuse to undertake the burdens thrust upon them by the Hague Conference, and this question, too, is still unsettled. The French advance as a reason for postponing the Conference the necessity of awaiting the results of the Hugenberg plebiscite which is to take place on 22nd December.

It is, however, obvious that the chief motive actuating the French government is the desire to establish a connection between the Hague Conference and the Naval Conference in London.

The French bourgeoisie fears the combined pressure of Great Britain and the United States. It is not prepared to abandon the submarine weapon, to recognise parity with them, or to renounce further armaments.

Therefore it does not wish the Hague Conference finished before the Naval Conference begins its work. Great Britain desires the evacuation of the Rhine country, and Tardieu will utilise the Hague negotiations to induce the compliance of the British government in the naval question.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

The Polish-German Agreement

By J. R.

On October 31st of this year, the Polish Foreign Minister, A. Zaleski, and the German Ambassador in Warsaw, Dr. U. Rauscher, signed a treaty of great political significance.

On the basis of this treaty these two countries renounce their war-indemnity claims against one another.

The sum of these claims for each of the countries was to 800 million gold marks. With a stroke of the pen as 3000 firms were liquidated. A beginning was made with liquidation of the Polish-German court of arbitration in Berlin as a superfluous body.

Furthermore, Poland renounced two important privileges granted to it under the Treaty of Versailles. In the first place it renounced the further liquidation of the big German estates in Poland (about 50,000 hectares of land). In the second place it undertook not to exercise its priority right of purchase of 12,000 small German farms, which arose thanks to the action of the Prussian Colonisation Commission of pre-war times and represent a value of about half a milliard gold marks.

Further negotiations are in progress in regard to reciprocal right to settle, found enterprises, etc. The negotiations for a trade treaty have been resumed with fresh intensity. Poland is to be allowed to export to Germany a certain amount of coal and a certain number of pigs, etc., while Germany is to have important privileges and big duty reductions for its industrial products, etc.

The capitalist press of the whole of Europe regards the Polish-German understanding as one of the most important stages on the way to the "pacification" of Europe. Naturally by the pacification of Europe these gentlemen mean the pacification of capitalist Europe for war against the U. S. S. R.

The Polish-German antagonism is by no means eradicated by the treaty. It is founded upon a complication of con-

which the bourgeoisie of Poland and Germany is quite incapable of smoothing out. But in order to fall in with the new attempt, represented by the Young Plan, to stabilise capital on an international scale, Poland and Germany were compelled under a certain pressure exercised by Anglo-American-French financial circles to arrive at some temporary compromise.

The Polish-German agreement touches a number of special interests of individual groups of the German and Polish bourgeoisie. On the German side, the coal owners and more particularly the big landowners, who feel that they will be damaged by the Polish competition, are raising a great outcry. The Nationalists are protesting against Germany's alleged renunciation of the Corridor. The "*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*" writes that the Government which has signed this treaty ought to be overthrown within 24 hours. On the Polish side the commotion is chiefly among the Polish bourgeoisie of the former German territory, who fear that the treaty will strengthen the hands of their opponents, the German bourgeoisie, and *Trampczynski*, the leader of the National Democrats, declares that the Sejm will not ratify the treaty.

As a matter of fact, the opposition to the treaty is an attack upon the man next door. The tremendous interests of finance-capital (the same financial groups are active on both sides of the frontier) and the necessity of consolidating the anti-Soviet bloc compel both Germany and Poland to conclude a mean compromise.

Among the many legends with which the *Pilsudski Government* surrounded itself after the May coup d'Etat there was one about an endeavour on the part of Poland toward economic independence, which legend was approved and spread by the right-wing elements of the Party, especially by Comrade *Brand* in his famous "Defence against Europe", which the *Pilsudski Government* was alleged to carry on. To-day this legend is dying like many another. To-day even the Government of *Pilsudski* is obliged to adopt a different language.

Colonel *Matuszewski*, Minister of Finance and, at the same time, theorist and ideologist of Polish Fascism, in a recent speech characterised the economic policy of Poland as follows:

"We are Europeans not only in the cultural meaning of the word, but we are also Europeans in the economic sense. Our Eastern frontier is the line at which European forms of economy terminate and behind which the world is trying to live according to other principles. As we are a part of Europe not only in a geographic sense, we must share its good and bad fate, its achievements and its difficulties."

The fight with "the world which is trying to live according to other principles", that is the basic line of the policy of Fascist Poland, as also of the German Republic of *Hindenburg*. In proportion to the intensity of this fight, these two countries, supported by international finance-capital, are trying to smooth over the antagonisms which divide them and to create a "European peace" against the "Bolshevist Asiatics", who have dared to throw off the capitalist yoke.

THE BALKANS

The Trial of the 52 Comrades by the Fascist Court at Sophia.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

On the eve of the trial fighting appeals of the illegal C. P. of Bulgaria and of the legal class-conscious labour organisations were distributed and posted in great numbers in the working class quarters of the town and in the work and factories. The police organised a savage hunt against the bill posters, tore down the appeals, and besieged the protest meeting halls. The meeting called in the carpenters' building by the Committee for the struggle against Fascism and White Terror, a body called into being through this trial, was prohibited. The workers streaming to the meeting were dispersed by force. The police could not, however, prevent the workers from holding a number of impromptu meetings and protest demonstrations in the workers' streets: *Pirotska*, *Opaltschenska*, etc., at which they were able to voice their protests.

The government, fearing the general excitement and mass

protest demonstrations, decided to change the place of trial from the military court to the barracks of the telegraph company, immediately behind the central prison.

On the morning of 20th November the whole neighbourhood of the central prison and the barracks was occupied by large detachments of police, and all approaching streets were barred off. Passers by were thoroughly searched, and the meetings dispersed by force. Only the nearest relatives of the accused and the holders of a small number of special admission tickets were permitted to be present at the trial. Even the defending counsel of the accused had much difficulty in passing the cordon.

In spite of all these precautionary measures, a group of some hundreds of workers worked their way through, and held a meeting before a bridge in the vicinity of the central prison. The police attacked the meeting from all sides, dragged the speakers away, and made numerous arrests.

The 44 accused comrades (8 are being tried in their absence) were brought into court under a large police escort. All were heavily fettered. 20 barristers from *Sophia* and the provinces undertook the defence. A great sensation was caused by the appearance of the French communist deputy and lawyer Comrade *André Berton*, who came especially to attend this trial. The court refused to permit him to act as defending counsel, and only allowed him to be present at the trial as a looker on.

When the witnesses, numbering more than 100, were called, the appearance of the witness for the crown, the notorious police inspector and torturer *Miteff*, aroused great indignation and protests in the audience and among the accused. The accused protested vigorously against their inquisitor being heard as witness for the prosecution and as accuser.

Comrades *Mladen Stoyanoff* and *Yanko Panoff* declared that they would advance no legal defence, wishing to make only a political defence. The court rejected their request that a number of eminent leaders of the C. I. and the I. R. A. should be called as witnesses with regard to the September revolution in Bulgaria, the active participation of the English conservative government in the Fascist putsch of 9th June 1923, etc.

The descriptions given by the accused of the mediaeval tortures upon which the whole trial is based were frequently interrupted by the presiding judge, and by violent disputes between the prisoners and the judge. Tumultuous scenes ensued. Comrades *Mladen Stoyanoff* and *Yanko Panoff* acknowledged with pride their membership of the C. P. of Bulgaria, and their functions as political and organising secretaries in its C. C. They declared that in spite of all Draconic laws and persecutions, the C. P. of Bulgaria has always existed and will continue to exist. They refused demonstratively to give any reply to the question of the presiding judge as to the composition of the C. C., and on other Party matters. When Comrade *Mladen Stoyanoff* was asked how the C. P. of Bulgaria intends to come into power, he replied: "Before I answer that question, I should like to tell you how the bourgeoisie seized power on 9th June by a nocturnal conspirative putsch."

Comrade *Yanko Panoff*, when describing the three months torture and the murder of *Pando Titoff* at the police headquarters, was interrupted by a secret agent and openly threatened. This aroused great excitement. In order to prevent further revelations regarding the bloody inquisitorial methods, and to suppress the effects of the tactless action of the secret agent, the presiding judge stopped Comrade *Panoff's* speech and adjourned the session.

The greatest indignation and violent protests were aroused by the examination of the accused *Chakoff*. He was brought directly from the lunatic asylum, in which he has been confined for some time, having been driven insane by the tortures.

The examination of the other accused is being continued. The trial will probably last for a month.

The protest movement among the workers is growing from hour to hour. In spite of the prohibitions and mass arrests flying meetings and demonstrations are being held every day. These are dispersed by the police by rifle fire, as in the case of a meeting in *Dorostol* street. The authorities announce that the persons arrested, whose number increases constantly, will be prosecuted under the law for the protection of the state for belonging to the illegal Communist Party of Bulgaria.

The political prisoners have announced through *Mladen Stoyanoff* and *Yanko Panoff* that they are entering into a 24 hours' protest hunger strike. The C. P. of Bulgaria and the

legal class-conscious labour organisations have issued appeals for a half day's general strike. The court and the press are being flooded with numerous protest telegrams and resolutions from home and abroad — Germany, Austria, France, etc. The protest movement abroad is spreading to ever larger masses.

The whole Bulgarian bourgeois press finds itself obliged to adopt some attitude towards the trial. It is trying to misrepresent the heroic conduct of the accused and their protection of the C. P. of Bulgaria. The press, however, and especially the bourgeois "opposition", cannot but admit the unheard of inquisition which has been carried on during the preliminary inquiry by the police and the court. It is only the social-fascist newspaper "Narod" and the government press which venture to slander the accused, to designate them as "paid agents" and to demand the death sentence which is proposed for the chief accused.

The call of the hour is the extension of the mass protest campaign abroad in defence of the sincere and heroic Bulgarian comrades in the Sophia trial of the 52 communists.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The MacDonald Government and the Iraq Mandate.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Amidst the applause of the liberal gallery, the "labour" cabinet in England, after "solving" the Egyptian question by the hypocritical "alliance" — Henderson-Mahmud draft — has performed another sweeping gesture in the Iraq question; the British government, in a letter to the secretariat of the League of Nations, declares that it intends recommending the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations in 1932. It is characteristic that this gesture has not called forth any serious objection from even the conservatives, obviously for the reason that the conservatives, who are obliged for reasons of prestige to criticise the draft of the agreement with Egypt, although they inwardly approve of MacDonald's deceitful manoeuvre, consider even a sham-fight superfluous in the Iraq question, so empty and futile is the gesture of the MacDonald government in this case.

In reality the solemn recommendation of Iraq as a member of the League of Nations will alter nothing in the actual situation as regards the government of Iraq. A kind of intermediary condition between mandate and alliance has already existed in Iraq since 1922, that is, from the moment when England under the pressure of a mighty rising of the people was obliged to grant Iraq a sort of "independent" government, and then concluded an agreement with this government. The English have been able to satisfy themselves that Iraq can be ruled just as well beneath the mask of a treaty of alliance as by means of a mandate (the actual position is not determined by this or that roll of parchment, but by the actual relation of forces), and the arrangement has perhaps the further advantage that the other imperialist governments belonging to the League of Nations, who would have the right to call a mandatory government to account, have now no claim to interfere.

How little the paper recommendation to membership of the League of Nations alters the real position, or satisfies even the demands of that section of the Iraq bourgeoisie which has just formed a ministry of broadest co-operation with England, is proved by the letter left behind for his son by the Iraq Prime Minister Abdel Muhsin Beg el-Saadun, who shot himself a few days ago. This Saadun has been the leading figure of the compromise policy all along. He founded the Takaddum (progressive) Party of Iraq, which strove for a gradual understanding with England; he held the extreme nationalists down with an iron hand and in closest contact with the British commissioners, and was counted among the most pro-English politicians of the whole Near East.

And now this man writes in his letter that he is taking his life because he has been unable to obtain even the most elementary concessions from the English; he had exerted himself to the utmost for the independence of Iraq, but his endeavours proved in vain against British resistance, and for this the nationalists had accused him of being a traitor, and even of personal corruption. He could see no other way out. And this as answer to MacDonald's magnanimous gesture!

It need not be said that the agitation carried on by the nationalists is merely the expression of the discontent felt among the broad masses in Iraq with any form of British rule or occupation. The recommendation to membership of the League of Nations does not by any means fulfil Iraq's demand for independence (as the social-democratic press would like to persuade its readers, trusting to their ignorance of the situation in the Arabian countries). The fulfilling of this demand is rather, and above all, along the line of the following programme which are to be submitted to MacDonald and his British Ministers by a special Iraq delegation to London:

1. Withdrawal of the British military mission superfluous to the Iraq army.
2. Abolition of the post of the British financial adviser, for whose existence there is no longer any justification since Iraq has paid the greater part of its share of the Ottoman state debt.
3. Reduction of the number of foreign (British) officials to a minimum. Their functions are to be exclusively technical and advisory.
4. Solution of the questions of British ownership in Iraq in a form tolerable for Iraq.
5. Transfer of the responsibility of national defence to Iraq itself.
6. Withdrawal of all British troops as also all British military formations from Iraq.

These are the minimum demands of the present Iraq government, but even their fulfilment would not signify a complete withdrawal of British imperialism from Iraq. The most important economic positions would still remain in British hands, the British officials would not be completely withdrawn, etc.). Nevertheless, the complete evacuation of the British troops from Iraq would be a step forwards on the road to independence, a real step. But it is more than doubtful whether the British social imperialists will be prepared to take such a step. If they refuse to take it, — then the population of Iraq, too, will find itself forced to fight with its own powers for liberation, along the same path which it commenced to follow in 1922.

Revolutionary Developments in South Africa.

By Olive Budden.

During the past month there have been great developments in the revolutionary movement among the native in South Africa. It has resulted in the usual outcry of "Soviet incitement", "Communist agitators", with the natural corollary of "law abiding and obedient natives". No word naturally is said of the terrible conditions imposed upon the natives by British Imperialism.

By every means in their power the imperialists have subjected the natives; by reducing the area of land for their use by hut and poll taxes which drive the natives into the towns to get work in order to be able to pay these taxes; in Natal a special provincial tax has recently been levied, without any notice to the natives of its imposition, on cattle of one shilling a head, and sixpence per head on sheep and goats, which represents an increase of 25% on native taxation; by the Laws which compel the natives to carry a pass and subject them to brutal police domination; by the colour bar, native compounds, labour laws, and all the methods invented by the white imperialists to preserve their rule. The natives have continually rebelled against these conditions, but until the Communist Party of South Africa really got down to the organisation of the natives under the slogan of "Independent South African Native Republic", these revolts were easily suppressed.

Ever since the revolt of last summer, in Natal, which was directed fundamentally against these taxes, and particularly against the new cattle tax, efforts have been made by the police to collect the taxes, and on one occasion the police, after rounding up a group of natives were overpowered and several of the prisoners escaped. Reinforcements then arrived and the escaped prisoners were recaptured. When the prisoners were led off to the police station, they were accompanied by a tremendous native demonstration which showed their open contempt for the forces of British imperialism.

Owing to the increasing unrest against the Government the latter decided to bring their full forces into operation. In order to compel the natives to pay up, and on November the 13th 300 special police were drafted into Durban secretly (the newspapers were requested not to mention the movements of troops).

d surrounded the barracks where the native workers live. They demanded passes and poll tax receipts and arrested 600 natives who did not produce them. According to the "Times" report, machine guns and tear gas bombs were used during the raid. A few days later (Nov. 19) 125 members of the native Workers' Union, one of the unions affiliated to the South African Non-European Federation of Trade Unions, itself affiliated to the R. I. L. U., who had struck work the day before, were arrested, while holding a meeting at the Communist Party's offices, on a charge of "absenting themselves from work without wful permission or excuse". (Times, 20. 11. 29.)

At the same time, Mr. Pirow, the Union Minister of Justice, introduced a Bill into the Union Parliament, giving him power to suppress native meetings and deport "any Communist agitators born outside the Union".

In reply to this provocation the natives, besides carrying out a mass refusal to pay the tax, once more boycotted the native beer halls and eating houses, as they had done previously in the summer. On the Rand, in answer to the new law proposed by Mr. Pirow, a tremendous demonstration was held, at which an effigy of Mr. Pirow was burned.

The authorities are anxious to get all their preparations made to suppress the Communist Party and all native demonstrations, because December 16th, Dingaan's Day, has been proclaimed a day of native protest against native oppression.

The League of African Rights formed in the summer, of which Gumede, the President-General of the African National Congress is the President, and Bunting, the Chairman of the Communist Party is the Chairman, has declared that Dingaan's Day shall be made a day for mass demonstrations throughout the Union, against the pass laws and taxes, in defence of the Cape native vote, and for the extension of the franchise to non-Europeans and for universal free education.

A petition embodying this programme has been drawn up, for which it is expected to get a million signatures, which is to be presented to Parliament before December 16th. Conferences of workers and peasants are being held throughout the Union in order to obtain support for the programme, and signatures for the petition. The League will get all the European support possible, but the main basis will be the mass of the native population. All the forces of the Government are being mobilised in order to suppress these demonstrations.

The outstanding feature of the present "unrest" is the fact that the native workers are heading the struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. The dock labourers have been foremost in the strikes and demonstrations in Durban. The "Natal Witness" points to "the existence of a state of most unusual discipline among the workers who follow the I. C. U. (the largest native union)". This shows a tremendous advance in the development of the revolutionary native movement. In the past, the struggles have been sporadic, it has been difficult to maintain unity and solidarity, but now the working class, led by the Party, is overcoming these obstacles and is proving itself the driving force in the fight against imperialism.

The Utilisation of the Libyan Desert by the Imperialism of Fascist Italy.

By Luigi Gallo.

The agriculture of the North African Italian colony of Libya is extremely poor, for in Libya vast tracts of desert and steppe predominate, with but few oases. In Tripolitania, the coast zone, there are fruitful oases and well watered gardens, with a comparatively dense population and lively traffic. But immediately beyond this, in the zone of the great plain lying before the plateau, the desert reigns. In the hilly country forming the transition to the plateau there are pastures, gardens, and olive groves. But after this, over the whole vast extent of the plateau as far as Fezzan, there is nothing but sand; the bare desert of the Hammada. In the Cirenaica (on the coast and the Barka plateau) lie the most fertile regions of all Libya. The rest is desert.

A few beginnings of a settled population are to be found in the coastal districts, near the large centres, but the greater part

of the inhabitants are nomadic in their habits. Therefore, the agriculture of Libya is chiefly live-stock breeding and tillage, on extensive lines. Property, in the present day sense of the word, exists only in the coastal districts and richer regions. Otherwise property is owned in common by the tribe, etc.

Where the ownership of land is doubtful, agricultural agreements are founded chiefly on partnership, the element of land ownership being only of subordinate importance, or disappearing altogether. In places where property is owned individually, however, there are, besides landowners and colonists, wage workers with annual, monthly, or daily agreements. The colonists and landowners requiring a large number of workers find further aid by taking a number of wives to work for them.

The intrusion of Italian imperialism has put an abrupt end to these traditional relations. Up to 1922 the incorporation of pieces of land in the crownlands, later allotted to the colonists from Italy, was carried out as follows: The pieces of land incorporated were those to which no claim of ownership was advanced. On this system the land office of Tripolitania incorporated scarcely 3000 hectares of land between 1912 and 1922.

In 1922 the legal procedure of incorporation was suddenly changed: All uncultivated tracts of land were regarded as the legal property of the crownlands, with the exception of those cases in which private ownership could be legally proved. On these lines more than 45,000 hectares of land were incorporated in Tripolitania in 1923 alone. Today the pieces of land incorporated in Tripolitania already extend over more than 200,000 hectares, so that one tenth of the soil capable of cultivation has been already filched from the natives.

The "uncultivated" tracts of land are, however, the source of subsistence of the nomads, who do not move from place to place merely because it pleases their fancy to do so, but to find the pastures needed by their herds. Fascist colonisation ruthlessly robs the natives of these resources, drives them into the desert, forces them to slow starvation, if indeed they do not fall beforehand, as "rebels", beneath the bullets of the Fascist bearers of culture and colonisation.

What are the economic results of this policy? Far-reaching and frightful: The pillaging of the population. The annihilation of the means of subsistence of the natives. This is admitted in a periodical published by the colonial ministry of Italy, in the following sentences:

"Instead of the 198,000 head of cattle (including those of Fezzan, which is still in the hands of the rebels and can still raise some thousands) in 1913, the number in 1927 — certainly as a result of the war — is only 29,476; the number of sheep has sunk in the same period, Fezzan again being counted, from 700,000 to 445,880, that of the goats from 800,000 to 478,102."

The survey of trade imports published by the state institution for export shows that the goods exported from Italy to Libya in 1927 scarcely amounted in value to 21 per cent. of the total African trade, as compared with 44 per cent. in 1913.

What are the social results of the colonisation? The rapid spread of property relations in Libya, in places where property has hitherto been unknown. The bearable and tolerated tribute which the natives have paid for hundreds of years to their successive masters has been increased tenfold, converted into the profits, rents, leases, etc., which must now be paid to the new owners.

The native population is not content to leave its land and its resources in the hands of the intruders. And on the other hand, the "utilisation" of the tracts of land wrested from the natives is still far from providing work for the natives whom it has robbed of their possibilities of subsistence. Fascism is therefore forced to maintain a constant state of war in Libya, involving an enormous financial burden, and wasting the sums intended for agricultural purposes. Fascism seeks to solve these colonial conflicts by a redoubled exploitation of the workers in the mother country, by which tactics it further intensifies the inner antagonisms in the mother country, which are no less acute than those of Libya. The united forces of all who are exploited and oppressed by Fascism: the workers, the peasants, and the colonial peoples, will put an end to this state of affairs.

ECONOMICS

The Coming of an Economic Crisis in the United States.

By William W. Weinstone (New York).

The development of the beginning of an economic crisis in the land of much vaunted prosperity is at hand. The crash on the Stock-Exchange, which experienced the wildest scenes in its history, is already referred to as the panic of 1929. The wiping out of the huge sum of 25,000 million dollars of stock exchange values is not only the effect of the decline in production, it is itself an accelerating force for the development of the crisis.

The huge lying machine of capitalist propaganda is busily at work trying to cover up the meaning of the stock-exchange collapse. From the President of the United States down, assurances are being poured out, that "all is well", "business is sound" and the events in Wall-Street have no disturbing effect upon business. This was the burden of the statement issued by the President upon the first crash, but his subsequent actions have belied his words. During the week of November 18, he has called together a series of conferences of the mightiest of industrial magnates, agricultural railroad and trade union leaders "to take steps for the progress of business and the maintenance of employment". At these conferences extraordinary measures were discussed to keep business moving, such as the establishment of a public construction programme, which in itself admits that serious causes are at work undermining the prosperity boom and that the latter is at an end.

The Secretary of the Treasury has recommended a cut in the income tax. Various big trusts, have announced extra dividends on the basis of the last earnings of the last year; but all of this is directed to maintaining an atmosphere of "business as usual" and to keep up the myth of "eternal prosperity". Henry Ford admitted in a statement issued after the President conferences that the stock market delation is attributed to a decline in business, and attested to this fact by closing down several of his minor plants.

The bourgeois press, while keeping up a tom tom of "business as usual" on its first page, gives the true picture of the situation on its business pages and, in its economic journals. The "New York American", as early as October 28th, declared that a decline of production had taken place, not only in some of the basic industries, "which have reported consistent declines in activity contrary to the seasonal trend", but likewise that shoes, silk etc. show overproduction. The "New York Journal of Commerce" declares that the peak of business activity has passed, while the index figures of the "Anarchist" bring out clearly the fact of the very sharp decline in production which has been under way the past few months.

Steel production in the last six months has fallen steadily from the index figure 131.6 for June 1929 to 104.5 for October, while automobiles declined even more — from 150.5 to 118.4 for the same period. The largest decline occurred in the last month. Building construction for the past 9 months declined 11.1 per cent. as against 1928; the crop yield is 9 per cent. below that of 1928, and the total production volume has gone down to the index figure of 1927. When we consider that the automobile production is 73 per cent. of its capacity, and that automobile and building construction have been two of the strongest points in the recent business boom, then the coming of the economic crisis is more plainly portrayed. This is grudgingly admitted in the recent monthly review of the big Wall Street bank Guaranty Trust Company at New York in the words: "It is fair to say that with banking conditions strong... the background for business recovery from either a sharp, short recession or a mild and longer depression is stronger than in other panic conditions" (Emphasis mine W. W.).

An interesting by-product of the stock-exchange crash is the admission of the bourgeois press, in trying to minimise the losses on the Exchange, that the broad masses of workers, who previously were reputed to be large holders of stocks, have in reality an insignificant, unimportant share of the stock distribution.

Over-production stares American bourgeois society in the face. The problem of the advance of production and the lagging

of the market is the fundamental question for American capitalism, which is only sharply aggravated by the end of the business boom. The conference of the President and the assurances that employment will continue, will not solve this problem. The aim of the President's conferences is to try to mobilise the small savings of large strata of the population to help out in the present difficult situation. It is likewise designed to forestall a drop in instalment buying, which has been one of the means of extending the internal market during the recent prosperity.

American capitalism will aim to overcome the crisis by a new wave of rationalisation, wage-cuts, lengthening of hours and speed-up and by more feverish preparations for war. The "Chicago Daily Tribune" reporter, in the issue of November 5th, hits upon the purpose of the conferences and the formation of an economic council when he says that it represents "a sort of rationalisation formerly applied to production in separate industries, now is applied to the entire economic field".

The consolidation proposals, as well as the construction programme, will be mainly directed towards war industries and war preparations. Already new wage cuts are being introduced in textile, shoe, mining etc.; and speed-up is being increased in automobile and other industries. The workers are resisting this drive of the bosses, which resistance is incurring the fierce repression of the State. A campaign of terror against the Communist Party is under way, aimed at making the Party illegal and cutting off the working class from their advance-guard. Already sedition charges have been brought against the leadership of the Chicago district of the Party, as well as a number of other districts. This terror campaign only foreshadows the most repressive measures that will be undertaken by the capitalist class against the fighting workers who will combat unemployment and the lowering of the living standards arising from the developing economic crisis.

The coming of the economic crisis which will be under way at the turn of the year gives the answer to the social reformists of all stripes, the Lovestoneite renegade opportunists in particular, in regard to their exceptionalist theory for American industry. It is an answer particularly to their conception of the softening of the inner contradictions.

The end of the business boom, which with a short period of depression in 1927 lasted for eight years, will signify a tremendous intensification of all fundamental inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism, as well as a sharpening of the world crisis. A period of sharp class battles is ahead of the American working class, for which the Communist Party is preparing itself. The present situation places before the Party the task of increasing the tempo of the Bolshevisation process which is now under way and for a more intensified struggle against social reformism (S. P. and A. F. L. bureaucrats, and particularly all shades of Left social reformism and Musteism).

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Control Figures of National Economy of the Soviet Union for the Year 1929/30.

Moscow, 19th November 1929.

After having heard the reports of Comrades Krshishanovsky and Kuibichev, the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a decision concerning the control figures for the current economic year 1929/30. The first part of the resolution dealt with the results of the past economic year and recorded the rapid development of socialist industry and of the socialist elements in agriculture.

In its first year the Five-Year Plan was not only carried out to the full, but even exceeded in a number of important branches of industry. Instead of an increase of 21.4% as provided for, heavy industry had increased its production by 23.7%, whilst the increase of that section producing the means of production had been about 30%.

The progress made in the work for the collectivisation of agriculture had also considerably exceeded the maximum proposals in the first year of the plan. The number of peasant farms organised in collective undertakings had increased from 445,000 to 1,040,000, whilst the area under seed in the hands of the collective undertakings had increased from 1.4 million hectares to 4.3 million. The total area of land under seed had increased by 5 per cent.

The grain purchase campaign had proceeded favourably, and as a result of this it had been possible to create a reserve fund of over 1.5 million tons of grain.

In contradiction to the situation in the capitalist countries, there had been a considerable increase in the real wages of the workers during the past year, whilst 500,000 workers were already enjoying the seven-hour day. Important improvements had also been made with regard to the material and cultural situation of the workers.

The results of the past year completely confirmed the correctness of the general line of the Party and brought the bankruptcy of the right-wing deviation. One of the most important economic tasks of the Party was still to speed up the laggard development of agriculture, particularly with regard to the production of grain and the breeding of cattle. The main difficulty for the progress of the collectivisation was the insufficient development of those branches of industry supplying agriculture. A weak point was the insufficient development of the chemical industry and its inability to meet the demands of agriculture and industry.

The slow development of the branches of the national economic system working for export held up the import of necessary machinery, half finished products and raw material for industry. Another weak point in the economic system was the transport system and the road problem.

The second part of the resolution sketches the development for the coming year. Capital investments are to be about 13 milliard roubles as compared with 8.5 milliard last year and as compared with the 10 milliard originally proposed. 4.3 milliard roubles are for agriculture and 1.6 milliards of this sum for the collective and soviet undertakings. The number of workers engaged in industry and commerce is to rise from 12 to 13 millions, thus considerably reducing unemployment. The costs of industrial production are to be decreased by 11% and the productivity of labour power increased by 25%.

The resolution provides for a thorough cleaning in all organisations and in the soviet apparatus, for the continuation of the fight against bureaucracy, for the development of self-criticism and for the increased promotion of industrial workers to important posts. The socialist competitive scheme is to increase wages by 12% and to transfer at least two-thirds of socialist industry to the five day uninterrupted working week. Socialist rationalisation of industry, particularly of the new works etc., and the assistance of foreign experts was necessary for the further technical development of soviet industry, and the absolutely necessary condition for the successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan was the greatest possible activity and initiative of the broad masses of the workers.

The third section of the resolution records the fact that the socialist offensive against the capitalist elements has met with considerable successes and made possible the building up of socialism in the least possible space of time. The offensive of socialism and the consequent intensification of the class struggle as the result of the desperate resistance of the capitalist elements, increase the pressure of the petty-bourgeois elements upon the less firm sections of the Party, with the result that a defeatist ideology in face of the difficulties develops and tendencies spring up to come to an agreement with the capitalist and Kulak elements. The attitude of the Bukharin group with its tendency to avoid the class struggle was characteristic of the right-wing opportunist deviation and betrayed a complete lack of understanding for Lenin's co-operative plan.

The resolution then declares that the propaganda of the right-wing opinions and the conciliatory attitude towards them are both irreconcilable with membership of the C.P. of the Soviet Union. Whilst urging the Party to continue the struggle against the right-wingers and the conciliators as the greatest danger to the Party, the resolution warns the party against weakening the fight against the trotskyist, semi-trotskyist and left-wing opportunist elements.

Will the Soviet Union Overtake America?

By V. Burdov.

If we calculate the wealth of the various states per head of the population, and compare the figures for the United States with those of the Soviet Union, we find the amount to be 12.1 times less in the Soviet Union than in the United States. Shall we ever overtake a country so far ahead of us? And if we do overtake it, will it be within any reasonable time?

The highest trump played by the United States in the struggle for the first place among the nations is the fact that in the United States there are none of the elements of feudalism, so that the States are able to adopt an "American" speed of development.

The United States is the land of true-bred capitalism. A closer survey enables us to recognise all the signs of senility in this country. The average growth of industrial production in the United States lessens from year to year. In 1840--59 it figured at 6.1 per cent., 1859--69 at 1.6 per cent. (in 1861--65 the civil war raged between the North and the South); in 1869--79 9.7 per cent., in 1879--89 6 per cent., in 1889--99 4.3 per cent., in 1899--1909 3.4 per cent., in 1909 till 1914 3 per cent.

This constant retrogression of the growth of industrial production in the United States has been caused chiefly by the anarchic nature of capitalist production, which is an ever increasing letter on productive forces. This anarchy leads to periodic crises, and inevitably involves great unproductive expenditure, bound up with the commercial process. With the development of capitalism this unproductive expenditure becomes greater. By 1920 it had already reached 50.4 per cent. in the United States. Our commercial apparatus is by no means so highly developed, but the costs of selling are still much too high, totalling 25.7 per cent.

Besides this, the rule of capitalism renders industrial strikes inevitable. Various American economists have calculated that between 1881 and 1900 a loss of 449 million dollars was caused to the United States by strikes. In the twentieth century the class struggle became even further aggravated.

The economic development of the United States has been further retarded of late by the extraordinary growth of its military budget. In 1920 91 per cent. of the state budget was connected in some way with war aims, whilst only 9 per cent. served purely peaceful purposes.

Finally, the speed of development in the United States is further hampered by the prevalent luxury, which swallows up no less than 15 per cent. of the national income.

Our main advantage in the struggle against the capitalist world is the socialisation of the means of production, and this circumstance secures us a tempo of development exceeding that of America. We have completely overcome the feudal elements, and this in itself greatly accelerates development. The proletariat of the Soviet Union has however accomplished more; it has defeated capitalism, and is proceeding to reorganise its economy on a new socialist basis. This reorganisation of our economy frees us, above all, of the unproductive expenditure involved by the anarchy of the capitalist system of production. Our economy is organised uniformly and systematically, and our agriculture too is making great progress towards socialisation. Moreover, we have socialised the distribution of goods to a great extent, which gives us another great advantage over the capitalist world. We must now endeavour to attain a further reduction of the costs of selling.

With respect to the losses incident to the class struggle, these have vanished from our industries. The working class of the Soviet Union is conscious that its interests are bound up with the industrialisation of the country, and aids this by all possible means. Besides this, a pace of economic development exceeding the American pace can be ensured for us by the reduction of military expenditure to a minimum. In 1913 the military expenditure amounted to 29 per cent. of the state budget, in 1928--29 to only 10.9 per cent. Social strata living parasitic lives scarcely exist in the Soviet Union at all.

All these advantages of the Soviet Union do not exist merely theoretically; they have an actual and enormous effect on the development of our country. The average yearly growth of production from 1924 to 1928 was as follows:

	per cent.
in England	1
in the United States	3
in France	3.3
in Germany	6.3
in the Soviet Union	27.3

Our industry has, therefore, developed approximately five times more rapidly than that of the United States. Our speed of industrial development is 27 times greater than that of England.

The transition from the capitalist methods of production to the socialist actually secures for us a speed greater than that of America. At this speed we shall be able to record, by the end of the five-year period, the following growth of our most important branches of industry, as compared with 1928:

	per cent.
Coal output	+416
Steel production	+150
Cotton	+89
Electric energy	+483
Goods traffic	+87

The probable growth of production in the United States during this period, as calculated by the Planned Economy Commission of the Soviet Union, will be the following:

	per cent.
Coal output	+5
Steel production	+11
Cotton	+8
Electric energy	+47
Goods traffic	+7

Taking the tempo as standard, we are in advance everywhere; but the absolute figures of production show for the close of the five-year period (1933) the United States considerably ahead, as may be seen by the following comparison:

	Soviet Union	United States
Coal output (in mill. tons)	75	542
Steel production (in mill. tons)	10.4	56
Cotton (in thous. bales)	706	7330
Goods traffic (in mill. tons)	281	1364
Electric energy (in milliard kilowatt hrs)	14	122

When shall we catch up with the United States in the production of coal and metal, in the consumption of electric energy? The calculations of our planned economy experts reply to this question as follows: By the end of the five years the industrial production of the Soviet Union will have reached the level of France and England, but will still be below the level of Germany and the United States. By the end of a decade we shall have overtaken France and England and perhaps Germany, but shall still be behind the United States.

By the end of the third five-year period, provided the economic development of the Soviet Union is not hindered by war or blockade, we shall approach the level of the industrial development of the United States, and by the fourth five-year period we shall outstrip it.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Revolutionary Mass Actions in Rumania.

By Receanu (Bucharest).

After several months of depression, caused by the terrorist mass murders and the actions of the fascist and social-fascist lynch mobs, there is now to be observed an increased activity on the part of the working masses in all parts of Rumania.

Already on the 7th of November the government found itself compelled to make use of strong forces of the military and gendarmerie in all the big towns and industrial districts of the country in order to prevent mass demonstrations. Everywhere raids and wholesale arrests were made in the working class districts, on the railways and even in the villages, as in South Bessarabia and North Bukovina, in order to render Communist agitation impossible. In spite of this concentrated fascist terror the workers, under the leadership of the Communists and of the red trade unions, attempted to demonstrate against the imperialist war and for the twelve years rule of the Soviet government, in

which attempt they were successful in Bucharest, Kishinev, Beltz and other towns.

The arrests which were carried out in Bucharest, Temisoara, Kishinev, Brasov, North Bessarabia etc. on account of participation in street demonstrations and distribution of Communist literature, evoked a new wave of mass actions. On the 18th of November the workers gathered in front of the premises of the Unitary Metal workers' union in Bucharest, which had been suppressed by the police, and in the entrance of which a detachment of gendarmes was placed. The assembled crowd attempted to break through the cordon of gendarmes and in their way into the hall. Reinforcements which were hurried to the scene, dispersed the crowd. The red trade union leader Comrades Trandafirescu, Tiulescu and ten workers were arrested.

On the 21st of November a meeting of unorganised and employed workers took place in the market square. Improvised speeches were delivered and the masses demonstrated against rationalisation at the cost of the working class, for an employment benefit etc. Then, before the police had time to intervene, the masses proceeded to the Ministry of Labour carrying a banner on which was inscribed: "We want bread, not war against Soviet Russia." On the way police troops met and took the demonstrators, dispersed the crowd, and arrested Comrades Moloman, Farlandsky and Leibovici. The workers gathered together at another place and marched to the centre of the town. Detachments of gendarmes attacked them; it came to a collision in which were several wounded and some arrested and carried out. The arrested workers were brutally beaten.

On the 25th of November there took place in Targu-Mures the trial in connection with the dissolution of the Unitary trade unions of this town. On this occasion the prohibited unitary trade unions organised a protest action, in the course of which an hour's strike was carried out in all the big works.

At the protest meeting held on 24th November in Kishinev about 2000 workers demanded the legality of the red trade unions and of the Communist Party. A detachment of the fire brigade attacked the meeting with fire hoses, but the crowd overpowered the fire brigade and drove them away. A company of gendarmes appeared on the scene. It came to collision and hundreds of workers were arrested, including Marcel Pauker, a leader of the C. P. The number of arrested who are to come up for trial amounts to 250.

In Jassy on the same day a similar meeting took place before the workers' club premises which have been sealed up by the police, and demanded the legality of the unitary trade unions and the opening of the premises.

On the 24th of November mass meetings held to demand the legality of the Unitary trade unions took place in Temisoara and Bucharest.

The latest movements of the State and municipal employers is a proof of the radicalisation even of the reformist masses. The unorganised railway workers who appear at meetings coming forward more frequently and energetically against the wholesale discharged and wage cuts. Under this pressure the Bucharest yellow railway workers' union was compelled to protest against the recent reductions of the staff.

A spontaneous partial strike broke out on the Bucharest tramways. The general meeting of strikers, held at the central tramway depot, was dispersed by the gendarmes. An extension of the strike is to be expected.

The new wave of radicalisation of the working masses means not only increased resistance against discharge of workers, capitalist rationalisation and wage cuts, but an offensive for political rights, for the legality of the C. P. and the revolutionary mass organisations. The economic struggles are therefore more and more acquiring a political character.

It means at the same time a powerful blow against the so-called "independent" trade union elements, who partly desert and partly were expelled from the C. P. and the red Unitary trade unions. These renegades, who began with the organisation of the so-called "independent" trade unions, united with the fascist police and helped them to suppress the unitary trade unions, did this hitherto under the plea that the working masses do not desire a revolutionary struggle, but peaceful co-operation with the fascist government authorities! The working masses themselves have now given them the answer; they want the revolutionary fight, they want their revolutionary proletarian organisations, not "independent" treachery!

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Increasing Productivity of Labour — Further Shortening of the Working Day.

Average Annual Output of Workers per Head.

Branch of Industry	1927/28	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33
1. Fuel industry	2,675	3,090	3,507	4,019	4,638	5,350
2. Mining	1,835	2,079	2,400	2,660	3,080	3,670
3. Metal industry	3,890	4,470	5,310	6,300	7,400	8,950
4. Electro-technical industry	6,570	8,440	9,950	11,600	13,600	15,500
5. Building material industry	2,210	2,550	2,880	3,430	4,080	4,650
6. Timber industry	7,300	8,280	9,200	10,600	12,600	14,850
7. Chemical industry producing means of production	8,800	10,500	11,900	13,400	14,750	16,200
8. Chemical industry producing means of consumption	9,200	11,230	13,020	15,310	17,370	20,200
9. Textile industry	5,080	5,808	6,500	7,470	8,650	10,000
10. Clothing industry	6,860	8,920	10,950	13,400	15,750	18,500
11. Leather and shoe industry	10,493	12,260	13,850	16,100	18,050	20,300
12. Porcelain and earthenware industry	1,950	2,050	2,270	2,510	2,845	3,575
13. Paper industry	4,840	5,930	7,500	8,450	9,330	11,000
14. Typographic industry	2,780	3,229	3,540	3,960	4,370	5,070
15. Food industry	9,658	11,324	13,310	14,900	17,100	19,700
16. Salt industry	3,500	3,812	4,100	4,300	4,470	4,725
Average:						
17. All industries producing means of production (1—7)	3,962	4,638	5,378	6,362	7,544	9,081
18. All industries producing means of consumption (8—16)	6,103	7,186	8,218	9,494	10,931	12,696
19. Total for whole of industry	5,022	5,859	6,702	7,789	9,054	10,655

Annual Increase of Productivity of Labour Per Cent.

Branch of Industry	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33	In 5 Years
1. Fuel industry	15.5	13.5	14.6	15.4	15.3	100.0
2. Mining	13.2	15.4	10.8	15.7	19.1	100.0
3. Metal industry	14.9	18.7	18.6	17.4	20.9	130.0
4. Electro-technical industry	18.4	17.8	16.5	17.2	13.9	135.9
5. Building material industry	15.3	12.9	19.0	18.9	13.9	110.4
6. Timber industry	13.4	11.1	15.2	18.8	17.8	103.4
7. Chemical industry producing means of production	19.3	13.3	12.6	10.0	09.8	84.0
8. Chemical industry producing means of consumption	21.7	16.1	17.7	13.8	16.0	119.5
9. Textile industry	14.3	11.9	14.9	15.7	15.6	96.8
10. Clothing industry	30.0	22.7	22.3	17.5	17.4	69.6
11. Leather and shoe industry	16.8	12.0	16.5	12.6	12.7	93.5
12. Porcelain and earthenware industry	05.1	10.7	10.5	13.0	12.5	83.0
13. Paper industry	22.5	26.2	12.7	12.0	17.9	27.2
14. Typographic industry	16.1	09.6	12.1	10.2	16.0	19.5
15. Food industry	17.2	17.5	11.9	14.7	15.2	03.9
16. Salt industry	08.9	07.5	04.8	03.9	05.7	35.0
Average:						
17. All industries producing means of production (1—7)	17.0	15.9	18.2	18.5	20.3	129.2
18. All industries producing means of consumption (8—16)	17.7	14.3	15.5	15.1	16.1	108.0
19. Total for whole of industry	16.6	14.3	16.2	16.2	17.6	112.1

Average Working Day.

Branch of Industry	1927/28	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32	1932/33
1. Fuel industry	7.33	7.25	7.08	6.96	6.79	6.66
2. Mining	7.85	7.78	7.50	7.36	7.12	6.92
3. Metal industry	7.78	7.64	7.40	7.23	7.05	6.87
4. Building material industry	7.06	7.02	6.82	6.64	6.45	6.37
5. Timber industry	7.90	7.81	7.57	7.41	7.20	6.95
6. Chemical industry producing means of production	7.61	7.37	7.13	6.96	6.85	6.79
7. Chemical industry producing means of consumption	7.85	7.40	7.28	7.14	7.05	6.92
8. Textile industry	7.85	7.61	7.52	7.32	7.04	6.89
9. Clothing industry	7.91	7.67	7.62	7.40	7.20	6.96
10. Shoe and leather industry	7.89	7.79	7.53	7.34	7.07	6.97
11. Porcelain and earthenware industry	7.75	7.75	7.50	7.36	7.11	6.87
12. Paper industry	7.82	7.63	7.40	7.20	7.10	6.91
13. Typographic industry	7.79	7.75	7.45	7.40	7.18	6.93
14. Food industry	7.79	7.54	7.34	7.23	7.09	6.95
15. Average for whole of industry	7.71	7.54	7.36	7.23	7.02	6.86

The purport of the above tables is easily seen; in the period of the Five-Year Plan the productivity of Labour, as a result of technical improvements and also in a great measure thanks to the enthusiasms of the workers for socialist construction, which is expressed in the socialist competition, will be more than doubled.

The working day, which in the Soviet Union is already to-day the shortest in the world, will within the scope of the Five-Year Plan be still further reduced by the complete and universal introduction of the seven-hour day.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Party is Victorious.

Moscow, 26th November 1929.

To-day's leading article in the "Pravda" deals with the complete capitulation of the right-wing opposition led by Comrades Bukharin, Rykov and Tomski:

Hard facts, the Party and the masses of the proletariat have finally convinced the bankrupt right-wing opposition of its errors and caused its leaders Bukharin, Rykov and Tomski to publish a declaration admitting that they were in the wrong in all political and tactical questions which arose between them and the majority of the party during the last eighteen months. Comrade Ugarov, the only member of the Central Committee apart from "the Trio" who still supported the right-wing at the November plenary session, has also published a declaration admitting his errors and dissociating himself from the right-wingers.

The extraordinary obstinacy with which Comrades Bukharin, Rykov and Tomski defended their obvious anti-leninist and opportunist ideas gave way only before the admission of our class enemies of the tremendous successes of the building up of socialism, before the fact that the right-wing ideology had become the banner around which all anti-soviet and anti-proletarian elements rallied, before the indignation of the overwhelming majority of the party members and finally before the resolution of the November plenary session which declared the propagation of right-wing ideas to be incompatible with membership of the Party.

Comrades Bukharin, Rykov and Tomski capitulated only when they had been abandoned all their supporters, after they had repeatedly attempted at the Plenum to evade diplomatically an open Bolshevik acknowledgement of their grave mistakes and "in defiance of reason and the elements" attempted to defend the obviously bankrupt views and continued the fight against the Party with every means, even with the weapon of calumny.

Whilst welcoming their declaration the Party feels that these comrades have waited too long and abused the patience of the Party too much. The party members will closely watch the attitude of these comrades in the future to see if they really do fight determinedly against all deviations, including those of the right-wingers and the conciliators. Of course, the Central Committee will give them every opportunity of proving the honesty of their declaration before the whole Party.

The article then sums up the right-wing errors of comrades Bukharin, Rykov and Tomski with regard to the tempo of the industrialisation, the Kulaks and the middle-peasantry, and declares that the short history of the struggle of the right-wing fraction against the Party clearly showed the extreme danger still exists and should be fought with all possible energy policy of the Party. Comrades Bukharin, Rykov and Tomski have abandoned their right-wing activity, but the right-wing danger still exists and should be fought with all possible energy in all the sections of the Communist International.

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

United Front between Renegades and Police in Sweden.

By A. Ferguson (London).

The renegades in the Swedish Communist Party are finding plenty of strange supporters. Not only does social democracy welcome them with open arms, but the capitalist class themselves and their defenders are now helping them.

In this connection the recent arrests of English and German communists in Sweden is of special interest. In my own case the actions of the police authorities left no room for doubt that they are directly interested in helping the renegades, and that there is a direct connection between them.

I do not at this juncture refer to my arrest but to what occurred later on. Two weeks after my arrest I was brought before the police in camera. There I was charged with conspiracy, etc. against the kingdom of Sweden. I asked how I had conspired, and was told that I had addressed meetings of Swedish workers. I asked where these meetings were; the police did not know where they were but said that I had spoken at meetings of Communists. I asked the police for their proofs of the charge of conspiracy, meetings etc., and they told me "that an article in the "Folket Dagblad" had informed them that I had spoken at meetings at Sundsvall and Gävle".

I pressed the police to give me an open trial and allow me the opportunity of cross-examining the police authorities in the witness box. This they refused, and I was told, "anyhow you were sent here by Moscow to criticise the majority". These are the exact words uttered when the police found that they could not face the workers of Sweden in this farcial prosecution. When I asked the magistrate if the police had instructions to protect the majority, he did not reply.

Any honest Swedish worker who may have been misled into supporting the Kilboom-Samuelson renegade group will appreciate the fact that any party thus strenuously defended by the police and by the king, who so obligingly expels from Sweden all foreign critics of the renegades, is and must be in essence, a pro-capitalist anti-working class, counter-revolutionary organisation, no matter what phrases or labels they may use to camouflage their real purpose.

THE WHITE TERROR

"Amnesty" and Terror Verdict in Lithuania.

Voldemaras has gone; the reign of Fascist terror still rages.

By A. Draugas (Kovno).

Only a few days ago there took place in Kovno and Ponevesch respectively the trials of 24 and 13 workers and socialist intellectuals (some of these being between the age of 16 and 18), who were tried by court martial (!) on a charge framed up by spies, of "preparing to assassinate the minister of the interior". The court, composed of three officers and two soldiers, excludes the public strictly from its proceedings, hears no witnesses, and permits no defending counsel for the accused, who are thus delivered completely into the arbitrary hands of the Fascist soldiery. There is no appeal against the verdicts of this court of "justice"; death sentences are carried out at once or at latest within twelve hours.

The names of those sentenced in these two last trials have only been partially published; the government keeps the verdict secret, and states neither the names of the "judges" nor of

air victims. The notorious murderer of workers, **Brazulievicus**, as the presiding judge at the Kovno trial by court martial, held in the gaol buildings. The accused were brutally maltreated by the agents of the **Zvalgyba** (Lithuanian secret police) on their arrest and during their imprisonment while awaiting trial. No evidence whatever could be adduced of their having "prepared an assassination", nevertheless ten were condemned to death (the death penalty was, however, later commuted to life sentences), the others to six to ten years' hard labour.

In view of these terrorist sentences against the workers' movement, it is cynical mockery for the Lithuanian government of executioners to grant a partial "amnesty", on the occasion of the State jubilee, to about fifty persons who have been incarcerated for years in the **Vorniai** concentration camp, and to a few prisoners whose terms of imprisonment had almost expired in any case. The utter swindle perpetrated by the Fascist government with this demagogic "amnesty" becomes self-evident when we learn that secret instructions have been given that there must be no release of revolutionary workers under the amnesty.

The Lithuanian proletariat and the working peasantry and intellectuals are still exposed, to savage persecution and brutal terrorism. The system of espionage and provocation continues to flourish. The regime in the torture chambers of the **Zvalgyba**, prisons, and concentration camps is unbearable. One — not even quite complete! — statistic calculation for the first half of 1929 records 67 cases of severe maltreatment and wounding, 488 arrests, 318 house searches. In 34 trials, at which 189 persons were sentenced, 5 death sentences, 3 sentences of lifelong imprisonment and other sentences amounting to 685.3 years imprisonment were passed, and fines amounting to 3500 dollars imposed. During the same time 7 murders were committed without trial. The treatment in the prisons drove 325 political prisoners to a total of 2088 days of hunger strike. Since June the Lithuanian Fascists continued their attacks even more savagely than before. Besides their "current work" of persecuting and provoking the workers, they have made the 1st August and the International Youth Day the pretext for their actions.

The Lithuanian government accompanies its ridiculous "partial amnesty" by an intensified class Terror. The same court martial at **Ponovesch**, which passed the terrorist sentences on the 13 members of the young proletarian movement, will be the scene within the next few days of another great trial, this time of 150 persons charged with "conspiracy" (that is, of being members of the Communist Party, forced into illegality), of distributing revolutionary literature, etc. These victims of class justice too are threatened with savage sentences.

The international proletariat must stand side by side with its Lithuanian class comrades in revolutionary solidarity.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Lessons of the Strike in the Basle Co-operative Society.

By Theo Dunkel (Basle).

At the end of October there broke out in the Basle General Co-operative Society, the largest co-operative society in Switzerland, a strike that lasted eight days and whose lessons are of interest to the international working class.

Through their anti-Labour policy, the reformists allowed the co-operative society to get into the hands of the bourgeoisie, which at the last co-operative elections won a slight majority. After this election the bourgeois fraction — under the leadership of the Social-Democratic trade-union leaders — started a ruthlessly reactionary policy towards the employees. They gave notice terminating the existing wage agreement and set up a new employment and wage system, which contained numerous disadvantages for the staff. The Communist Party called upon the staff to put up a fight against these impositions. The reformist trade-union secretary, on the other hand, attempted to keep the employees back by bargainings over a new wage agreement.

The opposition commercial, transport and foodstuff workers' union had proposed to the co-operative society employees, most of whom were still under reformist influence, that they should put up a defensive fight on the basis of a united front from below. The van drivers, who were hardest hit by the wage cuts, accepted this proposition and formed a uniform committee of action. The secretaries of the reformist unions were at the beginning still in a position to shatter the united front which was being formed by offering a new wage agreement as decoy but the reformist trade-union bureaucrats were finally compelled under pressure from the staff to approve the strike and to accept the demands of the opposition union in regard to the leadership of the strike and the fighting unity. The united front was formed over the heads of the trade-union bureaucrats, because the united-front proposals were not addressed to the reformist committees but directly to the employees.

With the formation of the united front the solidarity of the rest of the workers was secured.

All strike-breaking work was categorically rejected by the workers. It was only by bringing in outside strike-breakers under the protection of the police that the Social-Democratic manager was able to get together a very meagre delivery service. The co-operative building was occupied by police, who brutally bludgeoned a proletarian women's demonstration demanding fulfilment of the demands of the strikers. But against the determined solidarity of the proletarian co-operative society members all these measures on the part of the police were futile. This solidarity found expression in the withholding of orders and the fact that the Communist appeal for the resignation of the co-operative management was backed by nearly three times the necessary 2000 signatures within 24 hours. After eight days the reactionary co-operative functionaries were defeated. The 48-hours week was again adopted and a slight rise in wages was gained.

But the conclusion of the strike marks only a single stage in the fight. The main fight for the co-operative society is still in progress. The C. P. of Switzerland will exert its whole force to get its motion for the dismissal of the management carried when the matter is voted upon on December 4th. If this proposal is passed, the Party will then have to fight at the new elections for the enhancement of their influence in the co-operative society through the proletarian members. Only a purposeful programme of the Communist Party will render it possible really to put the co-operative society at the service of the working population and to use it as a weapon in the class struggle.

The Austro-Marxists and "Odham's Daily".

In an apologetic article dealing with the passing of its brother party paper, the **Daily Herald**, into the hands of the Odhams Press Ltd., the Vienna "**Arbeiter Zeitung**", the chief organ of the Austrian social-democratic party, in its issue of November 17, states:

"One must state openly that, in order to be able without difficulty to hammer its socialist views into the greatest possible number of heads, the new **Daily Herald** will not disdain to use any of the popular means of the sensation-press, in so far as they do not overstep certain limits of good taste. **The end shall justify the means.**

"... The Continental press, too, following an apparently inevitable development, has been compelled in the last few years to depart in many respects from its old form; to push the political into the background and to give greater space to non-political news and Sport. It has gone so far in this respect that the old pioneers of the party movement would gaze horrified if a present day party paper were to come into their hands. Nevertheless the Continental party press has stopped far short of that point which the new **Daily Herald** is now deliberately proceeding to overstep. (Our emphasis. Ed.)

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Women as Builders of Socialist Fatherland.

By Celia Paransky.

As is already well known to the workers of the capitalist countries, the workers of the U. S. S. R. are carrying out the building of socialism according to a gigantic plan. At present they are working upon what is known as the Five-Year Plan, covering the years 1928/29 to 1932/33, by which time the volume of industrial output is to reach more than three times the pre-war volume. For example, in the sphere of electrification there will be constructed 42 new regional power stations. In heavy metallurgy, the construction of new factories and reconstruction of old works will enormously raise the level of productivity. In the sphere of engineering, the output in general will increase by 350%; and output of agricultural machinery by 400%. The chemical industry will have new factories working at Berezniak, Moscow, in the Donetz and elsewhere, with a rise in output.

At first sight it may seem almost incredible that such an ambitious plan can be realised in so short a time. But the actual fact is that the first year's working has achieved even more than the maximum expected. Now in order further to accelerate its carrying out, the workers have initiated an un-interrupted working week. That is to say, that although every worker will have his or her regular day of rest (in fact, one in six, instead of one in seven, as formerly) not all workers will take it on the same day. In this way, productive processes will go on without a break.

It is obvious that such tremendous developments in the economy of Soviet Russia would not be possible without the energetic participation of the women workers.

In the days before the revolution the meanest and worst-paid labour fell to the lot of the women in industry. They were regarded by the employers as cheap and docile slaves. Their hours were extremely long, and protective regulations almost unknown. The complete absence of any measures to lighten the household tasks of the women in industry, meant that they were weighed down with a double burden of toil, leaving them little time or inclination to think of anything but the daily round of drudgery.

But when the miseries imposed upon them by capitalists and tsarism, intensified many times by the conditions of the war, had prepared the Russian workers, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, to take power into their own hands and begin the building of a workers republic, the working women played their part with heroism and tenacity fully equal to that of the men workers.

In the new society they are steadily taking their place on equal terms in wider and wider spheres of activity. They are freed from all legal inequalities whatsoever. They receive as a matter of course equal pay for equal work, and elaborate provisions are made for the protection of the health of the women workers. Communal kitchens, laundries, creches, etc., relieve them of a considerable part of household drudgery and the trade unions take special care that provision is made in all their contracts for educational courses in connection with the factories. The time spent at such courses is counted and paid for as working time.

In such circumstances, it may be readily imagined what a great advance has taken place in the activity of the women workers. They are now found working in occupations and ad-

vancing in increasing numbers to positions of high responsibility which formerly they could never enter. There are women tram-drivers, railway guards, electricians, engineers, technical specialists, architects, even directors of factories. In the state administrative organs, from the local Soviet, to the Central Executive itself, they have their place.

The Communist Party, which is acknowledged by the Russian workers as their leader, systematically endeavours to promote the active participation of women in the entire work of Soviet society, economic, social and political. One of the most important means to this end is the organisation of what is known as **Women's Delegate Meetings**. Every factory and enterprise elects a certain number of women from among the workers employed there, to form a body for systematic work. These delegates not only concern themselves with questions affecting women in their own factory, but every one is allocated to some sphere of social work; e. g., mother and child welfare, trade union or co-operative work, to assist their soviet in the carrying out of its tasks, in the province of health, education and so on. At the same time the delegate meeting constitutes a means of political education through which the women learn the character of the great tasks before the Russian workers and learn also that in fulfilling these tasks they are not building for themselves alone, but for the workers of the whole world.

At the present time there are 830,734 such delegates organised in delegate meetings, and the re-election campaign is in process now, which will no doubt increase the number. Up to date no less than 2½ million women have served in this capacity. On completing her term of office, the woman delegate by no means sinks back to passivity again: her practical experience and higher political level enable her to continue (if care is taken that she is encouraged to continue) in one or more of the branches of social work.

In this high activity and enthusiasm of the women workers were formerly as a result of their conditions of life and labour the more backward of the working class, rests a sure guarantee that the Soviet Union will go forward triumphantly in building and defending the Socialist Fatherland of the world proletariat.

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The Business Manager.