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The Franco-Italian Naval Dispute.

By P. Gabriel (Paris).

** In the course of the last few weeks the French Foreign Minister Briand had several conversations with Count Manzoni, the Italian Ambassador in Paris, and with de Beaumarcher, the French Ambassador in Rome, who is in France for the time being.

These conversations obviously related to the forthcoming Naval Conference, and it is fairly certain that the conflict between France and Italy, far from becoming alleviated, has grown more acute of late.

As is known, at the beginning of the negotiations the Italian Ambassador handed to M. Briand a Memorandum setting forth the standpoint of his government to the limitation of naval armaments. The Memorandum presented in circumspect form those considerations which have been frequently expressed in the fascist press, and the main demand of Italy concerning naval parity with France.

In Washington in 1922 it was laid down that equality should exist between both Powers with regard to ships of the line. Italy is, of the opinion that this equality should be extended to cruisers and submarines. The representatives of French imperialism maintain that this would mean that the Italian fleet would be superior, as France possess three coastlines and a colonial empire which is more extensive than that of Italy. This dispute is a reflection of the antagonisms existing between the two Powers in the Levant and in Africa. For Italy, con-

nections with the Eastern Mediterranean are just as necessary as connections with the Western Mediterranean are for France. The two Powers receive a great quantity of their imported goods via the Mediterranean, while at the same time they both have possessions in North Africa.

In support of its thesis Italy brings forward the argument that equality of requirements between herself and France is more obvious than between the United States and Great Britain.

For the purpose of carrying on its game against its rival Italian imperialism holds in its hand a very serious trump: the question of submarines. The representatives of the French Admiralty believed that at any time of the dispute they could reckon on the support of Italy in order to be able to offer resistance to the attack of Great Britain and the United States. Italy has given it to be understood, in a very skilful manner, that her attitude regarding submarines would depend upon the attitude which France would adopt regarding naval parity.

The hour of compromise, however, has not yet struck. For the moment the dispute between the two Powers has revived in connection with the Franco-Yugoslavian naval demonstrations. On the 5th December last there took place in the Yugoslavian harbour of Sibenik the long announced and long prepared Franco-Yugoslavian naval parade.

This demonstration roused the fury of the Italian ruling class to the highest pitch. They are aware of the fact that the

governments of France and Yugoslavia are connected by a political and military alliance, and that both the naval apparatus and military apparatus of Yugoslavia has been forged by French imperialism. The majority of the Yugoslavian submarines have been built in French dockyards; most of the Yugoslavian naval officers have been trained in French schools. Finally, there exists in Yugoslavia an association known as the in "Yadranska Straza" (Adriatic Watch), which is connected with French naval circles and demands the hegemony of Yugoslavia on the Adriatic.

These naval demonstrations synchronised with the submission of the French naval estimates for 1930. According to these estimates the expenditure on the navy will amount to 2583 millions, that is 97 millions more than in the year 1929.

52 per cent. of this naval budget (1355 millions) is to be devoted to new constructions. Since 1922 France has either built or completed 146 ships representing a total tonnage of 249,703 tons, whereby France acquires third place among the great Naval Powers, following immediately after Great Britain and Japan. In regard to submarines France occupies the first place in tonnage (52,423 tons) of ocean going submarines built since 1922. Finally, the naval programme, work

on which is to be put in hand immediately, provides for the construction of a ten-thousand ton cruiser, six ocean-going submarines, a mine-searching-submarine and four other ships.

The reporter for the Budget, the radical Dumenil, former Minister for the Navy in the Government of the Left Bloc, announced in his report the attitude which France is to adopt at the "Naval Disarmament Conference" in London:

"In no circumstances must France agree to the abolition of submarines: it must demand that consideration be had for the obligations which the development of the coasts of the mother country and the freedom of its sea traffic routes impose upon it, things regarding which France alone with its full sovereignty can judge."

These statements, the budget figures and the tone of the polemics between France and Italy give a good picture of the circumstances under which the approaching "Naval Disarmament Conference" will be opened. Under the chairmanship of the Labour Foreign Minister Arthur Henderson, it will mean a new stage in the preparations for imperialist war.

Threatened Mass Executions in Japan.

By Aruna.

At last the Japanese censor has lifted the veil, and the newspapers are full of news regarding the mass arrests in the country. The Japanese government is preparing for a fresh trial, a trial such as the history of Japan has not yet witnessed. Eight hundred and twenty five revolutionists are to be dragged before the judges, to be condemned to death or unending imprisonment.

The reactionary government of Tanaka was overthrown by the public scandal caused when the ramifications in the Chang Tso Lin murder affair came to light, and by discovery of a series of bribes involving the highest officials. The no less reactionary Wakazuki cabinet succeeding this government is now preparing this trial, in order to rob the revolutionary movement, which is growing all over the country, and the workers and peasants of their leaders in the struggle.

The steadily worsening of the economic situation in Japan is forcing both the Japanese government and the employers to resort to an attack on the working masses, and especially on the revolutionary working class.

The attempt recently made by the government to reduce the wages of civil servants by 10 per cent. is one instance of the result of the worsening economic situation.

The capitalist employers rationalise the process of production, throw the workers into the street, reduce wages, and lengthen working hours. A few figures illustrate this graphically: The figures for 1926 being taken as index, the official statements of the State Bank show the number of factory and workshop workers employed to have sunk from 100 per cent. to 90.34 per cent. by December 1928. In this same period the labour employed in the spinning industry fell to 80.3 per cent., in the weaving industry to 81.9 per cent., in the garment industry to 79.4 per cent. In these three branches of industry alone approximately 128,000 fewer workers were employed in March 1929 than in 1926.

But at the same time the number of looms running has been mightily increased. The Japanese federation of textile manufacturers, comprising 90 per cent. of the total production, has increased its number of looms from 5,116,000 in 1926 to 6,000,000, and has at the same time reduced the labour employed as follows: The number of male workers has lessened from 40,412 to 34,952, that of women workers from 142,100 to 126,574.

Taking the index figures of 1926 as basis, we find in the textile industry a reduction of wages from 100.1 per cent. to 96.1 per cent. between July 1927 and May 1929. If we glance at the silk industry, we see that the value of the output increased from 694,319,000 yen to 725,389,000 between 1923 and 1927, whilst during this same period concentration caused the number of factories to diminish from 117,979 to 75,535, and

the number of workers employed to drop from 335,432 to 288,560.

It need not be said that unemployment is on the increase. The statements of the heads of the exchange at Tokio show the number of unemployed in Japan to have been about 1 million in September; of these 200,000 fall to Tokio.

There can be no doubt that the process of rationalisation being put thus into practice is forcing the workers to self defence, and we see how the number of strikes swelled in the first half of 1929, as compared with the first half of 1928: The figures are as follows:

1st half year 1929 634 strikes with 95,186 participants
1st half year 1928 439 strikes with 46,702 participants

Of these strike struggles 242 were concerned with wage questions, 183 being protests against wage reductions and only 39 for increased wages. Among the demands of the strikers the recognition of the trade unions was advanced in 11 cases. This is the more remarkable, as out of the 5 million industrial workers of Japan only 321,125 (6.4 per cent.) are organised in trade unions. These are divided among 542 trade unions. Of the 1.5 million working women engaged in the process of production only 13,304 (or 0.89 per cent.) are members of trade unions.

The struggle is being carried on at the same time in the rural districts, where more than one half of the farmers are tenants; here the struggle is directed against the higher rents. The official data issued by the social department of the Ministry of the Interior show 803 such strikes, taken part in by 18,998 strikers, to have been conducted against 173 landowners in the first half of 1929. 611 of these strikes were caused by the high rents. Of these again 121 were protests against increased rents, and 490 for a reduction of rents.

Only the Communist Party of Japan takes part in these struggles of the exploited workers and peasants. In spite of its numerical weakness, it has undertaken the part of leader. Although it has long been forced into profoundest illegality, it has developed immense energy in the electoral campaign for the parliamentary election and succeeded in polling 192,000 votes in the face of all repressive measures and suppression. The Tanaka government did not fail to reply to this advance. Mass arrests were made all over the country, and the proletarian organisations were dissolved (Workers' and peasants' Party, Youth Federation, and the Trade Union Council). Out of more than 1000 persons arrested, 300 were charged with belonging to the communist movement. In the course of 12 trials the Japanese government sentenced 320 persons to banishment, 180 are still awaiting trial.

The Tanaka government was, however, not satisfied with this; it issued an imperial decree imposing severer penalties on those "spreading dangerous ideas", and since 1st July 1928 this offence is punishable by death. This law is worded as follows:

"Persons promoting the organisation of associations aiming at altering the national constitution, and the leaders of such associations, will be punished by death, or by imprisonment for life, or by imprisonment for a term of not less than 5 years. Persons who are aware of the aims of such associations but nevertheless join them, and persons supporting such associations, will be punished by imprisonment for 5 years and upwards. Persons guilty of organising associations with the object of abolishing private property, and persons joining such associations whilst fully conscious of their objects, or lending support to the realisation of these objects, will be sentenced to imprisonment not exceeding ten years. This law comes into force at the moment of its publication."

It was the intention of the government to exterminate the "communist pest" by the mass arrests of 15th March. On becoming convinced that it had not succeeded in doing this, it immediately commenced fresh arrests and on 29th June, 1928, threw further 48 persons into prison. Further arrests were made in 1929. On 16th April, 1929, 295 persons were arrested, on 16th October 66. The sum total of these arrests is 825 persons, who are now to be tried for "communist conspiracy". The law above cited threatens all those arrested after 1st July, 1928, with the death penalty, and the rest with imprisonment for terms of not less than ten years.

It need not be said that the leaders, as whom the bourgeois newspapers designate Fukumoto, Sano, Nabejama, Mitamura, and Takara, are in special danger of being executed.

The accused have not been arrested only in Japan. Sano was arrested in Shanghai. It is extremely interesting to note that on 15th July, 1929 an enormous number of Japanese police and secret agents, aided by Chinese police agents, arrested Sano at Shanghai, and conveyed him to Kobe on a Japanese

ship. From here he was brought to Tokio, under a strong escort of police, requiring no fewer than five waggons for their accommodation. For a long time the Japanese police preserved silence on this incident, the government desiring to give the impression that Sano had been arrested in Japan itself.

The cooperation of the Japanese police with the Chinese militarists has long become customary. Only recently the Korean revolutionist **Liu in Chon** was arrested at Shanghai and taken to Seoul. Since March last year a large number of Korean revolutionists have been incarcerated in the prison at Seoul, after being arrested in Manchuria. Another instance is the following: According to the statements of the Japanese police, the well known leader of the Communist Party in **Klung** resisted efforts to arrest him on the island of Formosa, and finally committed suicide.

The accused have been divided into groups: the official reason given for this is the limited size of the court buildings at Tokio. Therefore there are only 300 prisoners awaiting trial in the prisons of Tokio. The trial of the first group of accused may be expected to begin in the second fortnight of January. There is every reason to assume that the government will endeavour to exploit the trial to the utmost to influence public opinion for the elections taking place in February.

The government is feverishly active; material for the indictment is being collected by a whole army of spies, police, secret agents, public prosecutors, and judges of the courts of inquiry. The torturing and beating of the prisoners has reached such a point of cruelty that the Japanese court of justice declares that: "It cannot be published in the press". The frightful regime obtaining in the prisons, where the prisoners suffer the horrible pangs of hunger, serves to extort confessions affording the government a pretext for destroying the revolutionary fighters and securing the continued and undisturbed existence of bourgeois society.

The international revolutionary proletariat must exert its utmost powers to frustrate the executioners' tribunal of the Japanese government. The Japanese government intends to have the case tried behind closed doors; the venal judges have already had the prepared sentences dictated to them. The flaming protest of the international proletariat must be the louder and more insistent.

Stay the Arm of the Executioners!

Appeal of the West European Bureau of the C. I. and of the European Secretariat of the R. I. L. U.

To the Workers of the World!

To the Oppressed and Exploited Colonial Masses!

To the Proletariat and Toiling Masses of the U. S. S. R.!

Comrades!

The Japanese bourgeois-landowning reactionaries are determined to take drastic measures against the advanced proletarians of Japan. The working class and its organisations have been subject lately to brutal repression, the Japanese government has sent to prison in the last months over 800 intrepid proletarian fighters, threatening them with the death penalty.

Not satisfied with the penal servitude sentences passed on the best representatives of the Japanese proletariat, the government of the Japanese capitalists and landowners has passed by imperial decree in June 1928 the death penalty Act for Communists. Throwing an impudent challenge to the whole international proletariat, the Japanese Minister of the Interior, Adatzi, disregarding all judicial procedure, has declared that political prisoners will be executed regardless of the date of their arrest.

Comrades! The death penalty is hanging over the heads of hundreds of proletarians! The Japanese bourgeoisie has decided to put to death the best members of the working class, its foremost champions. The death penalty is hanging over the heads of workers and peasants who have distinguished themselves by heroic deeds in the struggle for the workers' cause. Physical extermination is threatening those who

marched at the head of the workers' detachments, those who were prepared to undergo torture and death for the cause of the proletarian revolution, for the liberation of the peasantry, of all who toil and are exploited.

In Japan, in the country where capitalist development is accompanied by medieval barbarism, where the workers have no rights whatsoever, where the police reign supreme, where side by side with the biggest trusts in the world, women and children are sold openly; in Japan where the working class is leading a miserable existence owing to monstrous exploitation of its labour power, where landowners take away from an enormous section of the peasantry one-half of every harvest, taking away thereby the last crumbs from millions of starving children, — in Japan, no force in the world can uproot and put a stop to the growth of the revolutionary struggle, the struggle for workers' and peasants' power, for the abolition of capitalist exploitation and serfdom to the landowning class.

In the face of the approaching political and economic crisis, in the face of the swelling tide of revolution, the infuriated Japanese bourgeoisie threatens to drown in blood every attempt at protest and struggle. It threatens with the death penalty every worker whose ideas or actions it considers dangerous.

The Japanese proletariat must rise like one man to defend the life of its foremost champions, to defend its class interests. Its reply to the impudent challenge of the bourgeoisie and the Japanese landowners must be mass

political strikes and demonstrations. The workers of the world and the oppressed colonial masses must rise in support of the Japanese proletariat, of its best sons whom the bourgeoisie has doomed to death.

Workers and peasants of the world!

Thousands of intrepid self-sacrificing champions of world revolution are threatened with the death penalty, and only the mass protest of millions can stay the hand of the executioner.

Proletarians of Europe, Asia and America!

In the name of proletarian class-consciousness and fraternal solidarity, rouse the masses and make them fight against the extermination of their Japanese class brothers. Come out, all of you, in defence of the Japanese revolutionaries, your fellow fighters in the common struggle! Wrest your comrades from the bloody hands of the ferocious Japanese bourgeoisie. Come out, all you, in defence and direct support of the Japanese revolutionary movement!

Down with the Mikado Government, a government of executioners of the working class!

Long live the brave revolutionaries who are lingering in the capitalist prisons of Japan!

Long live the Japanese Communist Party!

Long live the revolutionary trade union movement of Japan!

Long live the world proletarian revolution!

The West European Bureau of the C. I.
The European Secretariat of the R. I. L. U.

POLITICS

The Political Situation in Belgium.

By Jacquemotte (Brussels).

The solution of the ministerial crisis — the "new" formation of the Catholic-Liberal Cabinet with exactly the same composition as formerly, was to be expected under the given political conditions. The resignation of the Jaspar Cabinet was nothing but a manoeuvre in order to exert pressure on the Liberal Party — a manoeuvre of the clerical Jasper, which was carried out with the co-operation of the Liberal ministers.

The refusal of the social democracy openly to participate in a coalition of three parties left but one way open: re-formation of the old government or new elections.

None of the bourgeois parties (including the social democracy) would hear of the dissolution of Parliament. When the social democratic leaders were summoned to the Palais Royal they were the first to advise the re-establishment of the Clerical-Liberal cabinet under the leadership of Jasper.

This does not mean that the opposition among the bourgeois parties themselves has disappeared. As is known, the question in dispute is the Flemish question, and above all the "Flemishisation" of the Ghent University, in which connection it should be mentioned that none of the big parties (Clerical, Liberal or Social Democratic) has adopted a uniform attitude to this question. In every party there exist differences of opinion. All, however, proceed from a common standpoint: The national demands of the Flemings must be settled within the limits of the Belgian State as it exists at present.

Needless to say, the Belgian bourgeoisie will never consent to such a solution of the Flemish national demands as would threaten the constitutional forms of the Belgian State. Moreover, the existence of the Belgian state "as such" is not a Belgian but before all an international problem.

The Belgian bourgeoisie will do everything in order "to remove the cancer which is gnawing at the entrails of Belgium". The electoral victory of Borms in December 1928 in Antwerp (as is known, during the German occupation of Belgium Borms was president of the Flanders Council; after the war he was condemned to death, but this sentence was commuted to imprisonment with hard labour for life, and in November 1928 Borms was released by an "act of grace") and the advance of

the national Flemish movement among the masses, who are under the influence of the Catholic Party, shows, along with many other facts, the importance which the Flemish movement has gained.

In the preparations for the next imperialist war, along with France and on the basis of the secret Franco-Belgian military treaty, the "Flemish problem" assumes an exceedingly serious character for the Belgian bourgeoisie.

Within the limits of the Belgian state a "settlement" of this problem is possible only by close collaboration of all the bourgeois parties. Therefore the Clerical-Liberal coalition government appears only as a provisional form, which will give place to a government of "national unity" participated in by the social democracy.

There is not the least doubt that the Frontist leaders (the Flemish nationalists) are prepared to support the attempts of the Belgian bourgeoisie aimed at annihilating the Flemish movement as a mass movement directed against the existence of the Belgian state.

The reformist character of Frontism is becoming more and more confirmed. Thus, for instance, a Flemish senator recently declared during the debate on the declaration of the Jaspar Government that his party wished to realise the demands of the Flemish people within the limits of the "Belgian nation". The Flemish and Walloon Catholics have, under the leadership of the Archbishop, established a certain degree of unity, in their ranks in order to settle the question of the Flemishisation of the Ghent University. The role of the Catholic Church, from the point of view of administration, legislation and from the military standpoint, will also not be without importance in other questions which arise in connection with the Flemish question.

But there exists a considerable opposition to the taxation policy of the Jaspar Government. The Liberals are greatly divided on the Flemish question, but on the other hand are almost completely unanimous in regard to questions concerning the economic policy of the Clerical-Liberal Government.

The social democrats are likewise divided on the Flemish question, in spite of the compromise of the Belgian socialists, but they are compelled to make a show of opposition to the taxation plans of the Cabinet, before all against the abolition of the "supertax", which forms the main point of the government's plans.

It is known that the social democrats, clericals and liberals are completely united on all questions of foreign policy. At the last congress of the Belgian Labour Party, Vandervelde again expressly confirmed this fact, and in addition pointed out that in the event of a "national danger" the social democracy would stand side by side with other parties for the "well-being of the State".

Is such a "national danger" now in sight? If one gives credence to the ministerial assertions, then Belgium is at the present time passing through a period of tremendous industrial prosperity. Of course, only the bourgeoisie enjoys the fruits of this favourable business position. It is, as Jasper recently pointed out, the result of the policy of stabilising the franc which the government of "national unity" began in 1926. For the working class, however, this "period of prosperity" brought with it an enormous worsening of their living conditions.

But an analysis of the economic position reveals ever more clearly the signs of a new industrial crisis. The position of the broad masses of the peasantry has also become considerably worse of late. An economic crisis, complicated by the national struggle, would therefore undoubtedly mean that "national danger" of which Vandervelde spoke.

It seems that the Jaspar government is far from being so firmly established as it would like to appear. The jubilee year of the hundred years existence of capitalist Belgium will be a particularly lively one. A wide-spread economic crisis is already appearing on the horizon. The fight of the Flemish masses is developing. The merging of the social democracy in the bourgeois State will continue at an accelerated pace.

The small Communist Party is therefore confronted with enormous tasks. It will exert all its forces in order to be able to cope with them.

The Agrarian Policy of the French Bourgeoisie.

By J. Desnots (Paris).

The agrarian programme with which the French government wishes to free agriculture from the crisis in which it is involved, does not in any way represent a solution found by Tardieu, but is, in essence, contained in the draft of the former minister for Agriculture, M. Queille of January 1927. The programme provides that the French village shall adapt itself to the requirements of big industry and to its rationalisation, and prepare for the "industrialisation" of the countryside exclusively in the interest of capital and by means of the complete ruin of the small peasant.

Tardieu's agrarian policy reveals three stages: Firstly Tardieu granted for the so-called "national construction" a sum amounting to 5,000 millions, which sum included considerable grants for agriculture. In the second week of November there took place in the Chamber of Deputies a confused debate, full of contradictions, on the agrarian crisis, in the course of which the government succeeded in obtaining the consent of the deputies to numerous customs measures for the "protection" of the corn and beet producers. Finally there is the budget for agriculture in 1930.

As is known, immediately after the formation of the new government, Tardieu surprised his fellow-countrymen with a "five year plan of national construction", which clearly reveals how the bourgeoisie intend to build up the prosperity of the big capitalist agricultural undertakings upon the increased exploitation of the rural proletariat and the pauperisation of the small peasants.

This plan provides considerable sums for the electrification of agriculture, as for instance 500 millions for the construction of water-power works and power stations; 1370 million for road building, and construction of inland water ways; 250 millions for the installation of automatic telephones, which will be used only by the big peasants; 70 millions for wireless service for the purpose of politically influencing the village. Out of the total sum of 5000 millions for agricultural purposes not a penny is to be expended in the immediate interests of the small peasants and of the rural proletariat.

The proposed general programme met with the complete approval of the Chamber, with the exception of course of the Communist fraction. In addition, the government received the right, by a simple decree and without consulting the Chamber, to raise the import duties on the "most important agricultural products. Needless to say, such measures will benefit only the big producers and increase their political influence. Another provision concerning the grain trade empowers the Minister to fix the distribution of flour and the quantity of grain which is to be used for the manufacture of bread. The wholesale flour dealers have the right to import foreign corn free of duty on condition that within three months an equal quantity of ground or unground corn is exported. This new provision means for the wholesale corn dealers, who since the beginning of November imported 2,2 million centals of corn, a present of 110 million francs.

The protective measures in the alleged interest of the beet growers are based on the same principle. The customs duty has been increased to 40 francs per cental. In order to avoid too sudden an increase in the price of sugar for consumption, the tax, which already in July was reduced to 25 francs, is now to be reduced to 15 francs.

The class character of the agrarian policy of the French bourgeoisie is most plainly expressed in the so-called agrarian budget for 1930. This budget amounts to 548 millions. The main item is the credit which shall enable the peasants to obtain land. In all 600 millions are allotted, spread over a period of 30 years. 7000 millions would be necessary for the construction of the necessary 100,000 kilometres of village roads. Inclusive of the upkeep of the already existing roads the carrying out of this plan would require 62 years. The credits for the electrification of the countryside in accordance with the wishes of the big industry are reckoned at 175 millions. This electrification scheme is to be completed in 1936. The numerous scattered peasant farms, however, cannot be electrified before 1960. Thus they have to bear the burden of the electrification plan for 25 years without reaping any advantage therefrom.

As already mentioned, all parties enthusiastically supported the programme. The social democracy played a prominent role in the united front of the bourgeois parties. They veiled the class character of Tardieu's agrarian plan. The Socialist M. Moch rendered a special service to the big peasants when he pointed out that 43 per cent. of the outgoings of the big peasants farms represent wages. The usurious elements have already taken the hint. They are organising a general offensive against wages and are carrying out rationalisation exclusively at the cost of the agricultural workers.

In the present crisis, which Tardieu's agrarian policy will only serve to aggravate still further, it is urgently necessary that the proletariat and its advance guard, the Communist Party, take over the leadership of the peasants' struggles. In the common fight against the common enemy the real bloc of the workers and peasants will be created.

The Austrian "Anti-Terror Law".

By Oscar Großmann (Vienna).

On the very day on which the new Fascist constitutional laws were passed, the bourgeois press of Austria declared that an anti-terror law was an **indispensable constituent** of the new constitution, which is to make Austria a State of powerful State authority. The Federal Chancellor Schober himself declared, at the decisive session held on 7th December, that it is now the task of the parties to fill with "new life" the "new forms" of this constitution. Under "new life" the Schober government and the bourgeoisie understand precisely the conditions created after the successful execution of the Fascist economic offensive, now followed by the constitutional offensive. Their object is a **general rise in the customs duties, reductions of taxation for the bourgeoisie, intensified rationalisation and production in the works and factories.**

The anti-terror law is to form the basis for the more rapid accomplishment of these aims. Whilst the new constitutional laws guarantee the dictatorship of the president and the dictatorship of the police authorities over the proletariat, the anti-terror law is to ensure the **dictatorship of the employers**, the dictatorship of the Fascist so-called Independent Trade Unions in the industrial undertakings.

The "anti-terror law" enables a new so-called **coercion paragraph** to be smuggled into the code of penal law, under which any worker **merely threatening** "grievous harm" to a Fascist may be sentenced to **one year's imprisonment**, and any worker actually causing such harm to a Fascist to **several years' imprisonment**. The Fascist meetings are afforded special protection, and workers breaking up a meeting of the Fascists are to be condemned to **three years' imprisonment**.

The provisions of this law have already been known for some months, and now this jail law is to be forced through parliament. Since the social democrats co-operated in passing the dictatorship laws, and gave their immediate support to the constitutional laws, which require a two-thirds majority, both the bourgeoisie and the social democrats expect to have even less difficulty with the anti-terror law, which is presented as a harmless supplementary enactment to the penal law, and can be passed by an ordinary majority, enabling the social democrats to "reject" it formally whilst in reality sharing the responsibility for its becoming law.

This may be seen plainly from the whole attitude hitherto adopted by the social democrats towards this law. On the one hand the social democrats are extremely energetic in drawing public attention to the importance of the free trade unions for the bourgeoisie, and to their collaboration hitherto in what they diffidently name the "reorganisation of industrial undertakings", that is, rationalisation. By this they seek to prove that the bourgeoisie has no need to seek support from Fascist quarters instead of relying on the social fascist forces.

On the other hand, however, they have stated their attitude towards this anti-terror bill in a **report** drawn up by the **chambers of labours**, which are controlled by them, and which are a state institution in Austria. Beneath the cloak of a "fundamental rejection", proposals are made for amendments to the law, but are in reality tantamount to agreement with its essentials.

In Austria there are three descriptions of **employers' trade unions**. There are the **Christian and nationalist organisations**

which have already existed for three decades, and besides these the so-called "Independent Trade Unions" formed a few years ago, supported by the Styrian Alpine Mines wing of the Austrian Heimwehr. All three are Fascist and yellow. The "Independents" however agree officially with the Mussolinian principle of the corporative trade union. In other parts of the country, especially in Lower Austria, the Heimwehr are backed up by the Christian organisations, which are often connected with them by personal ties.

The social democrats, in order to conceal from the proletariat their real intentions, are now basing their standpoint towards the anti-terror law on this apparent antagonism between the Christian nationalist employers' trade unions on the one hand and the Alpine Mines organisations on the other (these last, it may be observed, have already gained a foothold in other provinces). The report recognises the Christian and nationalist organisations, which have been combated for decades by the workers, as organisations possessing equal rights with the Free Trade Unions, although in the latest conflict at Stockerau the workers opposed the joint front of the Christian trade union, the Heimwehr, and the employers. The report further rejects, for political reasons, any support of "compulsion" exercised by workers against Fascists. Precisely this is the decisive factor. Fascism in the works and factories is thereby enormously strengthened.

Austrian social democracy could find no clearer way of demonstrating its position as accomplice of Fascism and destroyer of the positions of the workers in the factories. The next few weeks will show what the workers have to say to this treachery of the social democrats.

CHINA

The Disintegration of the Kuomintang Counter-Revolution and the Rise of the Revolutionary Wave in China.

** When the Kuomintang bloc of the militarists, landowners and the bourgeoisie succeeded in the year 1927 in suppressing the workers and peasants revolution, the Chinese counter-revolution proceeded to solve the problems confronting the country in a counter-revolutionary manner.

The Kuomintang abandoned the methods of revolutionary fight against imperialism and completely capitulated to it; but it believed that it would succeed by means of diplomatic negotiations, and in return for anti-Soviet actions and suppressing the revolutionary movement, in obtaining formal State independence or perhaps the revision of the unequal treaties. As a result of this policy Nanking attained recognition by the imperialist powers; the imperialists permitted the Nanking government to increase the customs duties to a trifling extent, which still left the level of customs duties far below even that of India.

But the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang was unable to obtain the revision of the unequal treaties. The concessions remained in the hands of the imperialist States; the customs were controlled by the imperialists; Nanking's abjectly servile request that extraterritoriality be abolished, was scornfully rejected; foreign troops still remain on Chinese territory, foreign fleets cruise at will in Chinese waters, and the League of Nations has buried the Chinese proposal regarding the revision of the unequal treaties. Even the United States of America has flung the Notes of the Kuomintang government regarding extraterritoriality, consular jurisdiction etc., unread into the waste paper basket. The adventure of the Kuomintang counter-revolution against the Soviet Union on the Chinese Eastern railway has shamefully collapsed. The foreign policy of the Kuomintang has suffered complete bankruptcy.

The workers' and peasants' revolution not only strove for a formal recognition of State independence, but it set itself the aim of nationalising all the economic key positions in the hands of the imperialists. The imperialists control the banks and the metallurgical industry up to 90 per cent, the coal mining industry up to 70 per cent, the textile industry up to

50 per cent., the most important railway lines and navigation up to 80 per cent., as well as foreign trade, state debts etc. Nanking hoped to extricate itself from the economic crisis with the help of the United States. The fact is, however, that during the rule of the Kuomintang foreign capital has consolidated its positions in China.

The struggle among the various imperialists, the unstable position of the Nanking government, the danger of a new revolutionary outbreak, and partly also the international credit crisis, led to the fact that counter-revolutionary China did not receive any loan, that the foreign capitalists bought up the old undertakings, without however establishing any fresh ones. At present the American Kammerer Commission is leaving the country, and the finance Minister Sun Tzi Wen himself admits that nothing has come of the great plans of reconstruction. Foreign capital has not extricated the country from the economic crisis, on the contrary the crisis has become worse. The economic policy of Nanking has suffered complete bankruptcy.

The workers' and peasants' revolution set itself the task of annihilating militarism doing away with the territorial dismemberment of the country and creating a united China in the form of a Soviet Republic. Against this programme the Kuomintang set up its own plan of uniting China upon a bourgeois basis; upon the basis of subordinating the generals to the Nanking clique, dissolving the armies of the generals, restoring the finances, creating a uniform taxation, financial and currency system, a uniform transport system and a national market. Nanking succeeded by a number of wars in uniting eight to nine provinces under its power, and on the day of Sun Yat Sen's death the Kuomintang proclaimed to the whole world that the unification of China was an accomplished fact.

The hopes and illusions of the Chinese counter-revolution and of American capital were soon dispelled. The country is again in the throes of civil war. One general after the other renounces his allegiance to Nanking. One insurrection against Nanking follows the other.

The Kuomintang has fallen to pieces. Nanking is incapable of uniting the country. But the enemies of Nanking, the bloc of the militarists and of the "reorganisationists", the latter under the leadership of Wang Chin Wei, are equally incapable of accomplishing the historic task of uniting the country. Under the leadership of the various cliques of generals the country is divided into mutually hostile parts. Behind the generals, however, there stand the various imperialist Powers. China has again become the cockpit of the imperialist Powers. The domestic policy of Nanking has suffered complete bankruptcy.

The workers' and peasants' revolution had placed on the agenda the solution of the agrarian question, and set up the slogan of expropriating the landowners and nationalising the whole land, of handing over the land to the peasant committees and doing away with the exorbitant taxes. The Kuomintang has suppressed the peasant revolution, increased the power of the landowners, of the gentry and the village usurers; it has accelerated the process of decay of Chinese agriculture. Under its rule terrible famines broke out. In the first year of power of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang (1927) 10 million people were delivered over to starvation; in the year 1928 the population of a territory comprising 57 million souls suffered from famine, whilst in the year 1929, according to Chinese Kuomintang sources, more than 52 million people were delivered over to starvation.

In the whole of China, with the exception of Manchuria, the area under cultivation is diminishing, the productivity of the soil is declining, the number of workers in the village is falling disastrously. There is taking place a process, unexampled in the Chinese history, of destruction of the peasantry, while brigandage is growing. As a result, a broad wave of peasants' revolts is developing; the partisan fights are assuming the form of open civil war in the village. The agrarian policy of the Kuomintang has suffered complete bankruptcy.

The Chinese counter-revolution and the imperialists hoped that the Kuomintang would for a long time keep down the workers' and peasants' movement. But the revolutionary movement is growing. Strikes of the workers are increasing. They are developing from economic into political struggles. Workers' demonstrations took place in the streets of Shanghai on the anniversary of the October revolution and on the anniversary

of the Canton Commune. In Chingtow and Canton it came to street fights between workers and the military. The peasants' struggle is growing more acute. The work of the Communist Party in the Kuomintang trade unions is developing, even if slowly and insufficiently. The Communist Party is preparing for fresh struggles. It has liquidated the Rights, headed by Chen Du Sju, without great difficulty. The insignificant handful of Trotskyists found no ground for their activity in the Chinese Party. The C. P. of China has removed Chen Du Sju from its ranks, who in reply to the question whether he submitted to the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. replied that he agreed with Trotsky, who is for the slogan of the Constituent Assembly in China. The Communist Party of China is organising the fight for the overthrow of the counter-revolution in China.

The country is faced with the prospects of fresh civil wars, which will be accompanied by a rise of the workers' and peasants' movement. The fight among the various fractions of the counter-revolution can, if the masses are mobilised and intelligently led by the Communist Party, soon be replaced by the fight of the workers and peasants against the counter-revolution.

THE BALKANS

Forward to the Struggle against the Gallows Dictatorship in Yugoslavia!

Appeal of the Balkan Communist Federation on the first Anniversary of the military Fascist Coup in Yugoslavia.

** On 6th January it will be a year since Yugoslavia has been ruled by Fascist bands headed by the bloodhound General Zivkovic, hero of the notorious "White Hand", and the executioner Alexander Karageorgovic, who rule according to the methods of preventive civil war, in the interests of financial capital, of the big bourgeoisie, and of the large landowners, and enjoy the active support of the French and English imperialists.

The coup d'état of 6th January, 1929, setting up the military Fascist dictatorship, pursued a threefold aim: the placing of the national economy on a "sound" basis, the realisation of national "unity" by the merging of all the nationalities of Yugoslavia in one "united" Yugoslavian nation, and the firmer establishment of the international position of the country.

In order to attain this threefold aim, the blood-stained military Fascist dictatorship dissolved the Independent Trade Unions, destroyed the most elementary rights of the workers — the right to strike, assembly, combination, etc. — and deprived them of all possibility of fighting for more bread, more rights and liberties. But this did not suffice the dictatorship. For a whole year the blood of the workers has been flowing in streams in Yugoslavia. The blood-stained dictatorship is waging the cruellest and most barbarous war against the working masses: a policy of wage reductions, of longer working hours, of abolition of all labour protection laws, of unrestricted exploitation by means of rationalisation, of suppression of the labour press and of the class organisations, has during this year been run parallel with the working at full pressure of the apparatus constructed by the dictatorship for the carrying out of inhuman tortures and brutal murders. In the darkness of the police cells men, women, and young people of the working masses are brutally maltreated and tortured. But even this does not content the dictatorship: One of its most characteristic methods is to wipe out by systematic murder those revolutionists who fall into its hands. Some of these revolutionists are shot "whilst attempting to escape", the others "commit suicide" by jumping out of the prison windows.

At the same time the military Fascist dictatorship pursues a barbarous campaign of pillage against the working peasantry. The pseudo agrarian reform has been cancelled, the village poor deprived of land in Bosnia alone the large landowners have received 150 million dinars. The masses of the peasantry are crushed beneath the burdens of old and fresh taxation, of usury at the hands of bank capital. At the same time mass murders of the peasantry take place. Thieves and criminals are released from the prisons in order to make room for revolutionary workers and peasants.

This cruel and barbarous oppression of the peasants and workers is supplemented by various forms of national enslavement. In the interests of the Greater Servian bourgeoisie, the bloody military Fascist dictatorship has cruelly suppressed for a whole year the Croats, the Macedonians, Slovenes, Albanians, Montenegrins, Germans, and Hungarians. All national cultural, educational, sport, choral, and other organisations in Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, etc., have been disbanded and their funds confiscated. The dissolved national sport organisations are replaced everywhere by uniform fascist "Sokol" associations organised by the government.

But the Belgrade executioners have not confined themselves to these measures. On 3rd October, 1929, they passed the law for the redivision of Yugoslavia into 9 banates, thereby dismembering the national territories of Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, etc., and in reality creating a "Greater Servia". In order to accelerate the realisation of national "unity", the dictatorship has exterminated whole Albanian villages in Kossovo, etc., by means of bombs and machine guns, in order to make room for the Greater Servian colonists and the Russian Wrangel White-Guards.

But despite these cruelties and brutalities, the year's balance of the military Fascist dictatorship is catastrophic.

The economic situation of Yugoslavia worsens from day to day. Up to the present the dictatorship has not yet succeeded in improving the economic position of the country by means of aid from foreign capital. It has accomplished nothing in the sphere of foreign policy. The Young plan reduces Yugoslavia's participation in the reparations. The state debt amounts to 70 000 million dinars, and this enormous sum will mount up still higher, for Yugoslavia is pledged to pay its pre-war debts to France in gold. The agricultural crisis is growing more acute.

Failure of foreign loans, intensification and extension of the economic crisis, increase of bankruptcies, lessened taxation revenues, constant growth of taxation burdens, famine in Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Montenegro, threatened state bankruptcy — these are the fruits, in the sphere of economy, of the one year's existence of the military Fascist dictatorship.

The programme of "national unity" has suffered a complete failure. The national repressive measures of the Greater Servian dictatorship have increased the hate of the working masses of the suppressed nations to boiling point. The Yugoslavia of Versailles is cracking at every joint as never before.

The sole result which can be recorded for Yugoslavia's foreign policy — military agreements with Roumania and Czechoslovakia, directed against the Soviet Union and Hungary, mass massacres of the Bulgarian frontier population, feverish activities on the Albanian border — is a complete isolation.

The economic crisis is closely bound up with the increasing acuteness of the political crisis, the development of which leads inevitably to mass rebellion, to the overthrow by force of arms of the military Fascist dictatorship. And this crisis forces the dictatorship to intensify the severity of its regime, and to provoke warlike conflicts.

Wherever the worker and peasant masses, and their revolutionary vanguard — the C. P. — are persecuted by the bloody dictatorship, an especially vile and despicable role is played by the Yugoslavian social fascists under Topalovic. These collaborate openly in all government commissions worsening the labour laws. Topalovic appeals in an "Open Letter" to his worthy "colleague" Friedrich Adler, the secretary of the II. International, in order to convince him that Macedonia is really Servian. He travels through Macedonia in company with the Belgian social fascist leader Louis de Brouckers, in order to prove to him the beneficial effects of the bloody regime. In the Berlin social Fascist "Vorwärts" the German social fascist Hermann Wendel asseverates the "peaceful intentions" of the dictatorship in Yugoslavia. On the day on which the frightfully mutilated corpse of the well known communist Brazanovic, murdered by these executioners, was found in the environs of Belgrade, the English "pacifist" and member of the Labour Party Rennie Smith visited the capital of Yugoslavia, and declared that the "statesmanlike methods" of the dictatorship deserved the greatest attention. There is scarcely a deed so dastardly that the heroes of the II. International and their Yugoslavian "comrades" shrink from it.

Workers, working peasants, oppressed masses of the people!

The **Balkan Communist Federation** calls upon you to take up the fight against the orgies of the bloody military Fascist dictatorship, against the Yugoslavian executioners and all their co-workers and accomplices, against the imperialist governments and the social fascists of every shade, the associates of the Alexander-Zivkovic bloodhounds.

The **Balkan Communist Federation** calls upon all workers to take part in the selfless defence of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the peasantry, and the oppressed nations of Yugoslavia, and of their vanguard, the Communist Party.

The **Balkan Communist Federation**, on the anniversary of the establishment of the military Fascist dictatorship, sends warm fraternal revolutionary greetings to all the victims and martyrs of bloody Terror and Fascism, to the faithful sons of the workers, peasants, and suppressed nationalities of Yugoslavia, pining in the police cells and prisons of Yugoslavia, and calls upon them to hold out in the struggle until the final victory over the executioners.

Workers, working peasants, masses of the suppressed peoples, soldiers, sailors, working and peasant youth of the Balkans!

Demonstrate on 6th January 1930 — on the anniversary of the establishment of the gallows dictatorship in Yugoslavia — against this bloody dictatorship, against monarchism, against the serfdom and pillage of the proletariat, the working peasantry, and the masses of the nationally oppressed peoples. Demonstrate on 6th January against the danger of imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the revolutionary united front of the workers, peasants, and suppressed nations, for land for the working peasants without compensation, for the general political amnesty, against national suppression, for the right of self-determination to the point of separation, for the workers' and peasants' government, for the Balkan federation of workers' and peasants' republics!

The revolutionary protest against the atrocities committed by the inhuman military Fascist dictatorship and its allies, the social fascists of the II. International, must be heard in every workshop and factory, every village, barracks, and mine.

Down with the military Fascist dictatorship!

Down with the monarchy!

Down with their allies and accomplices, the social fascists of every shade!

Long live the revolutionary fraternisation of the workers, peasants, soldiers, and the workers of the suppressed nations!

Long live the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship and the capitalist system, and for the establishment of the workers' and peasants' government in Yugoslavia!

Long live the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union!

Long live the leader of the proletarian world revolution — the **Communist International!**

Long live the **Balkan Federation of the Workers' and Peasants' Republics!**

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

January, 1930.

Balkan Communist Federation.

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The Business Manager.

ECONOMICS

The Financial Situation in the United States.

by Alex G. Richman.

** When „the stock market crashed“ in October and November, the prosperity bubble in the United States burst with a bang that suddenly woke the press of the whole country to the economic depression that has been sharpening since the summer. This depression, which can be characterised as a developing crisis, is already having its effect throughout the world. It will sharpen greatly Anglo-American rivalry (see the Argentine situation). It will begin to awaken the American workers to their political and economic unorganisation. Above all, it will throw into sharp relief the increasingly favourable position of the Soviet proletariat, building socialism at an even more rapid rate than they themselves believed possible a year or two ago.

The stock market crash, the greatest in history, during its two worst days wiped out values of securities at the rate of \$ 2,000,000,000 per hour, of trading on the stock exchange, and at its low point saw a total loss estimated conservatively, at over \$ 50,000,000,000.

One point of view we have heard is that the big Wall Street financiers deliberately precipitated the crisis, after having led speculation to the high point of inflation it reached, and that then they got out from under the boom with tremendous profits, slaughtering the millions of speculators. Those advancing this viewpoint indicate the statements of the National City Bank (Rockefeller-controlled) and the Chase National Bank (Morgan-controlled) to the effect that the bankers pool formed the day after the crisis began, "had no intention whatever of supporting the market or preventing the decline in stocks (Chase Bank), and that the pool was intended to give a degree of regularity and orderliness (National City Bank) to the decline.

In answer to this we would say that just as finance-capital could not keep the speculative boom within the bounds of regularity, so it could neither prevent the panic, nor keep it orderly. To argue that the Federal Reserve System showed its strength, in that practically few banks or brokers failed, and that a large part of the stocks passed from the possession of amateur or small speculators into the hands of big Wall St. bankers, is to overlook the difficult position of the banks. They are "loaned up" to the limit with loans on stocks as collateral of speculator-clients who have lost heavily. These securities are to a great extent "frozen" at their deflated values, and almost unsaleable at a profit.

The developing general economic crisis is not making the position of the banks less difficult. It is true that the great corporations and banks are the last to suffer, that they will pass on to the smaller businesses as much of the burden of liquidation as possible. But the depression has reached the point where the business and finance of the country as a whole will feel it.

It will be of interest to establish just when the debacle started, and what was the occasion. On October, 12, the Massachusetts Public Utilities Commission refused to permit the Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston to split up four-fold its stock, already greatly watered. The stock dropped from \$ 411 a share to \$ 61. Other highly inflated utility, railroad, industrial and banking stocks followed suit, and soon the house of cards crashed throughout the country.

This was only the occasion. The cause was a rapidly growing disparity between stock prices and their earning power, the latter based ultimately upon the decreasing profits resulting from the economic depression. The latter had in general been growing markedly worse since the summer and assuming proportions which pointed to a very serious depression, which would develop into a crisis.

Hoover's Business Conferences.

After waiting in silence Hoover called his business conferences when the stock market had hit bottom, and began to pour forth inspiration to rebuild „public confidence“ and to map out an alleged programme of expansion. The representatives of big business and of big labour (the A.F. of an L. bureau-

ocrats) made their promises, and went home to do otherwise — all but the labour fakers, who will carry out their treasonable pact.

The hypocrisy of the bosses' promises not to discharge workers nor cut wages is shown by the fact that unemployment is increasing greatly, together with part time and wage slashes.

The fascisation of the government is proceeding apace, and the panic gave it impetus. What is coming is evident from Hoover's organisation of a **national economic council** to run the business of the country, and especially to intensify the anti-labour campaigns already in process, to prepare the efforts to flood foreign markets with American goods, and to organise for the war which this sharpened commercial struggle brings ever nearer.

The extent of the speculative frenzy which prevailed on the stock market may be seen from data on relative purchases of stocks and bonds, the former of which made up 72 per cent of the total, as against the same percentage for bonds in the first three-quarters of 1927, a situation parallel in the crises of 1907 and 1920. Of the various estimates of the degree of

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the crash one of the more reliable is that of the Standard Statistics Company (Nov. 27 bulletin) which states that an analysis of 405 stocks, representing a cross section of stock exchanges throughout the country and of most industries, showed a total decline of over 31,000 million Dollars at the bottom of the crash. On this basis, it calls "even a conservative estimate of all stocks" a minimum of over 50,000 million Dollars. The N. Y. Times quotes an estimate based upon 688 stocks, which puts the decline in values at the low point of the crash at 53 per cent. In 1907, 1920, etc. 30/40 per cent declines took 1 to 1½ years.

On Sept. 1 the value of listed securities was \$ 89,668 million, as against \$ 37,115 on Oct. 1, 1926, an increase of \$ 52,553 million. The amount of brokers loans of N. Y. Stock Exchange members at the peak (Oct. 1) was \$ 8,550 million an increase of \$ 5,330 million over 3 years previously. By the beginning of Dec. (3) the had decreased to \$ 4,434 million or over 50 per cent. Another index of the severity of the smash is the drop of 31 per cent in the price of seats on the N. Y. Stock and Curb Exchanges.

Of the stocks the bankers pool bought to support the market, \$ 100,000,000 are still said to be in their hands, (the total is probably much greater), and will be disposed of as soon as the market goes up sufficiently. The big bankers were careful to dispose of their stocks at the first sign of the slump, and after dumping these bought large blocks at the bottom price. The London Economist reminds that the banks generally have very large bad debts, and must continue to finance many hard-hit customers for some time: "Some bank failures, no doubt, are also to be expected." It questions whether the banks will have any margin for industrial and commercial financing. The banks are the key to the situation, in its opinion, and if trouble hits them, it would greatly intensify an industrial crisis.

The beginning of the next stock market crash may already be seen in the activity of the big corporations, which are splitting up their shares in order to get small suckers to buy them. The General Electric is increasing the number of its shares from 7.4 million to 29.6 million, Swift & Co., meat packers, Westinghouse Electric Co., Otis Elevator Co., and Allis & Chalmers, electric equipment manufacturers, the General Gas and Electric Co., U. S. Steel, etc., are to do likewise. The illusion that was at the basis of the last smash — that multiplication of paper increases the value of the company's property — will cause those of the little and bigger fellows to buy them, and will contribute to the coming crisis.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Arabian Desert Wars.

By J. B.

** For some months past Ibn Saoud, the ruler of North Arabia and leader of the fanatical Wahabites, has been conducting a fierce war against Feisal Ibn Dowesh, the leader of the powerful Mutair tribe, who was formerly one of the best and most faithful supporters of Ibn Saoud. The social roots of this obstinate revolt lie in the interruption of the campaign of conquests by Ibn Saoud. The hordes of the puritanical Wahabites, these inhabitants of the most desolate and backward parts of the Arabian Peninsula, served Ibn Saoud as a means for founding his kingdom in North Arabia and converting the greater part of Arabia into an independent kingdom.

But just at the point where Ibn Saoud had completed the first part of his task, and when he was proceeding to improve the trade routes within the territory under his rule, to establish trade connections with other countries, to promote the development of handicrafts and of the towns in general, to create a State apparatus etc. — precisely at this moment there commenced his internal difficulties, the revolt of his main troops. The attempt to settle the Wahabite communities ("Ikhuwan") in separate colonies "Hidshras" and to induce them slowly to abandon their nomadic existence and take up agriculture is just as far from success as the efforts to create a sort of standing army out of the tribes who are being mobilised from time to time.

"The Bedouin must have his robber campaign", Ibn Saoud himself has repeatedly told his interviewers. So long as the Bedouin could go on the warpath with Ibn Saoud against El-Hasa, against Shammar, against Hedjas, he remained faithful; when, however, the frontiers became too narrow for him, he began attacks upon Transjordan and Iraq, which Ibn Saoud — under British pressure and if he wished to avoid an open conflict with British imperialism — could not tolerate. Feisal el Dowesh now turned the rifles of his Moteir Bedouins against king Ibn Saoud himself.

In view of the present situation in Arabia this inner revolt against Ibn Saoud is not unwelcome to the British. Ibn Saoud's efforts at expansion will thereby be held in check, the tribes who are fighting for and against Ibn Saoud respectively will be "neutralised", and in the meanwhile the British will be able to fortify the frontiers of the mandatory territories without being disturbed by the national movement in these areas. For some time past the Arabian papers have reported that certain British officers are maintaining secret relations with Dowesh. In the present stage of the fight these relations have become still more open: Ibn Saoud has declared in an official Note that El-Dowesh is able to continue his fight so long solely because the Emir of El-Koweit allows him to use his terror for provisioning and arming his troops.

Thus we have here a cunning double game on the part of the British which is now crowned by the offer of the British representatives to settle the conflict between Ibn Saoud and the Emir of Koweit. Imperialism remains true to its old method: it creates the greatest possible difficulties for Ibn Saoud in order to derive advantage from them. It is a peculiar "policy of the balance of power" which is being carried on by maintaining fratricidal war in Arabia. In order also to derive a profit from this business, aeroplanes and other munitions are being supplied to Ibn Saoud.

Imperialism is conducting the same policy in South Arabia against Imam Jihje, whose difficulties have increased of late in connection with the unrest of the discontented mountain tribes. This circumstance is being taken advantage of by the British resident in Aden in order to increase pressure on Imam and ultimately to enforce him to grant concessions which he has for years energetically refused.

Nevertheless, the policy of "perpetual war" which Great Britain has been conducting in Arabia since the end of the world war contains serious dangers for the British Empire itself. For the "balance of power" can be upset and the fight of the Bedouins can spread to the territory already under British administration. For this reason continual military preparations are being made, particularly at both extremities of North Arabia, in order to be able to dam back an anti-imperialist movement of the Arabs.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Rapid Advance of Collectivisation of Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

By S. Rubens.

"Even the 1917 Revolution did not move as fast as this" is a saying one hears today on the Lower Volga. It refers to the rapid rush of peasants into the collective farms, a rush unexpected and unprecedented. Figures are outdated before they can be printed. On December 1st, a full half of all the peasant households of this region had enrolled in collective organisations, and most of them were already listing horses and implements, preparatory to socialising all these means of production.

The five-year plan, established a little more than a year ago, did not expect to attain more than 30 per cent. collectivisation here in five years. Now in a single year there is 50 per cent. collectivisation. By the end of 1930 it is confidently expected that the whole of the Lower Volga from Wolsk to Astrakhan, a three days journey by steamboat along the river, will be one great farm, planned and operated and owned collectively by its inhabitants.

"For eight years I and my children have been half starved", said a widow in a small village to me. "This year, thanks to the collective farm, I have bread for all".

How the change came in one "rayon" of 80 000 inhabitants, was told me in Balanda. Be it noted first that the soil about Balanda is the famous black earth. It was such good soil that in the days before the Revolution the landlords kept ownership of practically all of it, allowing each peasant family to purchase barely enough for a garden plot. A space 4 metres by 30 metres was the "norm" owned by an adult peasant, in many of the villages here. They are accustomed to the idea of a big estate; for they formerly worked on one. They know that large scale farming with proper equipment is more productive than the small farms they have had since the revolution. They have to some extent the psychology of the worker, rather than that of the peasant.

For several years the movement for collective farms grew steadily but slowly. Then suddenly last June came the great change. Till then not more than 10 % of the households in Balanda rayon were in collectives. To day, six months later, the enrolment is almost 100 per cent. Except of course, for the kulaks, who are not permitted to enter.

In 1927 came the first tractor ever seen in this region; the peasants made excursions to see it. And at once the wealthier peasants, the kulaks, laid schemes to get control of such machines. To this end they organised so-called "collective farms" of their own, with membership strictly limited to the prosperous peasant; they enrolled themselves, however, as "poor peasants forming a collective"; they asked for government aid. Many kulaks thus succeeded in securing tractors. However, this situation began to be noticed: the tractors were taken away from the kulaks who had obtained them by fraud.

All these tractors together, however, were a mere handful. As late as last March there were barely fifteen tractors in this entire rayon, which is some seventy kilometres long by forty wide. Then all at once there came, to the village of Bolshoi Alshanka, a Tractor Column of 28 tractors, mostly new machines from the Putiloff works in Leningrad.

From far and near there gathered 1500 persons, standing in the snow to receive the tractors. Several times the entire population of the village was present; for they came from other villages as well. During March and April almost every village in the rayon sent at one time or other a delegation to see if the tale of the 28 tractors was really true. These peasants went back to their villages and became propagandists. All at once the authorities at Balanda began to be

flooded with statements of newly organised collectives, who hoped to get the use of government tractors.

The Party Committee of the rayon gave full attention to this collectivisation which was thus springing up in the villages. They mobilised members, Young Communists, trade unionists and teachers to go out into the rural districts to help organise collectives. "The poor peasant and the farm labourer must be in the collective" was their motto. Until this time the collectives in Balanda had been small groups, consisting of well-to-do or at least of middle peasants, who thought to collect from their members the funds to buy machinery. Now it was known that the government insisted on organising the poor.

At once the kulaks began to oppose the collective farms, since they began to be real collectives, and no longer small corporations for mutual enrichment of a few. They spoke of the "Anti-christ tractor"; they said: "The Bolsheviks will socialise your babies". Nor did they stop with propaganda against the Kol-hozes; they went on to deeds. They burned the barns and the crops of the local communists who were leading the demand for collectivisation.

In Bell Kluchi the kulaks burned the farm of the communist Zelenov; in Third Alexandrovka they burned the farm of Maïrov; in Odlovka they beat half to death the communist Govalo. But these actions aroused the local peasantry against them; the poor and middle peasants began to hold meetings of protest against such lawlessness. And with one accord whole villages began to enter collective farms.

"From this moment began the change", they told me in Balanda. "Kol-hozes (collective farms) sprang up like mushrooms after rain. And to day almost 100 per cent. of all poor peasants, middle peasants and farm labourers are in the collective farms.

"At this time began the idea of one village — one farm, instead of the little collectives of a dozen peasants we had formerly had. In the time after harvest we organised thus: each village putting together all its horses, and implements and land, and going out to plough together. Then we soon found it necessary to combine villages, and we developed the "Kust Union", combining villages into an economic region, with an agricultural expert and a common book-keeper. We have six such "Kusts" in Balanda.

"Thus far the horses and inventory belong to each village, and the harvest income goes to the village, to be divided according to the labour each family has done. But the Kust Union may direct the transfer of horses and men from one village to another, for special emergencies.

"These Kust divisions are not final. They are made by farm experts and economists in consultation with the peasant representatives. We have picked as Kust centres the villages which have a veterinary station, a hospital, and some of the other cultural conveniences that all the peasants use. As time goes on we shall make new divisions. Already the talk is of making one collective farm of Balanda rayon and the rayon next to the north."

The speed of collectivization has far outstripped the possibility of tractors for even the next two or three years. In one collective farm in Balanda rayon, 1000 horses turned out to plough together, dragging more than 300 ploughs. Everywhere there has been more ploughing than previously, — often 30 per cent. more than last year. This is made possible by abolishing boundaries and by using only the best ploughs in the village and those all the time.

Simultaneously with the collectivization has gone a great demand for culture. In single villages one finds 16 or 17 "lik-punkts", (points for liquidation of illiteracy). In the rayon of 80,000 people there are 400 such stations, teaching peasants to read and write. A voluntary "Army of Cultural Fighters", numbering 2000 workers, teachers, young communists, doctors, have poured into the villages since last July. They go at their work with energy and devotion. The peasants take up collections to carry on cultural work. The Young Pioneers volunteer to look after babies, while mothers learn to read.

In a single village, A, of 600 households I sat in a meeting of peasants and heard them plan the tasks for the coming

spring. This past autumn's ploughing showed them that they needed only 50 per cent. of the village labour power to plant all their wheat lands. So great a labour-saving has even the first small rationalization effected, even without tractors. What shall be done with this excess labour?

First, said some, the young must be relieved from labour, so that they may have time for study. Then pregnant women must no longer go to the fields. Then an orchard of 30 hectares was planned to be started, to give the village a better diet and use its surplus labour. A central barn for horses was already being built, and a grain warehouse. Next spring a brick kiln must be set up, and a cheese factory.

When the brick kiln is established, then the following year there would follow many buildings: a day nursery, a central dining-hall, a barn for cows, a club-house. Little by little they would rebuild the village, using the surplus labour power set free by proper organisation of labour.

Such is the vision the peasants are beginning to see on the Lower Volga. These tillers of the soil, till now far more backward than any in Europe, are planning a method of farm organisation and farm life that will place them in the forefront of the world, and that for the first time may make of farming an occupation not devoid of culture, of sociality, of all the advantages that have hitherto been confined to city life.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

The Tenth Anniversary of the Freeing of the Ukraine from the Intervention Troops.

On the 19th December of this year the working masses of the Soviet Union celebrated the tenth anniversary of the final establishment of the Soviet power in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

In 1919 the Red Army, aided by broad masses of workers and peasants, occupied a number of large towns in Ukraine, and established the Soviet power there. At this stage of the struggle the Red Army was supported for a time by all kinds of hangers-on of the proletarian revolution. But the first steps towards positive reconstruction revealed the differences existing between the strivings of the Soviet power coming into being, and the aims of the heroes of petty bourgeois radicalism, cloaking its counter-revolutionary character with high sounding revolutionary phrases.

As early as the summer of 1919 the treachery of Ataman Grigoryev, and the desertion of Machnov to the camp of counter-revolution (these were representatives of the well-to-do kulaks) showed plainly that the proletariat, in its struggle against counter-revolution, must depend solely upon the aid of the poor and middle peasantry. This treachery was reported by the foreign bourgeois press as the commencement of a struggle of the peasantry against the Soviet power.

The imperialist governments of Great Britain, France, and the other powers representing the interests of financial capital, believed that it was only necessary to deal the Soviet power a slight blow, and it would be liquidated in this wealthy country. The governments of the Entente organised an extensive support action, and supplied munitions, clothing, and money to the troops under General Denikin. They did not, however, confine themselves to this, as their object was to restore to their former owners the works and mines taken from the capitalists by the revolution. Therefore the imperialist governments sent their squadrons to the Black Sea, landed troops, and took a number of towns.

In the summer of 1919 the native counter-revolutionists joined forces with the bands of the interventionists and with the insurgent kulaks. A united front of counter-revolution was formed of kulaks, landlords, and bourgeoisie, supported by all "civilised" capitalist states.

At first the allied forces of counter-revolution succeeded in gaining a number of victories. They took one town after

another, and occupied Charkov, Kursk, Orel. It appeared as if this counter-revolutionary movement would end with the complete collapse of the revolutionary forces. The bourgeois international press devoted whole pages to the collapse of the proletarian revolution. The taking of Orel was regarded, so to speak, as a victory of civilisation over barbarism.

But bourgeois counter-revolution crowded too soon. The bold advance of Budyonny's cavalry pressed back the southern group of the White Guard army. At the same time the main forces of the Red Army, reinforced by the proletarian groups sent to the front from the great industrial centres, took up the offensive. Beneath the pressure of the Red Army, the White bands were forced to retreat rapidly to the South, encountering workers' and peasants' risings everywhere on their way.

The liquidation of the Denikin army, which appeared incredible in the eyes of the whole capitalist world, took but a comparatively short time. This may be explained by the fact that the broad masses of the working peasants saw what was brought them by the counter-revolution of the generals, and by foreign imperialist intervention.

By the end of 1919 almost the whole of the Ukraine was free of the White bands. The Ukrainian workers and working peasants fought with weapons in hand for the right of independence and peaceful reconstruction on the basis of socialism. The Ukraine was declared a socialist Soviet Republic, and joined the other Soviet Republics in forming the Soviet Union.

In the establishment of the independent Ukrainian Republic the Leninist principle of the national policy of the Communist Party found clearest expression — the principle of liberation of all oppressed peoples of former Tsarist Russia, and of ensuring them the right to decide on their destiny, themselves.

The ten years' existence of the independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic confirms better than anything else the correctness of the Leninist national policy. In 1919 Ukraine was in a state of utter economic ruin. The factories, works, mines, railways, and towns were destroyed or laid idle. It seemed as if recuperation from this chaos would be the work of decades.

But the working masses of the Ukraine have accomplished the impossible. Like the workers of other Soviet republics, they have overcome within a few years the ruin brought upon them by the White Guard forces and by foreign imperialist intervention, and have created the prerequisites for a magnificent development of socialist construction.

The Ukrainian Soviet Republic is growing in strength from year to year, both economically and culturally. Gigantic industrial undertakings are springing up in hundreds, great Soviet agricultural enterprises in dozens, collective farms in thousands. On the basis formed by this economic socialist progress, national culture is advancing as never before in history. The lower and middle schools, the technical schools and academies, literature and theatre, all are in the service of the development of Ukrainian national culture.

A comparison between progress in Soviet Ukraine and in West Ukraine (which belongs to Poland) enables one to understand the difference between the Soviet system and the bourgeois order. In Soviet Ukraine we see culture advancing, the socialist order being built up; in West Ukraine we see national suppression, enslavement, repression of national culture, and economic depression.

The tenth anniversary of the liberation of the Ukraine has been celebrated by the working masses under the conditions given by the struggle for the acceleration of the tempo of the socialist reorganisation of the national economy of the country. Having created Dnieprostroy, the tractor factory, and the gigantic metallurgic and machine-building undertakings, the working class sets itself the task of combining the whole of the peasant farms of Ukraine in collective farms. The success of the industrialisation process has rendered it possible to proceed to this task. Industrialisation, the development of heavy industry, the increased provision of complicated machinery for the village, make it feasible to set and fulfil this task, the task of collectivising the whole of the Ukraine, converting a country once oppressed by Tsarism into a country of socialism.

Before the eyes of one single generation the Ukraine advances from the barbarous oppression of Tsarism, through revolution and through war against the forces of counter-revo-

lution, to complete national freedom and to the building up of the socialist state of society. The Ukrainian workers and peasants, on the day of the tenth anniversary of the liberation of their country, may join the working masses of the whole Soviet Union in looking back with satisfaction upon the path which they have trod, the path of greatest heroism, of immense sacrifices, and of splendid successes.

The Soviet Ukraine, in the second decade of its existence, will go forward with the whole Soviet Union, firm in faith in the final victory of Communism all over the world. The jackals of imperialism, who accuse the Soviet Union of propaganda, may be assured that the working masses will never forget their bandit attack on our country. In these ten years the Soviet Union has grown and become strong to such an extent that it does not fear the vile attacks of "civilised" robbers. The Soviet Union has sufficient forces at its disposal to enable it, with the support of the international working class, to defend its territory and the peaceful work of the workers and working peasantry.

The workers and working peasants of the Ukraine will in the second decade achieve still further successes, still more magnificent victories.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Under Lenin's Banner.

Leading Article of the „Pravda“. 21st December 1920.

**** Stalin's life and many years of work are indissolubly bound up with all the most important stages of the struggle of the working class in Russia and the Soviet Union during the last 13 years, and with the history of the Leninist Bolshevik party, the history of that Party among whose leaders Comrade Stalin rose to the first place after the death of Lenin.**

As early as the years before the revolution of 1905/06, and during the revolution itself, Stalin stood in the foremost ranks of the champions of Bolshevism in Transcaucasia. Here began his **long years of inexorable struggle against Menshevism**, whose stronghold was at that time Georgia. Here, in the atmosphere of inextricably confused national relations, and of acutest national struggle artificially stirred up by Tsarism and the bourgeoisie for the better suppression of the labour and revolutionary movement, Stalin succeeded Lenin as **the greatest theoretician of the national question, and as leader of the national policy of the Party.**

For the Party organisation the victory of reaction signified a severe test. It had to be rebuilt in the midst of a situation characterised by the rule of unbridled reaction and by the apathy of the masses. Menshevism had developed into open liquidation: it issued the slogan of renunciation of the revolutionary struggle and dissolution of the illegal revolutionary organisations. The ranks of the Bolshevik Party cadres thinned. Some abandoned the work altogether, others succumbed to the liquidatory and semi-liquidatory trends.

It was precisely during this period of unfettered Tsarist reaction, of life and death struggle between Bolshevism and the liquidators, of fierce struggle on **two fronts** (against the conciliators and Otsovists) within Bolshevism itself, that Comrade Stalin became **one of the closest and truest of Lenin's co-workers** in the incomparably difficult work of restoring and more firmly establishing the old illegal organisation. After the first successful steps had been taken, after the convocation of the Prague Conference of 1912, dissolving the last organisational connection with the Mensheviks, at the commencement of a fresh revolutionary upsurge, Stalin became a member of the Central Committee of the Party, and became one of the first leaders of the legal Bolshevik „Pravda“ and of the social democratic fraction in the fourth national Duma. Arrest, and several years of banishment to one of the remotest regions of Siberia, interrupted the vital and practical labours of Comrade Stalin just at the moment when the Party stood in urgent need of his capabilities, already remarkable at that time, **as a distinguished politician and organiser from the Lenin school.**

But when Lenin returned to Russia at the beginning of April 1917, after the February revolution, and published his famous theses on the evolution of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist, and on the struggle for the Soviet Republic, he found in Comrade Stalin a staunch sharer of his convictions and a close collaborator.

In company with Lenin, Comrade Stalin fought against the vacillating opportunist elements in the Party, both at the Petrograd and the national conferences in April 1917, and during the whole period preceding October.

Shoulder to shoulder with Lenin, or acting under his direct instructions, he unwearingly accomplished an enormous amount of daily work in the leading Party and Soviet organisations. And when, after the July days, the enraged imperialist pack, aided by the Mensheviks and social revolutionists, threw itself upon the Bolshevik Party, forcing Comrade Lenin to withdraw into temporary illegality, **Comrade Stalin gave the political report at the VI. Party Congress**, therein setting up the milestones, so to speak, of the further revolutionary struggle for the conquest of power, in complete agreement with the line laid down by Comrade Lenin.

After the VI. Party Congress Comrade Stalin was one of those who, as members of the Leninist Central Committee, and without deviating a hair's breadth from the path pointed out by Lenin, led the Party over hindrances and barriers, to the victory of October. **Everyone knows the leading role played by Comrade Stalin in the immediate preparation and carrying out of the October revolution.**

The same determination and inflexibility characterised Comrade Stalin in October, when he fought side by side with Lenin against the semi-liquidatory, opportunist tendencies already giving up their weapons: and it was with this same steadfastness that he followed Lenin's example, during the difficult days at Brest, in combating those „left“ elements with their inclination to capitulation, and anxious to force upon the Party the adventurous tactics of a war against German imperialism, which would have inevitably ended with the collapse of the Soviet power.

A vast amount of labour was accomplished by Comrade Stalin after October, in closest collaboration with Lenin, for the **organisation of the Party** during the proletarian dictatorship, for the **organisation of the state apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship**, and for the **organisation of one of its most important instruments — the Red workers' and peasants' army.**

The part played by Comrade Stalin during these and the subsequent years, as **immediate leader of the national policy of the Party**, must be especially emphasised, for this policy ensured for the Party the warm sympathy and support of the nationalities oppressed by Tsarism, won the masses of the national minorities for the working class, and isolated these masses from the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the former border regions of Tsarist Russia, from that bourgeoisie which was attempting to organise the struggle against proletarian revolution under the national flag.

The correct Leninist national policy of the Party, pursued under the immediate leadership of Comrade Stalin, formed one of the most important factors of the victory of the Soviet power in the civil war.

During this war Comrade Stalin was **one of the leaders of the Red Army**. Many of the illustrious pages in the history of the struggle of the Soviet republic against the White Guard counter-revolution and the foreign intervention bear the name of Stalin (the defence of Zarizyn in 1918, the decisively victorious stage of the struggle against Deniken on the South front at the end of 1919, the struggle against White Guardist Poland in the Ukraine in 1920).

As early as two years before Lenin relinquished the leadership of the Party and the Soviet power, a struggle against Trotskyism developed in the Party, showing the pressure exercised by the petty bourgeois elements. Stalin, in closest contact with his teacher, fought for the Leninist line. Trotskyism, rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Party, ceased the struggle against the Party for the time being, after its defeat at the X. Party Congress.

At the end of 1923 the Party entered the second post-Leninist period of an **inexorable four years' struggle against**

Trotskyism, a struggle which spread into other Sections of the Comintern. All our enemies set their hopes for the overthrow of the Soviet power on the success of Trotskyism. The Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, defended itself effectively against Trotskyism, unmasked its ideology in the eyes of the Party masses as Menshevik, and finally rejected Trotskyism from its ranks.

Comrade Stalin, on the basis of the Leninist teachings, gave the Party the clear slogan of industrialisation, and of the complete building up of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Today not only the majority of the hangers on of Trotskyism, but a considerable part of the leading Trotskyist cadre, are compelled to break with their former leaders and acknowledge that the Party has been right, for the successes of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union speak for themselves.

After the defeat of Trotskyism, the Party under Comrade Stalin's leadership dealt an annihilating blow against the Right opportunist deviation, which shrank from the difficulties of the reconstruction period and propagated a programme of complete capitulation to the Nepman and the kulak. The Party forced the leaders of the right deviation to acknowledge their errors publicly, and to turn their back on them.

In a relentless struggle against the violent resistance of the Right and Left representatives of capitulation, the Party continued unwearingly after Lenin's death, under Stalin's leadership, with the realisation of the Leninist general line. Not only has it proved capable of regaining the pre-war level of industry, but has far exceeded it. Immediately after the 15th Party Congress, the Party, on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, and in spite of the desperate resistance of the capitalist elements, took up the comprehensive socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the comprehensive collectivisation, organisation of vast Soviet farms. To-day we witness the brilliant success of socialist reconstruction in the village, where till recently the small and scattered peasant farms predominated, furnishing the soil upon which anti-socialist capitalist elements matured.

The Party sees in Comrade Stalin the most faithful and devoted pupil and co-worker of its great leader and organiser Lenin, the most distinguished theoretician of Leninism, not only in the C. P. S. U., but in the whole Comintern. Stalin's "Principles of Leninism" is to-day the text-book of every Leninist in the whole world today.

Since the events in Germany in 1923, and especially since the V. Congress of the C. I., Comrade Stalin has been participating directly and systematically in the work of the Communist International. It was under Stalin's leadership that victorious struggles against Trotskyism were carried on in the most important Sections of the Comintern after the V. Congress. It was with the guiding co-operation of Comrade Stalin that the most important documents of the VI. World Congress were drawn up, the main course directed to the struggle against the Right deviation and the conciliatory tendency in the whole Comintern.

The Party sees in Comrade Stalin a leader at once a politician and an organiser, necessary qualities in the leader of the working class striving for the victory against many powerful enemies all over the world, and condemned to impotence without organisation. This double capacity has become conspicuously apparent during the last few years, since Comrade Stalin has acted as General Secretary of the Central Committee after the XI. Party Congress. In the creation of the mighty apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party, a process involving the establishment of contact with millions of the working masses and poor and middle peasantry by means of a skilful contrivance (Soviets, trade unions), Comrade Stalin has played an important rôle, and since the death of Lenin the leading role.

And finally, not only our Party, but the whole Communist International, sees in Comrade Stalin the irreconcilable fighter for the unity of the Party, for the determined pursuance of the Bolshevik line against all opportunism and conciliation, against each and every deviation from Leninism.

The Party is convinced that, under the leadership of the C. C. and its General Secretary Comrade Stalin, it will win in the coming period the final and complete victory over the capitalist elements in the country of the proletarian dictatorship and will thereby give a mighty impetus to the victory of the revolution on an international scale.

From the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Members of the C. P. of Hungary.

(Continued.)

In the process of self-criticism of the failures and defeats of the proletarian revolution in Hungary the Party has completely overcome the fatal errors, which consisted in overlooking the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the proletarian revolution (particularly in regard to the agrarian question). While the fundamental attitude of the Party was correct in general, there developed, especially in the legal practice of the Party, definite opportunist errors. In view of the danger of a Hapsburg restoration the Party came forward with the slogan of the republic, which had to be objectively interpreted as a "democratic" intermediate stage on the way to the dictatorship of the proletariat. With the slogan of "Republic with a workers' and peasants' government at the head", there was not expressed, as the Party intended, the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the proletarian revolution. In this slogan the workers' and peasants' government, as synonymous for the dictatorship of the proletariat, faded into the background in the agitation of the Party. These opportunist errors led up to the slogan: "Demand of Parliament that a vote be taken on the question of the form of State". Up to the present the C. C. of the C. P. of Hungary has not exercised any serious self-criticism of these errors and not completely overcome them. These erroneous views, which made their appearance in the campaign for the republic, form no ground of excuse for the liquidatory theory recently developed by Comrade Blum, who seeks to support his theory by pointing to these past errors of the Party.

In the opinion of the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. the theses of Comrade Blum (course towards bourgeois-democratic republic instead of proletarian revolution, towards democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants instead of dictatorship of the proletariat) represent a liquidationist tendency in the C. P. of Hungary. By suggesting to the C. P. that the bourgeois democracy be commended to the workers as the "best fighting ground", Comrade Blum adopts the standpoint of the social democracy, denies the growing of democracy into fascism and overlooks the whole of the Third Period. These views have nothing in common with Bolshevism. The circumstance, however, that in judging of and dealing with this standpoint vacillations became apparent in the Foreign Committee of the C. C., renders it necessary that the whole Party be roused to a decisive fight not only against Blum's thesis, but also against any vacillation in this question.

The vacillations which revealed themselves in the ranks of the Foreign Committee when judging Blum's liquidationism are due to the circumstance that hitherto the Party had no clear standpoint in the question of its political partial slogans and especially with regard to the permissibility of certain democratic partial demands. In addition to solving the agrarian question the Hungarian revolution will have to solve a whole number of other democratic tasks. In this connection the solution of the agrarian question in the course of the proletarian revolution acquires decisive importance. The chief danger, however, in setting up democratic partial demands is that these demands may be set up in such a form as to give rise to illusions regarding the possibility of a "democratisation" of Hungarian fascism or the illusion as to a democratic intermediate stage before the carrying out of the proletarian revolution. For this reason the democratic partial demands set up by the Hungarian Party must be placed under the perspective of the proletarian revolution and be an expression of the democratic formulation of tasks of the proletarian revolution. Every illusion regarding the possibility of a democratisation of Hungarian fascism as formulated in the Blum Theses, and which to a certain extent is also expressed in the theses of the Foreign Committee, must be regarded as an opportunist distortion of this fundamental line.

III. The Political Mistakes of the Party Leadership and the Present Main Tasks of the Party.

The C. P. of Hungary conducted its work throughout a long period by almost exclusively legal means. This mass work yielded great successes in rousing the broadest strata of the industrial and agricultural workers and even certain sections of the peasantry. After the destruction of a number

of possibilities of legal work, after the arrest of nearly the whole of the leading cadres of the C.P. of Hungary, the Party leadership showed hesitation and was late in going over to new methods of mass work, in going over to illegal work in the factories and at the same time transferring main attention to illegal methods of mass leadership. On the threshold of the Third Period the chief fault of the Party was that a number of leading comrades showed lack of perception and vacillation in judging the approach of a new revolutionary wave of the labour movement and did not pay attention to those tasks with which the Third Period confronted the Party. The Right vacillations of some leading comrades in these questions very soon made themselves apparent. The denial of the fascist character of the Horthy-Bethlen regime, the denial of the development of social democracy into social fascism were the first features of these opportunist deviations in judging the Third Period. These views were unanimously rejected by the party leadership. Comrade Robert fell into opportunism when he overlooked the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. and of the VI. World Congress of the C. I. and the whole of the Third Period. This failure to understand the Third Period is one of the most dangerous deviations of the present time. Comrade Robert denied the Left development of the working class in Hungary by confusing the position of the labour movement with the position of the trade unions which are becoming fascicised and elaborated in the Foreign Committee entirely unfounded views regarding the perspective of the revolutionary movement in Hungary. He went so far in his petty bourgeois manner of considering the sentiments and the position of the working class that he regarded the greater part of the workers as lost for the revolutionary movement, and set up a "theory" of the decay of the labour movement. The Foreign Committee, it is true, combatted the petty bourgeois opportunist views of Comrade Robert, but neglected to set up against this opportunism a concrete fighting programme. The Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. records that Comrade Robert has recognised his errors and pledged himself to carry out unreservedly the line of the C.I.

Meanwhile the disproportion between the activity of the masses, who are tending to the Left, and the activity of the Party as a whole grew, although considerable successes were to be recorded in the sphere of organisation. This disproportion is attributable in the first place to the errors and shortcomings of the political activity of the Foreign Committee, which are rooted before all in the fractional disintegration of the Foreign Committee in the period just past and the strong ideological and political influence exercised by Comrade Blum on the Central Committee. Both politically and organisationally the Foreign Committee lagged behind events, as it either put the political and organisational problems of mass work not at all, or too late and for the most part in an opportunist manner.

The tactic which was imposed upon the Party by the Foreign Committee in the Sick Insurance Fund elections is a pronounced united front tactic from above, and this with the fascist leaders of the metal workers union which had left the T.U. Federation. This tactic, therefore, stood right from the outset in glaring contradiction to all the decisions of the VI. World Congress. The opportunism of this united front tactic from above was further increased by the circumstance that the Party, right up to the last moment when this united front parted asunder, made absolutely no criticism of the fascist leaders before the Left membership of this trade union who, owing to their dissatisfaction with the social democratic trade union leadership, followed this sham opposition. Moreover, the Foreign Committee, even after this self-criticism, attempted to draw a distinction between "trade-union" fascist leaders (Hackspacher) and "political" fascist leaders (Migray). In the same way Comrade Kemeny right up to recently maintained the standpoint that the fascist apparatus of this trade union is to be captured. The roots of this erroneous view are to be sought in the false appraisal of the disaffiliated unions, which were estimated as the "foundations of a new metal workers' trade union" standing "under the influence of the opposition". It ought to have been clear to the Party beforehand that the leaders of these unions are fascists who have coalesced with the State and with the employers, that therefore there can be no talk of capturing these unions in the sense of capturing their apparatus or of transforming them into Red unions.

The Party must exert all its forces in order to expose the fascist movement for the revision of the Trianon Peace Treaty as a part of the war incitement and of the preparation for war against the Soviet Union. In the same way the Party must oppose the demagogic assertion of the Horthy-Bethlen Government that the misery of the workers is entirely attributable to the Treaty of Trianon. Nevertheless it must set up over against this fascist imperialist revision movement the proletarian-revolutionary destruction of the imperialist peace treaties, the slogan of the revolutionary right of self-determination, which is to be realised in a common fight with the proletariat of the neighbouring countries and of the Soviet Union.

Further opportunist vacillations were to be seen in the pacifistic attitude of Comrade Kerényi to the Trianon Peace Treaty, in that he, without a decision of the Party, substituted a "new slogan" for the correct revolutionary standpoint of the Party. The slogan "down with the revision of the peace treaty", the standpoint that it is not the task of the Hungarian proletariat to fight against the imperialist peace treaty and for the right of self-determination of the Magyar people, was erroneous. Such an attitude serves indirectly, even if unintentionally to drive the working strata of the population into the wake of the fascist warmongers.

The proletarian-revolutionary fight against the imperialist peace treaties is a part of the fight against imperialist wars and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The C.P. of Hungary must increase its fight against preparations for imperialist war far more than was the case in connection with the preparations for 1st August, which the Foreign Committee began unpardonably late (not until the middle of June) and then with great hesitation.

With such a sharpening of the economic crisis and of the class antagonism as exists at present in Hungary, when the ruling class itself admits the approach of a revolutionary situation (latest speech of Count Bethlen), the Party must in its sphere of work carefully formulate concretely the decisions of the Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which were drawn up with the perspective of the growth of a new revolutionary wave. In addition, the Party must give due regard to the circumstance that the Hungarian social fascists, in their new pact with the Horthy-Bethlen Government, have in the person of the amnestied S. P. leaders (Garami, Buchinger) drawn their last "democratic" reserve into the anti-proletarian counter-revolutionary front.

Against the fascists and the social-fascists must be formed the broadest united front of the workers under the leadership of the industrial proletariat. In the course of the mass mobilisation and the fight the Party must strive, with the aid of the various forms and organs of the united front of the industrial and agricultural workers and peasants, to break through the barriers of illegality and organise an open revolutionary mass fight. Not only agitational-propagandist exposure of the social democracy, but shattering of their organisations from below is the chief task of the Party.

The Party must much more than hitherto take care that the ever increasing economic struggles acquire a political character. Among the striking workers there must be propagated not only the general slogans of the Party against war, fascism and social fascism, but every effort must be made in order that the striking workers who come on to the streets in support of these slogans demonstrate against fascist terror, for the right of the working class to combine and to strike, against arbitration and against fascistisation of the trade unions. Agitation must be organised on the broadest scale for the political mass strike, against fascism, social fascism and war, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

In the carrying out of all these tasks the Party must see to it that not only the industrial workers, but also the agricultural workers, the dwarf and small peasants are drawn into the fight against fascism and social fascism. The strengthening of the party work in the provincial industrial and mining centres must also be carried out with a view to strengthening the connections of the Party with the toiling masses of the village. The co-ordination of the struggles in town and country offers the surest guarantee for the success of the revolutionary work in such a country as Hungary.

(To be concluded.)

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Plenary Session of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U.

Moscow, 20th December 1929.

** In yesterday's session of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions the discussion upon the speeches of comrades Merker and Losovsky was continued.

Comrade Heller dealt with the situation of the revolutionary trade union movement in the colonial countries and in particular with the strikes of the textile workers in Bombay and of the jute workers in Calcutta in 1928/29.

Comrade Rubinstein (R.I.L.U.) analysed the growing crisis in the capitalist world. A depression commenced at the beginning of 1929 and with the American exchange crash capitalism entered into a period of acute crisis. The crisis meant the collapse of the reformist-opportunist conception of "organised capitalism".

Comrade Vitkovski (R.I.L.U.) dealt with the question of the carrying out of the decisions of the fourth congress of the R.I.L.U. Many countries were doing their best to carry out these decisions, but there were others, such as Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, Holland and Spain, where practically nothing had been done.

Comrades Hercllet (France), Dembleczy (Poland), Bela Szanto (R.I.L.U.), Vassiliev, Sergitch (Yugoslavia), Apletin, Smollanski (Soviet Union), Bergner (Germany), and Chajes (Czechoslovakia) also spoke.

The session unanimously decided to send a telegram of greetings to the striking miners in New South Wales and a further telegram to the Meerut prisoners.

Moscow, 20th December 1929.

The discussion was continued in this morning's session. Comrades di Vittorio (Italy) and Stotz (Switzerland) spoke and comrade Tchernuchov welcomed the session in the name of the 2,500 workers of the Dynamo works and was answered by comrade Germanetto for the R.I.L.U.

Comrade Merker then made his closing speech. He dealt first of all with the prospects of the revolutionary trade union work and the development of the social fascist unions. The social fascist apparatus was merging more and more with the State apparatus and with the national fascist movement. To-day the central tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement were the independent leadership of the wage struggles of the workers and the carrying on of a merciless struggle against the social fascist bureaucracy. The conditions for political mass strikes would also have to be created. He warned his hearers against the illusion that the social fascist officials could be won or even neutralised. Whoever opposed or sabotaged the new policy of the R.I.L.U. would be removed from the leadership.

Comrade Losovsky then commenced his concluding speech: The American exchange crash was of great significance because it destroyed many of the illusions fostered by the social fascists. Recent events in Germany, Austria and other countries showed that the revolutionary development was quicker than many had thought. He then criticised the idea that there was any deep chasm between fascism and social fascism. The new fact in the situation was that the higher and middle officials and large sections of the lower officials of the reformist trade unions and a great section of the aristocracy of labour were already fascist. Referring to the question of the political mass strike the speaker declared that everything would depend on circumstances, but the possibility of defeat should not hold the revolutionary trade union movement back from the struggle.

Following upon comrade Losovsky's concluding speech the theses on the first point of the agenda were unanimously adopted.

Comrade Foster (U.S.A.) then reported upon the second point of the agenda, the activity of the revolutionary trade unions and the Trade Union Educational League in the U.S.A. He described the radicalisation of the American workers as

the result of the deterioration of their situation, the intense rationalisation and inhuman exploitation. American imperialism was feverishly preparing for war and the American Federation of Labour was completely fascist and served the employers as an organised strike-breaking weapon. The pseudo-oppositional movement led by Muste was in reality directed against the revolutionary unions. The Gastonia struggle was typical of the third period in America. The Negro problem was being seriously dealt with for the first time, witness the recent revolutionary trade union congress.

Moscow, 21th December 1929.

In to-day's session the discussion of comrade Foster's speech was opened.

Comrade Padmore (U.S.A.) dealt with the economic and social situation of the Negro workers. The revolutionary trade union congress in Cleveland was a great success. The struggle in Gastonia had been a splendid example of the solidarity of the white and coloured workers in their joint struggle against capitalism.

Comrade Stachovitz (International Propaganda and Action Comm. of the Chemical Workers) declared that the revolutionary international work amongst the chemical workers should be strengthened. He considered it extremely important that a revolutionary trade union for the chemical workers should be formed in the United States.

Comrades Wilson (Great Britain), Heller (R.I.L.U.), Tim Buck (Canada), Heilmann (U.S.A.), Yu Fei (China), Ballam (U.S.A.), Heckert (Germany) also spoke.

Comrade Horner (Great Britain) declared that the work of the revolutionary unions in the U.S.A. was making progress as compared with the time of the fourth congress. The standards of life of the American workers were lower than in Great Britain. He proposed that an International Propaganda and Action Committee for the unemployed workers should be formed.

Comrades Merker (Germany), Giraldo (Colombia), Levin (R.I.L.U.), Sirocco (U.S.A.), also spoke.

Comrade Losovsky declared that the task of the revolutionary trade unions was to initiate mass struggles and to draw the masses in their ranks. The problem of the unorganised workers was very important, as also was the problem of unemployment. International experience should be better utilised, and more attention paid to the work amongst the Negroes and amongst the emigrant workers.

** In the morning session of the 22nd December comrade Foster made his closing speech. In the name of his organisation he condemned the action of the revolutionary clothing workers union in the U.S. which accepted the clause for compulsory arbitration, and accepted the challenge of comrade Horner to take part in a competition with the British minority movement. He expressed agreement with comrade Merker concerning the importance of the unemployment problem in the U.S. and the importance of shop councils in the Steel, automobile and chemical industries in the U.S. where the workers are unorganised. In these industries the initial organisational form would represent the basis for a trade union.

At the motion of the French delegation a manifesto to the revolutionary unions in China was adopted.

Comrade Giton (France) then dealt with the situation and the task of the C.G.T.U. He analysed the development of the reformist unions to fascism and pointed out that the situation of the working class was steadily deteriorating, as a consequence of which the general strike movement was growing and increasing in intensity. He dealt with a number of these strikes and criticised the weaknesses and errors of the revolutionary trade union movement. In particular a struggle was necessary against the anarcho-syndicalist traditions.

Comrade Vitkovski declared that the last congress of the C.G.T.U. had been a turning point in the history of the organisation. The clearing up of the problem of the relations of the C.G.T.U. with the Communist Party had been carried out at the congress and the opportunist and anarcho-syndicalist elements had been defeated. He also criticised the weaknesses of the movement, in particular the lack of mass preparation for the

congress. The danger of a split on the part of the opportunists could only be countered by increased work amongst the masses.

The French question was discussed in the morning session of the 23rd December. Comrade **Szerban** criticised the weaknesses and errors of the C. G. T. U. and declared that its manifesto of the 18th November, which contained only economic demands, was a concession to the opportunists.

Comrade **Volkkevitch** (R. I. L. U.) declared that the membership decline of the C. G. T. U. had been caused by the fact that the organisation had concentrated chiefly upon agitational and propaganda work and had paid insufficient attention to the organisation side of the struggle. Thousands of striking workers had not been organised and brought into the ranks of the C. G. T. U. The unorganised workers should be won by the formation of shop councils.

Comrade **Germanetto** (Italy) declared that although the C. G. T. U. should prepare for illegality it should nevertheless do everything in its power to maintain its legality.

Comrade **Losovsky** declared that the most important task of the C. G. T. U. was to repulse the attempts of the bourgeoisie, the fascists and social fascists to force the C. G. T. U. into illegality. The organisation would have to be far more energetic in its efforts to rid itself of opportunist and reformist elements.

Comrades **Teneve** (France), **Dubois** (France), **Vassiliev** (Soviet Union), **Billoux** (France) also spoke.

After the closing speeches of comrades **Giton** and **Vitkovsky** Comrade **Zapotocky** (Czechoslovakia) then delivered the report on the situation of the revolutionary trade unions in Czechoslovakia. He declared that the attempts of the capitalists to carry out the rationalisation at the cost of the workers resulted in an intensification of the class struggle, and this intensified situation was the basis for the disruption of the opportunists. The break with Hais and his followers had been historically necessary. The revolutionary unions had now 65 000 members as compared with 105 000 prior to the split. Hais only had 15 000 supporters. Progress had been made recently with the application of the new R. I. L. U. tactic as could be seen in the strike of the landworkers.

Comrade **Gey** (Soviet Union) declared that the intensification of the class struggle and the break with the reformist opportunists had cleared the way for a real revolutionary tactic.

In this morning's session the discussion on the Czechish question took place. Comrade **Sussmanovitch** (R. I. L. U.) pointed out that the decisions of the R. I. L. U. had not been sufficiently carried out in Czechoslovakia and the main activity of the revolutionary unions had not yet been concentrated on the factories. The formation of shop stewards organisations and of self-defence organisations was urgently necessary.

Comrade **Jussefovitch** declared that the new leadership of the revolutionary unions was making good progress. There were difficulties, but comrade **Zapotocky** had exaggerated them. The shop councils should be revolutionised against both the right-wing opportunists and the left-wing deviation.

Comrade **Heckert** (Germany) declared that Czechoslovakia was a perfect example of the children's sickness of communism: no factory work, no work in the reformist organisations, no real fighting leadership, whilst the struggle concerning the statutes and the property of the unions overshadowed the real tasks of the unions.

Comrade **Schwermer** (Czechoslovakia) declared that there was an acute danger of a fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia and the social fascists were already in the camp of fascism. The greatest error of the Czechoslovakian revolutionary unions was that they did not fight ideologically against the opportunists.

Comrades **Preiss** (Germany), **Rabate** (France), **Bayer** (Czechoslovakia), **Henrikovski** (Poland), **Perevosnikov** (RILU.), **Resek** (Czechoslovakia) and **Pavlov** (Youth) also spoke.

In their closing speeches comrades **Gey** and **Zapotocky** both declared that the right-wing danger was the main danger and that by the fifth congress all the errors of the movement in Czechoslovakia should be corrected.

Comrade **Jussefovitch** (RILU.) then delivered his report concerning the preparations for the fifth congress of the RILU. which he declared represented a political and not an organisational problem. It was necessary to popularise the decisions of the RILU., to extend the activity of the shop councils, to mobilise the worker correspondents etc. All the new unions would have to be represented at the congress and invitations would be sent to the Pacific T. U. secretariat and to the Latin-American secretariat. Special conferences of the Latin-American, Arabian, and Negro workers would be organised.

Comrades **Zarengo** (Poland), **Horner** (Great Britain), **Herclot** (France), **Santini** (Italy), **Merker** (Germany) and a Chinese comrade took part in the discussion which followed Jussefovitch's report.

All the resolutions were then unanimously adopted and the closing speech of the plenary session was made by comrade **Losovsky**.

WORKERS' SPORT MOVEMENT

The Split in the Workers' Sport Movement in Finland.

By Karo Teräs.

Since the social Fascists, by means of a despicable falsification of the credentials of over 50 delegates, succeeded in seizing the leadership at the last congress, complete anarchy has taken possession of the Finnish workers sport movement.

The leadership of the association has abandoned the old line of class struggle; it favours the Olympic Games staged by the bourgeois sport movement, and protects the strike-breakers against the overwhelming majority of the members, who insist energetically upon the expulsion of the class traitors from their organisation. The leadership of the association hunts down relentlessly all members and local groups who refuse to tolerate strike-breakers in their midst, or to take part in the bourgeois games.

The leaders of the association joined the social fascist press in publicly advocating participation in the bourgeois Olympiade, but did not mention a word about the magnificent Spartakiade of the international proletariat in Moscow. This conduct caused a large section of the members to protest energetically against the attitude of the leaders, and to demand that the organisation should return to the old line of genuine class warfare. To this the leaders replied by an open split, and expelled both individual members and whole local groups from the association. Of the 32,000 members of the association over 13,000 have been expelled, a circumstance proving clearly on which side the great majority of the members may be found. All the largest and most important local groups have been expelled.

In order to clear up the situation, a unity conference was held at Helsingfors at the beginning of December, which proved a mighty protest demonstration against the social fascist splitters. Over 20,000 worker athletes in every part of the country were represented at this conference, or considerably more than one half of the association.

The Conference resolved that the struggle for the unity of the association, and against the reformist leaders, should be continued with the utmost energy. It is now the task of the opposition to make clear to the members who are still undecided and irresolute, the harmful nature of the social Fascist policy, and to show at the same time the traitorous rôle played by the Lucerne Sport International.

A unity committee embracing the whole country was elected, and commissioned to organise and lead the unity campaign, and to arrange games with the workers sport associations abroad based on the platform of class warfare. The position of the unity movement of the worker athletes in Finland is thus exceedingly favourable, and the immediate future will indubitably bring fresh victories for the unity movement and considerable defeats for the social Fascist pests.