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## New Tendencies in British Imperialist Policy.

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

British imperialist policy is at present going through a process of transformation. This transformation is the direct consequence of the extreme sharpening of the economic crisis and the manifest failure of the existing parties and lines of policy to find any solution. The entire bourgeois forces are desperately searching for new lines of solution. The consequent transformation which is in process is affecting both the external policy of Britain and its inner political situation.

The leading character of the new line of policy which is developing is marked by the general turnover towards tariffs, by the increasing concentration on empire development and consolidation as the main line of policy, and in inner politics by the development of new forms which begin to show a semi-fascist tendency. These are all parts of a single process, which reflects the character of the present period, the increasing imperialist antagonisms and the increasing social antagonisms. The essence of the new line of policy is the conscious transition of Britain from its old position of world capitalist centre (reflected in the old policy of free trade), which it is no longer able to maintain, to increasing concentration on its own monopolist bloc against other monopolist blocs. To the extent that this line develops, it will mean a very great sharpening of the international situation.

It is in relation to this situation and general line that the present Imperial Conference is of special importance.

Previous Imperial Conferences, the periodical meetings of the representatives of the British bourgeoisie and of the satellite bourgeoisies of the Dominions, were of only limited significance, since the main problems of British policy lay elsewhere. In 1923, although imperial economic questions were to the front, the main concentration of British policy was on European questions, on the occupation of the Ruhr, on the preparations leading to the Dawes Plan, and on European "stabilisation" as the line of solution of the economic crisis. In 1926, British policy was concentrated on the inner struggle of the general strike and the miners' fight; and the Dominions were able to utilise the occasion to extort recognition of increased liberty of action for themselves, including in foreign policy. But in 1930 the position is changed. The Conference is now brought into the forefront as the decisive immediate ground of British policy. In the Imperial Conference the new directions of British policy are mirrored.

This prominence of the Imperial Conference reflects the changed economic and political situation of Britain. In 1929 it was still hoped that the effects of rationalisation would end the prolonged economic decline and bring revival. Production rose steadily till the end of 1929. It was not till this year that the effects of the world economic crisis, the consequence of the world process of rationalisation, made themselves fully felt in Britain, and revealed more intensified

depression than ever before. Production first fell sharply in the second quarter of 1930. In July the figure of registered unemployed passed the two million mark, a height unparalleled save for a few weeks in 1921 during the coal lockout. Export values fell by 15 per cent, on the previous year during the first half of 1930; by July the fall had risen to 23 per cent, and by August to 32 per cent. In July appeared the famous Bankers' Manifesto for an empire tariff policy, followed closely by the Trades Union Congress empire economic memorandum. It is from the summer of this year that the new tendencies of policy come fully to the front.

What has accentuated the position in Britain is that, while the crisis is a world crisis, the relative weakening of British Imperialism against the other imperialist powers has increased. For the first time in history Germany has definitely outstripped Britain as a world exporting power during the first half of 1930 (£ 310 millions against £ 304 millions); and thus Britain, which had already had to yield place to the United States since the war, has now fallen to third place as a world exporting power. At the same time the crisis in the raw material countries, in Australia, in the Argentine, and in the colonial countries, and the consequent political revolts, in the Argentine, in China, and above all in India, have affected British Imperialism. The Naval Conference at the beginning of the year has not succeeded in diminishing the Anglo-American antagonism, despite the measure of concessions Britain was compelled to make, which went so far as to arouse the open opposition of the Conservative Party to the Naval Treaty; the competition in shipbuilding has gone forward on both sides on a greater scale since the Treaty than before it. The United States, confronted with its own economic crisis, has raised its tariffs, and concentrated, as Hoover's recent speech has indicated, on endeavouring to build up its self-contained position and its strength in the American continents; in the Argentine, where British policy has been most active, it has succeeded in displacing the British nominee and establishing its own nominee.

At the same time in Europe, British-French antagonism has increased, Britain finds itself confronted with the French policy of the so-called United States of Europe, as the expression of the attempted building up of French leadership, to which Britain has only been able to offer a blocking opposition; and at the same time, with the growing independence of German policy. German policy is no longer satisfied to follow in the wake of British patronage; and is feeling increasingly strong, as the recent elections have emphasised, with the growing volume of bourgeois support thrown to the extreme right, to advance to a more positive foreign policy and towards the throwing off of the shackles of the creditor states. In particular, in the question of Soviet relations. German policy maintains its independence to manoeuvre, as also does Italian policy, thus weakening the British anti-Soviet campaign.

Confronted with this position of its own weakening, and of the growing consolidation of rival imperialist blocs, British policy now concentrates on building up its position on the basis of the Empire. This represents in fact a recognition of its weakened world position and a retreat to inner lines; or, as the exponents of the classical British economic policy, such as the "Economist", have expressed it, a policy of "defeatism". But it represents at the same time a policy of intensified aggressive preparation for a period of increased imperialist antagonism and eventual war.

The development of this policy involves, in the first place, the intensified exploitation, closing in and tightening hold on the colonial empire. This aspect of the policy is reflected in the present line in India, the refusal and even withdrawal of concessions, and unlimited repression. In the second place, it involves the drawing of the Dominions into closer economic and political association. The negotiations to this end are the subject of the present Imperial Conference.

What are the prospects of success of this policy? The difficulties in its path are familiar and considerable. The historic structure of British capitalism is built on a world basis, extending beyond the colonies and Dominions; over two thirds of its foodstuffs and raw materials are drawn most cheaply from beyond the empire; over half its exports go outside the empire. The transformation of this structure to meet new requirements of policy is not easy. At the same time the interests of the Dominions, with their growing independent development and own industries, are in conflict with any

attempts to subordinate them to an auxiliary role as suppliers of foodstuffs and raw materials to the British manufacturing and financial centre. For these reasons, the actual measure of achievement possible in the new line of policy is limited.

Nevertheless, a limited measure of achievement may be reached, having important results on the world situation. The Dominions, especially Australia and South Africa, are most sharply hit by the world economic crisis, and therefore disposed to endeavour to reach some trading arrangement of advantage to themselves; while Canada, sharply hit by the American tariff, may possibly be disposed to manoeuvre for some special trading arrangements with Britain. The joint exploitation of the colonies and India is also of importance to the Dominions (other than Canada) to align themselves more closely with British Imperialism and the British navy, if they are not to accept the leadership of American Imperialism. Here, however, the growth of American influence, and weakening strength of Britain, make the position increasingly unstable.

Any development, even though limited, of this policy of empire consolidation, i. e. of strengthening of British hegemony, economic and political, over the Dominions, and intensified monopolist hold over the colonies, will have far-reaching results on the international situation.

In the first place, it means an intensification of the antagonism of imperialist blocs, and especially of the British bloc against the American bloc. It was, indeed, on these grounds that the Balfour Committee a couple of years back rejected any such policy as too dangerous; but to-day the situation has become too desperate for any such caution.

In the second place, it means a basic transformation in the British internal position, both economic and political. The beginnings of this transformation are already visible in the British political situation; and there is every prospect that the new forms which are beginning to appear, and the sharpening of the social situation, will develop rapidly in the immediate future.

## POLITICS

### Under Pilsudski's Fascist Knout.

By J. Bratkowski.

Increased terror, that is the chief feature of Pilsudski's Government at the present time. Terror, that is the panacea for all the ailments and weaknesses of fascism. While among the masses the wave of indignation against the acts of violence of the fascist regime is rising ever higher, while not only the revolutionary proletariat but also the broad masses of the working peasants and of the suppressed nationalities are rallying round the flag of revolutionary fight against the fascist dictatorship, fascism sees but one way out: intensification of the terror.

The sentences of death passed on the three communist workers, Kagan, Sosnoviec and Niebleski show how strained is the situation in Poland and that fascism is more and more resorting to methods of civil war against the revolutionary movement.

To the growth of the revolutionary movement the fascist dictatorship is replying with wholesale arrests, with the suppression of revolutionary trade union organisations (the tailors unions in Warsaw), with attacks on the legal anti-fascist workers' and peasants' organisations. Prosecutions of leaders of the legal revolutionary workers' organisations and of the P.P.S. Left are increasing; a whole number of leaders of the revolutionary peasant organisation "Samopomoc" have been thrown into prison; the premises of the revolutionary Ukrainian peasants' organisation "Selrob" have been closed and the leaders arrested, the leaders of the white Russian working peasants' organisation "Zmagannie" have also been arrested.

After the dissolution of the Sejm all revolutionary deputies which the fascist dictatorship could lay its hands on were thrown into prison. Finally, after the dissolution of the Upper Silesian diet the Communist deputy Wlaczorek, who has become very popular among the Upper Silesian proletariat on account of his courageous behaviour at meetings and demonstrations, was arrested. The police attempted at the same time to

arrest the second Communist deputy, Comrade Komandra, but he managed to escape.

A further expression of the increased measures of repression against the revolutionary Sejm fraction is the sentencing of the Communist deputy Zarski to eight years imprisonment.

Fascism is endeavouring to drown the rising indignation of the masses of peasants with a wave of repression and administrative punishments. It is persecuting in the first place those revolutionary peasants who took part in the international peasant Congress in Berlin. All meetings at which reports were to be delivered on the Congress were prohibited by the government; not a single report on the Congress was allowed to appear legally. The profound indignation among the masses of workers and peasants finds an echo in the growing discontent within the army. The fascist dictatorship is trying to stifle the ever increasing bitterness of the soldiers by increasing the terrorist regime and by courts martial. The trial of two corporals before the Lodz military court exposed before the broad masses the shameful and systematic ill treatment of soldiers which is part of the order of the day in the Republican Polish army. The recently held trial of a Uhlan, *Piotr Kocienka*, who has been condemned to eighteen months imprisonment for having participated in an unemployed demonstration, has undoubtedly caused a great stir among the soldiers.

A further expression of the general discontent prevailing is the fact that in the past few weeks acts of incendiarism have been daily occurrences on the estates of the Polish big landowners and on the farms of the military colonists in the West Ukraine.

According to figures compiled by the "Lemberger Kurjer Poranny", in the course of a few weeks 62 dwelling houses, 67 barns, 78 various farm buildings and 112 stacks of corn, hay and clover, representing a total value of 6,743,000 zloty were destroyed by fire in the West Ukraine.

Martial law has been introduced in the West Ukraine, although no official proclamation has been issued to this effect. The whole of Western Ukraine and East Galicia are swarming with punitive expeditions. The commander of the Lemberg military district has ordered cavalry manoeuvres in all the three sub-districts of East Galicia. All the prisons, barracks and concentration camps are filled with thousands of workers and Ukrainian peasants. The police are carrying out searches in the schools, and in the cultural and economic organisations of the Ukrainian population. The "plast" (Ukrainian Scout organisation) has been prohibited in the whole of West Ukraine. Most of the organisations of the "Luh" (sport organisation) and of the "Prosvit" have been closed. Almost every day a Ukrainian school or cooperative is blown up. Anti-Ukrainian pogroms are carried out in broad daylight with the toleration of the State. Ukrainian schools which survived for decades the Austro-Hungarian rule and have managed to endure for twelve years the regime of independent Poland are being closed. The arrested Ukrainian peasants are subjected to terrible tortures. They are often shot "while trying to escape".

This enormously increased fascist terror has, in addition to its general task of crushing the revolutionary movement of the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities, another and special aim: the preparation of the elections which are to take place within a month.

While the revolutionary movement is to be stifled by increased terror, the social fascists are to be intimidated and reduced to still greater docility to the fascist regime. Pilsudski knows his social fascist rivals well. It is not for nothing that he was for several years at the head of the P.P.S., nor is it for nothing that up to the present day he is surrounded by a number of former leading members of the P.P.S., among them being such people as Slavek, Prystor, Moraczewski and the commander of the Brest-Litovsk fortress, Dab-Biernacki. Thus Holovko, who not long ago was a member of the P.P.S. and is now one of the most devoted followers of Pilsudski, wrote in reply to the organ of the P.P.S. "Robotnik":

"To Mr. Niedzialkowski's question I reply: I regard the arrest of former deputies as justified and provocative of good results".

The last few weeks have furnished the clearest proofs of this counter-revolutionary role of the P.P.S. Whilst the masses, even those who follow the social fascists, wished to

demonstrate on the streets, the P.P.S. leaders did everything in order to break their will and to prevent the demonstration. When, finally, as a result of pressure from below, the P.P.S. leaders were compelled to proclaim the strike in Warsaw on the 16th of August, they immediately robbed the strike of its effectiveness by exempting from it a whole number of "vitally important" services such as the tramways, electricity and gas, the water-works and the railways, and in this way hindered the development of the revolutionary energy of the masses. These shameful tactics of revolutionary words and counter-revolutionary deeds were applied still more shamefully on the occasion of the dissolution of the Upper Silesian Diet. The leaders of the P.P.S., of the national workers' party and of the christian democrats proclaimed a three days' protest strike. But they not only did nothing to organise the strike, but did everything to damp down the militant spirit. That which the "Volkswille", the organ of the German socialist labour party, writes regarding the strike is characteristic:

"We are convinced that even the political Polish opposition parties could not have thought seriously of the strike; that they rather, by issuing bills and leaflets calling for a strike, wished to bring home to the mind of the "Sanacja" (the parties demanding that Polish finances be placed on a sound basis) that the opposition has means of fighting at its disposal which are calculated to put an end to the mad antics of the "Sanacja".

Thus, even the leaders of social fascism admit that their opposition gestures mean nothing more than a family quarrel within the camp of fascism; that social fascism has no intention whatever of seriously employing the strike weapon against fascism.

Against the fascist offensive, the ever rising wave of violence and terror, and the deceitful manoeuvres of social fascism there stands only the camp of the anti-fascist workers and peasants. In spite of the terror, in spite of social fascist deceit the anti-fascist camp are conducting their election campaign under the clear slogan of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment on its ruins of the rule of the workers and peasants. In the election platform of the workers' and peasants alliance the revolutionary proletariat of Poland has elaborated its great programme of struggle, the programme of socialist revolution.

## The Vaugoin-Seipel-Starhemberg Government in Austria.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

The new government in Austria has been formed. It is, as is stated in the proclamation of the leaders of the Heimwehr, a "fighting Cabinet against the Reds", i.e., an open undisguised fighting government against the working class.

To the most decisive circles of finance capital it was quite a matter of indifference what Parliamentary basis this government has. What was important was that it should by its unity acquire the greatest striking force against the working class. It was not a question of the votes of the Land League and the Pan-German deputies, but of support by the armed terrorist bands of fascism.

Precisely in this crisis in Austria there was revealed the change in the bourgeois class rule, which consists in the going over from the methods of Parliamentaryism to the methods of open fascist terrorist regime.

The Federal Chancellor Vaugoin gained his laurels from the bourgeoisie by developing the army into a reliable instrument, ready at any time to be used against the working class. He retains the post of Minister for Defence so that through him the generals of the Federal army exert decisive influence upon the government business. There is nothing new in the fact that in the time of crisis of the bourgeois class regime the bourgeoisie resorts to the jackboot rule of the military.

Prince Starhemberg, the Minister for the Interior, is the national leader of the Heimwehr. The stages of his political career are marked by the Kapp putsch in Berlin, participation in the fights in Upper Silesia in the ranks of the "Overland", for which he received the Silesian Order of the Eagle, and the Hitler putsch in München. In Austria he got into contact with major Pabst, began to be active in the Heimwehr, or-

ganised out of this forest workers and small tenants the notorious Starhemberg hunters' battalions, became provincial leader for Upper Austria, and recently national leader. He has never disguised the fact of his hostility to Parliamentarism and "Western democracy".

This Starhemberg is now Minister for the Interior. He did not find it necessary to make the formal gesture of laying down his function as national leader of the Heimwehr. He will therefore sign the decrees to the police, the gendarmerie and the Heimwehr.

This Starhemberg represents in the most unmistakable manner the complete coalescence of the bourgeois State apparatus with the fascist terrorist formations, i. e., the transition from the methods of Parliamentarism to the methods of open civil war.

He has a reliable support in Herr Hueber, the Minister for Justice, who is at the same time the provincial leader of the Heimwehr in Salzburg. This appointment will ensure the fascisation of the juridical apparatus. Fascist thugs and murderers have always been exempt from punishment in Austria. Now they will not even be brought to trial; instead, their victims will be prosecuted. This Minister will also have to settle the appeal by Major Pabst against his expulsion from Austria.

The foreign policy of this Heimwehr Ministry is in the hands of the prelate Seipel, whose close connections with Rome and Budapest are well known.

**Fascism first came into power in Austria not through Vaugoin-Starhemberg, but already through Schober.**

At the trial which has just been held in Vienna and at which Major Pabst figured as the defendant, the latter's counsel revealed what a large measure of confidence his client enjoyed with Schober.

According to Pabst's counsel, there existed since 1927 a special connection between the police president Schober and the leaders of the Heimwehr, i. e. Major Pabst. During the march of the fascists in Wiener Neustadt on 7th October 1928, Major Pabst worked for two days at the police headquarters, where, in addition to other things, he had control of the whole telephone apparatus of the Austrian police (it was feared at the time that this march would be disturbed by the workers). Pabst maintains that he had very extensive connections with Schober during the Chancellorship of Strecurwitz. It is not surprising, for Pabst's machinations led at that time to the overthrow of Strecurwitz and the setting up of a fascist government by Schober, the most important act of which, in addition to the press law and the exceptional law against the working class known as the anti-terror law, was the fascist reform of the Constitution, on the basis of which Vaugoin was able to dissolve Parliament without coming before it.

**The Vaugoin government is a government of sharper measures against the working class, a government of accelerated fascisation.**

But September 1930 is not September 1929, when Schober came into power. Fascism has not succeeded in abolishing unemployment or mitigating the class antagonism; on the contrary, the economic crisis is growing enormously and the revolutionisation of the masses is increasing from day to day. The bourgeoisie is now reproaching its one time idol, the butcher of the 14th of July, the "strong man" Schober, with weakness. In his place there comes Prince Starhemberg, the leader of the terrorist guards against the workers.

Will this result in any change in the social democratic policy of collaboration in the fascist course? There exists no reason for this assumption. On the contrary, the growing revolutionisation of the workers will more and more deprive the social democracy of the possibility of "Left" manoeuvres. In order to hinder the revolutionary fights of the workers it will have to reveal its social fascist character. And thus the social democracy will reconcile itself with Vaugoin just as it did with the "bloodhound Schober".

There is no doubt that Hitler's success in Germany has greatly influenced the recent development of the Austrian fascist regime, not only in regard to a more determined turn to Italian fascism in foreign policy, but also in the sense of a more decided abandonment of the forms of Parliamentary government.

The National Council is dissolved. The new elections will take place on the 9th of November. They will be used by the government for a general offensive of fascism in order to extend its social basis as widely as possible. In any event

the government will not be able to alleviate the economic crisis nor abolish the class antagonisms. On the contrary, it will only intensify them and by its policy of brutal terror challenge the proletariat to employ more and more revolutionary means of struggle and draw ever larger masses into the fight.

## Heimwehr Putsch Plans in Austria.

Vienna, 3th October 1930.

The fascist Heimwehr has issued a manifesto signed by its leader Prince Starhemberg the present Minister of the Interior for Austria. The manifesto points to the danger that the present state of political intrigue might drive many people into the camp of the reds and declares that the Heimwehr has entered the government not in order to support the Christian Social Party, but in order to get a firm grip on the helm of State in the interests of the Heimwehr ideals. The Heimwehr would not loosen its grip for any red majority. The manifesto concludes, "To-day the Heimwehr is in the government; to-morrow the Heimwehr block must capture parliament, not in order that its members should make themselves comfortable in its easy chairs, but in order to build up the new Heimwehr State on the ashes of party political parliamentarism".

This manifesto of the fascists speaks an open language. Should the coming elections give no majority to the Vaugoin-Seipel-Starhemberg government, then parliament will be pushed aside by virtue of the armed forces behind Starhemberg.

Starhemberg in the Ministry of the Interior and his fellow fascist Hueber in the Ministry of Justice are already busy exploiting their offices in order to strengthen the Heimwehr and persecute its enemies. Hardly a day passes but what some newspaper or publication is fined and suppressed for attacks on the Heimwehr government. Yesterday the "Allgemeine Zeitung", a bourgeois newspaper, was suppressed for reprinting an article published by the great German bourgeois daily newspaper the "Frankfurter Zeitung" on the situation in Austria. To-day the social democratic "Abend" was confiscated for publishing an attack on the government.

## Formation of a Schober Block. Split in the Fascist Heimwehr.

Vienna, 4th October 1930.

This morning a meeting of prominent industrialists, business men and politicians took place here under the chairmanship of the former Minister for Trade Schuster to discuss a resolution for the formation of a centre bourgeois block under the political and parliamentary leadership of the former Prime Minister Schober. The meeting adopted the resolution and a deputation waited on Schober who accepted the offer of the meeting. The coming elections will therefore see a bourgeois centre block under Schober. The Pan-Germans and perhaps other smaller groups will join the new block. It is not yet certain whether or not the Landbund (agrarians) will co-operate or perhaps join the new block.

The fact that the fascist Heimwehr leaders have entered the Vaugoin government has caused great discontent and resentment in the ranks of the fascists. In Vienna various fascist bodies have discontinued their affiliation to the Heimwehr association. The bodies which have left the Heimwehr represented the majority in the Vienna district. The groups which have remained are monarchist Christian Social groups. The same disruption is occurring in the provinces. According to a report from Innsbruck the Bund Oberland and other fascist groups have left the Heimwehr as a result of their disapproval of Starhemberg's action.

## The Provincial Diet Elections in Sweden.

By Sm.

The results of the Provincial Diet election in Sweden which took place recently do not show any great changes. The social democrats have sustained rather considerable losses in some districts (including typical industrial districts), nevertheless they have increased their vote by about 100,000. This gain was achieved everywhere at the cost of the petty bourgeois liberal (government) party, whilst at the same time the

Rights and the peasant party likewise achieved gains of over 100,000 votes at the cost of the centre parties. This turnover of votes (in itself not very great) merely means that the two wing parties of the bourgeoisie, the Rights and the social democracy, have achieved gains at the cost of the centre parties, which are becoming weaker.

The party of the Communist renegades, with the aid of the papers and party apparatus stolen from the Communist Party, carried out a Left manoeuvre. During the election campaign they made sharp attacks on the social democracy, and as they possessed numerous skillful organisers in all constituencies and still posed as the real Communist Party and as the section of the Communist, they were still able in most constituencies to obtain as many or even more votes than the undivided Party polled at the last election in 1926. In all, this party of the Communist renegades obtained about 33,000 votes; its leaders Samuelson and Kilbom, however, had reckoned on obtaining 300,000 votes. The Communist Party, which since its inception in 1917 had at every election an election agreement with social democracy, this time came forward quite independently with its own lists. It polled about 18,000 votes. The circumstance that the Communists entered the election without any election alliance with other parties was made extensive use of by the renegades in order to frighten the workers from supporting it by asserting that the Communists, by their tactics, were simply strengthening the bourgeoisie and weakening the front of the workers against fascism and reaction. Another circumstance which was bound to work to the disadvantage of the Communists, is the fact that in this election the age qualification for voting was 27 years, whilst for the Parliamentary elections it is 23 years. As the elections take place once in four years, there are thousands of electors over 30 years of age who exercise their right to vote for the first time. It goes without saying that such conditions are bound to work unfavourably for the revolutionary party, which reckons on support among the ranks of the young voters.

It speaks for the attractive power of Communism that the C.P. and the party of the renegades—which last is still regarded by the electors as a Communist party—in spite of the split and the mutual fight obtained 10,000 votes more than at the last election. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that there are still many revolutionary workers who are misled by the demagogy of the renegades and that the Communist Party has not yet been able to win these electors for the proletarian fight.

## GERMANY

### The Capitulation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany to Fascism.

By Philipp Dengel (Berlin).

The social democratic party of Germany has been plunged into the greatest confusion as a result of the recent Reichstag elections. The annihilating defeat of the old bourgeois parties and the serious defeat of the social democratic party itself, especially among the most important sections of the German working class, has thoroughly shaken the ideological structure with which this party endeavoured to hold together its members. While the world economic crisis and its fearful effects in Germany had already refuted the Kautsky-Hilferding theory of organised capitalism, belief in the possibility of capturing the State power by democratic means and in the peaceful development within the confines of democracy has been destroyed by the election, which annihilated the democratic majority of the Reichstag.

Even the social democratic workers see before them the enormous danger which the fascist dictatorship represents to their very existence. The social democratic workers also realise very well the role of the Brüning Government, with its brutal offensive, under the command of the leading sections of the German bourgeoisie, against the working population. The social democratic workers want to fight against the fascist danger and against the capitalist offensive. That is the meaning of their revolt against the policy of the leaders, which has found expression at numerous meetings of functionaries and

members of the party. In this connection we mention only the functionaries' meeting of the Berlin social democratic organisation and the delegate meeting of the Hamburg organisation. At both these meetings it was demanded that the party abandon the policy hitherto pursued and definitely oppose the Brüning Government.

In the leadership of the social democratic party there at first prevailed complete confusion and uncertainty in face of the mood of the rank and file. At first it was demanded that all the reasonable elements unite in order to form a government which should rely for support on the parties which stand by the Constitution. Among the German bourgeoisie this idea was supported only by the democratic press and the "Kölnische Zeitung", while the decisive sections of the German bourgeoisie emphatically rejected it. The bourgeoisie demanded more: it insisted on unconditional support of the fascist offensive of the Brüning government against the working class.

While the social democratic newspapers, in order to pacify the rank and file, announced that the party would fight the Brüning government in the event of the latter continuing its anti-working class policy, while Herr Löbe, the social democratic president of the Reichstag, announced that the annihilation of social policy must be averted in the Reichstag with the aid of the Communists and the national socialists, the leaders of the S.P.G. had already adopted their decisions. The theoretical justification of this decision to capitulate completely to the fascist bourgeoisie, has of course again been furnished by the "great theorist" Hilferding, who has written an article in the October number of the "Gesellschaft" entitled "In the danger zone", in which he deals with the present political situation in Germany.

What must the social democratic party do now in order to save democracy and parliamentarism? The answer of Hilferding and of the social democratic leaders is as follows:

"The ground for negotiations (in view of the anti-Parliamentary attitude of some parties with which one must negotiate for the purpose of forming a majority on a Parliamentary basis. Author) is very narrow. These negotiations must, in the first place, aim at securing Parliament; this general political postulate stands above all special demands in the present phase of economic and political crisis."

This sentence is really amazing. In order to save democracy one must sacrifice all other interests of the working class. But how is this democracy to be saved? Does not Hilferding say in the very same article that already before the election the Brüning government was the expression of the anti-democratic, anti-Parliamentary course of the German bourgeoisie? Must he not admit that the German People's Party and the Economic Party at least are demanding a more rigorous continuation of this anti-Democratic and anti-Parliamentary course? Where now is the salvation of democracy? We will let Herr Hilferding himself speak:

"Apart from all other factors, in a government of the Right with the national socialists, the Centre would be very quickly ousted from its already shaken key position and would become a mere tolerated appendage of the government until such time as the Right had sufficiently consolidated its position in order to dispense with the Centre. Thus the Centre will seek to maintain the Parliamentary basis, and this can only be achieved by coming to an understanding with social democracy. If this understanding is to be arrived at, the Centre must do everything to unite upon this basis the other former government parties in order to maintain Parliament."

Hilferding's argument is too threadbare to conceal the real meaning of the view held by him and the leadership of his party. The real meaning of this decision is that not only the interests of the workers are to be abandoned, but in the present phase of capitalist development democracy also is to be renounced.

At the extraordinary Party conference of the Berlin district of the S.P. of Germany which took place on Saturday last, Hilferding delivered the chief report. At this conference he repeated his theory and demanded unconditional support of the Brüning government in order outwardly to maintain Parliamentarism. After he had been fiercely attacked in the discussion, he defended his view by citing the example of



the Austrian social democratic party, which even agreed to an alteration of the Constitution in order to save democracy. To what extent the S.P. of Austria has saved democracy is shown by the present government of Austria, at the head of which there are the fascist prelate Seipel, the fascist leader Vaugoin and the fascist Captain Starhemberg.

It is very interesting to observe the attitude of the "Left" social fascists. Naturally, the moment the indignation of the social democratic workers over the policy of their leaders began to find vent, the "Left" leaders, just as at the time of the armoured cruiser scandal, were sent round the country in order to deliver revolutionary speeches to the functionaries. Under the influence of the mood of the social democratic workers, Max Seidewitz writes in the first October number of "Klassenkampf":

"Those who play with the idea that social democracy shall tolerate the government, proceed from the standpoint that in no circumstances must a government come about with the co-operation of the national socialists. Even if a government under the influence of the national socialists would be something terrible, we cannot avert it by the unconditional capitulation of the social democracy to the Brüning government."

In Berlin the "Left" Siegfried Aufhäuser was put up to address the functionaries. He inveighed against the emergency orders of the Brüning government and said finally:

"Brüning submits a programme and says: Swallow it or die. We intend neither to swallow it nor to die. To be capable of participating in the coalition does not mean to live by the grace of the Centre. A change of course must be introduced, otherwise a coalition will be fatal."

On the 3rd of October there took place a meeting of the social democratic Reichstag fraction, at which there was adopted by a great majority a resolution which was regarded by the whole of the bourgeoisie as a capitulation to the Brüning government. Thus, for instance, the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" writes:

"It is interesting to note that the decision of the social democratic Reichstag fraction abandons all Marxist phraseology, and that it raises no serious objection to the programme of the government."

## Communist Reichstag Motions.

When the Reichstag opens the communist fraction will move the rejection of the Brüning programme which plans to obtain 5,112 million Marks at the cost of the toilers, and make the following counter-proposals:

Immediate stoppage of all Young Payments	2,000 millions
Striking out of all Reichswehr expenses	750 "
Striking out of all civil war armaments for the police	600 "
Special 20% tax on millionaires	1,800 "
Special 20% tax on dividends	320 "
Special 20% tax on directors fees	200 "
Special 20% tax on all incomes exceeding 50,000 Marks annually	380 "
Striking out of all subventions	500 "
Cuts for salaries and pensions over 8,000 and 6,000 Marks respectively	200 "
Striking out of all expenses for censorship, the church and industrial arbitration	300 "

Making a total of: 7,150 millions

Referring to the proposals the "Rote Fahne" writes: Supported by 4.5 millions voters the Communist Party puts forward the demands of the working people against the hunger programme of the Brüning government which is supported by the fascists and social fascists. The Communist Party calls for the formation of a great anti-capitalist anti-fascist united front of the working masses!

What does the Left "Leipziger Volkszeitung" say to this capitulation resolution of the social democratic Reichstag fraction? It writes:

"The resolution adopted with a great majority by the social democratic Reichstag fraction is to be welcomed, as it specially emphasises, 'while safeguarding the vital interests of the working masses, to secure the Parliamentary basis and to assist in the solution of the most urgent financial-political tasks'. It is an omission that nothing is said regarding the economic and financial programme of the government, which according to the previously mentioned statement of the fraction must be sharply combated."

At the above-mentioned Party Conference of the Berlin district of the S.P.G. the Left were in the majority against the Party leadership. What was the outcome of this Party Conference? A militant decision against the capitulation of the Party leaders to the fascist Brüning government? Nothing of the kind. There was adopted a typical "Left" resolution which, like the resolution of the social democratic Reichstag fraction, makes no mention of the capitulation of the party leadership, but which is calculated to pacify the social democratic workers with a few "Left" phrases.

But this time it will be found impossible to allay the indignation of the social democratic workers, which will continue to grow. It will be the task of the C.P. of Germany to accelerate this process further; to shake the positions of the S.P. of Germany and to establish the united front of the working class in the fight against the capitalist offensive and against fascism.

## Resolution of the C. P. of Great Britain on the Results of the German Election.

The Communist Party of Great Britain sends greetings to the Communist Party of Germany on its striking victory in winning 4½ million workers to the flag of Communism and for a Soviet Germany. The result of the German elections are of international significance and strengthens the fight of the working class in every capitalist country. The victory registers a severe blow to the forces of capitalism and its henchmen, the social democrats, and gives striking confirmation of the correct tactics applied by our brother Party, under the leadership of the Communist International.

The successes of the German Party must inspire every member of the C.P.G.B. to go forward with renewed energy in order that our Party may win great victories in the period immediately ahead. The fact that we are allied with such powerful sections of the C.I. as the C.P.S.U. which is going from triumph to triumph in the realisation of the Five-Year Plan, and with the C.P.G. which is forging rapidly ahead towards leading a successful fight for a Soviet Germany, should convince every member of the strength of the forces of the international working class movement which means the strengthening of our own fight at home.

The victory of the German Party registered a tremendous defeat for the Social Democrats, and it is having important repercussions in every capitalist country, and in particular serves to warn our Party of the need for intensifying our fight against the Labour Government, in order to win the masses to our Party, as they have been won in Germany by the revolutionary line carried out against Social Democracy.

In Germany there is today an open confrontation of the classes, and the situation is sharpened since the election, by the Programme now put forward by the Brüning Hindenburg combination, which by its threat to carry through its policy by operating Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, which means open, and if necessary armed Fascist Dictatorship, serves to deepen the disillusionment of those masses who thought that after the election, political life would resume its normal parliamentary course.

The call of our German Party for the mass political strike, as the revolutionary weapon with which the German workers can best fight against the forces of Fascism, and against the Young Plan and in support of the German Party programme, makes it more necessary than ever that our

Party shall wage a greater fight against the Young Plan, at the same time as it explains to the British workers the political significance of the present situation in Germany.

The Young Plan which is responsible for so much misery in Germany, by its tremendous increase in taxation of workers' necessities, by its drive against essential social services, has reduced to a terrible extent the already low standards of the German workers. The Young Plan, like the Dawes Plan, is the handiwork of the Labour Government, and is one of the weapons through which wage attacks are now being levelled against large sections of German workers like those engaged in the metal industry, and the new wages attacks against large sections of British workers.

We must also take a sharp lesson from the rapid development of the Fascist movement in Germany under the banner of the National Socialist Party, which has been able by specious phrases and demagoguery to attract vast masses to its support, and which will openly sharpen the fight in Germany against the whole of the workers. In England the same forces are at work, and under pretext of Empire Free Trade; Empire Economic Unity; National Council of Industry and Commerce; the ground is being prepared for a similar development here. In this work of preparing the way for a powerful Fascist Government the task is rendered easier by the role of the Labour Government and Trades Union Congress General Council, which by their policy of class collaboration and carrying through of capitalist rationalisation, and suppression of the movements in the colonial countries, is objectively assisting in the development of the fascist movement. Unless our Party can succeed in winning the masses now rapidly being disillusioned by the Labour Government to its standard and away from the leadership of the social fascists there is a grave danger of sections of workers falling under the influence of the fascist propaganda of the Rothermere's and Beaverbrook's.

By means of its demagogic appeals to the working class youth whose interests had been shamefully betrayed by social democracy, the National Socialist Party succeeded in winning considerable support among the youth, realising that this is the best method to weaken the forces of the working class, and adopt all possible methods of attracting young workers into their ranks. For the revolutionary movement this also raises sharply the need of approaching young workers on popular questions in which they are interested, utilising their interest for sport, social and cultural activities, to mobilise them in the struggle of the workers as a whole against wage cuts and worsened conditions. To the extent our Young Communist League works among the broad mass organisations of working class youth along these lines, to that extent the youth can be won from the influence of social democracy and fascist propaganda.

The Party must therefore intensify its work for the Workers Charter of the Minority Movement, and to build up a powerful Minority Movement, that in addition to leading the fight for the Charter and the economic struggles, can also mobilise vast masses behind our Party as has been achieved by the Revolutionary opposition Movement in Germany; for the fight against the Young Plan, for support to the Shipley Bye-election, for the support of the League Against Imperialism in its work of fighting for the liberation of the colonial countries. And alongside and as part of this work the Party must conduct a ceaseless recruiting campaign as part of its daily work. This means closer than ever to the masses, and carrying out our work in every organisation where we can get into contact with the workers, and especially does this mean increased activity in the trade unions so that we can win the workers still under the influence of the social fascists to our leadership.

Especially must we note the important part played in the German Party's election victory by their revolutionary press. The large number of Daily Papers and their mass circulation, has been responsible for mobilising vast masses behind the Party. Here we must profit by this lesson and develop a great campaign in support of our own "Daily Worker" than has yet been achieved. Increased circulation is the main drive upon which our Party must concentrate, in order to build up mass contacts, greater financial resources, a more powerful network of Worker Correspondents,

that will in very truth enable the "Daily" to become the Party's main leader, agitator and organiser.

If these lessons are drawn from the success of our brother Party we are confident that we shall go forward to increased strength and make decisive progress in winning thousands of new workers to our banner and increasing the working class vote for our Party at the next General Election in Britain.

## THE BALKANS

### Against the Imperialist Balkan Conference!

"Risospastis", the central organ of the C. P. of Greece, in an article entitled "The Balkan Peace Conference — War preparation under the Mask of Pacifism" writes as follows:

"The antagonism between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union is the fundamental antagonism of the present epoch, to which the antagonisms between the capitalist countries themselves are subordinated. The more the successes of the Five-Year Plan are revealed, the more the world crisis of capitalism is accentuated, the more feverishly and more intensively the imperialists are preparing for war against the Soviet Union, because, as a result of overproduction, the question of conquering new markets is becoming acute, because every worker and peasant in the capitalist countries is clearly realising the glaring contrast: in the Soviet Union the rapid decline of unemployment and the uninterrupted improvement in the standard of living of the toiling masses; in the capitalist countries, rapid increase of unemployment, comprising an army of 20 million, and general worsening of the conditions of living of the toiling masses. The preparation for war against the Soviet Union is carried out by different methods: military measures, for which the toilers have to pay; intensification of terror; spreading of pacifist illusions and work for a closer rapprochement of the capitalists in order to set up the anti-Soviet block. The pacifist illusions are necessary in order to enable the capitalists to use the excuse: 'We have done everything to maintain peace; our opponents are to blame for the war'. The more they speak of peace, the more intensely they prepare for war. It is therefore no mere chance that just now, when the Balkan 'peace' Conference is being organised, Venezelos is carrying out great military and naval manoeuvres.

"The purpose of the Balkan Conference is not only to spread pacifist illusions, but also to bring the Balkan imperialists closer together in order to set up the anti-Soviet block, for the preparation of war against the Soviet Union imperatively demands the removal of the inter-Balkan contradictions. The 'rapprochement' of the Balkan imperialists means in reality the subordination of the inter-Balkan contradictions to the fundamental antagonism (Soviet Union — capitalist world). If that is not said quite openly it is only in order to deceive the masses."

The article concludes as follows:

"To the solidarity of the Balkan imperialists for the war-preparations against the Soviet Union the Communist Parties of the Balkans and the Balkan Communist Federation oppose the solidarity and the united fighting front of the toiling masses of the Balkans and of the suppressed nationalities against the imperialist war, against fascism and the offensive of the bourgeoisie, for social and national emancipation, for the Balkan Federation of the workers and peasants Republics. Only such a Balkan Federation of the workers and peasants can solve the national question according to the will of the nationally suppressed peoples and not according to the will of the Balkan and international imperialists.

To the Greek proletariat, in whose country the Balkan Conference will take place, there falls the task of demonstrating the will of the Balkan proletariat to fight against pacifism, against war and fascism, for the liberation from the imperialist capitalist yoke.

This year the Balkan Communist Federation is celebrating its 20th anniversary — 20 years of irreconcilable struggle. The proletariat and the toiling masses of the Balkans will fight under its leadership for the Balkan Federation of the workers and peasants Republics.

## HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

### France Commences Economic War against the Soviet Union.

By R. Auerhahn.

Immediately after his return from the meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, the French Minister for Trade, **M. Flandin**, delivered to the Ministerial Council his report on his activity in Geneva. While, however, Flandin did not succeed in achieving anything more at Geneva than getting adopted by the League Assembly—for the time being—the decision to subject to study the "phenomena of dumping in general", at the meeting of the French Ministerial Council he achieved a very great success: **The Tardieu Government announces that it will issue an order for combating the Russian system of dumping which has been employed for some time; the importation of a number of the most important articles exported by the Soviet Union, in the first place corn, meat, eggs, sugar, timber, linseed, is in future to be permitted only by special government license. This undoubtedly means, even if still somewhat veiled, the commencement of an economic war by France against the U.S.S.R., against the Five-Year-Plan!**

For obvious reasons the French Government does not yet deem it expedient to give the correct name to its anti-Soviet-action. The **all-capitalist front against the Soviet Union** which France is feverishly working to bring about still has various gaps, which cause a certain amount of hesitancy even on the part of the Paris advocates of this unholy alliance. Hence, in commenting on the decision of his government Flandin makes use of an official ambiguity, which however is by no means ambiguous to those who are familiar with diplomatic forms of expression. He states:

"It is not a question of declaring an economic war, but a question of **controlling** Russian trade activity in regard to imports to France; of **watching** Russian exports. There would exist no reason for refusing to accept Russian offers of goods, if they were **normal**."

The lame rejection of the ominous words "economic war" will not deceive anybody, no matter how much they are reckoned to deceive the French workers. With provocative insolence the **Tardieu Government**—whose intimate connections with **Deterding** are not without interest here—assumes the right to decide as to the "normality" of Soviet Russian imports. The manner in which these decisions are to be made is to be seen from the cunningly formulated declaration of **M. Flandin** "if Russian offers of goods were normal"—which, according to this ministerial assertion, apparently is not the case—then the French government would raise no objection to them.

That is clear enough. Such a measure resembles an **embargo on imports**, the exercise of which remains in the hands of people who are known all the world as propagandists of an anti-Soviet united front. The French Minister for Trade, **M. Flandin**, has just left for Bucharest in order to take part in the **new Agrarian conference** which upon the basis of the agrarian conferences of **Sinjaja** and **Warsaw**, is to adopt concrete decisions regarding an economic war against the Soviet Union, whereby there shall be set up an **anti-Soviet blockade** extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

What importance French imperialism attaches to a successful issue of this Conference is to be seen from the circumstance that the measures decided on by the Tardieu government against the importation of Soviet goods injure in the first place French economy itself, because these measures aim at excluding products which France is compelled to import from abroad. This applies in the first place to **timber** and **corn**. It is obvious that in this connection France wishes to give a preference to **Polish timber** and **Rumanian corn**. The hypocrisy of the plea that France's home industry must be protected against the influx of cheap goods from the Soviet Union could not be exposed more completely.

Naturally the Soviet government will give a proper reply to this opening of hostilities on the part of the French war-

mongers. Since the impudent attempt at a diplomatic intervention on the occasion of the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, since the Kutjepow and Bessedovsky "affairs", and now in the last few days with the benevolent toleration of the march of uniformed white guardists through the streets of Paris up to the present proclamation of economic war, French imperialism has systematically increased its anti-Soviet policy. The intentions and the aim of Tardieu and the men behind him are easily perceived: **War, all-capitalist war against the Soviet Union. M. Tardieu, however, will find the Soviet Union and also the world proletariat fully prepared!**

### The Soviet Press on the Economic War Measures of the French Government.

Moscow, 5th October, 1930.

The press describes the decision of the French Government to place a restriction on the importation of a number of commodities produced in the Soviet Union as the commencement of an open economic war against the Soviet Union. The "Pravda" writes:

"French imperialism, which is unable at present to resort to weapons, in its search for methods of fighting against the Soviet Union, is resorting to the economic blockade in order to hamper the building up of Socialism and to weaken the economic power of the Soviet Union, as the building up of Socialism puts an end to the dreams cherished by the French bourgeoisie of a capitalist restoration in Russia. French imperialism is endeavouring to get other capitalist countries to participate in organising an economic blockade. Vain hopes! Germany, Italy, England, and to a considerable extent also the United States, are in a situation differing from that of France, which mainly produces goods for which there is no market in the Soviet Union. And even for those commodities which could be exported to the Soviet Union, France does not offer any advantageous conditions. The most important industrial countries, however, need Soviet products and also the market of the Soviet Union. They will hardly be content to allow France to place herself at the head of a Continental Block, even if this block should be directed against the Soviet Union. At the very most the heroes of the Warsaw and Bucharest 'Agrarian Conferences' will follow France, lured by the naive hope of disposing of their agricultural products on the French market. The new anti-Soviet action of the French imperialists will not find us unprepared."

The "Isvestia" writes:

"The French Government is pursuing the dangerous course of hampering peaceful economic relations between the peoples. The decree issued by the French Government is immediately connected with the preceding anti-Soviet policy of France, with the negotiations at Geneva and the intrigues with the aid of which France organises and supports the anti-Soviet block at Warsaw, Bucharest, Geneva etc. The French Government intends by these demonstrations to restore the drooping spirits of its European vassals after the ineffective move of the French delegation at Geneva and the failure of the decisions of the Warsaw Conference. The French Government is also reckoning with the international effects of its action in connection with the economic crisis which is now commencing in France."

The "Isvestia" further expresses the opinion that France will not succeed in hampering trade between the Soviet Union and the largest states, not to speak of putting a stop to it. The economic crisis will work against France, and therefore in the last resort, the anti-Soviet action of the French Government must be regarded as a sign of weakness. The Soviet Union remains master of the situation; it will continue in the future confidently to develop its economic relations with the outer world and realise with still greater persistence the great plans of socialist construction.



## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# **On the Conclusion of the Second Year of the Five-Year Plan.**

By L. F. Winow.

The economic year 1929/30, the second of the Five-Year Plan, ended on September 30. If one considers the results of this year as regards socialist construction, one is inclined almost involuntarily to use the words: "a historical success". Is it not then, judged by the scale of capitalism, historically unexampled when a country, which is obliged to build up its industry with its own resources, increases its industrial production in one year by 30 per cent., and in some branches of industry doubles or even quadruples its production? And yet this 30 per cent. increase pales before the plans for the next year, which envisage an increase of about 55 per cent., that is to say, an increase in one year far exceeding the decade-long development of Russian industry from its very beginnings up to the October revolution, as this 55 per cent. represents an increase over this years figures, which are already nearly double the pre-war figures.

We have not, of course, any exact data regarding the final result of the economic year 1929/30. But the figures already available relating to the first ten months show that the capitalist world has every reason to tremble at the realization of the Five-Year Plan. For this result shows that the second year of the Five-Year Plan means an important step towards fulfilling the task:—"Five-Year Plan in four years".

When one observes the actions of the international bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union, including the latest campaign against so-called "Soviet Dumping", i. e. against the fact that the Soviet Union, thanks to the advantages it has as a result of the planned organisation of its economy, is able to sell many of its products more cheaply than can the capitalist countries, then one perceives that the class enemy has realised with fear and rage that the Five-Year Plan is being successfully carried out. The capitalist press is endeavouring, demagogically and deliberately, to represent the success of the second year of the Five-Year Plan as a failure. In estimating the results of the Five-Year Plan they deliberately make use, not of the figures of the Five-Year Plan, but of the so-called Control Figures for the year 1929/30, which in regard to industrial production are about 60 per cent. above the highest figures of the original Five-Year Plan.

The results achieved in the economic year are a few per cent. behind these figures. The figures in the last few months show an increase oscillating between 26½ and 29½ per cent. instead of an average increase of 32 per cent. envisaged by the control figures. The fact that the Soviet proletariat and the Bolshevik Party which is marching at its head are not satisfied with the results achieved and are demanding that the control figures be quickly and completely realised, and that the working class is exerting all its energies in order in the last weeks to achieve by one hundred per cent. the aim it has set itself, is only natural and a matter of course. The ruthless self-criticism, the exposure of those faults and shortcomings in the work which have caused this arrears of a few per cent. in industry as a whole, and of not quite one per cent. in the industry producing the means of production (39.8 per cent. instead of 40.7 per cent. in the first ten months) is the precondition for further and greater victories.

It is ridiculous when the press of the bourgeoisie, which in the last year of world crisis has to record a disastrous decline of production in the capitalist countries, condescendingly treats as a failure the increase of industrial production by the Soviet proletariat of 27 to 30 per cent.—an increase absolutely unknown in the history of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat can reply to it with scorn: "Miserable hypocrites! This 'failure' is a tenfold greater achievement than even the greatest successes you have ever been able to record!"

It must be pointed out again and again that the Five-Year Plan is not a mathematical-technical task, but a strategic plan of the proletarian class struggle. Its realisation depends not only on the material and technical prerequisites, but also on

the relations of the class forces in the Soviet Union and also on an international scale. If we consider the economic year just coming to an end from this point of view, then it must be said that this year has been a year of strenuous exertion of forces in both class camps: in the camp of the proletariat and in the camp of the class enemy. Viewed from this standpoint our successes are much greater than when regarded from the point of view of mere figures.

The greatest blow which we have dealt the class enemy in this year was our **victory in the fight for bread**. This fight against the grain-strike of the kulaks—this last important section of the class enemy in the Soviet Union—is not a simple question of food supply, but a question of the whole socialist construction. Had the kulaks by this attempt to starve the proletariat succeeded in obtaining a number of concessions, such as abandonment of the rapid pace of industrialisation, abandonment of collectivisation etc., as the Rights proposed, it would have tremendously strengthened the class enemy and thereby endangered the building up of socialism. The victory which the proletariat, under its Bolshevik leadership, has won in this fight is expressed in the following facts:

a) The decisive quantities of market grain are no longer concentrated in the hands of the kulaks, but in the hands of the socialist elements of agriculture.

The following figures illustrate this process:

		Market grain was in the hands of			
		in pre-war time	1926-27	1929-30	1930-31
Big landowners . . . . .	21.6	—	—	—	—
Kulaks . . . . .	50	—	20	23	3
Individual farms of the poor and middle peasants . .	28.4	—	74	65	44
Soviet farms and collective farms . . . .	—	—	6	12	53

b) The organised supply of bread to the workers was not only secured, but for the first time since several years the Soviet Union again appeared on the world market as a great grain exporter. The effect of this victory on the industrialisation will be apparent when it is remembered that every consignment of corn sent abroad means a consignment of imported means of production for industrialisation.

c) We have succeeded for the first time in winning great masses of middle peasants for the idea of socialist agriculture by demonstrating to them the advantages of collectivisation.

Precisely because the Five-Year Plan is a task of the class struggle it can lead to a real success only if the whole mass of the proletariat as the ruling class conducts this fight consciously, actively and with initiative. In the second year the forms of mass initiative—socialist competition and shock brigade movement—have not only undergone a further consolidation, but the movement of the so-called "industrial and financial factory plan" has arisen, which constitutes a fundamental new element of socialist competition. Whilst the socialist competition meant that the working masses were concerned for the carrying out of the plan, the "factory plan" means that the working masses actively participate in the drawing up of plans.

The greatest achievement which the working class have to record in the economic year now expiring in regard to their immediate material situation is, in addition to the uninterruptedly increasing real wages, the introduction of the seven-hour day and the five-day week, and the almost complete abolition of unemployment. Whilst in the capitalist countries millions of workers are being thrown onto the street as a result of the crisis, the Soviet Union, already in the second year of the Five-Year Plan, has become a country in which

unemployment is practically unknown. In the sphere of education, the introduction of compulsory school attendance is the greatest achievement of the year.

There still exist great difficulties which are not yet completely overcome. Unemployment has been overcome, but in its place a shortage of skilled workers is making itself felt. The education of new big proletarian cadres of engineers, experts and skilled workers is being carried on with all speed.

The rapid collectivisation places enormous demands on industry, and at the same time the rising standard of living of the collective farm peasants necessitates increased production of means of consumption.

The sabotage of the class enemy still continues. The kulak has been annihilated as an economic power, but has not yet lost all ideological influence upon many vacillating sections of the peasantry—even including some organised on the collective farms. Supported by foreign capital, the counter-revolution at home is still endeavouring to strike blows. The recently discovered big counter-revolutionary conspiracy against the food supply is an example of this. In foreign trade relations the Soviet Union has to repulse numerous attacks upon its export trade. After the fiasco of the Fish Commission in America, French Imperialists are undertaking the leadership of attempts at an indirect economic blockade.

How the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Power are reacting to these difficulties is shown by the magnificent plan of the control figures for the coming year: 55 per cent. increase in the production of industry as a whole, 70 to 80 per cent. increase in the output of heavy industry, completion of a great number of new gigantic works, further rising of the standard of living of the masses, completion of collectivisation in a number of important grain districts, hundreds of new Soviet farms for cattle-breeding and the production of raw materials etc.—these are the chief items of the programme. This programme is illustrated by the following details:

	Five-Year Plan for 1930-31	New Plan for 1930-31	Final Figures of Five-Year Plan for 1932-33
Crude iron, million tons	6.2	7.5	10
Coal, million tons . . .	53	74.5	75
Machines, million roubles . . .	1.16	2	2.05
Agricultural machines, million roubles . . .	341	845	610

Thus, in the above important branches of industry the figures of the original proposals of the Five-Year Plan will this year not only be far exceeded, but even the final figures of the Five-Year Plan will be reached in regard to the production of coal, and far surpassed in regard to general machine-construction and construction of agricultural machinery. That is the Bolshevik reply to the difficulties of socialist construction and the obstacles which the class enemy are endeavouring to place in its path.

## Tenth Anniversary of Soviet Kasakstan.

Moscow, 4th October 1930.

A special session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of Kasakstan took place to-day in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of Soviet Kasakstan. Comrade Petrovsky greeted and congratulated the session in the name of the government of the Soviet Union.

The press in Kasakstan points out that Kasakstan has ceased to be a colony since the proletarian revolution in Russia. The former Czarist colony had experienced a national re-birth. Kasakstan had ten years of magnificent development behind it. 4,333,000 hectares were under seed. 40 per cent. peasant farms are collectivised and 20 gigantic soviet grain factories are at work. In addition there are 38 Soviet cattle-breeding farms with 40 million head of cattle. In industry there had also been splendid progress during the past ten years. 1,223,000 roubles had been invested in industrial extension. The epoch making line Turksib had been laid down and in addition the line Borovaya—Akmolinsk—Karagandy with a total length of 430

Kilometres had just been opened. Tremendous work had been done to develop the nomad tribes into settled farmers. In the present year no less than 84,340 nomad families had been settled down on the land.

## The Shock-Brigades — the Most Important Aspect of Mass Participation in Socialist Construction.

By W. Molotov.

The growth of socialist competition and of the shock brigade movement among the working class and on the collective farms is the best indicator showing the way in which development of social relations in the land of the Soviets is going. The facts in connection with socialist construction, and before all the gigantic fact of the developing economic construction are to be seen every day and at every step. One of the best indicators that this is a socialist construction, that it expresses the growth of socialism, is the developing shock brigade movement and the competition in all its multitudinous forms, especially in its highest form of the industrial and financial supplementary plan.

The successes of the shock brigade movement, which already embraces thousands and thousands of workers, expresses the rapid growth of our socialist cadres and the decisive changes in the development of class consciousness within the proletariat. The shock brigade movement is one of the most remarkable phenomena of the growing participation of the masses in the building up to socialism. The member of the shock brigade occupies foremost place in the work of socialist construction. Behind the shock brigade member there marches the millions of workers who are participating more and more actively and more consciously in the work of building up socialism.

The growing active participation of the great masses of the proletariat in our work of socialist construction is however, in the last resort, a growth of socialism. The shock brigade member has won his place in the foremost ranks thanks to his class-consciousness and proletarian activity. This post involves great responsibility. He is pledged to improve his own culture and in particular to raise his political level. It is impossible for a member of the shock brigade to become a really conscious proletarian, occupying the foremost position, without constant and persistent work to improve himself and promote his political development.

The real shock brigade member inevitably becomes in the course of his development an active worker in the Bolshevik sense of the word—a real Communist. That is the significance of the high calling of the shock brigade member. It therefore follows that not everybody who calls himself a "shock brigade member" is in reality a shock brigade member.

A shock brigade member of an hour is no shock brigade member. A workshop in which today one portion of the workers are shock brigade members and tomorrow another, is no real shock brigade works. Only when the shock brigade movement is expressed in a steady growth of the active cadres of the works, in the extension of its membership and the raising of the proletarian class-consciousness of the advance guard of the works—only then can a shock brigade movement be said to exist.

On the other hand, the role of the shock brigade member as one occupying the foremost place in production, is so important that it sometimes happens that the non-Party shock brigade member in the works, in the factory, in the pit is ahead of the Communist. It is not every Communist that succeeds in occupying a foremost position in production. Unfortunately we often have to witness the shameful fact of a Communist standing aside in the socialist competition and the shock brigade movement. He thereby excludes himself from the advance-guard of production, from the ranks of those who occupy the foremost place in production.

The Party—and in particular the XVI. Party Congress—called upon its organisations to put an end to this shameful state of affairs. And of course the Bolshevik organisations will no longer permit any postponement of the solution of this urgent task. They will make the participation of the Communist complete and real, at the same time conducting an unrelenting fight against mere formal competition and pseudo-shock brigade movements, thereby conducting a Bolshevik fight

against all forms of distortion of the shock brigade movement, against mere outward show and against mere pomposity.

Only the real shock brigade members who occupy the most prominent position in production are of value. Only such shock brigade members form at present our real and best cadres in the works, the factories and pits. We need more of such elements.

The fight against the gaps in production, for example in the Donbasin, will be immediately placed on a firm foundation if the cadres of shock brigade members grow in a Bolshevik manner not only numerically, but also in regard to their proletarian activity and in their participation in the practical building up of Socialism. Without the growth of the cadres in the enterprises, and before all without a further and still more powerful development of the socialist competition and the shock brigade movement, it is impossible for us to solve the ever-growing tasks confronting us. The shock brigade member, standing in the foremost ranks of socialist competition among the million masses, inspires boldness and strengthens belief in the success of the fight for Socialism. The shock brigade member will speak a decisive word for the victory of Communism.

## What is Being Built in the Soviet Union?

By Ch. Rapoport (Moscow).

An approximate picture of the extent and character of the great building projects of the Five-Year Plan is furnished by the following enumerated examples of gigantic works which are being erected for the heavy industry.

The metal combine **Magnitogorsk** (Urals) with a production of 2,500,000 tons. The first two furnaces will be yielding crude iron already on October 1st.

As is known, these works are situated at the foot of the Magnet Mountain, where the iron ore deposits in the fields so far surveyed amount to 275 million tons. Excellent ore, containing 62 to 65 per cent of iron, is found on the surface. The Magnitogorsk works comprise a power works driven by coal and supplying 100,000 kilowatts of electric energy, huge mining works with an annual output of six million tons, a chemical coke combine and a chemical combine connected with the metal combine. The cost of building the metal combine amounts to 750 million roubles, and together with the chemical combine and other works about 900 million roubles.

This huge undertaking constitutes an outpost and prepares the way for a powerful and rapid industrialisation of the Ural and the East. The project envisages an extension of the Magnitogorsk works rendering them capable of an output of 4 million tons with eight furnaces, so that they will occupy the first position in the world. At present work is mainly concentrated on the erection of a dam; work on the erection of dwellinghouses is already well advanced; work is proceeding on the erection of auxiliary factories and workshops; mining work, partly prospecting work and partly sinking of pits, levelling of the ground, surveying of the ground for the building of power works, is proceeding, while the excavation work for the foundation of two furnaces is already completed. By the end of 1930/31 two furnaces must be built, seven Martins furnaces must commence work, a third of all the mining work carried out and a considerable part of the settlement completed.

The **Kusnetzk** factory, the first giant of the industrialisation of Siberia, will be erected in the centre of the richest hard coal district in the world. It is to be capable of a production of 1,100,000 tons, that is to say, the production of this works will be equal to the largest smelting works in Europe and America. The Kusnetzk works will have 3 or 4 furnaces and 15 Martins furnaces. The cost of erection amounts to 300 million roubles. This factory is of tremendous importance for Siberia and Central Asia and Kasakstan: it lays the foundations of a third smelting industry centre of the Soviet Union together with the Don Basin and Urals. The Kusnetzk works which has cheap coal at its disposal, will smelt the ore from the Urals. The combining of the Kusnetzk works and the Magnitogorsk works renders it possible to transport the ore in waggons, which on the return journey will bring coal to the Ural, so that the transport of ore will not greatly increase the cost of production of crude iron. These two works will

produce crude iron 19 roubles per ton cheaper than it has been possible to produce it hitherto.

The metal combine of **Saporoshe** is the centre of a grandiose industrial combine which will be built on the basis of the cheap energy supplied by the greatest hydro-electric works of Central Europe, **Dnieprostroy**. The combine consists of a factory for the production of high grade metal, including all kinds of steel; of the **Dnieprostal** works, with a production of 160,000 tons of electro steel, which is specially employed for construction work and the making of instruments; of a factory for the manufacture of ferro-mangan, ferro-silicium etc.; of a factory which will manufacture 15,000 tons of aluminium.

The factory of **Saporoshe** has brilliant possibilities of development, as it is situated in a huge electrical centre on the **Dni** and in the midst of rich supplies of raw material. It can make use of the ore of **Krivoy Rog** and of the coal from the Don basin, while at the same time there is a big and growing demand for high grade metals for tractors and machine-production. The plan of the **Saporoshe** combine provides for an increased production up to 2,500,000 tons, so that it will be one of the largest works in the world. The factory is already in course of construction and is to commence operations on the 1st of May 1932 at which date the **Dnieprostroy** will also commence to supply electrical energy.

In accordance with the decisions of the Central Committee, factories are being built in **Nishni Tagil** and **Bakal** (Ural) as well as in **Maripol** (South Ukraine) and, at the end of the Five-Years, in **Lipetzkoje** (Central black earth district).

The **Nishni Tagil** factory will work up the ore from the **Blagodat**, **Vissokaya** and **Leblash** mountains. It is to be capable of an output of 1,100,000 tons, while the construction bureau for smelting works estimates that, in view of the rich ore deposits, the **Nishni Tagil** works will be able later to increase its production to 2,500,000 tons. Work on the factory will commence in 1930/31, and the factory will start working already in the year 1932/33.

According to the proposals of the construction bureau for smelting works the **Bakal** works are to produce 2,500,000 tons. The **Bakal** works are to be built in the neighbourhood of rich deposits of the best ore, and, by employing coke from **Kusnetzk**, will be able to produce very high grade metal, which is of great importance to the tractor factories, the general machine construction factories, agricultural machinery works, to ship building and national defence.

In accordance with the decisions of the C. C., work on the erection of the **Lipetzkoje** works is to commence in the current five years. The plans provide for a production of 1,100,000 tons, which is to be increased later to 2,500,000 tons, according to the results of the geological investigations. The **Lipetzkoje** works are an important factor for the industrialisation of the Central black earth district, and will provide it with metal and chemical fertilisers.

The **Maripol** works are to deliver 900,000 tons in the year 1932/33.

Of the other new smelting works the metallurgical combine of **Kertch** has already commenced work, and by the end of the five years will increase its production to 500,000 tons.

When speaking of the new works and factories mention must be made of the three reconstructed factories of the "Yugostal": the **Djershinsky**, **Tomsky** and **Voroshilov** factories, which in the year 1932/33 will deliver 3,500,000 tons, which is as much as the production of the whole country at the time of the commencement of the five years.

The great reconstruction work is converting many factories into giants, such as the "Serp i Molot" (Moscow); it is considerably enlarging the factories of the former State Union of Smelting works and a number of Leningrad metal works. Thus, for instance, the production of the machine-building works, which yearly produce machines to the value of over 100 million roubles, will at the end of the five years have an output value as follows: **Krasnoje Sormovo** 170 million roubles, **Kolomna** 230 million, **Krasnij Profintenn** 365 million, **Lugansk** 125 million, **Kharkov** 275 million, **Ishorski** 121 million, **Electrosteel** 102 million, **Kramatorski Starij** 110 million, **Wagon factory Tver** 120 million, mechanical works of **Podolsk** 135 million. Such a growth of production is but a faint reflection of that progress which is expressed in the production of these giants of the metallurgical industry.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Conflict in the Berlin Metal Industry.

By Paul Peschke (Berlin).

The policy of wage cuts commenced by the metal industrialists in the Ruhr district and Mansfeld is now to be introduced in Berlin. On the 30th of September the collective agreement, involving a 140,000 metal workers out of a total of 300,000 expired. The employers are demanding a 15 per cent. wage cut. This means on an average a weekly loss of 8.70 Marks, for skilled workers, 7.05 Marks for semi-skilled workers, and 4.35 Marks for women, and for the employers an extra profit of 47½ million marks a year.

The trade union bureaucracy, bound by the hopes of participation in the coalition government and the bargainings of the social democratic leaders with the Brüning government, is pursuing even more shamelessly than in the Ruhr district the policy of throttling the movement and preventing any strike. After making revolutionary speeches, the bureaucrats, instead of mobilising the workers in the factories, delivered the movement over to the arbitrators. The socialdemocrat Wissell ought as arbitrator to have pronounced the award. As a result of agreements between the social democratic party of Germany and the Brüning government, which latter needed the unconditional support of the social democracy and also the prevention of the metal workers strike, a bourgeois special arbitrator was appointed in order to relieve the social democratic party of Germany from the responsibility a pronouncing an award under which the workers would have to submit to a wage cut.

Under the pressure of the workers mobilised by the Red Trade Union Opposition, the arbitrator did not venture to pronounce his award immediately on the expiration of the collective agreement, as was the original intention of the Ministry for Labour, but delayed pronouncing his award for a week in the hope that in the meantime the trade union bureaucracy would succeed in curbing the excitement in the workshops. Thanks, however, to the organised preparation for a strike by the Red Trade Union Opposition, the exact contrary has occurred. Even the social democratic workers and the trade union functionaries are highly indignant at the fact that the leaders of the union are prepared to sacrifice the wages of the metal workers for the prospect of ministerial seats in the Reichs government and in order to retain those the social democrats have in the Prussian government. Faced by the members of the Red Trade Union Opposition with the question whether they are prepared to accept a wage cut or whether they wish to organise a strike along with the Red Trade Union Opposition, a considerable part of the social democratic workers decide for the latter course. Social democratic factory councils in the A.G. Hennigsdorf declared that they valued their proletarian honour more highly than a seat on the factory council, and asserted that in the event of the wage cut being introduced they would lead the workers in the strike. This is the mood in nearly all the most important works in Berlin. As a result of the mobilisation work of the Red Trade Union Opposition, which at the same time is able to record a great influx of members into the factory groups, the workers everywhere declared their readiness to reply with a strike to any attempt to reduce their wages by even a penny. A declaration making the award binding will by no means change this determined attitude of the workers. Up to Sunday 5th of October preparatory strike committees had been elected in more than 30 big works.

On the 5th of October there was held a Conference of metal workers' delegates convened by the Red Trade Union Opposition, at which there were present 407 delegates from 130 big works and from metal workers' labour exchanges. Among these delegates were 52 women and 34 young workers. The Conference reflected the militant spirit of the workers in the shops. It was in the true sense of the word a fighting Conference. In an extraordinarily good discussion on the experiences hitherto obtained and the methods applied in organising strikes, there was laid down the line of action, according to which the latest preparations are to be made and the first measures for launching the strike adopted. The Con-

ference addressed an appeal to the metal workers of Great Berlin containing the following slogans:

"Every attempt to reduce wages shall be answered by the strike!

Prepare the workshops for the strike!

Make all preparations for the conduct of the strike!"

A central strike committee was elected in which 80 of the largest Berlin factories are represented. The Conference provides the guarantee that the combined efforts of the employers, the trade union bureaucracy and the State apparatus will come to naught in face of the fighting spirit of the workers. As soon as wage cuts are introduced in the Berlin works, the Berlin metal workers, under the leadership of the revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, will reply with the strike.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### What is Happening in Indo-China?

By P. F. (Paris).

A laconic telegram states that in the morning of 28th September the sentry on guard at Nam Dam in the province of Vinh (North Annam) was attacked by a large group of Annamites who cut off connections between the sentry and headquarters. The message further states that the native guards fired and that the attackers were repulsed.

Further details are lacking. From this report, however, one can infer two facts: 1. that the demonstration of the natives was very important and 2. that it was bloodily suppressed.

A shameful silence is maintained regarding the number of victims, just as lies were told regarding the revolts which occurred on 9th and 11th September in Cam-Xuyen, Ky-An, Hung-Nguyen, Tang Chuang etc. when hundreds of victims fell under the bullets of machine guns.

If one connects this latest event with a number of special reports on Indo-China one observes that with the development of the uninterrupted insurrectionary movement of the natives the imperialist acts of repression become more severe.

The mercenary press does not fail to call special attention to some measures which have been adopted recently and which obviously aim at setting up a native police guard in order to patrol the disaffected districts and arrest the "agitators".

A campaign is also being conducted for granting greater powers to the Governor General, although it is already known what numerous powers he already possesses and what misdeeds he has made of them in order to put an end to the revolutionary movement. Finally, one could read reports as the following:

"Special measures are being carried out in Cochinchina in order to prevent the Communists from recruiting followers from among the scum of the big towns."

Do not all these various reports show in the clearest manner the ever increasing unrest of the ruling class regarding events in Indo-China?

As a matter of fact already for months past, since the events of Yen Bay, an irreconcilable fight has been going on between the millions of workers and peasants in Indo-China and the imperialists.

This fight, the course of which is very difficult to follow, as exact details are lacking, should serve to remind the proletarians in the capitalist countries of their duty to show active solidarity with the big insurrection in Indo-China.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### Increased War-Preparations of the Fascist-Military Dictatorship in Rumania.

By Martino.

In connection with the Conference of the imperialist Balkan States which is to be held from the 5th to the 12th of October, attention must be directed to the war-preparations in Rumania.

At the present time a fanatical incitement against the Soviet Union is being carried on in the whole press, led by the government organs. It has been suddenly discovered that the Soviet Union is conducting a systematic espionage activity in Rumania and the other Balkan States. It now suddenly appears that the Russians not only cause persons such as the notorious Tsarist General Kutjupof to disappear, but also, it is alleged, purloined a year ago (?) a very important military document—the Polish-Rumanian military treaty—from the former Rumanian Minister for war. The purpose of these allegations is to discredit the Soviet Union and to facilitate the ideological war-preparations against it. This is also the purpose of the systematic economic incitement against the Soviet Union, which is accused of carrying on the worst form of trade competition, especially on the timber, oil and grain market. The recent economic conferences of the Balkan States were, in the main, Conferences against the Soviet Union. This is to be seen from the fact that France, the protector of these States, is at present doing everything possible in Geneva to bring about an economic blockade of the Soviet Union. In this sense, therefore, the economic conferences in Bucharest, Sinaja and Warsaw were preparations for the imperialist Balkan Conferences which opens in Athens on the 5th of October.

But under Carol's fascist dictatorship the active preparations for war have also greatly increased. In the speech he made when he ascended the throne three months ago, in addition to democratic phrases, he announced an increase of the army and of the fleet. Meanwhile, King Carol is already carrying out the reorganisation of the army. A great number of officers and generals have been forced to retire in order to make way for politically more reliable and younger elements. In one of his recent speeches King Carol announced that the budget for 1931, owing to the existing deficit, must involve considerable retrenchment in regard to cultural and social expenditure, but must at the same time contain an increased expenditure of 2500 million Lei on the army and navy. This would mean that about one third of the budget would be devoted to war purposes. It is probably known that at the time of Carol's ascension to the throne the army received at his special behest an extra present of 5000 millions. In addition, there are plans for enlarging the harbour of Constantza. The number of oil tanks and grain warehouses in this harbour are to be increased. Bridges over the Danube to Yugoslavia and over the Pruth to Poland are already in course of construction. All these measures of course, serve in the first place the strategical purpose of connecting the Balkan States more closely with Poland and the Baltic Block. Mention should also be made in this connection of the plan for building and extending the strategically important railway lines and roads in Rumania, on which work is to commence next Spring. It should be mentioned in passing that in connection with these building projects a tremendous corruption scandal has come to light: the government placed the contract for executing the work with the swindle firm of Stewart, and it now transpires that the London Westminster bank refused to finance the contract. Such cases of corruption are part of the order of the day.

On Sunday the 14th of September air manoeuvres took place in Bucharest, participated in by air squadrons of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Italy, France, Poland and Czechoslovakia. A few weeks ago the English fleet paid a "visit" to the port of Constantza, which is to be returned by a visit of the two largest Rumanian warships, "King Ferdinand" and "Queen Maria" to English waters. These air and naval

demonstrations are directed against the Soviet Union and form an important part of the imperialist war-preparations. This applies particularly to this year's military manoeuvres, which are to be held in Transylvania from the 15th to 27th October and for which the most careful preparations are being made. All men liable for military service have been called up to take part in these manoeuvres.

The recent visit of the English fleet has, as the English newspapers report, borne fruit in the shape of an Anglo-Italian economic treaty in which Rumania is also included. In this treaty England makes certain concessions to the Rumanian oil industry, and in return demands that in future all Rumanian warships shall be built in English dockyards. As the financial resources of the country do not suffice for these armaments, serious efforts are being made by King Carol in France and England to raise foreign loans. The Liberal Party of Bratianu has, accordingly, undertaken an official alteration of its programme in order to facilitate the flow of foreign capital into Rumania. It can be said in general that Parliament and all bourgeois parties, including the social democracy and the Left wing of the national Zaranists, under Professor Stere, actively support in every way the fascist dictatorship and its imperialist war policy.

It is only logical that hand in hand with the war preparations the white terror is increasing. All the revolutionary workers' and peasants' organisations, the Communist Party, the unitary trade unions, the Red Aid, the workers and peasants' block are being persecuted with increasing brutality and their organs suppressed and confiscated. The municipal representatives of the Workers and Peasants Block are being deprived of their functions and placed under arrest. Revolutionary workers and peasants are tormented and tortured in the most frightful manner. Wholesale arrests are constantly taking place in all parts of the country, especially in Bessarabia. The tax bailiff is a constant guest in the village, and the newspapers are full of these events.

The Communist Party, having with the support of the Comintern liquidated the unprincipled fraction struggle which greatly retarded its activity, is now concentrating its forces on mobilising the broad masses of workers and peasants for the fight against the fascist dictatorship headed by Carol and against the danger of imperialist war.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Appeal of the Polish Red Aid.

Comrades!

The echo of the three Lemberg death sentences, the carrying out of which was prevented by the mass action of the international proletariat, has hardly died away, when Polish fascism is preparing a fresh crime. The court in Biale Podloska has condemned to death three workers, Kagan, Sosnoviec and Nlebleski, who were accused of killing an agent provocateur.

In view of the crisis which is raging, and frightened by the revolutionary wave, the fascist government wishes to find a way out of its disastrous situation by increasing the bloody terror against the working masses and also by preparing a war against the Soviet Union. The occupied territories of the West Ukraine and White Russia, which were to be a sally-point against the Soviet Union, are today the scene of deeds of savage violence on the part of the fascist army, police and gendarmerie. The so-called "Anti-sabotage Action", which is supported by the whole of the fascist camp, including the P.P.S., the punitive expedition of 2,000 police and of two regiments of Uhlans against the Ukrainian peasants, the system of levies, of taking hostages, of murders and annihilation of whole villages as vengeance for the fight against the Polish occupation, exceed, as far as cruelty and sadism are concerned, the notorious Tsarist punitive expeditions of the year 1905.

The punitive expeditions in the West Ukraine, the three fresh death sentences in Biale Podloska, are the prelude to the "election action" of the fascists government.

Comrades!

The three revolutionary workers of Biala Podlaska are threatened with death at the hands of the fascist hangman.



We appeal to you, workers and peasants of the whole world, who have protested more than once against the white terror in Poland, to wrest Comrades Kagan, Sosnoviec and Niebieski from the hands of the fascist jailors. The international proletariat must oppose with all its power and in an organised manner this fresh crime of fascism in order to snatch these revolutionary fighters from the clutches of the fascist hangmen, in the same way as it did the three Lemberg workers.

Organise protest demonstrations in all proletarian centres; adopt resolutions of protest and send them to the revolutionary proletarian press in Warsaw; demonstrate at the Polish embassies and consulates; by word and writing raise a powerful voice in defence of Comrades Kagan, Sosnoviec and Niebieski.

Polish fascism shall be handed over to public execration as one of the bloodiest hangmen of the proletariat.

Down with Pilsudski's fascist hangmen!

For the release of Comrades Kagan, Sosnoviec and Niebieski!

For the release of all proletarian political prisoners!

Long live the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of Poland, the West Ukraine and White Russia!

Long live international proletarian solidarity!

Warsaw, 29th September, 1930.

The Central Committee of the Red Aid of Poland,  
the West Ukraine and White Russia.

## The Reign of Terror in Bulgaria.

By D. Iv (Sofia).

The situation in Bulgaria is characterised by the growing world economic crisis, accentuation of class antagonisms and class struggles and accelerated war-preparations against the Soviet Union. As a consequence, a tremendous intensification of the terror is to be recorded.

Bulgaria has over one hundred thousand unemployed; the masses of the working peasants are falling deeper into poverty and misery; a peasant is compelled to give twenty to twenty-five eggs in exchange for one kilogramme of salt or petroleum.

In order to be able to apply terrorist methods against the tolling masses more successfully, a reconciliation and concentration of the fascist forces was carried out. The bloodhound Zankoff has entered the Liapcheff Government; the fascisation of the whole of the so-called opposition, including the social and the agrarian fascists, has been completed.

At the same time, however, there is an increased revolutionaryisation of the masses to be observed. This fact is expressed in the following struggles which have taken place since the commencement of the present year: The fight of the unemployed and the street demonstration, which were attacked by the police and military, on 12th March; numerous political strikes in Sofia, in which 2500 workers participated, and also in Plovdiv and Chaskovo; the peasant revolts in the villages of Govedare, Chemchadinovo, Saladinovo etc., where police officers were murdered; the participation of the peasant women in this movement, seven of whom are among the accused in the approaching mass trial of 65 peasants from Govedare. On May 1st demonstrations and meetings took place in the open streets in the whole of Bulgaria. On June 9th last, the anniversary of the fascist coup, an anti-fascist demonstration was held for the first time this year. The general workers' congress met illegally on June 12th, and August 1st was observed as a day of international fight against war. Finally, a rising wave of strikes is to be recorded in the whole country.

On the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the September insurrection in Bulgaria (September 23) and in connection with the numerous political trials pending (33 in number), the Bulgarian section of the International Red Aid organised an anti-fascist protest campaign.

The white terror in Bulgaria has claimed many victims from the ranks of the working class. We give below the figures as to the persecution of the workers and peasants in the first eight months of the present year:

Since the beginning of 1930 there have taken place 70 political trials, in which there were in all 291 defendants. This year 84 political prisoners have been pronounced guilty and sentenced to a total of 698½ years imprisonment. Many trials

have been adjourned, but the accused are still kept in prison on remand. Many of them have been already a year behind prison walls.

The 33 trials which are pending, and in which there are 248 accused, are for the greater part trials of young communists. In Sofia there are 17 young communists accused, in Shumen 7, in Plevna 6; further trials are proceeding in Plovdiv, Tirnovo and other places. One of the most important trials is that of the 65 peasants from the village of Govedare, in the Plovdiv district. Among the accused are seven peasant women and four children. The Public Prosecutor has demanded life sentences for 58 of the accused.

Since the beginning of this year 83 workers' newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets have been confiscated. The damage caused thereby amounts to the enormous sum of 870,000 leva (one dollar is equivalent to 138 leva). Dozens of editors of workers' newspapers are in prison.

According to incomplete data derived from the press and police reports, 15,419 workers and peasants have been arrested during the last eight months. All the arrested complain of the bestial mishandling in the police prisons. 3,200 house searches, 882 meetings prohibited, 49 internments and one banishment—these are the figures of the heavy indictment of the fascist authorities by the proletariat. In July and August alone 40 workers clubs were raided by fascists, police and gendarmes. 74 workers meetings and conferences were broken up, 58 public lectures for workers were prohibited, 325 workers were set upon while making rambles and 51 workers were injured by the police.

The legal class-conscious labour movement is completely suppressed. The C. P. of Bulgaria, the Young Communist League and the Red Aid are prohibited and driven into strict illegality; but the fight for the streets, for freedom of meeting is still going on and growing in strength, in spite of all persecutions.

Over a thousand political prisoners are suffering under the murderous prison regime in Bulgaria. Against this murderous prison regime, against the bad food and out of solidarity with the Bulgarian and international proletariat, 41 hunger-strikes have been carried out since the beginning of this year, participated in by 2140 prisoners (not only political but also ordinary prisoners). The number of hunger-strike days amounts in all to 4545, or nearly thirteen years.

A political prisoner, Korum Lucoff, was murdered in prison in July.

Political emigrants who have returned to Bulgaria on the strength of the sham amnesty are subjected to the strictest police supervision. The most were interned, while others were immediately arrested and involved in a fresh prosecution.

The Bulgarian workers and peasants, who for the past seven years have had to endure an unprecedented terror, have not lost courage in their fight. The Bulgarian workers must be aided by the international solidarity and mass protests of the workers of all countries.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Fight of the C. P. of the Soviet Union against Right Opportunism.

Moscow, 6th October 1930.

The Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the C. P. S. U. has adopted the following decision:

"Rutin is expelled from the ranks of the C. P. S. U. on account of his treacherous, ambiguous attitude towards the Party and his attempt to carry on illegal propaganda for his Right opportunist views, which the XVI. Party Congress declared to be incompatible with membership of the Party."

The "Prawda" comments on this decision as follows:

After the XVI. Party Congress, which adopted the decision that the views of the Right opportunists are incompatible with membership of the Party, the opportunists continued to carry on their ambiguous game and to deceive the Party. In words they are prepared to recognise their mistakes innumerable times, whilst they at the same time are continuing their

Party and, at bottom, counter-revolutionary struggle against the Party and against the socialist advance on all fronts in favour of capitalist restoration. They are prepared to make use of every difficulty in order to divert the Party from the Leninist path. They are sowing distrust in the reality of our rates of development. In practical work they are doing their utmost in order to hamper the plans of socialist construction.

Rjutin formerly dared to accuse the Party of Trotskyism. This same hypocrite—there is nothing unnatural in this—is now propagating by illegal means the block of the Rights with the Trotskyists. There is nothing unnatural in the alliance between the Trotskyists and the Rights. They are the fruits of the same tree. In a whole number of main questions Trotsky adopts a Right opportunist attitude. On the other hand, the Rights are treading the same path to Trotskyism which formerly Zinoviev and Kamenev trod. Now Rjutin and consorts are crying out that the Menshevik Trotsky was right in his criticism of the Party and its Bolshevik, Leninist "regime". The opportunists of all shades are fulfilling the social behests of the kulaks, of the saboteurs, of the bourgeoisie: — to undermine the steel foundation of the proletarian dictatorship — the C. P. S. U. It is not for nothing that saboteurs like Kondratjev, the white guardist bandits, the social fascists and the bourgeoisie of all countries placed so great hopes in the Trotskyists and now in the Right opportunists. Therefore these agents of the bourgeoisie and of the kulaks need fractions, groups and grouplets. Hence, they wish to destroy with impunity the steel Party discipline in order to please the class enemies. In the name of the struggle against the Party and its Leninist leadership Rjutin and consorts, the Right opportunists, are offering their hands to the counter-revolutionary Menshevik Trotskyism. The case of Rjutin demands of the Party the exertion of greater vigilance and the mobilisation of all its forces not only against the open but also against secret opportunism and the ambiguity of the Right opportunists. The Party organisations are in duty bound to carry out the decision of the XVI. Party Congress and ruthlessly to exterminate from their ranks the Right opportunist allies of the Trotskyists, among them being such who hypocritically declare their agreement with the general line of the Party, but behind this cover are developing their treacherous activity. Traitors to the Party are not tolerated in our ranks.

## ECONOMICS

### Denmark and the International Crisis.

By E. Mikkelsen (Copenhagen).

The Scandinavian countries have for a comparatively long time been unaffected by the international crisis. This has been due to the fact that agriculture, the main source of income, has been very much favoured in the last few years by the falling prices of fodder, as a result of which Danish agricultural societies were able to sell their main products, butter and bacon, at very advantageous prices; in addition, the manufacturing industry reaped benefit from the falling prices of raw materials.

On the other hand Danish economy, and in particular agriculture, is not stabilised to such a degree as to be able to resist the pressure of adverse business conditions. The indebtedness of agriculture is so great, that even a slight depreciation of the prices of its products brings disastrous results. Up to the Summer of this year unemployment constantly declined, the number of bankruptcies and distrains declined, while savings increased. The figures for deposits and loans increased from July 1929 to July 1930 as follows (in million crowns):

	Banks		Saving Banks		Deposits	Rural districts
	Deposits	Loans	Copenhagen	Provinces		
July 1929	1952	1774	559	1166		2020
July 1930	2010	1818	586	1213		2110

Although these figures do not indicate any depression, in various districts symptoms are to be observed showing that we are confronted with a serious turn for the worse. Denmark is in a situation which is typical of the first stage of a crisis.

This is reflected most plainly in the quotations of shares on the stock exchange, which have fallen as follows since July 1929:

	Shipping	Banks	Industry	All groups
July 1929	120.4	87.4	99.6	102.2
July 1930	105.3	82.4	90.8	94.8

The decline is most marked in the case of the shipping companies, which are the first to be affected by the international situation.

Since July 1929 the freight index has fallen from 114.3 to 87.5, or 25 per cent, with the result that the shipping companies, which since the Summer of 1928 had all their available tonnage in use, have since the Spring again begun to lay up their ships.

Commerce is of course also seriously affected by the price drop on the world market. The wholesale index, which stood at 155 in July 1928, had by last July fallen to 129. In the Spring of this year a number of big grain firms went bankrupt, and at the same time the drop in the price of Soya beans resulted in two big trading firms being forced to go into liquidation with a loss of more than 20 million Crowns.

The coal trade is resisting the crisis by the establishment of a monopoly trust, which by strict price control "rationalise" the market and has thereby succeeded so far in avoiding the crisis.

Speaking generally wholesale trade is in a state of crisis, which has not yet reached its highest point.

According to the index figures, shares in industrial companies suffered a decline during the year 1929 of ten points, and since January of this year a further decline of seven points. In July of this year unemployment stood at about the same level as at the same period of last year. During the last three months unemployment in the industries of Copenhagen, which are very sensitive to outside influences, has continually increased. The following figures indicate the unemployment in the last few years in percentage of the organised workers:

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
January	16.6	29.8	31.8	29.9	27.7	20.3
April	13.4	16.5	23.0	16.8	13.3	11.8
July	8.3	16.8	17.2	13.6	9.6	9.1

Whilst in January unemployment was 7 per cent less than in the corresponding month of the previous year, this difference has now disappeared.

In the Copenhagen industries unemployment this year was as follows (in percentage of the organised workers):

in May 9.4, in June 9.7, in July 11.2.

while at the same time it shows a decline in other towns. There exists no doubt that the increasing unemployment in the capital town presages a coming crisis in industry. The increasing number of short-time workers is not taken into account here.

Agricultural production shows a considerable decline during the last few months. Since July 1929, the price of bacon has fallen from 172 to 140 ore per kilogramme, that of butter from 290 to 236 ore per kilogramme. This decline is somewhat compensated for by the drop in the price of feedstuff, but the future outlook in agriculture is decidedly gloomy. Germany's vigorous customs protection policy has limited the market possibilities, while the continual demands which are heard in England for import duties on foodstuffs and for Empire free trade are causing considerable nervousness. In the event of England placing import duties on bacon and butter, or should the English crisis have the effect of greatly reducing prices, agriculture will very soon be involved in a crisis which will be more serious than that which has just been overcome.

The number of people in receipt of poor law relief has increased by 40 per cent in the last five years, and amounts at present to more than 100,000. (It should be remarked that persons in receipt of poor law relief are deprived of the right to vote and suffer loss of other civil rights.) The support given by public charities has increased in the same period by 100 per cent, the number of recipients amounting to more than 100,000.

The main impression derived from the state of affairs in Denmark at the beginning of the second half of 1930 is that shipping and commerce are in a state increasing crisis, indu-

stry is experiencing a slackness immediately preceding a crisis, while the boom in agriculture is at an end. Denmark is faced with a slump, the seriousness of which depends mainly upon the development in Great Britain and Germany. The further development of the crisis will encounter but slight resistance. The stability which Danish economy achieved during the period of prosperity is now extremely shaky. The economic improvement of agriculture in the last few years has not brought any benefit to the workers in this branch of industry, but on the contrary, their position has grown continually worse. The fact that the broad strata of the population, and in particular the working class, did not share in the economic improvement will have the effect of rendering the approaching crisis more acute.

## PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

### The New Tasks of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

By Albert Inkpin.

On the occasion of the recent visits of the workers' delegations to the Soviet Union the opportunity was taken to organise a conference in Moscow to review the past work and lay down the future tasks of the Friends of the Soviet Union. This conference, which was attended by representatives of the Foreign Relations Committee of the All Russian Trade Union Council and the International Bureau of the F.S.U. and by the national secretaries of the F.S.U. in England, France, Belgium, Germany and America, was in every way successful and will be productive of good results for the future work of the F.S.U.

The reports of the national secretaries showed in every case a considerable and increasing measure of activity and a wide-spread sympathy amongst the wide masses of workers in capitalist Europe and America for the Soviet Union and the great efforts of the Soviet workers and peasants towards the building of Socialism in the first proletarian State. Outstanding in the accomplishments of the F.S.U. were the campaign of the American Section resulting in the collection of 35,000 dollars for the presentation of 16 tractors to the Soviet Union, the success of the French comrades in the building of a mass organisation and a network of factory and workshop groups in all the important industrial parts of France, the activities of all sections in counteracting and exposing the relation of the campaign of the Pope and the Churches to the developing attack on the Soviet Union, and the campaigns conducted in eleven different countries for the organisation of workers' delegations to visit the Soviet Union during the summer of the present year. On the other hand those reports revealed clearly mistakes that have been made and weaknesses that have manifested themselves in the work of the F.S.U. In practically every case the contradiction was sharply brought out between the objectively favourable conditions for a broad united front body such as the F.S.U. and the relatively weak numerical state of the organisation in practically all countries outside of France. Neither in Britain, with its Fascist-Labour Government, intensified rationalisation and unemployment now reaching to more than 2,000,000; nor in Germany, in a period of acute class conflict, with a powerful revolutionary movement and a Communist electorate of four and a half millions; nor in the United States of America, with its developing economic crisis and an unemployed army of over 8,000,000; in none of these countries has the F.S.U. developed into a mass organisation in the real sense of the term. In Belgium, Norway and Denmark there are organisations of the F.S.U. in existence, but all are relatively small and weak. In countries like Holland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Sweden the F.S.U. has individual contacts but no concrete organisations. In the border states, in the self-governing British colonies, in the colonial countries—notably in India—the voice of the F.S.U. is not heard.

The resolution adopted by the Moscow conference sets out clearly the mistakes and weaknesses that were revealed

in the national secretaries' reports and outlined the tasks necessary to build up the Friends of the Soviet Union as a real and living mass organisation all over the world.

The national sections have not reacted in time against the various attacks on the Soviet Union (e. g. the Pope's campaign), have failed to associate their campaigns with the developing industrial situation in their respective countries (e. g. the woollen textile strike in England, the strike against the new social insurance laws in the North of France, the metal and mining struggles in Germany, etc.), have not sufficiently mobilised workers who have already visited the Soviet Union for the work of the F.S.U., and have failed to utilise their various campaigns for building up the membership of the organisation on the basis of factory and workshop groups. The weakness of the F.S.U. contacts with the industrial enterprises is reflected in the composition of the delegations visiting the Soviet Union this year. Few of the delegates were elected directly from factories and workshops, and in several delegations the most important industries were not represented.

The campaigns of the national sections of the F.S.U. must be directed with the object of building up mass organisation on the basis of individual membership through factory and workshop groups. This does not exclude the collective representation of organisations (trade union branches, trade councils, co-operatives, etc.) but individual membership must be the basis on which the sections are built up. Whilst there must be a single, central political leadership and direction of the F.S.U., there should always be the closest association with sympathetic bodies, such as the Workers' International Relief and the International Class War Prisoners' Aid, etc.

The members of the 1930 workers' delegations to the Soviet Union must be utilised to the full for reports to meetings particularly of workers in the factories and other industrial enterprises, which should be made the occasion of mass recruiting for the F.S.U. up to and in connection with the 13th Anniversary of the Soviet Union. All sections of workers must be drawn into this campaign, particularly those strata of workers that have not been brought into the Communist parties or the revolutionary trade unions (Minority Movement, C. G. T. U.), and particular attention must be given to those special industries, metal, mining, transport, Chemical, etc.

The 13th Anniversary will be celebrated by national conferences called by the national sections and held at the weekend, November 1st and 2nd. These conferences should comprise all members of all delegations who have at any time visited the Soviet Union (workers' delegations, sports delegations, co-operators, sailors, etc.) Sympathetic radical intellectuals should also be drawn in, and groups and committees of the F.S.U., as well as sympathetic workers' organisations should be represented. These conferences should be utilised for the popularisation of the 13th Anniversary of the Soviet Union, for explaining the Socialist construction and for mobilising the masses behind the F.S.U. under the slogan of "Defence of the Soviet Union". These conferences should be made the starting point of a further mass campaign for the 1931 delegations and the building up of the F.S.U.

The International Bureau of the F.S.U. is charged with the task of supervising and directing the political and organisational work of the national sections, and for this purpose will organise periodical conferences with the leaders of the national sections for reports of work and exchanges of experience. The sections will thus be able to learn and profit from the successes, mistakes and weaknesses of each other. The International Bureau has also to prepare, in consultation with the national sections, plans for an international conference of the F.S.U. during the spring or early summer of 1931. In the meantime every effort must be made to strengthen and build up the membership of the national sections and to establish new sections in the countries where none at present exist.

The energetic and enthusiastic fulfilment of these tasks will lead to great developments in the power and influence of the Friends of the Soviet Union during the next six months.