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British Imperialism and the 13th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

By William Rust (London).

"The gentlemen of the Allied Missions threw up their hands and said:

"What! Work with this German agent, thief and murderer Government! Nothing doing! And, anyhow, Robins, we might think of it if they had any real power, but they have not. They will not last but three months longer" (From the evidence of Colonel Robins before the United States Senate Commission 1919).

Not three months but thirteen years! Despite the millions poured out on the wars of intervention and the economic blockade the Soviet Union now triumphantly reaches its 13th anniversary. But it is an anniversary marked by the increasing anti-Soviet war-preparations of the imperialist Powers.

On the Opening of the new Parliamentary session, British imperialism, this time with a Labour government in the saddle, has again demonstrated its undying hostility to the Soviet Union by repeating its threat against the diplomatic relations between the two countries on the pretext that the activities of the Communist International are a breach of the propaganda clause.

These were the first words uttered by Arthur Henderson, His Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in an announcement that he had made representations to the Soviet Government on this issue. This threat was immediately taken up by

the Tory members and seized upon by the capitalist press as new fuel for the bitter anti-Soviet campaign.

The fury of the British bourgeoisie is understandable. Ever since the first days of the revolution they have prophesied the downfall of the Soviet Government. But after thirteen years it is British Imperialism that is nearing its downfall, while the Soviet Union marches forward under the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction and carries through the collectivisation of agriculture at a remarkable speed.

The 13th anniversary will be celebrated in Great Britain by the revolutionary workers as a colossal triumph of the workers and peasants throughout the world and as an inspiration and call to action to the workers and workless of Britain to unite their forces against the developing capitalist offensive.

The British working class, who even in the darkest days never lost their warm class sympathy for their Russian comrades, are eagerly devouring the lessons of the Russian Revolution and the meaning of the building of Socialism. Oppressing every working class home is the dead hand of unemployment. For ten years unemployment has never sunk below the million mark: today under the Labour government it has swollen to the enormous total of 2½ million. In the Soviet Union unemployment has disappeared and the call goes out for more and more workers. These simple facts are burning themselves into the consciousness of the British workers and teaching them profound political lessons.

Production is falling in Britain. Lancashire has become a graveyard of industry; the coalfields almost famine areas and huge factories lie idle with their expensive machinery falling into disuse. Exports and Imports are tumbling down and all the desperate efforts of the capitalists cannot stem the deepening crisis. The much boasted Imperial Conference is nearing its end amidst a chorus of threats from the Dominion Premiers against the "Motherland" and the lamentations of the bourgeois politicians. The great change over in fiscal policy, from Free Trade to Protection, has been decided upon; but how to accomplish it with advantage and how to weld together the disintegrating Empire has raised other tremendous difficulties and profound contradictions to which there is no solution.

The British worker watches the decay of capitalism, hears the menacing voices demanding wage reductions, food taxes, decreased unemployment benefit and longer hours, and reads of the mighty colonial struggles and murderous imperialist oppression. But he also hears the triumphant call of the Soviet Union, where production is rapidly increasing, where wages are going up and where real self-determination has come to the scores of formerly oppressed nationalities.

Small wonder that the Labour Government, instructed by its imperialist masters, protests against alleged Soviet propaganda. The very existence of the Soviet Union and the inspiration of its achievements is the propaganda they fear. Small wonder that with the collapse of the religious persecution fiction, Soviet "dumping" is trotted forth as the malignant disease now laying waste the mighty Empire! Small wonder that British intrigue in the Border States and in the Balkans is being feverishly pursued and the war-preparations pushed ahead.

Above all the British imperialists fear the Soviet Union because the 13th anniversary of the Revolution finds India in the throes of revolt. India is the source of Britain's greatest strength and greatest weakness. It is the source of raw materials and food; it provides a market for British manufacturers and offers lucrative investments for British capital. But the huge super-profits are wrung from 300 million workers and peasants whose miserable plight baffles description, who are rising in revolt against the hated British invader and looking towards the Soviet Union, which to them is the land of Lenin, the bringer of freedom to the oppressed nations.

India also occupies a vitally important strategic position in the war plans of British imperialism. It is one of the roads into the Soviet Union, a base for military operations and supplies, as is amply testified by the huge expenditure on military roads and aerodromes, the strengthening of the Navy in Indian waters and the increasing war carried on against the tribes on the N.W. frontier, whose subjection or neutrality is

essential for British imperialism's aim of penetrating Russia's Eastern frontiers when the hour strikes.

The changed tactics of British imperialism in Palestine cannot be separated from the building up of the Eastern war front which embraces both India and the Near East. In its efforts to buy over the Moslem leaders in the hope of thus influencing the Moslem masses, British imperialism is quite prepared to take a kick at the Jewish national home. Palestine is a seat of war operations; it is the halfway house between Africa and Asia. Britain is building a naval harbour at Haifa, establishing military aerodromes in Iraq and organising an air service between London, Egypt, Palestine and India.

Preparations for war is the keynote of the policy of British Imperialism towards the Soviet Union. Defence of the Workers' Republic must be the keynote of the working class policy.

The anniversary celebrations will certainly meet with a wide response as is already indicated by the big attendances at the meetings organised by the Friends of Soviet Russia in connection with the return of the recent workers' delegation. And in taking part in the meetings the British workers are not only displaying a class interest in the successes of the Soviet Union. This activity has a profounder significance, for it is marked by the deepening of class-consciousness, the raising of the question of what is the way out of capitalist misery in Britain, the necessity for the struggle against the capitalist State and the establishment of the rule of the working class.

Such ideas begin to shake the British working class because the contrast between capitalist decline and socialist construction is so striking and startling and because sixteen months of a Labour Government is shattering the Parliamentary illusions of masses of workers and teaching them that only under revolutionary leadership and by the overthrow of the capitalist State will the rule of the working class be established.

Under revolutionary leadership. That is one of the greatest lessons we have to carry into the mines, factories and labour exchanges, the need for building up a mass Communist Party. This we will accomplish to the extent that we are able to organise the workers' counter-offensive against the colossal capitalist attack now being launched and demonstrate to the masses on the basis of their own experience and the achievements of the Soviet Union that the Marx and Lenin road of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism is the road they must tread.

The campaign for the Workers' Charter now being waged by the Communist Party and the Minority Movement will be the driving force of the anniversary celebrations, for it is the link in the chain that the British workers must seize at the present stage of the class struggle in Britain, a struggle leading to a Soviet Britain.

Poincaré Summons the Capitalist World to a United Front against the Soviet Union.

By J. Berlioz (Paris)

The systematic campaign which is being conducted in the French press had shown signs of abatement in the last few days. The effect which the French bourgeoisie had hoped the campaign would have, especially among the small peasants of France, has not come about. Certain capitalist groups to whom the Soviet Union supplied raw materials at low prices, vehemently protested against the embargo on the Soviet imports represented by the decree of the Ministry for Trade of 3rd October, according to which an import license is necessary before agrarian products from the Soviet Union are permitted to enter the country. Thus the linen manufacturers in Northern France threatened to close their works if they were prevented from obtaining flax from the Soviet Union as the monopolists of flax production in France had demanded. The announcement of retaliatory measures by the Soviet Government caused numerous groups of industrialists and business men to make representations to the Minister for Trade.

Now, however, the attack upon the Soviet Union has suddenly commenced afresh with a sensational article by

Poincaré, which appeared simultaneously in the "Nacion" of Buenos Aires and in the "Excelsior" of 30th October, and which was reprinted and commented upon by all the French newspapers. It was Poincaré who in the year 1919, as President of the Republic, gave orders to the French army and navy to make war on the Soviets, without however any formal declaration of war, in order to annihilate the Russian Revolution! Poincaré, who maintains the connection between finance capital and the petty bourgeoisie, who is the most prominent advocate of civil peace in France, cherishes the most bitter hatred against the Soviet Republic.

His article is a resounding appeal to set up the united front of all capitalist nations against socialist construction and for the "holy war" against Bolshevism.

The legend about "dumping" has encountered strong resistance and is now being relegated into the background. At the moment, when the crisis in France is rapidly developing and causing a regular stock exchange collapse (in the last few days important banks were only saved from ruin by the immediate intervention of the government on the market),

Poincaré is endeavouring to show that the economic situation in Russia is very bad and that hunger prevails in that country.

At the moment when hundreds of thousands of workers are on short time and complete unemployment is making its appearance in the automobile, textile, footwear and pottery industry, and when in the Soviet Union unemployment has disappeared, thanks to the tremendous achievements of the five-year plan, Poincaré is trying to make out that the Commissar for Labour in the Soviet Union is introducing compulsory labour. At the moment when France is making increased preparations for war and the Minister for War, the Minister for the Navy and the Air Minister all declare that in no circumstances will they permit the least reduction in their budgets, which are a thousand million francs higher than last year, Poincaré accuses the Soviets of "creating unrest by loudly demanding the revision of the peace treaties".

The anger of the masses is to be diverted from the bourgeoisie and its regime to the Soviet regime. The "Left" Poincaré is making use of his great authority in order to bring the peasantry into the anti-Soviet bloc. He intends to give the "Republican Concentration", of which he is one of the most eminent advocates, the correct imperialist orientation; for he is directing his attacks on the foundations of the Soviet regime, which he describes as "an incurable evil against which the only effective means is the setting up of a cordon sanitaire".

The most important passage of his article reads as follows:

"It is painfully evident that the Nations, far from uniting together in order to remove the danger which threatens them, remain divided in face of the enormous conspiracy which is being prepared against their well-being, and that some of them are even attempting to secure in Russia the means for rapidly satisfying their secret greed. Those who commit such indiscretions will be the first victims; but they will inevitably drag the rest of humanity into the abyss into which they will fall. It is time that sufficiently clear seeing-people were found among them in order to lead those who have been smitten with blindness".

It is with such phrases that Poincaré intends to exercise the necessary pressure on the Economic Council of the League of Nations which is at present meeting in Geneva, in order that this body shall submit definite proposals to the Economic Conference of 17th November for a tariff war against Soviet trade. The organs of big capital such as the "Journées Industrielles" have recently made it perfectly clear that the fight must be conducted directly against the Foreign Trade Monopoly of the Soviet Union.

Poincaré's article also places the manoeuvre of the French Minister for Trade M. Plandin in Central Europe and in the Balkans in its proper light. Plandin did not disguise the fact that France fully supports an "understanding of the agrarian exporting countries on the Danube". He openly admitted that the measures adopted by Hungary and those planned by Rumania against Soviet "dumping" were undertaken on the suggestion of the French Government. The French Government submits corresponding conditions to the granting of credits to Rumania and Yugoslavia. It is therefore a question of a firmly welded bloc of the Border States against the Soviet Union and the unconditional subordination of these vassal States to the French General Staff for the purpose of organising an attack on the Soviet Union.

Poincaré's article is also addressed to the Italian and German imperialists. The bourgeoisie of France is hampered in its price policy by the existence of the considerable store of gold, amounting in value to 50,000 million Francs, and foreign bills and also by its superfluity of credit and capital, and is therefore engaged in organising a considerable export of capital, of course in the service of the foreign policy of French imperialism. There has been talk of a loan to Italy and of granting considerable credits to Germany. In return for this the French bourgeoisie demands guarantees and before all that Italy and Germany shall definitely join the bloc against the Soviet Union. Writing on the results of an investigation of the situation in Germany—agreed upon by the governments in Paris and Berlin the—"Volonté" writes:

"The French government is inclined to grant means to a peaceful and economising Germany which demonstrates its solidarity with Europe".

It is quite clear what that means!

Gustav Hervé, the enfant terrible of French imperialism, has concluded a campaign which he has conducted in his paper in favour of the revision of the treaties in order to render possible an approchement between France and Germany, with the following open confession:

"I only demand that Germany shall undertake along with us to defend the new statutes of Pan-Europe in the event, for instance, of Bolshevik Russia being seized with the idea of trying to alter them by force of arms".

Attention, however, must be called to the role which social democracy has gained in the newly strengthened offensive of France against the Soviet Union. The National Committee of the Socialist Party of France recently issued an appeal to the toilers of France in which it is declared: "The doctrines of Russian Bolshevism, of Italian fascism and of German nationalism unite in a war ideology". The Socialist Party and the reformist C.G.T. unconditionally support Briand's Pan-Europe policy which, as everyone knows, is specially directed against the Soviet Union.

Poincaré's article is a further indication of the will of French imperialism to place itself at the head of the European united front in order to prepare for a violent attack on the Soviet Union. The campaign of the C. P. of France in connection with the 13th anniversary of the Russian Revolution will enable it to expose and stigmatise more plainly than ever the anti-Soviet policy of the whole of French bourgeoisie, including its social-fascist wing.

POLITICS

Mussolini's Speech and the Revision of the Peace Treaties.

By Gabriel Péri (Paris).

Mussolini's speech to the Regional leaders of the Fascist Party was bound greatly to excite international public opinion, delivered as it was six weeks after the elections in Germany and a few days before the meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission in Geneva.

Stripped of all its pompous phrases, Mussolini's speech contains two important points: it announced that fascism is universal; it demanded the revision of the treaties of 1919.

That the bourgeoisie in all countries, driven by the economic crisis, is summoning to power the most aggressive forces of white reaction is a fact which the Communists established long before the leader of the blackshirts. That the possessing classes are having recourse to White Terror is not a sign of their strength, but on the contrary is a proof of their uncheckable decline. But the purpose of Mussolini's bombastic assertion was by no means to confirm or to point out a historical fact; it has a practical and plain importance. To confirm the universal character of fascism means to call upon the fascist Hitler, Bethmann, Stahremberg to support with all their forces the aims and aspirations of Italian imperialism.

Therefore, the Duce, after having proclaimed the universality of fascism, immediately proceeded to the chief matter, the revision of the treaties, the fresh distribution of the world.

More than 11 years have passed since the representatives of France at Versailles announced their claims and laid down their programme. The Europa of 1919 is more or less the Europe of which France had dreamed. In the Centre and East of this Europe French imperialism created or enlarged States (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania) which it made its vassal, whose armies it equipped, whose diplomacy it controls. At the same time France strengthened its colonial positions. Finally, it became a big industrial country, for which every year the question of markets becomes more acute.

It is not intended here to recall how the conflict between France and Italy has developed during the last few years. What must be pointed out is, that Italian imperialism, after signing the treaties, announced that it was harmed by them.

The theoreticians, whether they belong to the Liberal, Conservative or the national fascist party, declared that the interests of Italy had been disregarded by those conducting the negotiations in 1919; that the exclusion of Italy from participation in the division of the German colonies and the booty derived from Turkey represented a monstrous piece of injustice. It is true that the demands for revision were not expressed with the same clearness that they are today. In order that these demands could be expressed with the present brutality it was necessary that the imperialist antagonisms in Europe should become acute, that the economic crisis should take effect and that the question of expansion should become a vital question for Italian imperialism.

In any event, whilst French imperialism often pursued devious ways but always endeavoured to prevent any revision of the Treaty of Versailles, Italian Imperialism, strove with all its forces to undermine the treaties by mobilising against them all those who had been harmed by the settlement of 1919.

On the one hand, France consolidated its alliances (the last Conference of the Little Entente laid down in all its details the plan of a military mobilisation of Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia), strengthened its naval and military organisations (naval parade at Algiers, army manoeuvres in the Alps etc.) and increased its attempt to perpetuate the European order laid down in 1919 (this is precisely the object of Briand's Pan-Europe plans).

On the other hand, Italian Imperialism gathered round itself all the bourgeoisies which are discontented with the treaties of 1919. The relations of the Italian government to the Macedonian counter-revolutionaries and the Bulgarian government are well known. For the rest, King Boris of Bulgaria has recently married an Italian princess. A real alliance unites the governments of Italy and Hungary. Young Otto Habsburg is engaged to another Italian princess. A treaty binds Austria to Italy, not to mention Albania, which ever since the Treaty of Tirana has been in the clutches of Italian fascism.

But in Europe there is a bourgeoisie which is particularly interested in the revision of the Treaties, i. e. the bourgeoisie of Germany. In fact Mussolini has been endeavouring for several months to further the demands of Germany. One remembers the declarations he made to Theodor Wolff, editor of the Berliner Tageblatt, in which he expressed enthusiastic support for Germany's demand for colonies. At the meeting of the League of Nations in September, Scialoja, the representative of Italy, demonstratively supported the thesis of Herr Curtius, the German Prime Minister, in the great questions of disarmament etc. That Mussolini intends to exploit the agitation of the Hitler people in order to strengthen the campaign of Italian imperialism for the revision of the Treaties is beyond all doubt.

Mussolini's declamations, his call for universal fascism are interpreted by the social fascist leaders, in particular in France, as a declaration of war by the "forces of reaction" on the "forces of peace and democracy". They are thus endeavouring to represent as an ideological conflict what is only a conflict of two equally hateful imperialist groups; and they hope at the same time to divert attention from the war-preparations of French imperialism and its allies. The French workers must ruthlessly expose this criminal manoeuvre and be on guard against the resurrection of social patriotism.

Another equally dangerous tendency is to allow the proletarians of Germany to believe that the combined efforts of Hitler and Mussolini could really break the fetters of the Treaties. Hitler already showed himself in his true light when, in order to please the blackshirts of Italy, he deleted from his programme the demands which interest the German population of South Tyrol. Mussolini has also shown his true colours. In order to size him up correctly it is only necessary to remember the regime to which the German and Slovenian minorities in Italy are subjected. The revision of which the champions of the hooked cross and the bundle of rods dream, has nothing to do with the aspirations of the international proletariat, which in response to the summons of the Communist International has been openly fighting for eleven years against the robber treaties.

The international proletariat knows that these treaties can be done away with only by means of the common revolutionary fight of the workers of the victor States and of the defeated States for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The Lackeys of His Majesty.

The Second Session of British Parliament Opens.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

With all the pomp and ceremony associated with the bourgeois parliament, the MacDonald Government started the second session. They got the King to spout the MacDonald programme. That of course was a most fitting thing to do. Are they not servants of the King? It is said that he delivered the oration almost as good as MacDonald himself. And the ladies rolled up in the wonderful motor cars and had a marvellous dress parade. And Miss Ishbel MacDonald looked "so outstanding" as if to royalty born. Of course in accordance with the King's speech which MacDonald or his secretary had prepared "they viewed with grave concern and sympathy the continuance of heavy unemployment among so many of My People". The concern was written on the assembly. They laughed, they bowed to each other, they admired the wonderful dresses of gold and silver, the sparkling crown of Her Majesty, the charm of Miss Ishbel, the flowing gowns, dresses of the peeresses, the brilliant uniforms of the military gentlemen. And they adjourned to eat, drink and be merry in due concern for the continuance of heavy unemployment among "so many of My People".

And then to the House of Commons. The railway trade union leader Mr. Charlton appeared in his Sunday best suit to tell the "House" that he was honoured, indeed his constituency was honoured, the railway men were honoured, with the honour bestowed upon him to move

"That an humble address be presented to His Majesty as followeth:

"Most Gracious Sovereign, We Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

There! Does not that make you feel happy? If not you must be very ungrateful indeed. At least Mr. Charlton, the ex-railwaymen and now trade union leader, felt happy, so happy that had His Gracious Majesty bad him crawl on his belly he would have gladly done it.

And what of the contents of this "Most Gracious Speech"? To begin with it expresses not only the sorrow of His Majesty concerning unemployment but goes on to tell us how unlucky he and his Majesty's Government and the landlords and capitalists are. It says "Economic depression unfortunately continues to dominate the markets of the world and the accompanying restriction of international trade is felt with particular severity in those industries which are specially dependent on export". But be of good cheer, His Gracious Majesty not so long ago decided to purchase six new motor cars not because he really wanted them or had need of them but to ease the depression and find work for the unemployed. And please do not forget that My ladies have lengthened their dresses and their gowns, their silks and satins, all to help the "basic industries". Isn't that good of them? Doesn't show a real concern for the unemployed?

But that is not all. The Gracious Speech from His Majesty written by Mr. MacDonald world renowned as a leader of the Second International also told us:

"My Government will persist in its efforts to develop and extent home, imperial and foreign trade and to help in measures which will lead to greater efficiency in industry." If that does not cheer the hearts of the working class then the workers are an ungrateful lot. Why, the Labour Government is going to help them to produce still cheaper and knock out the dirty foreigner. It is going to continue helping every capitalist to get two men to do the work of three for less wages. It is prepared to continue organising the bosses on a more efficient basis, helping them to develop monopolies, to close down "uneconomic factories and pits and railway lines".

It does not stop there. It promises more "good" times for the unemployed. The Unemployment Insurance fund is

bankrupt. It is £60,000,000 overdrawn. So now after the work of a three party committee, i. e. a committee composed of representatives of the Labour Party, the Tory Party and the Liberal Party, it is going to establish a "Royal Commission" to review the unemployment insurance fund and find ways and means of finding that sixty million pounds. How? Well there are three possible ways. One, make the employed workers pay more into the fund. Second, cut down benefits. Third, disqualify a lot of workers who are now receiving benefit. Here is "real" sympathy.

Then His Gracious Majesty's Speech says that the "time has come to send the industrial workers "back to the Land". Every man his own cabbage patch! And what do you think to this? The Government and His Gracious Majesty have been leading of the Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union and they have got a great idea. England is to be the land of large State farms. And they are not going to be long to the workers. They are going to prove that capitalism is not bankrupt, that it can beat the Workers Republic at its own game. It is going to have its own great capitalist farms. None of your workers farms for us. But real capitalist farms. Back to the land ye miners, ye railwaymen and engineers and learn how the Labour Government solves the problems of capitalism.

And then it makes some promises that were in the first King's Speech of the Labour Government. It says once more that it will raise the school leaving age to fifteen, it will amend the law about the trades unions. It will amend the factory acts. Of course it promised these things before. What you think that the Llandudno Conference is forcing their hands and compelling them to repeal the Trades Dispute Act? Not on your life. The Speeches of the Conference were for the repeal but the resolution of the conference only spoke of amending the law. So please do not get the idea that some radical virus has suddenly penetrated the veins of the Labour Government.

Listen to Mr. Charlton, the railwayman of yesterday, the trade union official of to-day, the mover of the "Humble address". He made things wonderfully clear to "His Most Gracious Majesty". He said: "The modern trade union leader has quite a different task to perform from those who preceded him. My own experience on the railways—and I believe every railway director and officer will bear me out—is that we have created order by our trade union efforts and by the co-operation of the trade unions with the management, and I am sure there is not a director or officer who would ask for the abolition of trade unionism on the railways."

In order to complete the picture of this happy fraternity with His Most Gracious Majesty and the railway directors and the capitalists and landlords, ladies and gentlemen we quote the following from the Minister of Transport, Mr. Herbert Morrison:

"I want every business man and every business manager to realise that the Labour Government is not their enemy, but that every Minister in this government wants to treat him as a man and a brother, and help to make his commercial or industrial enterprise more successful than it has been in the past."

Fascist Sejm Elections in the Polish Rural Districts.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

The present Sejm elections furnish new proof that the revolutionisation and militancy of the working masses are making great strides forward. This is taking place the more rapidly the more the position of the peasant masses deteriorates and the heavier the fascist yoke presses upon them.

Lack of land is one of the constant causes of the growing poverty of the peasants, as well as of the increasing unemployment in the rural districts. For even according to fascist statistics there are three million people in the "overpopulated" rural districts who are unable to obtain employment. The terrible economic crisis and also the rule of the fascist dictatorship are further causes which are driving the landless and also the small and middle peasant into the deepest misery. By means of taxes and fines the Pilsudski Government is squeezing every possible penny out of the poor peasants

and does not even shrink from taking away the last cow or the last piece of bed clothing. The poor peasant has never received the land that has so often been promised him by the social fascist political swindlers. On the contrary, he is being deprived by the big landowners of the little land he still possesses.

The position of the agricultural labourers is no less terrible. The landworkers employed on the big estates are deprived of the possibility of keeping two cows; their wages are reduced and they are subjected to an increasing and murderous exploitation. Increasing misery and growing hunger are opening the eyes of the working peasants to the true character of bourgeois rule, of the fascist dictatorship and of the national fascist peasant parties. Therefore the peasants, just like the workers, are more and more frequently taking up the revolutionary fight for improvement of their position, for the expropriation of the big landowners without compensation, against the rule of the bourgeoisie, against the fascist dictatorship and for the workers and peasants government. Finally, they are more and more streaming into the Communist Party and into the revolutionary peasant parties such as "United Peasants Left", "Samopomoc" (Self-Help) which is mainly active in Poland proper, the Ukrainian "Selrob-Unity" and the White Russian "Zmagania".

The whole of the international proletariat views to-day with admiration the heroic fight which the working peasants in the Western Ukraine are waging against the Polish big landowners and usurpers. But in Poland itself, as well as in White Russia, the wave of fights which the poor peasants and agricultural workers are conducting is growing more and more.

Thus in July last a crowd of peasants numbering 10,000 besieged the premises of the "Staroste" in Przasnysz and smashed all the windows as a protest against the heavy taxation, against the terrorism and brutality of the tax officials, who rob the village poor of their last crust. In August last several hundred peasants in the village of Wierzbica offered fierce resistance to the compulsory redivision of the land. At many municipal meetings the peasants have refused to sanction the expenditure on the "Streleci" ("Cossacks"—a semi-militarist fascist organisation) and on the "League for Defence against Gas", and in this way protested against preparations for war against the Soviet Union as well as against the extortionate taxes. Cases in which the peasants refuse to perform socalage work (compulsory building of streets and roads), are becoming more frequent.

In response to the call of the peasant parties which have entered the elections as an anti-fascist workers' and peasants' bloc, numerous district and local meetings of peasant delegates have taken place dealing with the question of organising the election campaign.

These meetings were exceedingly well attended. Thus, for instance, those which were held in the districts which are under the influence of the "Samopomoc" had an average attendance of 300 delegates. It is also significant that these meetings were attended by peasants who have broken away from the social fascist P. P. S. and from such national fascist parties as "Wyzwolenie", "Stronnictwo", "Chlopskie", "Stapiski Party" etc. In the Tarnobrzeg district, which at one time returned Comrade Dombal to the Sejm, the whole committee of the local organisation of the Stapski Party has gone over to the fight against fascism.

In spite of the terror of the police, who often arrested all those attending the peasant meetings, these meetings elected electoral committees and put up candidates.

The campaign for collecting signatures for the election lists has assumed a mass character and has become a powerful political campaign. Every peasant who signed the anti-fascist election lists knew, however, that fascism will revenge itself on him. Nevertheless the number of peasants' signatures to the anti-fascist election lists is far greater than the legally prescribed minimum number. In addition, the peasants often have their signatures legally attested in order to obviate the elections being annulled on the pretext that the signatures are not genuine.

But the greater the energy displayed by the revolutionary peasants, the more cruel is the fascist persecution. It is already known that the election lists of "Samopomoc", as well as of "Selrob Unity" and "Zmagania", have been annulled. And now the returning officers, with the active help of representatives of the opposition parties, including the P. P. S.,

Wyzwolenie etc., are annulling the anti-fascist district election lists of the peasants. Thus, for example, the district election lists of the "Samopomoc" in the district of Lukov, Kallisz and Ciechanow have been annulled, just in those districts in which the Party has good prospects of getting their candidates returned.

Simultaneously with the annulment of the election lists wholesale arrests of revolutionary peasants and candidates are taking place. Thus, for instance, in the Krasnystaw district 40 revolutionary peasants have been arrested, in Zamosc 25, in Wolozyn 40.

The candidates of the revolutionary peasant lists in the following districts have been arrested: in Kowal Comrade Patko, leading candidate of the "Selrob Unity" list, in Blala Podlaska Comrades Jonsko and Demiszcak, election candidates of the "Samopomoc", in the Dombrova coal area Comrades Parzelski and Podraza, election candidates of the "Samopomoc".

The following examples serve to illustrate the shameful terrorist methods which fascism is employing in its fight against the revolutionary movement. In the Dombrova coal area the arrested leading candidate of the Samopomoc election list, Comrade Podraza, has been declared by the fascist judicial authorities to be a well-known bandit who has been already arrested several times by the police. This shameful fascist manoeuvre has not succeeded in misleading the revolutionary masses of toilers. The peasants know their election candidates and will be able to defend them. Thus, for instance, after Comrade Parzelski has been arrested, a crowd of over 1000 peasants gathered round the police station and demanded his release. The police barricaded themselves in the building and threatened to fire on the unarmed crowd. In spite of these threats the peasants were not intimidated and besieged the police station for some hours. It was only after reinforcements arrived that the police succeeded, after several collisions, in forcibly dispersing the assembled peasants.

"If once the reins slip out of our hands", declared Herr Thugutt, one of the leaders of the national-fascist party, "Wyzwolenie", which belongs to the Centre left. "5000 estates will go up in flames and 5000 heads of junkers will fall in one day".

The course of the election campaign in the rural districts is the best proof that these "reins" are more and more slipping from Herr Thugutt's hands. In these circumstances the fascist dictatorship is relying more and more exclusively upon terrorism. But the terror, although it may intimidate individuals, is calling forth the resistance of the masses and driving them to fierce and unrelenting struggle.

The Election Campaign and the Political Situation in Austria.

By *Oesterreicher* (Vienna).

The nearer the polling day approaches, the more the immediate importance of the general election in Austria recedes into the background. What is engaging public attention is not speculations on what changes there will be in the coming National Council, but the changes that are now taking place in the State apparatus. The parties of the "democratic" Centre, Schober bloc and social democrats, are trying to keep up the fiction and to persuade their supporters that on the 9th of November the ballot papers will decide everything. But it is becoming clear to ever larger masses that this election is the swan-song of Parliamentarism in Austria.

The confidence of the broad masses in Parliament is melting like snow in Spring. With it there is also disappearing confidence in the old Parliamentary parties. The masses are vacillating now as they have never vacillated since 1919.

The Communist Party has succeeded in a number of constituencies in organising this election campaign on the basis of a broad united front, so that a great part of the election work, in many organisations even the greater part, is being performed by Red election helpers consisting for the most part of sympathising non-party workers. At a single meeting in Atzgersdorf near Vienna, 81 workers came forward and offered their services to the Party in the election.

The following facts serve to indicate the mood of the workers. In the campaign for the hunger march on 23rd Octo-

ber the Workers International Relief recruited more than 1000 new members, at a meeting in Ottakring, the XVI. municipal district of Vienna, 180 new members joined the W. I. R.; at another meeting in Brigittenau, XX. district of Vienna, the W. I. R. gained 64 new members. In most of the localities in Northern Burgenland our meetings are better attended than those of all the other parties. In Klagenfurt, a meeting of the unemployed called by the social democrats, elected Comrade Perchtold, a Communist municipal councillor, as chairman. In Salzburg, where the organisation of the Communist Party was always exceedingly weak, the biggest hall in the town proved to be too small for a Communist election meeting. In the course of a week, local groups of the Communist Party were formed in the following localities: Eisenerz (Upper Styria), Judendorf-Strassengel (near Graz), Wiesenfeld (Lower Austria), Altenhof (Upper Austria). A social democratic municipal councillor in Unter-Waltersdorf has come over to the Communist Party and issued a leaflet calling upon the social democratic workers to follow his example. Here also a new local group of the C. P. has been set up. Two social democratic municipal councillors in Wener Neustadt issued a similar declaration, but under the threat of economic victimisation by the social democracy were compelled to withdraw it. A social democratic functionary in the 21st district of Vienna has issued a leaflet propagating the formation of a "revolutionary socialist party" but at the same time calling upon the workers to vote Communist.

These facts should not of course cause one to cherish too great expectations. The feeble organisational forces of the C. P. of Austria will not be able to exhaust all the possibilities represented by this mood of the workers. On the other hand, the apparatus of the social democratic party is of course exceedingly strong. These facts, however, indicate the vacillation in the camp of the workers which also finds expression, on the other hand, in a certain progress made by the national socialists.

The situation is similar among the rural population. The peasants are terribly disappointed. Almost everywhere it is possible for Communist speakers to obtain a hearing in the villages; in most cases the audiences display great interest and often considerable sympathy. There prevails the greatest distrust towards the christian socialists, to whose organisations the great mass of the peasantry have hitherto belonged.

These great vacillations on the part of the masses are the characteristic feature of this election.

The government, however, is systematically strengthening the dictatorship. The appointment of Stafella as General Manager of the Federal Railways was only the beginning. This was followed by Section Chief Hecht, of the Ministry of Defence, being placed in charge of all sections of the Ministry for the Interior. This same Hecht was hitherto not only the driving force in the fascisation of the army, but one of the most important supporters of the fascist policy in general. His appointment to a leading position in the Ministry for the Interior is on the same lines as the appointment of War Minister Vaugoin to the position of Federal Chancellor. Here there is to be seen a strengthening of the influence of the military over the government.

The first act of the new Ministerial Director Hecht was to bring about important changes among the chiefs of the police. Vice-President of the police Pamer, hitherto the provincial chief of the police, was pensioned off in 12 hours and his place taken by Herr Brandl, who at one time was head of the police under the Habsburg and therefore possessed special experience in fighting the revolutionary labour movement. Herr Pollak, another one of the big men at the police headquarters, has been given another job. These changes undoubtedly mean the removal of persons loyal to Schober and their replacement either by spineless officials or by open supporters of the present Vaugoin-Starhemberg policy. There is talk of recalling Privy Councillor Tauber, who was the actual leader of the massacre on 15th July 1927, but who has since retired; and there are persistent rumors to the effect that the notorious Major Pabst is to be given a leading position in the police.

At the same time the Heimwehr is arming more or less openly, but the newspapers dare not mention this fact. Never were the newspapers confiscated and suppressed as they are in the present election campaign.

As the "Rote Fahne" reports, the Styrian Heimwehr already arranged for a decisive coup to be carried out in the

night of 18th October, which should then be extended to the whole of Austria. This action, however, had to be abandoned in view of the uncertain attitude of the leading police officials who support Schober's policy. Such actions were not only contrary to Schober's inner-political line of peaceful fascism with the greatest possible regard for "legality"; they could also only serve the interests of Italian imperialism, and here lies the most important antagonism between the two fascist camps.

Now, however, when the heads of the Schober police are "rolling in the sand", Starhemberg is delivering daily reports in the Vienna police barracks, during the course of which he reminds the police that perhaps the time will soon come when they will have to risk their lives for their fatherland.

The sharpening of the political situation is connected with the sharpening of the international situation. One must recognise the connection which exists between the threats and promises of Mussolini and the fascist policy in Austria. The social democratic-bourgeois opposition is before all an opposition to the aspirations of Italian imperialism; it is the expression of the fight which French finance capital is conducting in Austria.

Vaugoin is trying to win over this opposition for his "patriotic" aims. This is what lies behind the interview with Seipel published in the "Praguer Tagblatt", in which Schober was rather openly offered a coalition after the election.

The revolutionising of the working class is shown firstly in the growing influence of the Communist Party. It is also shown, however, in the increasing activity of the working class in the fight against fascism. At various parades of the Heimwehr in the Vienna working class districts, the fascists have had a somewhat rough time. They were greeted with a hail of stones. At numerous national socialist meetings the workers have compelled the platform to permit Communist speakers to speak in the discussion, or in other cases caused the meeting to be prematurely ended.

The social democrats are naturally endeavouring to hold back the workers from any fight. In fact the social democratic "Abend" praises the "constitutional" attitude of Starhemberg in contrast to his subordinates. In those places where the workers have taken up the fight against the fascists, they did so under the leadership of the Communist Party. It is against this revolutionary fighting front that the fascists are arming. And that is the most important reason for the intensification of the fascist policy.

The government is afraid that the economic crisis, the tremendous unemployment, the impoverishment of the masses in town and country will drive them to a life and death struggle under revolutionary leadership. Fascism and social fascism are trying to demoralise the masses and to divert them from the fight. The Communist Party of Austria, however, is calling upon them to rally to the fight against the fascist dictatorship.

Communist Mass Demonstration.

Vienna, 2nd November, 1930.

This morning a mass demonstration of the Communist Party took place here. In order to prevent the social democratic workers from attending, the S. D. P. had organised no less than 30 meetings in various parts of Vienna for the same time. From the early morning on troops of workers marched or drove through the streets calling on the masses to come to the Communist demonstration and hear what the representatives of the German and Czech proletariat had to say to them. At 11 o'clock the first processions of workers began to arrive at the meeting place. Three halls were filled to overflowing and about 15,000 workers were present. Comrades Torgler, Becker and Maria Reese were present from the German C. P., Comrade Nedvys from the Czech C. P. Comrade Doriot was to have spoken in the name of the French C. P. but he was refused permission to enter Austria. Comrade Fuernberg spoke in the name of the Young Communist International. The meetings were tremendously enthusiastic and an appeal was adopted to the Austrian workers to vote communist on the 9th November. A social democratic worker who had worked in Moscow addressed the meeting and gave his impression of the social constructive work there. He also appealed to the workers to vote communist. The demonstration was one of the largest ever held by the Communist Party.

The Significance of the Municipal Election in Dublin.

By S. S.

The victory of the Revolutionary Workers' Party of Ireland in electing its candidate in the Dublin municipal elections on the programme of "Class against Class" clearly shows the growing leftward mood of the Irish working class. The Revolutionary Workers' Party of Ireland, which sets itself the task of laying the basis for the establishment of the Communist Party of Ireland received 1,500 votes in the election. The Revolutionary Workers' Party acted in a united front in the election with the Irish Workers' League, while not hesitating to openly criticize the vacillation of the leadership of this organisation, the rank and file of which is composed of militant revolutionary workers. The Irish Workers' League received 5,940 votes in the election, which together with the vote of the Revolutionary Workers' Party makes a total of almost 7,500 votes.

The social-fascist Labour Party received 5,931 votes, which shows that only a fraction of the workers in the trade unions affiliated with the Labour Party voted for its platform. The Sinn Fein showed its sterility by advocating the boycott of the elections. The Fianna Fail (De Valera parliamentary opposition party) suffered losses in the elections. Its programme in the interests of the petty capitalists, being practically identical with that of the other capitalist groups. The various capitalist interests putting forward candidates (in reality candidates of the Gumann Nan Gaedheal, the party of big capitalist interests) won a majority of one seat in the elections.

The elections took place at a time when the economic crisis is growing more and more severe in Ireland. The policy of Britain serves to aggravate and deepen the crisis in Ireland. The Irish workers have carried on important economic struggles recently (notably, the strike of the Omnibus workers, railway workers, etc.) in which the English trade unions have betrayed the workers and sold out the strikes. Many wage reductions have been carried through, and hours have been lengthened. The number of unemployed totals 120,000 out of about 450,000 in total. The position of the poor farmers grows rapidly worse and evictions are increasing. Under these circumstances, the victory of the Revolutionary Worker's Party in the Dublin Elections is very significant as an indicator of increasing crystallization of the revolutionary working class movement in the struggle against British Imperialism and capitalist exploitation.

INDIA

The Indian National Congress Against Revolutionary Development.

By V. Chattopadhyay.

During the last few weeks there has been no fundamental change in the main characteristics of the struggle between the Indian National Congress and the British Imperialist Government. Ever since the beginning of the Civil Disobedience movement, the country has been governed by a series of special viceroyal *ukases* or Ordinances that override or supplement the existing imperialist "legislation" and that enable the executive authority to deal summarily, without the impediments caused by normal judicial procedure, with various kinds of political "offences".

The latest addition to these *ukases* is the "Unlawful Associations Ordinance" issued on October 10th which was primarily intended "to enable the Bombay Government to cope with the new campaign for the non-payment of taxes in Gujarat",—a campaign that was naturally to be expected in connection with the yearly collection of land revenue which begins after the autumn harvest. Under this Ordinance, when an association is declared "unlawful", the Provincial Government is authorised to seize "any place, including a house, building, tent or vessel which, in its opinion, is used for the purposes of the unlawful association". The Ordinance was immediately applied to the Indian National Congress in Bombay and all its extensive network of organisations—no

less than 38 in number—including the Youth Leagues, the Seva Dal (National Militia), the War Councils, the Boycott Committees, the "Desh Sevikas" (Women Volunteers), the Publicity Department, the Nationalist Muslim Party, the "Labour" branches, etc. The Congress House has been confiscated, every room set up as a Congress Committee Office has been raided and closed down, all the members of the "War Councils" established in quick succession have been arrested, the editors of the "Congress Bulletin" which appears daily, notwithstanding the Press and other Ordinances, are sent to jail one after another. In this way hundreds of persons, mostly young men and women, have been arrested every week, and all Congress demonstrations of protest continue to be broken up by increasingly brutal *lathis* (baton) charges of the police.

Over 40,000 Congressmen are now in the already over-crowded prisons, and the only important leaders that are not imprisoned are Pandit Motilal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. **Jawaharlal Nehru**, who was set free on October 11th, was again arrested on October 19th and has been sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment.

The reports of arrests, confiscations of newspapers and property, prosecutions, police attacks, prison torture, firing upon demonstrations, etc., fill up whole pages daily of the Indian newspapers, and would be almost monotonous reading were it not for the valuable evidence they supply of the deep and widespread character of the mass discontent that is seeking organised expression but that has still to be liberated from the ideological morass of the National Congress, whose leaders are endeavouring to bring the workers and peasants under their influence and to pose as spokesmen of their interests. In the reports published in the nationalist as well as in the imperialist Press it is the Congress that it is assumed to be the leader of the Indian liberation movement. The Imperialist Press—Tory, Liberal, Labour and I.L.P.—all declare, that the Round Table Conference in London is "unrepresentative" without the participation of the Congress leaders, who alone are regarded as being capable of "delivering the goods". The same Indian Liberals as are now taking part in the London Conference declared only a few months ago that they would not cooperate without Gandhi and the other Congress leaders, and although they are now doing so, they still assert that any agreements they may make with British imperialism would be futile without the imprimatur of the Congress leaders.

As for the Government itself, although the Sapru-Jayaker negotiations failed and the Congress has since been declared illegal, it is an open secret that negotiations are still being carried on with Gandhi, who is still interned, and Motilal Nehru, who is in a sanatorium. A Quaker named Alexander, a member of the Society of Friends, had several interviews with Gandhi last month in order to try and bring about a settlement between the Congress and the Government, and he has been in touch with the Viceroy in connection with these interviews. And now Mr. H. N. Brailsford of the I.L.P. is in India on behalf of the I.L.P. Secretary of State for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, and he is actively engaged in winning over the Congress leaders in order to complete the betrayal of the Indian masses.

By all these means the Congress has placed itself and has been placed by British Imperialist policy in the forefront of public attention, and the general impression created in India itself as well as abroad is that the Congress is leading the anti-imperialist struggle. But the real struggle that is going on is not between the Congress and British imperialism but between the Congress and the Indian revolutionary movement. This truth, which was implicit in the very structure and programme of the Congress itself, has emerged into greater clearness during the Congress campaign of the last six months, and should be borne in mind in order to form a correct appreciation of the situation.

In its latest weekly summary of the Indian situation the Government of India describes the outlook as "bright", and declares that the Congress Campaign is waning in almost all the provinces, that the boycott of foreign goods is gradually failing, that the picketing of shops and educational institutions is declining. There is some truth in this statement. Not only have the extremely severe repressive measures of the Government decimated the ranks of the Congress, but a strong process of differentiation has been going on in the Congress itself and there is a general dissatisfaction especially among the youth with the purely negative slogans hitherto

adopted by the Congress. In the earlier stages the programme of the Congress was completely dominated by the millowners and merchants of Bombay and Allahabad, and it was natural that in their own interests they should lay the greatest emphasis upon the boycott of British cloth as the main activity of the Congress. Old stocks were sold out, production was stimulated for a time and the industrialists and their commercial agents hoped, by supporting the Congress, to establish themselves as the dominant factor. But their calculations were upset by the catastrophic fall in the prices of agricultural products even below the cost of production and the consequent diminution in the purchasing power of the peasantry, and by the enormous increase in unemployment among the industrial workers resulting in enhanced revolutionary discontent. In the meantime during the last three months, since the older leaders are almost all in prison, the Youth Leagues have acquired an important position in the shaping of Congress Policy, and these bourgeois Youth Leagues are demanding that the Congress should adopt an economic programme, based upon the immediate minimum needs of the workers and peasants, and that the workers and peasants should be drawn into the Congress organisation. The Congress leaders have not committed themselves to any such definite economic programme, but they have welcomed the activities of the Youth Leagues in trying to bring the industrial workers under the Congress flag.

There is now the closest cooperation between the National Congress, the Trade Union Reformists and the Trade Union Leftists in order to break up the revolutionary unions of the working class and to get the workers to look upon the National Congress as the only political organisation standing for the demands of the working masses. This move receives the whole-hearted support and financial help of the millowners of Bombay and Allahabad. In the same way, the District Committees of the Congress, which are dominated by the Zemindars, are preventing the development of the campaign among the peasantry for the non-payment of taxes. In fact, the present policy of the Congress is to become a Kuomintang, with the object of establishing an Indian Nanking with the blood of the workers and peasants.

But in spite of the machinations of some Trade Union leaders who acquired influence among the workers by their radical phraseology, the vast majority of the workers—especially railwaymen, textile workers, jute workers—have not allowed themselves to be misled by the counter revolutionary propaganda of the Congress agents. Among the railway workers there is a very strong revolutionary ferment caused by the refusal of the G.I.P. railway authorities to take back the tens of thousands of workers who were thrown out of employment after the great railway strike in the spring of this year on the pretext that their places had already been filled. There is a rapidly growing discontent among the railway workers on all lines, and a general railway strike is expected as soon as the signal is given by the G.I.P. railway workers going on strike in solidarity with their dismissed comrades. Among the textile workers of Bombay, the Congress united front propaganda has made a definite attempt to destroy the Communist influence in the Girni Kaimgar (Red Flag) Union, and in this respect it has been helped by the treachery of its president Khandalkar who is making active propaganda against the Communists and against the Young Workers' League, and has been stating at public meetings "that the interests of the workers and the country in general would be well served by working in cooperation with the Congress". Nevertheless, at the annual meeting of the Girni Kaimgar Union held on October 2nd, the 15,000 workers who were present refused to listen to Khandalkar and even threw stones at him, and gave their support to Comrade Deshpande, the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

In spite therefore of the spectacular achievements of the Congress leaders, it is the growing revolutionary movement among the workers and the increasing discontent among the peasantry that are the characteristics of the present situation and that are the determining factors in the struggle against Imperialism. Those who have been in intimate contact with the Congress Committees and the "War Councils" declare that the leaders are on the verge of capitulation. The liberation of the working masses from Congress leadership will be an important step forward in the development of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Experiences of the October Revolution and the Emancipation Struggle of the Colonies.

By B. Smerekl.

The experiences of the October Revolution play an important part in the struggle for emancipation of the colonies. The Negroes in Gambia, who are shut off by their English oppressors from all contact with the outside world and know nothing of the peoples of their own race in the immediately neighbouring colonies, eagerly read the Monthly Bulletins of the English Labour Party which come into the country, in order even from the articles published by the enemy to learn something regarding the Soviet Union. At the last Congress of the R. I. L. U. all the speakers from the colonial countries spoke of the importance of Soviet Russia to the workers and peasants' movement and to the struggle for national emancipation in their countries. It is necessary, however, to popularise the lessons of October in the colonies more than hitherto. The tactics of the armed fight for power, the political tactics of Leninism in Russia in the period preceding October, and also the systematic work of socialist construction after the war are of great practical importance to all the colonies.

The Russian workers would not have achieved the October victory if they had not had faith in their own powers and if they had not had a clear, unhesitating conviction of the aims of their fight. If the Russian workers had not believed it to be possible and historically necessary to overthrow the rule of Tsarism, of the big landowners and of the bourgeoisie and to set up in the largest State in the world a firm, good socialist government, consisting of workers in alliance with the backward and partly illiterate peasants, the people of Russia today would be just as much oppressed as they were up to 1917, with the only difference that, in addition to the native tyrants, they would be much more exploited and oppressed by the foreign capitalists, bankers, militarists and imperialists than they were before the war.

Also among the working masses in the colonial countries, faith in the possibility and conviction of the historical necessity of the great aim of complete independence of the present oppressed colonial countries and at the same time faith in their own powers must become general. It is a great hindrance to the colonial struggle for emancipation that in many colonies great numbers of the masses really believe that the Whites are something "higher" and that their power is absolutely unvanquishable. In India, in China, in tropical Africa, in Palestine, all the foreign residents, including the officials, police and soldiers, consiste such a small minority, that to every representative of the imperialist race there are 10,000 and often 100,000 natives. And how self-confident, how overbearing these intruders are towards the masses of the native population! Before the Arab revolt last year there were in Palestine not more than 500 English, and nevertheless they ruled the whole country. At the Negro Conference at Hamburg the Negro delegate from West-Africa stated that until he came to Europe he had never imagined that it would be possible to conduct a fight against British imperialist oppression otherwise than by means of the "English Constitution". In many colonies the imperialists succeed in completely mentally enslaving important strata of the population. The popularising of the experiences from the period of the October fights will help to break these fetters. We have seen people who have come to Europe for the first time from their colonial country who seemed as if they had blinkers over their eyes. It sufficed for them to be present at the showing of some Russian films, such as "Armoured Cruiser Potemkin" or the "Blue Express" and the effect has been simply miraculous. One glance at the reality of the October Revolution has converted them from slaves into men determined to fight for their emancipation.

The period before the October Revolution is also a rich source of lessons for the emancipation struggle of the colonies. The October victory would have been impossible without the consistent fight against Menshevism. When great difficulties arose, for instance in the years of reaction following the first

Russian Revolution of 1905, when it was necessary to make historical courageous decisions, as before October 1917 — it always became obvious how dangerous it is if within the army there exist those who wish to avoid the fight and to parley with the enemy, and who are inclined to compromise and liquidation. For the national revolutionary movement in the colonies national reformism constitutes the same danger as Menshevism was to the October Revolution. Before the October Revolution, Menshevism was the agency of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the fighting working class. National reformism today is the agency of imperialism in the ranks of the national revolutionary elements who are fighting for or are determined to fight for the independence of their country. In situations when the broad masses were very revolutionary, the Russian Mensheviks invariably made use of big revolutionary words: they remind one of the speeches which the younger Nehru, who signed the Manifesto of Delhi, has often delivered to the Indian workers and Indian youth.

The thirteen years which have passed since the October victory and the founding of the Soviet Union have, by the socialist construction in the U. S. S. R., brought a final solution to a number of questions of great importance to the colonies. One of the most important experiences in this respect is that it is not necessary for every country to undergo all the pangs and pass through the whole process of capitalist development, but that under certain conditions, and with the aid of another already existing Soviet Power, it is possible for even a very backward country to spring over capitalism and attain to a higher form of State, to a higher level of production and well-being. The new generation of national revolutionary leaders in the colonies, under whose guidance the world system of imperialism will be smashed and the colonies obtain their independence, just as they must recognise and overcome the weaknesses of national reformism, must at the same time become acquainted with the practical experiences of State and economic construction in the Soviet Union. All questions which today dominate life in the U. S. S. R., the question of State socialist big industry, of the socialist form of the Sovietised and collectivised agriculture, of the socialist forms of systematic collective work, will be on the agenda on the day following the victory in all colonial countries. Concrete and exact information regarding these questions should be spread in all colonies: how in the districts in China occupied by the revolutionary Army Soviets are being formed and how they are working as organs of administration. Information on the industrial and agricultural work in the national border districts of the U. S. S. R. is of great interest to the colonies. The colonies can learn a great deal from what is taking place in the independent national Mongolian People's Republic. The Mongolian National People's Republic is an interesting proof how this backward people, which up to recently lived quite a nomadic life, following its emancipation is making rapid progress, while avoiding the purgatory of capitalism, because it is led by a national revolutionary party conscious of its aims, which is profiting from the experiences of the October revolution in the U. S. S. R. and applying them in its own country.

The capitalist big States are unable to do anything else than produce the forces for sucking the wealth and life-blood out of the colonies. The big capitalist States, possessing high industrial technic and an army of 17 million unemployed, who together with their families number 60 000 000 human beings who are suffering hunger, and at the same time faced with the shrinkage of the world market, are compelled to continue their insane fight against the colonies. Just as they are incapable of ruling in the metropolises by means of "democracy", but are compelled to go over to fascism, so also they cannot do anything else than employ increased terror and violence against the colonies. All capitalist

countries are united in the policy of increased terror against the colonies, in spite of the antagonisms among them, arising precisely from the mutual competition for colonies and markets. Even Germany, which since the war has been without colonies, realises that what is decisive for its further existence as a capitalist State is not the question of reparations, but the question of colonies and markets.

Capitalism means ever increased oppression of the colonies and a new and tremendous world war, in which the colonial slaves must perish in millions as cannon-fodder. There is no other way out for the colonies than the co-ordination of the colonial fight for emancipation with the international fight of the revolutionary working class. There is no other way for the colonies, than the way of fight, of victory of the October Revolution.

Two Systems — Two Results.

By W. Motylev (Moscow).

The past economic year is characterised not only by the record rate of development of a number of important branches of Soviet economy, by tremendous achievements of the socialist sector of agriculture, by the tempestuous development of new forms of socialist work, by the disappearance of unemployment in our country, but also by the fact that this growth has taken place at a time of very sharp crisis of capitalist world economy, of a great decline of production in the capitalist countries. This circumstance makes the peculiarities and advantages of our economic system in comparison with capitalist economy so obvious and is of such great help in enlightening the working masses of the whole world, that the task of drawing a comparison between the pace of our growth and the rate of decline of capitalism in the past year is of exceedingly great importance.

The fact that the end of the economic year in the Soviet Union practically synchronises with the anniversary of the outbreak of the world economic crisis, permits us to present in a very concrete form the profound fundamental difference between the two systems. In this article we shall confine ourselves to a comparison in the sphere of industry.

In the economic year which has just come to an end the output of our industry, according to the data furnished by the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union, increased by 24.2 per cent, heavy industry showing a growth of 38.1 per cent and light industry 13.1 per cent. Although this growth is less than that envisaged by the control figures for the year, nevertheless it exceeds the growth of industrial production stipulated by the Five-Year Plan for this year, i. e. 21.5 per cent. Thus, although we have not fully realised the control figures, we are exceeding the pace of the Five-Year Plan, which was regarded with scepticism not only by bourgeois economists, but also by Right opportunist elements in the ranks of our Party. At the same time, this growth of production in industry surpasses the level of last year's growth (24 per cent) and also exceeds the rate of growth of the preceding years. (1926/27 19.5 per cent, 1927/28 23.3 per cent.)

The significance of this growth however, becomes more evident if we compare it with the highest tempo of capitalism in the period of its most rapid growth. As is known, the capitalist economic system attained the highest average rate of growth in the United States. But even in the United States the average rate of growth of production never exceeded 10 per cent in the whole period of the existence of American industry. Such an average tempo was attained by the United States in the seventies, after which, however, the average tempo continually declined, and since the nineties has oscillated between 3 and 4 per cent a year. In particular, in the period from 1924/28 the growth of industry in the United States averaged 3 per cent a year. The tempo of growth of industrial production in the Soviet Union in the past economic year was therefore 2½ times as great as the highest average rate ever attained in the United States, and six to seven times greater than the ordinary rate. Thus, even if we compare our present development with the period of the most rapid growth of capitalism, the advantage of our economic system is indisputable.

The difference is, of course, all the more striking if we compare this tempo of growth of industrial production in the capitalist countries during the past year. As against the growth of production in the Soviet Union by 24.2 per cent in one year, the September index of economic activity in the Ameri-

can "Annalist" shows a decline of production in the United States of 26 per cent as compared with September 1929. In Germany production in July 1930 showed a decline of 21 per cent as compared with the same period last year. In Poland production in August 1930 had declined by 16 per cent as compared with August 1929. In contrast to our rate of growth there is to be seen a remarkable decline of production in the majority of the capitalist countries.

This difference is all the more striking if we compare the figures relating to the most important branches of production^{*)}:

Whilst in the Soviet Union the output of steel increased in the year by 17.7 per cent, in the United States steel production in September was 31 per cent less than in September 1929, in Germany 34 per cent, and in England 33 per cent.

Figures regarding production of pig iron present the same picture. As against a growth of production of pig iron in the Soviet Union amounting to 23.7 per cent, the September production of pig iron in the United States shows a falling off by 38 per cent, in comparison with September 1929, in Germany by 40 per cent and in England by 37 per cent.

Coal production also affords a striking picture. Whilst the output of hard coal and anthracite in the Soviet Union increased in the past economic year by 19.1 per cent, in the United States the decline in the September output in comparison with September 1929 amounted to 18 per cent and in Germany to 22 per cent. In England the coal output in August 1930 showed a decline of 18 per cent as compared with August 1929.^{**)}

The extraordinary growth of production in the Soviet Union in the past year has resulted in the disappearance of one of the worst heritages of the capitalist order, namely, unemployment.

All the more striking is that tremendous change which has taken place in this respect in the course of the past year. Not only has unemployment disappeared, but there is also a rapidly growing need of new methods of training and distributing labour power in order to satisfy the rapidly growing requirements of Soviet industry. This change has taken place under the influence of the record rate of the growth of production and also under the influence of the great transformation brought about in agriculture by the successes of collectivisation.

This change becomes all the more manifest if a comparison is made with the capitalist countries. Whilst in the Soviet Union in the past economic year the average number of workers in the whole of industry increased by 13.6 per cent and in September 1930 was 18.2 per cent greater than in September 1929 (an increase of 419,000 persons), in the United States the number of workers employed in industry in September 1930, according to the index of the "Annalist", was 23 percent less than in September 1929. According to various calculations the number of unemployed in the United States fluctuates between 7 and 8 millions. In Germany the percentage of unemployed trade union organised workers grew from 9.6 per cent in September 1929 to 22 per cent in September 1930. The total number of unemployed registered at the Labour Exchanges in Germany amounted in September to about 3,100,000, that is to say, it increased by more than a million in the course of a year. In England the percentage of the unemployed insured workers increased from 10 to 18 per cent from September 1929 to September 1930. In the same period the number of the unemployed registered at the Labour Exchanges increased from 1,217,000 to 2,230,000, i. e. by more than a million. At the same time it should not be forgotten that these official figures of the unemployed are far too small.

That is the difference in the character of the economic change which is taking place in the land of the proletarian dictatorship and in the capitalist countries. On the one side, in the Soviet Union, a tremendously rapid growth, on the other side, in the capitalist countries, tremendously rapid decline.

It would of course be a great mistake not to see behind

^{*)} The data on the branches of production in England are culled from the "Economist" of September 27th and October 16th.

^{**)} In the present article we give the percentages of the growth in the Soviet Union in the economic year as a whole as against the percentages of decline in the capitalist countries in September 1930 as compared with September 1929. Such contrasting is not quite correct, but suffices for the purpose of the present article.

this difference in the character of the tempo (rapid growth on the one hand and unceasing decline on the other) the tremendous difference still existing in the level of development of the productive forces, in the level of the productive power. The past economic year could not wipe out this difference in the level of the productive forces of the Soviet Union and of those of the advanced capitalist countries, which was created by the whole preceding development of backward pre-revolutionary Russia. Nevertheless, the profound and fundamental difference of the economic situation in the Soviet Union and of that in the capitalist countries clearly and plainly shows how great are the advantages of the economic system of the Soviet Union as compared with the capitalist system, and how perfectly practicable is the task which we have set ourselves of catching up to and passing the advanced capitalist countries.

If we compare the economic results in the Soviet Union in the past year with the corresponding results in the capitalist countries, there is at once impressively revealed the whole Menshevik absurdity of the theory of Trotzkyism that the economy of the Soviet Union is regulated by the world market. Whilst in the capitalist world economy a crisis is raging, in the Soviet Union economic progress is continuing at a rapid rate. The waves of the crisis beat in vain against the firm pillars of our socialist economic system and the economic policy of our Party. The policy of industrialising the country, of securing its independence in world economy, which the Party has been carrying out for a number of years with greatest determination, is now yielding its results. In the light of these results the political dangerousness of those Right opportunist tendencies which wish to drag the Party on to the path of agrarianising the country or of reducing the pace of industry become particularly clear. If the Party had adopted this path, the dependence of the Soviet Union on world economy would have been so great that the world economic crisis would have also greatly influenced the economy of the Soviet Union.

The results show with particular clearness the international revolutionary importance of our socialist construction. When the Trotzkyist opposition accused the Party of national limitedness on account of its Leninist recognition of the possibility of building up socialism in one country, it showed a complete failure to understand the tremendous importance of the successes of socialist construction for the cause of the international proletarian revolution. At the present time, when the rapid development of the world economic crisis is taking place at the same time as the tremendous economic advance in the Soviet Union, the toiling masses of the whole world can see for themselves the tremendous superiority of the socialist economic system over the capitalist system.

It is true the past economic year in the Soviet Union in addition to great achievements was also marked by considerable economic difficulties. The fact that in spite of this the pace of development was so rapid is a further proof that our difficulties are difficulties of growth and, as Comrade Stalin says, contain within themselves the possibility of overcoming them.

On the Front of the Five-Year Plan.

The Dnieprostroy Today.

By D. S a s l a v s k y (Moscow).

When one speaks of the Dnieprostroy one usually has in mind the coffer-dam and the water power works. In most of the pictures and illustrations one sees the details of the coffer-dam which is in course of construction: the pillars rising up out of the water, the foaming Dnieper flowing between them, the gigantic cranes, the huge excavations in which concrete is being laid down.

This picture of the Dnieprostroy was fairly correct up to 1930. Now, however, it no longer fully corresponds to the reality. Today it is only a part, even if an important part, of the total picture. In its development the Dnieprostroy has grown far beyond the conception we had formed of it. The dimensions have grown tremendously, the building works are now spread over an area so vast that the eye can no longer take it in. Over a huge area which only a year ago was but a desolate

steppe, today armies of workers and numerous machines are boring and digging, locomotives are running to and fro, from time to time is heard the detonation of blasting operations, sand and earth fly up into the air. All that is the Dnieprostroy, to which there also belong the coffer-dam, as well as the water-power works, sluices, docks, several big works and factories, a railway junction with two bridges over the Dnieper, and a new town, Saparoshie, with a population of 100,000. And if one were to ask now what is the situation of the Dnieprostroy today, at the end of the old economic year, one would have to be met with the counter-question: "Of what part of the Dnieprostroy are you speaking?"

The Coffer-Dam.

The coffer-dam consists of two parts: the right side and the left side. They are engaged in a competition with each other, and every evening the results are announced on each bank by means of coloured lights. Of late the right bank has been leading, and has achieved a record not only for the U.S.S.R., but also for America in regard to concrete work. On the left bank are to be seen the concrete pillars towering up. Especially in the evening they convey the impression of a cyclopean structure, and one is involuntarily reminded of the monuments of Egyptian architecture. Viewed from below they are gigantic towers, and one finds it hard to imagine that the waters of the Dnieper will rise to such a tremendous height. But they will — and that soon.

Between the pillars of the left bank there rushes the Dnieper which is hemmed in from all sides. Last year it had to leave its old bed and to take this course. It looks as if the work on the left side of the Dnieper is far more advanced, for on the right side there are not so many tall pillars rising above the surface of the Dnieper. To the work on the left side there also belongs the sluice, work on which is still in its first stages. Here there are huge rocks which have to be blasted and cleared away before work can proceed on the laying of the concrete foundation and erecting the walls for the sluice chambers. Here the work is somewhat behind hand, as during the summer almost all the workers employed on this sector had to be sent to the endangered portion of the Coffer-dam, to the centre channel.

The Water-Power Works.

Immediately on the Right hand portion of the dam there is to be seen the tremendous excavations for the water works. Here one already sees huge concrete pipes which will convey the water of the Dnieper to the works. They can already be seen, and are still to be seen. Today they are at such a height that one has to climb steps in order to view them. But next year they will be under the water and hidden for ever from human eyes. Below in the excavation, the work of laying down the concrete beds and foundations is being carried out, and here in the midst of stone, sand and cement parts of huge turbines are already to be seen. Amidst the confused network of scaffolding, the outlines of the machine room are gradually taking shape. It will be a room of gigantic dimensions.

The Right and the left section of the dam meet in the middle of the "centre channel". But between their boundaries there still lies a neutral zone several metres broad. There is a fissure in a rock which a short while ago still stood under water, but now rises above it. The "zone" will fall as a premium to that portion of the dam which is the first to push forward to the boundary.

The centre channel is the hero of the present building season. Last year the bed of the left channel was covered with concrete and the Dnieper received the command to turn to the left. It is now streaming between the pillars of the dam, but not over its former rough bed but over smooth, strong concrete. The centre channel is today nothing else but a smoothly flowing arm of the river. More and more the Dnieper is being pushed back and its bed laid bare. This bed is still to be seen. It presents the picture of a mountain relief—granite rocks, chasms and fissures. The archeologists who are everywhere raking about here, were bitterly disappointed. Nothing of archaeological interest was found in the bed of the river except four swords from the time of the Varangians. The more agreeably surprised were the geologists and architects: the bed of the river proved to be a huge granite rock of the best quality. The work planned will thereby be greatly facilitated, for here is a foundation

ready to hand of primitive rock, free from all alluvial deposits, pebbles and other hindrances.

The natural conditions were favourable, but in July a threatening shortage of labour made itself felt. The work stipulated for the year 1930 is especially important. The task of covering the bed of the centre channel with concrete must be finished at all costs by the end of this year in order that next year the Dnieper can be diverted into its proper bed, so that all the spaces between the pillars on both banks can be filled. If the work on the centre channel is not finished by the time of the spring floods the building work will be delayed for a further season. The workers on the Dnieprostroy, however, have pledged themselves to have it completed by the 1st of May 1932 and to present the dam and the water-power works as a May Day gift to the working class of the Soviet Union.

How the labour shortage is being overcome by the generally concerned, how volunteers and shock-brigades have worked on the Dnieprostroy, would form the subject of a special article. The work has not been held up as was at one time feared. On the contrary, it went forward with a powerful swing and the original plan was exceeded. But not content with that, the workers put forward their revised plan for the concrete work: 427,000 cubic metres in the course of the season instead of 427,000 as stipulated by the works management.

The centre channel has no longer any cause to fear the spring flood of the Dnieper. It will receive it in its new bed. For several months the stream will still have the possibility of sweeping unhindered through the centre channel. But soon the concrete walls will be pushed forwards from both banks and be joined. The Dnieper will then be curbed and fettered, its waters will rise to the prescribed level and will then plunge through the openings made for it in the dam.

The Tempo of the Dnieprostroy.

Last year the whole life of the Dnieprostroy was concentrated on the Right bank, where the huge buildings of the offices of the works, the workers' colonies, the labour organisations, the hospital, the clubs, the central kitchen are situated.

But that was last year. Now greater importance attaches to the left bank. When the coffer-dam is finished and the surface of the Dnieper rises more than 30 metres, Kitchkas, situated, will be under water.

But the left bank is still a barren steppe. Five kilometres from Dnieprostroy there are signs of activity. White three-storey stone buildings, the beginnings of the future town of Great Saporoshe, are springing up. A huge building which will accommodate all the workers' organisations is already nearing completion. A provisional building for the technical high school is already completed. Streets, parks and gardens are being laid out. All these buildings and dwelling houses are being erected in connection with the huge factories and works which will arise here as consumers of the electric power generated by the Dnieper. Among these huge undertakings are the "Dnieprostal" steel works with an annual output of over 1 million tons, coke and benzoyl works, aluminium works, repairing works etc. The sums needed for the erection of these enterprises amount to three times the value of the dam and the water-power works. All the huge buildings, in addition to the new town (for 45,000 workers), must be ready by the time the power works are set going. But the time between now and then is not so long. Every minute is precious, and the present tempo no longer satisfies the builders of the Dnieprostroy; up to the present workers' houses are ready for only 15,000 persons. Far too slow, is the opinion of the workers, the factories are not being built at anything like the pace at which work on the dam is proceeding. There is a shortage of labour, a general

The proletarian public of the Dnieprostroy sounded the alarm. The energy of the builders of the dam and of the water-power works, who have won a magnificent victory over the difficulties of the work on the river, will also surmount the difficulties which are arising not on the Dnieper itself, but partly on the banks of the Neva in Leningrad, where the plans are drafted, and partly also in other districts which are not used to the tempo of the Dnieprostroy. The builders of the Dnieprostroy will fulfil their obligations to the working class of the U.S.S.R. There is no doubt about that. On the 1st of May 1932 this world giant will commence work.

Decision of the Council of People's Commissars on the Economic Plan for the Last Quarter.

Moscow, 31st October 1930.

The Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union has adopted the following decision concerning the economic plans for the special quarter October/December 1930:

During the second year of the Five-Year Plan which has just concluded, great success was achieved with the work for the building up of socialism and the basis was laid for the completion of the full plan within four years.

The gross production of the whole of large-scale industry increased by 25 per cent, and the production of the heavy industries by 40 per cent. Capital investments in the socialist section of the economic system rose by 84 per cent, the capital investments in socialist industry showing an increase of 89 per cent. As a result of the rapid development of production and the tremendous extent of the constructive work, the number of workers in industry grew considerably as a result of which unemployment was liquidated. This fact represents one of the greatest achievements of the working class in the current year. Another important achievement was the increase of the area under seed in the collective agricultural undertakings to 36 million hectares, although the Five Year Plan gave 20.5 million hectares as the final figures at the conclusion of the fifth year. In the most important grain districts more than half of the peasant farms have now been organised in collective undertakings. The soviet farms have sown 8 million hectares for the coming year, whereas the stipulated figures of the Five-Year Plan were 5 million hectares. As a result of the development of the collective and soviet farms the total area under seed in the Soviet Union increased by 7.4 million hectares this year.

Thanks to the fundamental development in the direction of collective farms and to the development of the soviet farms the grain problem may be considered as solved and it is now possible to further the development of industrial crops such as sugar beet and cotton.

This great success is the result of an uninterrupted struggle against tremendous difficulties intensified by the bitter resistance of the declining classes. The Communist Party and the working class of the Soviet Union developed their attack on the capitalist elements and undertook the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, carrying through this policy as an integral part of the collectivisation of agriculture.

The results of the past year permit the setting up of a plan for October/December of this year which will make possible a still more rapid tempo of development in the third year of the Five-Year Plan. In consequence the Council of People's Commissars for the Soviet Union is able to confirm the following main instructions for the special quarter October/December 1930:

The total value of production to be 5,913 million roubles, or an increase of 38.5 per cent in comparison with the average production per quarter of the past year; 43.4 per cent for the heavy industries and 33.4 per cent for the manufacturing industries.

The costs of production to be lowered by 10 per cent. Capital investments in industry to total 970 million roubles. Further, a reserve of 40 million roubles to be put aside.

The resolution then points out that the capital investments in the second year of the Five-Year Plan were not applied favourably. In particular there was an insufficient concentration of finances for building material and for the supply of technical and labour cadres for the most important building undertakings. In addition, the task of lowering the cost of industrial building operations was not completely carried out. As it is absolutely necessary that this should be made up in the extra quarter 1930 and in 1931, the governments of the federal republics and their economic organs are instructed to provide with finances and building materials first of all in sufficient measures the most important building operations in the special quarter by 8 per cent; to place the limits of construction 730 million roubles for capital investments in the section of agriculture (400 million being for the Soviet agriculture with agricultural machinery, tractors, motor-trucks

and other stock to the value of 151.4 million roubles; to supplement the head of cattle in the possession of the State farms by 534,000 head.

With regard to railway transport it was decided: to increase the freight turnover by 59 million kilometre tons, or by 31.2 per cent as compared with the quarter average in 1929/30; to increase the daily average use of the goods wagons to 135 kilometres; to increase the productivity per capita by 26.1 per cent as compared with the quarter average of the preceding year. Capital investments for transport to total 655 million roubles, including in this figure the reduction of the cost of building production.

The capital investments for Post, Telephone and Telegraph services to amount to 45 million roubles.

The expenses for people's education and for trade training to total 805 million roubles, not including expenses for the training of workers in industry. The total number of students to be 252,000 at the high schools, 453,000 at the technical high schools and 227,000 at the workers' faculties.

The uniform State budget to show a credit of 5,107 million roubles and a debit of 4,496 million roubles. The surplus of 611 million roubles to be applied as follows: 503 million roubles for the special State funds and 108 million roubles to increase the accumulation of the People's Commissariat for Transport in the State Bank account of the Soviet Union.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Palestine Programme of the British Social Imperialists.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The revolt of the Arab masses in Palestine formed the bloody overture to the MacDonald era. Since then this government of imperialist lackeys has performed a good deal of hangmen's work in India, China, Egypt and Arabia. At the same time various spokesmen of the social imperialists are continually maintaining that the "repressive measures" which MacDonald, Wedgwood Benn, Henderson and Lord Passfield are carrying out on behalf of the City of London are only of a temporary character; their object is, it is claimed, to give the Labour government the possibility of preparing in the meantime progressive and liberal solutions of the complicated colonial problem. Once order has been restored, the Labour government will find answers to all questions—for the Indian, the Chinese, Egyptian etc., which will be marked by a progressive, liberal spirit.

Something of this spirit is to be seen in the declaration of the Labour government on Palestine. His Majesty's socialist Ministers have spent over a year in preparing the Palestine declaration, and the line indicated in it will be probably the same for the coming solutions of the Indian, Egyptian and other colonial questions.

What is the programme of Labour imperialism for Palestine? It is a programme of the most brutal and reactionary colonial oppression! A programme the essential content of which is the cynical enumeration of the military battalions, aeroplane squadrons and armoured cars which are now to remain permanently in Palestine. To this there is added the assurance that the expenditure on the police, tars and spies (up to now comprising a third of the budget) is not to be in any way decreased but where possible to be increased. Finally, there is the threat that every excitement to revolt or disaffection will be ruthlessly punished and that the powers of the administration are to be extended still further.

That is the gist of the British government declaration, would, however, be a mistake to assume that this bellicose language of the peace-loving labour people is a sign of the strength of their regime. On the contrary, the programme-declaration, with its attempts to threaten and intimidate, expresses the trembling fear of Labour imperialism of the colonial masses. Behind the blustering fighting phrases there concealed the uncertainty of the Labour government, their desperate attempt to draw over to their side the most reactionary and backward sections of the native population, the feudal landlords and the commercial bourgeoisie, as a mark against the revolutionary movement of the masses. This is what also lies behind the ridiculous proposal of

a "legislative" assembly in Palestine, which shall consist of 11 appointed and 12 elected members. As the population of Palestine has already rejected by an organised boycott the "favour" of such a puppet council, the Labour government has already arranged that in the event of the population refusing to elect any representatives, then they are to be appointed! For the aim is and remains a government of the strong hand; and it is hoped by the masses, it will be possible to get some of the Arab leaders to co-operate in the Legislative Assembly.

The Labour Government is going a step further: it knows that Zionist policy formed an integral part of the imperialist rule in Palestine. Imperialism is linked up with the Balfour Declaration and with the mandate resting on the basis of the "Zionist National Home". The Labour government is therefore maintaining the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. But as the Arab masses, and behind them the 300,000 Mohammedans, will never voluntarily submit to the Zionist policy, the Labour government intends to deceive them by means of a hypocritical trick: Zionist immigration is to cease and the Zionist purchases of land are to be reduced to a minimum. Just imagine, Lord Passfield as defender of Islam and the Fellahin! It has been suddenly discovered that 29.4 per cent, i. e. nearly a third of all the Arab peasants of Palestine, are without land. When the Communists maintained that, they were flung into prison as inciters and agitators. But now the Labour government has suddenly become aware of the existence of the starving unemployed Arab masses. How far the hypocrisy of the Labour government goes is also to be seen from the fact that whilst the official declarations bemoan the fate of the Fellahin, British troops are at the same time driving the poor Fellahin and Bedouins from Wadi-Havaras and forcibly suppressing every agrarian movement.

Not a single Arab worker will be deceived by those parts of the Labour Declaration which speak of defending the Fellahin from Zionism. It is clear to every working inhabitant of Palestine that Zionism is only upheld by imperialism and that it must be crushed together with the imperialists.

Nevertheless, the British Declaration has at the same time called forth a pitiable whine from the Zionist bourgeoisie and the Jewish petty bourgeoisie which follow it. It has even come to the resignation of Dr. Weizmann, who was for many years president of the Zionist organisation, Lord Melchett, the plutocrat leader of the Jewish Agency, and of Felix Warburg, as a protest against this declaration. The Zionists and Jewish multi-millionaires who, as Warburg painfully admits, have already invested several million dollars in the "Land of Promise", are trembling on account of their beloved capital. If MacDonald's declaration means a retreat before the Arab attack, who can say whether tomorrow the dollars will be sufficiently protected, apart from the fact that it will be rather difficult now to dangle before the Jewish petty bourgeoisie the bunch of carrots of a Jewish kingdom under the protection of George V.

Therefore, protests, resignations, reproaches against the British Government, all of which of course have nothing to do with an anti-imperialist movement for freedom but are dictated by the interests of the moneyed Jews. Nevertheless, the protests bear an interesting character: Many Zionist leaders are now demanding an open orientation of Zionism to American imperialism, a transference of the Zionist organisation to America. Thus here also there is reflected the growing Anglo-American antagonism.

The great outcry raised by the Zionist leaders will not find an echo among all the Jewish workers. Many of them, especially in Palestine, will now realise in the light of the social-imperialist declaration how contrary the alliance with the Zionist bourgeoisie and with British imperialism is to their class interests; they will refuse to be used any longer as imperialist instruments and will join the steadily growing movement for freedom of the Arab working masses and stand by them in their fight for their social and national emancipation. The Zionist papers themselves are writing that the working Jewish youth have now only two alternatives: either unrestrained nationalism, i. e. fascism and nationalist adventure, or Communism, i. e. to join the social and national emancipation movement of the Arab masses. It will be the task of the C. P. of Palestine to influence the Jewish workers in the sense of the anti-imperialist and genuine international fight.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Founding of a Revolutionary Metal Workers' Union in Berlin.

By Erich Auer (Berlin).

The strike of 130,000 Berlin metal workers has proved once again that the reformist trade union apparatus has become a centre of organised strike-breaking. The strike of the Berlin metal workers was ended by a pact concluded between Urich and Co. and Siemens and Borsig with the assistance of the Brüning starvation government. Point 4 of this shameful pact reads:

"Today, Wednesday 29th October, the factory councils shall get into contact with the firms for the purpose of making arrangements regarding the resumption of work."

When this agreement aroused a storm of indignation even among the carefully selected functionaries of the German Metal Workers' Union, the trade union bureaucracy deemed it necessary to carry out a sham ballot vote in the factories on the question of ending the strike. It had already been agreed beforehand, however, that the metal workers, numbering 43,000, employed in the firm of Siemens, should not take part in the ballot vote, but that they should resume work on Thursday, 30th October. This organised piece of strike-breaking exposed the ballot vote as a mere camouflage.

After the strike had lasted two weeks and after the bourgeoisie and the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy had witnessed with fear the growing influence of the red trade union opposition, the bureaucrats of the German Metal Workers' Union, acting on the direct instructions of the Brüning government, called off the heroic strike of the Berlin metal workers.

From the first day of the strike the aim and object of the German metal workers' bureaucracy was to throttle the strike which they had sanctioned only under the pressure of the masses. Their whole tactics in the strike aimed at bringing about a defeat. The unorganised workers were the objects of sneers and abuse on the part of the German metal workers' bureaucracy. They made no attempt to include this category of workers in the fighting front. The bureaucrats hoped thereby to drive the unorganised into the arms of the employers, and thus obtain a pretext for calling off the strike.

The bureaucracy also made no attempt to obtain the active participation of the unemployed in the strike front. The strikers themselves were told to remain at home, so as to prevent a militant conduct of the strike and also to prevent the fight from assuming a political character.

The German Metal Workers' Union permitted the apprentices to enter the factories for the purpose of performing strike-breaking work.

In spite of this defeatist strategy, the German Metal Workers' Union did not succeed in shaking the strike front by means of the unorganised, the apprentices or the unemployed. In order to bring the strike to an end it was compelled to resort to organised strike-breaking.

In this decisive outpost fight the Red Trade Union Opposition developed its revolutionary strike strategy on a big scale. It is only thanks to its preparatory work and its strike leadership that the Berlin metal workers heroically fought against the wage cut and that a great number of factories and works are still carrying on the fight even after the calling off of the strike by the German metal workers' union.

The Siemens workers, who on the command of Urich and under the leadership of Urich's creatures were the first to abandon the strike, torn with doubts have slunk back into the factories. The strike pickets of the Red Trade Union Opposition pointed out to these workers that by the measures of the German Metal Workers' Union all trumps have been placed in the hands of the employers. These metal workers will experience a bitter awakening when the arbitration commission pronounces its new award. Then Urich's swindle that work has been resumed under the old conditions will become obvious to every metal worker.

In this strike the National Socialists played their usual demagogic role. In their press they made out that they were

actively supporting the strike. In reality, however the national socialists were the first to take up blackleg work in a whole number of works and factories.

The Berlin workers were not defeated in this strike. In this strike the R.T.U.O. was not yet strong enough organisationally in order to render ineffective the strike-breaking policy of the social fascist trade union leaders. The chief task of the R.T.U.O. now is to organise in all factories a fighting apparatus to lead the struggles of the workers against the intended wage cut. The apparatus of Urich and Co. has again succeeded in breaking the will to strike of the workers and in the interests of the capitalists defrauding them of the fruits of their fight.

In the strike of the Berlin metal workers the Unitary Union of the metal workers of Berlin has been created. Supported by the strike committees who have been democratically elected in the workshops, the Red Metal Workers' Union in Berlin has arisen.

The monstrous treachery of the reformist trade union leaders must be turned to account in order to win thousands of members of the German metal workers' union as members of the Red Unitary Metal Workers' Union and to weld together the masses of the unorganised, the women workers, the young workers and the unemployed in its ranks for a firm united front of the Berlin metal workers on the basis of the class struggle.

Berlin, 5th November, 1930.

Yesterday evening a great conference of delegates of the Berlin Metal workers was held in the Pharussälen, Millerstraße, in Red Wedding at which there was founded the Red Unitary Metal Workers Union as the first answer to the treachery of Urich and Brandes, the leaders of the German Metal Workers Union. Over 1,600 delegates from the shops and factories and numerous representatives of unemployed metal workers were present. So great was the attendance that the large Pharus Hall proved insufficient to accommodate the delegates so that a parallel meeting had to be held in the lower hall, which was also completely filled.

A number of decisions and resolutions on the lessons of the metal workers' fight and the tasks of the Red Metal Workers' Union were adopted with acclamation. In conclusion 60 workers, working women and young workers, 40 of whom are actually working in the shops, were elected with great enthusiasm as the central committee of the new Union.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The International Conference at Strassburg

A Conference of the Communist Party organisations in Alsace-Lorraine took place from the 25th to the 27th October in Strassburg. Strong delegations of the French and German Communist Parties and a representative of the Western European Bureau of the Communist International were present at the conference.

The conference heard a report on the activity of the party since the last Schiltigheim conference and a thorough discussion followed during which the errors and weaknesses of the party activity were ruthlessly exposed and criticised.

The conference listened to a special report on the national and social oppression of the toiling masses in Alsace-Lorraine by French imperialism. It was decided to mobilise the masses of the toilers against French imperialism and for the national freedom of Alsace-Lorraine and at the same time to conduct an economic struggle for the demands of the masses on the basis of the united front.

The proposals for the social and national emancipation of the masses of Alsace-Lorraine met with the complete approval of the representatives of the Communist Parties of Germany and France, and a joint manifesto was issued which culminated in the demand for an independent workers and peasants republic of Alsace-Lorraine!

The conference also discussed the methods of co-operation with the brother parties in France and Germany and issued a special appeal for a struggle on behalf of the proletarian political prisoners. A message of greetings and solidarity was despatched to the revolutionary strike committee of the

metal workers and it was decided to organise collections in support of the strike immediately.

When the news of the Mining disaster in Maybach arrived, the Conference at once sent a telegram to the relatives of the victims of this fresh disaster. The delegates from the Mosel and Saar districts who were present at the Conference then discussed separately the common tasks in the fight against international mining capital.

For a Free Alsace-Lorraine.

Manifesto of the Strassburg Conference to the Toiling Population of Alsace-Lorraine.

The peace dictated by the victors at Versailles has not brought freedom to any people; it has replaced the old oppression by new; it has not abolished the causes of war but created fresh causes of war.

Thus the people of Alsace-Lorraine, who have been oppressed for decades, were freed, but in place of the Prussian jack-boot to which the country was subjected by the annexation of 1871 there came the violent oppression by French imperialism. Just as the First International, under the leadership of Marx and Engels, in 1871 raised a warning voice against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and denounced it as the potential cause of fresh wars, so the Communist International, under the leadership of Lenin, raised a flaming protest against the robber-treaty of Versailles, so the Communists have never recognised the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by French imperialism but have continually summoned the toiling masses to fight against the brutal national oppression.

Hand in hand with the national oppression there is taking place an increased exploitation of the toiling masses, which in Alsace-Lorraine, as an oppressed country, assumes even sharper forms than in the rest of France.

Under the blows of the crisis and of the employers' offensive, new revolutionary forces are awakening in the exploited masses in all countries, including also Alsace-Lorraine. Inspired by the tremendous example of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the oppressed peoples in the colonial countries are rising, the national revolutionary movement of the Ukrainians and White Russians in Poland, of the Macedonians, Croats and Dobrujanians in the Balkans, of the Catalonians in Spain, of the Flemings in Belgium, of the Germans in South Tyrol, is growing stronger; the masses in the capitalist countries are gathering together for mass strikes — harbingers of the coming still greater class battles.

In this situation the Communist Parties of France and Germany pledge themselves anew to carry on the common revolutionary fight against French and German imperialism, for the unrestricted right of Alsace-Lorraine to self-determination, for the inalienable right of the working people to build up their state independently according to their own will, for the right to separate from the French State.

The Alsace-Lorraine bourgeoisie, who are united by a thousand ties with French capital, have long made their peace with French imperialism.

Only through the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany and France, only through the establishment of the Soviet Power in Germany and France is the final solution of the Alsace-Lorrainian question possible, only thus can the national freedom of the working people be assured.

Declaration by Comrade Humbert-Droz.

In the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. Comrade Jules Humbert-Droz submitted the following Declaration:

I recognise that the interpretation given by me and the other conciliators to the resolutions of the VI. World Congress on the stabilisation of capitalism was incorrect, and overestimated the strength and the duration of stabilisation. The actual world crisis, while destroying this wrong interpretation, confirms the correctness of the perspectives of the Presidium.

I recognise having adopted a wrong position towards the general tactics of the C. I., by accusing it of wishing to liquidate the tactic of the united front, of the winning over of the masses and of work in the reformist trade unions, and of carrying out a Trotskyist policy of isolation from the masses, of struggle against the reformist workers, of trade union splitting and ultra-Left sectarianism. The work and the struggle of

the C. I. during these last two years have shown me that the C. I., while carrying on an absolutely necessary and pitiless struggle against social-democratic relics and the influences and tendencies of opportunism in our ranks—a struggle in which I took an active part before the VI. World Congress—has also been able to fight all the ultra-Left tendencies which tend to isolate our Parties from the masses and from the workers' mass organisations. I recognise that I took up a wrong attitude with regard to the policy of the Presidium, and thus supported the offensive of the real opportunist elements against the policy of the C. I.

This wrong position regarding the general policy of the C. I. has caused me to take up an equally false and dangerous position of conciliation towards the Right elements who are in open rebellion against the decisions and the discipline of the C. I. I have defended them, I have advocated their retention in our ranks when their rebellion against the discipline of the C. I. determined by their wrong political position led them into the camp of the enemies of the C. I. and the Soviet Union.

I have committed the same fundamental mistake in the question of the C. P. S. U. I believed that the agrarian policy of the Party and the rapid tempo of industrialisation of the country would only bring about a rupture between the proletariat and the peasants, and would even endanger the existence of the revolution. For these reasons I have shared in the main lines of the political position of Comrades Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky which has been repudiated by the Party. In view of the extraordinary enthusiasm of the masses who were mobilised by the Party to overcome the difficulties of socialist construction, and in view of the energetic policy of the Party in the villages which was able to carry on the work of collectivisation while correcting exaggerations in the application of the proper policy of the Party and carry on a relentless struggle against the kulaks, I recognise that my hesitations were the expression of fears which have nothing of Bolshevism in them, and that the policy of the C. P. S. U. was absolutely correct.

I recognise that my wrong political position has me caused to take up a factional attitude regarding the leading organs of the C. I., and to attack their policy—as in my declaration of December 19, 1928,—in terms of such violence which the Presidium rightly condemned as "a hypocritical opportunist declaration and an unworthy attack against the C. I."

Finally, this factional attitude has caused me to commit the error of waiting two years before recognising my mistakes openly and frankly.

I therefore declare to the Presidium that I am ceasing all ideological opposition and that henceforth I shall apply its policy not only according to discipline, but from a fundamental conviction that it is the only possible, the only revolutionary, and consequently the only correct one in the present situation.

Jules Humbert-Droz.

Moscow, October 19, 1930.

Intensified Struggle against the Right Opposition in the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 29th October 1930.

In view of the increased activity of both the right and left-wing opportunists in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recently, the Krasnya-Presnya district of the Moscow Party organisation has adopted a resolution registering the successes of the Party policy (increase of real wages, the introduction of the seven hour day, the five day week, the abolition of unemployment, general compulsory education, etc.) and pointing out that the socialist sector of soviet economy has now all the most important levers in its hands, in other words the Soviet Union has entered on the stage of socialism. These successes were achieved despite tremendous difficulties (kulak resistance, counter-revolutionary sabotage, technical, economic and cultural backwardness, the organisation of an international boycott by the imperialists, etc.). These successes were achieved in the struggle against the right-wing deviation which is a kulak agency within the party. The aim of the right-wing opportunists is in the final resort the restoration of capitalism, as proved in the agreement between the ideas of the right-wingers and the counter-revolutionary Kondratev group.

The further development of the socialist offensive the

intensification of the class struggle and the difficulties encountered have increased the resistance of the opportunist elements against the Party policy. They seek to revise the Party policy both nationally and internationally. Defeated and exposed as the agents of the kulaks, the right-wingers have now become a secret fraction waiting for a favourable opportunity to open up a struggle against the Party. They formally recognise the Party policy but secretly fight against it. The tactic of silence adopted by Bukharin and other right-wingers is under the circumstances nothing but a secret struggle against the Party line.

The left-wingers have adopted the right-wing minimalist standpoint on the economic field and the right-wingers have adopted the inner-party attitude of the Trotskyists, thus making possible a block between the two groups. The struggle of this block often takes the form of self-criticism and seeks to discredit the Leninist leadership of the Party and the Central Committee, in particular Comrade Stalin. The hypocritical attitude of the right and left wingers, their block against the Party in order to undermine the socialist offensive against the capitalist elements, and the strengthening of fractionalism in the Party make it the duty of all members of the Party to be watchful and see to it that the decisions of the 15th and 16th congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the incompatibility of the right-wing and Trotskyist ideas with continued membership of the Communist Party are rigidly carried into execution.

Referring to the increased activities of the right and left wing opportunists, the "Pravda" writes that the characteristic of all oppositional blocs was lack of principle. The parties to such blocs sunk their own differences and concentrated on their joint hostility to the Party. Such unprincipled blocs had been often experienced. The present attempts to form a bloc between the masked and the unmasked capitulants were quite in accordance with past experience. The meeting of Bukharin and Kamenev was certainly no accident. Rjutin, Nussinov, Slepkov and Kovraiski, and the people behind them undoubtedly consider that the time is favourable for the formation of such a right-wing left-wing bloc. The Party of Lenin has however sufficient experience in the struggle against hypocrites and renegades.

The "Pravda" then quotes Stalin according to which the Party has grown and strengthened in the struggle against deviations from the Leninist line. In its struggle for a Leninist policy the Party has always upheld its principles and never descended to diplomatic arrangements. Lenin said that a policy based on principles was the only policy. The Party had always been victorious over the opposition because it had always maintained this heritage of Lenin.

The "Pravda" declares that the Party will continue the path pointed out by Lenin and that no one will succeed in undermining the Party unity. It will continue its struggle against the right-wing danger as the chief danger at the present time, whilst not forgetting the left-wing, Trotskyist and semi-Trotskyist elements.

Against the Double Game of the Right Opportunists.

Moscow, 3rd November 1930.

The "Pravda" writes:

Recent events in the Party, in particular the obvious double game played by the outspoken Right opportunists such as Rjutin, Slepkov and the perfidious right and left-wing fractional activity of the expelled opportunists Nussinov, Kovraiski etc., show that the Party is faced with a rerudescence of right-wing opportunist activity. The left-wing elements make common cause with the right-wingers in order to fight against the policy of the Leninist Party leadership. This has caused great indignation amongst the masses of the non-party workers who have adopted a series of resolutions condemning the activities of the right and left-wing opportunists. The double game of these elements awakens justified disgust and contempt for those who are bringing grist to the mills of the class enemy.

As the development of the socialist advance on all fields decided on by the Party and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class on the basis of compact collectivisation are of world historical importance, the XVI. Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union condemned the capitulatory attitude of the right-wing opportunists, the agents of the kulaks in the Party ranks. The congress declared the attitude of the right-wingers to be calculated on a direct restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and declared categorically that the opinions of the right-wingers were incompatible with membership of the Communist Party (just as the XV. Party Congress declared that the opinions of the Trotskyists were incompatible with membership of the Party).

The congress demanded of the right-wingers that they should condemn sharply their errors and fight against right-wing opportunism not only in words, but by active participation in the socialist constructive work on the basis of the general policy of the Party, by a determined struggle for speedy industrialisation and to overcome the difficulties facing us. The intensification of the class struggle caused by the liquidation of the kulaks as a class and the desperate resistance of the class enemy as also the difficulties to be overcome in the work of socialist construction characterise the stage of the struggle which lies before us.

The clearly recognised necessity of overcoming the difficulties produces tremendous enthusiasm and revolutionary energy amongst the revolutionary masses as seen in numerous examples of heroic socialist working methods, the development of the shock brigade movement and of the socialist competitive movement.

The attitude of the right-wing opportunist sectarians is very different; they reckon with the increase of industrial prices (which would mean the sinking of real wages); they even go so far as to declare that the shock groups and the collective agricultural movement are "mechanical", and slander the Party with accusations of bureaucracy, insufficient leadership, etc. Many of their arguments coincide suspiciously with those of the counter-revolutionary Kondratyev group. The unprincipled struggle against the general policy of the Party is characteristic for right and left-wing opportunism, as also is the attempt to establish close connections and work out a joint platform for the subversive work against the Party.

The slogans of the left-wingers Lominadse, Shatakin, etc. and others, which were condemned by the Party, are again current. A further characteristic of the block elements is the clearly observable double game as a weapon against the Party used both by the right wing Rjutin group and the Nussinov, Kovraiski group. It is therefore not superfluous to recall the decision of the XVI. Party Congress which hits the nail on the head and which draws attention to the double game of the opportunists as follows: "The Congress draws the attention of the Party to the fact that the opportunists of all shades, and in particular the right-wingers, are adopting the manoeuvre of recognising their errors formally and accepting the policy of the Party, whereby this recognition is not confirmed by working practically for the carrying out of the Party policy. In reality this represents a transformation from open struggle against the Party to a secret struggle, or at least the adoption of a waiting policy until such time as the attack against the Party can be renewed."

The attempt of the opportunists to put forward their own programme against the programme of the Party has not won unanimous resistance from the Party and from the working class. The Party organisations regard the silence of Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky as solidarity with the opportunists. The present moment demands above all clarity. We cannot permit the opportunist microbes to develop within the proletarian organism. The Party decisions concerning the expulsion of both right and left-wing opportunists and concerning the necessity for a merciless struggle against any double game must be carried out absolutely. Not only the hypocrites but also their open and secret protectors must be exposed. The interests of the revolution, the interests of socialist construction demand it as also do the masses of the Party membership and the non-party workers.

The patience of the Party is exhausted. The game hide and seek must stop. The Party will not tolerate the double game of the opportunists in its ranks.