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India's Fight for Independence and the Second International.

"We have complete confidence in the MacDonald Government".

By V. Chatterjee.

The great Imperialist War rendered at least one service to the working class and to the colonial peoples. It ruthlessly tore off the mask that had been worn for decades by the Social Democrats and clearly revealed the fact that beneath the strong language and revolutionary phraseology which they adopted at their International Congresses they were steadily drifting towards becoming the supporters and administrators of the interests of the imperialist States. The culmination has now been reached by the leaders of the Second International at the session of the Executive held in Berlin on May 11-12, and the resolution passed on India and the so-called appeal to the workers of Russia have shown them up even to their own rank-and-file once for all as the lackeys of the imperialist exploiters and the agents and abettors of imperialist war. In order to understand their gradual transformation from Social Democratic phraseology to Social Imperialist action, it is necessary to go back to the treatment of the Colonial Question by the leaders of the Second International during the last forty years.

There are three distinct periods observable in this development. The resolutions passed by the Second International at its Congresses before the War, although often couched in

militant language were merely of an academic character and did not bind its members to any definite action for the liberation of the colonial people. As far back as 1891 the Social Democrat, H. M. Hyndman, took up the Indian Question at the Socialist Congress where he and an Indian called Sanyal denounced in unmeasured terms the British exploitation of India. Hyndman wrote and published innumerable articles against British rule, denouncing it as a system of brigandage, and he always advised Indians to throw their Imperialist exploiters out bag and baggage. But the same anti-imperialist Socialist Hyndman became one of the principal advocates of a big British Navy a few years before the outbreak of the World War.

At the Socialist Congress at Paris (23-27 September 1900) the Dutchman Van Kol introduced a resolution on the Colonial Question which received the full support of the English delegation consisting of Hyndman, Quelch and Curran. It will be noted here that what Van Kol denounced was a capitalist colonial policy, the thesis was being developed that there was such a thing possible as a socialist colonial policy with a civilising mission. We see the beginnings of this development at the session of the International Socialist Congress held on August

17th, 1904, at **Amsterdam**, where there was a special resolution which ended by inviting the workers of Great Britain to compel their Government to abandon its infamous and dishonourable colonial system, and to grant to India an autonomous government under British supremacy.

The next development with regard to the colonial question took place at the international congress at **Stuttgart** (August 18th to 25th, 1907) where **Ramsay MacDonald** played an important part in the discussion on the possibilities of a civilising colonial policy under a Socialist regime. The English delegation including Ramsay MacDonald presented the following resolution with regard to the British rule in India:

"Considering that it is in accordance with the ideal of a true social order that no people should be subjected to a despotic or tyrannical form of government, the Congress expresses its conviction that the maintenance of British rule in India is a real misfortune for India and is opposed in the highest degree to the best interests of that country, and it declares it to be the duty of all friends of freedom in the whole world to advance the movement which has for its aim the liberation of the inhabitants of the unhappy land constituting one-fifth of the human race."

But this resolution on India was not voted upon because it had not been previously presented to the International Bureau. The President however declared that the tendency of this resolution was accepted both by the Bureau and by the Congress.

But the same Ramsay MacDonald voted at Stuttgart for the resolution on the Colonial Question which had been submitted by the majority of the Colonial Commission which began thus:

"This Congress declares that the value or the necessity of colonies in general—especially for the working class—has been strongly exaggerated. But it does not reject in principle and for all time every colonial policy, as this may have a civilising influence under a socialist regime."

The resolution which was defended by MacDonald was ultimately rejected by 127 votes to 108 in favour of the final resolution adopted, which runs thus:

"The Congress declares that capitalist colonial policy in its innermost essence, of necessity leads to the enslavement, forced labour or extermination of the native population of the colonised areas. The civilising mission which capitalist society professes serves only as a cover for the thirst for exploitation and for conquest. Only Socialist society will first offer all nations the possibility of full cultural development."

Both **Macdonald** and **Vandervelde**, the future Imperialist Ministers, voted ultimately for the final resolution, but the policy they represented has now been carried into practice in the Second International.

That was the first period of the L.S.I. The second period began with the outbreak of the **War** when each Socialist Party hastened to the rescue of its own Imperialist bourgeoisie and led the workers to slaughter by millions. Each Socialist Party demanded the liberation of the colonial countries under the rule of the enemy but suppressed the liberation movements of the colonial countries exploited by its own imperialist bourgeoisie. When the War was over the social democrats began to reconstruct the International as an adjunct to the organisation of imperialist bandits known as the League of Nations. It is these socialists that helped British imperialism to seize the Arabian countries and East and South-West-Africa, Samoa and New Guinea, French imperialism to exploit Syria and Cameroon and Japanese imperialism to add the Pacific islands to their possessions. Not only that, they helped all the imperialists to put down by force of arms the rising movements of revolt in the already existing colonies.

It was **Varenne**, the French Social Democrat, who initiated and perfected the regime of terror and oppression in Indo-China. It is the Dutch Social Democrats that have helped the imperialist Government of Holland to suppress with brutality the risings of the Indonesian people in 1925—26. **Vlemining**, the Dutch Social Democrat, laid down the policy of his party in a pamphlet which has been sold through the party apparatus and in which it is declared "that Indonesians are not yet ripe for

self-government and that when the Socialist Party comes to power it will have to accept the colonial legacy". The Social Democrats of **Belgium** are themselves engaged in colonial exploitation in the Congo through plantations and other companies whose profits, squeezed out of the blood and sweat of Negro slaves, find their way into the coffers of the Party.

But there is no country in which Social Imperialism has taken up "the colonial legacy", to use the phrase of Mr. Vlemining, with such gusto as **Great Britain**. Under no Conservative Imperialist Government have there been more hangings and shootings, more frequent use of bombing planes, machine guns and tanks, more drastic suppression of the freedom of speech, press and assembly, more political prisoners in jail, more corruption of working class leaders than under the Government of Ramsay MacDonald and the British Labour Party which is the main pillar of the Second International.

Whereas in 1925, when the Moroccans were fighting heroically against the French imperialist invaders, the International Socialist Congress held at **Marselles** in that year dispersed without having said a word on the Colonial Question, the Social Imperialists find that they can no longer ignore the tremendous movements of national revolt against imperialism that are now taking place in all colonial countries. In the draft resolution of the Colonial Commission of the L.S.I. at its session of June 2nd and 3rd, 1928, which was adopted with a few changes at the **Brussels Congress of the L.S.I.** held on August 5th to 12th, 1928, the word imperialism is nowhere used at all. And the whole treatment of the colonial question is based upon the assumption of the civilising mission of capitalism in the colonial countries. So the L.S.I. at the Brussels Congress declared that it supported "the endeavours of the Indian people to attain full self-government" but carefully avoided the word independence.

But even though the Brussels Resolution did not go beyond self-government for India, which reflected at that time the manoeuvres of Ramsay Mac Donald in opposition, the voice of Ramsay MacDonald in power is heard in the resolution on India which has just been passed in **Berlin** by the leaders of the Social Imperialist International. The resolution runs thus:

"The Executive recalls the Resolution of the Brussels Congress of the L.S.I. which recognises the rights of the peoples of India to self-determination.

It is convinced that through negotiations between the British Labour Government and the representatives of all sections of the Indian population that right can be exercised under the safest and most effective conditions.

It is confident that the British Labour Government will make these negotiations possible, that in order to facilitate them it will consider an amnesty for political prisoners as soon as possible and that it will conduct the negotiations in such a manner that they will lead as early as possible to full responsible self-government."

There is not a single word of condemnation of the regime of terror that is being carried on by the MacDonald Government in India. This policy is now receiving the support of all the parties of the Social Imperialist International. These Social Imperialists declare that they recognise the right of self-determination for India and they call upon the so-called "Labour Government" to enter into negotiations. But they do not ask that the Imperialist troops shall be withdrawn in order to allow the right of self-determination to be exercised. There is not the least doubt that negotiations conducted at the mouth of British guns will allow the right of self-determination to be exercised "under the safest and most effective conditions"—for British Imperialism.

It is further worth noting that the resolution speaks not of the Indian people but of the Indian "peoples", and thereby deliberately repeats one of those expressions that had been created by imperialism to produce the impression of the diversity that exists with regard to race, religion, language, etc. in India and therefore to justify the benevolent rule of Great Britain that brings peace and unity to this heterogeneous mass.

Let it be noted also that the proposed negotiations of the Labour Government are to be conducted with the "representatives of all sections of the Indian people". This is another way of speaking about the notorious **Round Table Conference**, which is being talked about for the last ten months and which

has been definitely called to London for the 20th of October. But with whom will the negotiations be conducted at that Conference? With the Princes, the landlords, the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, with the national reformist bourgeoisie leaders and with those labour reformists that have been working as the tools of the Labour Party and the General Council in order to destroy the working class movement in India.

But the people of India is not only demanding but actively fighting for full national independence, and the L.S.I. has openly declared itself on the side of the enemies of freedom. The resolution deserves to be circulated widely among the masses of India and particularly among the working class in order to expose once for all those Indian leaders like **Shiva Rao, Joshi, Chaman Lal, Bakhale**, etc., who are calling upon the Indian workers to place their faith in and cooperate with these European betrayers of the working classe and the colonial peoples.

It ought to be noted that in all these manoeuvres the MacDonald Government is receiving very valuable support from the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) whose Political Secretary **Fenner Brockway**, is a member of the Executive of the L.

S.I. While in the L.S.I. Executive Brockway is a party to this shameful resolution on India, in the I.L.P. he and his colleagues assure the bourgeois leaders of India that the I.L.P. stands for India's independence. A letter to that effect was recently sent by **Maxton, Brockway**, and other I.L.P. men to **Gandhi**. But while both Gandhi and Brockway use the word independence they both mean a place for India within the Empire which they have coated with sugar and called the Commonwealth.

It is perfectly clear from the attitude that is being taken up towards the Indian Revolution by all political parties in Europe from the extreme nationalists to the Social Democrats that there is a united front of the Imperialist Powers against the colonial countries, that they are most anxious that British imperialism should not be weakened in India and that this anti-Indian feeling so clearly expressed in the L.S.I. resolution is only a part of the offensive against the only anti-imperialist State in the world, the **Soviet Union**. But the manoeuvres of these lackeys of imperialism will be frustrated by the masses whom they try to deceive and they will be swept off the earth along with those in whose interests they are doing the dirty work.

The Partisan Movement in China

By A. Iwin.

The Red partisan movement in China assumes a more threatening character every day. It has already seized the whole of the Yangtse valley and the West river, has penetrated to the frontier of French Indo-China, is developing at a tremendously rapid rate in the province of Szechwan bordering on Tibet, is forcing its way through the province of Honan into the Yellow River valley, and having encircled the towns of Wuhan and Nanchang, is spreading eastward through the provinces of Anhwei and Chekiang to the chief industrial centre of China: Shanghai, Nanking and Hanchow. The revolutionary village is attacking the chief strongholds of the Chinese reaction and is endeavouring at the same time to get into touch with the towns which are rapidly becoming revolutionary.

In the towns of Hankow and Wuchang (which with the town of Hanyang form the town of **Wuhan**), the influx of dignitaries and rich people who have fled from the surrounding districts to seek refuge in the town, has caused a serious housing crisis. A similar state of affairs prevails in the capital towns of other provinces and the great centre of South and Central China, and to some extent also in North China. Nevertheless these dignitaries, in spite of all the discomfort and inconvenience, prefer to settle down in the capital town. But not in all of them. Nanchang for example, as we already mentioned, is encircled by the partisan movement and is even considered by the Kuomintang government of the province of Kiangsi to be endangered and the government is preparing to move to a safer place.

If even some of the provincial towns are regarded as so unsafe, what is to be said of the district towns. It suffices to reckon how many of these towns have been occupied only in the last two or three months by red troops in order to obtain a fairly impressive picture. Meanwhile, it must be remembered that the number of towns occupied by the partisans is far less than the number of districts occupied by them.

Every district town which is recaptured by the regular troops from the partisans represents a blockaded island. Many of them even represent fortresses besieged by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages.

The victors of yesterday are today in a very unenviable situation. This applies to dozens of district towns in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwantung, Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupeh etc. in which the partisan movement is growing and spreading.

The result is an extremely interesting situation. **Districts regions, whole provinces are without "dignitaries", "without authorities"**: Who, then, is administering the country?

Let us have a look at the latest reports:

"In many villages in the frontier districts of the provinces of Fukien and Kwantung, Soviet authorities have

been set up. In one place a small arsenal has commenced working. The Soviet authorities have opened a number of propagandist schools. Men and women peasants are joining the Party in crowds."

"Chude's army has consolidated the Soviet Power in the West of the province of Fukien, where in spite of the blockade a Soviet government of West Fukien is functioning."

"The government troops have discovered in the Pailuan mountains a local Soviet government, various Soviet institutions, schools and such like."

"The Soviet government has reorganised its troops and formed three new regiments. The staff of the Red Army is in Lunjank. In all the districts occupied by the Red troops, the State and private schools have been converted into Leninist schools in which Communism is taught."

The above quotations suffice to show how, in place of the all-powerful gentry, the feudal big landowners and usurers; in place of the district administration of the Kuomintang, village and district Soviets are springing up. And this not in merely one province, but in the provinces of Kwangsi, Kwantung, Fukien, Honan, Hupeh, Szechwan, Anhwei, Kiangsi, Chekiang, and now also in Kiangsu.

Thus, in uninterrupted fights, revolutionary Soviet China is arising and growing. As we have already seen, this China, as regards its extent and population, is of incomparably greater importance than one might conclude judging merely from the number of district towns—even though their number is by no means small—over which the red flag of the Soviets now proudly waves.

II.

A few weeks ago the Kuomintang press in Honan thought it was able to triumph. Thanks to a vile denunciation, the Honan authorities were enabled to arrest and execute the well-known partisan leader E-kweih.

E-kweih, who was born in Honan, was three years ago the vice president of the Peasants' League in one of the districts of Changsha. Later he organised a strong partisan detachment. Numerous punitive expeditions were fitted out and dispatched against him. A price of 2000 dollars was placed on his head. But all in vain.

Last month a secret communication reached Changsha. E-kweih was staying incognito in the town of Nansiang for the purpose of working out with the representatives of Honan, who is operating in West Honan, and with the representatives of the Communist detachment in the Hupeh border district of Tsiangli-Shishwo a plan for a simultaneous offensive with the Kiangsi 5th army corps under the command of Pen Tehuas and the troops of Litchan in the South East of Hupeh.

"The arrest and execution of E-kwei-h," declared the Kuomintang press full of indignation, "has not prevented the carrying out of the plan worked out."

This is only one example of the co-ordinated actions of the Red troops in several provinces—in the given case of Hupeh, Honan and Kiangsi.

On the other hand, the imperialist press, especially the English, is repeatedly calling attention to the close contact maintained between the troops of the partisan armies operating in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien and Kwantung. Kiangsi thereby becomes a centre, and the celebrated 4th corps of Chude, which is transferring its headquarters from one province to the other, becomes the main connecting link and, to a certain extent, the leading organ of the partisan movement.

Thus we see that, besides a rapid territorial extension of the partisan movement, which is embracing one district after another and one province after another, there is ever closer co-ordination of the, until recently, isolated actions of the workers and peasants army. The Congress of representatives of the Soviet districts of China, convened by the CP. of China, will be a further step in this direction. In addition, the Congress is confronted with an even more difficult task, namely, to establish the closest fighting connection between the partisan actions, the partisan war and the actions of the industrial proletariat.

Powerful as the partisan movement is already at present, the counter-revolution, which stands under the protection of the imperialists in the industrial and trading centres, cannot be finally crushed with the forces of the partisans of the Chinese village and of the small district towns alone. Without being burst from within, without the revolt of the industrial proletariat, which must have the hegemony of the revolutionary movement not only in the towns but also in the village, the main stronghold of the counter-revolution cannot be captured.

III.

The red partisan armies have defeated regular troops more than once. In its fight which has already lasted more than two years, the 4th corps has disarmed more than one brigade. Even the bitterest enemies are compelled to pay tribute to the courage, the bravery and the strategy of the red partisans.

The improvised weapons, the primitive arsenals and the necessity to be very sparing with the munitions which have been obtained with so much difficulty, — all these circumstances render it extremely difficult for the red troops to carry on an open and prolonged fight. Therefore the partisans, although they have dozens of times captured various district towns, have so far not succeeded in holding a town for long in the fight against strong punitive expeditions. On the other hand, however, the regular troops are succeeding less and less in maintaining control on the other side of the city walls. Seized by the Sovietising process, villages, districts and whole provinces, literally bristle with the lances of the insurgent peasants. In addition to the big troops of Chude, Holun etc., there are arising numerous small detachments which serve to fill the gaps in the big formations and whose activity is frequently confined to the border of a district or even only to a village area.

The Chinese counter-revolution still manages to maintain its position in the towns, but it has already lost power over thousands of villages. And these thousands of villages are continually increasing. Chiang Kai-shek may boast as much as he likes that he has sufficient divisions at his disposal in order, without running the risk of weakening the front against his enemies in the North, to "establish order" in the Yangtse valley. But he will no more succeed in doing this than he succeeded in 1928 in "settling Communism in three months".

It is true, Nanking has still numerous divisions at its disposal. But will it be able to rely upon these for long? Mutinies of the soldiers have for a long time been the order of the day. Desertsions of soldiers from the regular armies over to the side of the red partisans are becoming more and more frequent. By means of energetic propaganda in the army, these desertsions can assume a mass character, and in the coming insurrection of the industrial proletariat, this time supported by the red partisan army, can become the last thrust which will plunge the already doomed regime into the abyss.

POLITICS

The Pan-European Manoeuvre of the French Imperialists.

By M. R.

French imperialism finds itself in an awkward cul de sac. Never was the isolation of France so plainly evident as it has been in the last few weeks. The Entente Cordiale with England, which up to about a year ago was one of the main props of French imperialism's dominating position on the Continent of Europe, has long since ceased to exist. The recent Naval Conference in London showed that all the devices of the French delegation to draw America over to its side or to renew the Friendship with England were in vain. Equally unsuccessful were the attempts to get the security guarantees, which for the French capitalists mean the alpha and omega of their policy, included in the League of Nations Covenant. At the same time France is meeting with growing difficulties in the colonies. The revolts in Indo-China and the fights in Morocco show how shaky French rule is in the overseas territories.

At the same time, however, France has undoubtedly manoeuvred itself into a position of isolation on the European Continent. While Italian fascism is endeavouring to gather around it all the available forces in Europe and Mussolini makes no attempt to hide against whom they are being mobilised, the French alliances, which are to serve as a counter-weight to Italian influence, are proving extremely unreliable. If one leaves out of account Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, which are firmly bound to the Paris banks, France has scarcely a friend among the European states. On the contrary, a number of countries would, in the event of a serious Italo-French conflict, unhesitatingly turn against France.

Finally, the situation at home is a cause of no little trouble to French imperialism. There are already clear signs of an approaching crisis, and the policy of high tariffs prevailing in Europe today causes the French big industrialists to fear that the crisis can assume huge dimensions in the near future.

For a time French imperialism endeavoured to escape from its difficulties by increased initiative in the Anti-Soviet incitement. Paris has undoubtedly become the centre of all the Anti-Soviet conspiracies and all the white-guardist intervention plans; and there is every reason to assume that France would not unwillingly have placed itself at the head of an Anti-Soviet crusade in order by this means to consolidate its position of power as the saviour of civilisation. But the howls of the corrupt Parisian press, the Kutjepov plot and other sensational affairs did not arouse that response abroad which the Quai d'Orsay had expected.

M. Briand therefore decided to make a new "big gesture", to propose a sort of financial restoration programme for the various European bourgeoisies. Briand openly, and in the name of the French Government, unfurled the flag of a European Federation. The phraseology of this movement, which has long sailed in the wake of French imperialism, is repeated in Briand's official Memorandum. There is to take place nothing more or less than "the laying of the foundation stone of a new Europe". International peace, co-operation, in short, a new European paradise will arise if the governments of the various States adopt the proposal of Monsieur Aristide Briand.

In reality, however, the idealistic altruism of the cunning diplomat who has been driven into a corner, is something quite different. It is a question of a new attempt to unite various European States for a fight against 1. the influence of the United States of America; 2. the Soviet-Union; 3. the colonial peoples (only a few days ago the industrialists of North France adopted a resolution calling for joint action on the part of all European States against the Indian revolution).

Briand's manoeuvre would be all too clumsy if he did not offer something to the European governments which they could regard as compensation for their submission to the leadership of France. Certain circles in German industry, the bourgeois Polish war-mongers etc. have long sympathised with the idea of again consolidating European capitalism by the formation

of a European bloc against Soviet-Russia. It is quite in line with these bourgeois interests when the Berlin "Vorwärts" calls for support for Briand's proposals.

Nevertheless it would be a mistake to overestimate the prospects of success of this latest manoeuvre of French imperialism. Words and gestures will not suffice to bridge over the profound economic antagonisms which at present divide the camp of world imperialism. "Words are very fine, but rifles, machine-guns, ships, aircraft and guns are something still finer", declared the rival of French imperialism in Europe, Italian fascism, through the mouth of Mussolini, at the very moment when the French representative handed over Briand's Memorandum.

For it would be sowing the worst illusion to speak to the proletariat even of the possibility of solving the grave crisis, the serious imperialist conflicts, by any Pan-European plan. In fact the plan for a European Federation is not to be regarded as an action for bringing about European peace, but on the contrary, as a part of the French war preparations, i. e. an attempt to unite the European States under the leadership of France for a fight against America on the one hand and against the Soviet-Union on the other, and secondly, as an attempt to strengthen France's position in Europe against Italian imperialism.

The proletariat, which has always rejected the agitation for a "United Europe" as reactionary and imperialist, receives through the action of Briand clear proof that behind all the recipes for Pan-European reconstruction there is to be seen nothing but an imperialist manoeuvre.

For the proletariat there exists no European question which is separate and apart from the general complex of the great fight between imperialism and revolution — a fight which, may it be waged today in India or in China or on the front of socialist construction in the Soviet-Union, is inseparably bound up with the fate of the European proletariat. The social fascists may adopt the bluff and frauds of Briand as their programme, but the revolutionary proletariat will expose them for what they are: fresh imperialist intrigues, new preparations for war.

The Political Situation in Germany.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

The Budget Plan for 1930 which has been submitted to the Reichstag for discussion has been taken over without hardly any alteration by the bourgeois block government from the preceding Hermann-Müller coalition government. This budget, amounting to 11,000 million marks, provides for an increased expenditure of 40 to 50 million marks on the Reichswehr, and a reduction of social expenditure by 118 million marks. The taxes on capital are greatly reduced (Corporation tax by 60 millions, property tax by 47 millions) while, on the other hand, all indirect taxes, which weigh heavily on the workers, are enormously increased.

But that is not all. In the last few weeks the ministers of the Hindenburg Government have been touring the country and announcing that, by exercising strict economy, it will be possible to save 1,000 million marks on social expenditure (unemployment and sick benefit); that "the unemployed are being corrupted by the dole"; that those who "are always coming to the Labour Exchange" shall be deprived of unemployment benefit.

Now it should be known that the economic crisis in Germany, owing to the increasing market difficulties, is already spreading from the finishing industry to the industries producing the means of production and raw material. This is expressed before all in the gigantic number of unemployed, which is today about 1,100,000 higher than in the same period of last year. Of the 3 million unemployed in Germany at least 2 million can be designated as "permanently unemployed". These permanently unemployed are to be delivered over to starvation.

In the speeches of the Ministers and in the discussions in Parliament there are to be heard the dull rumblings of the fights outside Parliament, proclaimed by the employers' wage-cut announcements. In Saxony 150,000 metal workers, in Central Germany 40,000 and in the Ruhr district 200,000 have been given notice of dismissal. In Berlin the collective agreement covering 180,000 metal workers expires shortly. Every-

where the demands of the iron barons are the same: wage cuts from 10 to 30 per cent! The wage cut of 15 per cent enforced by the firm of Becker, Mansfeld and Co. is only a preliminary skirmish, to be followed by a huge offensive along the whole line.

The high tariffs, which were a promising commencement, are now followed by a present of 1000 million marks to the East Elbian big landlords under the pretext of "help for the Eastern districts". As the leaders of industry are now energetically insisting on the fulfilment of their special demands, the next step will be an offensive against social insurance, especially against the unemployed.

What are the leaders of the reformist trade unions doing in face of this general attack of the bourgeoisie? They are concentrating on drawing a protective cordon round the bourgeois bloc Cabinet. Three times in succession a number of social democratic members of Parliament have, on the order of their party, abstained from voting on the occasion of votes being taken on the increased tariffs and taxes in order to avoid the defeat of the government. The Prussian Cabinet, led by the social democrats, acts in conformity with the Reichsgovernment in all important questions and its leader, Otto Braun, openly declared: "It would be a mistake to overthrow the Brüning Government."

The social democratic police presidents of Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg and the Ruhr district attack nearly every proletarian demonstration held against Brüning and cause the demonstrators to be batoned and arrested.

In addition there is the Reichsbanner Black-Red-Gold, the so-called Republican Defence force, in which social democratic workers march side by side with the catholic priests and democratic members of the stock exchange and big merchants. When the social democratic proletarians in the Reichsbanner expressed their indignation with the bourgeois bloc, the social democratic Reichsbanner leaders Hörsing and Höltermann issued a strong protest in which they sharply condemned every attack upon Brüning, Stegerwald and Dietrich "whose parties are in the Reichsbanner".

This attitude is all the more criminal as it is precisely the German social democratic party which is always declaring that the present government is under the thumb of Hugenberg (the leader of the German nationalists). It is true, the Cabinet is fulfilling all the main demands of the nationalists, but the purpose of the social democratic outcry over Hugenberg's dictatorship of the Cabinet is to shift the responsibility to the reactionary government dictatorship from the present and future coalition comrades to the German nationalists. On the other hand, it is impossible to overemphasise the joint responsibility of the Centre, the democrats and the S.P. of Germany.

This responsibility is already recognised by a part of the rank and file of these parties. This is the cause of the bourgeois party crises, one of the most important phenomena of which is the rebellion of the petty bourgeois followers against the big bourgeois leadership. Whilst the membership (before all of the democrats, but partly also of the Centre) are demanding that their leaders withdraw from the Brüning government, the leaders of the centre parties are going more and more to the right. The reason for this is to be found in the hopelessness of the industrial and agrarian crisis, which compels the present government to adopt fascist methods of rule. Therefore, the policy of the Hermann Müller coalition was more reactionary than the preceding bourgeois bloc government, and the policy of the present bourgeois bloc government is more reactionary than that of the Hermann Müller Cabinet.

There can be no doubt that Germany is driving towards fascism. It is no mere chance that the national socialists, after less than six months government experience in Thuringia, are now shortly to enter the bourgeois bloc Cabinet in Saxony. Their deeds do not differ in any way from those of the other bourgeois parties, and their nationalist exterior cannot disguise the capitalist character of their whole policy. Thus the fight against fascism is being carried on exclusively by the Communist Party, which is organising the mass action against the whole capitalist regime. The recently held municipal and factory council elections prove that ever larger masses are beginning to understand the role played by the Communist Party in the fight against fascism.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Anti-Soviet Appeal of the Second International.

By J. Schmidt (Berlin).

**The proletarian masses of all countries are watching with profound sympathy and strained attention the tremendous work which the proletariat is achieving in the only country in the world where it has seized State power. In spite of all the gloomy prophecies of the enemy and all the blows and attacks, the proletariat of the Soviet Union, overcoming all obstacles by a gigantic exertion of strength, is showing how socialism is being built up and how this can be done only under the purposeful, iron leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

At the same time those countries in which the proletariat is not following the leadership of the Communist Parties but is still under the spell of the capitalist agents, present a picture of blackest reaction, a picture of mass misery and lack of rights of the toiling population. This is the situation into which the international social democracy has led the proletarians of those countries where it has been able to fool the workers.

The hour of decision between these two worlds is approaching. The danger of war, which up to quite recently was denied by social democracy, the war preparations against the Soviet Union, which up to recently were dismissed as merely imaginings of Moscow, have become so obvious that it is no longer possible to deceive the proletariat with regard to where things are tending. And in spite of the systematic campaign of lies and calumnies, in spite of the fresh stories served up every day regarding the Soviet Union, the sympathies of the broad proletarian masses are on the side of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, which is led by the Bolshevik party.

In its long heroic fight for socialism and against a world of enemies, the proletariat of the Soviet Union has had no more bitter and spiteful enemies than the leaders of the II. International. It was they who prevented the social revolution from spreading to Germany and from thence to the whole of Europe by employing all the forces of reaction, by slaughtering countless workers, by shooting and murdering the best proletarian leaders, by executing men and women who were the best fighters and leaders of the working class (in Hungary, Finland and Bavaria). It was they who encouraged and promoted fascism wherever the proletariat threatened to seize power, who participated in the wars of intervention in the years of 1918-1920. It was their leaders and theoreticians (Kautsky) who as recently as 1923-25, and in fact up the present day, propagated open armed intervention as the only way to restore "normal" conditions in Russia, whereby, of course, they naturally mean the restoration of bourgeois-capitalist democracy.

And now these gentlemen suddenly declare themselves to be friends of the Russian proletariat; in fact they consider themselves called upon to give "advice" as to its future policy, to give recipes on the "unchaining of the creative forces of the masses for the building up of socialism", and pretend to be concerned for the restoration of the alleged broken alliance between the workers and peasants!

No Russian proletarian will take seriously this concern displayed by Vandervelde, Joseph Compton, Wels and Co. They know them only too well! There is no doubt, however, that the Russian proletariat is causing other and real worries to the social fascist International, and it is to these that the shameful document known as the "Manifesto of the Socialist International to the Workers of Russia" is really devoted. Yes, the Russian revolution is causing serious concern to the capitalist world. The destruction of the last remnants of capitalism, the shattering of the harmful counter-revolutionary organisations, the deprival of the N.E.P. Men and kulaks of the right to vote, the realisation of the highest form of democracy, as Lenin characterised the Soviets, make the capitalists very dubious as to the possibility of the success of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union and compel them to organise all their forces and agents in order to place obstacles in the way of the Russian proletariat and to divert from it the growing sympathies of the

proletariat of all countries. This is the true purpose of the latest manoeuvre of the II. International. The proletariat, which is more and more identifying the idea of the defence of the Soviet Union with the idea of fighting against imperialism and capitalism, which sees in the work of the Russian proletariat not only the heroic fight of a far removed proletarian class but at the same time an example of how it must itself cast off the chains of capitalism and proceed on the way to socialism — this proletariat is to be confused, distracted and deceived. The social fascists know very well that their ridiculous and jesuitical tirades over freedom which must be restored to the Russian people, will awake no echo but only scorn and ridicule among the Russian proletarians. This Anti-Soviet Appeal of the II. International has been drawn up not for the proletariat of the Soviet Union, but for the proletarians of the capitalist countries who are still ignorant and under the spell of bourgeois ideas and petty bourgeois traditions. These proletarians, who are beginning to realise the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, of solidarity with the Russian proletariat, are, under the slogan of "saving the Russian Revolution", to be tricked into doing the exact contrary.

"Save the revolution", "Save democracy", "Save socialism" were the slogans with which the German revolution was throttled, with which the Hungarian and Bavarian Communes were drowned in blood. These "saviours of the revolution" know only too well that "counter-revolution" has its logic, sets its own laws, inevitably establishes its rule and not that of democracy. If we take the example of Munich, Finland, Hungary, then it is apparent that it is something more than chance that the red dictatorship is followed by the white, that the red terror is followed not by democratic liberties but by the white terror". (Siegmund Kunii, "Kampf" Vienna 1925.)

But in order to be able rightly to perform their role as capitalist lackeys, they need this deception of the workers, this fawning, flattering, friendly tone; they need these hypocritical declarations of love for the Russian proletariat in order the better to fool the European workers, in order, under the cloak of democracy, to clear the way for that bloody fascism, that counter-revolution, that world reaction, against which they pretend to sound a warning.

The "Prawda" on the Anti-Soviet Appeal of the II. International.

Under the title of the "Stranglers as Saviours" the "Prawda" publishes an article dealing at length with the present role of the II. International in the Anti-Soviet campaign and in particular with the Manifesto issued by the recent Executive Meeting of the L.S.I., in which, while pretending to be concerned over the fate of the Russian revolution and of the alliance of the workers and peasants in the U.S.S.R., they appeal to the workers of the Soviet-Union to liquidate their class dictatorship and to clear the path for the forces of capitalist restoration. The article continues:

The appeal reminds one of the Marseilles resolution of the II. International containing a point against interventions. We know the value of this point, which served and still serves to cloak the Anti-Soviet character of the II. International before the eyes of the workers in the capitalist countries. We know how the Marseilles resolution is being carried out by the parties of the II. International. It suffices in this connection to refer to the Ukrainian social democrats and the Georgian Mensheviks.

The Party of the Ukrainian social democrats (worthy members of the II. International) was at the head of the Petljura government which, in the year 1919, attempted to conclude an alliance with the Entente and with Denikin against the Soviet-Union (obviously also for the purpose of saving the revolution). The same government, after it had been driven out of the Ukraine, signed through the person of the social democrat A. Levitzky, a treaty with Poland. In the year 1920 the Ukrainian social democrats entered the government formed by Pilsudski after the capture of Kiev. At the recent Kharkov trial of the Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries, it came to light that the counter-revolutionary organisation to which the accused belonged, "The League for the Emancipation of Ukraine", which had set itself the task of restoring capitalism in the Ukraine and maintained connection with various foreign

government, had been founded on the initiative of the Ukrainian social democrats Tchikalenko and Sadovski, and that nearly fifty per cent of the members of this League are either present or former members of this party.

The party of the Georgian Mensheviks is also a section of the II. International. From numerous documents, which already in 1926/27 fell into the hands of the Soviet authorities, it was established beyond doubt that the Georgian Mensheviks had directed their whole activity towards an imperialist intervention against the Soviet-Union; that in the year 1924 they had organised an insurrection in Georgia. In the Kharkov trial in the Summer 1927 it transpired that this section of the II. International was maintaining connection with the Polish General Staff.

The whole appeal of the II. International just reeks of fraud and hypocrisy. This language has been employed only in the appeals of the occupation armies which wished to enslave the country whilst promising "freedom" to the population in order to weaken their resistance. The "freedom" with which the agents of international imperialism are endeavouring to mislead the workers of the Soviet Union, means in reality capitalist exploitation.

The action of the II. International is rightly regarded by the workers of the Soviet Union as an integral part of the international anti-Soviet campaign. Every worker in the Soviet Union knows that the II. International is an anti-proletarian, anti-revolutionary organisation, which is bitterly hostile to the self-sacrificing efforts of the proletarians of the Soviet Union who are building up socialism in their country. It was a great achievement of the workers and toilers of the Soviet Union when they cleared out the parties of the II. International, the Mensheviks and the social revolutionaries, and rendered them politically impotent. The workers and toilers of the Soviet Union thereby made it easier finally to overcome the bourgeoisie and to build up socialism.

The workers and toilers of the Soviet Union consider the appeal of the II. International as nothing more or less than a manoeuvre of the class enemy. It is necessary that also the workers of the capitalist countries treat it with the contempt it deserves.

INDIA

The Indian Revolution and the Nationalist Leaders.

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

At a secret meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, of whose 300 members over 100 are already in prison, it was resolved to stiffen the struggle against British Imperialism by resorting to the non-payment of taxes and by intensifying the boycott of British goods. And the Congress Committees in the provinces and villages are carrying out the mandate of their Executive to the best of their ability.

Meanwhile the great Congress leaders can in no way be regarded as sincere. They have taken up the slogan of independence outwardly, because otherwise they would have lost their hold on the masses immediately and because they were astute enough to realise that it is only with the help of the revolutionary mass movement that they can obtain acceptable concessions from British imperialism. For the purposes of the bourgeois leaders, the Congress movement was divided into two parts. The Civil Disobedience campaign was to be under the dictatorial guidance of Gandhi, who was empowered to nominate his successors in the leadership, while the Congress itself was under the leadership of its President, now Pandit Motilal Nehru. This division of labour has proved to be very wise and convenient. Jawaharlal Nehru is in prison for the trivial offence of having violated the salt laws, and his father Motilal who has succeeded him, has maintained a somewhat suspicious silence during the whole campaign.

The more one studies the Indian political situation, the more one is forced to the conclusion, that the Congress leaders are anxious to enter into negotiations with the government as soon as possible. This is not at all surprising. Not only did

they never intend to participate in a really revolutionary mass movement, but they never even wanted independence or believed that it was more desirable than a "responsible" place within the British Empire. It is instructive in this respect to recall the recent history of the chief Congress leaders.

Above all, **Gandhi** himself. His famous letter to his "dear friend", the Viceroy left no doubt as to his definition of the word independence. That was on the eve of launching his salt campaign. But that his view has never changed is proved by his own articles in his paper "Young India" in which in the issue of April 24th, i. e. 18 days after he had begun his campaign for "independence" Gandhi declared:

"The present campaign is not designed to establish independence, but to arm the people to establish Swaraj."

His successor, the old **Abbas Tyabji**, was a political nonentity who never declared himself for independence, and since he too was given the usual Congress term of imprisonment of six months, the leadership has fallen to **Mrs. Sarojini Naidu**. This fact alone suffices to show the political standard of the Congress leaders. When the Lahore Congress passed the resolution on independence, she and Dr. Ansari declared that they considered that resolution to be against the interests of the "country".

Mrs. Naidu, however, is a mere puppet who is placed in charge of the theatrical side of the campaign, while the wiser and cleverer heads are keeping their hands free for negotiations with the imperialist government. Among the most important Congress leaders who are in touch with the Viceroy through the back door are Motilal Nehru, Patel and Mohammed Ali. The way in which these negotiations are managed is shown by the history of the notorious Delhi Manifesto of last November which was signed not only by Motilal Nehru and Gandhi, but also by the advocate of independence, Jawaharlal Nehru. Writing immediately after the Delhi meeting at which the Manifesto was issued, the "Tribune" of Lahore pointed out the role played by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the agent of Lord Irwin. Sapru was "receiving frequent communications from the Viceroy" during the Delhi meeting, and he influenced Motilal Nehru and Gandhi, who in their turn brought pressure to bear on Jawaharlal.

The same Tej Bahadur Sapru has been continually at work again not only to bring about the All-Parties' Conference which met at Bombay on May 16th, but to act as a go-between between Motilal and Lord Irwin. Motilal has never concealed his opinion that he prefers Dominion Status to independence, nor does anyone suppose that the astute lawyer does not realise the real danger of the mass movement to his class. A number of "distinguished" Indians are expected in London early in June, the date of their arrival almost coinciding with the publication of the first volume of the Simon Commission's report. Among these Indians is also Pandit Motilal Nehru. The "Mahratta" of Poona, a nationalist weekly writes in its issue of April 27th:

"Pandit Motilal's projected visit to England is the topic of much banter, not altogether good-natured, in the press. With Pandit Nehru in London, there is no knowing what turn Indian politics and the Gandhi campaign may take. Last time Pandit was there, he was far from revolutionary in his political outlook."

As for **Patel**, who is the friend and actual representative of Gandhi, there can be no doubt whatsoever as to his real aims. When he remained in the Legislative Assembly in disobedience of the Congress mandate, when he then suddenly resigned from the position of speaker of the Assembly, when he addressed his letters to the Viceroy and began his boycott of foreign cloth — he had but one object in view, and that was to enhance his own popularity and importance in order to make it easier to betray the movement.

In his second letter to the Viceroy, Patel says:

"It is true that the Congress has now adopted complete independence as its object, but I am not without hope, if without any further delay India is offered complete responsible government within the British Commonwealth of Nations, she would be prepared to accept it, and perhaps such responsible government is more to her advantage than isolated independence."

And the Mohammedan elements that were the allies of Gandhi a few years ago, are now openly against independence. Their leader and spokesman, **Mohammed Ali**, wired to the Viceroy a couple of days before Gandhi's arrest, advising the government to come to terms with Gandhi. He has now asked permission to visit Gandhi in prison and there is no doubt that he will persuade Gandhi also to come to terms with the Viceroy. This Mohammed Ali, who is actively working for Muslim participation in the coming negotiations, is at the same time clamouring for independence for the Arabian countries!

All these Congress leaders will take part in some form in the Round Table Conference which has been called to London on October 20th. The "Liberals" and the princes will also be there, together with the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sasuri, the lackey who has done the dirtiest work for British imperialism in South Africa.

But special attention should be paid by the British working class to the **Labour leaders** who are also coming to London in June to betray the Indian workers and their splendid struggle for independence: **N. M. Joshi**, the man who broke up the Indian Trade Union movement and accepted a position on the imperialist Whitley Commission set up by the Labour Government; **Shiva Rao**, the notorious theosophist-reformist, who has exercised so disastrous an influence on the labour movement in Madras, and **S. C. Joshi**, the secretary of the G. I. P. Railway Employees' Union, who betrayed the splendid railway strike. The presence in Europa of these three enemies of the working class, at the same time as the political representatives of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, is a clear proof, that a betrayal of the Indian revolution is being planned.

The British labour traitors are delighted and an Indian Labour Committee has been formed in London by **Purcell** to "look after" their Indian Colleagues, while they jointly devise schemes for selling the Indian workers to MacDonalds masters. The British workers must frustrate their plans by paralysing the MacDonald Government and giving more active support to the Indian workers and peasants in their struggle.

The League Against Imperialism Supports India's Fight for Freedom.

The rapid development of the revolutionary mass struggles in India against British imperialism induced the Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism to discuss at an extraordinary sitting the question of **international support for the great Indian struggle for emancipation** and the practical measures connected therewith. **Bridgeman**, **Page Arnot** and **Saklatvala**, representatives of the English Section of the League, were invited to the meeting, which was held on May 10, 1930, in Berlin. There were also present the representatives of the **German** and of the **Arab** Secretariat of the League and of the affiliated **Balkan Federation**, who were staying in Berlin.

The chair was occupied by **Willi Münzenberg**, and **Chattopadhyaya** (India) delivered the political report. The speaker pointed out that the Indian revolution is at present entering on a decisive stage. The violent collisions, which are taking place almost daily in various parts of the country, showed firstly, that the movement is embracing ever broader sections of the Indian masses, who emphatically reject Gandhi's tactics of non-violence, and secondly, that the revolutionary Labour movement is coming more and more plainly to the forefront and beginning to play the greatest role in the Indian revolution. The speaker dealt at length with the perspectives of the Indian agrarian revolution. Unmistakeable signs prove that the peasants in various parts of India are beginning to rid themselves of the hampering illusions of the petty bourgeois leadership and to fight on an increasing scale for revolutionary agrarian demands. In the present struggles the fact is significant that, in spite of the British imperialist policy of "divide and rule" and in spite of the treacherous attitude of certain Mohammedan leaders, there exists complete solidarity between the Hindus and the Mohammedan workers, peasants and soldiers. The speaker concluded his report with the call to organise internationally a broad campaign for India and at the same time to see to the organisational strengthening of the Sections of the League in all countries.

In the discussion, which was taken in by all present, Münzenberg submitted a number of practical proposals, and pointed out the significance of the fact that it is a British

Labour Government which is brutally suppressing the Indian people. He referred to the meeting of the **Executive** of the II International now taking place in Berlin, and compared the present role of social reformism in regard to the emancipation struggle of the colonies with the role played by the social democracy on 4th August 1914.

Bridgeman (England) called attention to the importance of the British working class actively participating in the aid for the Indian revolution, in which the great masses of the industrial proletariat and also the transport workers, seamen etc. must take part.

The representative of the Balkans proposed that delegations from the most important countries (England, France, Germany etc.) be sent to India in order to break through the isolation of India and to investigate the situation on the spot.

The representative of the Arab Secretariat emphasised the importance which the intervention of the world proletariat for the purpose of showing solidarity with the Indian revolution has, especially in view of the simultaneous revolutionary upsurge in the other colonial countries (China, Indo-China etc.).

After the discussion a number of important decisions were adopted. The attention of all sections of the League is to be called to the enormous political importance of India's struggle for freedom, which demands in every country an equally broad and intensive activity as in the case of the first phase of the Chinese revolution. The campaign is everywhere to be conducted under the following slogans: "Hands off India!", "No soldiers and arms for India!", "Withdrawal of the English troops and officials from India!", "Not pacifism and national reformism; only the revolutionary struggle of the masses is the way to India's independence!", "Release the Meerut Prisoners!", "Link up the Indian struggle with the fight for freedom in all colonies and with the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat and of the peasantry in all countries!"

Of the concrete measures adopted we mention the following: Launching of an Indian Campaign in all European countries, in North and South America, in the Arabian territories, South and East Africa, China and Indonesia; the fixing of a general solidarity-week for India, in which collections are to be carried out for the anti-imperialist fighting fund of the Indian revolution; the sending of delegations to India etc. A special delegation of the League Against Imperialism was appointed, consisting of **Bridgeman** (England), **Campbell** (England), **Fimmen** (Holland), **Professor Nejedy** (Czechoslovakia), **Münzenberg** (Germany), **Barbusse** (France) and **Dimitrov** (Member of the Executive of the League for the Balkans). The International Secretariat has already made application to the British Government for visas.

It was decided, in carrying out the campaign for India, to pay special attention to the imperialist policy of the II International, which is most closely connected with the MacDonald Government.

The question of the broad organisational extension of the English section of the League and the issue of an anti-imperialist paper was also discussed. A political declaration on the role of **James Maxton**, who has been expelled from the English Section of the League, was adopted unanimously. This declaration stigmatises the role of Maxton and the **J. L. P.** in regard to the emancipation struggle of the colonial countries.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Collapse of MacDonald's Arab Policy.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The plan to reorganise British influence in the Near East by creating a sort of "Arab Locarno", i. e. to arrive at a compromise with the national bourgeoisie of the various countries for the purpose of common suppression of the toiling masses, was very carefully prepared by the MacDonald Government and its Colonial Office. While in the Arab countries themselves the British forces were strengthened and the most brutal repression applied against the revolutionary movement, the representatives of the bourgeoisie and of the feudal landowners were invited to London in order to negotiate and conclude an agreement with them.

The plan of the social imperialists was undoubtedly dictated by the necessity, on the one hand, of securing the

rear for the expedition for suppressing the Indian revolution and, on the other hand, to be prepared in case of war breaking out, as disturbances in the neighbourhood of the Suez Canal could become a serious menace to the British line of communication. With regard to the national reformist leaders, they were quite ready to sell their demands for independence if only they were offered in return certain economic and political advantages corresponding to their class interests. This was the idea in the minds of delegations from the various Arab countries which met in London in April last.

At this very moment, however, there came the great upward movement of the Indian revolution, a palpable revolutionisation of the masses in the Arab masses under the influence of the rising wave of the Indian revolution and as a reaction to the imperialist persecutions, with the result that the bourgeoisie began to vacillate. They became afraid that if they committed open treachery, their influence on the masses would be seriously jeopardised; that the movement could get beyond their control and even turn against them. The Egyptian bourgeoisie were the first to retreat: with the refusal to sign the social imperialist treaty submitted by Henderson, the main pillar of the new structure which the Labour Government was hoping to erect, came crashing to the ground. In spite of all the imperialist attempts to keep them apart, the connection between the different Arab countries is much too close to allow the bourgeoisie of one of these countries to conclude a compromise, if the leading nationalist parties of the neighbouring countries find themselves opposed to imperialism.

The delegation of the Palestine Arab Executive Committee have now declared that they cannot continue negotiations with the British Cabinet. They have issued a statement in which they say:

"We have decided to leave for home with the impression that the Palestine Arab case will not be justly solved by the British Government . . ."

"We are convinced that every Arab in Palestine prefers to die in the defence of his natural rights and existence than to submit to oppression inflicted by any measures of coercion. As the Arab and Moslem worlds are our copartners in Palestine, it is our duty to make them acquainted with the dangerous situation threatening the very existence of their holy country and brother inhabitants."

The 16th of May has been fixed as a general day of protest against British imperialism in the Arab countries, in which all Mohammedan districts are to participate by strikes, processions and demonstrations of every kind. This shows how difficult of realisation is the British aim of playing off even the Mohammedan leaders against the Indian revolution. Precisely the oppression of the Arab countries by British imperialism is mobilising the most backward Mohammedans in the fight against imperialism.

MacDonald's plan of reorganising the British Middle-East Empire can, therefore, be regarded as frustrated for the greater part; the negotiations still pending with Iraq and Ibn Saud have very poor prospects of leading to a satisfactory conclusion, and the Indian revolution and the breaking off of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations will certainly not favourably influence them. The toiling masses in the colonies have once again upset the calculations of the social imperialist ministers.

Can, however, the oppositional gestures of the Arab bourgeoisie of Palestine, who are following the footsteps of the Syrian (breaking off of negotiations with the French in Summer of 1928) and of the Egyptian bourgeoisie (refusal to sign the Anglo-Egyptian draft treaty) be therefore regarded as a sign of a real turn of this bourgeoisie towards a revolutionary fight against England? By no means. The bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, of whom the Arab delegation consists, have rather by the comedy of negotiations enabled the British to throttle the revolutionary movement in the Arab countries, strengthen their apparatus and to carry out a regime of terror against the toilers whilst preaching "law and order".

The Arab bourgeoisie have been careful to leave the way open for fresh negotiations, and a real anti-imperialist fight with revolutionary methods is not to be expected of them. The Communists in the Arab countries, who right from the first moment stigmatised any negotiation with the English as treacherous and futile and called upon the working population

to help themselves by forcibly driving out the foreign oppressors, are now being proved to be correct by the confession of the delegation itself.

Thus the breaking off of the Anglo-Arab negotiations will result in a serious aggravation of the situation in the disturbed Arab countries, a revolutionisation of the masses in the anti-imperialist struggle and will greatly shake the frame-work of the British Empire in the Near East.

To the Aid of the Revolutionaries of Indochina!

Four Indo Chinese revolutionaries were beheaded on the 8th of May in **Yen-Bay** on the orders of the French government. But the imperialists are still carrying out their policy of repression in Indochina. The sword of the executioner threatens 39 other revolutionaries who have been condemned to death by the criminal Commission in Yen-Bay for having participated in the insurrection of the 10th of February. If the world proletariat does not raise an energetic protest in good time, these Indo-Chinese revolutionaries will be executed. In addition, 300 prisoners in **Phu-Tho**, over 60 in **Kien-An** and may others in **Ben-Thuy** and **Cat-Ngan** who were arrested on 1st and 5th of May are likewise threatened with the scaffold or severe terms of imprisonment.

Blood is flowing in streams in Indo-China. After systematically bombarding the villages in the province of **Tonking**, the imperialists are now proceeding to wholesale execution of revolutionary fighters.

But all these punitive measures do not satisfy the imperialists and the social imperialists. The district committee in Tonking of the **French Socialist Party** are demanding further repressive measures. The socialists are demanding the blood of the revolutionaries of Indo-China. They are demanding from the government of Indo-China further executions, like the execution of two Communists in **Vinh**, which is described as follows in the "Tribune Indochinoise":

"After the reading of the sentence it is again proclaimed by means of loud speakers to all the four winds. The spectators, are school children and peasants.

Three dull strokes of the gong and the executioner raises his sword with both hands. A sudden flash in the light of the setting sun. A feeble stroke, the head has not yet fallen. There is no doubt, the hand of the executioner has trembled. The victim calls on him to finish him off. Three times yet the bloody sword is brought down on the victim's neck. Then it is sawn through. This revolting performance is repeated in the case of the two other condemned."

The fact that the social imperialists are rendering aid in repressing the revolutionaries hardly comes as a surprise. The former Viceroy of Indo-China, **A. Varenne**, who expropriated the natives in order to give their land to his friend **Maillet**, has again been accepted into the **Socialist Party of France**.

But in spite of the terror the fight in Indo-China has been energetically taken up again. In view of the bombardings, the shootings, beheadings, banishments and the arrests, the workers and peasants of Indo-China are now realising the necessity of organising in order to put an end to these barbarities. On the 1st of May they held demonstrations with red flags under the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions, the peasants organisations and the Communist Party. Five demonstrators were shot down and 15 were seriously wounded. This bloodshed aroused such indignation among the toilers of Indo-China that on the 5th of May they attacked a concession in the neighbourhood of **Vinh**, with the result that 20 natives were shot down. The bloody repressions in the last two months have led to risings of the coolies employed on the rubber plantations in **Phu-Rieng**, **Cam-Tieng** and **Dau-Tieng**, to strikes in **D-Au** and **Nam-Dinh** and to a demonstration of the bandsmen of the rifle regiment in Yen-Bay, who played the "International" in front of the officers.

It is the task of the international working class to support their brothers in Indo-China who are fighting for emancipation from the yoke of the French imperialists and the native feudal landowners; they must by energetic action help the toilers of Indo-China to force open the imperialist prisons in order to snatch from death all the condemned revolutionaries.

CRUSADE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

Swedish Peasants Returning to the Soviet Union.

The Failure of the Anti-Soviet Campaign in Connection with the Swedish Peasant Emigrants.

By A. J. Smolan.

The 900 Swedish-Russian peasants who last year emigrated from the Soviet Ukraine to Sweden, have met with cruel disappointment. In their old village of Gammal-Svensky on the Dniepr they lived as one big family. Very conservative and backward, they clung tenaciously to the old traditions and patriarchal conditions, obeyed the words of their "pastor", and therefore remained quite indifferent towards the great revolutionary events which took place in their immediate neighbourhood. This explains how it was that the greater part of the middle and small peasants, after 12 years of the revolution, allowed themselves to be persuaded by the empty promises of their pastor, to give up their property and their farms situated on the fruitful Ukrainian soil, to leave their old home in order to chase after a mirage.

The beautiful dream of these simple, ignorant people was very rapidly dispelled by the hard facts. Instead of the promised peasant farms they were housed in tumble-down military barracks, where they were herded together and watched over as if they were prisoners. Some of them were put on show at the annual fair in the Autumn and exhibited to their "blood relations" as a sort of wild beast; the great majority however, without being consulted, were gradually sent to the big estate owners and big peasants as day labourers, or, to put it more correctly, were sold as slaves, as being without means they were quite at the mercy of the bourgeois-social democratic "relief-Committee".

Already at Christmas time the first three families, thanks to the intervention of the C. P. of Sweden and the means raised by collections made among the workers, were enabled to return to the Soviet Union. When it became known by means of letters and newspapers that the returned peasants had immediately received back their old farms and in addition were granted financial support by the Soviet Union, the longing of the shamefully deceived peasants for their sunny native village on the Dniepr became general. With the exception of the pastor and a few kulaks, they would have all returned to the Soviet Union had they possessed the necessary means for the journey.

The families who applied to the Soviet Embassy for visas to return to the Soviet Union became more and more numerous; the scandal became so great that even bourgeois papers sharply criticised the whole business which had been undertaken for anti-Bolshevist reasons. The "relief committee" which in addition to bourgeois and social democratic politicians comprised members of the royal family, would however not admit that the whole affair had proved a fiasco, but instead endeavoured to get rid of their "blood relations" who had now become an incumbrance. For this purpose pastor Hoas was sent to Canada, but he returned without achieving anything. The great Canadian Pacific Railway had made arrangements to convey the 900 expected immigrants, and in its annoyance over the lost business openly attacked Pastor Hoas and proved that he had deliberately sabotaged the affair for selfish reasons, i. e. because he had not succeeded in obtaining from the Canadian government a reserved district where he would have been able to establish a new Swedish village and a comfortable living for himself.

This exposure gave rise to a fierce row among the anti-Bolshevists, who now mutually exposed each other as swindlers and profit-seekers. A well known social democratic leader, Wennerström, member of the "relief committee", attacked the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and exposed its connection with the Lutheran Synod in Canada. It came to light that the synod was not inclined to grant credits for the settlement of its Swedish-Russian "brothers" and that it had rejected Pastor Hoas' conditions as unacceptable.

"What is the meaning of that?", asked Wennerström indignantly. "It seems as if the 'relief committee' of the synod is only a screen for the Canadian railway company, and that it was set up on the same lines as the other committees with a religious stamp which the same railway company has previously

founded in other countries for the same purpose." This statement exposes the role of the church and of the religious sects, and shows how they are at the disposal of the big capitalists. Mr. Wennerström speaks here as one who ought to know, as he himself, in his capacity as a member of the Swedish Parliament, has for several years both by speech and writing propagated wholesale emigration to Canada and in all his journeys to Canada has been the honoured guest of the Canadian government and of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The "Committee for rescuing the Russian-Swedish peasants" is falling to pieces; all that it has achieved with its anti-Soviet incitement is that the formerly indifferent "blood relations" have now had their eyes opened and are longing to return to the "Bolshevist hell". They have acquired first hand experience of the difference between the free land of the toilers and the treatment meted out to them by the authorities and the exploiting big landowners of capitalist Sweden.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Chinese Edition of the "Communist International".

By Tang Shin She.

It is a great event that the theoretical organ of the Communist International is now, at the commencement of the second decade of its existence, no longer confined to European languages, but also appears in a language of the Far East. This fact symbolises that the role of the bourgeoisie in the national and bourgeois-democratic revolution in the colonial countries is played out, that the proletariat and the peasantry allied with it will, under the leadership of the Communist Party, themselves fulfil this task.

After the betrayal of the first Chinese revolution by the bourgeoisie, the Chinese proletariat in 1927, by the proclamation of the Canton Soviet, took upon itself, in alliance with the peasantry, the task of continuing the fight against the imperialists and the Chinese landowners and bourgeoisie allied with them. The Soviet movement is growing. China is now witnessing a fresh revolutionary upsurge. The appearance of a Chinese edition of the "Communist International" just on the eve of the new Chinese revolution, is of extraordinary importance and to be especially welcomed.

As is to be seen from the introductory words to the Chinese edition, the Communist International has set itself the following tasks:

"The 'Communist International' will be the leading organ of the Bolshevik idea of the Communist Party of the countries in the Far East. For the Communist Party it will be an organ for international education and the strongest organisation centre... It is our task to increase the fight not only against Right opportunism within the Communist Party in the capitalist countries, but also in the colonial countries. For the opportunists in the Communist Parties in the colonial countries are the mediums by which the influence of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie reaches the proletariat and hinders the fight of the proletariat. By means of the Chinese edition of the 'Communist International' the Comintern will strengthen its influence and the fight for Bolshevisation in the Communist Party of China and in the countries in which Chinese is read..."

The first number of the Chinese edition contains a number of interesting articles taken from the European editions, which are important for the countries of the Far East, as "Leninism is victorious", "The world economic crisis and the tasks of the Communist Parties", "Speech of Comrade Stalin at the Conference of Marxist Agrarian Experts", "Under the Banner of the Chinese Soviets", "The End of Mr. Roy", "Commencement of the French economic crisis and the Labour Movement", "The growing revolutionary crisis in India", "Change in the period of transformation".

The Chinese Right opportunists, under the leadership of the renegade Professor Chen Du Bsju, are already in a state of dissolution. By the exposure of the renegade Roy this process will be accelerated. The "C. I." has therefore used its first number of the Chinese edition as a powerful means for purging and strengthening the Party in the Far East, especially in China.

Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. S.**Concluding Speech of Comrade Manuilsky.**

(Conclusion.)

4. The Struggle for the Hegemony of the National Revolutionary Movement.

Comrades, the problem of united front tactics is raised not only for the working class, but also for the peasant masses, particularly those in the colonies. The question of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolutionary movement is of tremendous importance. It is a question of the tactics of the united front of the proletariat with the widest colonial masses, with safeguards for the leadership of the proletariat. The question of hegemony in the national revolutionary movement is the question of who will take the lead of the peasant masses, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat? And if you take the history of the Chinese revolution, the whole history of the first phase of the existence of the Kuomintang up to the desertion of the national revolutionary movement by the Chinese bourgeoisie, the whole struggle then developed around the question of whether the proletariat would win possession of the Kuomintang in order to lead the peasantry, or whether the bourgeoisie, seizing the banner of the Kuomintang, would utilise it to subject the peasantry to its own influence. And though the Chinese bourgeoisie gained possession of the banner of the Kuomintang, it was not able to lead the peasantry in its train, and the young Chinese working class did not gain the leadership of the peasantry either. The struggle for the peasantry continues, in other circumstances than those of the first period of the Kuomintang. Hence we can say of China that here the proletariat is already fighting for the hegemony of the national revolutionary movement. But can we generalise this for all the colonies where movements have taken place in recent months?

What is necessary in order to take the lead of the peasantry? Lenin said it was organisation and class-consciousness of the proletariat. Translating this into concrete terms, we can say that four conditions are required. First, the proletariat by its resolute and self-sacrificing struggle infuses the same spirit into other intermediate classes, like the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, and wins the leadership of the peasantry. Does this exist already in the colonies? Undoubtedly it does in a number. Where? Apart from China, in India. It is precisely in India that we see the courageous and dauntless struggle of the Indian proletariat, infecting with its resolution the Indian peasant masses.

Secondly, the proletariat introduces its own methods of class struggle into the bourgeois democratic revolution, making on the latter its own proletariat imprint. Lenin wrote of the Russian Revolution of 1905 that it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution, but the methods of its struggle were proletarian, e.g. the political strike. Does this symptom exist in the colonial countries? It does: again, apart from China, in India, where the proletariat has recourse on a very big scale to strikes with a political bias.

But, comrades, in order that the proletarian struggle for hegemony in the national revolutionary movement should be achieved, there is requisite also that fine instrument without which all talk of hegemony is a hollow sham. I have in mind the Communist Party. Is there today a Communist Party in a number of those countries where there have been movements? There is not even in India a Communist Party yet, not to speak of other colonial countries. How then can we expect that the struggle for hegemony should become a reality without this condition? I have been told about India that, although there is no Communist Party there, there are Communist nuclei in the Tata Works and other factories, but unfortunately they have no Central Committee. On the other hand, our Dutch Party has a Central Committee, but no nuclei. Of course it is a bad thing when we have a Central Committee without nuclei, but it is also bad when the nuclei exist without a Central Committee. In both cases we have to recognise that there is no Communist Party, and it remains a fact that in India there is still no Communist Party, and the third condition under which the pro-

letarian struggle for hegemony in the national revolutionary movement acquires a firm footing, does not exist.

Finally, the fourth condition of the struggle for hegemony in the national revolutionary movement: it is necessary not only to have Communist Parties, but also that these Parties should tear asunder the umbilical cord binding them to bourgeois class society, that they should break loose from the influence of petty bourgeois ideology, that they should defend an independent class policy, and maintain an independent proletarian line, for only a Party which does this can fight successfully for hegemony in the national revolutionary movement. And we have a very painful experience in this respect about which Comrade Garlandi spoke, when describing the situation in Mexico. Here the collaboration of the Communist Party of Mexico with other classes without a firm Bolshevik line, led to the crushing of the Mexican Communist movement. This experience is of tremendous importance for the Communist Parties of Latin America, for the question of independent Communist policy is a question of life or death for the Communist movement in Latin America.

Here the problem of united front tactics has to be viewed from a two-fold angle. The Communist Parties must lead the widest possible masses of the peasantry, otherwise they will find themselves outside the great revolutionary events which are developing in these countries. On the other hand they must not capitulate before the petty bourgeois ideology of all kinds of revolutionary adventurers, of which the soil of Latin America, aglow with the growth of the revolutionary movement, is very fertile. The Communist Parties here are faced with a double danger, either sectarianism, of having an irreproachably correct line "in principle", but finding themselves nowhere in the mass revolutionary movement, or dragging at the tail of other classes, losing their own individuality, and renouncing the struggle for hegemony in the revolutionary movement of the working masses. And this last danger is particularly real in the countries of Latin America. It makes itself known daily in dozens of ways. Here we need a radical change in the whole daily practice of the Communist Parties in the direction of independent class policy on their part. Hence the question of the policy of the so-called workers' and peasants' bloc acquires the very greatest significance. But the problem of the workers' and peasants' bloc exists not only for the countries of Latin America: it is of extreme practical importance for the agrarian countries of Europe also. In conditions of the universal growth of fascism, the workers' and peasants' bloc must help the Communist Parties to survive the severe period of illegal existence.

In what do the mistakes of the Communist Parties of Latin America show themselves in the policy of the workers' and peasants' bloc. First of all, the bloc degenerates in practice very frequently into a party parallel to the Communist Party, with its own programme and tactics opposed to the Communist Party. In effect, under the guise of the workers' and peasants' bloc, they collaborate, in Brazil, for example, with the so-called Prestes Column, and in a number of other countries of Latin America even with militarist cliques of generals. The danger is all the greater because this policy literally leads to disaster. At this Enlarged Presidium we must say, so firmly that we shall be heard in Latin America, that if the Communists of these countries do not wish to bring the young Communist movement to complete disaster, if they do not wish to see the victory of fascism in Latin America, they must change their present course as regards the workers' and peasants' bloc. The penalty for these mistakes will come more quickly here because those processes of the fascisation of the bourgeois parties which took in Europe fifty years or a whole century take place very rapidly in the colonies and semi-colonies. The democracy of Latin America is travelling the road to fascism at a dizzy speed. All of us know examples of a number of Latin American "democratic" nations. In the circumstances of capitalist encirclement, under the pressure of the circumstances of capitalist encirclement, under the

pressure of the imperialist Powers, the petty bourgeoisie, dependent entirely upon the latter, rapidly loses its petty-bourgeois radicalism and, without any intermediate stages—as was shown particularly vividly in Mexico—goes straight over to the camp of fascism.

What directions must we here give the Communist Parties in order to safeguard them against grave mistakes? First, the workers' and peasants' bloc must defend the main demands contained in the programme of the Communist Party, and develop under its leadership. Under no circumstances can we tolerate its existence as a parallel party. Secondly, in its organisation it must be built on the workers' and peasants' rank-and-file organisations created by the Communists, and not on the principle of the representation of peasant parties and all kinds of other petty bourgeois organisations. If there are peasant parties which recognise the main principles of the Communist Party's programme, and accept the leadership of the Communists, so much the better, but they can be admitted only after the most careful examination. Finally, the third condition is that in the workers' and peasants' bloc the Communists maintain the complete independence of their class policy and reserve full freedom to criticise all peasant and working class elements which betray petty-bourgeois vacillation. Only on these conditions can the workers' and peasants' bloc play an enormous positive part in carrying through the tactics of the united front between the proletariat and the broad masses of the peasantry.

5. The Most Important Task of the Communist Parties.

The tactics of the united front in the advanced capitalist countries is linked up with the leading role of the Communist Party in class struggles. And this leading role can be much more easily fulfilled by Communist Parties which are numerically strong than by those which are weak, other things being equal. Hence arises the importance of the recruiting of new members by the Communist Party. Not only do the united front tactics help the Communist Parties to recruit new workers into their ranks, but recruiting, which increases the strength of the Communist Parties, make it easier for them successfully to apply united front tactics. Comrade Ercoli contrasted in his speech the problem of organising revolution with daily detail work: and the recruiting of new members by the Communist Parties comes in the first category of daily work. Is such a contrast correct? Not quite. What did we say in our resolution submitted to the Presidium in the first item of the agenda? We said that the comrades must carry out the decisions of the X Plenum which up to this day have not yet been fulfilled. But to carry out the decisions of the X Plenum means to win the decisive sections of the working class, to organise the system of revolutionary shop delegates on a broad elective basis, to consolidate our factory and workshop nuclei, to work in the army, to organise workers' defence, to work stubbornly at the preparation and carrying through of mass political strikes. This, Comrade Ercoli, is the organisation of revolution. We know of no other path in the present concrete circumstances. We should be very grateful if we were told of other paths which lead us more rapidly to our objective; but no one pointed out any other paths to us. And if this is the case, then it is essential to strike at once at our weakest spot, which is the state of our organisation. We cannot continue to remain in the intolerable state of organisation in which we are today. We must, in the conditions of the present rising wave of revolution, make a leap forward, i. e. increase the number of members of the Communist Parties by recruiting. And this way of putting the question has somewhat alarmed Comrade Remmeli. He warned us not to create illusions for ourselves, not to reckon only with quantity, but also with quality of Party membership, not to forget that there is a difference between people of the second and third period. Without belittling for a single moment the importance of the "third period", we cannot but object to the third period playing the part of a kind of buffer against any increase in the numerical composition of the Communist Parties in the conditions of a rising wave of revolution. After all, we cannot represent matters as though the second period was a kind of holiday in the class struggle. We cannot consider that the whole personnel and leadership of the Communist Parties of the "second period" must be thrown on the scrap heap and yield place to a new personnel of the "third period".

Let us take the example of the C. P. S. U.—a party working in a peasant country, where the proletariat is linked by many threads with the village. Have we received 100% Communists all at once into our Party of a million and a half? What extensive political work we have to carry out to hammer firm and reliable Communists out of this great mass!

Have we only elements of the "second period" in the working class? Where then, may I be permitted to ask, have the elements of the "third period" got to? What, for example, did the lessons of August 1 teach us? On August 1, the Communists drew into action considerable, if not vast masses. Every Communist, as a general rule, taking all the countries together, led ten workers. If a Communist Party numbered say, 20,000 members, it drew into action 200,000 workers. You will recall under what difficult conditions these workers demonstrated, when the whole machinery of the bourgeois State was mobilised against them, when in fact war conditions were artificially created, when everywhere police terror was raging. And in these conditions, these ten non-Party workers came out into the streets with the Communists, stood their ground sometimes more firmly than many Communists, shared with the Communist Party all its persecutions, all the blows of its class enemy. I ask you, Comrade Remmeli, are not these ten non-Party proletarians already Communists, save that as yet they have no Party membership book in their pocket? But why are these workers who came out into the streets on May 1, 1929, in Berlin and on August 1, throughout the world, not in the ranks of the Communist Party? Should we raise up barriers against them? Or should we, on the contrary, do everything possible to bring this magnificent fighting proletarians into the ranks of the Communist Party? You say that we cannot increase the CP of Germany by 50%, that this is too mechanical a way of putting it. We shall not insist on the firm figure and firm date laid down by the Organisation Department of the Communist International. But the CPG itself must determine these figures and these dates. They must be determined by every Section of the Comintern and their fulfilment must become a point of honour for the Parties as a whole, and for every Communist in particular. Then it will be a real revolutionary competition, and not a mere imitation of the CPSU.

Comrades. It is necessary in conclusion, briefly to sum up the political meaning of the Comintern's call to detail work, linking it up with the political outlook of the Comintern. The summons to detail work is not the policy of "petty affairs", which postpones the prospects of revolution to the dim and distant future. Just because we do not postpone those prospects to the remote future, we must roll up our sleeves and get to work lest events take us unawares. We must somewhat straighten out the front of the proletarian struggle. Of course we shall never straighten it out sufficiently to wipe out the inequality of development of the revolutionary wave, so that the upward revolutionary surge should proceed in all countries along one straight line. But we must straighten out the front of the proletarian struggle to such an extent that for the countries which are ahead in respect of the development of the revolutionary processes there should be created the suitable international situation, favourable to the development of the rising wave in these countries into a revolutionary situation. The fate of the Indian revolution is in the hands of the metal workers of Manchester, the miners of Scotland. This of course does not mean that the Indian revolution cannot be victorious before the victory of the British proletariat. But it does mean that for the victory of the Indian revolution there is needed a greater shattering of capitalism and the whole imperialist system than it is experiencing today, a greater mass revolutionary movement in Britain than is the case hitherto. Hence arises the necessity of drawing the advanced capitalist countries up to the level of the movement of the toiling masses in those countries which constitute the weakest links in the capitalist system.

We have never adopted, and do not adopt today, the point of view that prior to the general collapse of capitalism, we cannot break the front in the weak links of the capitalist chain. It can be broken, but only on condition that the development of the proletarian movement in the advanced capitalist countries goes ahead, if we wipe out the present striking discrepancy in the levels of the movements. And this can be achieved only by stubborn and persistent work of all Sections in the advanced capitalist countries which are lagging behind.

A tremendous responsibility now devolves upon the Communist Parties of the U.S.A., of Great Britain and of France. They stand at the outpost of the world revolutionary movement. And these whom history puts forward as its outposts must be on the watch, they must be ready to enter into battle and withstand the severest blows.

The General Situation in Italy. The Position and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party.

(Resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Italy, Endorsed by the Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I.)

1. Italian national economy, which has been in a state of chronic crisis for a number of years, is now becoming more and more emersed in a profound general crisis resulting from causes peculiar to Italian capitalism and from the economic policy of fascism, as well as from the extension of the world economic crisis and the effect of the economic crisis in the United States, etc. The recent intensification of the crisis, which is officially characterised as a „delicate situation“, will, in its further development, upset all the „plans“ of fascist economic policy. Immediately the first symptoms of the aggravation of the crisis appeared, the fascist government was obliged to abandon its „plans“ for public works and land reclamation and to suspend the work already commenced. Apart of big capital, the fascist government utilises the state finances and savings for the purpose of establishing special funds to be distributed among the big industrial, banking, and commercial enterprises in order to help them survive the crisis without damage. On the other hand, the peasants and the small manufacturers and traders—to whom fascism has promised so much—are allowed to, „go to the wall“. In order to carry out this policy, the fascist government is imposing an increasing burden of taxation on the masses of the toilers in town and country. The capitalists, aided by the State, are striving to intensify the exploitation of the workers, to reduce wages and to throw large numbers of workers into the streets, thereby causing a rapid increase in unemployment.

Thus, the fascist regime in Italy is casting the whole burden of the growing economic crisis on to the shoulders of the masses of workers and peasants.

2. As the economic crisis in Italy becomes more acute, discontent against the fascist regime becomes widespread among the masses of the proletariat and the peasantry. Even those strata of the toilers which have lived in a state of deception for so long are now beginning to throw off the influence of fascism, and in some places are even directly entering the fight against the fascist regime. The numerous instances, observed recently, of the working class and peasantry openly fighting against the employers, against the big landed proprietors, against the organs of the State and against fascism, are unmistakeable symptoms of the beginning of the awakening of the masses of the workers and peasants and of the revival of the fighting spirit of these masses. This is confirmed:

By the the demonstrations organised by the workers in several large mills and factories of Milan, Turin, Alexandria, Udine and other towns on August 1st, 1929 in spite of the proclamation of a state of siege, and particularly the demonstration in prison organised by the 500 workers arrested in Turin and their singing the „International“, is striking evidence of the growing militancy of the working class.

By the mass demonstrations of workers and peasants in Gorizia-Tolmino, who lit 40 huge bonfires on the occasion of August 1st, and dispersed with rifles the gendarmes, who came to extinguish the conflagrations that resulted from them.

By the refusal of fascist militia to carry out the order on November 18th, 1929, to execute Hortan, a Croatian peasant, who was sentenced to death by the extraordinary tribunal, and the subsequent clashes with the fascists and the spontaneous demonstrations which broke out among the peasants in Istria in protest against Hortan's execution.

By the anti-fascist peasant disturbances at the beginning of November 1929 in Sulmonia, Apulia, Abrucia and Calabria (refusal to pay taxes, setting homes of fascist officials on fire, beating up of fascists and driving them out of the village).

By the still more imposing armed demonstrations organised by the industrial and agricultural workers and working peasants in Faenza and other localities at the end of November last year, in which connection the large military and police punitive detachments despatched from the centre suffered about 100 killed and wounded. At that time strong and „reliable“ sections of the fascist militia and carabinieri were concentrated in the industrial centres of Turin and Milan, and all big factories were put under a strong military and police guard.

By the fight put up last December by the Milan metal workers in the large metallurgical plants against fascist rationalisation, in which the employers were obliged to appeal for military forces in anticipation of serious labour unrest, a struggle which compelled even the „fascist unions“, to demand, for demagogical purposes, the reinstatement of the dismissed workers.

The frequent desertion of fascist militia men and the participation of some of them in the recent demonstrations in Milan, organised by unemployed industrial and agricultural workers, etc.

All these facts indicate that the struggle of the workers and peasants is already, in certain places, breaking through the fascist front.

Thus, by sharpening class antagonisms and class struggles, the growing economic crisis will accelerate the maturing of all the objective conditions which will cause the discontent of the masses of workers and peasants and the more or less sporadic anti-fascist struggles to grow into great economic strikes, into imposing street demonstrations, into political mass strikes and into mighty political actions alternating with or carried out in conjunction with the anti-fascist struggles or actions of the agricultural workers and poor peasants, and with the struggles of the oppressed national minorities. The important and characteristic fact to be noted in the present political situation is precisely this awakening of the revolutionary activity of the workers and poor peasants.

3. All these struggles, from the most insignificant to the powerful revolutionary political demonstrations of the broad masses of workers and peasants, will, in the process of their unrestrained development, bring to the front the question of the overthrow of the fascist regime. Facism, which became the logical political expression of and the form of applying the open, violent, dictatorship of the big imperialist bourgeoisie in Italy over the proletariat and other working elements, can be finally overthrown only by the revolutionary action of the proletariat, which, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will stand at the head of the demonstrations and revolutionary anti-fascist struggles of the broad toiling masses in the cities and villages. Consequently, in the impending revolutionary situation, the struggles for the overthrow of fascism can only be a struggle for the establishment of a Soviet Government of workers, soldiers, sailors and peasants, and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government as the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. The socialist proletarian character of the revolution which is impending in Italy is clearly determined by the following factors: a) the high stage of development of imperialist capitalism in Italy, which completely dominates the whole economic life of the country; b) the complete identity of interests between the capitalists, the big landowners, the monarchy and the church, which has been achieved under the aegis of fascism which exercises the dictatorship of finance capital, on the one hand; the high degree of differentiation of classes and acuteness of class antagonism, on the other. In this connection, the fact that the urban and rural proletariat (more than 4 million agricultural labourers having traditions of revolutionary struggle) constitutes not only the mainstay of the economic life of the country, but also, together with its immediate allies (poor peasants, share croppers etc.) constitutes the vast majority of the population, is of particular importance. c) The economic, social and political revolutionary crisis of the first post-war years (1918—22) had already confronted Italy with the dilemma: either proletarian dictatorship as the immediate task of the struggle, or the open, violent, brutal, dictatorship by big capital. The bitter experience of the proletariat and working masses under the fascist dictatorship has proved to them more convincingly than ever the necessity for fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only method of putting an end to fascism.

(To be concluded.)

The Tasks of the Communist Sections Regarding Municipal Policy.

(Resolution of the Enlarged Presidium of the ECCI)
(Conclusion.)

6. The municipal programme of the Sections of the CI. must be so constructed that, firstly, it will contain concrete immediate demands, which can be understood by the broad masses and will mobilise them for the struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party; secondly, that the programme should continue to be sharply directed against unprincipled adaptations to bourgeois legality, and thirdly, these partial demands must be linked up with those basic demands which the Communist Party, as the Party of the working class, will carry out after it has seized power. It must be systematically explained to the workers and other oppressed strata of the population that the achievement of one or two partial demands cannot greatly improve their position.

In the midst of the rapidly rising revolutionary tide, when growing masses of workers are realising that there is no other way out of the threatening catastrophe than the proletarian revolution, one of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is to popularise the municipal policy of the USSR, and its results (expropriation of the landlords and capitalists), deprivation of the propertied class of the right to participate in municipal activity; transference of the houses of the bourgeoisie to the workers, the class principle in taxation policy, preference to working class districts in connection with all municipal improvements and works, extensive assistance for the unemployed, free education, utilisation by the workers of cultural institutions, which were formerly the privilege of the bourgeoisie usw.

7. The activities of Communist municipal functionaries must conform to the above-mentioned tasks. Hitherto however, the key-note of their activity has been, as a rule, unprincipled subordination to bourgeois laws and regulations, and frequently, concern for the preservation of their, in most cases, well-paid posts.

In all municipal councils where the Communists have a majority, they must fight for the application of the Party's municipal programme, not hesitating to come into conflict with the government. Such conflicts, the inevitability of which must be clearly recognised by the Communist Parties, must be used by our Parties to expose before the masses the reactionary character of the capitalist government system, and for mobilising the broad masses (demonstrations, protest and strikes, etc.) in defence of the activity of Communist town councils.

8. One of the principal defects in the municipal work of the Communist Parties has been their inadequate connection with the current actions and slogans of the Party, their isolation from mass work, especially from work in the factories. Municipal demands are generally drawn up "from above" without discussion at workers' meetings. Communists must link up the proposals of their municipal fractions with their factory agitation, must bring them up for discussion at factory meetings, unemployed meetings, as well as at the meetings of the mass organisations. The municipal functionaries must report on their activity at similar meetings. Only such a radical change in our municipal work on these lines can bring Communists into close contact with the masses. The masses must undertake control over the activities of Communist municipal fractions and municipal representatives. For this purpose factory, trade union, and unemployed, etc. meetings must be organised before every important action that is to be taken up in the municipal councils. All the chief municipal demands must be included in the election platform of the trade union opposition. The factory newspapers must give systematic publicity to the activity of the Communist fractions in the town council and also its struggle with the bourgeois-socialdemocratic bloc. Various Communist councillors must be attached to large factories, unemployed committees and mass organisations. On the other hand, the workers in large enterprises, unemployed committees and mass organisations must elect delegates and attach them as advisers to the municipal fractions. Mass work organised in this manner, continuous self-criticism, and a firm, systematic

strengthening of contacts with the masses will create a firm base for the revolutionary activity of the Communist municipal workers.

9. No change can take place in the municipal activity of the Communist Parties unless a change is made in the composition of the fractions and in the methods of leadership of municipal activity by the Party.

In order to purge the Communist fractions from opportunist and petty-bourgeois elements, their mistakes must be openly pointed out, their opportunist conduct must be exposed to the workers. The backbone of the fractions must consist of factory workers, especially workers from large enterprises, and not of the so-called "municipal specialists" among whom there are to be found so many opportunist and directly hostile elements. When drawing up lists of candidates, only absolutely (politically) reliable and politically conscious men and women workers and young workers should be put up. Municipal election campaigns and the municipal activity as a whole must be utilised for the purpose of drawing broad masses of women into the revolutionary movement.

Courses of municipal politics should be held systematically for the education of municipal functionaries.

10. In most cases municipal fractions work without systematic control on the part of Party organs. Certain C.I. Sections have still failed to set up municipal departments at headquarters or district municipal departments to control the work of Party fractions on municipal councils. The fractions and municipal functionaries must be under the regular guidance of the Party organs. The establishment of authoritative municipal departments in central and district committees, the appointment of truly Bolshevik workers as functionaries of these departments and publicity in the Party press dealing with local affairs in order to support and control municipal activity are necessary pre-requisites for a successful fight against opportunism in practice.

The attempts being made by the opportunists to unite Communist municipal functionaries separately (Leagues of Communist Municipal Representatives) for independent elaboration and carrying through of the municipal policy without the guiding control of the Party must be energetically opposed.

11. The turn in municipal policy will encounter strong opposition from all opportunist elements in the Party; but the Communist Party must not only concede no ground in carrying out the new municipal tactics, but, on the contrary, it must use every act of sabotage and opposition by the opportunist elements to mobilise the Party and worker masses against them, so that the Party may be able in case of necessity to remove such elements from its ranks without damage. The struggle against municipal legalism which is one of the most dangerous forms of opportunism, must be carried on absolutely relentlessly.

12. The turn towards a revolutionary municipal policy implies also energetic struggle against "Left" deviations (boycott of municipal elections, boycott of municipal work, refusal to occupy municipal posts, etc., under-estimation of municipal work for the mobilisation of the masses, the substitution of the mobilisation of the masses on a concrete programme by a partial programme of "Left" phrases about the revolution in municipal affairs after the proletariat has seized power, etc.). Communists in all countries, "democratic", and fascist alike, must participate in municipal elections wherever there is an opportunity, in order to mobilise the masses and to enable the revolutionary masses to express their will in some form or other against the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents in the working class—the social-democrats.

For a Bolshevik municipal policy. Under this slogan the Communist Parties must effect the turn towards and must mobilise the rank and file of the Party for the application of the new line. Municipal work must be the work of the whole Party. Like trade union work and work in the other mass organisations, municipal work is part of the general work of the Party to bring to the knowledge of the masses the principles and aims of the Communist Parties, and to mobilise them for the achievement of their principles and aims. A correctly applied revolutionary municipal policy will become a powerful lever for winning the masses for the proletarian revolution.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Books in the Soviet Union

By M. Wolfsohn.

A particularly clear sign of cultural development throughout the country is the growth of the production and consumption of books. In this domain the Soviet country has already not only caught up to the most advanced countries of Europe and America, it has even outdistanced them.

The rate at which the publishing business is developing in the Soviet Union is truly astounding. In 1921—this was the last year of war and intervention which had ruined the country—the number of published books fell from 13,144 before the war to 4,130 with 28.3 million copies. After a few years of busy reconstruction work—the figure indicating the production of books (in 1927) reached 32,664 books with 221 million copies! The publishing figure had increased 8 times. Absolutely, as well as relatively, these were unprecedented figures exceeding anything hitherto known in this domain by Europe and America. This is shown by the following table of book production (in titles) in the advanced capitalist countries.

	1925	1926
Germany	31,595	30,064
France	14,923	11,095
Great Britain	13,202	12,798
America	9,574	9,925

The contrast will be even more striking, if we compare the growth of book production in the Soviet Union with the growth of this production in the United States for a period of ten years. In 1918, the book production of the United States amounted to 9,237 works, and in 1927 to 10,153 works—an increase of 10 per cent in ten years, whereas the increase in the Soviet Union, only in six years, amounted to 700 per cent! The wealthiest country—the United States produced in 1927 nearly three times less works than the Soviet Union, still poor with regard to capital and material resources, but rich with regard to great cultural aspirations, proletarian enthusiasm and revolutionary desire for socialist reconstruction.

The following figures of the State Publishing Department of the R. S. F. S. R. illustrate the growth of production: 462 million impressions were issued in 1927; 730 million in 1928; 950 million in 1929, and 1,365 million in 1930 (already considerably in excess of the plan). Only in the last three years, the production has trebled! Nevertheless even these figures prove to be unable to satisfy the enormously growing demand created by the unprecedented cultural revolution, the socialist industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture.

The growth of book production in the Soviet Union is noticeable absolutely in all branches of literature, from the thin mass pamphlet to fundamental scientific works regarding all branches of knowledge. Belles lettres, manuals for elementary, secondary and higher schools, social-economic literature, theoretical natural science, mathematics, technique, medicine, etc.—everywhere we notice an unprecedented growth which out-distances considerably the analogous growth in other countries, but nevertheless cannot keep pace with the growth of the cultural requirements of the toiling masses of the Soviet country who have awakened to a new life.

Let us take, for instance, the literature for the elementary and secondary schools. Before the revolution, throughout the Russian Empire (including the present Poland, Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania) 160 million impressions of school literature were issued by all the publishing houses per year, whereas the State Publishing Department of the R. S. F. S. R. alone issues 420 million impressions per year, which do not even satisfy the need! Moreover school literature is issued also by other publishing houses. An enormous number of manuals is also published in the languages of the national minorities.

The Five-Year economic plan of the Soviet Union has called forth an enormous demand for literature capable of familiarising the population with the plan as a whole, as well

as with its separate details. Throughout 1929 and the beginning of 1930, the State Publishing Department alone has published over 100 books in 15 million copies on questions connected with the Five-Year Plan. Over one million books were sold on the results of the first year of the Five-Year Plan and on the control figures for 1929-30.

This year's sowing campaign exacted from the State Publishing Department alone 25 million books (up to 60 million impressions). Some of the pamphlets—as Lenin's book "How to Organise Competition", pamphlets by Stalin and others—are sold by the million (Stalin's pamphlet "Giddy With Success"—12 million copies).

One must say however, that not only pamphlets, but even fundamental works are sold in enormous numbers. Hundred and sixty thousand copies of Marx' "Capital" have been sold, hundreds of thousands of copies of the "Communist Manifesto", tens of thousands of copies of a series of separate works by Marx and Engels; three editions of Hegel's "Logic" were disposed of in a few months, etc. The Collected Works of Marx and Engels edited by D. B. Riazanov, have already over 30,000 subscribers, and Lenin's works up to 300,000.

The editions of manuals for universities have increased from 3,000 to 4,000 up to 10,000 to 15,000 and even up to 30,000 to 40,000. There is a particularly great demand for literature on automobile construction.

This brings the proletarian State and its publishing industry face to face with a series of very important tasks—the problem of training cadres, the problem of paper, the problem of polygraphy, etc. The Publishing Five-Year Plan provides for a 700 to 800 per cent increase of book production in 1933 compared with the production of the first year of the Five-Year Plan. This is a real figure which will be reached in spite of all the difficulties. The great cultural tasks of the epoch of socialist construction will be solved.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

The Revolutionary Peasant Movement of Europe Advancing.

By Heinrich Rau (Berlin).

Already now, a few weeks after the European Peasants' Congress, it is evident that the Congress has given a fresh impetus to the revolutionary peasant movement in Europe. This is recognised by the counter-revolutionary front. The "Grazer Volksblatt" declares that this movement needs to be carefully watched; the "Deutsche Schnellpost" announces "a new general attack on the part of Moscow". The whole bourgeois press is inveighing against the Congress and its decisions.

In addition, the agrarian bourgeoisie are preparing for an international counter-attack. The Prague International Agrarian Bureau is preparing a European Congress of agrarian capitalists. This Congress, which is doomed to be a fiasco, the impossibility of solving the agrarian crisis, the increasing crisis of the peasant farms and the deepening of the class antagonisms, will be a fresh stimulus for the revolutionary peasant movement. The German "Reichslandbund" can provide the Prague Bureau with a few examples of the effect the European Peasant Congress is having on the small peasants. In a district members meeting in Ragow, in the province of Brandenburg, Dr. Evers, the secretary of the Landbund, endeavoured to depreciate the decisions of the European Peasants' Congress, comparing them with the demands of the Landbund. What was the result? The peasants demanded that the peasant Kramer, a member of the European Peasants Committee, who was present at the meeting, should deliver a report on the Congress. The report was received with such applause that Dr. Evers afterwards attempted to buy Kramer for the Landbund and asked him what salary he would want! The district members meeting of the Landbund in Weisskessel, Oberlausitz, offered a similar picture. Following the speech of the secretary of the Landbund a delegate of the European Peasants Congress delivered a report on the Congress lasting three quarters of an hour, with the result that the peasants requested him to deliver reports on the Congress at meetings in the adjoining localities.

From the many resolutions which have been adopted at meetings held by the peasant committee in Germany since the Congress, we will quote only one as an illustration:

"This meeting of workers and peasants of the villages of Klein-Waabs, Gross-Waabs and Langholtz held today, the 16th April 1930, has received the report of a delegate to the European Peasant Congress. It welcomes the resolutions adopted at this Congress and declares that it will do its utmost to realise the common aim, the alliance of the workers and peasants."

We protest against the police raid organised by the social democrat Zörgiebel on our fellow peasants of all countries.

Against the green front of the big landowners we set up the front of the toilers, the front of the exploited peasants and workers."

From the other European countries, from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, France, Holland, Ireland, Norway, the Balkan countries etc. reports are arriving regarding the attitude of the peasants to the decisions of the Congress, regarding the formation of new committees of revolutionary peasants. Particularly imposing were the demonstrations organised by the Polish peasants Committee on 1st of May; in many places these were attended by several thousand workers and peasants.

The Irish Committee, under O'Donnell's leadership, has taken an important step towards the firmer organisation of the Committee and its supporters by introducing small regular contributions.

It is the task of the revolutionary workers to support this movement with all their powers—this movement which, as the "Deutsche Zeitung" has discovered, has openly admitted its revolutionary character, and has written on its banner the revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

British Unemployed Women and the Hunger March

By Lily Webb.

The great hunger march of British unemployed workers who arrived in London on May 1st is historic not only because it is an organised mass demonstration against the Labour Government but also because for the first time women workers and workers' wives took part as marchers. Special women's contingents were marched from the textile areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire and were joined by women from the coal fields, and from engineering centres like Sheffield where 6,000 women are unemployed. The march organised by the National Unemployed Workers' Movement and the Communist Party helped to expose the general anti-working class policy of the Labour Government and particularly its betrayal of the unemployed workers whose numbers have increased by 500,000 under the Labour Government. Unemployment amongst women has risen to 500,000. The registered unemployed women have increased by 107,500 under Labour's rule. In the textile industry alone there are 120,000 women unemployed. Unemployed women are treated with brutality at the labour exchanges being forced to stand in long queues outside the labour exchanges, many times in a fainting condition due to lack of food. The government and employers representatives exert every effort to trick them out of their unemployment benefits and to force them into sweated occupations and into domestic service at home or in the dominions. Since the advent of the Labour Government 200,000 women have been deprived of their unemployment benefits and thousands have been forced into unsuitable occupations.

This brutal treatment is increasing the militancy of the unemployed women as shown by their participation in demonstrations organised by the National Unemployed Workers' Movement (N.U.W.M.) by the increasing numbers who are joining the N.U.W.M. and by the support they have accorded to the great hunger march. In the textile areas committees of women were elected to organise aid for the marchers and to strengthen the women's contingents. The employed Women

textile workers whose low wages have been reduced by the Labour Government gave support to the march by collecting subscriptions at the factory gates. Big meetings of women were held outside the labour exchanges in spite of the police who frequently broke up the meetings and molested or arrested the speakers. Women took an active part in these meetings in spite of the ferocity of the police. The spirit of the women is typified in one woman who said "nothing could be worse than what I am suffering now".

In addition to the special women's contingents, women accompanied various sections of the marchers for long distances with special banners. Women were the most active in every district on the marchers aid committees organised by the Workers' International Relief along the whole route. Besides the general economic and political demands of the marchers put forward the following special charter of demands:

1. a) Increases of unemployment insurance benefits of women to; — women over 18 years of age 30/- per week. Girls 16 to 18 years 15/- per week. Girls 14 to 16 years 10/- per week. Adult dependants 10/- per week. b) Abolition of the practice of driving skilled women workers and factory worker, etc. into domestic service and into uninsured occupations. c) Abolition of compulsory domestic training or other kinds of training. Full rate of benefits to be paid to all women who volunteer for such training. d) Proper treatment at the labour exchanges. e) No disallowances of benefits of married women on the grounds of children being a barrier to them securing work. f) Each dependent child 5/- per week. g) Special allowance for sick children 5/- per week. h) Special maternity grant for all women at least one month before and one month after child birth of 10/- per week. i) Unmarried and married women living apart from their husbands 30/- per week. k) Dependent child of unmarried mother or mother living apart from her husband 5/- a week. l) The provision of a state pension of 30/- a week to all working class widows. The scales of unemployment pay for unemployed women at the present time are as follows: 16 years of age 5/-, 17 years of age 7/6 per week, 18 to 20 years of age 12/- per week, 21 to 65 years of age 15/- per week.

Along the whole route and at the great rally in London on May 1st employed and unemployed women workers put forward these demands of the women workers and exposed the antiproletarian policy of the Labour Government.

Naturally everything possible was done by the Social-Fascists to sabotage the march, to starve the marchers and to prevent them reaching London. To what length they were prepared to go was shown in the action of Mary Sutherland, a woman agent of the Scottish Labour Party, who systematically traversed the whole of the route a day or two ahead of the Scottish contingent and tried to persuade the workers to refuse support to the marchers. In spite of the efforts of the capitalists and social-fascists, the workers supported the march. In the mining village of Achinleck which the marchers reached foot sore and hungry in face of extreme cold and a heavy gale and where the local reactionaries refused to give shelter to the marchers the miners wives of the U.M.S. Women's Guilds stepped into the breach and provided accommodation. For assisting the marchers three miners' wives have been expelled from the Scottish Labour Party. The organised opposition of the women social-fascists can be well understood. At the general election millions of working women voted for the Labour Party candidates on the strength of extravagant promises that a Labour Government would better the conditions of the working class. The hunger march exposed the real role of the Labour Government to the masses of working women and this explains why they so actively opposed it.

In spite of the efforts of capitalism and social-fascism the women marchers battled through to London assisted by the rank and file workers who are themselves the victims of capitalist and social fascist rule. The hunger marchers from Scotland, South Wales, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the N.E. coast took part in the May-Day demonstrations in London, to the number of 10,000. It was pointed out in the press that the group of Women hunger marchers was greeted with exceptional enthusiasm. In such mass movements as this the working women will learn the necessity to fight against capitalism and social-fascism for the social revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party.