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The Coup d'Etat in Rumania.

By Ovid Receanu.

On 6th June the ex-Crown Prince Carol deposed by the Liberal Party in January 1926, landed "suddenly" in Rumania, in order to receive the royal crown from his National Zaranist-Fascist followers. He arrived in a French aeroplane, and was awaited at the Cluj Aerodrome by several aeroplanes of the Rumanian air fleet which he once commanded. He was received by Fascist flight officers and accompanied to Bucharest. Here he was received, on entering the royal palace, by a regiment commanded by Carlist officers.

The National Zaranist government reported briefly and baldly the „return of Prince Carol", but at the same time it had flags flown and placards posted in the capital: „Long live King Carol II." The National Zaranist parliament received the news of Carol's arrival with enthusiastic cheers for „King Carol". On the same day Maniu kept up appearances by resigning, and made way for a cabinet formed by his foreign minister, with the express mission of legalising, under „lawful forms" the entirely counter-constitutional assumption of the throne by Carol. On 9th June the Parliament passed by 486 votes against one the law submitted by the cabinet, restoring to

Carol his old rights. After this Carol was proclaimed King of Rumania. The Mironescu Government, the sole object of whose existence was to push through the laws to be passed by the Parliament, now resigned, its mission accomplished. The Parliament meets again on 11th June, by which time the „government crisis" will probably be solved. There is every likelihood that Maniu will again be entrusted with the formation of the cabinet.

This coup d'etat of Carol's followers has been prepared and carried out with the aid of the French imperialists, of Carol's Fascist adherents, of the Facist party of the National Zaranists and the Fascist Maniu government. Preparations have been going on both at home and abroad for months. In Rumania itself the National Zaranists commenced a Carlist agitation in the army, especially among the subaltern officers. In the barrack of Bucharest Carlist manifestoes have been openly distributed. The Carlist leader Manoilescu, who recently joined the National Zaranist Party, has carried on, aided by other deputies, the agitation for Carol in the provinces and in Parliament. The anti-Carlist pamphlets and news-

papers of the Liberal Party, which demanded measures against the Carlist agitation, have been confiscated. At court the opponents of Carol have retired more and more into the background. Several members of the royal family, among others, have been bribed by sums running into millions. The Prince Regent **Nicolas** was won over for the idea of the Carlist coup d'état, and **Maria**, the Dowager Queen corrupted by Liberal finance, has been obliged to leave the country.

Carol's return has been the subject of equally thorough preparation abroad, in order to secure the support of the leading imperialist powers above all of France. Carol having first parted from the lady who was now too compromising, he became "competent to govern", and took up much more profitable connections with the agents of French imperialism. He changed his residence to Paris. He was repeatedly visited by several leaders of the National Zaranist Party and other Fascist party leaders, such as Professor **Jorga**, General **Averescu**. He was introduced into French governmental circles. These recognised in the person of the "romantic prince" an excellent tool for the firmer establishment and intensification of the Fascist dictatorship now suffering from a crisis, for the strengthening of French influence, for the strengthening of the anti-Soviet front in Rumania. When the new military laws were passed in March this year, the then minister of war of Maniu, one of Carol's adherents, travelled to Paris, where he discussed these laws and the newly elaborated war plan against the Soviet Union, with Carol and his French protectors.

The French general staff and the French government have therefore given not only the aeroplane for this royal "adventure", but at the same time the order that the monarchist Fascist dictatorship is to be developed along the lines of the Yugoslavian, and the execution of the war plans of the great imperialist states against the Soviet Union is to be secured by bloody force. The Yugoslavia of Alexander, the Poland of Pilsudski, the Czechoslovakia of the Fascist-Social-Fascist united front, are to combine with a Rumania of the Fascist chieftain Carol to form a Fascist war bloc against the Soviet Union, under the hegemony of the French imperialists and the leadership of the French general staff.

This same Prince Carol made an attempt, two years ago, to carry out a similar flight from London. He intended to appear on the day of the National Zaranist Peasants' Congress in **Alba-Julia**, and to attain his object with the aid of the then National Zaranist opposition, which at that time enjoyed great popularity. This was however prevented by the Liberal government, with the aid of the British government. At that time the leaders of the National Zaranists were not in favour of Carol's return, and refused to support him. At that time it appeared to both the imperialist powers and to the leaders of the National Zaranist Party to be unnecessary to risk such a dangerous undertaking. The National Zaranist Party had reached the zenith of its popularity, and still represented an enormous reserve of the Fascist bourgeoisie. It was hoped that it would be possible to organise and establish the Fascist dictatorship with the aid of the enormous popularity of the National Zaranist Party alone, without Carol, and without an open violation of the existing constitution.

These hopes were not fulfilled. The economic crisis, and especially the agrarian crisis, increased rapidly in acuteness during brief term of Maniu's government. In spite of the stabilisation of the currency, and in spite of help from foreign capital, the Maniu government did not even succeed in retarding the rapid aggravation of the economic crisis. More than one half of the surplus grain from last year's crops are still lying unsold in the country, and the still greater surplus from this year's will have even less prospect of finding a sale in the world's markets. The grain prices have fallen by 50% since last autumn, and the agrarian production of even the large-scale capitalist agricultural undertakings is no longer profitable by any means, whilst the small and middle peasants cannot carry on their farms at all, and drift in masses into the cities.

The crisis in industry and trade is increasing with equal rapidity. During the one and a half years of National Zaranist

rule the output of the industries working for home consumption has declined by about 40%. In the export branches working on the dumping system (petroleum, wood), there has hitherto been a certain progress, but since the spring these two branches too have fallen off. The number of bankruptcies has doubled, the cases of insolvency have increased by 35%. The number of unemployed in the cities and industrial centres has increased to over 200,000, to say nothing of the great masses of out of work agricultural labourers and peasants, who wander about the country looking for work or starve in the villages.

The rapid intensification of the economic crisis during the brief rule of the National Zaranist government, from November 1928 to the present time, has however not only frustrated the stabilisation plans of the Roumanian bourgeoisie, but has greatly shaken the influence of the National Zaranist Party over the broad masses. The great falling off in the votes cast for the National Zaranist Party at the municipal elections and second ballots, and the repeated demonstrations of the petty bourgeoisie of the towns against the National Zaranists bear witness of the disillusion of the masses, whilst frequent peasant risings, and a large number of mass strikes and mass actions (Maros Valley, Shil Valley, Bucovina, Buhusi, Astra, Lemaitre, etc.) demonstrate the rapid radicalisation of the masses of the workers and peasants.

Before the Fascist Maniu government had succeeded in concentrating the forces of Fascism against the broad masses of the workers and peasants, and in consolidating the Fascist dictatorship under the National Zaranist leadership, it came into conflict with the petty and middle bourgeois strata of the cities. The Liberal Party made use of this conflict, and of the growing general discontent, for its own Fascist purposes, and grouped the dissatisfied masses of the small and middle bourgeoisie of the towns, of the kulaks, of the civil servants, and even of some sections of the poorer peasantry and of the working class around it, in order to overthrow with their help the Maniu government and to set up a fascist dictatorship under their own leadership.

This inner crisis of Fascism was accompanied by constant agitation all over the country, and signified a constant danger for Fascism as a whole. It hindered the Fascist concentration of the bourgeoisie, and the execution of the war plans against the Soviet Union. The French imperialists and the National Zaranists anticipate that by means of the return of Carol, and his coup d'état, they will be able to exercise a pressure upon the Liberals forcing them to collaborate in concentrating the whole of the forces of Fascism, in forming the united Fascist front, and in intensifying and more firmly establishing the Fascist dictatorship, to the end that the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement may be forcibly crushed and shattered, and the preparations for war against the Soviet Union carried forward.

The advancing economic crisis, the threatening catastrophic collapse of agrarian production, the radicalisation of the broad masses of the workers and peasants, will however not be held back for a moment by the Carlist coup d'état. And it is a question whether this coup will so rapidly smooth out the inner crisis of Fascism, the conflict between the various groups and Fascist camps. It is true that some elements among the Liberals are already demanding an attitude "in accordance with actual facts", but the Liberal Party, which has under its leadership at the present time not only the Liberal section of industry, but great masses of the petty servants and the heads of the civilian and military state apparatus, has not recognised the Carlist power. It has issued to the country a manifesto expressly stating that it "in no way agreed" with events. It remains to be seen what attitude will be adopted by the various imperialist states, especially Italy, towards the changed conditions in Rumania, which signify a strengthening of French influence in the Balkans.

In this situation it is the task of the C.P. of Rumania to utilise the Carlist coup d'état for the deciding mobilisation of the revolutionary workers and peasants against the Fascist dictatorship in Rumania, whether in a Carlist or any other form.

India

On the Situation in India.

By V. Chatto padhyaya.

I.

Compromising Policy of the Indian Leaders.

Those Indian newspapers that have not yet suspended publication, because the ruinous conditions of the Press Gagging Ordinance have not yet been applied to them, publish hardly any accounts of the actual position on the North Western Frontier of India.

The gruesome details of the massacre of Peshawar of April 23rd are now beginning to come to light through the enquiries instituted by the **Congress Commission** specially appointed to investigate the facts, though the Commission was not allowed by the Government to proceed to Peshawar and had in consequence to hold its enquiries in Rawalpindi.

The real position in the whole North West Frontier Province since that massacre has been carefully concealed by the Government. But even from the careful cables sent to the "Times" by its special correspondent in Peshawar, two facts seem to be very clear. Firstly, the MacDonald Government is carrying on a war of extermination against the frontier tribes, a very large number of whom are up in arms against British imperialism. And secondly, these tribes are not committing raids on Indian villages, as they had done in previous years, but have joined the Indian movement of national liberation.

The latest battles on the Frontier have been fought by the Afidis, ten thousand of whom advanced on Peshawar, and who in spite of the destructive bombing by some 180 aeroplanes are still keeping up the fight from their numerous hiding places. A remarkable feature of this Afidi advance is that it was decided upon at a *jirga* (council) at which the young men carried the day against the older men.

The youth movement is gaining ground throughout the North West Province, and there seems now to be intimate co-operation between the **Afghan Youth League**, the youths of the frontier tribes, whose most conspicuous organisation is the "Red Shirts", and the **Naujawan Bharat Sabha** (Revolutionary Youth League) of the Punjab. The organisational successes attained by the "Red Shirts" have been considerable. Since the arrest of their leaders, especially **Abdul Ghaffer Khan**, the organisation has increased its membership from 750 to 25,000. The importance attached by the Government to the destruction of this organisation is shown by the printed appeal distributed on May 12th by the Chief Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province among the Khans and chiefs of the frontier districts by air and through Government revenue officials. After requesting these chiefs in their own interests not to have anything to do with the civil disobedience campaign, the appeal concludes:

"You must prevent volunteers wearing red jackets from entering your villages. They wear the apparel of Bolsheviks and they are no less than Bolsheviks. They will create the atmosphere of which you have heard in the Bolshevik Dominion. You can prevent meetings from being held in your areas, and you can help your local officials. The Government as usual will consider your demands and remedy your grievances."

As regards the development of the movement in the rest of India, special interest attaches to the tactics of the Congress leaders to bring about a situation favourable for negotiations with the Government. The real leaders of the Congress today are **Motilal Nehru**, **Vallabhai Patel** and **Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyya**. Motilal Nehru was to have come to Great Britain to conduct a legal case, but has abandoned this plan. Instead the Acting President of the Congress, far from boycotting the British law courts, is going to Agra to fight a highly lucrative case on behalf of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, one of the greatest landlords in India. Patel, after having made himself popular by his resignation from the position of Speaker in the Indian Legislative Assembly, has systematically been working to destroy the mass character of the movement. He and Malaviyya declare that the most important item in the programme is the boycott of foreign cloth.

Gandhi made it clear in his 13 points that this boycott "helps the Indian mills by removing foreign cloth which competes with them and stifles them". In fact, the whole emphasis on the boycott of foreign cloth is for the benefit of the capitalists, and it is therefore not surprising that, according to a decision taken by the Congress leaders in the first week of May, the boycott is to be conducted in accordance with a scheme worked out by **G. D. Birla**, one of India's biggest capitalists and manufacturers, who is President of the **Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce**. Patel approves of the plan, and indeed, at a gathering held in Bombay on May 7th he expressed the opinion that "the Indian merchants alone can win Swaraj (independence) for India". (!!)

And the merchants and industrialists are anxious for a speedy settlement with the Government, for since the arrest of their best support, Gandhi, they fear that the movement for the non-payment of taxes and other revolutionary aims become too dangerous and "uncontrollable". The **Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay**, the **Bengal National Chamber of Commerce**, the **Punjab Merchants' Association**, the **Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce** and dozens of other Commercial bodies have warned the Government and have demanded that Gandhi should be released and invited to negotiate for "Dominion Status". But they make it clear that they will accept "all the necessary safeguards" that British Imperialism may demand. Their language is the same as that used by Patel, who speaks of the limitations placed upon "Dominion Status" during the transition period, and by **Malaviyya** who states that

"Indian Nationalists will of their own accord remain in the Empire if Great Britain will agree without unnecessary delay that the Dominion form of Government modified to suit Indian conditions will be established at the next revision of the Statute this year or next year".

There is no talk of independence now, but only about the terms on which they will take part in the **Round Table Conference**. All political leaders — including the "Liberals" **Sapru**, **Bepin Chandra Pal**, **Suhrawardy** etc. — are in full agreement with the merchants and industrialists in demanding that Gandhi shall take part in the Conference, for there can, according to them, be no real representation of India without Gandhi.

That Gandhi will be liberated in July is predicted not only by an Indian astrologer (who has used his "science" lucratively in the service of the Government and Ramsay MacDonald) but by **Wilson**, the editor of the "Indian Daily Mail", who stands very close to Government circles. Wilson writes in his paper that "the Government's principal opponent might after all be the principal negotiator", and expresses the opinion that by arresting Gandhi "the Government have increased his prestige and fortified his position".

The attitude of the Congress leaders towards the peasant question is also interesting. The peasants of **Gujerat** have begun a no-rent campaign which is spreading fast and established their own **panchayats** (arbitration courts). They have also organised a social boycott of Government servants, which has become so serious that the Government has been obliged to open its own shops for its campaign in the Gujerat districts, for there the land rent is paid direct to the Government. The Indian **Zamindars** (landowners) have sympathised with this movement so long as it was confined to non-payment to the Government.

But the no-rent campaign has spread to the **United Provinces**, **Behar**, **Orissa** and **Bengal**. In an editorial article on this movement in the "Indian Daily Mail" of May 15th, it is pointed out that "owing to the **zamindari** system of land tenure the fight in these areas will, unlike in Gujerat, immediately develop into a bitter one between the Indian landlords and peasants" and with reference to **Rae Bareilli**, the district where the peasants had already once expropriated their landlords in 1921, the journal says that "there is a definite communistic element in this part of the world and a devotion to the principle of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic".

II.

The Background of the Revolt in Rangoon

Burma, which had been an independent country until 45 years ago, was finally annexed by British imperialism in 1855 after the "successful" conclusion of the Third Burmese War, one of the most disgraceful acts of aggression even in the criminal history of the British Empire. The first two wars (1852-1856) had deprived Burma of important provinces bordering on India, but the great Indian revolt of 1858 prevented further invasions, and the British robbers had to wait until India had been "pacified" and disarmed. Since its annexation Burma has been a province of India. It is governed from **Delhi** and **Simla**, it pays an annually large contribution to the **Indian Treasury**, it is subjected to laws enacted by the so-called **Indian Legislative Assembly** in Delhi, for the benefit of the British imperialists and of their agents, the Indian landlords and bourgeoisie.

Of this province of Burma, which is exploited solely by British capitalists, the capital is **Rangoon**. Until a few years ago it was only a commercial port of considerable importance to British merchants and the British shipping companies for the export trade in rice, timber, silver, tin, petroleum, etc., in which the country has enormous resources. But it is now being developed into a naval base which is to be subsidiary to the **Singapore** base. It is, along with **Halif**, **Baghdad** and **Karachi**, one of the important bases on the air-routes of the Empire. It is to be provided shortly with a meteorological forecast centre and observatory for the needs of military and civil aviation, the other centres being **Quetta**, **Peshawar**, **Karachi** and **Delhi**, all cities of military and political importance.

British imperialist policy in the exploitation of Burma has been the same as in **East Africa**. For forty years it has been robbed of its minerals and foodstuffs by British capitalists with the help of cheap labour imported chiefly from **South India**. Some 350,000 Indian workers are employed annually in the rice-fields, mines, docks and industries. In addition, the educated Indian is pushing the Burman out of the banks, commercial companies, schools, colleges and Government service. Indian lawyers, medical men, journalists and engineers occupy important positions in Burma. There has therefore arisen a strong anti-Indian feeling among all classes, the Indian being regarded as a foreigner and a parasite, who has come to exploit the Burmese people in the wake of British imperialism. Among the landowners, the commercial bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the intelligentsia there has therefore arisen a demand for separation from India—a demand that coincides today with British interests in Burma.

British imperialism finds it necessary now to separate Burma administratively and politically, in order to isolate it from the revolutionary movement in India, and to use the finances of Burma, (seven-tenths of which has hitherto gone into the Indian Treasury) for "developing" Burma, that is, for constructing new railways, docks, public works, etc., which mean a new source of enormous profits for British heavy industry. The demand for "separation" is therefore endorsed by the British Governor of Burma, the arch reactionary Sir **Charles Innes**, supported by the commercial and shipping interests in Rangoon. And the Government has been encouraging the formation of various political organisations—the "People's Party", the "Separation League", "Burma for the Burmans" League—which demand immediate separation from India, but a "free" place for Burma within the Empire, while the party of the peasants, small farmers and petty bourgeoisie, the **Baho G. C. B. A. (General Council of All Burmese Associations)** demands complete independence for Burma, but only after India and Burma have jointly overthrown British imperialism.

The main centre of this struggle between the broad masses on the one hand and British imperialism aided by the Burmese landowners and bourgeoisie on the other, is naturally Rangoon. It is the visible centre of imperialist exploitation. But it is also one of the largest immigration ports in the world, 90% of the imported labour being from India. Owing to the rapid increase in the rate of immigration, which in the eyes of Burmese nationalists has "assumed alarming proportions", Rangoon has already become practically an Indian town. The "New Burma" of Rangoon, the organ of the anti-Indian separationists, raises

the alarm in its issue of April 6th, in which it says that "a similar fate awaits some of the other town and villages in Burma" and regards the "ever growing number of Indian immigrants as a terrible menace to the nations".

We have therefore two forces at work in Rangoon and Burma generally—a strong anti-imperialist movement among the working masses the peasantry and the radicalised intellectuals, and an anti-Indian movement arising out of Indian immigration supported by the British Government. The position is in some respects comparable to the **Arab** feeling against the **Zionists**.

It is with this background that the recent events in Rangoon must be judged. On February 15th and 20th, the **Major of Calcutta**, **J. M. Sen Gupta**, a follower of **Gandhi's** doctrine of non-violence, delivered three lectures in Rangoon in which he denounced the annexation of Burma as sheer robbery, and called upon the Burmese to join the campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience. He was arrested by the Burmese Government and after a short trial which took place on March 20th, he was sentenced for sedition to—ten day's imprisonment. During the trial thousands surrounded the court and demonstrated, but the police provoked the demonstrators by throwing bricks and stones at them from behind the shelter of buildings. This led to retaliation, and in the violent conflict that ensued, several were killed and a large number wounded. On March 25th a mass meeting of 3,000 Burmans and Indians was held, to protest against this imperialist terror. Several anti-imperialist demonstrations took place during the next few weeks, marked by the same conflicts with the police.

The anti-imperialist temper of the masses in Rangoon was further enhanced by the events in India during the month of April. Nationalist leaders created an atmosphere of unrest by pointing out that the currency notes of the Government of India would become useless if Burma was separated from India (as the Government intended), and advised to cash the notes as quickly as possible in Rangoon into gold or silver. The rapid and steady fall of rice prices has led to acute suffering among the peasants and to unemployment among the commercial employees. The agitation for the abolition of the highly oppressive capitation taxes, resulted in meetings and demonstrations with the usual exhibition of police hooliganism. The earthquake on May 5th which destroyed the town of Pegu, sixty miles from Rangoon, and which caused serious losses in Rangoon itself, resulting in the partial or total destruction of hundreds of houses, created further unrest and bitterness against the Government. It was declared by the nationalists that the Government showed bureaucratic delay in calling out troops to help the victims of the earthquake, while no time was lost by the Government in dispatching police and military to shoot down the masses engaged in demonstrating for their freedom.

In this atmosphere of anti-imperialist excitement, the Indian dock workers known as **Coringhis**, mostly recruited from **South India**, struck work on May 25th, and dozens of ships lay idle in the Rangoon harbour. The agitation of the Burmese separationists had worked up the Burmese workers against the Indians, and attempts to break the strike resulted in bloody conflicts in which the police fired upon the workers, killing hundreds and wounding over a thousand. The infuriated masses stormed the police prison and set fire to it after having liberated the prisoners. Rangoon is under martial law and the city is occupied by the military. 4,000 Indian dockers have returned to India, and of the 1,600 who were imported to break this strike, 1200 refused to do so and proposed to return to India. That these riots were engineered by interested agencies and do not represent the actual sentiment of the workers, is proved by the solidarity actually shown by the Burmese working class families. Six hundred Indian workers were kept by the latter in the **Kemmerdine** suburb for three days, while Indian women and children were removed by the Burmese themselves to places of safety.

The strike at the docks is still unbroken in spite of imperialist intrigues to bring about racial conflicts, and the port is at a complete standstill. But the imperialist shipping companies are suffering heavy losses and the Government has therefore appointed a "conciliation board". There is also a strike among the Indian conservancy workers employed under the **Rangoon Corporation**, who refuse to return to work in spite of the Government's promises and assurances.

Problems of the Revolution in India.

By Karl Radek.

I. Indian Capitalism and English Imperialism.

The events taking place in India are replete with the profoundest contradictions. The conflict between British imperialism and the national reformist Indian bourgeoisie, which strives towards a compromise with imperialism and fears the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants as the devil bears holy water, has created a situation which can and must be utilised in the interests of revolution.

On this point, and with respect to the whole standpoint of the socalled third period, the VI. World Congress of the Comintern foresaw the raising of a large number of questions which have now been pressed into the foreground by the course of events. Therefore there can be nothing more absurd and shameless than the following assertions, made by Roy in his attempts to find his way back to the "national" camp:

"The VI. World Congress of the Comintern" — writes Roy — "declared that, with the exception of the workers and peasants, everyone in India is a counter-revolutionary. It forgot that India is a colonial country, and that in India the political relations of the classes cannot be the same as in the independent capitalist countries."

Before we refer to what was said by the VI. Congress, it is worth while to point out the statements made in 1926 by Roy in his book: "The Future of Indian Policy":

"What are the chief demands of the nationalist bourgeoisie? They culminate in three points: The industrialisation of the country, financial autonomy, and protective tariffs. All these demands have been met, for the reason that British capitalism has sought to overcome the post-war crisis by rebuilding the foundation of the Empire. Experience has shown that the economic programme of nationalism can be realised even when the imperialists do not carry out the abrupt political reforms demanded by the petty bourgeoisie. In other words, the big bourgeoisie has come to the conclusion that its economic development is possible within the confines of imperialist policy." (Page 33. The emphasis is mine. The quotation is retranslated from the German. K. R.)

Roy has not stood alone in his assertion respecting the fulfilment of the demands of the capitalist bourgeoisie of India by British imperialism, or the fundamental possibility of the needs of the capitalist development of India being satisfied by British imperialism. This idea has formed the spring of a series of trends, sometimes repeating the fairy tale of British imperialism, and sometimes combining the hopes of the capitalist bourgeoisie of India with the hopes of those young and inexperienced Indian Communists who have thought to leap over a whole stage of the development of the revolutionary movement of India. Comrade Narayan, for instance, stated at the VI. Congress of the Comintern:

"We find that to the same degree as the hindrance in the way to the capitalist development of India has been removed by British Imperialism, the bourgeoisie is sliding more and more towards co-operation and one group after the other is capitulating to imperialism." (The emphasis is mine. K. R.)

The widest sanction was lent to these views of the Indian Communists by some of the English delegates at the VI. World Congress, who exaggerated the extent of the industrialisation of India, and maintained that imperialist English policy had undergone a fundamental change. This standpoint was expressed concisely and graphically by Comrade Arnot, who declared:

"In the era of finance capital, export of capital develops more and more bursts into the colonies, and has inevitable reactions there. The inevitable process of the growth of industry is no longer retarded, or rather the

balance between the tendency towards retarding and the tendency towards accelerating, becomes increasingly more and more towards acceleration." (The emphasis is mine. K. R.)

Comrade Arnot even entertained the idea of a "state plan" of the English bourgeoisie, furthering an uninterrupted industrial development in India.

As opposed to this standpoint, the Comintern unfolds a very different picture, both in Comrade Kuusinen's report and in the theses passed by the VI. Congress. It need not be said that it has not occurred to anyone to deny the facts of the industrial development of India since the war, or of the existence of partial concessions on the part of the English imperialists towards the Indian industrial bourgeoisie, in order to gain a compromise. But the Comintern has not contented itself with merely summing up the facts; it has raised the general question: **Can English imperialism remove the obstacles in the way of the capitalist development of India?** This question is of enormous political significance. It is clear that if the interests of English imperialism are compatible with the undisturbed development of capitalism in India, the result would be that **India is not on the eve of a period of the democratic revolution**, and that all contradictions between English imperialism and the capitalist development of India could be solved by reformist methods. Not, as Trotsky believes, because the desertion of the national bourgeoisie exhausts in itself the period of democratic revolution. On the contrary, as a rule the bourgeoisie deserts the national movement at the point when the masses of the workers and peasants shake off the bourgeois tutelage and tackle the accomplishment of their revolutionary tasks on plebian methods, that is, the point at which the bourgeois revolution, after a preliminary period of general national opposition, enters the decisive phase. The point at which the bourgeoisie abandons the democratic revolution cannot signify the conclusion of that revolution, for the simple reason that the bourgeoisie has never been the revolutionary driving power, despite the fact that the social content of the revolution has been the emancipation of capitalist development from the fetters of feudalism.

In China and India the industrial bourgeoisie could never supply the driving power of revolution, for this revolution is taking place at a time when the proletariat has already been victorious in the Soviet Union, and the approaching thunder of the socialist revolution may already be heard in the West. But if we deny the industrial bourgeoisie the rôle of the motive power of revolution, if we are aware of the treacherous part played by the bourgeoisie in the past and expect its further treachery in the future, then we cannot be misled into supposing that the removal of the obstacles in the way of India's industrial development is compatible with the rule of imperialism. For, if we adopt the standpoint of the compatibility of the rule of imperialism in India with the removal of the obstacles to capitalist development, then it is clear that this development will undermine and wash away the last remnants of feudalism, will raze down a path for the advance of capitalist development into agriculture, and will thereby suck up at the same time the proletarised elements of the village. This means that the perspective of democratic revolution vanishes, and is replaced by a reformist perspective.

The Congress of the Comintern denied the reality of such a reformist perspective, the sole actual object of the contention although the Indian and English comrades failed to see the forest because of the trees, and believed that the contention was concerned with such trivialities as lack of comprehension of the rôle played by capital export, or the non-recognition of the fact of a certain advance in the industrialisation of India.

From the standpoint of the Congress the central idea was this: that **no change in the policy of English imperialism can lead to the liquidation of that residue of feudalism which forms the chief obstacle to the development of Indian capitalism.**

50 per cent of the land is in the hands of feudal landowners and princes, 30 per cent in the hands of the English imperialists. This enormous burden upon the shoulders of the masses of the people, making India to that land of poverty which it is, where the income per head is only 20 roubles yearly as compared with the 60 to 70 of the Japanese peasant, cannot be removed by a wise decision from above, but solely by the agrarian revolution.

The voluntary renunciation of the French, on 4th August 1789, of their feudal tribute, is a historical legend. Even the Girondists would not and could not free the French peasantry, and the bloody revolution of the Jacobins was required in order that the peasantry might liquidate feudalism and become the owners of the land. English imperialism, in defending the feudal yoke in India, defends not only its immediate revenues, but at the same time the class upon which it leans chiefly for support in India. It is not merely a question of the 8 millions whose interests are directly bound up with feudal exploitation, but of the whole pertaining system: the system of the native princes, the system of religious influence upon the masses, all part and parcel of the residue of feudalism.

This in itself would suffice to enable us to say that there is no reformist way of removing the obstacles to the capitalist development of India, which is impossible without the creation of **home markets**. There is however **another leading argument** against this reformist perspective. During the period of imperialism the export of goods is not succeeded by the export of capital, but supplemented. The financial capital of the great cities, which holds the industries in its hand, and exports objects of universal use, especially textile goods, has developed at the same time the heavy industries requiring growing markets. This coincides with the needs of financial capital, which seeks for its accumulations of wealth a higher rate of interest than is customary in the great cities. This results in the simultaneous export of articles of general use and of the products of heavy industry, offering to the colonial country the possibility of creating its own light industry — which limits the sale of the goods of the great cities — and of creating the foundations of the beginning of the development of a colonial heavy industry.

In this manner the **new colonial policy** — differing, as the colonial policy of monopolist capitalism, of financial capitalism, of imperialism, from the old colonial policy of the era of free competition, with its preponderance of light industry over heavy — **does not merely sweep aside the old policy, but merges into and becomes one with it**. Hence it is childish schematism to suppose that the colonial policy of financial capital consists of energetic support of the industrial development of the colonies. **Birmingham has not swallowed up Lancashire**. The offices in the City, the counting houses of the five great English banks, which decide on the economic policy of imperialism, do not forget to consider the interests of English industry in general and of the textile industry in particular. Financial capital is not simply bank capital, a thing apart from industry, and simply calculating on a standard rate of interest.

Every step taken by British economic policy in India is the subject of conflict among various groups of British capitalists. Therefore the so-called support of the industrial development of India encounters tremendous obstacles. The struggle rages not merely between the Indian bourgeoisie and British capitalism, but at the same time between different groups of English capitalists. The result is that the **industrial development of India** — except during the war — is **proceeding very slowly**. Today the British bourgeoisie, under the pressure of its war requirements and its fear of revolution, is making concessions to the national Indian bourgeoisie, with the intention of withdrawing them again tomorrow. It suffices to point out that the British bourgeoisie, after making concessions in the tariff question and raising the duties in order to safeguard the industrial development of India, afterwards raised the rate of exchange of the rupee after the defeat of the first wave of revolution in 1919 to 1921, thereby creating a special premium for the furtherance of British export to India. These developments of the economic policy of British imperialism are full of inconsistencies, pursue a zig-zag line, and give to delays and obstacles at every step. It is a struggle between the needs of capitalist development in India and the interests

of British imperialism. The destructive influence of British imperialism upon Indian economics, evidenced in the increasing impoverishment of the Indian village, and in the ceaseless addition to the army of the superfluous of dozens of millions of pauperised peasants, who find no place in industry, is developing more rapidly than the process of the industrialisation of India.

(To be continued.)

POLITICS

On the Situation in Spain. The Class Significance of the Berenguer Government.

By José Bullejos.

More than three months have passed since the Berenguer cabinet came into power. The profound political and economic crisis which Spain is passing through, and the collapse of the bourgeois regime — of which the fall of Primo de Rivera was only one of the most important episodes — have forced the big bourgeoisie of Spain to set aside the government of Primo de Rivera. The social basis of this government was too narrow for the present historical period, and it was necessary to replace it by a government possessing a sufficiently broad class basis enabling it to gather the chief forces of the bourgeoisie around it.

The present historical conditions urge the formation of a class front of as comprehensive a nature as possible, in order to oppose the revolutionary struggles which have commenced in Spain. There is no doubt that Primo de Rivera, a lackey of the great finance magnates and industrialists, was not in a position to accomplish this, the more that experience showed the fruitlessness of all his endeavours to bring about this concentration. This historical task was then placed in the hands of the new government. Berenguer was to organise this coalition of the main forces of the bourgeoisie with the aid of his government, or with the aid of the next government. Forming the front to be opposed, under the leadership of the financial capitalists, to the proletariat of the present revolutionary period.

This task is however not so easy of accomplishment, when we remember that the economic crisis has greatly aggravated the antagonisms existing between the various strata of the Spanish bourgeoisie. On the one hand the group of the great financial and industrial kings — the present government is as completely at their bidding as was Primo de Rivera's government — force the continuation of the monopolist policy introduced by Primo de Rivera, a policy directed against the interests of the middle and petty bourgeoisie of town and country. On the other hand the middle and lower strata of the industrial bourgeoisie demand a decentralised, anti-monopolist, and anti-interventionist policy, in order that they may not be cut off from the home markets by the protected big industries.

The antagonisms between the various strata of the rural bourgeoisie too are deepening and intensifying day by day. The present agrarian crisis profoundly affects the middle and small bourgeoisie, who are condemned to ruin by the falling prices. Berenguer, in his vain attempts to solve the agrarian crisis, only exposed his intention of solving it at the expense of the rural petty bourgeoisie, and by thereby worsening the position of the poor and middle peasantry.

The economic crisis, whilst aggravating the antagonisms between the various strata of the bourgeoisie, has contributed at the same time to the intensification of the class struggle, and to the radicalisation of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Unemployment has reached enormous proportions, and the unemployed are to be counted by hundreds and thousands. Every branch of industry suffers from unemployment, and there is no single sphere in which this has not become a burning question. In **Barcelona**, in **Madrid**, in **Andalusia**, in every part of Spain, there have been spontaneous public demonstrations of the unemployed, revealing the seriousness of the crisis, and at the same time the radicalisation of the labour movement, in a most unmistakable manner.

The depreciation of the peseta has not only diminished its buying powers, and thereby involved a reduction of real wages, but it has caused an offensive of the proletariat, accompanied by demands for increased wages. Within three months there have been more than one hundred strikes in different districts, some of them representing important struggles, as for instance the dock-labourers strike at **Sevilla** (5000 strikers), and the miners' strike (about 30,000) in **Asturia**.

This aggressive movement on the part of the proletariat is not confined to the industrial centres, but has spread to the rural districts. Strikes are already taking place among the agricultural workers, and all the facts permit the hope that this year will witness an aggressive movement among the rural masses which will equal that of 1921. The demonstrations of **Cordoba** have alarmed the bourgeoisie, who fear a repetition of the revolutionary events of 1921 in the country districts.

There can be no doubt that under these conditions the Berenguer government will not hesitate to reveal its class character and its antiproletarian trend. Having come into power in its capacity of unconditional lackey of the big bourgeoisie, for the purpose of damming back the offensive of the proletariat, it has not hesitated to expose the utter mendacity of its democratic promises, and its determination to fight the working class by fire and sword.

The government condemns to illegality the **Communist Party of Spain**, the sole party holding to the tenets of the class struggle, the sole party which is really revolutionary, and which refuses to join any of the "constitutional" or "republican" blocks, composed of every element contained in Spanish politics, from the most reactionary to the anarcho-syndicalist. It prohibits the publication of any communist periodical, and does not permit the Communist Party to carry on any propaganda whatever. It has granted a limited amnesty, from which those communists are excluded who have been charged and arrested for participation in the demonstrations on 6th March and in the **Sevilla** dock-labourers' strike. It keeps the workers' homes which are under communist leadership closed, and does not permit the legalisation of the revolutionary trade unions — that of the metal workers of **Bilbao** for instance. During the strike of the dock labourers at **Sevilla** it sealed up the trade union premises and imprisoned the leaders of the movement.

On various occasions the government has ordered its armed forces to shoot upon the working class, and recently it utilised the pretext of the students' strike at **Madrid** to fire upon these and upon the workers, killing a bakery worker and wounding 30 persons, chiefly workers.

All these facts are further confirmation that the bourgeoisie is setting the government now in power the task of organising the struggle against the working class.

The Struggle for Malta.

By W. Miller (London).

MacDonald's minister for foreign affairs, **Henderson**, publishes in a Blue Book of 100 pages the correspondence referring to the conflict existing between the Vatican and the English government since the beginning of 1929 with respect to the little island of **Malta**. This island, lying in the middle of the Mediterranean, south of Sicily, halfway between Gibraltar and Port Said, with its population of a quarter of a million, this island, small as it is, is of great importance to the British world empire, for it supplies a naval base ruling the Mediterranean, and is of special service as a coaling station for the English warships on their way to India and Egypt.

Hence the sensitiveness of the English imperialists about everything concerning Malta. That this sensitiveness is shared by the Social Democratic MacDonald Government need be no cause for wonder, for this government represents the imperialist interests of England precisely as they were represented by the former Conservative Baldwin government.

Malta is supposed to be "autonomous" territory of the British Empire. It need not be said that this autonomy exists on paper only, and that in reality England, with its warships,

fortresses, and garrisons, is the sovereign lord of Malta. Italy is a tenacious rival of England in Malta. **Fascist Italy**, with the aid of the mighty Catholic clergy, is stirring up an anti-English **Irredenta**. This is based on the assertion that the population of Malta is "Italian". Historically this is not true, but that is of course a negligible detail in the imperialist game of intrigue. The island lives in extremely backward economic conditions, so that the backward population, for the most part under the influence of the powerful Catholic priests, may be made use of to serve the purposes of the various parties, without comprehending where their own interests lie.

Since the conclusion of peace between the Pope and Mussolini, the Catholic clergy of Malta has placed itself demonstratively at the service of anti-English pro-Italian propaganda. This corresponds fully to the intentions of Mussolini, who has contrived, by means of his peace with the Pope, to ensure that the Catholic clergy and Catholic religious orders serve the aims of Italian imperialist propaganda in the Orient and in the colonies.

Whenever political relations are stained between Italy and England, the Malta problem advances regularly into the foreground. This is again the case at the present time, especially since the failure of the naval conference and Mussolini's great imperialist propaganda speeches.

Of late the Vatican has sought every opportunity of utilising the clergy in Malta for the purpose of attacks on England. These clerical attacks are directed especially against the prime minister who has been in office in Malta since 1927, **Lord Gerald Stickland of Sizergh**, who represents the interests of English imperialism with especial energy and brutality. Stickland's interference in the internal affairs of the Italian order of the Franciscans gave first rise to the Italian clerical propaganda against him. A letter of protest from Cardinal Gasparri, against Stickland, was read from the pulpits. When Stickland abolished the equal rights enjoyed by the Italian language in the law-courts and schools (the authorities are English, the language of the people Maltese, a tongue closely related to the Arabic), Italian clerical agitation was redoubled. An attempt was made to assassinate Stickland.

Besides this, the Vatican interfered directly. The English ambassador at the Vatican was sent a note protesting "against the persecution of the church in Malta". A papal pastoral letter to the Maltese bishops threatened with excommunication all electors and adherents of Stickland, and demanded that Stickland should abdicate, as an enemy of the church. The papal court declared categorically that it would not negotiate with England on the Maltese question until Stickland had been withdrawn.

England, on the other hand, entered a protest against the interference of the Vatican in the internal affairs of the Empire, and demanded with increasing energy the cessation of the anti-England propaganda of the clergy. By the end of May the conflict between the Pope and London, in reality a masked conflict between Mussolini and London, had reached such a point that **diplomatic relations were broken off**. The English ambassador at the Vatican was recalled. At the same time MacDonald declared to the world, through his confidence man in Malta, Sir Augusto Bartolo, also recalled to London that Mussolini had his hand in the game.

The Blue Book now issued by the MacDonald Government condemns the interference of the Pope in the severest terms. The Vatican is accused of participation in a conspiracy against British rule in Malta, in the interests of Italy.

Involuntarily an interesting comparison occurs to us: Only recently this same Pope initiated a campaign of slander against the Soviet Union, and **interfered in the most brutal manner in the inner affairs of the Soviet Union**. But not only was no protest heard from MacDonald on this occasion, on the contrary, his governmental authorities participated semi-officially in this conspiracy. The calumnious masses held against the Soviet Union were attested by the heads not only of the Church of England, but of the army, the navy, and various authorities.

MacDonald discovers reactionary clerical machinations, papal conspiracies, only when they are directed against the British Empire, Soviet Russia? That is altogether another matter!

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Revolt in Indo-China Spreading.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The French bourgeoisie has been made extremely anxious by the revolutionary events which have followed each other in Indo-China since the beginning of the year. All the newspapers are full of reports concerning bloody revolts which are spreading in **Tonking**, **Annam** and **Cochin-China**. statements by highly-placed imperialist officials and other personages who are afraid of losing the colony, appeals for brutal and systematic suppression and threats against "bolshevism" in Moscow and in Paris, which is made responsible for the powerful wave of revolt rapidly rising in Indo-China.

The ferment in Indo-China dates back to years 1924/25. But then it was of quite a different nature. The anti-imperialist movement then was chiefly a matter of small circles of intellectuals and was led by small conspirative groups which often carried out individual acts of terror, although here and there there were also isolated revolts of the coolies and the peasants. As there was no Communist Party in Indo-China at that time, the greatest political confusion prevailed.

In the meantime however, the geographical situation of Indo-China caused it to feel the tremors of the tremendous revolutionary movements of the masses in **China** and in **India**. Further, the world economic crisis also had its effect on the colony. The fall in the prices of raw materials for industry and for agricultural produce in general and the fall of silver (the silver piastre was the currency in Indo-China) resulted in a considerable fall in the purchasing power of the population. Serious bankruptcies occurred. The already miserable wages of the coolies were cut still further (the coolies on the plantations earn 4 Francs for a 12 hour day). The rice grown in Indo-China is either exported or used for the production of alcohol without regard to the feeding of the native population. There is therefore literally a famine in numerous districts. The taxes imposed by the French imperialist authorities are being steadily increased, and as a result the mass misery is growing.

The rising in **Yen-Bay** on the 10th February was not a local affair, but affected a great part of the area of Tonking in various places. Numerous strikes broke out plantations of the world famous rubber company **Michelin**, the coolies struck work in the textile factories of **Nam-Dinh**, 2,000 railwaymen in **Di-An** joined in the strike. The coolies on many other plantations stopped work. On the 1st May mass demonstrations of workers took place in Indo-China for the first time in history. The French authorities went mad with fear and suppressed and dispersed them with brute violence. 5 workers were killed and many wounded in **Ben-Thuy**, 16 were killed and 25 wounded in **Cat-Ngan** and other places. A few days later several thousand poor peasants rose suddenly and unexpectedly in **Cochin-China**, the richest and up till then quietest part of the colony. Refusing to pay taxes and attacking the contributions extracted by the rich landowners, the peasants armed themselves with bamboo sticks and other primitive weapons, formed themselves into small armies and fought manfully against the armed police. Collisions occurred daily and the peasants were slaughtered mercilessly by the armed police and military.

What is now happening in Indo-China is a mass movement against French imperialism, a mass movement which is not yet united but which extends over the whole colony. The working class and peasant masses have come into movement and the political level of their struggle is fundamentally higher than in former years. The red flag of the revolutionary proletariat is carried at the head of their processions and the bourgeois press howls with fury at the discovery that communist leaflets have been found on the corpses of the revolutionaries murdered by the military. The imperialists are particularly nervous about the native troops as they have good reason to believe that these troops are no longer reliable. On the 1st May a band of a native regiment played the "Internationale" in Yen-Bay. A high officer declared openly to a correspondent of a Paris newspaper that the native troops were no longer

reliable as they were "infected with Russian propaganda" and that where a revolutionary movement on a large scale was concerned they might refuse to obey their officers.

The influence of the **Communist Party of Indo-China** is growing despite the sectarian tendencies of certain of its officials. This growth is obviously taking place at the expense of the constitutional party in whose ranks a remarkable process of differentiation is going on. The leaders of the constitutional party, members of the native bourgeoisie, condemn the "communist agitation" which also threatens their own class, and one of them **Duoc**, has even offered to co-operate with the French authorities against the communists. The masses behind the constitutional party however, are rapidly abandoning the hard and fast nationalist attitude of this Party and are going over to the communists.

The French bourgeoisie has invested 4 milliard Francs in Indo-China and tremendous profits have accrued to it in consequence. The total trade of Indo-China is over 7 milliard Francs in value. In Tonking 2 million tons of coal are produced annually, and 20 million Francs worth of tin and 30 million Francs worth of zinc etc. The rubber plantations are still developing and are intended to provide the mother country with all its necessities in this respect. The frightened capitalists threw their Indo-China papers overboard in a hurry and as a result they suffered immense losses on the exchanges. French imperialism is determined to carry on a bitter struggle to crush the movement of its 20 million colonial slaves in Asia for independence.

The repression is therefore still raging. Thousands of arrests have already been made. The penal commissions are working at high pressure and 58 death sentences have already been passed as well as hundreds of life-long sentences of imprisonment and banishment, etc. Many executions have already taken place and others are to follow. The police are also engaged in persecuting the Indo-Chinese workers and students in **France**. On the 22nd May hundreds of Indo-Chinese demonstrated in Paris before the palace of the French President, and on the 25th May hundreds of them marched together with the Paris workers to the Wall of the Commune in **Père Lachaise**. 20 of them were arrested by the police. The courts had to release them for want of any basis for raising a charge, but the police re-arrested them without charge and sent them under cover to Marseilles for deportation to Indo-China where prison or death is certain for them.

At the last session of the French Cabinet the Colonial Minister announced that a series of energetic measures would be taken against the revolutionary movement in Indo-China: widespread legal prosecutions, a thorough cleaning in the native militia to eject all doubtful elements, the despatch of mercenary troops from the Foreign Legion etc. As far as the native troops are concerned, they are deprived of their arms immediately after all exercises and the rifles and ammunition are kept under lock and key. The social fascists are contributing their part to securing increased repression.

The French government now announces that it intends to crush the head of the movement once and for all. In this connection a wild campaign of incitement is being conducted against the **Communist Party of France** and against the Soviet Union which are made responsible for the unrest in Indo-China. The Resident Governor of **Annam**, **Jabouille**, and the Colonial Minister himself have openly declared that Soviet propaganda is responsible for the revolt. The French Colonial Institute in a solemn session demanded the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union. An atmosphere for the formation of an Anglo-French block against the Soviet Union is being created with the argument that **Great Britain** in **India** has the same fight on its hands as **France** in **Indo-China**.

The world proletariat must raise its voice in protest against the bloody terror of French imperialism in Indo-China. The communist slogan, "Free the Indo-Chinese National-revolutionaries!" must be taken up everywhere. The protest action must be developed into a powerful campaign of solidarity on behalf of the heroic fighters in Indo-China, who represent the most important connecting bridge between the revolutions in India and China. The united front of the imperialists against the colonial peoples who are fighting for their emancipation and against the Soviet Union, must be faced with a united front of the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the working masses in the capitalist countries.

China

On the First Congress of the Chinese Soviets.

By Kuo.

The first congress of representatives of the Soviet districts in China is without doubt of great importance and will receive the attention of the world proletariat and of all the oppressed peoples in the colonial countries.

The great Chinese revolution of 1925-27 stirred up the million masses of the workers, peasants and the poor population in the towns and forged them into a powerful factor.

Despite the menshevist errors in the question of the driving forces of the revolution, errors which resulted in a heavy defeat for the revolution, the Communist Party of China succeeded in creating a broad basis for its work amongst the masses of the workers and peasants. After the disruption of the block with the Kuomingtang the Chinese revolution entered into a new phase of the **bourgeois-democratic revolution**, the phase of the "peasant war" under the leadership of the proletariat against imperialism and the feudalist regime, against the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, and for the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry in the form of soviets as the preliminary condition for the development into the socialist revolution. The rearguard actions of the Chinese proletariat in the first revolution (the Canton Commune) were the opening stages of a new **soviet stage** of the revolution. After the Canton insurrection it was the soviets which inscribed the continuation of the workers and peasants struggle on their banners.

Despite the severe defeats of the first revolution and despite the raging terror established by the feudalist-Bourgeois counter-revolution, the hopes of the Chinese rich landowners and of the Chinese bourgeoisie that their dominance would be permanent and that the revolutionary action of the working masses could be finally liquidated did not materialise. On the contrary, the balance of the three years of reactionary Kuomingtang rule confirmed the perspectives of the Communist Party of China and of the Communist International that a new revolutionary wave was inevitable as the result of the convulsions suffered by the whole economic organism under the power of the rich landowners and the bourgeoisie, a strengthening of the agrarian crisis, an increase of the famine threat, an intensification of the industrial crisis, an intensification of the contradictions and endless armed conflicts between the various groups of militarists, the approaching bankruptcy of the reformist illusions of the Kuomingtang, the growth of the class struggle and the peasant insurrections in the villages etc.

The Communist Party of China clearly observed the inevitability of a new revolutionary wave and was aware of its character and forms. The whole activity of the party was directed to being prepared for the coming revolutionary storm. The VI. Congress of the C.P. of China laid down very correctly the character and the forms of the new stage of the agrarian revolution and connected it up with the question of the soviets, with the tactics of the guerilla struggles and with the leadership of the peasant movement which was breaking out with elementary force. It is hardly necessary to say that this formulation of the tactical questions was indignantly rejected by the Trotzkysts and the right-wing renegades of the type of Roy and Chen Dun Hsiu who accused the Communist International and the Communist Party of China of Blanquism and of pursuing a policy of adventurism and putschism etc. These elements wanted to wait for the capitalist development of China and for the "automatic" development of the proletarian revolution. In awaiting the proletarian revolution, these elements who suffer from a menshevist underestimation of the struggle of the peasantry, overlooked the bourgeois-democratic revolution which is developing stage by stage into a socialist revolution.

The new characteristic feature of the guerilla war is that the isolated and scattered forces are now being centralised and that the movement is extending to the more thickly populated

districts, where there are railway lines and easy means of transport. The movement is even extending to the larger towns, although the big industrial centres, with the exception of Da Ye and a number of mining districts, are not yet under soviet rule.

In the towns at the present moment there is without doubt a steady rise of the working class movement, although this is taking place more slowly than the corresponding activity of the peasants in the villages. A series of events recently confirm the growing solidarity of the workers with the peasants. In Da Ye for instance, the miners rose at the moment when the guerilla troops entered the town. Whilst attacking many towns the guerilla troops and the red armies were frequently assisted by the workers who organised insurrections behind the governmental lines. It must be pointed out that for the present only towns are involved where the working class is represented by coolies and the workers of relatively small scale factories without mechanical power.

The Communist Party, which is well aware of the fact that only the proletariat in alliance with the masses of the peasantry can decide the fate of the Chinese Revolution, is at present conducting tremendous activities in the great industrial centres. Taught by past experiences, the Party is also taking over the leadership of the peasant insurrections in order to connect up the struggle of the urban proletariat with the "peasant war".

In the present new stage of the peasant movement and the "Soviet revolution", the calling of representatives of all the soviet districts to a central congress was urgently necessary.

The tasks of this congress are: the utilisation of the lessons of the struggle in the majority of the various districts; the consolidation of the solidarity of the peasants in the various districts and the working class; the abolition of the narrow peasant provincialism and the liquidation of the Kulak influence on the peasant movement; the strengthening of the positions of the Communists; the working out of a joint program and uniform tactics in the struggle; the election of a centralised body for the conduct of the future operations; the fixing of the frontiers of the soviet districts. Representatives will be present at the congress not only from the soviet districts, but also from peasant associations from other parts of the country, from soldiers in the militarist armies, from the propertyless elements in the towns and from the organisations of the land-workers etc. Further, delegates of the Red Trade and other revolutionary organisations in China, including the Communist Party of China, will be present in order to maintain the hegemony of the proletariat and to consolidate the solidarity between the workers and peasants.

Representatives of the most important districts under soviet rule, of the Communist Party of China and of the Red Trade Unions took part in working out the program which deals with the following points:

I. General Program of the Soviet Power.

1. Overthrow of the power of the imperialists; 2. confiscation of the factories and banks belonging to foreign capitalists; 3. the unification of China with full self-determination for all peoples; 4. the overthrow of the militarist Kuomingtang government; 5. the formation of soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers deputies; 6. the introduction of the 8 hour day, wage increases, unemployment support and social insurance; 7. confiscation of the land of the rich landowners and the distributions of the confiscated lands to the poor peasants; 8. the abolition of all taxes imposed by individual military governors and generals; 9. the introduction of a single tax;

10. unification with the world proletariat and with the Soviet Union.

II. Labour Legislation.

1. The introduction of the 8 hour day, increased wages; 2. workers insurance and unemployed support; 3. equal pay for equal work. Pregnancy leave for working women with two months full paid rest prior to the confinement and two months afterwards; 4. abolition of the seniority system as at present practised. Normal politeness in all dealings with the workers; 5. the six hours day for young workers and the abolition of advanced payments to the parents in the case of apprentices. Full payment to be made to the apprentice personally; 6. no dismissals without the consent of the trade union; 7. the organisation of workers co-operatives; 8. the confiscation of the property of all counter-revolutionaries and of all persons found guilty of sabotage; 9. the organisation of workers and peasants banks; 10. the abolition of work on sundays and holidays. Full pay for holidays; 11. dissolution of the armed reactionary formations and the formation of a workers and peasants Red Army; 12. the abolition of usurious interest on loans etc.

III. Agrarian Legislation.

1. Overthrow of the power of the landed aristocracy, the rich landowners and the official bureaucracy; the disarming of the counter-revolutionary troops and the arming of the peasantry; the transfer of the local executive power to councils of peasants deputies; 2. the confiscation of the land and the property of the aristocracy and of the rich landowners and the handing over of such confiscated lands to the peasants; 3. the similar confiscation of the lands and properties of the cloisters and religious communities, and the unused State lands, and their distribution amongst the poor and landless peasants by the councils of peasants deputies; 4. a part of the State lands in the various provinces to a land funds for distribution amongst the demobilised workers and peasants; 5. the annulling of all usurious loan agreements, etc.; 6. the abolition of all oppressive tenants agreements; 7. the abolition of all taxes introduced by the individual militarists and local officials and the abolition of all arbitrary taxation; the introduction of a single agricultural tax; 8. State assistance for the peasants; a) in tilling the land; b) to improve the yield; c) to destroy pests and to avert natural catastrophes or minimise their effects; d) loans through peasants banks and co-operatives; e) in colonisation; 9. the introduction of a uniform currency and of a uniform system of weights and measures; 10. forestry to be in the hands of the Soviet State as also all waterways, for whose improvement the State will take care.

IV. Protective Legislation for Women.

1. Political and economic equality for men and women; 2. the prohibition of marriage by the purchase of the bride. Free marriage and divorce by registered agreement before the registrars; 3. prohibition of concubinage and of the custom of handing over young girls not of marriageable age to their future husbands for training.

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The congress will also deal in detail with the principle of the distribution of the land; the system of elections to the soviets; the construction of the soviet power; the economic policy of the soviet power; the military duties of the soviet citizens; the privileges of members of the Red Army; cultural work of the soviet government; the soviet policy towards the imperialists; the governmental policy towards the national minorities and other peoples; etc. The congress will make its decisions for future work according to the situation in the various districts.

The first congress of representatives of soviet districts in China opens up a new era of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants under the banner of the Communist Party against world imperialism and the dictatorship of the rich landowners and the bourgeoisie. The congress will be a flaming example to all the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in their struggle against foreign imperialism.

ECONOMICS

The Development of the Economic Crisis in Belgium.

By F. M. (Brussels).

On 20th March, the central organ of the reformist trade unions of Belgium, the "Mouvement Syndical", wrote as follows in its leading article:

"Are we threatened by a crisis? It would be a bold assertion to reply in the affirmative. Are there any signs of a crisis? Perhaps . . ."

And from this these wise economists draw the conclusion:

"It cannot be maintained that we are threatened by an economic crisis in the strict sense of the term, but on the other hand, in view of the facts, it is impossible not to feel a certain uneasiness . . ."

Let us take a glance at the facts causing the social Fascist bosses this "uneasiness", and we shall see that we are in the midst of the developing crisis.

In Belgium we see a repetition of every characteristic of the world crisis: the falling exchange rates, the rapid lessening of the emissions, and the sinking prices of raw materials (agricultural products, coal). Besides this, production is diminishing and unemployment increasing.

Immediately after the exchange crash in New York, shares at the Brussels exchange lost 40 per cent of the value which they had possessed at the time of the great "prosperity". Dozens of exchange agents were ruined. During the first four months of 1930, the exchange emission reached a sum total of 1950 millions as compared with 5650 millions in the corresponding period of 1929. This is the more characteristic that money was available in excess, and the bank rate was reduced from 5 per cent to 3 per cent.

The reaction of the world crisis on agriculture is catastrophic. Since Belgium exports a comparatively considerable part of its total production (35 per cent), it cannot easily protect its agriculture by import duties. Agricultural products have therefore followed the developments of the world's markets, and have dropped substantially in price, as may be seen from the following table:

	Wheat	Rye	Oats	Potatoes	Eggs
March 1929 . .	162	159	168	85	23
March 1930 . .	133	87	90	35	17

When we add to this that in 1929 the crops were so bad that in the case of cereals only 70 per cent of the normal yield was reached, the situation of the small holders and tenant farmers may be imagined — the small tenant farmers form the overwhelming majority of the peasantry of Belgium. These tenants pay rents calculated a few years ago, at a time of high prices and good crops. Thousands of farmers have fallen into debt, others are trying to sell their farms.

In industry the crisis develops irregularly; the first to suffer were the diamond cutting trade and those branches of industry long suffering from a slow decline, such as the textile industry; next the crisis spread to the coal mines, the smelting works, and the metal factories.

The official contracts for wool and wool yarns show a falling off of 15 per cent. The output of the months January to March 1930 amounted to 8231 tons as compared with 9965 tons in the corresponding period last year. In spite of the falling off of production, the reserves of combed wool continue to accumulate, and are 30 per cent greater than in 1929.

In the cotton industry the situation appears to be even worse. Several important undertakings in Ghent and Renaix have closed down. Others are only working three or four days in the week.

The glass factories are reducing their output, lowering their prices, rationalising, and still cannot prevent their stock from accumulating.

The stagnation of business in these branches of industry, and the extreme mildness of the previous winter, have directly affected the coal mines. Coal continues to accumulate, in spite

of lessened production. The reserves have increased from 280,000 tons in October 1929 to 1,330,000 tons in April 1930.

The agreement arrived at among the mine-owners a year ago has proved impossible of execution. The prices fixed have not been adhered to. The number of miners employed is dwindling as never before, although the owners had maintained that they were short of 10,000 workers, and demanded the mass immigration of foreign labour.

The smelting works and metal factories, which were well provided with orders at the time of the exchange crash, did not feel the effects of the crisis till later. It was not until February and March that the lack of fresh orders caused many workers to be discharged by the *Fabrique Nationale d'Armes de Guerre* and other factories of the *Liège* district.

Since then the situation has become more acute, and the steel output has been reduced even further than decided by the steel cartel. This reduction of production exceeds 10%. The non-adherence to agreements, already observable in the coal mining and glass trades, is beginning to spread to the steel cartel. On this subject the big industrial newspaper, "L'Etoile Belge", writes as follows on 29th May:

"It is a secret to nobody that at the present time extensive swindling manoeuvres are being undertaken, and that business is being done with independent exporters (especially English firms) at 'real' prices far below those of the cartel; the cartel rates are only kept by certain firms whose fate is already sealed."

The world crisis has taken inevitable effect upon Belgium's trade balance. The increased competition in both home and foreign markets has increased the deficit of the "visible" balance from 900 to 1763 millions during the first three months of the year.

Wholesale prices have fallen by 10% in comparison with the highest point of 1929, retail prices by about 4%.

The bourgeoisie is obviously attempting to thrust the effects of the crisis upon the working class, and to solve the crisis at the expense of the workers. A fresh wave of rationalisation, announced by the mass import of the newest machinery from the United States and Germany, is about to engulf the country.

The attack on wages has already commenced, and is supported by the (social democratic) Belgian Labour Party. The foreign workers will suffer severely under a new immigration law, again supported by the Social Democrats; this law will greatly increase the possibilities of arbitrary expulsion from the country.

The spectre of unemployment once more raises its head. The official data of 3rd May show 13,500 completely unemployed and 3000 part timers. In April the number of working days lost in consequence of unemployment amounted to 575,000, or five times that of 1929.

These facts and figures show that in Belgium the crisis is in full course of development. Now that the work for the festivals and exhibitions in connection with the hundredth anniversary of the independence of Belgium is almost completed, a further aggravation of the situation may be anticipated within a short time.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Class Struggle in Iceland.

By Arvid Hansen (Oslo).

Developments in Iceland form a striking proof of Lenin's theory of the irregular and sporadic development of capitalism. Iceland is one of the youngest capitalist countries of the world. During the great war, and still more of late years, the development of Icelandic capitalism has proceeded at American speed. It is characteristic of this development that the capital, *Reykjavík*, counts in inhabitants one quarter of the total population. Motor car traffic is increasing, means of traffic are being modernised, electrification has been commenced, and techniques are gaining the upper hand in agriculture. The value of the exports rose from 48 million crowns (1 crown = 11 d) in 1926 to 80 million crowns in 1929.

The prime minister of Iceland, in an interview with a representative of the Danish newspaper "Politiken", Copenhagen,

boasted that there are no unemployed in Iceland. According to his account Iceland is thus an island of the blessed, where there are only happy people. In reality, however, matters are very different. In Iceland capitalism has created the same class antagonisms, the same social abuses, as everywhere else, and here too it signifies nothing but exploitation and oppression. Therefore trade unionist and political workers' associations have sprung up in Iceland as in other places, and the proletariat seeks to defend itself by these means against the abuses of capitalism.

Many people still believe that the island is inhabited only by peasants and fishermen. Statistics show that 40 per cent of the population lives by livestock breeding, 30 per cent by fishing, and the remainder by trading, handicrafts, and small industrial undertakings. But Iceland has already its fisher proletariat, forced into existence by the industrialisation of the fishing undertaking. There are other factories too, including several electric works. There are many building and transport workers, and many agricultural labourers on the large farms. It is true that trades are not very finely differentiated in Iceland; as a rule the same men are employed as building or transport workers, or as sailors, according to the season, but developments are indubitably tending toward putting an end to these primitive conditions. The coming of the railways, and the capitalist modernisation of agriculture, are accompanied by the erection of new factories. The increased activity of foreign capital will also in all probability accelerate industrial development during the next few years.

During the crisis of 1925-26 the workers were obliged to submit to considerable cuts in wages. As a matter of fact, the Iceland worker is in a worse position than the workers in most of the democratic countries. His working day is 10 to 12 hours, sometimes even 16. Wages are low, and, what is still worse, most of the workers have no definite occupation. A motion for unemployment benefit, submitted to the Parliament in 1928 on the initiative of the communists, was rejected by the majority. The old workers are dependent on poor relief. In the fishing centres the housing conditions of the workers are extremely bad, and in the rural districts even worse. It is by no means rare for the farm labourers to have to sleep in the same stall as the pigs. In places where there are no workers' organisations, the conditions under which the workers live are far below the so-called "minimum of subsistence".

Under such circumstances as these, the class struggle develops and intensifies in Iceland. A report from a young Icelandic workman contains the following:

"There can be no doubt that in Iceland too a radicalisation of the workers is beginning. The two parties—the Progress Party and the Social Democratic Party—which had petty bourgeois radical programmes in the post-war period, and were in opposition to the then government party of the Conservatives, have now been in power for three years, and have proved that they too are in reality hostile to the workers. The workers are realising this more and more, and are showing this by leaving the Social Democratic Party and following the more radical trends. The fishers' strike of 1928-29 was led first by the Social Democrats and afterwards by the Centrists. A social democratic editor was thrown out of a workers' strike meeting for advocating the acceptance of the arbitrators. In reality the Centrists pursued the same policy, and succeeded in getting a compromise accepted, but the strike demonstrated the fighting will of the workers, and showed that the masses of the workers are seeking some other remedy than the 'peace policy' of the Social Democrats.

The Congress held by the Workers' Federation in 1929 bore further witness of the radicalisation of the workers. One of the participants declared that this was the best congress he had ever attended. All the Centrists adopted an extremely radical attitude, accepted many of our proposals, and called the Social Democrats severely to account. Many of them declared themselves to be Communists. The worst point about this congress was that the difference between Centrists and Communists was not made clear. In the season July to October 1929 our fraction had the leadership in the Workers' and Seamen's Association in *Siklafjord*. Instead of inviting the employers to negotiate, a tariff was drawn up under the guidance of the Communists, and the slogan proclaimed that work was to be stopped at once for any shipping company refusing to accept

this tariff. This wages tariff, 1.35 crowns per hour during the day and 2.50 crowns for overtime, was issued for the first time in connection with the slogans in preparation of the Mayday demonstrations. The workers showed themselves extremely willing to take up the fight, and the tariff was realised to 100 per cent. It need not be said that it is of the utmost importance to have a powerful Communist movement in such places as Sliklafyord and Vestmanneyjum, dependent on seasonal work, since in the season workers flock in from every part of the country, and the determined attitude of the Communists exercises a great influence over them."

A further proof of the radicalisation process among the Icelandic workers is the attitude of the Social Democratic press. Our Iceland comrade refers to this in another report:

"Whilst the Social Democratic central organ promotes the governmental policy to an increasing extent, at the same time it publishes articles of a friendly tendency towards the Soviet Union (formerly it never wrote anything at all about the Soviet Union), and other articles sympathising with the Communists. In this way the Social Democratic leaders are trying to retain a hold upon the opposition in the labour movement."

We see that the class struggle follows inevitably in the wake of capitalism, and Iceland forms no exception to the rule of development of capitalist countries. Hence the revolutionary workers of Iceland must celebrate the Thousandth Anniversary of the Alting (Parliament) in their own way. They must "celebrate the jubilee" by taking decisive steps toward the formation of a Communist Party in their country.

WORKERS DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

The New Workers' Delegations in the Soviet Union.

By Albert Inkpin.

During the next two or three months a large number of workers' delegations will be organised to visit the Soviet Union. These delegations, consisting exclusively of working men and women, direct from the workshops, the mills and the mines, will come from far and wide. Sixteen different countries will be represented: Germany, Britain, France, Ireland, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia etc. Even far-off Canada will send its contingent to this international assembly of workers who will be privileged to see with their own eyes the unfolding of the wonderful Five-Year Plan by means of which the Russian workers and peasants are building Socialism in the proletarian state.

The organisation of these delegations, the carrying through of the campaigns to secure their election, the collection of the necessary funds to meet the expense of travelling to and from the Soviet border, devolves upon the "Friends of Soviet Russia", and its international committee and sections in the different countries have a heavy and responsible task to perform.

These workers' delegations to the Soviet Union are assuming an ever-increasing importance. The months that have elapsed since the 12th anniversary have witnessed in all capitalist countries a hardening of the hostility to the USSR, and a tremendous increase in the barrage of lies, slanders and calumnies directed against the workers' state. In this unscrupulously mendacious campaign the servants of God have played a leading and noteworthy part. The triumphant progress of the workers' republic, its breaking through and surmounting of seemingly insuperable difficulties means not only the ultimate permanent economic emancipation of the millions of workers and peasants. It means their simultaneous liberation from the thrall of superstition and illiteracy, the opening out of an entirely new life wherein capitalists and financiers, popes and priests will be relegated for all time to the limbo of forgotten things, never again to batten on the blood and the tears and the misery of the masses. Small wonder that the black-coated hosts, ever a bulwark of capi-

talist exploitation, from the Pope of Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury down to the meanest and most ignorant parish priest and Primitive-Methodist preacher, have set aside their sectarian differences and combined to let loose against the Soviet Union a torrent of unscrupulous lies and slanders that is unequalled in the black record of the Holy Church.

During this period each successive week has revealed some development in the war preparations against the Soviet Union. In France, traitorous ex-employees of the Soviet Government, guilty of the most bare-faced forgery and embezzlement, are absolved by French law amidst the plaudits of the Parisian press. In Germany, the exploits of the chervonetz forgers are condoned by the German Government through the decision of the legal courts. In Mexico, at the instigation of American imperialism, diplomatic relations with Russia have been broken off. In Poland, the bomb outrage at the Soviet embassy is coincident with the daily growing insolence of Polish militarism against the Soviet power. Even faraway Iceland, which this year celebrates the 1000th anniversary of its Parliament to which all Governments save that of the Soviet Union have been invited to send representatives, is drawn into the anti-Soviet bloc, so that its valuable strategic position can be utilised as a base in any attack on Russia from the north. All these are straws that show which way the wind is blowing. In the press of the border states, war preparations against the Soviet Union are openly discussed; it is only a question of how best and when to attack, and that decision rests with their powerful paymasters. The conclusion of the anti-Soviet military treaty between Estonia and Poland is followed by assurances from Latvia's military chiefs to Poland that in the event of war between Poland and Russia, Latvia, like Estonia, cannot remain indifferent. Behind these puppet powers is the sinister hand of international finance capital. Dimowski leader of the Polish People's Democrats, and rival to Pilsudski, has revealed the arrangements for an international loan to Poland for war purposes against the USSR. The Naval Conference decided to support Rumania in her efforts to build a navy and naval bases in the Black Sea for operation against Russia, and British and French admirals have visited Rumania to discuss this question with the Rumanian authorities. And British aeroplanes are being sent in large numbers to the Border States, where they can be put to effective use in the coming war. He would be blind indeed who does not foresee what all this portends.

This period has also witnessed gigantic strides in "tearing out the last roots of capitalism in Russia" and carrying through the task of Socialist reconstruction. The progress that has been made in the application of the Five-Year Plan, the most wonderful programme of industrial and agrarian reorganisation and reconstruction that the genius of man has conceived, has surpassed the most optimistic calculations. On the other hand, everywhere capitalism grows increasingly unstable, unemployment is soaring (in the United States, the wages of the most advanced capitalist-industrial country in the world, there are seven million workers unemployed), the wages of the workers are attacked, and their conditions of life grow progressively worse. Well might M. Tardieu, spokesman of French capitalism, declare at the Naval Conference that the Soviet Union is an "international question" for all the Powers!

It is in such conditions as these that the workers' delegations will visit the Soviet Union in July and August next.

Hitherto these delegations have been for the purpose of study and defence of the proletarian state. This year they will assume a new and additional purpose: that of active and concrete help to their Russian brothers in the carrying through of their gigantic task. The Russian workers and peasants are conducting their great struggle not alone for themselves. Their mission and their task is one of trust for the international proletariat, to build in the Soviet Union the socialist order of society that will be a guide and an inspiration to the workers of all the world. Out of their trials, their mistakes, their successes and their triumphs, the workers of other lands have great and enduring lessons to learn. These, in turn, have the right and the duty through their delegates — miners, textile workers, railmen, metal workers — to give their Russian brothers the experience of their ripened knowledge in a critical and concrete form. Thus the delegations will perform the threefold purpose: study, defence, and critically constructive help.

Before the XVI. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

The Difficulties Overcome, the Path to Fresh Victories Opened.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of June 7th.

The 2nd Moscow District Conference has been the first of the conferences sitting at the present time in the federal republics, provinces, and districts, to pass a resolution on the report of the Central Committee of the Party.

On behalf of the 280,000 Moscow Bolsheviks, in the name of the tried and tested select corps of the Bolshevik two million army, the Moscow District Conference has expressed its complete approval of the political line and the practical work of the Central Committee. There can be no doubt that after the Moscow Conference all the other Conference of the Leninist Bolshevik Party in the federal republics, provinces, and districts, will pass a similar resolution.

Our enemies, who before the Party Congress again cherished hopes, if not of a split, at least of a revival and reappearance of the old opposition and the springing up of a new opposition, are once more disappointed. The general line of the Party, directed towards the building up of socialism in our country and the victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world, will not deviate one inch from the path laid down by Lenin. The Party leadership, the Leninist Central Committee, stands firmly in its fighting position, upheld by the unlimited confidence and unreserved support of the Party masses. The unity of the ranks of the Party is unshakable. The Party firmly welded together under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee is ready to fulfil its fresh tasks in the struggle for socialism.

The work of building up socialism has been going on in our country for almost years since the October victory. Nine Party Congresses in succession have drawn the balance of reconstruction. During this period the Party has never before taken such an enormous stride forward as in the time between the 15th and 16th Party Congresses.

During this time our socialised industry has almost doubled. Private capital has been completely supplanted in large scale trade, and retains a foothold only in some few branches of small trade. In agriculture, hitherto backward and scattered, where two or three years ago Soviet farms and collectives only formed small oases, a mighty socialist sector has sprung up over night, and will already in this year be responsible for over one half of the market grain produced.

In the regions of decisive importance for grain, where the kulak—the most firmly rooted and tenacious capitalist element in the country—has been strongest, his economic foundations are undermined. The million masses of the small peasant farms have decided resolutely for socialism.

Can anyone maintain today, before the 16th Party Congress, as the Trotzkyists did before the 15th, that capitalism is growing everywhere in our country, that its growth is outstripping ours, that in the city the private business man is master of the situation, in the village the kulak? This slanderous lie, whose refutation cost us much time, paper, statistic material, etc., at that time, would now sound like the fevered imaginings of a lunatic. Not even the Trotzkyists venture to repeat this lie now.

These are the mighty achievements of our Party, under the leadership of the Leninist Central Committee, in the last $\frac{1}{2}$ years. These are the reasons moving the Party masses to immediate and determined self-defence against the open or concealed attacks on the Leninist line of the Party and its Leninist leaders.

Does this mean that we have no more difficulties to face? Of course there are difficulties. They are adequately discussed in the resolution of the Moscow District Conference on the report of the C. C.

The rapid growth of heavy industry, giving us the means of production, has not only rendered possible the tremendous reorganisation of agriculture, but at the same time the rapid growth of the light industry producing goods for mass consumption. The Party however continues to be of the opinion

that the decisive basis of socialist reconstruction, and consequently of the rapid growth of the finished goods industry, is that emancipation from dependence upon the capitalist world which is ensured by our heavy industry.

Our finished goods industry (light industry) is developing considerably more rapidly under the present policy of the Party, whatever the Right opportunists may say to the contrary than a finished goods industry has ever developed in any capitalist country. And yet its growth lags behind the demands of the masses. The result is a shortage of products, a somewhat acute goods famine, which furnishes a certain foothold for the speculations of private business enterprises, especially in view of the bureaucratic rigidity of our co-operative apparatus, which throws difficulties in the way of the realisation of the Party directives respecting the lowering of prices and the raising of real wages. One of the chief obstacles in the way of an intensified development of light industry, and therewith of the goods famine, is the shortage of raw materials. It is precisely for this reason that the Moscow District Conference, in its resolution, draws such serious attention to the raw materials problem, and to the relative problem of livestock breeding. It may already be safely stated that the accomplishment of the prescribed plan for the extension of cotton and sugar beet growing guarantees for the coming year a considerable growth of the textile and sugar industries. If the Party succeeds in a like accomplishment of the plan with respect to maize, Soya beans, and sun flowers then a corresponding growth of important foodstuffs industries is ensured.

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture by means of mechanisation and tractorisation creates the basis for a radical solution of the raw material and livestock problem, and therewith the basis for a degree of progress in light industry making it possible to overcome the existing shortage of goods within a very short time.

The resolution of the Moscow District Conference on the report of the C. C. states very rightly:

„It is solely upon the basis of the successes achieved by heavy industry that the conditions arise which are necessary for a still more rapid tempo in the development of light industry, especially of the textile industry, and of light branches of industry producing foodstuffs, and their ever increasing adaptation to the growing needs of the working class and peasantry.”

The difficulties of supplying the working class with goods and food, difficulties originating in the economic backwardness of our country, can only be overcome by a firm and determined policy on the part of the Party, and only on the basis of a Bolshevik tempo in this reconstruction.

We shall secure this tempo by mobilising, under the leadership of the Party and its Leninist Central Committee, the broadest masses of the proletariat and the working class.

Among these difficulties the problem of the apparatus and the cadres plays a considerable part. Bureaucratism and sabotage in the state, economic, and co-operative apparatus rend breaches in some sections of the front of socialist reconstruction; further exertion and further means are required to mend these breaches. Many of the defects in the provisioning of the workers are not due to lack of the products required, but to the bureaucratic procedure in the supply organisations, especially the co-operatives. Enormous sums are expended unproductively, for lack of firmly established and experienced cadres, devoted to the cause of socialist reconstruction. This lack of cadres hampers the utilisation of the whole of the advantages of planned socialist economics, and is a decided obstacle in the road of socialist reconstruction. Here is the weak point, and it is imperative that it be removed. The struggle for the improvement of the apparatus, the struggle

for the cadres, are among the main tasks of the Party at the present stage.

The Moscow District Conference was not only characterised by determination and unanimity in the question of the general line of the Party and its Central Committee, but by its insistence on the mobilisation of the masses for overcoming the difficulties of socialist construction.

It is characteristic that the opportunist elements in the ranks of the Party today frequently do not venture to come forward openly against the general line of the Party, or to openly deny our great achievements. But all open and concealed attacks are against the leadership of the Party, against the C. C., which is alleged to commit errors in carrying out the general line, which is alleged to have issued false instructions and to have promoted super-tensions in collective economic constructive work, etc. Here the Right opportunists and the semi-Trotzkyists approach one another very nearly. Only recently the Trotzkyists (and after them the semi-Trotzkyists in the Party) reproached the Party with carrying on a pseudo-fight against the Right, whilst in reality pursuing a Right policy. The Right for their part declared that the Party was slipping down into Trotzkyism.

The incontestable fact of an ideological and political rapprochement between Right and „Left” is made the subject, very rightly, of a passage in the resolution of the Moscow District Conference, which draws the attention of the whole Party to this fact: „It demands special watchfulness from the Party, and determination in the struggle on two fronts ...”

The Right are now trying on one side and the semi-Trotzkyists on the other (these apart from the open Trotzkyists), by means of relegating to the background their various differences of opinion, to find means for the formation of a united front against the Party and the Central Committee. To cast discredit on the Party leaders is the first task which they set themselves. The Moscow District Conference, in its resolution, deals a powerful blow against these anti-Party manoeuvres of the Right and „Left”.

A point of extreme political importance, on the eve of the 16th Party Congress, is that passage in the resolution of the Moscow Districts Conference which

„demands of the former leaders of the Right opportunists a thorough Bolshevik criticism of their opportunist errors, and at the same time a determined and active combating of all attempts on the part of the Right to revise the Leninist general line, and against aspersions, any discrediting of the Leninist Party leaders, or of the Central Committee and its policy”.

Up to the present the Party has observed no sign of such criticism or active combating.

It is no normal state of affairs when, for instance, the renegade groups around Bandler and Thalheimer in Germany, and around Lovestone in America, refer constantly to the Bucharin theory of „organised capitalism” in confirmation of their anti-communist views, and that Comrade Bucharin, who, it may be observed in passing, has not yet renounced this theory, deems it possible not to react at all to this use of his theory. The group which juggles most cynically with Bucharin's name is the Lovestone group, which has notoriously sunk so low that it makes bandit attacks on the premises of the Central Committee of the C. P. of the United States. This group of American renegades formed Bucharin's most faithful bodyguard at the VI. World Congress.

The Party is entitled to learn whether Bucharin has renounced his opportunist views in Comintern questions, his theory of „organised capitalism”, or not. The Party is entitled to learn what stand Comrade Bucharin takes in the matter of the struggle of the Comintern against the Right renegades. The Party is entitled to learn the attitude of the former leaders of the Right opposition towards that campaign for the discrediting of the Central Committee, which the Right and „Left” are now striving to organise in the questions of collective economic reconstruction, and which is encountering the united resistance of the Party. Clarity is needful.

The Party is entitled to demand of the former leaders of the Right opposition an unconditional criticism of their errors, and an unreserved fight for the general line. The whole Party joins unanimously in this demand of the Moscow District Conference. „The Right danger is now as ever the chief danger in the Party”—the resolution of the Moscow District Conference

states this on the eve of the 16th Party Congress. The fight must be determined on both fronts—but the fire towards the Right. The struggle cannot be otherwise during the present stage of the struggle, now that we have entered the period of the liquidation of the kulak as class, and the Right have become a kulak agency supported and upheld by the despairing resistance of the kulaks.

The determined struggle against the deviations requires an equally resolute combating of both conciliation towards „left” opportunism and conciliation against the main Right danger.

The Moscow District organisation, which takes its stand unanimously and determinedly with the Leninist Central Committee, ready to accomplish the fresh tasks imposed by the struggle, to overcome all difficulties, to combat relentlessly all deviations and vacillations, all trends towards demobilisation,—the Moscow District organisation marches in the foremost ranks of the Leninist Bolshevik Party, forward to fresh victories.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Men and Slag.
Letters from the Donetz Basin*).
By G. Ryklin.

II. Red Engineers.

We sit in the office and wait for Comrade Butenko, manager of the furnaces department. We are here in the Works for the first time and do not know anybody yet. We try to form a mental picture of this manager: commanding presence, piercing glance, brows knitted, pointed beard and engineer's hat with badge . . . The door is suddenly flung open and a young worker bursts into the office; he wears a somewhat worn leather jacket and a crumpled cap. He turns over the papers and jots down notes. We sit here feeling rather bored. The worker glances at us and asks if we want any information. No thank you, we will wait. We think to ourselves, we prefer to talk with Butenko himself. But who is this chap? He shouts orders through the telephone and we see that he is very much excited over the question of coke. „We need a store of coke of 100,000 tons”, he shouts to somebody through the telephone. The door is again opened and a man wearying pincenez enters. The young man springs up at once:

„Good day, Sigismund Henrichovitch! A 100,000 tons of coke! Nothing less will do, 100,000!”

The man with the pincenez goes. But the other does not sit still for a moment: He springs up from his seat, pulls open the window and shouts out into the yard:

„Sigismund Henrichovitch! Don't forget, 100,000!”

At last we speak to him. „Comrade, do you mind telling us your name?”

„Butenko”.

„Manager of the furnaces department?” An affirmative nod of the head, we shake hands.

„You understand”, he addresses me as if I were responsible for everything — „I need a day's supply of 100,000 tons of coke. Otherwise we can't work.”

And he begins an excited recital of all the faults and shortcomings.

„We do not yet know to work in an orderly fashion. We deserve to be flogged. The press still complains too little about us. We often save a few pence and thereby lose millions. The sorting of coal is carried out with antiquated methods; the wagons work for an hour and then remain idle two hours. Last night a 100 tons too little crude iron was delivered. Why? Who is responsible? The old bad arrangements. But we can bring all this in order with our own resources. The position regarding ore is none too good. The mines send us ore — about a teaspoonful every two hours.

During our conversation Butenko was several times interrupted: he had to answer the telephone, fill up forms. „If we improve only what is absolutely necessary we

* See „Imprecorr” No. 16.

shall be able to deliver not 1350 tons a day but 1500 tons. These are real figures. With us working discipline has improved. In December 1928 the percentage of absences from work without reasonable excuse was 1.2, in December last 0.8, and in January 0.6. The whole department has converted itself into a shock brigade. Socialist competition is already bearing fruit . . . No, the work can really be well organised. We shall have no reason to be ashamed of our Works".

Here there is to be seen the first buds of a peculiar sort of patriotism — Soviet factory patriotism. The workers naturally follow the work of other factories, especially those situated in the neighbourhood, in order not to be left behind by them. Here faults and failings are spoken of and discussed quite openly. But they also see no reason why they should remain silent regarding successes and achievements.

Comrade Piskarev, for example, is keeping a careful record. He is a young engineer, formerly a worker, now manager of the Martin Furnaces department. He is devoted to his department heart and soul, and at the same time attentively follows the work of all Martin Furnaces departments in the South. In his tables there is recorded the latest figures regarding the cost of production of steel in Dniepropetrovsk, in Makajevka, Mariupol and Artemovsk; regarding working discipline in the Martin furnaces departments of these works. Cool, reserved, without making any great set out, Comrade Piskarev shows us figures from which it is clearly to be seen that the Martin furnaces department of the Stalin smelting works occupies first place in regard to all these points.

"Still, with us things are not over grand as regards cost of production", says Piskarev, "we are behind the plan, but for many things we ourselves are to blame . . ."

It is never said that the tasks set the Works are too big, that the plan is not feasible. The only thing that is engaging the attention of all here is: what shall we do, how shall we improve the work in order to exceed the plan and also to improve the qualitative side of the work.

We discussed this theme in detail with two young engineers, named Schkilar und Ratner, working in the Martin furnaces department. On day they sat up till late at night and decided to work out some statistics. They took a sheet of paper and began their calculations, and the result of this work is the carefully compiled statistics which say: faulty work has declined so much in the last few weeks, the productivity of labour has increased by so much, while the cost price of steel blocks has been reduced by 5 roubles.

These successes have not been achieved without effort. Naturally they began to look for the causes and found them to be, firstly better organisation of work, secondly a number of rationalisation measures, thirdly greater activity of the production conferences etc.

"We have taken on great obligations", says Schkilar, "but we are not at all afraid. Where there is a will, there is a way. And the whole department has a will. A great deal also depends upon the public . . . Every furnace knows how much it has to yield. But that is not everything. There is, for instance, the question of personal responsibility. Many foremen do not wish to take on responsibility; they are far too easy going; they wish to be regarded by everyone as good fellows and do not wish to get on to "bad terms with anybody".

Schkilar thought for a few moments. Suddenly a bright smile lit up his young face.

"All our workers are enthusiastic, and therefore all our plans are real. We feel that we are growing every day and every hour. Come and see us in a month's time and you will readily recognise our department." "It is only with regard to waste material that things are bad with us", sighed Ratner, "we only had more waste material", he said longingly.

"Yes, that is just our misfortune. Just look for example at the rolling mills. In the course of a day, a huge quantity of waste material accumulated there. But in spite of all rules and orders, it was impossible so to arrange things that this waste material was regularly delivered to our department. Then we hit upon the idea of challenging the rolling mills to a competition. And now things are going on all right."

We left the department accompanied by Schkilar, and met two workers dragging a length of steel rail.

"There", said Schkilar, "you have socialist competition in action. The workers in the rolling mills are bringing their waste material to us."

THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

The International Communist Children's Movement at the Parting of the Ways.

By R. Khitarow (Moscow).

Communist work among the children is of enormous importance for the development of the revolutionary movement, for it secures for us our greatest reserves for the future. And for the class struggles of the moment the struggle of the masses of the children is too a factor of considerable significance. We only need remember that the children of twelve and fourteen years of age, quite apart from the ever increasing role which they play in the process of capitalist production, will be called upon into the bourgeois army within a few years, in order to serve the ruling class with weapons in their hands. We see plainly the important part which must be played in our whole work by the reaching and organisation of the broad masses of the children for our aims.

It must however be admitted that at the present time the international communist children's movement is absolutely unsatisfactory. The international communist children's movement is passing through a serious crisis, for the reason that up to the present we have not solved the problem of the right methods of communist work among the children, and of the character and nature of the activities of the communist children's organisations.

Outside of the Soviet Union (with the exception of China in the Wuhan period) no country has been successful, in spite of the fact that the communist children's movement has existed for ten years, in creating mass organisations of the children. In Germany, the country with the largest children's organisation (in 1922 to 1923 the children's organisation in this country comprised 30,000 members), a steady decay of the organisation has been observable for some years, and at the present time the membership of the Young Spartacus League is scarcely 4000. In other countries matters are even worse. In France the children's organisations have shrunk to small groups. In Great Britain the organisation has almost disappeared. In Czechoslovakia, in Sweden, in Norway, and in the United States, the children's organisations count one to two thousand members.

It is clear that such a state of affairs must give rise to much anxiety as to the fate of the communist influence upon the "third generation". And it is equally clear that those chiefly to blame for the position are the Young Communist Leagues and the Young Communist International in their totality, for it is their task to undertake the immediate leadership of the children's movement. Up to the present, however, work among the children has taken a very subordinate place.

The Presidium of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. is now taking up the question of the children's movement in all seriousness. The E.C. of the Y.C.I. brought to light the necessity of a fundamental change in the character of the activities of our children's organisations, their working methods, and the structure of their organisations. It is imperative that the International Children's Week and the International Children's Rally, to be held in Halle in July this year, should be utilised to insure in actual practice the beginning of this fundamental change in the activities of the communist children's organisations in the capitalist countries.

What has hitherto been the fundamental error of the children's movement? The error has been that the structure of the children's organisations has been a faithful copy of the Party and Young Communist organisations. The children's organisations have endeavoured to imitate the adults in every respect, both in their working methods and their organisational structure. They have actually represented small "parties for children", and have attempted to build up their organisations on a uniform scheme, on the basis of works and school nuclei.

In actual practice this has caused the communist children's organisations to repeat mechanically the slogans of the Party and the Young Communists, without any adaptation to the psychology of the child, or to the peculiarities of the masses of the children. The rôle played by the children's organisations,

and their relations to the masses of the children and to other existing children's organisations has been taken to be parallel to the rôle played by the Party, that is, they have been regarded as vanguard organisations leading and guiding all other organisations. The questions of auxiliary organisations, and of "transmissions" to the masses, have been placed before the children's organisations precisely as before the Party and the Young Communists. It has been maintained that auxiliary organisations must be formed for them, in which they take the leading part, and that they must continue to exist illegally should they be prohibited, in order to guide from "underground", as illegal centre, the legal "non-party" organisations.

It must be added that this "ultra radicalism" on the part of the leaders of the children's organisations has by no means prevented them from employing entirely social democratic methods of work. However strange it may appear (in reality it is not strange at all), a large number of organisations — this applies to almost every country — have contrived to combine sectarian exclusiveness and pseudo-radicalism with a reformist erasure of class antagonisms. It is not by accident that our children's organisations have frequently been led by comrades who had just recently left ranks of Social Democracy, and by ladies of a philanthropic turn, whose allegiance to the communist movement is a matter of some doubt.

It is obvious that here a radical change is necessary. The fundamental idea upon which we must base the new methods of the children's movement is the following: **"We need, absolutely, really communist work among the children; we need a broad communist children's movement, but this does not necessarily mean a uniform children's organisation, built up on the one same scheme.** Work among children must be versatile, multifarious, adapted to the needs, interests, and peculiarities of the various strata and age groups of the children of the workers. **This many-sidedness of forms and methods of activity must correspond to a like many-sidedness in the forms of the organisations used to reach the children.**

In actual practice this signifies the necessity of creating the most varying forms of children's organisations: economic associations (of errand boys, newspaper sellers, and the like), sport and cultural organisations and circles, children's orchestras and choral societies, Scout organisations, etc., etc. And all this must be carried out under the consistent leadership of the Party and the Young Communists, in the form of communist children's organisations or merge in these, for they take their origin in the sphere of the non-party mass organisation. At the same time, however, the closest contact in work and a uniformity of leadership must be established (by means of forming cartels of revolutionary children's organisations etc.).

The new line of work will demand much of our organisations. It will be necessary to find cadres of competent and consistent members for the work among the children. It will be necessary to induce the aid of broad strata of experts, both members of the Party and non-party, but absolutely devoted to the cause — for instance teachers, musicians, sport teachers, etc. These skilled helpers are required for the formation of various children's organisations, and for their practical instruction. Serious effort must be made to reach the proletarian parents who are to participate, with the aid of the Party, in communist work in the schools, etc. And finally, measures must be taken to form a body of functionaries from the older groups, in order to carry on the work in the children's organisations on the basis of the creative independence of the masses of the children.

These are the fresh tasks set us in the field of the children's movement. They are tasks which must be fulfilled as rapidly as possible and with the utmost energy. By these means only can we create mighty "third" columns for the communist world army, acting simultaneously as its main reserves for the coming struggle. The struggle for the creation of a communist mass work, that struggles against "left" sectarian exclusiveness, mass work, that struggle against "left" sectarian exclusiveness, which forms at the present time the leading task of the Young Communist International and its sections. Hence the accomplishment of this task is at the same time to a great extent a test of the capability of our Young Communist organisations to accomplish in reality that turn towards mass work.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Three Million Women to be Drawn into Industry of the Soviet Union in the Next Three Years.

By A. G. (Moscow).

The woman at the machine, the woman in leading positions, on outpost duty in the class struggle, such things are nothing new with us. During the years 1926 to 1929 the number of women in industry grew from 643 000 to 804 000. In spite of the removal of all formal hindrances in the path of the development of women's work, we are still far from real equality between man and woman. In industry the number of women amounts to only 28.9 per cent, in the building trades to 4.4 per cent on the railways 8.5 per cent, and it is only in the cultural institutions and in agriculture that women have won the place due to them.

There exist numerous reasons for the slow drawing of women into socialist work of construction. But in the first place the following reasons are decisive: the excess of male labour forces in the proletarian centres and the backwardness of technic, which in many cases prevented the women from performing factory work. It is not a mere chance that the first plan for the extension of women's work was elaborated at a time of particularly intensive reconstruction, when the problem of the cadres arose and the mechanisation of the production processes opened up for women new possibilities to capture a firm position in industry.

The plan of an extended employment of women's labour in the remaining three years of the Five-Year Plan was discussed at one of the last sessions of the Presidium of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union. This plan ought to be called the economic programme for achieving the actual equality of women. It suffices to point out that in these three years three million women will be employed in wage work that is almost half of the total increase in the number of wage workers. If we bear in mind that the population of the cities capable of work will in 1932/33 be 12 per cent higher than in 1929/30, this means that the number of housewives will be reduced by 13 per cent.

The three-year plan of women's work lays down exactly how many women are to be drawn into each industrial branch and each profession. Particularly worth mentioning is the fact that women will make a decisive step towards capturing a position in heavy industry. The participation of working women in engineering will increase from 6.8 per cent to 22.5 per cent.

The number of women in the building trades will be tenfold in the transport system double. The number of women engineers and technicians will increase to 20,000. Women will also capture firm positions in the socialist sector of agriculture. 1.3 million women will be trained as tractor drivers.

In order to be able to draw greater masses of women into professional work, women must be accorded an appropriate place in the school. For this purpose the number of female apprentices in industry will in the year 1931/32 be increased to 40 per cent of the available places reserved for the youth, attaining 50 per cent at the end of the Five-Year Plan. In the secondary and high schools, in the mass trade schools and in the general courses women will constitute 30 per cent, 450 per cent and even 50 per cent of the pupils.

The envisaged plan of the development of public feeding as well as the development of children's education will gradually free women from kitchen work and child rearing.

The plan of women's work approved by the Presidium of the Planned Economic Commission of the Soviet Union will at the same time form the basis for practical measures to draw women into the factories. This plan will be issued as directives in the control figures of 1930/31 and will serve as a basis for the further elaboration of all questions connected with the development of women's work.