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The New Bourgeois Dictatorship Programme in Germany.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

Germany on the eve of an open coup d'état! That is the situation which the Brüning Cabinet has rendered obvious by its new "proclamation to the People". Brüning is determined himself to play the role which certain circles of German finance capital had allotted to Hitler. He wants to push Parliament aside; the Reichstag will either be dissolved without re-elections (which would mean a breach of the Constitution), or it will be prorogued for at least six months in order that the government can "work undisturbed", which would also involve a breach of the Constitution.

With an empty Napoleonic gesture Brüning, the dictator, addresses himself to the "people" over the head of Parliament, which now only appears to him as superfluous ballast. He wishes to submit his dictatorship programme to the people—to the same people which has most emphatically declared at the elections that it does not want to have anything more to do with Brüning. Of course, the government programme will be submitted to the Reichstag and its parties, but this, as the "Kölnische Volkszeitung" divulged a few days previously, is a mere formality. There is the programme! The Parties can only say yes or no. "If it is not possible to govern with the Reichstag, an attempt must be made to rescue Germany by other means" declares the "Kölnische Volkszeitung".

The dictatorship programme which Brüning has now submitted to the "people", as regards its anti-Labour character, surpasses everything which Germany has experienced since the notorious dictatorial orders and decrees issued by General

Seeckt in 1923. The government demands a general reduction of wages and promises the employers its full support in this respect. At the same time, it intends to cut down the wages of all civil servants and officials in the Reich, in the provinces, in the municipalities and public institutions by 6 per cent. Fresh heavy burdens are to be placed on the workers: 200 millions marks are to be raised by an increase of 2 per cent in the workers' contributions to the unemployment insurance; at the same time unemployment benefit is to be further cut down. In addition, a fresh burden is to be placed on the masses by an increase of the tobacco tax by 167 million marks. Further the expenditure of all public bodies is to be limited, which means that all social services and expenditure on education etc. will be cut down. Finally, under the pretext of regulating housing, 400 millions out of the rent tax, which has hitherto been employed for house building, will be withdrawn and applied in reducing the property tax, while at the same time the tenants' protection is to be abolished.

Monstrous as these new burdens are in themselves, they are all the more provocative when it is remembered that at the same time the possessing class are granted huge "presents". For Brüning not only intends, as he says, to cover the deficit in the Reichs budget, which is again estimated at 900 millions, but he wishes in the first place to make sure of the allegiance of the groups of German capitalists upon whose support he relies, by making them handsome presents: the industrialists by reducing the direct taxes by 320 millions and the corporation

tax by 100 million; the house owners by abolishing all rent restrictions; the agrarian capital by customs duties, subventions and tax exemption; and bank capital by lowering the capital turnover tax. "Each gets his share" while the working class receives all the burdens.

The National Socialists are very disappointed by this action of the Chancellor. Their prospects of participating in a coalition have vanished for the time being. The Centre has wrecked these prospects because, as the Reichsminister of the Interior, Dr. Wirth, declared, a government alliance with the Hitler Party would disintegrate the Centre, i. e. drive its working class supporters into the arms of the Communists. Strong as the pressure exercised by trust capital on the Centre in the direction of a coalition with the National Socialists was, the anxiety of the leading politicians of the Centre that their party should not share the fate incurred by the other bourgeois parties at the elections was still greater.

The National Socialists are now playing the role of deceived deceivers. They are foaming and raging at being placed on one side. It was all for nothing that Hitler declared on oath before the Leipzig court that he hoped to obtain power only by constitutional means: all for nothing were the attempts to win the sympathy of the Rothermere press in England and the Hearst press in America; all for nothing Hitler's readiness to carry out the Young Plan! The National Socialist Party has by these declarations seriously compromised itself in the eyes of the six million electors who gave it their vote, without, however, having received in return the eagerly-desired ministerial seats. This explains the fury of the *"Völkischer Beobachter"*, which in response to the mere announcement of Brüning's programme in the *"Kölnische Zeitung"* has opened the fight against "securing the rule of the Centre", which is the driving force of this programme, whines over the breach of the Constitution which is intended, and threatens Reichs-president Hindenburg with impeachment before the High Court should he set his approval to this.

Brüning himself does not reckon upon the social democracy accepting his dictatorship programme: at least the *"Kölnische Volkszeitung"* asserts, in the article already quoted, that there is very little probability of their doing so. The social democracy would undoubtedly continue their grovelling before the Hindenburg-Brüning dictatorship; but to vote openly for it would be very risky, in face of the exceedingly great ferment among their working class followers. The article which appeared in the *"Vorwärts"* on 1st of October, after summing up those parts of the programme which are hostile to Labour says: "Truly a programme quite after the heart of the Economic

Party and of the People's Party. But it does not betray by a word what the social democracy thinks of doing in regard to this programme. This is all the more important, as Brüning has already officially got into touch with the social democracy: he has negotiated with the social democratic prime minister of Prussia, Otto Braun, and, as the *"Berliner Tageblatt"* reports, with the official party representatives of the S.P. of Germany, Hermann Müller and Wels. The *"Vorwärts"* does not mention a word about this! It is obvious that the S.P.G. wants to keep its hands free to adopt any course.

Nevertheless one must bear in mind that at the present juncture the German bourgeoisie does not desire any co-operation with the social democracy. It wants the dictatorship. It wishes to exclude Parliament. In addition, rumours are current to the effect that Brüning plans to replace the Minister for the Defence Gröner, who has been compromised in the Leipzig Officers' Trial, by General von Schleicher, the leader of the ultra-reactionary active officers' clique, in order to secure the carrying out of his dictatorship by means of military power.

The new situation to which Brüning's action has given rise, means a renewed and exceedingly sharp intensification of the inner political situation in Germany. The German bourgeoisie is playing a dangerous game. It wishes to do away with all outward show of Parliamentary democracy; but then the class fronts will face each other all the more sharply and clearly. The policy of Brüning, which he wishes to carry out with his dictatorship programme, is the same policy which since April last, not once but from week to week, suffered a fiasco. It will not alleviate the economic crisis but only further intensify it. It will only render still more acute the inner political antagonisms. It is a hazardous game which may cost the German bourgeoisie dear.

In this situation the Communist Party of Germany is faced by enormous tasks. It is the power round which the German working class must rally for the fight against the dictatorship. It will have to withstand the fiercest attacks of the dictatorship; it will have to reckon with the most ruthless oppression, prohibition and dissolution. But the Communist Party of Germany has in the last few months, as the elections have so plainly shown, greatly increased in strength. It has won great confidence among the proletarian masses. It has shown that it is capable of placing itself at the head of the German working class. It is now up to the C.P.G. supported by the masses of workers and unemployed and by the solidarity of the entire working population, to organise the fight against the Brüning dictatorship and to develop it into a mass fight, into the political mass strike.

The Meeting of the League of Nations and the Fight against the Soviet Union.

By Gabriel Péri (Geneva).

The Annual meeting of the League of Nations has not yet ended. But it is already possible to draw some important conclusions from the debates at Geneva. What has been the fate of Briand's draft of a European Federation and what lessons are furnished by the discussion of this question?

1. The first lesson. France's attempt to create alongside of the Geneva organisation a more confined and limited system, but which should be subjected to French imperialism, has proved a failure in the form which Briand wished to give it. Right from the first moment this attempt encountered the determined resistance of Great Britain, Germany and Italy.

The European Conference on 7th September confirmed the failure of the step taken by France. The resolution adopted there undoubtedly expresses a purely formal approval of the principle of European co-operation but refuses to declare how this principle can be applied. Briand would very much like to have been at least commissioned to call together a meeting of the European representatives as soon as he considered the time suitable for so doing. This pleasure has been denied him.

The tendencies which permeated the European conference were still more apparent in the course of the debate at the *Principles of Nations* meeting. In order that there should be no *Principles of Standing*, Henderson once again reminded the gather-

ing of Great Britain's reply to Briand's memorandum. The Italian delegate Scialoja moved that a Committee be elected which should find a definition for the expression "European", which, as Scialoja said, is much more ticklish than one might imagine. Curtius demanded that all the powers be invited to participate in the Committee, which shall be instructed to deal with the European question, including the Soviet Union, Turkey, United States and Brazil which are not members of the League of Nations. Finally, Briand received the honourable position of chairman of the Committee, but Sir Eric Drummond, the secretary of the League of Nations, is its general secretary.

2. In our opinion it is somewhat naive, and therefore erroneous, to speak of a final shelving of the European project.

In order to conceal the real driving forces behind the French project, Briand did not hesitate to say that he would abandon his draft if he considered it possible that it could in any way weaken the Geneva organisation.

3. This tactic has not failed to have an effect. Thus, for example, there is no doubt that the Pan-European project of Briand has strengthened the bonds between France and its allies in Central and Eastern Europe. In fact the parties deriving

advantage from the treaties of 1919 have never before confirmed with so much brutality their determination to defend with all means the provisions of the peace treaties of 1919.

This coalition between France and her allies was very plainly shown on the occasion of the debate on the minorities. The counter-blow on the part of the succession States was organised with a masterly hand under the supervision of France right down to its smallest details. Poland and the Powers of the Little Entente held various conferences; in the sixth Commission they opposed an iron-front to the exceedingly modest and sober proposals of Messrs. Koch-Weser and Curtius, the representatives of Germany. One of the most reliable allies of French imperialism, the Yugoslav delegate, went so far as to declare that if the Council of the League were to alter the procedure of Madrid, Yugoslavia would attach no importance to its recommendations. The Franco-Polish-Little Entente block delivered its attack with so much force that the British delegate Buxton, who belongs to the Labour Party and upon whose support the German delegation had reckoned, stammered only a few confused declarations and finally came down on the side of the victors of 1919.

4. The Geneva meeting was prepared by a most fierce attack on the alleged "dumping" of the Soviet Union. The "Journal de Genève", which is under the immediate influence of Ligue Aubert and the Georgian Menshevik, has become the zealous champion of this new campaign and one can say that the majority of the Powers are inspired by the will to organise a fight against Soviet economy.

Especially significant in this respect was the proposal formulated by the Austrian Federal Chancellor Schober. He stated that, failing a general European co-operation, which is hard to realise, certain Powers with the same economic interests and having to meet a common danger, should come to a mutual agreement.

As an example of these forms of limited economic co-operation a great set out was made over the three Conferences at Bucharest, Sinaia and Warsaw. In the meantime the Lithuanian delegate, Zaunius, by an allusion to the Conference of Warsaw, betrayed its true anti-Soviet character. He demanded that in future such Conferences should be called by the League of Nations, and not on the initiative of a single State, in order, as he said, that these Conferences should not appear to be directed against a State or a group of States. The Memorandum of the Warsaw Conference formed the subject of a special study of the Economic Commission. This Memorandum envisages an organised and constant collaboration of the States which took part in the Conference, whereby the endeavours of all participants are to be brought into harmony. On the proposal of the Rumanian Minister Virgile Madgearu, the Commission dealt with the question of Soviet "dumping".

The French Minister Flandin proposed that the big States arrive at an understanding in order to finance stores, credits etc. To this proposal Madgearu declared in an interview given to the French journalist Marcel Ray:

We are exceedingly grateful to the French Minister for his initiative, which we regard as a very important extension of our organisation; but the population of Central and Eastern Europe is suffering and calling for immediate aid. In all our countries the purchasing power of the peasantry is rapidly declining and the taxation revenue is falling. In Rumania, exports from January to July fell by 20 per cent; finally, we are becoming more and more disturbed over the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union. Owing to all these reasons we cannot wait.

The fight against the Soviet Union completely dominated the Geneva debate. Whilst the statesmen of the League of Nations adopted decisions, the white Russians defiled under the Arc de triumph in Paris, the provocations increased in Manchuria, and Poland and Rumania made preparations for the approaching visit of General Franchet D'Esperey.

It is no mere chance that the assembly of the League of Nations held its discussions under the chairmanship of his excellency Titulescu, Ambassador of King Carol, a representative of the most hateful form of fascism and a bitter opponent of the Soviet Union.

POLITICS

A New Move by the British Imperialists.

By W. Rust (London).

On the eve of the opening of the Imperial Conference a move of extraordinary importance has been made by the leading British capitalists. A big conference attended by 200 of the biggest and most representative capitalists in Great Britain, and representing an aggregate capital of £ 450 million, decided to form a **National Council for Industry and Commerce**. The meaning of this move was made clear in the Circular calling the meeting which was signed by such prominent industrialists as **Lord Melchett**, the chemical king, and **Mr. Evan Williams**, the President of the Mining Association. This circular stated:

"The British people today are tired of the waste and extravagance of successive Governments and of the slavish adherence of political parties to economic theories which have lost all relation to the facts of modern business life.

The National Council will be a body of British businessmen determined, if it is humanly possible, to restore prosperity to their country and to ensure employment for its people.

To this end its object will be to secure the adoption of proper measures for protecting the home market and to advance the cause of inter-Empire trade by every possible means.

It will endeavour to achieve in our own time some of the blessings which will flow from the concerted will of the Nations of a United British Commonwealth."

Many of the signatories of the above circular are associated with the British Chambers of Commerce which recently issued a statement demanding economies in unemployment insurance, social services and education.

If any doubt existed as to the meaning of the formation of this National Council, it was dispelled by the speech of **Sir William Morris**, the big motor car magnate, who presided:

"Now we come to the crux of the whole matter", said Sir William Morris. "What we want is a strong Government — (cheers and a voice: "Strong man") — a government of men who know what they are talking about — (cheers) — a Government of men who understand business — (cheers) — which is something we have been without far too long. (Hear Hear.)

"I go so far as to say that the workmen of this country are neither Bolsheviks nor Socialistic. (Hear Hear.) I am quite content on that. But what they are wanting is a real leader, and I am quite content that the workmen of this country, given a real leader, will follow him, as I would" (a voice: "As one man").

The establishment of the National Council for Industry and Commerce is a declaration of war on the working class, and an amazingly quick jump to Fascism. The meaning of this dramatic development cannot be mistaken. In the words of Lord Beaverbrooke's "Daily Express" "the employers have set up their Council of Action". They have openly proclaimed a class war and are threatening to sweep aside the legal trappings of parliamentary Government when they can find a Hitler or Mussolini to lead them.

The resolution adopted by the Conference of capitalists was the usual type of resolution now being passed by the employers all over the country. It demanded the "imposition of appropriate tariffs against imports from foreign nations", and "a drastic reduction of taxation". The capitalists did not talk about wage-cuts at this meeting, but only because the wage cut plans are already settled. Over 2,500,000 workers are directly threatened with wage-cuts in the coming months. This especially applies to the so-called sheltered industries (building, transport, municipal employees, etc.) which are not likely to benefit from a tariff policy.

The capitalists also made decisions regarding political and parliamentary activity which will deepen the crisis in the Conservative Party, and still further increase the divisions in

all bourgeois parties. It was decided to put forward candidates at elections in the event of existing candidates not giving a satisfactory answer to the questions of National Council. This means that a new kind of political Party appears on the scene in addition to the United Empire Party, recently formed by Lord Rothermere, and Beaverbrook's Empire Crusade, which however is confining its work to inside the Conservative Party.

Present at the meeting was **Sir Robert Horne**, the leader of the Conservative Party and former Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose name is freely spoken of as a possible substitute for Baldwin, the present Conservative leader, whose days are numbered.

The setting up of the National Council and the cry for a strong man and a strong Government, shows the capitalists are becoming more and more contemptuous of parliamentary institutions and more and more afraid of the growing resistance of the working class. They are becoming less inclined to rely upon their political parties and the traditions of constitutionalism. The leaders of this new organisation scorn the feebleness of the other capitalist parties and threaten to run candidates against them. But if the capitalist dictatorship exercised through parliament will not give them what they want, then to Hell with the constitution. Their aim is ultimately to make the National Council an organ of Fascist dictatorship.

"What this movement of businessmen means", says the **"Evening Standard"**, another paper of Lord Beaverbrooks, "is that in desperation they have resolved to do what for too long they have waited for the politicians to do for them". And what are these desperate capitalists going to do? They are going to seize the weapon of tariffs in order to strike a double blow, at the enemy within and without, namely, foreign imperialism, and the British working class. They have declared for 1) an all-round reduction in wages, especially in the so-called sheltered trades; 2) introduction of tariffs; 3) a drastic reduction of taxation (cuts in unemployment benefit, health insurance, education, etc.).

The day before the National Council was formed, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and the Federation of the British industries issued a joint statement on Empire Economic Unity. This, the first memorandum jointly issued by the T.U.C. and the F.B.I. can be regarded as nothing less than an endorsement by the General Council of the Fascist National Council of Trade and Commerce. The whole machinery of the Labour Party and Trade Union is now being mobilised by the capitalists in order to speed up the carrying through of the new Empire policy and offensive against the working class. It is the task of the Labour Government at the Imperial Conference to carry out the decisions which the capitalists have made already regarding the complete change in Britain's fiscal policy.

Against the imperialists of all shades, the **Communist Party** is organising a united front of the workers in the fight against Fascism and food taxes. Fascism is raising its ugly head in Great Britain, and becomes all the more menacing because of the existence of the Labour Government, whose treacherous policy is driving large numbers into the Rothermere, Melchett camp. The development of British Fascism is bound up with the new economic policy of the capitalist class, the change-over from free trade to Protection, i. e. tariffs on imports, including food.

Political Crisis Beginning in Czechoslovakia.

By Ludwig Freund (Prague).

For four days, from the 22nd to 26th September, Prague was the scene of big fascist demonstrations, the ostensible cause being the showing of a number of German tone films in numerous Prague cinemas. On Wednesday and Thursday these demonstrations assumed a violent character. The crowd broke the windows of the cinemas where the films were being shown and also the windows of the German Casino, of German cafés, of the German theatre and of numerous German and Jewish shops, and in two cases demolished the interior fittings of the cinemas. The police showed the greatest indulgence and let the fascist mob do as it pleased without firing in any way.

Because of ~~the~~ ^{the} League of Nations possess exceedingly great importance with the whole political situation in Czechoslovakia.

slovakia. Today it is perfectly clear that the petty bourgeois and semi-proletarian supporters of the old bourgeois parties are beginning to stir; that they are beginning to lose trust in these parties and that these masses are to be used for creating a fascist mass movement. For this purpose the two fascist groups, Stribny and Gaida, are proceeding in an exceedingly clever and demagogic manner. They are attacking before all the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia and the man responsible for it, the national socialist Minister Benes, who only at the beginning of this year returned home from the Paris Conference after having pledged the country to pay about 100 million crowns annually as reparations, who apologized to the Italian Ambassador on account of the way the Czech press wrote regarding the Trieste execution, and who has now apologized to the German Ambassador for the recent fascist demonstrations. They also outwardly are directing their attacks against the participation of the Germans in the government. Their chief slogan today is: for a real national State of the Czechs and Slovaks".

There can be no doubt that these attempts to create a fascist mass movement in Czechoslovakia are directly inspired by finance capital. The national democratic Party of Kramer, the Party of the Zivnostenska Banka, supports the Stribny and Gaida fascists in a similar way to which the German national party of Hagenberg supports the Hitler people. But also the other bourgeois parties and the Czech national socialists quite openly supported the demonstrations in the first days and expressly praised the action, or better said the lack of action, of the police against the "excesses".

The buttress of social fascism no longer suffices finance capital, for, as a result of the extremely acute and constantly growing economic crisis, the masses of the working class are beginning to leave the social fascist parties, which not only throttle their economic and political struggles, but as parties in the government decide upon and carry out all the measures aiming at the further impoverishment of the toiling masses.

This process is also accompanied by friction in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Whilst finance capital sharply combats every increase in direct taxation, the agrarian parties, which base themselves upon broad masses of the small and middle peasants, are compelled, in view of the radicalisation of the masses of small peasants and their threatening exodus from the agrarian parties, to throw them a few crumbs in order to quieten them. The same can be said of the German and Czech social democratic parties, which have to keep their followers, the masses of workers and employees, faithful to the government by throwing them a few crumbs. This friction recently found open expression in the national question.

Under the pressure of the working peasants, the leaders of the Farmers' Union, although represented in the government, are now sharply attacking the present economic and national government policy, and it is assumed that this Party will soon leave the government. The German social democracy, likewise a government party, is also forced to manoeuvre on account of the extraordinary discontent of the German working class. It convened a national Conference of the Party and of the trade unions for the 7th of September at Prague, where in a demagogic manner it was pointed out that misery and national suppression prevailed in the German districts, a number of demands were set up, but finally willingness "to co-operate with the government" was expressed.

Of particular interest is the fact that the process of disintegration has obviously seized most strongly the Czech national socialist party. This party is, so to speak, a synthesis of national and social fascism. It owes its existence to the fact that in former Austria the social struggle of the toiling Czech masses was conducted against the German bourgeoisie. This party, supported by broad masses of petty bourgeois, but also of employees and workers (for instance a great portion of the Prague metal workers, railwaymen and postal employees) has allegedly conducted a national and social struggle. Its aim was a national and social Republic, and today its supporters are profoundly disappointed. It is the fascist group of Stribny which is leaving this party under the pretence that it has betrayed the national ideals. The working class followers of this party, on the other hand, are not in agreement with its policy of impoverishment. Thus the party is vacillating in the present situation. One thing is certain: this party has

broad masses of its followers to the fascists, whilst a portion of its working class followers are turning to the Left.

It is very likely that also in Czechoslovakia, as in Germany and Austria, the government will before long make a turn to the Right and throw the social democracy overboard, because this party will be better able to play its role as agents of finance capital in the opposition than in the government. But it is likely that the German bourgeois parties will not remain long in the government.

This enhanced fascist development in Czechoslovakia is only checked by the growing development to the Left on the part of the workers, the petty bourgeois and the small peasants. The influence of the Communist Party is growing, as is shown by a number of election results of late. The Party must and will exert all its forces in order to weld together, under the flag of Communism, the masses of the workers, petty bourgeois and small peasants, for the fight against the fascist dictatorship and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

GERMANY

The Road to Freedom!

Speech Delivered by Comrade Thälmann on the Tasks of the C.P.G. After the Election Victory of 14th September 1930.

We publish in shortened form the speech delivered by Comrade Thälmann as reported in the *Rote Fahne*. Ed.

We can say that our election victory was determined not only by the objective situation, which was undoubtedly favourable for us; our election victory in Germany, and especially in Berlin, is a further proof, a complete confirmation of the correct Bolshevik line of the Communist Party of Germany. This election victory has confirmed in every detail the decisions of the Comintern, of the VI. World Congress and of the Wedding Party Congress of the C.P.G.

Our victory is at the same time of tremendous international importance. We have defeated not only the social democracy in Germany but also the II. International. We have succeeded in doing this thanks to the support of the Comintern, whose correct revolutionary decisions have led to a great victory of our Communist world Party.

It can be said that the bourgeoisie judges the result of our election success in connection with the severe crisis of capitalism in Germany and attributes the success of the Communist Party to the general discontent with the present Young system of the reactionary government. In addition, it is generally agreed that the result of the elections in Germany means to a certain extent a plebiscite of the population against the Young-Plan and the Treaty of Versailles.

The press abroad, too, displays great concern. The greatest existement is shown by the French and Polish papers. It is certainly no trifle when millions cast their votes against the Young slavery and Young exploitation. We have become the strongest Party in the most important strongholds; in Berlin, the capital of Germany and the seat of the government of the bourgeoisie; in the Lower Rhine district; in Düsseldorf, the seat of heavy industry; in Halle-Merseburg, the most important district of the chemical trust. In numerous other industrial towns the Party has grown, has broken the former dominance of social democracy and won the majority of the workers. This result constitutes a tremendous extra-Parliamentary victory of the revolutionary proletariat in the whole of Germany.

Our election victory was achieved by our pledge to continue to fight the capitalist system until the final victory of the revolution, against all class enemies who support the present State.

Our programme for the social and national emancipation of Germany undoubtedly played a decisive role both in regard to the election result and in combating fascism.

Of course, national emancipation is impossible without social emancipation. In a situation in which the toiling millions are pining under the double slavery of the German bourgeoisie and of the foreign imperialists and their will to freedom is growing, it was necessary for us to lay special

emphasis not only on our attitude regarding the social emancipation of the toilers, which is well known to the masses, but, in accordance with the present special requirements of the situation, on our Leninist standpoint for the national emancipation of the workers of Germany, which is much less known to the masses, and to push it into the foreground as a central question of our whole fight. Therefore, we say with full right: fight for the national and social emancipation of the German people. Our programme of emancipation is and remains a most important instrument for mobilising the masses for Communism.

In spite of the sober examination of all shortcomings and weaknesses in our mass work which have been revealed in the election fight, we must nevertheless say that we have emerged from this election campaign as the only victors on the huge front of the toiling population of Germany who are marching boldly forward. One can in no way compare the election gains of the national socialists with the victory of the C.P.G. Let us take, for example, the fact that here in Berlin the followers of fascism have not increased so much as in other parts of Germany. That is undoubtedly not a mere chance. Here in Berlin, the seat of the Central Committee of our Party, the decisions of the Polbureau on the fight against fascism, which were approved and emphasised by the Plenum of the C.C., were carried out most rapidly in the lower Party organisations, thereby rendering it possible here in Berlin to deal fascism harder blows and to accelerate its disintegration.

We must neither underestimate nor overestimate the development of fascism in Germany. We must rigorously oppose any tendency to represent to the masses in too gloomy colours the success of the Nazis. Whoever does that fails to see the contradictory, shaky basis upon which the Nazis have achieved their temporary election success.

On the other hand, of course, underestimation of the fascist danger is exceedingly harmful. We must raise our warning voice within the working class far beyond the limits of our Party. In the Socialist Party of Germany, for example, there is to be found the following attitude: let the national socialists make a mess of things in the government and then we shall again come into office. Such an attitude is a serious danger to the German working class, for of course fascism, after its election victory, will proceed outside of Parliament more and more brutally against the millions of toilers in Germany. In addition, such an attitude is bound to weaken the fighting spirit against the fascist plans.

We must fight with all energy against those in our own ranks who say that we should not so sharply increase the fight against national socialism, because we thereby weaken the fight against the policy of the S.P.G. The exact contrary is true. The more we increase the fight against capitalism, and against fascism the more we create the precondition for convincing the masses that we are the only anti-capitalist, the only anti-fascist party. Only thus can we convince the working masses that they must join the proletarian united front with us in the fight against reaction.

The fight against fascism gives us quite new possibilities of winning social democratic workers for our red front. We are faced with the task of convincing the workers by facts that the reformist leaders can never fight against fascism; that they are no longer their class comrades, but representatives of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the working class. We must show from the policy of the S.P.G. leaders that with the development of fascism in Germany the line of the social democratic Party will approach considerably nearer to fascism. Precisely therefore it is our task especially to strengthen the belief among the social democratic workers that the Communists and social democratic workers can act together.

In Germany we stand at the parting of ways. The one way, which the bourgeoisie is pursuing, is the carrying out of the Young Plan, the way of fascism, the open fascist dictatorship. The other way is that which leads to the proletarian power; breaking of the Young fetters and fulfilment of our emancipation programme. That is the way to freedom, to the victory of the proletarian dictatorship, of real proletarian democracy in Germany.

We must show that the fascists act as reliable partners of the bourgeoisie; that they support all reactionary measures against the workers. Precisely here it is necessary to prove this on an international scale. I mention three examples where fascism is appearing as a "solution" of the crisis. In Poland Pilsudski is endeavouring to bridge over the crisis with fascist methods. Mussolini, with his fascist methods, is arousing the resistance of the industrial workers and of the poor peasants. Horthy with his methods is only rousing the peasants to fight against his system of fascism.

And one thing more: We must in this connection contrast the development in Germany with that in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union there is no collapse, no crisis, no unemployment, no Young Plan which is throttling the masses, but magnificent progress, rapid building up of socialism, which must arouse the enthusiasm of all workers, including those in the camp of the enemy.

Against the fighting front of all the class enemies of the toilers we must set up the united front of the revolutionary proletariat and of all toilers. The huge election success of the Communist Party renders it incumbent on us to develop with tenfold greater determination than before, inside and outside of Parliament, the fight against the present system, against the Young Plan and the capitalist regime. We alone can forge the front of solidarity between the unemployed and employed workers. We alone can organise with the weapon of taxation strike the fight of the workers, peasants and impoverished middle classes against the taxes and impositions. We alone can launch and conduct the strikes of the workers. Only we are capable of linking up all these questions with the political fundamental questions of our fight against the fascist methods of government.

The Communist Party, which carried on its fight not for Parliamentary seats but for the masses of the working people, will now, after the election victory, not become lax but will push forward. Also within the coming Reichstag we shall launch our attack in close connection with the mass fight outside Parliament against the policy of the bourgeoisie and against the whole system of Young Germany.

Our first demand will be the unconditional cessation of payment of tribute under the robber Young Plan, which we shall move in the Reichstag. Here the Nazis have to show their true colours.

Further, we shall introduce into the Reichstag a large scale programme of retrenchment which will show the working masses what millions and millions out of the taxes paid by the working people are squandered on pensions to generals and ministers, on the Reichswehr and the police and all other parasites of the capitalist exploiter-State, and how these sums can be saved.

Further, we shall introduce by special motion the demands for work and bread, with the simultaneous introduction of the 7-hour day without wage reductions.

In addition, the Communist Party will immediately take up in the Reichstag the fight for increasing the taxation of millionaires and all the big property owners and for the reduction of the taxes payable by the masses.

At the same time we shall demand a number of far-reaching, drastic emergency measures in support of the suffering middle classes, as well as of the poor peasants and for combating monopoly capital.

We shall move a vote of no-confidence against the Brüning government, and at the same time move the repeal of all predatory and unconstitutional emergency orders and compulsory measures.

Finally, the Communist Party in Prussia and all other provinces will immediately take up the fight for the dissolution of the diets, the Reichstag election having shown what a glaring contradiction there exists between these bodies and the real opinion of the people.

It is clear that in examining the result of the election and drawing from it the lessons for the future, we as a Communist Party must energetically employ the method of Bolshevik self-criticism, because we know that for the Communist Party this self-criticism is an important factor for developing and increasing not only our own forces, but in particular the initiative of the masses. What fundamental questions must we place in the foreground today?

The election result shows that there exists a tremendous disparity between the great and constantly growing influence which we have in Germany and our organisational consolida-

tion. It is therefore necessary to take in hand the following tasks:

Firstly, we saw in this election campaign that our Party was very often rather late in concentrating its forces on the workshops and factories. This applies also to Berlin. As a matter of fact we have even a partial decline in our factory nuclei. This weakness must be removed as soon as possible.

This foundation for our policy in the factories and workshops acquires a much greater importance when we consider the possibility of the Party being prohibited. It is true, the Labour Exchanges and street nuclei also play a role, but the decisive basis of our whole activity lies in the factories, especially the big factories. The political centre must be directly in the factory.

Secondly, if we glance back at the development of the revolutionary trade union opposition of late we cannot help observing the greatest organisational weaknesses. In Germany we have five million workers organised in the free trade unions, in addition to the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker unions. We have in our hands the local branches which have been expelled and which are affiliated to the revolutionary trade union opposition, and we have various (often badly functioning) fractions within the trade unions.

We are confronted with the task of registering all revolutionary workers, whether organised or unorganised, in the factory groups of the Red Trade Union Opposition. We must do away with our timidity and in place of cards issue membership books, and adopt organisational measures in order, step by step, to strengthen our position in the masses because the development of events is confronting the Party with new tasks.

In the present situation economic struggles no longer bear the same character as formerly, but assume the character of political struggle, because they are no longer directed solely against the employers, but against the State, the police, fascism, social fascism, against all measures of oppression and all attempts to throttle strikes.

In such a situation we must clear the path for drawing fresh thousands of trade union organised workers, and the many millions of unorganised workers, into the revolutionary class struggle. Much more revolutionary elan and a far stronger mental initiative are necessary in order to reach the masses in the factories, in the trade unions and at the Labour Exchanges (no matter whether they be men, women or young proletarians) in order to draw them into the revolutionary trade union mass organisation of Germany.

The third question which we are endeavouring to solve is how can we organisationally consolidate the tendencies which exist in the German proletariat, particularly among the social democratic workers, and even still more among the non-party workers, against fascism. We know that in this election campaign the red election helpers have done great work. In the present situation this election helpers' movement must not be dissolved by us but we must give it new tasks. We appeal to these election helpers, together with the factory defence corps, and the unemployed, to strengthen the fight on our side against fascism. We must endeavour to create a new anti-fascist organisation which shall come forward as a decisive fighting organ against fascism in Germany alongside of the Communist Party and the red front fighters' league, which last cannot be prohibited and which is still carrying on the fight.

Fourthly, the tremendous influx of new members and those who gave us their votes is not yet concluded. Thousands more must come into the Party. The Party has become so enormously strong that it is capable of winning fresh fighters in order to fulfil its historical task. But it is important not only to recruit new members, but also to employ comrade methods in order to retain the members.

In all districts the foundation must be created for reinvigorating the Party with new elements. It is necessary in this connection to concentrate on the big factories, on the railways and other means of transport which will later on have a great strategical importance for us.

When we closely examine the election results we see that the great majority of women voted for the bourgeois parties. Nevertheless our position among the working women has become much stronger. We must now increase our work among the working women and among the proletarian

housewives, because according to the latest statistics 42 per cent of all women in Germany follow an occupation.

At the same time it is necessary to represent the concrete demands of the millions of young workers. In the sphere of our rural work, in the main centres of fascism, among the small peasants and land proletarians, we must work out new methods of influencing these elements and allying them with the proletariat in the towns. We must give every functionary who works in the factory the possibility of enriching his ideological knowledge. Every district committee, including the Berlin organisation, must try to find such methods of work that a fresh breeze, a new bold offensive spirit stirs the Party and the masses outside of the Party.

In Berlin we have polled 738,000 votes. We must win new cadres from these masses in order to rejuvenate the Party. For us, after this tremendous election victory, there must be no slackening of effort, no resting on our oars. On the contrary, the stronger we become, the more we advance among the masses, the greater sacrifice every Communist must make for our victorious cause. Every Communist must be an agitator and fighter for Soviet Germany; every Communist must become a leader of the masses, who knows how to rally the workers and toilers round the banner of revolution.

Our programme of emancipation, this document, which is of the greatest historical importance, will now, when the elections have shown the great advance we have made, become the signal for our ever stronger, ever bolder fight against the Young-rule of capitalist Germany. It is now necessary to popularise the different sections of our programme of emancipation among the masses and to awaken new millions for the fighting front of the starving against the surfeited.

Soviet Germany will bring the masses bread, freedom and power! For Soviet Germany we are advancing and fighting as the Party which defends the interests of all toilers against all class enemies of the proletariat. Exert all forces, weld together the iron fighting front in order that there shall arise on the ruins of Young Germany the free socialist Soviet Germany. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The Result of the German Reichstag Elections.

By Karl Radek.

The result of the elections in Germany has called forth the greatest excitement on the part of the bourgeois press not only in Germany but also in the whole world. The Stock Exchange, this barometer which correctly indicates approaching storm and tempest, has reacted to the election result with a big drop in the price of a number of the best German securities. The Stock Exchange senses the approaching danger; world capital however, and in the first place German capitalism, is so weak that it fears the approaching storm.

The German Bourgeoisie Losing the Confidence of the Masses.

The first thing that strikes the eye when one closely examines the election results is the loss of 3 million votes sustained by the historical parties of industrial, commercial and agrarian capital of Germany. The German National People's Party (the former Conservative Party), the German People's Party (the former National Liberal Party) and also the State Party (the former Progressive Party) have all sustained tremendous losses in this election. The first two of these three parties constituted in the past the leading cadre of German polities. In the time of the Hohenzollerns, the big landowners and the big industrials, who were represented by these two parties, steered the German ship of state. The petty bourgeoisie was still a firm buttress of the bourgeoisie, for the expansion and prosperity experienced by German capitalism during the twenty-five years preceding the war roused in it the hope of being able to obtain some of the crumbs which fell from the table of victorious German imperialism.

In the years following the war, the big landowners and the big trust bourgeoisie were unable independently to control and guide the German republic. As the chief bearers of imperialism and of the monarchist regime they were compromised beyond all measure in the eyes of the masses. Formally, power went into the hands of a coalition of the social democrats, the

democrats, and the Centre. The social democracy, which had abandoned the idea of revolution and of Socialism, came forward openly as a reform party on the basis and within the confines of the capitalist order. In the first post-war period, therefore, the petty bourgeoisie and the "workers" party of petty bourgeoisie reform formally ruled in Germany.

It would of course be a very great mistake to believe that even at that time the interests of big capital were pushed into the background. All the reformist taxation programmes of the petty bourgeoisie came to nothing, as the petty bourgeois government did not have the courage to lay the hand of the State upon the securities and investments of the Trusts and on the profits of the banks; it thereby opened the door to the growing inflation which depreciated the German currency. The taxes payable by the big bourgeoisie and the big landowners lost all value before they were paid. The petty bourgeoisie was not only incapable of fighting against big capital and the big landed proprietors, but acted as if it did not realise that it was merely carrying out their dictates.

Hard reality showed the complete impotency of the petty bourgeoisie, and the confidence of the petty bourgeois masses in its reformist programme declined. Big capital not only returned to power itself in the shape of the People's Party, but endeavoured to draw the big landowners into a government coalition in order, in this way to consolidate the old ruling cadres and to restore the social axis upon which the State policy in pre-war times had revolved. These attempts, which were often repeated since the year 1924, were expressed in the formation of the Brüning government, the importance of which lay in the fact it was intended by it to form a bridge for a government of the big landowners and trust capital, which should be based on the two bourgeois parties which still possessed the support of the petty bourgeois masses, namely, the Catholic Centre and the Democratic Party.

This attempt has now ended in a collapse. Its collapse consists of the fact that both the People's Party and the German Nationalist Party have been defeated in the election. They have lost the support of millions of voters, which means that the petty bourgeois masses are turning away from the historical parties of German capitalism, so far as these parties can go forward under their own flags. It is significant that defeat has overtaken both the People's Party, which has been in power for a long time, and the German National Party, which was in opposition to the existing "Republican" order. The big landowners and the capitalists have lost the confidence of the petty bourgeois masses. The importance of this fact is overwhelming. It is a harbinger of the collapse of the regime of bourgeois Germany. But not only the capitalists and the big landowners, but also the petty bourgeois parties have suffered a great defeat in the election.

The Collapse of Petty Bourgeois Democracy.

This fact was expressed not only in the losses sustained by the Democratic Party, which entered the election under the flag of the State Party. This party failed to strengthen its position by changing its name. On the contrary, it has only accelerated its decline, as it showed the masses that it is likewise a party of Trust capital.

The defeat of the social democracy is not so obvious. It has lost only 600,000 votes. If one, however, observes somewhat more closely the fate of this party not only from the standpoint of the last election, the line of its decline becomes more plain. At the elections to the National Assembly in 1919 the social democracy polled 11½ million votes, or more than a third of all the votes cast. In addition, the Independent Socialists, who were the Left wing of petty bourgeois democracy, polled more than 2½ million votes. Thus these two parties together received about 14 million votes. At the elections which were held in June 1920, the majority socialists lost nearly 50 per cent of their votes, i. e., instead of ½ million they received only 6 million votes. On the other hand the Independent Socialist Party doubled its vote, receiving over 5 million. Taken together the two social democratic parties polled only 11 million votes. At the elections in May 1924, the two parties, which in the meantime had united, polled only 6 million votes. This meant that they lost about 5 million votes. The elections in December 1924 brought an increase in the number of votes cast for the united social democratic party; it polled about 8 million votes. Pushed by the bourgeoisie into opposition, at the elections in May 1928 it received more than 9 million votes. Now, however, in spite of it having been in

"opposition", it has lost 600,000 votes. Of the 14 million votes which the social democracy received at the elections to the National Assembly, it has retained only 8½ million. Up to now the social democracy has been the main buttress of post-war capitalism. The decline of its influence means a weakening of the most important "democratic" supports of German capitalism.

The only buttress of the German bourgeoisie which has emerged from the crisis without any loss is the Party of the Catholic Centre. This Party is a strange and wonderful blend of big capitalist and junker elements and backward masses of the people, which still cling to the mediaeval Catholic traditions—masses who are led by the best organisers in the world, namely, the Catholic priests. **But this party cannot become the centre of attraction for the petty bourgeoisie in the whole State, for it is the party of the catholic minority.** The Centre alone cannot save bourgeois Germany.

The Victory of Fascism.

A part of German trust capitalists which ceased to rely upon the democratic buttresses have begun to support the fascists. A part of the German capitalists considered the fascist organisation only as a means for putting pressure upon the social democracy. The threat to hand over power to the fascists was intended to deprive the social democrats of any inclination to make democratic and reformist gestures. These tactics of the bourgeoisie were expressed most baldly in Austria, where the threat of the fascist coup on the part of the Heimwehr compelled the social democracy to swallow the whole of the fascist programme. The Austrian example served as a model for that part of the bourgeoisie of Germany which supports the fascists. Another part of the patrons of the fascists is pursuing a policy with more definite aims. It is endeavouring to seize power with the aid of the fascists and, after annihilating the remnants of so-called democracy, it intends to drive into illegality all organisations of the proletariat which carry on the class struggle.

Hitherto fascism, in spite of the support of large circles of the bourgeoisie and of the big landowners, represented a somewhat transient force. Since the end of last year there commenced the growth of fascist Party organisations as mass organisations, and their election victories set in. But nobody expected such an event as the election victory. **The fascists have become the second strongest political party in Germany.** The number of votes cast for the fascists has risen from 800,000 to more than 6 million. **The history of political struggle knows nothing like it**, especially in a country where there is an old political differentiation, and in which it is very difficult for any new parties to win a place at the table which is already occupied by the old parties. Nothing is more significant than the fact that **neither in the bourgeois nor in the socialist literature is there anything said regarding this party which now occupies second place in the political life of Germany.**

The victory of the fascists deserves the greatest attention. It must in the future be subjected to an all-round analysis; but one can already say today that **this victory bears within it the germs of great surprises for the bourgeoisie.** The fascist party was created as a new support of the capitalist regime, as a new buttress of trust capital which feels the approach of great storms. **But the masses which have followed the fascist party, have not done so in order to support trust capital, for then they would have had no need to leave the German Nationalist Party, the German People's Party and the State Party.** They followed the fascist party because it promises to save them from world capital, which is squeezing Germany by means of the Young Plan, and from the German trusts. These supporters of the fascist party are for the greater part the petty bourgeois masses in town and country. That the countryside plays a no lesser role than the town is shown by the election results in East Prussia, where the fascists defeated the German Nationalist Party, although they formed a block with it. **The peasants have risen against the big landowners and are coming in great masses to the new party which is luring them with the promise of a "third kingdom of labour".** Nothing is more remarkable than the fact that trust capital had to equip its new lackey, the fascist party, with the mask of socialism.

It is not surprising that this mask lured a part of the young workers who have only recently come from the village, of whom there are many millions now in Germany, as is proved by an analysis of the social composition of the workers

employed in such gigantic works as the Leuna works and the Aniline factories in Ludwigshafen. The social democracy of Germany which is allied with the big bourgeoisie appears in the eyes of these masses as a party of Parliamentary compromise, as a party of capitalist corruption. These masses have not yet decided to go with the Communists, for the Communist Party is a party which is exposed to persecutions, is a party which has broken completely and entirely with the capitalist world. At the head of the fascist party there are officers and intellectuals; this party enjoys the support of broad petty bourgeois circles; and many workers who wish to fight against capitalism but have not yet severed all connection with the bourgeois world, followed the fascist party. It promises them that it will annihilate the rule of the bankers and of the trusts, that in alliance with other "national" forces it will destroy capitalist slavery without evoking civil war. **The victory of the fascists proves how widespread is the discontent, how great is the indignation against the capitalist order in Germany even outside of the ranks of the class conscious workers.**

The Victory of the Communist Party.

The increase of the Communist vote by 1,300,000 is in itself a fact of the greatest political importance. **This big rise in the number of Communist votes reflects the disastrous position in which Germany finds itself.**

The Communist Party entered the election with a programme equally clear as that of the Bolsheviks in the year 1917. The Party came forward with a plain and undisguised programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat—a programme of civil war, a programme of fight against the whole capitalist world. On their flag there was inscribed "The power to the proletariat!" In order fully to understand the significance of the fact that the Party, in spite of its Programme, or precisely on account of this programme, polled 4½ million votes, one must bear in mind the relative organisational weakness of the Party, which has been openly recorded by the Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.G. and also by the Comintern. The C.P.G. has undergone more splits than any other party. To the Philistine, even to the revolutionary Philistine, these splits appeared as signs of the decay of the Party. This philistine estimation overlooked the fact that splits are means of purging the Party of elements which are incapable of pursuing a Communist policy. As a result of these splits there turned away from the Party a considerable part of the organised cadres which arose during the war or were created after the war. The bourgeois and the social democratic press, and also the press of the renegades of Communism, sneered at the Party because it had no "brilliant figure" among its leaders. The murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht cast scorn upon the Party which they had deprived of its best leaders. Against the agitation of the bourgeois and social democratic press the Communist Party was unable to oppose either a sufficient number of leaflets or a sufficiently powerful press. All the bourgeois parties entered the election with huge election funds amounting to millions of marks with which the capitalist world furnished them. The social democracy received for its election campaign about 3 million marks from the trade unions and the co-operative banks. The Communist Party had at its disposal only the funds collected by its members. **In spite of everything the Communist Party polled 4½ million votes.**

No less interesting is the question where this victory is the most striking. The C.P.G. has become the strongest workers' Party in Berlin and in the districts where the heavy industry is situated, before all in Rhenish Westphalia and in the Ruhr valley. This means that, although we have not yet won the majority of the working class, we are on the way to winning them in the politically most decisive places in Germany. Berlin with its proletariat in the centre of political life, a proletariat which has borne itself well in a number of revolts, a proletariat that has witnessed at close hand the treachery of social democracy—this Berlin of the workers has given the greatest number of votes to the Communist Party. This means that the brain of the proletariat of Germany has declared for Communism, for the Communist Party. We have received the largest number of votes in the heavy industrial districts, in which the proletariat lives under the heavy yoke of the trusts and in which the pressure upon the proletariat is the strongest. **The workers in the heavy industrial districts are the battalions of heavy industry which will play a decisive role in the coming fights of the German proletariat.** The workers

of the Ruhr proved themselves to be doughty fighters both in the year 1919 and at the time of the Kapp putsch. They proved their mettle at the time of the French occupation. These tried battalions of the working class after having experienced twelve years of the German Republic, declared: "We shall follow the path indicated by the Communist Party there is no other path." This decision of the Berlin, Ruhr and Westphalian workers will be endorsed by the whole German proletariat to-morrow.

While the masses, numbering six million, who follow the fascists represent a brew out of which it is impossible to foretell what will crystallise, the masses which follow the Communist Party are already disciplined fighting detachments, are already an unequivocal challenge flung down to the bourgeoisie by a third of the industrial workers of Germany.

What Next?

According to form, the bourgeoisie of Germany has the possibility of forming a government of the big coalition along with the social democracy, by adding to the old combination of Democrats, People's Party and Centre the social democrats and the Economic Party. It can form a government of the Right, to which would belong the Democrats, the Centre, the People's Party, the German Nationalist Party, the fascists and various split up groups of the parties of the Right. But these two possibilities which are open to the bourgeoisie would only represent a playing with Parliamentary puppets.

A government of the big coalition would be a government in which the social democracy would have to undertake fully and entirely the carrying out of the whole social programme of fascism. Already before the elections the social democracy had conducted negotiations with the Catholic Centre regarding the formation of a joint government. Before the elections it openly declared itself prepared to take on responsibility for the most serious decision in order to save the country from a dictatorship government and from foreign political adventures. There is no doubt that the social democracy will be more inclined than ever to grant concessions. The question is, whether it will be possible for the People's Party and the Centre to enter a block with the social democracy, as they have against them the fascists and the German Nationalist Party and in the government itself there are elements as Schiele, the leader of the Land Union, who declared at election meetings that he would like to send the whole Republican system to the devil. And what will be the attitude of the working masses following the social democracy should the latter participate in a government which will plunder them daily by increasing the price of every bit of bread and robbing them of the last shirt.

On the other hand, the setting up of a government of the Right demands the removal of the main obstacle—the attitude of the fascists and of the German Nationalist Party to the Young Plan and to the whole foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie which is connected with the name of Stresemann. It would, of course, be ridiculous to doubt that Hitler and Hugenberg will be capable of tearing up all the scraps of paper on which are written their solemn oaths to fight to the death against the Young Treaty and against subjugation to Entente capital. The leaders of the petty bourgeois masses have always betrayed these masses. Entry into the government offers the fascists the possibility of rapidly capturing the State apparatus and the army, of penetrating into the ranks of the police and thereby facilitating the process of casting off the democratic Parliamentary husk, the process of the transition to a pure dictatorship government. But the question is, whether the leaders of a fascist party will not be afraid to commence betraying all their slogans and promises before they have got the Reichswehr and the police in their hands. This would mean running the risk of losing a considerable part of the petty bourgeois masses before the actual seizure of power, and in fact rendering questionable the seizure of power itself. Another question is, whether trust capital will not fear to fling a challenge to the international stock exchanges, by including in the government the proclaimers of a war of revenge. The Young shares have already fallen considerably in the last few days. For the capitalists of Germany the question of international credits is very important. The fascists of Germany have been shouting their demagogic slogans for ten years; but on the other hand they have not succeeded in crushing the labour movement. The world money markets have hitherto valued the social democrats of Germany more highly than the fascists as the watch dogs of the capitalist order. It is very significant that the Paris "Temps", the organ

of the French government and of the French bourse, is now, after the elections, calling for the setting up of a government which shall include the social democracy.

Which ever way the bourgeoisie of Germany decides, it risks losing one of its supports. The participation of the social democracy in a government which set itself the task of liquidating all the remnants of the achievements of the revolution of 1918 would mean, sooner or later, the going over of millions of social democratic workers to the ranks of the Communist Party. The participation of the fascists in the government would mean the rapid loss of all illusions by the plebian elements of fascism: would mean the going over of the working elements from fascism to Communism.

The third alternative of a minority government, such as the Brüning government was, a government comprising the State Party, the Centre, the People's Party, and the representatives of the Land Union, a government which would rule by the aid of a changing majority, in foreign policy relying upon the social democracy, forcing the social democrats by means of threats to swallow the fascist frogs, and compelling the fascists to support it by threatening a coalition with social democracy—such a solution would only give rise to constant unrest, ferment, uninterrupted government crisis, which would be ended outside of Parliament. The result of the elections signalises a threat to the capitalist order in Germany. Germany, however, lies in the heart of Europe; it is a country which is shaken by the economic crisis in which there are today 3 million unemployed, in which the government itself is expecting barricade fighting in the winter. The crisis will seek its solution in big class struggles, and the first task of the C. P. is, after having derived strength from its election victory, to prepare for victory in the mass struggles.

CHINA

Shansi under the Rule of Yen Si Schan.

By Huo Yian.

The present economic and political situation of the province of Shansi in North China, where Yen Si Shen, one of the leading militarist rulers in the North, has been ruling for over a decade as the "model governor" and from whence he is constantly endeavouring to extend his power, is worth subjecting to a closer examination. The failure to form a Northern government and the march of the Manchurian troops on Peking, which appears to be a shifting of the leadership in the Northern block and a strengthening of this block against Nanking, compels Yen Si Shen, as a subordinate, to withdraw his troops to Shansi. His military expenses for a whole month, amounting to 6 million dollars, are now suddenly thrown on the shoulders of the population of Shansi who are dying of starvation. This already increased robbery is further intensified by the preparation for war, which is a vital necessity for the maintenance of his power.

Just as the spheres of power of the other militarist rulers, the province of Shansi is visited by severe economic crisis caused by the prolonged wars and the squeezing of the mass of the people. Industry and peasant farming is in a state of decay never known before. Commerce, which is already approaching ruin, is now completely at a standstill owing to the paralysis of all transport. The famine which has seized millions of the people and the disastrous impoverishment of the peasants are evidence of the critical situation in agriculture. Industry, as for instance the textile industry, has reduced its production by 50 per cent. The number of the unemployed and landless is constantly growing. The soldiers have not received any pay for over seven months. The poor section of the population, in order to maintain their existence, have to resort to brigandage. All these consequences of the economic misery create difficulties for Yen Si Shan's rule, which was formerly relatively stabilised.

The political power of the province of Shansi is based chiefly upon agriculture. So long as this basis remained firm the ruling class was able to maintain its power. Deprivation and misery are driving ever larger masses of the peasants to rebellion. They are taking united action and compelling the big landowners and big peasants to hand over food under

threat of storming their houses and taking the food themselves. Pillage and rebellion, which have become a general phenomenon, have created an atmosphere of profound unrest. Among the poor population the slogan: "Join the robber bands!" has become quite general. In spite of the most brutal repression the government cannot prevent the masses from taking counter-action.

The revolutionising of the masses is attributable only to their miserable situation. The workers have to work uninterrupted the whole day. There is no limit to the working day. They are often fined a whole day's wages for the slightest thing. The young workers in the munitions factories, for example, receive three Mexican dollars a month, from which nearly a dollar is often deducted as fines. If the young workers live on the simplest food necessary to maintain life it cost them 15 cents a day. The wages of the adult workers are somewhat higher and just about suffice, if many fines have not been deducted, to buy one, very bad, meal a day.

The workers have realised that they can never better their lot unless they destroy the rule of the Kuomintang; and they are more and more joining the trade unions against the Kuomintang and against the employers. The peasants who are suffering from famine are compelled to eat roots and the bark of trees. Many of them have to serve in the defence troops of the landowners. In order to pay their debts to the big landowners they are obliged to sell their land or farm implements. Among the soldiers, the most important prop of the militarists, one often hears it said: "Today our generals squeeze the money out of the people, and the same tomorrow, but we still remain without pay, as always. Our officers eat their fill and we have to starve. If our brothers, driven by need, resort to robbery, they are beheaded. Are we to remain exposed to death and starvation with no way out?"

The exploited and starving workers, peasants and soldiers, who constitute a powerful revolutionary force in China, are also in the province Shansi seized by the general revolutionary ferment. The wave of Soviet revolution coming from the South has also reached them and roused them to fresh struggles.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

The "Pravda" on the New Anti-Soviet Campaign in the Capitalist Countries.

Moscow, 29th September 1930.

Today's "Pravda" publishes a leading article entitled: "A fresh Wave of Poison Gas", from which the following is an extract:

In the last few days we have been able to observe a fresh furious attack by world capital on the Soviet Union in the form of a great outcry on the alleged Soviet "dumping". The utterances made in the Economic Committee of the League of Nations, Herriot's warning regarding the Soviet grain ships, the sinister machinations of the Balkan capitalists, the outcries of the French and English bourgeois press, the contemptible attacks by the venal leaders of the yellow American trade unions — all this is, as Cachin very aptly remarked in the "Humanité", that new wave of poison gas with which world capital is seeking to poison the mind of the masses.

After the comedy of the Kutiepov affair, after the miserable fiasco of the Papal appeal for a crusade, the world bourgeoisie has thought of a new method of incitement against the Soviet Union, which at the present moment appears to be especially appropriate and suitable. The present political situation, as is known, is characterised by the obvious increase of preparations for a new world slaughter, for a war against the Soviet Union. The economic crisis has deepened and intensified all the antagonisms within imperialism; has rendered more obvious the unbridgeable antagonisms between the whole capitalist system and the new economic system which is being set up in the Soviet Union. The economic crisis has inflicted and is inflicting the greatest evil not only on the working class of all capitalist countries, but also on all the petty bourgeois middle strata. The wave of a new revolutionary upsurge is swelling; it is therefore not sur-

sing that the world bourgeoisie is resorting to its tried and proved instrument for overcoming its difficulties.

The fresh campaign of slander against Soviet exports and against "dumping", against the low prices at which Soviet goods are sold in the capitalist countries (allegedly for the purpose of destroying capitalist economy), the outcry that with the completion of the Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union will be capable of ruining even the richest capitalist countries — all this aims solely at shifting responsibility from themselves to others and representing the Soviet Union as an enemy which must be settled with as soon as possible.

In this contemptible and lying anti-Soviet propaganda the International social democracy plays first fiddle. It has already forgotten its former jibes and sneers at the Soviet economic system and the Five-Year Plan. Both are now to be made into a bogey which shall serve to mobilise public opinion against the Soviet Union, to incite the workers and unemployed against the Soviet Union and to prepare the way for a new intervention. It is only for this purpose that the attacks are undertaken and all the outcry raised over Soviet dumping. The cry of alarm over dumping always serves the same aim in the political practice of imperialism. When England in pre-war time was working to encircle Germany, the outcry against German dumping in England and in the colonies was used in order to mobilise public opinion against Germany. Even now, the whole capitalist press is filled with mutual accusations of dumping. Tsarist Russia in its time used to export agricultural products to England and Germany at such prices that, for example, Russian sugar beets were used in these countries for feeding pigs. Nevertheless nobody thought that it was necessary to set up an economic and political blockade against Tsarist Russia. Tsarist Russia used to place millions of tons of corn on the world market every year. In the five years from 1909 to 1913 Russia exported on an average 1,185,700 tons of grain a year, amounting in value to over 700 millions roubles. And yet when the export of corn from Tsarist Russia played a certain role on the European corn market, the share of Russian trade in the total turnover of world trade was very insignificant — 3½ per cent in the year 1913. The total turnover of Soviet foreign trade now amounts to half of the pre-war turnover, and at very most amounts to somewhat less than 2 per cent of the total world turnover. The question arises by what wonderful means has this 2 per cent been able to disturb the balance of the world market?

No less astonishing is it that those countries which are least exposed to the "danger of Soviet dumping" are making the loudest noise. This applies before all to the leader of every anti-Soviet campaign of recent times, i. e. to France. We read in the French press the result of the economic year to to the first January last, and learn that England, the United States, Belgium, Germany, the Argentine and the French colonies were the chief countries which traded with France. The Soviet Union comes under another column and occupies one of the lowest places. Certainly it is in place when our neighbours Rumania, Poland and other participants in the Warsaw Agrarian Conference complain over the unbearable Soviet competition. Certainly it is easier for Poland and Rumania to say to their impoverished and exhausted peasants that the Soviet Union is responsible for all their misery, and not those taxes and impositions with which they are burdened for the purpose of meeting the military budget which is increasing every year.

The fairy tales of the Soviet attack on world economy on the well-being of the broad masses by an accelerated export at low prices, viewed in the light of sober figures, will not stand criticism. The antagonisms of world imperialism are responsible for the growing crisis. The imperialist bourgeoisie is seeking a way out in the redistribution of the world, in organising a new war against the Soviet Union. The outcry over Soviet dumping is one of the methods of preparing for war. Social fascism, by taking part in this outcry once again exposes its role as an instrument in the hands of world imperialism. The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries will help the toiling masses to draw the necessary consequences. The working masses of the Soviet Union will on their side, likewise draw these consequences. They will proceed with redoubled energy to realise the plans of socialist construction, which are most closely connected with the consolidation of the defensive power of the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union

"Blow on Blow"

The following article, which appeared as the leading article in the "Pravda" of 26th September, deals with the sentence of death passed by the State Political Administration (G. P. U.) on the 48 counter-revolutionaries who endeavoured to sabotage the food supply in the Soviet Union. Ed.

The shooting of the group of saboteurs who tried to bring about a famine in the Soviet Union has been greeted with unanimous satisfaction by the broadest masses of the workers. The severe sentence passed by the State Political Administration, this sentence of the victorious proletariat which unites around it the broad masses of toilers in town and country, is a sentence pronounced by history, the course of which neither the white guardists nor the champions of intervention, nor the true lackeys of the world bourgeoisie — the saboteurs — could or can check. The million-masses of workers are filled with profound indignation. There is not a factory, not a work place, not an office, which would not have unanimously demanded of the Soviet government that the severest sentence should be passed on the abominable creatures who thought out and commenced to execute the abominably atrocious and criminal plan of wholesale starvation, of mass murder of the toilers. The workers rightly saw in this criminal band the class murderers, who shrink at nothing in order to stab in the back the proletarian dictatorship. This plan was in the fullest sense of the word a conspiracy against the lives of millions of toilers, and especially of children.

Lenin's immortal words that capitalism conducts against the dictatorship of the proletariat a "secret and open, a peaceful and military, a bloody and bloodless fight", are confirmed once again. The proletariat, in alliance with the main masses of the peasantry and of the intelligentsia who are devoted to the Soviet Power, has vanquished the forces of counter-revolution in open battle. It has beaten back the hirelings of the world bourgeoisie; the saboteurs in the coal, metal and chemical industry and in the war industry. The proletariat is carrying on a creative constructive work unprecedented in the history of humanity. It crushed the resistance of the kulaks and on the basis of hundred per cent. collectivisation began the liquidation of the kulak as a class. The proletariat created the preconditions for the fundamental transformation of the Soviet Union. On the basis of the successes achieved, it developed a general attack upon the remnants of capitalism. Never before has the world witnessed such a heroic exertion of forces, such will power, such a gigantic advance.

But the class enemies of the proletariat have not given up the fight. On every section of socialist construction the proletariat has to give battle to the class enemy. In these fights the class enemies of the proletariat do not confine themselves to "harming the Soviet Power", they have a further aim: the restoration of capitalism. And if the sabotage activity, which has suffered a defeat in the most important branches of industry, the sabotage activity which aimed at silencing the heavy artillery of the Five-Year Plan has been exposed and liquidated by us — if this work is now discovered in the organs of the food supply, this only proves to what extent the class enemies of the toilers are increasing their savage fight. The henchmen of the capitalists have seized the flag of starvation. These loathsome creatures, supporters of shattered Russian capitalism, of the landowners, of the nobility and the Tsarist bureaucracy, among whom there have been found also the "socialist" servants of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the social revolutionaries, are resorting to the vilest means of fighting against the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie has always attempted to make use of starvation in the fight for its rule. It systematically throttles striking workers; it has exterminated and exterminates whole peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies by starvation; it starves the working masses at home; it attempted to remove the Soviet government with the aid of the bony hand of famine. But one must confess that in the history of counter-

revolution, in the list of the blackest crimes committed by the bourgeoisie against the toilers of the Soviet Union, the shameful deeds which have just been brought to light are the most striking example of inhuman baseness.

The "ideology" of the food saboteurs is clearly seen from their statements. The word hunger occurs almost in every line. Rjansantzev, the "Ataman" of the band of saboteurs, formulated the final aim of the organisation as follows: The organisation intended, by depriving the population of meat and by starving it, to facilitate the restoration of capitalism. Levandovski worked in order to bring the country into a state of famine; to bring about the disorganisation of the food supplies to the proletarian centres. Falayev set himself the aim, by slowing down the pace of development of the food industry, to bring the country to starvation.

What is surprising, however, is not the aims of the saboteurs, for these are well known, but the means with which they tried to bring about a famine. One cannot read without loathing and disgust the passages of the statements of these saboteurs relating to the means employed in the fight against the Soviet Power. Such blackguardism seldom occurred even in the numerous political crimes of the bourgeoisie. These scoundrels not only attempted to deprive the country of meat, but they also intended to poison the workers with their "products". They organised the production of palpably unsuitable and rotten preserved food, endangering the lives of the consumers. On their instructions, preserved food was made of entrails, lips, and gums, dirt and eyeballs, hair and teeth. Diseased animals were used for the production of preserved food. The saboteurs caused hundred and thousands of cattle to perish; they annihilated enormous quantities of vegetables; they hampered with every possible means the Spring fishing. The phrase most commonly employed by these criminals, who are void of all human feeling, was: "It doesn't matter, the comrades will eat it! In August they will be begging and get nothing. There are still crows and acorns enough in order to fill their bellies!"

These bringers of starvation wanted to feed the heroic proletariat of the Soviet Union with ravens' "flesh". But the strong hand of the proletarian power seized them in good time. Such crimes deserve only the most ruthless punishment. The workers of our country have not without reason demanded this. It is their indisputable right, the right to defend their achievements, their existence, the right to defend millions of lives threatened by the danger averted by the G. P. U.

There is no doubt that the shooting of these criminals will loosen the venomous tongues of the white guardists and social fascists. A new and even dirtier wave of calumnies will fill the columns of the capitalist press. The enemies of the Soviet Union will try to make capital out of their own crimes. The bourgeoisie will endeavour to make use of the merited punishment of the counter-revolutionary bands in order to divert attention from their other crimes against the proletariat.

Cruel tortures in the Hungarian prisons, torture and murder of 56,000 workers and fighters for the workers' and peasants' government in China by Chiang-Kai-shek's hangmen, murder of workers in Germany by the police under the leadership of social democracy, murder of workers in Poland, execution of the heroic insurgents in Indo-China with the blessing of the French socialists, systematic and cruel murder of our Yugoslavian comrades — all these events have occurred only in the last few months. But when the hirelings and agents fall into the avenging hand of the proletariat, then the bourgeoisie display hypocritical anger, reveal an inexhaustible store of "humanity". They demand of the proletariat that it shall display humane feelings towards poisoners. They talk about humanity while they murder the unemployed. They shout about love to mankind whilst they kill the colonial slaves with poison gas.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union has hitherto shown too much indulgence towards its deadly enemies. But towards the organisers of starvation, towards these hirelings of international reaction, there must be shown no mercy. Let the

bourgeois and the social fascists raise an outcry over the "Red terror". To the attempt to carry out the basest of all base plans of combating the socialist development the proletariat can and must reply with lead. This must be made perfectly plain to all those who wish to imitate them.

The exposure and shooting of the group of saboteurs is undoubtedly a class victory of the proletariat. The enemies of the Soviet Union will know that the creators of the Five-Year Plan exterminate all those who try to check the building up of socialism.

INDIA

The Indian Circus in London.

By V. Chatto padhyaya.

Notwithstanding the break-down of the "peace" negotiations with the imprisoned Congress leaders conducted during 8 weeks by the Viceroy's agents, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M. Jayakar, as well as by Mr. Slocombe, ostensibly correspondent of the "Daily Herald" but really an agent of the "Labour" Government, the Imperialist Circus euphemistically known as the **Indian Round Table Conference** is to begin in London on November 10th, and some 65 of the best trained Indian animals of various species have been chosen to perform, in order to advertise the indispensability of the British trainer that holds these mutually hostile animals back from devouring one another. The fiction of the "Round Table" is being deliberately maintained, so as to create the belief that the "representatives of India" (!) are to discuss matters as equals with the representatives of Great Britain. And the "Daily Herald", the organ of the imperialist "Labour" Party, even declares—in thick type—that "the Indian representatives will be in a big majority, both at the Conference itself and in the Committees". But no amount of imperialist lying can conceal the facts (1) that the persons who are coming from India have not been elected by any organisations or groups in India, but have been deliberately and carefully chosen by the Imperialist Government; (2) that these persons are well-known lackeys, who as princes, landowners, commercial magnates, political agents or fomentors of religious strife are intimately bound up with the imperialist exploitation of the masses.

Even those absolutely ignorant of India may draw instructive conclusions from the biographical notices of these 65 Indians, that have appeared in the London "Times". The following statistical analysis of the list is sufficient to show the true nature of the representatives of "India" whom the "Labour" Government has invited to a Conference to settle the fate of the "Indian people".

Ruling Princes	10
Great Landowners	5
Agents (all knighted) carrying out British Imperialist policy in Indian States	6
Agents carrying out British imperialist policy in foreign countries	5
Politicians who are "Ministers" or ex-Ministers	7
Politicians who have cooperated in Imperialist Commissions (Hunter, Selbourne, Whitley, Sandhurst, Linlithgow etc.)	7
Politicians who have cooperated with the Simon Commission when it was boycotted by all parties	7
"Liberal" Politicians representing great business or landed interests	19
Number of persons (excluding the 10 Princes) with British titles (Baronet, Sir, Rao Bahadur, Nawab, etc.)	29
British Commercial interests	3
Religious Groupings.	
a) Muslims (of whom 9 anti-Hindu propagandists)	11
b) Orthodox Hindus (anti-Pariah and anti-Muslim)	4
c) Anti-Brahmin	5
d) Sikhs	2
e) Indian Christians	1
f) Parsis	2
Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) supporting Imperialist rule	1

Indian "Women"	2
Industrialists	1
Burma (Separationists only)	4

We are unable to ascertain how many of the 65 Indians invited are in the Imperialist Secret Service, but it would be an insult to British Imperialism to believe that a Conference of this kind could take place without a certain proportion of secret service agents.

In order to understand the full significance of the analysis given above of the various categories of persons constituting the Indian "delegation", a few explanatory notes are necessary. The Conference is expected to last two months and is intended by the Imperialist Government to perform the same function internationally as Volume I of the Simon Report. The object of Volume I was to create the impression of diversity, disruption and mutual hostility in India, in order to justify the continuation of British domination. The Indians that have been chosen for the Conference will make speeches and hand in memoranda to confirm the lies contained in the Simon Report, and thus provide Europe and the USA. with "proofs" of the British imperialist thesis.

The Indian National Congress is not represented at this stage of the Conference, but it is, according to a Free Press telegram, expected that the Conference will evolve a sufficiently acceptable formulation regarding "Dominion Status" to enable the Congress leaders to participate at a later stage. The classification given above makes it quite clear not only that no representative of the working class or of the peasantry has even been "invited", but that even the Indian millionaires and merchants are unrepresented, the only Industrialists invited being a Parsi millionaire who is an ex-Member of the Council of State and does not voice the opinions of the industrial magnates of Bombay and Allahabad, organised in the Millionaires' Association, or the merchants organised in the Indian Chambers of Commerce and the various Merchants' Associations. — As far as "Labour" is concerned the first list published included the name of that highly unscrupulous Swarajist politician, Diwan Chaman Lall, who has used the Indian working class and the trade union movement in order to obtain a better position under the imperialist Government. After having coquetted with "radical" phrases for some years, he split the Trade Union Congress last year. He gave up the defence of the Meerut prisoners in order to join the Imperialist Whitley Commission. If his name was published, it was certainly because he had privately expressed his willingness to perform in the Circus. But he now declares that he cannot take part because the peace negotiations have broken down. In this way he has managed to keep one foot in the imperialist camp and the other in the Congress camp, and he will undoubtedly work hard to draw the two camps closer together.

As for Indian women, there are no representatives at all, for the two females that are to be displayed have never done any work in the women's or any other movement, but have been chosen solely on anatomical grounds, because one is the wife of an Indian Minister and the other the daughter of another Indian Minister. Burma is represented by persons that have been advocating separation from India at any price — which exactly corresponds to British imperialist policy today — but not by any representatives even of the "moderate" section of the G.C.B.A. (Grand Council of All-Burmese Associations). The "Liberal" politicians all represent big business or landed interests and not one of them would dare to appear before a mass gathering in India, although they are described as "leaders".

Among the imperialist agents in foreign countries, special interest attaches to Sir Abdul Qayyum who has worked 17 years to bring the North Western Frontier tribes under British rule and to advance the British frontier into Afghanistan. The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the only Indian member of the Privy Council, appears wherever a brown lackey is necessary — South Africa, Geneva, Washington, London, — while His Highness the Aga Khan not only helps to popularise Britain's splendid rule in India among the demi-mondaines of the Continent, but to "protect" Muslim interests against the Hindus. In this latter respect there is no figure so disgraceful as that of Maulana Mohamed Ali, who had for years led the Muslims to fight for independence from British imperialism, and who as late as the Summer of 1928 sent a declaration to the International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism:

which he said that it was "the duty of every true Muslim to overthrow imperialism wherever it was found and in whatever form it manifested itself". Today he asks the Muslims of Arabia to fight for independence — and the Muslims of India to accept a compromise with British Imperialism! It is stated on good authority that there has been a change for the better, in his financial condition during the last two years.

These are only a few brief comments on the performers in the Imperialist Circus, but enough has been said to show what a low farce is being staged by Ramsay MacDonald in an attempt to crush the Indian masses. The **Labour Party**, like all the other Imperialist-Fascists of the Second International, do not want Britain to withdraw from India, for then the Indian workers and peasants would be "left to the tender mercies of the Indian Bourgeoisie". But they have no hesitation in coming to an agreement with the same bourgeoisie and landowners for jointly oppressing and exploiting the Indian masses. It is impossible to understand how any self-respecting British worker can continue to belong to a Party that is so unashamedly carrying out the business of imperialist robbery in the Colonies.

THE BALKANS

Against the Imperialist Anti-Soviet Front in the Balkans.

Declaration of the Balkan Communist Federation on the Forth-Coming Imperialist Balkan Conference.

On the 5th of October there will commence in Athens the first Balkan Conference. It has been organised upon the initiative of the "International Peace Bureau", an institution of the League of Nations, and with the active support of the Balkan governments, in particular of the governments of the Balkan victor States. It will be participated in by "observers" on behalf of the Balkan governments, of the League of Nations, the above mentioned Peace Bureau, the International Labour Office etc. It is being trumpeted abroad that this Conference will promote the security of peace, the rapprochement and collaboration of the Balkan peoples and the setting up of a Balkan Union.

The Balkan Communist Federation, the fighting union of the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries, declares:

The Conference is being organised by the Balkan imperialists, the hangmen and exploiters, together with the French and English imperialists, not in order "to secure peace" but in order, more intensively and in common, to prepare a new war, in the first place against the Soviet Union; not in order to achieve the "rapprochement of the Balkan peoples", but in order to bring the fascist dictatorial governments closer together so as to proceed better and jointly against the toiling masses fighting for more bread, land and freedom, for national emancipation and independence, in order jointly to arm against the revolutionary movement of the workers, toiling peasants and suppressed nations, in order to establish the united front against the stronghold of revolution, the Soviet Union.

The Conference meets at a time when the whole capitalist world is shaken by a growing economic crisis which is raging with particular fury in the Balkan countries with their acute agrarian crisis. Hundreds of thousands of workers are unemployed; a barbarous rationalisation is being carried out in the factories with a simultaneous cutting of wages, lengthening of the working day and bloody suppression of workers' strikes. The peasants are being exploited without limit: tax collectors and usurers, gendarmes and policemen seize their last possessions, eject them away from the land, drive them into the towns where they swell the army of the unemployed. The suppressed nations are groaning under the double and treble yoke of the ruling class: their villages are pillaged, the hard fist of imperialism robs them of their home, their schools, their language, their culture and even of their lives. The masses of the Balkan people are collapsing under the burden of their hangmen and tormentors.

The more the crisis progresses, the wilder, the more

barbarous, the more bestial the fascist terror rages. But the spirit of resistance of the toiling masses cannot be broken. They are more and more rallying round their Communist Parties; they are closing their ranks and forming the united front of struggle against the blood-stained imperialist fascist rule of the bourgeoisie. The masses know that in this fight they are not alone: the bonds of sympathy and solidarity of the toiling masses of the Balkans with the masses of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet Union in which the workers and peasants are building up socialism, in which the material, social and cultural level of the masses is being raised to ever greater heights, in which the collectivisation of agriculture is making great strides ahead and every nation develops its own life are becoming more closely knit.

The Conference meets at a moment when the Balkans waters are receiving the "peaceful" visits of the warships of the "socialist" MacDonald government (in Constantza and Spalato), when in Rumania and Greece great military manoeuvres have taken place and are still taking place, when the bloody dictatorship of Alexander, the king of the gallows in Yugoslavia, issues a new mobilisation law and is organising military parades daily, when the Albanian army is more and more passing into the hands of the Italian fascist commanders, when in Bulgaria secret arming is going on. It meets at a time when the militarisation and fascisation of the toiling youth of the Balkan countries is being promoted by every means. This is the atmosphere in which the "peace" Conference is to be held.

The Balkans are, as they have ever been, the powder-barrel of Europe. The robber imperialist peace treaties not only did not solve the former contradictions but only heaped up more explosive material in the Balkans. There can be no question of peace in the Balkans as long as Macedonia is dismembered, Thrace divided up, the Dobruja mutilated, Croatia subjected, Kossovo suppressed, — to name only a few of the territories. There can be no question of peace in the Balkans as long as the bourgeoisie of the ruling nation in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece attempt to denationalise the other nations by every means of terror, oppression, corruption and civil war. There can be no question of peace in the Balkans as long as the Rumanian, Yugoslavian, Greek and Bulgarian bourgeoisie are fighting each other for hegemony in the Balkans, and finally as long as the foreign imperialists are in power, who utilise the contradictions in the Balkans for their own ends, for strengthening their own positions.

The Balkan Communist Federation exposes the Balkan Conference, which is following the "agrarian" conferences of Bucharest, Sinaja and Warsaw, as an attempt on the part of the imperialists to mislead the broad masses, to set up the anti-Soviet Balkan block, to organise the common offensive against the proletariat, the toiling peasantry and the suppressed nations, to maintain the status quo and the enslavement of the Macedonians, Croats, Montenegrins, Albanians from Kossovo, Slovenes, Dobrujians, Bessarabians, Thracians and other nations. This Conference is intended to mask the war-preparations and to prepare the war ideologically; the participation of Turkey in the conference signalises the growth of the reactionary tendencies towards an approachment to the Western imperialists.

The Balkan Communist Federation declares:

The organisers of and participants in this Conference are the representatives of those same ruling classes and governments, to whose hands there is clinging the blood of the best sons of the toilers; in whose prisons the most self-sacrificing fighters of the workers, the toiling peasants and the suppressed nations are tortured to death; in whose countries millions of toiling masses which do not belong to the ruling nation, are pining under the double yoke of exploitation and national oppression.

This Conference is a conference of mass murderers and exploiters who are meeting in order to discuss how best to utilise their railways, airships and sea routes for war-preparations, how to set up an inter-Balkan bank for financing the new war and for the "solution" of the crisis at the cost of the toiling masses, how jointly to crush the revolutionary proletariat and the peasantry.

The Balkan Communist Federation stigmatises the social democracy of the Balkans Topalovic and consorts who have

been propagating for years the imperialist "Yugoslav Federation" under the leadership of the big Servian dictatorship and its bloody Alexander, it stigmatises Pastuchow, Flürasch and consorts who by all means support this Conference, as open agents of Balkan and international imperialism and as war inciters against the Soviet Union. The Balkan Communist Federation is convinced that the honest worker elements who still follow the social democracy, will fight at the side of the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry for their social and national emancipation.

The Balkan Communist Federation declares:

For the toiling masses, the only way out of the crisis, the only path to national emancipation and unity of the Balkan peoples is: the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, the overthrow of the fascist dictatorial regimes in the Balkan countries, the setting up of the workers' and peasants' government in every Balkan country, the establishment of the Balkan Federation of the workers' and peasants' republics, the establishment of a Soviet Balkans. Only the alliance of the workers and peasants under the hegemony of the proletariat, headed by the Communist Party, only the revolutionary united front of the workers, the toiling peasants and the nationally suppressed masses of the Balkans, only their alliance with the international proletariat, with the slaves of the colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, leads to the social and national emancipation of the working class, of the toiling peasantry and of the suppressed nations in the Balkans. The latter will reply to all attempts to set up the counter-revolutionary front of the Balkans and of the international imperialists, with the establishment of the revolutionary front under the following slogans:

Long live the alliance and the common struggle of the toilers in the Balkans!

Long live the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Balkan Federation of the workers' and peasants' Republics!

Balkan Communist Federation.

The Congress in discussing rationalisation apparently completely forgot all the promises that had been held out during the last two or three years.

There is no need in this article to give facts and figures showing how all the promises of increase in the standard of life have been proved false by the workers' bitter experiences. It is only necessary to turn to the resolutions adopted at the Nottingham Congress itself. A few examples will suffice. In a resolution dealing with "Compensation to Workers Displaced by Rationalisation and Amalgamation" we find the following:

"This Congress views with grave concern the displacement of old and faithful employees of firms through the operation of rationalisation and amalgamation."

In the resolution dealing with "Unemployment" the following is to be found:

"This Congress recognises that the capitalist system of industry has at all times failed to find employment for all able-bodied workers. The introduction of machinery and speeding-up of labour has increased the output per man, with the result that less men are required to produce the amount of goods which can find an effective market, and as a consequence the percentage of unemployed workers continues to increase."

It is clear from these extracts and from the resolutions which were adopted that the pressure of the workers is reflected in the agenda of the Congress. These protests from the workers the leaders were not able to ignore, and in many cases the language of protest has been carried into the final resolutions adopted by the Congress, only as a means, however, of further carrying through the policies outlined in the Mond-Turner Memorandum, and in the report issued to the Nottingham Congress which indicates that further conversations are now to take place between the employers' organisations and the General Council of the T. U. C.

The only instance on record of the prevention of displacements and dismissals is the case of the Bishopsgate railwaymen who took the matter in their own hands, and by taking what can only be described as strike action in carrying out a work-to-rule policy, were able by means of independent action and leadership to prevent the railway company from enforcing the policy of dismissals in this particular depot. But the official delegates at the Nottingham Congress took great care that such an instance as this should not be used for the purpose of mobilising resistance to mass dismissals that are the natural result of the policy of the General Council itself.

Only one or two militant delegates, speaking under very great difficulties, were able to oppose the General Council's policy, and whilst they did not get mass support in the Congress itself, they can be sure that their stand was not lost to the thousands of active workers all over the country.

The second issue that came before the Congress—the issue of Empire Economic Unity—follows quite naturally from the advocacy of rationalisation and its operation with the co-operation of the General Council. It is now seen that rationalisation is not a solution of the crisis, and so the General Council comes forward with its report on Empire Economic Unity. The object of this report is to show their readiness to work in alliance with the capitalists in intensifying the exploitation and oppression in all the colonial countries, which in turn will worsen the conditions of the workers at home. This, of course, is in line with their joint work with the capitalists in launching and operating rationalisation during the last three years.

The gist of this report, when first presented to the General Council, leaked out, and received the unstinted support of the Rothermere and Beaverbrook press. Subsequently disclaimers were issued, and the appendix of the Report issued at Nottingham certainly endeavours to tone down some of the decisions in the Report itself. Mr. Bevin in his speech at Nottingham also endeavoured to blur over some of the more blatantly imperialistic passages of the report on Empire Economic Unity.

After what was described in certain quarters as "a first class debate" the Congress—by a majority—endorsed the report submitted by Mr. Bevin. It should be noted and remembered that Mr. Bevin in his advocacy of a united bloc of the countries which go to make up the British Commonwealth.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Nottingham Trades Union Congress.

By Harry Pollitt (London).

The Nottingham T. U. C. (1930) was attended by 606 delegates, representing 3,744,320 trade unionists, and it is certain that the endorsement given to the policy of the General Council through the decisions taken will have equally serious results for the workers as the congresses of 1927, 8 and 9.

This Congress met during the sharpest period reached in the crisis of British imperialism, as seen in the unparalleled unemployment and intensification of labour in the factories, wholesale dismissals through this intensification, wage reductions through the Labour Government's arbitration courts, after fierce resistance by the workers, tremendous revolt in China, and a new, wide upsurge in India and in Egypt.

But these vital issues were not tackled, because the leadership which dominated the Congress is to-day part and parcel of the apparatus of capitalist exploitation; its whole function is to assist the capitalists out of the crisis by throwing the full burden upon the shoulders of the workers, meanwhile attempting to deceive them by using socialist phraseology and supporting high-sounding resolutions without any intention of fighting for them.

The president, Mr. Beard, gave the lead to the Congress when he declared—speaking of the unemployment crisis—"the figure of two million unemployed does not appal me". Mr. Beard's speech was important in another respect. Whilst giving full support to the policy that has been pursued by the General Council for the last three years, he was at great pains to show that the initiative for what has taken place first came from the presidential speech of Mr. George Hicks at the Edinburgh Trades Union Congress. In other words he blatantly exposed the manner in which the "Rights" use their "Left" colleagues in order to justify policies which result in untold misery and anxiety in millions of working class homes to-day.

order to find markets for British manufactured goods and sources of cheaper raw materials, fields of exploitation and of profitable investment for British capitalism, was at great pains to deny that this phase of General Council policy had anything to do with the Beaverbrook-Rothermere advocacy of Empire Free Trade: but like Rothermere who, in his advocacy of Empire Free Trade can never make a speech or write an article without attacking the U.S.S.R., so Mr. Bevin in his advocacy of Empire Economic Unity. In his reply he made a filthy attack on the Soviet Union itself, by saying openly that it had paid and direct agents in the Congress to put forward its point of view. Mr. Bevin, however, took great care not to reply to Comrade Hermon's (E.T.U. delegate) criticisms of the General Council's Empire Economic Unity Report.

The adoption of the Report simply takes this country a step further on the road to war against the U.S.A., as at the same time it intensifies the hostility against the U.S.S.R. It brings the General Council into complete line with the Labour Government's application of its empire policy as seen in recent events in India, China and Egypt. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Government which has recently refused Mr. Saklatvala a visa to visit India, granted a visa for an Indian Government agent to visit the Nottingham T.U.C. for the purpose of making an attack upon the U.S.S.R. This individual was openly recognised as one of those leaders who split the Indian T.U.C. last December, and led a breakaway in order that attempts should be made through the Whitley Commission to get the tame Indian Trade Union Movement under the domination of British capitalist agents.

The third issue which was supposed to be an outstanding issue of the conference, that of **family allowances**, gave rise to a debate which endorsed the policy of the General Council in supporting the minority report on the question of family allowances.

The report of the Lord MacMillan, in which he had dealt with the question of social services now received by the working class in this country, lent colour to the view that if family allowances were pressed for — as advocated by the majority — it would simply be placing a weapon in the hands of the employers to force down wages.

Only Comrade Hermon of the E.T.U. brought the Congress sharply up against the actual situation confronting the workers, and also indicated the ways and means whereby attempts could be made to realise the hard cash for operating such schemes at the entire expense of the capitalist class. Needless to say Comrade Hermon received very little support in such a Congress. But the workers will find that although the Congress supported the minority report on family allowances, this does not mean that the General Council will lead any fight to achieve the more limited proposals it contains.

Three months ago the hypocrisy of the I.L.P. "a Living Wage" propaganda suffered complete exposure when prominent members of the I.L.P. like Ben Turner, M.P., and J. H. Hudson led the attack on the wages of the Yorkshire woollen workers. Now events at Nottingham have given the "dull thud" to this propaganda, and it has taken since 1926 when the I.L.P. first brought forward its proposals at the Margate conference, to get thus far! This is the preliminary to the Labour Party and Labour Government's attitude at Llandudno, for so critical is the position as the economic crisis sharpens, that MacDonald in his efforts to save capitalism has to lead fierce attacks upon the workers, and the Government, Labour Party and Trades Union Congress dare not saddle themselves with "Living Wage" or "Family Allowances" programmes.

The whole Congress can be summed up as one which continues the line laid down at the past three trade union congresses. Yet underneath it all uneasiness could be sensed amongst many sections of the delegates who have not yet the courage to break through the official bureaucracy which ties them to the machine.

"The New Leader" representative at the Congress in his special article endeavoured to suggest that whilst there was a tremendous volume of criticism against the General Council it was silent because of the tactics of the Communists who, he says, "are responsible for creating an atmosphere of resentment to any criticism of official policy and a frame of mind that has done much to silence some of the best critics in the movement."

However, the nature of the resolutions on the agenda of the Nottingham Congress, and on the agenda of the Labour Party conference at Llandudno indicates the workers' new awakening. More and more is it becoming recognised that new fights confront the working class which in the coming months will involve, for example, the railwaymen. The textile workers face a big struggle on the question of the 8-loom principle and the fight against many of the recommendations of the Graham Committee. The miners, as has been shown since the Nottingham Conference in the demand of the South Wales owners for a wages reduction, apart entirely from the question of a reduction of hours, will find themselves faced with attempts to intensify their hours of labour on the basis of the spread-over system, which involves a reduction in actual earnings.

Over and above all this looms the immense and terrible problem of **unemployment**. Mr. Bromley made a speech at the Nottingham Congress in which he expressed the view that by February next the unemployed figures would be nearer four million than two million. The discussion going on between the three capitalist parties on the solvency of the Insurance Fund and what can be done to ensure this, makes it as clear as daylight that new attacks are being prepared on the existing rates of benefit paid under the present Unemployment Insurance Act, and to effect an increase in the contributions of employed workers.

The Minority Movement is already facing up to this situation in the campaign it has inaugurated on the basis of the **Workers' Character**, and is taking the first essential steps towards mobilising the workers' counter-offensive against the capitalist attack. The Charter is based on a series of immediate demands that come actually out of the present struggle and which the workers themselves feel are those upon which it is possible to wage a fight.

In this way, and this way alone, can the revolutionary workers proceed from the experiences of Nottingham, and go forward under the leadership of the National Minority Movement, building organisation for the Workers' Character out of which will come the new, independent leadership capable of leading the workers in the economic struggles of the future and giving an entirely new outlook to the workers, organised and unorganised, in their struggles. Such action means building up a united, powerful, revolutionary opposition that will break through the present isolation of the revolutionary workers, and exert a powerful influence on every phase of activity associated with the struggles immediately ahead.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Forthcoming British Labour Party Conference.

By William Rust (London).

The 30th Annual Conference of the **Labour Party**, which opens at **Llandudno** on October 6th, meets at a time when the economic crisis in Great Britain is becoming increasingly acute, and the political situation very complicated and difficult for the bourgeois parties. "We are not passing through, but passing into a crisis", declared Mr. Lloyd George recently. But the Conference will not meet in "high spirits", as the Chairman declared last year, for since the advent of the Labour Government the number of registered unemployed has increased by over one million, and many politicians and economists prophecy that unemployment in Great Britain will soon reach the three million mark.

It meets at a time when the question of protection and what Government is going to carry out this new economic policy of the bourgeoisie comes up in its sharpest form. "Every safeguarding duty imposed by us is now under sentence of death", said Mr. Neville Chamberlain, a leader of the Conservative Party, "and there is only one thing that can save them, and that is the ejection of this Government, bag and baggage, and replacing them by a Government of the only Party which is determined absolutely to protect the home market against the inroads of the foreigner".

So far the leaders of the Labour Party have maintained a studied silence on the question of the Labour Party's attitude to the fiscal policy of the bourgeoisie, and although the Nottingham Trades Union Congress adopted a memorandum on "Empire Economic Unity", which was distinctly in favour of Protection, neither the Agenda of the Labour Party Conference, nor the report of the Executive Committee made mention of this burning issue.

The Labour Party Conference will meet when the Imperial Conference, called by MacDonald, is in full swing. The exact decisions of the Labour Party Conference, of course, cannot be foretold, but it is certain that whatever manoeuvres the Labour leaders employ, or whatever divisions may exist in their ranks, the bourgeoisie and their Labour lackeys will utilise this Imperialist machine in order to wage the fight for tariffs.

The report of the Executive Committee reveals a big drop in membership, mainly in the number of affiliated Trade Union members, largely to be explained by the reduction in the membership of the unions, and the operation of Baldwin's Trades Disputes Act, which makes the political levy a voluntary contracting-in process. The number of affiliated members at the end of 1929 was 2,082,212. The highest figure of membership ever achieved by the Labour Party was in 1920, when it reached 4,359,807. The Labour Party claims also a membership of 345,544 in its individual sections.

The report which gives these figures is chiefly remarkable for its wordy explanation that the Labour Government is unable to do anything for the unemployed, and many pages devoted to an exposure of the Communist menace lurking behind the League Against Imperialism, the Friends of Soviet Russia, and even organisations like the National Left Wing, and the International Class War Prisoners Aid, which are no longer in existence.

A study of the Agenda reveals that the outstanding question agitating the rank and file members of the Labour Party is unemployment, on which no less than 45 resolutions, and 29 amendments, have been sent in, mostly from divisional Labour Parties. These resolutions are extremely varied in content and in many cases hazy and contradictory, yet not one of them supports the policy of the Labour Government. The majority directly criticise the Government, or demand action in support of the unemployed.

Eight resolutions on the Agenda deal with the Trades Disputes Act. The first, put forward by the officials of the Transport and General Workers Union, is very cunningly worded, asking only for the removal of abjectional sections of the Act, but the other seven resolutions from the Trades Councils and Labour Parties, express a different spirit. All of them demand the repeal of the Act without qualification. The Conference Agenda is singularly barren of resolutions on the Empire, and the imperialist policy of the Labour Government. This is proof of the absence of an organised opposition, for there is no doubt that there is a widespread feeling against the Government's imperialist brutalities. There are over 10 resolutions on India, headed by a carefully worded declaration from the Independent Labour Party. This resolution: "demands abolition of the severe repression in India", and asks for the opening of "negotiations with Indian representatives for the transfer of political power from British to Indian hands". The leaders of the I.L.P. of course say nothing about the fact that Captain Wedgwood-Benn, the Secretary for India, is a member of their Party. They avoid demanding the withdrawal of the troops and ignore the Meerut prisoners. The other nine resolutions from local organisations are all directed against the Labour Government's Indian policy, but mostly in vague terms, using such expressions as "dominion status", and "self-determination", but not demanding the complete withdrawal of the forces of British imperialism. These resolutions, however, leave no doubt that the sympathy of the rank and file is with the struggle of the Indian workers and peasants.

All of the resolutions put forward by the Independent Labour Party have been drawn up in order to avoid the issue of direct struggle against the Labour Government. There is plenty of criticism, but no direct vote of censure. It is

interesting to recall that the Easter Conference of the I.L.P. heavily defeated a resolution from one of its local organisations condemning the Labour Government. To keep the opposition of the rank and file confined to criticism of various aspects of policy, and to prevent it from developing into a fight against the Labour Government along the whole front, is the chief function of the "Lefts". With the help of the "Lefts" the bureaucracy is able to stave off the revolt by means of demagogic and more promises so long as the opposition is in the present limited character.

The Left leaders, Maxton, Brown and Co., may make a demonstration at Llandudno, because they are getting rather desperate, and feeling the pressure of the masses very sharply. But whatever they do there will be done only in order to cover up the fact that they do not mean to fight. If there are Left leaders who claim that they are fighting for the working class, let them prove it at Llandudno by bringing forward their "Workers Charter" on the floor of the Conference, fearlessly denouncing the anti-working class policy of the Labour Government, and calling on the workers to struggle against it.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Arrests of Communists in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The Ismail Sidky Pasha government in Egypt is in a very shaky position. It is working according to the approved recipe: suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, purging of the State apparatus of all unreliable elements as a result of economic reforms, amelioration of the desperate situation of the Egyptian fellahin, improved conditions of labour — and a practice continuation of the brutal oppression of the working population and their ruthless exploitation in the interest of a small clique of bankers, speculators and big landowners. Ismail Sidky Pasha knows full well that this policy will not by any means add to his popularity; he realises that the real power behind him is only the small stratum of plutocrats and parasites — and beyond them British imperialism.

Not only the Wafd Party, whose representatives wait at the door mats in Whitehall and lick the boots of Henderson thereby claiming to be defending the ideals of Egyptian independence, but also the Egyptian dictator, Ismail Sidky Pasha is trying to win the favour of British imperialism.

Since the end of the war it has always been a good tradition of every Egyptian Prime Minister to frighten the bourgeoisie a little with the bogey of Communism and, by persecution of Communists (if possible also by the discovery of Communist conspiracies), to please the agents of the British bourgeoisie. Ismail Sidky Pasha has every reason to remain true to this tradition: he has to compete with the Wafd, and in addition the discontent among the working masses and poor peasants in Egypt has assumed sharper forms of late, while the proclamations of the C.P. of Egypt against the dictatorship have met with a fairly considerable response.

The police therefore received appropriate instructions and a new Communist plot was framed up. It is true a few days after the arrest of the four "chief culprits" (among them being Comrade Dietrich, the former Communist member of the German Reichstag, who for some months past has been staying in Cairo with passport and visa in perfect order) the police had to admit that the "documents" discovered contained nothing compromising and that no proceedings could be taken against the arrested. But what does this matter? The chief thing is that Sidky Pasha has proved that he is on the alert, that he has once again rescued Egypt, and that the London papers have obtained fresh material for their anti-Soviet propaganda.

For the rest, Sidky Pasha is preparing a case, based upon the statements of spies and provocateurs, against some arrested Egyptian workers. It is doubtful however whether such methods will prove of any help against the rising revolutionary wave and against the Communist movement, which is gaining an increasingly stronger foothold in spite of all persecution.