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The Advance of Fascism in Finland.

By F. M. (Helsingfors).

The fall of prices on the world market and the very considerable passive foreign trade balance of Finland during the last three years have made the financial situation of the country extremely difficult. The low prices obtained on the world market by the chief exports of Finland (timber and dairy products) and the general inability of Finland to compete on the market have resulted in a limitation of production. For instance, last winter the production of forestry and the industries dependent on it (for instance, the paper-making industry) was reduced by about 40 or 50%. The textile, leather and metallurgical industries are also hard hit. Last winter most of the factories worked only four or five days a week and many of them even less. Unemployment has increased tremendously. At a conservative estimate there are 40,000 workers unemployed although the total population is only 3,500,000. This figure however, refers exclusively to industrial workers. Unemployment in agriculture and forestry etc., is not included and is also very great.

In connection with the economic crisis the struggle of the Finnish working class has also considerably intensified. It is developing from an economic into a political struggle. The influence of the Communist Party of Finland which is illegal and which is subjected to severe persecution under the reign of white terror which has existed in Finland since the defeat of the revolution by the troops of imperial Germany (last year

alone sixty communists received severe prison sentences) has grown considerably.

The bourgeoisie, which is seeking a way out of the crisis at the cost of the working class (wage cuts, increase of the import duties, taxation increases, etc.) is strengthening the repressive measures against the revolutionary working class movement, and in particular against the Communist Party. In this the bourgeoisie is supported by all parties, including the social democracy. The Coalition Party which represents the big bourgeoisie and the so-called active nationalists, is the bearer of the reactionary program of the bourgeoisie.

In past years any fascist coup was impossible owing to the lack of unity amongst the bourgeois parties, but during last winter the fascist movement took on sharper forms. The signal for the open activities of the fascists was given by the events in Vasa at the beginning of this year. This was followed by the fascist raid on the national meet of the cultural and educational organisations of the working youth in Lappo. The fascists who took part in this raid were openly supported by their followers in all parts of the country. Under the pressure of the fascists, the government and the parliament brought in and adopted a new press law considerably limiting the rights of the working class newspapers etc. The social democrats remained silent, although the law prohibited the cultural and educational organisations of the workers. Following the Lappo

events the fascists formed an organisation which they termed the "Lock of Finland", meaning that they kept the door to Finland against the penetration of communist propaganda, a hint at the Soviet Union.

The fascists were of course not content with these successes and a few months later followed the raid on the printing shop of the workers newspaper in Vasa, "The Voice of the Toilers". The fascists utilised the trial of the raiders for great demonstrations in Vasa. Worker witnesses were mishandled on the streets without the police interfering. In addition the lawyer of the workers press was kidnapped and carried off in a motor-car and abandoned in a remonte district.

Fascist delegates assembled in Helsingfors from all parts of the country and presented the following demands to the government: the immediate prohibition of all communist newspapers and other publications; the immediate dissolution of all communist organisations; the immediate arrest of all communist leaders and communist agitators. After the carrying out of these demands, the convening of parliament to discuss new laws.

The answer of the government was fixed by the fascists for the 15th June. Intimidated and without any real authority the government capitulated completely. A Cabinet commission was appointed to work out a "Law for the Protection of the Republic" and a "Press Law". At the same time the government called a special session of parliament. Another measure was the withdrawal of the Governor of Vasa and the appointment of the leader of the Military Academy, Colonel Heinrichs in his place provisionally.

This appointment is very important in view of the role played by Colonel Heinrichs in the anti-Soviet Ingerman and Carelian movement, and his speech at the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Ingerman movement.

At the moment events are taking a turn which may mean the complete triumph of fascism in Finland. With the active support of the right-wing parties, Finnish fascism is preparing to seize power and carry out its program.

The return of Sinhuud to Finland is symptomatic. Sinhuud is one of the most prominent figures in the aggressive circles of the Finnish bourgeoisie. During the world war he was at the head of the so-called constitutional movement of the bourgeoisie whose struggle against Tsarism reflected the narrow economic and ideological relations with Hohenzollern Germany. After the bloody suppression of the revolutionary proletariat by the troops of the General Mannerheim, Sinhuud became President of Finland. Under Sinhuud's chairmanship a special session of the Finnish "parliament" had no more urgent task than to assure imperial Germany of its utter loyalty to German imperialism and elect Prince Friedrich Karl of Hessen King of Finland. Germany's defeat in the world war and the German revolution destroyed the plans of the Germanophile group of the Finnish bourgeoisie and Sinhuud had to retire. General Mannerheim took his place as the obedient servant of the Entente and the bitter enemy, of Soviet Russia.

During the Carelian adventure of the Finnish white guards in 1921 Sinhuud as the representative of the Firm "Gutzeit" showed great interest in the timber resources of Eastern Carelia. In the following years Sinhuud took no very prominent part in Finnish public life, but his name was mentioned again and again in connection with the activity of the extreme reactionary groupings. Sinhuud's presence in Lappo, the centre of Finnish fascism, and his participation in the fascist conference there are noteworthy. Sinhuud is one of the most promising candidates for the job of fascist dictator of Finland. The aggressive circles of the Finnish bourgeoisie are prepared to place power in his hands.

The fascists are the most determined representatives of Finnish imperialism. Their program is: an active struggle against the Soviet Union; the formation of "Pan-Finland" with the violent annexation of the Carelian Republic and Ingermanland. The Finnish fascists are also supporters of an anti-Soviet Baltic block under the leadership of Poland. The working masses must therefore follow the events which are developing in Finland with the closest possible attention.

The Offensive of Fascism in Finland.

By A. S. (Helsingfors).

The present situation in Finland is similar in many respects to that in Italy before the seizure of governmental power by Mussolini. In actual fact a Fascist dictatorship already rules, though still hidden behind a democratic mask. The constitutional rights of the population have long been set aside by the actions of the armed Fascist bands, and the government appointed by the parliamentary people's representatives has done nothing to defend the violated constitution.

Its police permit the Fascist bands to destroy unpunished the printing offices of the radical peasants and workers, to break up by force legally permitted meetings, and to carry away and maltreat many of the workers whom they hate. The government does not even deem it necessary to keep up appearances and to persecute the revolutionary labour movement on "legal" lines, although it possesses the means enabling it to do so; it simply prohibits every revolutionary workers' newspaper, whether it has been "guilty" of a "punishable" offence or not. At a press reception the minister for home affairs, **Linturi**, declared that the government would not have the parliamentary deputies of the **Workers and Peasants Party** arrested, but he immediately added that "should the police make statements justifying such a step, the arrests would of course be made."

This is a very clear hint, and the notorious Okhrana (the political police, taken over from Tsarism by the "democratic" republic) will find no difficulty in adducing "proofs", as it has so often done already. Here again the government obeys the commands of the Fascists, who have declared openly that they will not permit the participation of the 23 deputies of the radical Workers and Peasants Fraction in the parliamentary sessions on 1st July.

Meanwhile the Fascists are intensely active for the further extension of their power. In many places they have meetings and conferences, which have sent telegrams to the President of the Republic, calling upon him "to form at once a government independent of the parties". The President of the Parliament, **Dr. Virkunen**, as also **Svinhuud**, the leader of the Finnish bourgeoisie during the civil war, who has hastened home from abroad (it is rumoured that he is to form the coming "strong" government), take part in these meetings. The Fascists have even pressed airplanes into their service, and dropped a large number of leaflets over **Helsingfors**, calling upon the **Swedish** population of the capital to join the Fascist movement. It is worthy of remark that the largest organ of the Swedish speaking bourgeoisie, the "**Huvudstadsbladet**" has been obliged to state in an article that "no unlawful actions have been taken which might have caused the Fascist measures against the workers."

Among the workers of Finland feeling is very strong and confident, and there is no doubt that the great majority of the working people is opposed to the Fascist movement. This feeling is mirrored in the attitude of Finnish **Social Democracy**, whose press is impelled by the indignant masses to strike radical notes and to pretend opposition. The president of this party, **Tanner**, in the course of interviews with representatives of the Stockholm organ of the Swedish match king, declared that "the communists are mainly to blame for the latest events". The same man who two years ago gave the cue leading to so much persecution, who as prime minister caused hundreds of workers to be imprisoned for political offences and their organisations to be prohibited, who openly reviewed the parade of the Fascist volunteer corps, now declares, for the purpose

of deceiving the uneasy Social Democratic workers, "that his party will not tolerate any attack on liberty".

But the Social Democrats have done nothing to ward off the attacks hitherto made on liberty, on the contrary, they have done the Fascists excellent service of late. They have split the hitherto united trade union movement, because they could not attain the majority by democratic means, and have founded numerous fragmentary splinters of unions, which, whilst not comprising the masses, sow disunity in the ranks of the workers, and thereby encourage the Fascists to fresh assaults.

The policy of violence adopted by the Finnish Fascists is a fresh proof of the weakness and hopelessness of the capitalist system. The economic crisis presses heavily upon Finland, especially upon its agriculture. Thousands of middle and small peasants, especially in the Northern districts, have been ruined and expropriated by the crisis, their property forcibly sold by the authorities. The Fascists (led by the industrialists and big peasants) are trying to exploit the wretched position

of the rural population for their own ends; they throw the responsibility onto the communists and the trade unions under their leadership, and declare that the sole solution of the crisis lies in the reduction of the already very low wages. The Fascist movement has however a conspicuous tendency towards open agitation for war, and it is evident that the chief wirepullers are to be found beyond the frontiers of the country.

Great Britain has long exercised great influence on the policy of the Finnish Republic, and at the present time there are warships of the British "Labour" government in the waters of the Finnish capital. However impending events may develop, one thing is certain, and that is that the class-conscious Finnish workers will not submit without resistance to Fascism. Since the defeat of their Soviet Republic in 1918 they have gained much valuable experience, have built up with tenacious energy the illegal Communist Party side by side with the legal organisations, and they will ensure, with the aid of the international working class, that a Fascist dictatorship in Finland will not be of long duration.

The Simon Commission's Report, Vol. 2, Recommendations.

By R. Page Arnot (London).

The Recommendations of the Simon Commission published today, as could be forecast from the imperialist propaganda of the Survey published two weeks ago, are designed not to relax, but to strengthen the grip of British Imperialism on its Indian colony.

The recommendations even sweep away some of the trifling concessions granted by the Montagu-Chelmsford "reforms" during the stress of the imperialist war and tighten up the centralised control of all things (army, finance etc.), essential to the maintenance of British rule. Above all, the military centralisation and the concentration on the North-West Frontier means a more rapid and effective preparation of India as the strategical base for war on the Soviet Union.

These and not the farcical provincial legislatures with their enlarged electorates are the essence of the recommendations.

By the terms of reference, set forth in the Government of India Act of 1919, the Commissioners had to report on the questions:

"Whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government existing therein."

The Commissioners—Liberal, Labour and Tory—have sought to "restrict the degree of responsible Government".

For this purpose they have elaborated a scheme which actually takes back more than it grants. In any case, of course nothing even of the apparent "grants" is of any value to the masses of India, who will simply be still more effectively exploited under these schemes than hitherto.

First of all, the question of the armed forces, whose budget was previously discussed in the Legislative Assembly, becomes now a matter for imperial authority alone, namely the Viceroy plus the Commander-in-Chief.

Secondly, even the sham of the Legislative Assembly, with its farcical electorate of less than two per cent, is abolished. In its place some shadowy federal body, appointed by the provinces, is to be set up in the future.

Thirdly, the method of choosing the bureaucracy is to remain directly under the control of the Secretary of State for India.

Fourthly, the Indian princes, the reactionary allies of British Imperialism, who have hitherto been a reserve in the background, are now to be brought into the future federal constitution.

Fifthly, Burma is to be split off from India altogether, and that for two reasons. Strategically it will serve as a buffer state against a Soviet China. Politically, the Burmese are a homogeneous race, amongst whom the British cannot exploit any religious differences, and therefore are a special danger to British rule in India.

Sixthly, the previous lying "promise" of "successive stages" towards self-government is now definitely withdrawn.

So much for the new direct restrictions which more than counterbalance any supposed "concessions" in the provinces.

But when the "concessions" in the provinces are looked into it becomes clear that they are so hedged about with "safeguards" as to lose even their small face value.

The new proposals are that in each province instead of the "Dyarchy" set up in 1919 there shall be ministers for every department chosen by the Governor and responsible to the legislatures.

But—first—if the ministry is defeated in the legislature it need not resign; Second, the Governor can override the decisions of his ministers; Third, the Governor can override the acts of the legislatures, can veto measures, or pass them over their heads by "certifying".

Finally, in any case the Governor can in an emergency, scrap the whole machinery and govern despotically!

It should be noted that the provincial autonomy granted to the North-West Frontier is to be specially restricted for military reasons (i. e., for reasons of the preparation of war on the Southern Frontier of the Soviet Union) and is therefore also more directly under Imperial control.

The other "concessions" are the increased size of the electorates. But when looked into this increase is one which does not admit the workers or the peasants to a direct vote; while the separate representation of Moslems, non-Brahmins and others perpetuates the communal divisions thanks to which the British maintain their domination under the slogan "Divide and Rule".

The recommendations are unanimously signed by the representatives of all three Parties—Liberal, Labour and Tory.

Why this unanimity? Because all three are directly interested in the maintenance of the system of Colonial exploitation and robbery. The Social-Fascists are guarding their plunder.

Contrast with the unanimous united front of the imperialist bourgeoisie the reception of the Simon Commission and its Report in India. There the Commission was boycotted, and its members greeted with hostile mass demonstrations.

Apart from imperialism's feudal reactionary allies, only those directly in the pay of the British Government dare say anything in favour of these recommendations.

Even the bourgeois "Bombay Chronicle" says:

"The recommendations are completely inspired by racial arrogance and greed for the power of exploitation."

In face of the universal hatred of the Indian peoples, Odhams' "Daily Herald" begins a cunning manoeuvre. It points out that the recommendations do not repeat the promise of "Dominion Status" made by the Viceroy seven months ago; and it goes on to urge that something more must be granted. It suggests that the Labour Party have no responsibility for these unanimous recommendations.

The intention of the "Daily Herald" is to suggest to the Indians that if they will renew their trust in MacDonald, MacDonald will see them through. Either at the Round Table Conference or elsewhere, it is hinted, they will get satisfaction.

Thus the manoeuvre of "promises", at which the Social-Fascists are past masters, begins to be tried on once more.

To sum up, the Simon Recommendations, signed by Hartshorn and Attlee, members of the Labour Government, are not only designed to tighten the grip of British Imperialism, but in so doing they are more reactionary than the present constitution.

Just as the Tsar Nicholas, by successive stages, strengthened the grip of the autocracy over his Grand Duchy of Finland in the years before the first Imperialist world war, so the British Labour Government is consolidating the grip of British Imperialism on its Indian colony in the period before the second Imperialist world war.

POLITICS

The Result of the Saxon Diet Elections.

By Hermann Jacobs (Leipzig)

The result of the Saxon Diet elections mirrors the tremendous intensification of the economic and political situation, the deep crisis of the capitalist order of society and the swiftly widening mass ferment. The most important result of the elections is that the National Socialists have won over 240,000 votes as compared with their poll at the last Diet elections in Saxony, and return to the Diet as the second strongest party. In such important towns as Dresden and Chemnitz they have won their way to the second place, although in Leipzig they had to be content with the fourth place. This great advance of the Fascists as taken place for the most part at the expense of the bourgeois parties. For instance, the German People's Party, the party of German heavy industry and finance capital, lost 135,000 votes, whilst the German Nationalists lost 90,000 votes.

Another important factor of the elections is that this concentration of the reactionary forces around the standard of fascism did not only affect the purely bourgeois camp. The Social Democracy lost 50,000 votes as compared with the last elections. The party whose coalition policy paved the way for the rise of Fascism is now reaping the fruits. There is no doubt that a section of the Fascist gains, though of course not

the decisive section, was made at the cost of the Social Democracy, and that many former Social Democratic voters have gone over to the Fascists.

The losses of the bourgeois parties and of the Social Democracy are countered by the Communists with a win of about 10,000 votes as compared with the last elections. Apart from the Fascists, the Communist Party is the only party which gained any votes at the elections. This gain is insufficient and is no reason for us to be overenthusiastic when it is compared with the gains of the Fascists, but at least it is an irrefutable sign that there is only one power capable of organising the mass struggle against Fascism, and that is the Communist Party.

However, this very increase of our votes shows us that we have not yet succeeded in gathering all those masses who have suffered from the general crisis of capitalism and from the capitalist rationalisation, under our banner.

The reasons for the tremendous gains of the Fascists must be closely examined, the question is of importance not only for the workers of Saxony, but for the workers of Germany, yes, and of the world. As far as the gains of the Fascists are amongst working class voters, these are either backward workers who formerly voted for bourgeois parties, or voters who formerly voted for the Social Democrats. These votes have been won by the unprecedented demagoguery of the National Socialists, demagoguery which has succeeded in blinding many to their reactionary policy in Thuringia. Despair and a desperate attempt to find an improvement somewhere won hundreds of votes for the Fascists. There is no doubt however, that the bloody terror of the Fascists and their reactionary policy towards the working masses will increase tremendously as a consequence of their Saxon victory.

Despite the difficulties of co-operation with the Fascists, as shown in Thuringia, the bourgeoisie will undoubtedly be ready to do everything possible to bring about a government with the Fascists in Saxony. That such a government will be much more dangerous to the workers in industrial Saxony than in semi-agrarian Thuringia is clear.

For the workers of Saxony, and in particular for the Social Democratic workers, the results of the Saxon elections must be an incentive to examine earnestly the inevitable result of the policy of the Social Fascist leaders, the result of the policy of the so-called left-wing Social Democratic leaders who have their stronghold in Saxony. The fact that the hopes of the National Socialists to hammer a wedge into the working class movement in Saxony have been illusory is alone due to the fact that the Communist Party has made a start with the organisation of a broad political mass struggle against the National Fascist advance, although this struggle is not yet strong and energetic enough.

This is the difference between the Communist Party, the deadly enemy of Fascism, and the Social Democracy which has paved the way for Fascism. The Communists and the masses who sympathise with them must redouble their efforts to fight down the Fascists plague which is creeping all over the country. A broad united front must be formed with the Social Democratic workers and with the non-party workers who are as much threatened by the Fascist terror as their Communist fellow workers.

The National Socialists have developed into a mass movement. In Saxony they are already stronger numerically than the Communist Party. This fact makes it absolutely necessary to conduct propaganda on an intensive scale, in the press, in meetings, in the factories, at the Labour Exchanges, everywhere, against the infection of proletarians with the deceitful propaganda of the Fascists. An anti-Fascist front on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle and under the banner of Communism must be formed.

One of the most beneficial results of the elections in Saxony is that the Brandlerists have not only again failed to win a single seat, but that they have lost a considerable section of the few they received at the last elections. That is the reward for their treachery to the cause of Communism, and a sign that the confidence of the working class in the Communist Party is growing and consolidating and that the workers have realised that the Brandlerist slanders assist the "left-wing" Social Democrats.

The result of the Saxon elections thus confirm the correctness of the estimation of the present political situation in Germany made by the Central Committee of the Party, and stresses the urgency and correctness of the recent decisions of the Political Bureau of the Party concerning the intensification of the struggle against Fascism. It must be openly admitted that for a long period we underestimated the danger of the National Socialist movement. That has now stopped, and it is high time that we concentrated all our energies on making up for lost time and building up a united front of all workers irrespective of party under our leadership. The political mass struggle against Fascism will be the most decisive factor in our general struggle against the Young Plan and the hunger crusade of the German bourgeoisie.

The result of the Saxon elections has shown that the path pointed out by the Communist Party to the workers for the struggle against Fascism was correct. With persistent and determined work in this serious situation it should be possible for us to speed up, strengthen and extend the advance made by the Communist Party in Saxony.

Schober—Pabst.

The Background of the Disagreement in the Fascist Camp in Austria.

By R. Schüller (Vienna).

The aggravation of the economic crisis in Austria has led at the same time to acuter differences in the camp of Fascism. The most conspicuous expression of this is seen in the **expulsion of Major Pabst from Austria by the Schober government**. Pabst was the first chief of the staff of the **Heimwehr** organisations, and the Social Democrats rejoice at this measure of the Schober government as a blow struck by this government "against the Heimwehr". The Social Democrats cannot do enough in the way of expressing approval and confidence in the Schober government for banishing Pabst, and utilise the opportunity to represent precisely this Fascist Schober government and its dictatorship regime to the working class—as a protection against Fascism.

The step taken by the Schober government is not in the slightest a step against the Heimwehr as such; on the contrary, it serves to establish and utilise the Heimwehr for the development and strengthening of the Fascist Schober dictatorship. The Schober government has attacked, in this measure, individual elements and under-currents in the Heimwehr and the Fascist block which disturb and endanger the unity and firmness of the Fascist block. At the same time it has been greatly influenced by foreign political considerations in a certain direction. And it is anxious to maintain its present broad basis, especially among the peasantry.

The background of Major Pabst's banishment is as follows: Of late it has become increasingly obvious that Pabst belonged to those elements leading the Heimwehr more and more in a **National Socialist** direction. With this trend **Pabst, Starhemberg**, and their followers, have lent expression not only to the impatience of the petty bourgeois elements, but to the special interests of that group of financial capitalists dependent on capital from **Germany**. (The central pivot being the strongest heavy industrial group, the **Alpine Montan**.) It is true that Pabst has at the same time been the best promotor of the collaboration of the German Nationalist and **Italo-Hungarian** trends in the Heimwehr, just as the National Socialists in **Germany** work in close co-operation with **Mussolini**. Pabst's increasingly National Socialist tendencies gave rise to the differences with the Schober government.

Inner-politically, the Schober government incorporates the concentration of all Fascist forces, supported by Social Fascism, and led by financial capital. Among the financial capitalists the **British** group plays the decisive rôle.

As the Schober government embodies inner-politically the various forces of Fascism and Social Fascism, so is it at the same time anxious to steer a careful course, in foreign politics, between the various groups of the Austrian bourgeoisie (that is, between the different imperialist groups). Its policy is however decisively influenced by that group of foreign financial capitalists who hold the lines in their hands in Austria and

in the Schober government: the **British** capital which rules the **Kreditanstalt** which in its turn rules two thirds of Austrian industry; after this **French** capital, backed up by **American**. Schober's Fascist plan of economy seeks to combine lessened taxes for the bourgeoisie, and the whole of the social and economic offensive, with the loan. It makes the loan the pivot upon which the Fascist economic program turns.

Financial capital from **Germany** participates but little in the loan and has little interests in it. Therefore the exponents in Austria of this capital, above all the **Alpine Montan**, declare that they cannot wait for the loan, and demand the immediate carrying out of the Fascist economic program, especially of the taxation reform, even without a loan. Their whole attitude on this matter explains at the same time their declinatory standpoint against the disarmament law, whose deceptive "general" formulations form a prerequisite for the loan. And from these same channels, mingled with petty bourgeois German Nationalist tendencies, there originates the rejection of the disarmament law by the Heimwehr.

Some of the leaders of the Heimwehr have of late shown an increasing tendency to convert the Heimwehr into a description of political party, which would take up a line of activity similar to that of the National Socialists in Germany. Financial capital having however already established its Fascist dictatorship in the form of the Schober government, it now pursues different plans for its Heimwehr. Schober, carrying out consistently the program of the dictatorship of financial capital, is working systematically to make the Heimwehr a super-party armed auxiliary force "in aid of the authority of the central power", to incorporate it more and more in the state apparatus, and finally to transform it into a Fascist militia.

An important cause of the disagreements between the Schober government and the Heimwehr leaders is the endeavour on the part of this government of financial capital to maintain a broad basis among the peasantry, and, in so far as Social Fascism comes in question here, at the same time among the working class. The growing agrarian crisis is impoverishing the working peasantry and arousing them. Growing disappointment is felt with the Heimwehr and with Fascism. The National Socialist tendency can only promote this disappointment. In order to retain the adherence of the peasants to the Schober government, the so-called peasant leaders, especially the **Kulak-Fascist Landbund**, find themselves obliged to employ anti-Fascist phrases. It is therefore imperatively necessary in the interests of financial capital, to put at least an external damper on some of the exaggerated utterances of the Heimwehr, expressing Fascism too openly and at too high pressure. And it was precisely the constant urging of the representative of the Landbund in the Government, the minister for home affairs **Schumy**, which induced Schober to take the step of expelling Pabst.

Pabst's banishment has been utilised at the same time to stage a magnificent camouflage manoeuvre, enabling Fascism to launch an intensified offensive against the workers. The government, concealed in the dust raised by the Pabst affair, rapidly and quietly passed the law disarming the workers, and completed the duty robbery. The Social Democrats, who are now carrying on a campaign for the government, and dish up fresh fairy tales every day about the decay of the Heimwehr, have rendered the government excellent service in all this.

Nothing illustrates the real background of Pabst's expulsions so well as the fact that the Schober government has appointed to the important post of minister of trade a man who is at the same time the treasurer of the Heimwehr, and one of the closest aids of that **Rothschild** whose **Kreditanstalt** rules Austria's economics and the Schober government: **Schuster**, a heavy industrial magnate. His task will be to develop to the utmost the Fascist economic offensive, on the Federal railways, in the duty policy, in the works and factories, against the unemployed, in the taxation question. Here the whole meaning of the Pabst affair is revealed! The government of financial capital rids itself of an inconvenient "element of unrest", for the purpose of strengthening and reinforcing the decisive leadership of financial capital in the Fascist block and the actual dictatorship of financial capital. The banishment of Pabst is only the preliminary to the increased severity of the Fascist Schober dictatorship.

On the Political Situation in Hungary.

By Schasch (Budapest).

The crisis in Hungarian Fascism has become increasingly acute during the last few months. It would however be a great mistake to begin to speak to-day of a general crisis of Fascism. On the other hand, it would be a still greater mistake to ignore the fact that the extremely severe crisis in Hungarian Fascism is tending more and more to a political crisis, and that the elements of the general crisis in the Fascist system in Hungary are maturing.

The Hungarian bourgeoisie is making feverish endeavours to bridge the crisis. It strives to "solve" the threatening problems by a further development of Fascism. It is once concentrating the Fascist forces, reinforcing the organisations of Fascist power, inducing the increased participation of Social Fascism in the Fascist state apparatus. Besides this, Hungarian Fascism is resorting to a variety of measures. The Fascist ministers proclaim a "democratic" election reform, they proclaim a "democratic" land reform. The "opposition" parties too are intensifying their democratic demagoguery. Social Fascism is making a pretence of fighting for the general and secret franchise.

The fascist bourgeoisie endeavours to render its demagogic manoeuvre more effective by means of the monarchy question. It hopes that by crowning Otto Habsburg it will be able to awaken in the masses the illusion that a "change of system" is taking place, that the bloody Horthy rule, bringing starvation to the masses, is to come to an end, that the Habsburg restoration will bring back the "good old times before the war". Nationalist demagoguery hopes that restoration will ensure success for its tactics, which aim at the revision of the Trianon treaty and the formation of the "national united front" in case of war, especially of war against the Soviet Union.

The chief weapon of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, with which it hopes to combat the dangerous increase of the symptoms of political crisis, and at the same time the growth of the revolutionary trend in the masses, has been, and continues to be, the development of the Fascist state apparatus, the intensification of the Terror, and the increasing requisition of Social Fascism. An indispensable prerequisite for the accomplishment of this is, however, that Social Fascism, which suffered a catastrophic loss of its mass influence in 1928/29, should be a suitable tool for holding down the rapidly radicalising masses of the workers and poor peasantry, and this means that the bourgeoisie must change its fighting tactics again towards the working class. As a matter of fact: the Hungarian bourgeoisie has already lengthened the chain of its Social Fascist yard dogs; it sent Garami and his companions home, it has opened out the village for Social Fascism, it has granted Social Fascism greatly extended rights of coalition and assembly.

Precisely as the bourgeoisie accompanies naked force by a resort, inter alia, to ministerial demagoguery, Hungarian Social Democracy combines the activities of informers and scabs with "left" phrases and "Left" manoeuvres. Hungarian Social Democracy seeks to conceal the fact of its organic incorporation in the Fascist state power and in the employers organisations (the Social Democrats are members of the communal councils in both cities and provinces, they are members of the economic councils of the bourgeoisie, of the parity commissions for carrying out rationalisation and settling wages questions; a constant connection is established between the ministries and the trade unions, etc.) by means of outcries for democracy, and by its pseudo-struggle for universal secret suffrage. It has even gone so far, in the course of its "left" manoeuvres, as to organise for Mayday a "quiet demonstration walk", and, at a greater distance from the Parliament, equally quiet unemployed "demonstrations", unemployed meetings, etc. Social Democracy has actually been successful, with the aid of this "left" manoeuvre, in increasing its mass influence not only in the provinces, but in the capital, and is therefore able to work much more effectively than hitherto in the interests of Fascism.

Had the C. P. of Hungary, after its magnificent development from the spring of 1929 till the beginning of 1930, not evinced a temporary falling off, and had the Party not been weakened by its own errors and by the growth of Fascist terror, this "left" Social Democratic manoeuvre could not have been so effective. The C. P. of Hungary is however fully conscious

that without a consistent struggle on two fronts, and without breaking in actual practice with opportunism, it will not be able to make good the temporary decline of the Party, or to continue the mighty upsurge in the development of the Party, which began last year, and which was given a powerful impulse by the 2nd Party Conference. It is only by acting on this realisation that the C. P. of Hungary will succeed in winning over the majority of the working class, and in leading these to battle for the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship.

ECONOMICS

The World Economic Crisis Deepens.

By P. (Moscow).

In the stronghold, in the heart of world capitalism, in the United States, the economic crisis is deepening more and more. From the point of view of imperialism in the United States, the figures concerning the economic situation in May are very dark.

The stock exchange is nervous, quotations are falling, prices are falling, unemployment is growing. Instead of the usual picking up in commerce in the spring, there has been a new and sharp worsening. The limitation of production in the most important branches of industry is being continued. Cases of bankruptcy are becoming more frequent although they cannot be said to have taken on a mass character. The agrarian crisis is intensifying. The wholesale index for raw materials is approaching the pre-war level. The level of production of a number of important industries is approaching the low level of 1924. The most important fact is that up to the moment no end of the crisis can be seen. Up to the moment there is not the slightest sign of any alteration. On the contrary, the figures for May and the general state of the economic system suggest that the crisis has not yet reached the culminating point.

The most far-seeing theoreticians of the United States bourgeoisie have already abandoned hope that any noticeable change will take place before autumn sets in.

This is not only the case in the United States. The bourgeoisie in Germany is also preparing for a protracted and slow progress of the crisis. In Great Britain also, from MacDonald and Thomas over Lloyd George to the leaders of the great banks, the bourgeoisie is preparing for a protracted crisis. In France and in the Scandinavian countries which have not yet felt the full force of the crisis, the bourgeoisie is preparing feverishly to meet the coming crash. In Poland the crisis has reached its most severe point. In Italy Mussolini can only console the fascists with the observation that the situation is not any better in the other countries. In the East of Europe, in Roumania and in Finland, the ruling classes have chosen the way of fascist adventure in the hope that it will lead them out of the blind alley. In the colonies the crisis has led to stormy revolutionary events, as seen in China, India and Indochina.

What are the purely economic causes of this protracted and severe crisis?

The capitalist rationalisation has led to a speedy growth of the organic composition of capital, to an extremely speedy relative growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital. The German bourgeois economist Pinner has correctly pointed out that the productive apparatus of capitalism which has grown tremendously in consequence of the rationalisation, can only cheapen production and reduce the costs of production under capitalism, by mass production and mass distribution. In the present period which is suffering from a crisis of over-production, the productive apparatus is only partly used, in many cases to no more than fifty or sixty per cent, and the costs of production are sinking only very slowly. In this way rationalisation is becoming a hindrance in the way of the liquidation of the crisis, although the bourgeoisie is looking for a way out of the crisis by carrying through a new wave of rationalisation whereby however, it will create the conditions for a new, more powerful and more general crisis.

Monopoly capitalism intensifies more and more the **lack of proportion between individual branches of production** and intensifies the contradictions on the field of prices in the various branches of production. The **wholesale price index** has fallen considerably, but this fall — one of the most characteristic factors of the crisis — affects the various branches of production inequally. The fall has hit **agricultural products** most strongly and in particular **colonial products**. All forms of **textile commodities** have also been hard hit. Other branches of **light industry** have been less seriously affected, and least of all **coal, pig iron and steel** and the production of the means of production. Thus, the renewal of basic capital, the most reliable capitalist method of overcoming the crisis, was made extremely difficult. This peculiarity of crisis which is caused by monopoly capitalism (coal, pig iron, steel and engineering are generally monopolies), the monopoly prices which are fixed by trusts, cartels and syndicates, develop into a further cause for the protracted nature of the crisis and the lasting phase of depression.

The present crisis has shown with particular strength a further peculiarity of price formation which is of tremendous importance. When one examines the indexes in the various countries, one finds that the **wholesale price index** has fallen considerably although unequally whilst the **index of retail prices** sinks extremely slowly, in a number of countries maintaining its level or even rising.

No wonder that **Snowden** and the economists of the biggest British banks point with anxiety to this phenomenon. The purchasing power of the masses is determined by the **retail prices** and not be the wholesale prices index. As retail prices are falling only very slowly or even rising, there is no possibility of extending the market on the basis of a lowering of prices, this also cuts the possibility of a speedy overcoming of the crisis. It is not for nothing that the trade union bureaucrats of Germany are now negotiating with the representatives of the employers and seeking jointly with them a way out of the crisis by **lowering wages**, whereby they console the masses by telling them that prices will also fall. For the depth to which the Social Fascists have fallen it is characteristic that the trade union bureaucrats of the A. D. G. B. (General German Trade Union Federation) know very well that it is the **wholesale prices** which will fall and that with the present import and tax policy of the government, with the price policy of the trusts and the cartels, the **retail prices by no means follow the tendency of the wholesale prices**.

The general industrial crisis is accompanied by a general **agrarian crisis** of unprecedented depth and intensity. This results in a sharp drop in the purchasing power of the **main masses of the peasantry**, a further limitation of the market and a further reason for the protracted nature of the crisis.

The policy of the bourgeoisie-junker governments and of the monopoly associations for the reduction of the crisis has actually created further causes making for its **intensification**. The policy of the governments, the banks and the other capitalist associations has positively encouraged the **accumulation and the growth of commodity stocks**. In the United States the farmers bureau of the government has purchased great quantities of wheat and cotton. In Canada the government saved the wheat pools from bankruptcy. In Egypt the government bought up cotton, in Germany the government bought up rye. The banks and the monopoly associations have worked in the same direction. The result, however, was that the stocks of wheat, cotton, tea, rubber, light metals, sugar, etc. have grown tremendously. The stocks of steel, coal and pig iron are also growing. These stocks **exercise pressure on the market and hinder the overcoming of the crisis**.

The capitalist world is facing a protracted and slow crisis. The fact of the crisis itself has destroyed all theories of economy without crises, of "prosperity", of "the international homogeneity of national economies" and the **theory of organised capitalism**, and it is already now quite clear that the course of the crisis has destroyed all the estimations of the Social Democrats and of the renegades which are connected with it. The Social Democrats and the renegades reckoned that the crisis in the United States would be the commencing point for a rise in European prosperity, that the crisis would mean a new stream of American capital to

Europe. When Hoover commenced to carry out his methods of "struggling" against the crisis, the Social Democrats put forward a new theory of the possibility of **levelling out and regulating the crisis**, of overcoming the crisis by conscious action on the part of the bourgeois State.

The bourgeoisie has itself now placed these "theories" into its archives. Even the Social Democracy is now compelled to place these "theories" on the shelf, only for a time, of course. The crisis has demonstrated all too clearly that the **contradictions of capitalism are incurable**, that capitalism is in an insoluble struggle with the forces of production which have been produced by the development of capitalism, and with the proletariat, this most important productive force.

In seeking for a way out of the blind alley of this crisis, the bourgeoisie is conducting an open **attack upon the working class**. Wage reductions have become an **international slogan** of the bourgeoisie, in the United States, in Great Britain, in Germany, etc. In a number of great capitalist countries the question of an attack upon social legislation has also been raised quite openly. An attack is also being carried out on the main masses of the peasantry. A bloody imperialist terror is developing in the colonies. The danger of **new wars** between the imperialists and in particular the danger of a new war against the Soviet Union are taking on more real forms. The pacifist masks are being thrown overboard, and international imperialism is showing its real countenance of blood-thirsty robbery.

The proletariat, the main masses of the peasantry and the colonial peoples, however, no longer limit themselves to mere defence. In various countries and in various ways **collisions** have occurred between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in some cases the proletariat has even gone over to a counter-offensive.

The crisis in the United States is deepening. It is becoming quite clear that the phase of crisis and the stagnation will be protracted and that the contradictions which have shown themselves as a result of the crisis, will develop with growing power. The Bolsheviks must organise the masses in all countries, enlighten them and unify them and utilise the growing crisis for the struggle against capitalism.

The Agrarian Crisis in France.

By Pierre Sémard (Paris).

The report given by the C. C. of the C. P. F. at the National Conference emphasised the chronic nature of the agrarian crisis, and its increasing acuteness owing to the drop in the prices of the most important foods, of grain and wine; the report further pointed out that the bourgeoisie would be unable to solve this crisis, whose further continuance is bound to lead to a sharper differentiation of the peasantry and to the proletarianisation of the small farmers.

In spite of the measures taken by the government (protective tariffs, export premiums, etc.), the fall in prices continues, and today all the factors causing the crisis continue to exist.

If we take for instance two of the départements producing wine, Gard and Hérault, we find the situation as follows: During the last ten years the average selling price has been 110 francs per hectolitre, the costs involved about 65 francs, so that a net profit of 45 francs remained. At the present time 75 to 95 francs are paid per hectolitre, but the small producers are forced by the depressed economic situation to sell at 55 to 75 francs per hectolitre, whilst the costs have risen to 70 or 75 francs. Hence the small producers are selling at a loss or at a very slight profit, and the future appears even more hopeless, for this year's good crops will depress the prices even further.

But even were the whole crop to prove a failure, as the capitalists devoutly hope, and even were the prices to rise, this would not by any means cure the agrarian crisis. The present over-production is not temporary and not merely the result of a generally good crop, but is caused by the increased area under cultivation and international rationalisation.

With respect to grain, we see for instance that the United States, the Argentine Republic, Canada, and Australia, have increased their cultivated acreage by a good third in five

years, their production by two thirds. The general trend is therefore to a further increase of over-production, especially when we take into account the enormous development of agriculture in the Soviet Union, making this country an increasingly powerful competitor. This competition threatens the home market more and more, and limits the possibilities of export.

In 1927/28 the average price paid for a hundredweight of grain was 162 francs, but by 1929 the average price was only 130 francs, whilst American wheat costs 90 francs at the French ports.

The vineyards show the same over-production. In the course of ten years the total production has increased from 140 to 170 million hectolitres, whilst the consumption has declined by about 10 million hectolitres. The competition of the foreign and colonial wines (Greece, Spain, and Algeria) is felt the more severely. In 1929 73 million hectolitres were produced in France, as compared with an average of 65 hectolitres in the previous years. Many wine cellars are still full, and it will be difficult to find room for the results of the fresh crops. Should the crops be good, the first reports to that effect will depress the prices still lower. Poor crops might alleviate certain consequences of the crisis, but it would be ridiculous to assume that the crisis would be overcome by this.

France is in a more difficult position than other countries. French agriculture, especially corn growing, is carried on on an expensive extensive system. The small property units and the dismemberment of the land are an obstacle to a rapid and thorough reorganisation. The small and middle farmers are at a disadvantage in competition with the large agricultural undertakings. They are not able to raise their yield to the level of the large undertakings, so that their costs of production are very high.

The increase in the prices of agricultural products lags far behind the increased prices for industrial products, and this tendency is expressly promoted by the capitalists, in order to prevent the demand for higher wages which would follow an increase of the costs of living.

If we add, to the inner contradictions placing agriculture at a disadvantage compared with industry, the disadvantageous position in which French agriculture is placed in comparison with the "new" countries, we gain an idea of the acuteness of the agricultural crisis, and of the ineffectiveness of the measures lately taken by the government.

All these measures are mere palliatives, which patch up the damage for the moment, but which cannot solve the world-wide problem of increasing over production and of the consequent decline in prices, nor the problems of the inner and colonial crises of over production.

The agrarian crisis, which is an element and factor of the world economic crisis, cannot be dealt with within national confines, and national remedies can only benefit the landlords. The capitalists are already suggesting a limitation of the cultivated area as a remedy, and hope for a failure of crops. In the end it is always the small farmers who suffer first, whether they grow grain, grapes, or other products.

The above examination shows that the agrarian crisis will become more acute. The curve of its development and the degree of its acuteness may be influenced to a certain extent by the crops, but the good or bad yield can only take temporary effect in either direction, since the actual causes of the crisis are not removed. Its effects are already so conspicuous that the extreme discontent already evinced, especially in the grape growing departments, may be expected to spread and intensify.

The buying power of the masses of the working peasantry (40% of the total population) is greatly reduced, and will diminish still further. The working peasant, the tenant farmer, and the small holder, find less and less compensation for the labour expended, and must at the same time pay ever rising prices for seed, fertilisers, and industrial products. The discrepancy between the prices of agricultural and industrial products, amounting to 57 points in April 1929, reached 93 points by January 1930.

The aggravation of the crisis is bound to worsen the already difficult situation of the working peasants, tenant farmers, and small holders. Pauperisation and proletarianisation are the fate threatening them. The progress of the industria-

lisation of agriculture and the systematic development of capitalist ownership under the leadership of financial capital on the one hand, and on the other the crisis and its results as above described, have brought about a far-reaching differentiation among the various strata of the peasantry, a circumstance to which we must devote greater attention in the future.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

Bloodshed and Treachery of the MacDonald Government in Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The imperialist system of violence and oppression represented by the MacDonald Government has been hard hit by the rise of the colonial revolution and is making desperate attempts to prevent the outbreak of a new insurrection in the Arabian countries which would mean a colossal strengthening of the anti-British struggle for freedom and also a turning point in the attitude of the Mahommedans in India. This explains the grotesque manoeuvres of the British policy in Palestine.

First of all the British tried to calm down the Arabian nationalist leaders by putting up a temporary bar to further Jewish immigration into Palestine. Although this order is temporary and the miserable economic collapse of Zionism long ago prevented any Jewish mass immigration into Palestine, the insulting form in which the immigration permission was withdrawn, and the sending of a special commissar, (Sir John Simpson) who is to inquire into the desirability of the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews in Palestine (this investigation is also intended to throw sand into the eyes of the Arabians with regard to the possibility of protection through the British against a Zionist invasion), was a cunning deceptive manoeuvre.

The inevitable and hypocritical cries of protest came from the Jewish world reaction, from „Vilna to San Francisco“, and from the religious „Agudass Yisroel“ to the red-draped „Poale Zion“ against this shutting out of the Jews from the holy land (which is actually, when seen from the Zionist standpoint and after all the services and boot-licking carried out, by Zionism towards British imperialism, peculiar thanks from the house of MacDonald).

This howl from the lackeys of British imperialism who see themselves cheated of their wages, is intended to nourish the illusion amongst the Arabaian leaders that MacDonald is prepared to give way a little (even at the cost of the Jews who have been used as the pawn in the game). At the same time the Arabian leaders would have an argument towards the Arabian masses in order to convince them that the negotiations with British imperialism and the journeys to London have met with a certain success; the authority of the national reformist leaders was to be strengthened, particularly against the national revolutionary wing (Hamdi Hussein) and against the rapidly extending communist agitation demanding the breaking off of all negotiations and the struggle against imperialism and Zionism by direct mass action.

Although MacDonald makes concessions to the reactionary Arabian leaders, this does not mean that his understrappers in Palestine have abolished the regime of blood and terror against the masses. The persecution of revolutionaries is being continued. Arrests, raids and searches against revolutionary Arabian and Jewish workers are being continued. When it is a question of revolutionary workers, the representatives of the blood-bespattered „Labour“ Government are not only ruthless and brutal, but also perfidious: Although the British government officially promised to introduce a special prison regime for politicals in accordance with their standard of life, a promise which was made only after a hunger strike of a hundred prisoners which lasted twelve days, the prison officials (apparently at the orders of the government) have reintroduced the old regime where Arabian political prisoners are concerned, and even increased the mishandling and brutality.

The British administrative apparatus in Palestine which carries out the orders of MacDonald and of the „condescending“

Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb), hesitated a long time at carrying out the death sentences passed on the Arabian participators in the August disturbances. Protests against the execution of the Arabian peasants came in from the whole Arabian east, from various Mahommedan countries and from all circles of the population in Palestine (with the exception of the bloodthirsty Zionists whose English organ "**Palestine Daily Bulletin**" acted upon the principle „Rather hang innocent people than not hang at all“). But it was clear that British prestige could not be maintained without executions; in addition it was necessary to give the Zionists some sort of compensation for the ban on immigration.

The execution of three Arabian peasants in **Jerusalem** caused stormy protest demonstrations of the Arabian masses, violent collision with British troops occurred both in **Jaffa** and in **Jerusalem**. The brutal execution of the unfortunate Arabian Fellaheen exposed the hangman's countenance of the Labour Government and will show the Arabian population not only in Palestine but in all Arabian countries the necessity for overthrowing British imperialist terrorism.

It must not be overlooked that both the bloody oppression and the cunning manoeuvres of MacDonal in Palestine are not only intended to continue the brutal suppression of the Arabian movement for freedom, but also to continue the British policy which has been carried out during the last twelve years, of embroiling the Jews. The Jewish population, with the exception of the Jewish workers who followed the flag of the **Communist Party of Palestine**, supported the Zionist campaign of incitement; the protest against the immigration ban were anti-Arabian provocations; the arrests amongst the Arab population and the severest punishments passed on revolutionaries, were greeted by the Jewish press. Instead of building bridges to the Arabian working masses, the Zionist organisations contented themselves with bribing suspicious elements and with dishonest manoeuvres in the interests of imperialism. Thus the Jewish population again ran the danger of supplying sacrifices for British imperialism in Palestine.

It is the task of the **Communist Party of Palestine** to organise the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arabian working masses and to win the Jewish working masses to take part in this struggle in their own interests. It is necessary for those communist parties working amongst the Jewish toilers in other countries (particularly **Poland, Lithuania, Roumania, the United States** etc.) to expose the dangerous and damaging role of Zionism. The **Communist Party of Great Britain** must pay constant attention to exposing MacDonal's régime of terror in Palestine.

British Imperialist Oppression in Cyprus.

British Imperialism has introduced new repressive laws in Cyprus with a view to stifling any protests from the masses of the workers and peasants. The local and central authorities must be saved from all criticism.

A little while ago the representative of British capitalism and the loyal executor of the MacDonal Labour government in Cyprus, **Sir Ronald Storrs**, the Governor of Cyprus, decreed a new Press Law. This law contains numerous provisions for gagging the press and also provides for a bond of two hundred pounds sterling to be deposited by all persons receiving a license to publish a newspaper in Cyprus, this sum to be confiscated wholly or in part should the newspaper publish libellous or seditious matter. According to Section 4 Paragraph B of this law the Governor is the judge of what is libellous and seditious.

The new law even imposes these intolerable conditions on those newspapers which already exist, and they have been given a period of three months in which to comply with the new regulations and find securities in the sum of two hundred pounds sterling each.

It is clear that this is intended as a gagging law, and it is equally clear that it will rest most heavily on the workers press. In the first place, it will be difficult for the **Communist Party of Cyprus** to find the necessary security. It is even probable that a considerable section of the newspapers now being published will have to suspend publication on account of their inability to find the necessary security. This is however exactly what the authorities want, for if the voice of the press is weakened then it will render the task of imposing prohibitive taxation easier in the future.

The heavy taxes imposed by the British authorities to maintain their costly and extravagant administration on the island represent a crushing weight for the workers and peasants. The annual budget of the British authorities in Cyprus has risen almost to a million pounds sterling, and the per capita tax is estimated at three pounds sterling although the island is extremely poor.

All articles of mass consumption are taxed heavily and it is difficult for the workers and peasants to purchase even the most necessary commodities in order to exist at all. In addition wages are being so that the masses are being ground between the upper and nether millstones.

These frightful conditions are not unalterable. The government could easily alleviate the poverty of the masses by reducing the budget and lowering taxation. For this however, it would be necessary to cut down the fantastic salaries of the various departmental heads and of the hosts of "experts" who are brought from London to Cyprus to do work for which it is difficult to observe the necessity. Further real economies could be made by overhauling the complicated and bureaucratic system established by the British in Cyprus and in other colonies.

The British government, however, has no intention of making any efforts to improve the miserable situation of the masses. On the contrary, in its efforts to find a field for British capitalist activities in Cyprus it makes the situation of the masses even more difficult. Thus it has now been decided to float a loan of six hundred thousand pounds sterling in London to be used to improve the roads of the island and to enlarge the harbour in **Famagusta (Salamis)** and turn it into a naval base for Great Britain. Its proximity to the **Dardanelles** and the **Black Sea** makes it particularly valuable as a base for naval operations against the **Soviet Union**. The harbour in its present condition is quite satisfactory for the limited trade of the island, and its extension is not demanded by the interests of the native population of Cyprus. The sums expended will go to the benefit of **British** industry which will supply the materials, and to **British** engineers who will supervise the work.

The conditions of the working class in Cyprus are intolerable. Labour protective legislation is unknown. The existing laws are applied solely against the masses and in favour of the employers. The new Penal Code introduced in January 1929 deprived the miners in Cyprus of the right to strike, and the right of the other workers to strike is practically also fictitious. A strike did occur last year and was met with all the repressive powers of the authorities. Many workers were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three months to twelve months for not other crime than that of having downed tools in an industrial struggle. The government supported the **Asbestos Company** up to the hilt in its efforts to maintain the oppressive working conditions and low rates of wages.

The legal existence of workers associations or clubs is dependent upon a governmental permit, and such clubs are strictly supervised by the police who have the right to withdraw the permit and close down the clubs or associations at their own discretion without the formality of having to submit proof.

The British authorities in Cyprus have not forgotten the old imperial principle "Divide and rule" and they exercise it here with all their old cunning. The British Governor, **Sir Ronald Storrs**, has cleverly sown hatred between the **Greek** and **Turkish** populations of Cyprus and has gathered a little clique of notables around the government who are prepared to serve it in return for their privileged position. The fictitious sanction of the British authorities in Cyprus is given by these treacherous Greek and Turkish bourgeois who are prepared to let themselves be misused for any purpose in return for government positions and high salaries. These traitors are the right hand of the British government in oppressing and exploiting the toiling masses of Cyprus.

Under the influence of the political agitation and propaganda of the **Communist Party of Cyprus**, the common people are steadily beginning to realise that their interests can only be served by ejecting the British encroachers, overthrowing the local bourgeoisie and giving them the fit reward for their treachery, and setting up a workers and peasants government on the island.

Against Imperialist War

The 1st August — an International Fighting Day against War.

By H. Barbé (Paris).

A number of the Sections of the Communist International have passed a resolution on the necessity of organising an international fighting day on 1st August of this year against imperialist war, in the same manner as last year. The increasingly extensive preparations being made by the imperialists for a fresh war, and the now acute danger of an armed attack on the Soviet Union, confirm the rightness of this resolution, and emphasise the enormous importance of this impending international revolutionary action. The perfectly self-evident failure of the London Conference, the obvious trend towards increased armaments, and not to disarmament, characterising all such conferences of recent years, the further worsening of the position of the working class and the poorest peasantry in consequence of the aggravated economic crisis and the advance of a revolutionary upsurge — all this creates objectively favourable conditions for a successful 1st August on the basis of a **broad application of the united front from below.**

The preparations for the campaign must be commenced without delay. If we draw the balance of the experience which we have already gained, taking at the same time into account the nature and tasks of the impending international action, the main outlines of the campaign take form as follows:

1st August Committees must be formed in the works and factories as organs of the united front from below; these committees must be elected in great workshop or works meetings and at conferences of elected workers' delegates. It need not be said that where actually elected organisations of the proletarian united front already exist (fighting committees, committees of action, red works councils, and the like), these will form the fighting staff which will prepare and carry out the 1st August campaign. But even these already existing committees will not be able to accomplish successfully the tasks of the international fighting day against imperialist war, unless they organise a far-reaching discussion of this question in the works and factories, and in workers' meetings and conferences.

The appeal to the Social Democratic and non-organised workers of every workshop and factory, to take part on 1st August in the action against the war danger, and for definite economic and political demands, in one united front, must be issued by the subordinate revolutionary organ of the place in question (communist nucleus, trade union oppositional group, local trade union organ, red works council, fighting committee, etc.). Here open letters in the name of our basic organs may play an important part. It would be a grave mistake to address these open letters to the social democratic or reformist leaders; the letters must bear the character of a direct approach to the social democratic and other non-communist workers, including the non-organised and the unemployed. In the works newspapers and open letters, and in the whole of the agitation devoted to the preparation and carrying out of the 1st August, the question of the war danger, and of the consequences of the crisis, must be presented on the basis of concrete material dealing with the works or factory being appealed to, and with the branch of production concerned, and on the basis of facts comprehensible and known to all workers. It is precisely with the aid of such examples that it is easy to expose to the workers the rôle played by their special branch of production in the preparations for a fresh war, and to show that the leaders of social democracy and of the reformist trade unions are playing, in every country and in their internationals, the part of champions of capitalist rationalisation and of the attack on the working class, of deliberate sword-bearers of the imperialist bourgeoisie in its struggle against the Soviet Union, and in its preparations for an armed attack on the Soviet Union (a crass example of this is the latest anti-Soviet proclamation of the Second International).

This year our action must chiefly take the form of mass street demonstrations, meetings, and works meetings. The errors and faults of past actions must not be forgotten in the organisation of demonstrations and public meetings. The ten-

dency towards passivity, towards legalism, or towards the concentration of action somewhere on the far outskirts of the cities, must be resolutely combated. There is no doubt that the international bourgeoisie will hasten to mobilise all the forces at its disposal, police, soldiery, Fascist bands, in order to hamper the organisation of action on 1st August, and to break up the demonstrations and public meetings everywhere. The international revolutionary proletariat has already much experience behind it in the preparation of organised protection for its demonstrations and mass meetings. Measures must be taken in good time with this object (the organisation of formations of workers' defence corps, etc.). Simultaneous action must be ensured between workers in employment and the unemployed, as also mutual connections between the city workers and the workers of the village. The international rallies organised last year on 1st August proved an extremely effective form of expression of the international revolutionary solidarity in the struggle against the imperialist war. Such rallies must be organised again this year.

The fundamental slogans for this year's action for 1st August are given by the whole international political and economic situation of the present day. The dragging economic crisis, the enormous increase of unemployment, the rise of the revolutionary wave in the colonies, bear witness of the extreme intensification of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism. Simultaneously with their savage attack on the working class and the poorest peasantry of their countries, the imperialists seek a way out of their difficulties by preparing for a fresh war, and by organising an armed campaign against the Soviet Union. This gives us the slogans of the International Day, which must be carried out in view of the struggle against the preparations going on for a fresh imperialist war, in view of the struggle against imperialist counter-revolutionary war already being carried on in India by the government of the British Labour Party, in view of the support to be given to the struggle for freedom of the workers and peasants of China and Indo-China, in view of the firmer establishment of solidarity with the workers of the Soviet Union and the defence of the successful building up of socialism in the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks, in view of the struggle for the urgent definite partial demands of the working class and the poorest peasantry, and in view of the struggle against Fascism and Social Fascism. The connection between the economic crisis, the attacks of the employers, the desire for war of the bourgeoisie, and the mobilisation of the Fascist forces, must be exposed. It is imperative to unmask the rôle played by the Second International and the leaders of social democracy, both right and left, in the organisation of the attack on the working class and of the slander campaign against the Soviet Union, and in the enslavement of the colonies and the preparations for war. This must be done, not so much with the aid of examples from the past, but rather by means of reference to the actual happenings of the moment (Fascist armaments and upheavals, increasing armaments in the countries adjoining the Soviet Union, etc.).

The success of the 1st August of last year was not followed by sufficient organisational effort. The 1st August must be an impetus towards the growth and firmer establishment of all the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. The increased mass influx of new members into the ranks of the Communist Parties and revolutionary trade union organisations, and at the same time the firmer establishment of the Party press and of the whole work of the Communist Parties, must be the immediate result of the successful demonstration on 1st August. The whole of the forces of the Communist Parties must be exerted to the utmost, to the end that 1st August 1930 may prove an important stride forward on the path towards the solidification and extension of the revolutionary united front from below, on the path towards the victory of the international proletarian revolution.

India

On the Situation in India

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

I. The Situation in the various Camps.

During the last few days very little news about the Indian movement have appeared in the European press, but it would be a mistake to draw the conclusion that there is a lull in the anti-imperialist struggle. On the contrary, both the published as well as the confidential information received from Indian sources shows that there has been a considerable intensification of the fight all along the line. The outstanding features of the situation at the present moment may be summed up as follows:

On the revolutionary side — growth of strikes among industrial workers with economic and political objects; spread of the no-tax campaign among the peasantry of the North (United Provinces, Bengal, Behar and Orissa); growing radicalisation of the petty bourgeois youth leagues; growing influence and activity of the revolutionary youth leagues of the Panjab and the North-West; intensification of the boycott of foreign cloth and British goods generally; steadily growing participation of women; social boycott of Government servants; increasing solidarity of the Indian police and the lower ranks of Government servants; spread of the anti-imperialist agitation to important States. In general, growing resistance and class-consciousness of the masses, and practical submerging of the non-violent movement.

On the counter-revolutionary side—attempts of Congress leaders to prevent the campaign for non-payment of land rent in the above-mentioned provinces, where the cultivators pay the rent to Indian landlords and not directly to the Government; handing over of the direction of the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth to leading Indian capitalists and textile manufacturers; negotiations of Liberal leaders and of certain leaders of the religious and social minorities with the Viceroy with regard to the personnel of the Indian delegation to the Round Table Conference; formation of fascist leagues of the propertied classes to support imperialist rule; attempts by Labour Party agents to win the co-operation of Gandhi and therefore the National Congress leaders' co-operation in the Round Table Conference; increased activity of the reformist Indian labour leaders both in India and in Europe.

On the imperialist side—enormous increase in the severity of repressive measures (savage bombing of North-West Frontier tribes; military attacks on demonstrations; daily mass arrests; increasingly brutal sentences of imprisonment; ruthless government by martial law and special "ordinances"; suppression and confiscation of newspapers; etc.); corruption of police and village officials by special increases in salary; deception of "public opinion" in Great Britain by the Simon Commission's Report, and of the Indian nationalist leaders by a "new formula" to attract them to the negotiations in London.

To complete the picture we must mention that Britain's imperialist rivals, the United States and Japan, are profiting by the boycott of British goods and capturing the Indian market in a number of lines that had hitherto been the monopoly of the British manufacturers.

On each of the above-mentioned points there is a vast amount of material to hand, but we shall refer here only to a few of the most recent developments.

As regards the industrial workers, even the reformist leaders are being compelled to admit that the mass of the workers are determined to carry on the struggle for their full liberty. Speaking before a mass meeting of workers at Kharagpur, Giri, President of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Labour Union and General Secretary of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, emphatically denied the statement made by the Government that Indian labour was keeping aloof from the struggle. As regards the hundreds of thousands of railway workers he declared that "anyone who stayed in the big railway colonies in India knew and realised the depth of the feeling of the workers for liberty." He did not point out however that he and his fellow-traitors to the cause of the Indian workers, as for example, S. C. Joshi of the G. I. P.

Railway Employees' Union, who is the Indian "Labour delegate" to Geneva, had been doing their utmost to prevent the movement from becoming revolutionary.

How the Government, the millowners and the reformist leaders combine to achieve this end is shown by their action in Sholapur, the industrial town which was recently in the hands of a workers and peasants government and where a veritable regime of terror has since been established by placing the city under the rule of the military. The cotton and silk spinning and weaving mills are being worked in an unbroken shift from 8 a. m. to 3 p. m. without a midday interval as formerly. This move is intended to prevent the workers of the different mills from coming together for consultation. And when the work is over the military regulation forbidding a gathering of more than five workers under a penalty of five years hard labour, places enormous difficulties in the way of the workers.

The Naujawan Bharat Sabha (Revolutionary Youth League) organised a magnificent series of anti-imperialist demonstrations on the 24th of May, the "Empire Day". Details have just come to hand of the demonstrations in Lahore, where Comrade Ram Chandra hoisted the Red Flag in the Municipal Gardens outside the Mochi Gate before a large gathering, mostly of workers and small traders. In unfurling the Red Flag amidst thundering shouts of Inquilab Zindabad (Long live the Revolution!), he called upon the workers and peasants of India to rally under this flag and overthrow imperialism and capitalism. A song in praise of the Red Flag was sung, and a procession marched through the city shouting anti-imperialist slogans and singing revolutionary songs.

A new feature of the movement is the increasing refusal of the Indian police to open fire upon demonstrators. The Congress committees are making special propaganda among the police to persuade them to join the struggle for freedom.

From a confidential Indian source in Calcutta we learn that in the first week of May at a mass meeting of 50,000 people in Mirzapur Park, the 200 policemen who were ordered to fire upon the demonstrators refused to obey orders and were arrested and taken to the Lalbazar Police Station in the prison vans intended for the demonstrators. The meeting was dispersed by a British regiment. Over 2,000 constables of the Calcutta Police Force went on strike for a week until their demand for the release of their arrested colleagues were satisfied.

In Bankipur a military squad consisting of fourteen Indian soldiers under an Indian petty officer, an English sergeant and an English lieutenant shot down the two English officers, because the Indian petty officer had been killed by the lieutenant for having refused to give the order to fire.

Owing to the unrest among the police, the Government of Bombays has announced the grant of special allowances to Indian constables and officers, especially in those districts where the anti-imperialist movement is particularly strong. The salary of village tax collectors of the Jalalpur District has also been raised by ten rupees a month and they are being supplied with special police protection because of the menacing character of the social boycott of Government servants that is being rigorously carried through.

The reign of terror established by the MacDonald Government in India is illustrated by the decrees issued by the Military Governor of Sholapur. No person in Sholapur is allowed to give food or shelter to anyone who in the opinion of the military authorities is engaged in propaganda against the Government. Anyone suspected of infringing this order is punishable with five years' imprisonment of hard labour. Vehicles, property and labour may be requisitioned at will; non-compliance is punishable with two years of hard labour. For dissemination of "information calculated to create alarm or despondency" five years hard labour and a fine. The inhabitants are compelled to remain indoors during fixed hours, infringement being severely punishable.

Other aspects of the situation will be discussed in subsequent articles.

II. Some Results of the Indian Boycott Movement

While the leaders of the **Indian National Congress** are so conducting the movement for the non-payment of land revenue as to protect the interests of the Indian landlords the whole of the movement for the boycott of British goods is proving to be a highly profitable weapon in the hands of the Indian capitalists.

When **Gandhi** initiated his campaign for the "nation-wide" use of the spinning-wheel, — recognised even by many of his Congress colleagues as a return to retrograde mediaeval methods — he gave it the outward character of an anti-British movement in order to make it popular. But the real motives of the movement are twofold: a) the villager is confined to his home in order to spin yarn and save a rupee or two, and is thus removed from the mass struggle with revolutionary agrarian slogans, while at the same time the exodus of the villagers to the industrial and proletarian centres is prevented; b) the demand created for Indian home-spun yarn and home-woven cloth acts as a great stimulus on the Indian mill industry and, while increasing its production, opens up also a large home market for Indian mill cloth. In other words, the Gandhi conception of the boycott of foreign cloth by the adoption of the spinning-wheel aims on the one hand at diverting the attention of the peasants from the agrarian revolution, and on the other strengthens the hands of the Indian mill-owners and business men.

This is very clearly shown by the developments of the last few weeks. When the **Indian Cotton Tariff Bill** was passed by the so-called **Legislative Assembly**, giving practical preference to **Great Britain** against other foreign countries by making the import duty on cotton textiles 15 % for the former and 20 % for the latter, **G. D. Birla**, President of the **Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce** and one of the leading Indian capitalists, journeyed down specially from Delhi to Gujerat to meet Gandhi and discuss with him the whole question of the production of **Khaddar** (home-spuns) and the boycott of foreign cloth. Since then Birla has been in constant touch with the Congress leaders, **V. J. Patel** and **Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyya**, and it is now clear that the conduct of the foreign cloth boycott movement is to be entrusted to the merchants and textile capitalists, who regard Gandhi as their own friend and spokesman.

It is natural, therefore, that the Congress should hand over the leadership of the movement to the merchants and mill-owners. In fact, the **Working Committee of the Congress** has decided, with the full consent of Gandhi, to concentrate its attention on the boycott of foreign cloth to the exclusion of such "dangerous" issues as the "non-payment of taxes", "social boycott" etc. And the satisfaction of the textile capitalists may be judged from the high praise of Gandhi and his movement in the columns of the "**Indian Textile Journal**", the organ of the textile magnates, which is bitterly hostile to the working class. In its latest issue that journal makes the following noteworthy remarks:

"Thanks to the movement started by Mr. Gandhi, a complete and happy change has come over in the textile industry. A couple of months ago the sky was thickly clouded and there was not a ray of hope for the industry. The first indication of the change manifested itself during the visit of the mill-owners to Mr. Gandhi in Surat. . . . The constant demand for **swadeshi** cloth is mainly responsible for the now empty godowns, which had stocks worth hundreds of thousands. In spite of strikes every other day in the mills owing to the imprisonment of various leaders, the mills are now thriving, and some of them are putting in new looms. Even the calico mills which had hitherto been running double-shift have commenced working for 23 hours, and the New Commercial Mills have started double-shift to cope with the demand for cloth".

This refers to **Ahmedabad**. In **Bombay**, the **New City Mills**, the **Finlay Mills**, the **Apollo Mills** and the **Jacob Sassoon Mills** propose to work night-shift "to meet the growing demand for Bombay mill products". The mill-owners have increased the prices of several categories of goods. No statement is, however, made as to the effect of these increased orders and increased prices on the conditions of the textile workers.

In close co-operation with the mill-owners, the cloth

merchants in almost all important cities have unanimously resolved to boycott foreign cloth. The **Karachi Piece-goods Merchants Association** in resolving on the boycott called on the Government to "concede the legitimate national demands of Indians before it becomes too late", and similar resolutions were passed by the **Bombay Piece-goods Merchants Association**, the **Lahore Cloth Merchants Association**, the **Delhi Hindustani Mercantile Association**, etc.

Another result of the boycott of foreign cloth and of the demand for cloth created thereby is the growing establishment of new cotton spinning and weaving mills in **Sindh**, **Panjab** and the **United Provinces**.

In order to further promote the interests of the capitalists, a new organisation called the "**Swadeshi League**" has just been started in order, among other things, to encourage the exclusive use of **swadeshi** (home-made) cloth. It is declared that the "activities of the League will be conducted on lines detached from political party or creed". The President is **Sir Ali Imam**, a well-known supporter of British imperialist rule, and the Secretary is his brother, **Hassan Imam**, a sympathiser of the Indian National Congress.

From the facts cited above it is clear that the Congress by concentrating on the boycott of foreign cloth has not only acted directly in the interests of the capitalists, but has also found a common economic platform with the **Liberals** who are advocates of a **Round Table Conference** and of a new constitution granting far less than **Dominion Status**.

It may be said, therefore, that concentration on the boycott of foreign cloth has completely deprived the Congress movement of the character of a mass revolt, while its anti-foreign or rather its anti-British emphasis is intended to deceive the masses into the belief that the Congress movement is anti-imperialist. The leadership of the boycott movement and therefore of an essential item of the Congress programme has gone into the hands of the Indian capitalists, and it is these, therefore, that will determine largely the terms that will ultimately be accepted by the Congress leaders for participation in the coming Round Table Conference.

That the leading Congressmen, that is the Right Wing leaders, **Gandhi**, **Motilal Nehru**, **Patel**, etc., are prepared for "peace on honourable terms" is asserted by Lord Irwin's agent, **Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru**, who has gained this conviction after having discussed the political situation with Congress leaders.

It must be pointed out, however, that the deliberate attempts of the Congress leaders to prevent the movement from retaining its revolutionary mass character are leading to a further radicalisation of the youths and the poorer elements in the Congress Committees. The Youth Leagues in the cities that had been under the influence of the Gandhi programme, are now turning more definitely towards the working-class, while the District and Village Congress Committees are carrying through the non-payment of taxes campaign even in those areas where the leaders consider it to be "dangerous".

A few words may also be said regarding the effect of the Indian boycott movement on Great Britain and her imperialist rivals. Combined with the increased import duty (15 % for Great Britain), the boycott is having an effect on Lancashire.

"Interviews with employers" writes the "**Textile Mercury**" of Manchester, "reveal an anxious disposition on the part of manufacturers in the Blackburn district, and it is feared that before long most of the mills engaged in the Indian section of the trade will have the majority of their looms idle".

And **J. A. Ormerod**, ex-Mayor of **Blackburn** and a leading textile industrialist, declared:

"It is a most serious situation, the most serious I can remember. . . . It will mean that three-fourths of our machinery will have to close down. . . . It will be a nasty blow to Lancashire as a whole". And he uses the occasion to

"emphasise the necessity of operatives and employers getting together in a great effort to save the industry".

The Indian Boycott is also telling on the **German** textile industry, particularly on the cheap printed cotton goods of **Saxony**, on the silk industry of **Yokohama** and on the **French**

silk ribbon industry. As regards the Japanese textile industry which maintains offices in India, it is asserted by the Japanese Consul-General in Bombay, that they do not intend closing down the offices. The way in which the 20% import duty on Japanese goods is met is that the shipping companies **Nippon Yusen Kaisha** and **Osaka Shosen Kaisha**, have decided to cut the freight rates for cotton yarn and cotton goods to

Shanghai and **India** by one yen per ton, thus depriving **Lancashire** of the advantage that had been secured by forced preferential treatment.

The American bourgeoisie has declared its "sympathy for the Indian movement", while U. S. A. manufacturers have obtained a large number of orders from India for goods that hitherto been imported from **Great Britain**.

Problems of the Revolution in India.

By **Karl Radek**.

II. The National-Reformist and National-Revolutionary Camps in India.

During the first mass wave of the Indian revolution, in 1919 to 1922 the class division of forces was as follows: **English imperialism** was supported by the princes, the feudal landlords, the comprador bourgeoisie, the usurers, and the strata of the intellectuals belonging to these. In **opposition** to these were the industrial bourgeoisie, the handicrafts, the small tradespeople, the intellectuals belonging to these strata, the masses of the workers and peasants. The struggle carried on under the leadership of the nationalists, and especially of **Gandhi**, who advanced at that time for the first time into the arena of all India, was not a struggle for independence, but for the participation of the Indian bourgeoisie in the administration of the state, for its equal rights in competition with Englishmen for positions in the administration. In the sphere of economics, the movement was carried on under the slogan of a return to the past, to a primitive economy of commodities (Gandhi's propaganda for home weaving), but in reality the movement took the form of a struggle for the conditions under which Indian native industries were to develop. Socially, Gandhi's adherents advanced exceedingly indecisive demands for the improvement of the situation of the workers and peasants. They founded trade unions, in order to meet the growing demand for organisation among the masses, but attempted to impart to these unions the character of educational and philanthropic institutions, and to play the part of intermediary between the capitalists and the workers. When the masses of the workers and peasants began to refuse obedience, and to intensify the struggle against both English imperialism and against the Indian capitalists and landlords, the Gandhi party ceased its campaign, substantiating this step in very precise class terminology. In the resolution passed at **Bardoli** (January 1922) it confirmed its rejection of revolutionary force, and stated in so many words that the nationalist movement did not aim at destroying feudal exploitation, but at coming to a peaceful understanding with the feudal landowners in the question of lessening the burdens imposed on the peasantry.

Has the position thus adopted by national reformism changed in the period since the cessation of the struggle in 1922? No, as regards English imperialism it has not changed. The national reformists, who advanced in 1927 the slogan of independence, exchanged this in 1928 for the constitution proposed by the older Nehru, which retains India's dependence on England, and returned in 1929 once more to the slogan of independence. This change of slogans makes it apparent that for national reformism the slogan of independence is merely a trump in the struggle to gain concessions from English imperialism. And we see that Gandhi, after the slogan of independence had been accepted at the Congress at Lahore ("Young India", 30th January), supported, in the 14 conditions for the cessation of the struggle and the participation of the national reformists in the "Round Table Conference", among the political demands only the 50% reduction of the army and a like reduction of the salaries of the higher officials, the amnesty for political prisoners (with the exception of the terrorists), the cessation of political persecution, and the permission to carry weapons in self-defence.

Is there any change in the national reformist attitude toward the questions of the workers and peasants?

The growth of the peasant movement has forced national reformism to accord it more attention; whining articles appear in the press, describing the sorry situation of the peasantry; Gandhi's 14 demands include one for the 50% reduction of grounds rents, but as a rule the national reformists do not

go beyond the reformist demands for the alleviation of the position of the peasants. They regard the growing labour movement with ever increasing disapproval, at times take sides openly with the employers, and even support the measures taken by imperialism for the repression of the proletariat. The demands formulated in the programme of the younger Nehru, which demand "as far as possible" both the abolition of feudalism (compensation to be given) and the nationalisation of big industry accompanied by the eight hour day, are as characteristic of the real policy of the national reformists as Skobelyev's demand for a 100% confiscation of profits for the Mensheviks, and for the S.R. in the February revolution of 1917. With respect to fighting methods, the national reformists continue to oppose any revolutionary mass action, although Gandhi now speaks of **passive-aggressive** tactics. In his letter to Lord Irwin, the viceroy of India, a few days before the beginning of the salt campaign, Gandhi openly exposed his counter-revolutionary attitude:

"We all know" he declared, "that the influence of the party of violence is growing, even though at the moment it appears to be badly organised and insignificant. Its aims are the same as mine, but I am profoundly convinced that it is not in a position to bring help to the silent millions. I am more than ever filled with the consciousness that only the entire renunciation of the use of violence can overcome the organised force of the English government. My experience, limited as it is, has shown that the renunciation of the use of violence can be a great and active power. I am prepared to lead this power, both against the power of the British government and against the unorganised forces of the party of violence. To fold our hands would be tantamount to abandoning the field to these two powers."

We need not enter into Gandhi's declaration that his aims are identical with those of the "party of violence", for we do not know of what "party of violence" he speaks. What is important in his declaration is his announcement, **at the commencement of a fresh wave of revolutionary movement, of a fight on two fronts. We see that the fundamental political principles of national reformism have not changed since the day of betrayal at Bardoli. Every Indian communist must keep fresh in his memory the resolution of Bardoli, and Gandhi's declaration, based on the class situation of the industrial bourgeoisie and the well-to-do strata of the petty bourgeoisie. These are striving to lessen imperialist exploitation and the imperialist yoke, but they do not forget for a moment that they are living on the crater of the profoundest discontent of the workers and the pauperised peasant masses. When the earnest revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants begins, the national reformists will inevitably stand on the other side of the barricade, and not between imperialism and revolution. "You cannot quarrel with a communist any more than you can quarrel with a mad dog; therefore the Chinese government has resolved to exterminate them by thousands of executions"** — these words of the Indian industrialist Victor Sassun, an open adherent of imperialism, will be the programmatic slogan of the national reformists when the class war is in full swing. To have even the slightest doubt of this, after what we have seen in China, and to fail to prepare ourselves and the masses for this inevitable change of front on the part of the national reformists, would mean a frivolous and criminal abandonment to defeat of the workers and peasants. **The struggle against the national reformists, the struggle against Gandhism, is no less important a prerequisite for the victory of the Indian revolution than the struggle against English imperialism.**

(To be continued.)

THE WHITE TERROR

The Communist Mass Trials in Hungary.

By K. (Budapest).

On the 23rd and 30th June a section of the accused in the mass process against communists which has been "prepared" for years, will come before the fascist class court in Budapest. The trial has been postponed on four occasions. The accused have now been divided into four groups. The first two groups will come for trial on the dates mentioned.

The new wave of arrests of revolutionary workers which commenced in 1927 and which has been proceeding almost without interruption since then, was directed, according to the statements of the police and the public prosecutor, to destroying the Communist Party and the revolutionary working class movement in general in Hungary. This campaign against communism began in August 1927 with the arrest of Ladislaus Schillinger and his comrades. Every three or four months from ten to thirty communists were arrested. The plan of the Hungarian government was to put all persons suspected of communist activity, behind bars. The Hungarian government hoped to suppress all forms of revolutionary organisation and every revolutionary stirring on the part of the working class. The tortures conducted in the Police Presidium and the tortures in the prisons aimed at securing new names for the police net.

The original intention of the fascist public prosecutor and the fascist court was to try the accused all at once in a mass process in order to show international bourgeois public opinion the extent of the "communist danger" in Hungary and to show the splendid struggle being conducted against it by the Hungarian bourgeoisie. At the request of the public prosecutor's office eight processes were amalgamated with the result that many of the accused had to spend their third years in prison without trial, upon the pretense that the eight processes were connected and that the investigations with regard to the latter processes would take a long time.

However, the mass arrests have not brought the wished for success for the fascist authorities. In 1927 the arrest of Zoltán Szántó and eighty of his comrades did not stop the revolutionary work of the Communist Party of Hungary for one moment, and the later arrests also were unable to prevent the Party from remaining at the head of the revolutionary workers and fighting on to organise their resistance and their struggles.

In view of the radicalisation of the Hungarian working masses, the successful actions of the Communist Party of Hungary on the 1st August and 7th November 1929 and the 26th January 1930, the miners strike in Salgotarjan and the heroic hunger strike of the political prisoners, the fascist authorities did not dare to hold a mass trial, and the court proceedings were therefore again and again postponed. The Hungarian authorities feared that the bestialities of the police methods of inquiry, the murderous prison system and the killing of comrades Gógós, Löwy, Ruck and Staron would become subjects of discussion at the bar of international working class opinion, that the joint action of the accused and their Party would make the "process order" impossible and that the workers in the court and their comrades on the streets would demonstrate jointly against the fascist dictatorship. When the probability of demonstrations on the 28th April, immediately prior to the 1st May, was very great, the date of the trial was again postponed.

In the end the fascist authorities considered it advisable to make one trial into four. They hoped that this would make it easier for them to terrorise the accused and to close their mouths in order to prevent any open discussion of the brutal regime of the white terror in Hungary. This is also the reason why the class court intends to conduct its proceedings in camera.

However, not all the manoeuvres of the fascist authorities will prevent the accused from acting like communists and revolutionary workers. The accused and the revolutionary workers of Hungary with the Communist Party of Hungary at their head expect the active support of the international proletariat.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Strike of the Mansfeld Miners and Foundry Workers.

By Gustav Sobottka (Berlin).

Since 1st June 14,000 miners and foundry workers have been on strike in the Mansfeld district, Germany. The Mansfeld mining district is one of the oldest in Germany. Copper-bearing slate is chiefly mined here, and worked up on the spot. Besides copper, silver and other metals are mined. The Mansfeld Company Ltd. is the chief employer here; it is one of the oldest, but at the same time one of the most reactionary, of companies. Externally it is draped in a cloak of amity towards the workers, but beneath this cloak the intensest exploitation is carried on.

During the last few years the Mansfeld Co. has enormously increased its production. The output of copper shist rose by 30% between 1925 and 1929, the output of pure copper by 24%, that of silver by 35%. At the same time the production of slag-stone has greatly increased. During the period in which production has been so greatly increased, the number of workers has been reduced by more than 10%. The Mansfeld Co. now seeks to intensify this stupendous exploitation by a 15% wage cut.

The wages are almost the lowest paid in the German mining districts. The present high prices, and especially the increased costs of living entailed by the raising of the duties resolved upon by the Social Democrats, mean almost literal starvation for the workers at these wages. And yet even these miserable wages are to be reduced. The Mansfeld Co. seeks to justify the reduction by the alleged unprofitableness of its works, although the last business year brought a net profit of 3.5 million marks.

The announcement of this wage reduction exhausted the patience of the workers. The Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition at once called meetings of the workers in all the works and organised the strike. A conference of the works' delegates, conducted by the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, decided on 29th May to declare the strike on 1st June. On 1st June not only all the mines were laid idle by the workers, but the smelting works.

The trade union bureaucrats, under the pressure of the workers, could not but declare that they would support the strike. Before the strike broke out, however, they went to much pains to negotiate on the reduction of wages, and were prepared to accept a 10% reduction instead of the 15%. The energetic steps taken by the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition prevented this treachery. Now, during the strike, the Social Fascist bureaucrats of the Union of the Mining Industry, Workers are doing their utmost to kill the strike. Officially, they still declare themselves in its favour. The strike leaders whom they have appointed send however scabs to work in the mines, under the guise of "safety men". The strike committees elected by the striking workers and their central strike committee are exerting every effort to prevent this organised strike-breaking. The pickets of the revolutionary workers take away the so-called "emergency certificate" from the strike-breakers, and send them home again.

The I. W. R. at once initiated a collection in aid of the strikers, but this was prohibited by the Social Democratic governmental president von Harnack. Some collecting lists were confiscated and the money not returned. In spite of this, the I. W. R. has been successful in organising soup kitchens, and in beginning with the distribution of bread and other provisions.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition and the Communist Party are giving the strikers all the support in their power. The influx of workers to the strike committees elected by the workers themselves, and to the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition, increases daily. The strikers are determined to carry the strike to a victorious end, under the leadership of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition.

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

A Demonstration of Bolshevist Unity.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of June 19th.

The Party Congresses of the various Republics, and the Area and District Party Conferences have completed their work. One of the greatest stages in the preparation for the VI. Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has now been concluded. The results of the work of over two and a half years of the building up of socialism were summed up and the perspectives for the further development of the socialist advance laid down. The general overhauling of the fighting capacity of the proletarian class and the examination of the forces of the individual organisations of our Party have been carried out.

The Party Congresses and the Party Conferences proceeded on the basis of a highly-developed bolshevist self-criticism, to the accompaniment of tremendous creative activity on the part of the delegates, and with the closest possible contact between the masses and the leaders, between the class and its advance guard.

In complete unanimity all the Party Congresses and Party Conferences without exception stressed the correctness of the general policy of the Party and approved of the Leninist policy of the Central Committee of the Party.

The Party Congresses and the Party Conferences expressed complete approval of the estimation of the Central Committee and of the Communist International with regard to the present period, the situation of capitalism and the development of the world revolutionary movement. They also expressed approval of the foreign policy of the Party. It was placed on record that the general crisis of capitalism has suffered an intensification and that a collapse of the relative "stabilisation of capitalism" has commenced. It was placed on record that the revolutionary movement in the capitalist and colonial countries is rising. It was placed on record that the brother parties have strengthened their influence, carried out successful work for the winning of the masses and to secure the leadership of the rising revolutionary wave and to clean their ranks from the right and "left"-wing opportunist elements. The Party Congresses and Conferences turned their attention also to the necessity of continuing the bolshevisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of a decisive overcoming of the right and "left"-wing opportunist elements and the conciliators.

The international situation of the Soviet Union is characterised by the intense sharpening of the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the countries surrounding it, between capitalism and the country of socialist constructive work. The danger of a war of the capitalist countries against the Soviet Union has become more real as a result of the growth of the contradictions of the "capitalist stabilisation", as a result of the rise of the revolutionary movement and as a result of the great successes of the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union. This is evidenced by the growing extension of the fighting front against the Soviet Union. The Party Congresses and Conferences have given a new incentive to the working masses both inside and outside the Party to increase their class watchfulness, to consolidate the defensive capacities of the country and of the Red Army, and to carry out the programme of socialist construction as speedily as possible.

The Party Congresses and Conferences were also unanimously and completely in agreement with the estimation of the internal situation made by the Central Committee of the Party. The Party Congresses and Conferences examined the path taken by the Party since the XV. Party Congress and declared that thanks to the energetic policy of the Central Committee for the industrialisation of the country and the attack organised against the capitalist elements in town and country, the positions of socialism had been strengthened considerably and the dominance of the socialised sector of the national economic system consolidated. This fact is clearly confirmed by the successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan for the development of industry, whereby the practical possibility of "catching up with and passing the capitalist countries in the shortest

possible space of time" is proved. Through this policy our country is becoming less and less dependent on the capitalist countries.

The policy of the Central Committee for the socialist transformation of agriculture has proved itself to be absolutely correct. Thanks to the correct policy of the Central Committee since the XV. Party Congress, the building up of great soviet farms has been carried out on a large scale, and a historical turning point in the collective agricultural movement has been passed. This was expressed in the fact that the middle peasants flooded into the collective farms and in the fact that whole districts were included in 100% collectivisation.

This policy enabled us to proceed from our efforts to limit and press back the capitalist elements in the village, on to the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class upon the basis of the carrying out of 100% collectivisation.

On the basis of its Leninist nationality policy, the Party consolidated the homogeneity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and brought about a material and cultural advance of all nationalities in the Soviet Union.

In the period under review the Central Committee also issued according to the new class alignments in the country the slogans with all possible sharpness for the preparation of new bodies of economic technicians and red specialists, the slogans of the intensification of the class struggle against bureaucracy and for the cleaning of the soviet apparatus, self-criticism, the fundamental improvement of the work of the labour unions, the improvement of the composition of the Party, etc. All these slogans are, as comrade Stalin very correctly remarked, "links in an unbreakable chain called the attack of socialism against the capitalist elements".

How topical and necessary these slogans were has been seen from their results. The Party Congresses and Conferences have placed the fact on record that the carrying out of these slogans considerable furthered the training of socialist cadres, that they made our State apparatus more effective, that they made it possible to develop and to utilise the creative activity of the workers and of the working masses on a broader scale, that they resulted in a fundamental improvement in the work of the organisations which connect the Party with the masses, above all in the work of the labour unions, and that they consolidated the ranks of the proletarian advance guard itself, i. e. the Communist Party.

As a result of the logically carried out Leninist policy of the Central Committee of the Party, the socialist economic system is receiving a solid basis and "the Russia of the New Economic Policy is developing step by step into the country of socialism".

The Party Congresses and Conferences which came to a positive estimation of the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party, which expressed complete approval of the plan for the further building up of socialism as contained in the theses of the XVI. Party Congress, turned the searchlight of bolshevist self-criticism on the strong and weak sides in the lives of the workers and their organisations. The examples taken from the local work of the party organisations, once again confirmed the correctness of the general line of the Party and its Central Committee. Whole areas and districts which were economically and culturally backward are now rapidly developing into industrial-agrarian districts and in part into agrarian-industrial districts. Everywhere in the Soviet Union we see a rapid advance of industry, the increase of the numerical strength of the working class and a decisive fall in the unemployment figures.

Large-scale industry maintains its leading rôle. The centre of attention are the iron foundries, the engineering workshops, the tractor factories, the electrical energy producing industry, the chemical and building industries which are of such decisive importance for the development of the socialist transformation of agriculture. The Party Congresses and Conferences, however, also stressed the necessity of an all-round

development of the manufacturing industry, which in some branches is still lagging behind the growing demand. The Congresses and Conferences also recommended special attention to the overcoming of the "bottle-neck" transport and export difficulties.

The Party Congresses and Conferences thoroughly criticised the deficiencies which showed themselves in the carrying out of the industrial and financial plans. The weakest point is still the fact that the **quality** of production is low. Almost all the Party Congresses and Conferences criticised the fact that the quality of production lags behind the tasks set down in the plans and pointed out that the otherwise possible speed of development was hindered and the carrying out of the this year's industrial and financial plans placed in question. The centre point for the attention of the Party organisations in the industrial districts must therefore be the struggle to raise the quality of production, to abolish losses and negligence in the process of production, to lower the costs of production to increase the productivity of labour, to carry out the principle of individual leadership, to carry the economic reckonings down to the individual workshops and factories.

The Party Congresses and Conferences observed the tremendous growth of the political and productive activity of the working masses, as expressed in the volume of the socialist competitive scheme and the industrial shock group movement, in the founding of communist workshops, factories etc., and in the mass stream of workers in to the Communist Party. The Congresses and Conferences worked out a series of measures directed to **improving the quality** of production and the work of the industrial shock groups and to improving the cultural-political work amongst the numberless reserves of the party.

In their examination of the path taken since the last Congress of the Party, the Congresses and Conferences paid special attention to the practical work of the collective agricultural movement everywhere, no single Congress or Conference failed to criticise the great **mistakes** which have been made in various places in building up the collective undertakings, mistakes in which the district and area organisations of the Party often shared. In complete unanimity the Party Congresses and Conferences expressed **approval** of the verdict of the Central Committee on these mistakes. In complete unanimity the Congresses and Conferences stressed the fact that the measures taken by the Central Committee to correct the mistakes were taken in **good time** and led under the direction of the local organisations to the repair of the damage. As a result of the correction of the errors, the collective agricultural movement is now on a firm basis.

The Party Congresses and Conferences have laid down concrete paths for the further development of the collective agricultural movement. Whilst **finally** liquidating the errors which have been made, the Party organisations must also pay attention to the economic and organisational **consolidation** of the collective undertakings, to the strengthening of the work amongst the **poor peasants** in the collective undertakings, to the promotion of **middle peasants** to leading positions in the collective undertakings and to the further development of the collective agricultural movement on a firm basis. At the same time the work in the **individual economic section** of agriculture must be increased, in order to enlighten the peasants concerning the advantages of the collective agricultural movement and to persuade them to join the collective undertakings.

On the whole the grain problem may be considered as solved. The Congresses and Conferences, however, were faced with the **cattle breeding** problem in its whole importance. The difficulties of supplying the towns with many necessaries rest on this problem. The attention of all Party organisations, of Soviet public opinion as a whole and of all mass organisations, particularly the co-operatives, must be directed towards this problem.

There are still a series of great deficiencies in the work of the mass organisations. For instance, the labour unions which are engaged in driving the trade unionist and opportunist elements out of their apparatus—these elements are the heritage left behind by the former leadership—have still not

yet turned their faces sufficiently towards the socialist mass constructive work. Our soviets work insufficiently and sometimes quite bureaucratically and mechanically. In a number of sections of the Young Communist League the mass work is in a state of stagnation. The whole weakness and insufficiency of our work amongst the women in the villages were shown clearly in the flow away from the collective farms. The Party Congresses and Conferences categorically formulated the question of the **increase of the quality of the work of all mass organisations**.

It is also necessary to improve the forms and methods of the mass work of the Party still more, to improve the ideological and theoretical work amongst the Party members and to strengthen the work for the formation of new cadres for the Party leadership.

The strength of our Party lies in the fact that it is bound up with the masses with a thousand threads. This power is unshakeable. It creates confidence in victory and decides the victory itself. Our Party has won this power by logically and firmly carrying out a proletarian class policy. Here above all is to be found the explanation for the collapse of all deviations from the general policy of the Party.

Counter-revolutionary Trotzkyism has plunged far away from the revolution. The "left-wing" opportunist exaggerations and deviations which expressed themselves in the summer of 1929 in the actions of individual comrades and during the period of mass collectivisation have been completely defeated. The right-wing opportunist opposition which arose immediately after our XV. Party Congress has been completely destroyed.

However, we must not let our successes **rise to our heads**. We still have to live in a petty-bourgeois environment and under the conditions of a bitter class struggle and the difficulties of our growth. Hostile influences upon those groups of the working class which are less able to resist and upon individual sections of the Party are inevitable. This fact is confirmed by experience, and we can observe it in the course of the Party Congresses and Conferences which have just been concluded.

We have seen a series of attempts to revise once again the fundamentals of the policy of our Party and its Central Committee. Doubt has been expressed whether the policy of the Party for the collectivisation of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class is correct in the present period. A theory is being propagated according to which no policy can be a guarantee against collapse and against a capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. Under the pretense of "self-criticism" the activity of the leading organs and of individual leaders of our Party is being attacked. A number of them seek to remain silent concerning a series of great burning questions of present-day life and the policy of the Party in order to save them up and throw them against the Party and against the Party leadership at the psychological moment.

It must be especially stressed that all the Party Congresses and Conferences unanimously **approved** of the policy of the Central Committee in the struggle against the anti-Leninist deviations in theory and practise, that they **exposed** the new manoeuvres of the right and "left" wing opportunists and conciliators, that they **mobilised** the masses for a continued struggle on two fronts, above all against the right-wing deviation which continues to be the chief danger in the present stage of the building up of socialism.

The Party Congresses and Conferences also demanded categorically from the former leaders of the right-wing opposition that they should exercise thorough Bolshevik **criticism** against their own opportunist errors and that they should take an active part in the struggle for the general policy of the Party against opportunism.

The Party Congresses and Conferences which have just concluded demonstrated the **unity** of the Bolshevik ranks, their **loyalty** to the policy of the Bolshevik Central Committee and their **preparedness** for a merciless struggle against opportunism in all its forms. This is the best guarantee that our Party and its Central Committee will in the future also successfully conduct the "heroic struggle of the iron bataillons of the proletariat" under the flag of Lenin.