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CONTENTS

- R. Palme Dutt: The Perspective of the British Labour Government.
Politics.
Philipp Dengel: The Situation in Germany and the Reparations Question.
A. de Vries: The Tension between Holland and Belgium.
China.
Tang Shin She: War Confusion among the Kuomintang Generals.
The Balkans.
Assist and Defend the Struggling Dock Labourers of Greece! Mass Strikes and Terror in Bulgaria.
G. Z.: Thousands of Arrests in Yugoslavia.
Before the at of August.
W. M. Holmes: British Communists Prepare for Anti-War Day.
Luigi Gallo: The Preparations of the C.P. of Italy for August 1st.
A. J. Sm.: Preparations for August 1st by the Communist Parties of Scandinavia and Finland.
Against Imperialist War.
Nemo: The Military Training of the Youth.
W. G.: The International Communist Press in the Struggle against the Danger of War.
W. H.: International Naval and Air Armaments.
International Co-operative Day.
Zaborov: The Co-operative Societies of the Soviet Union and their Part in Socialist Construction.
- Significance of International Co-operators' Day to Proletarian Women.
Against Colonial Oppression.
E. C.: The New War in Morocco.
G. P.: Persecution of Indian Workers under the MacDonald Government.
The Labour Movement.
W. Holmes: The Annual Conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation.
Hands off the Soviet Union.
G. ab: The Foch-Marty Case and its International Significance.
The White Terror.
M. D. R.: The White Terror in Mexico.
Valentin Olberg: Latvia in the Pay of Fascism.
Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.
D. Mishustin: The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union and World Economy.
Labour Unions to Take an Increased Part in the Work of the Socialist Transformation of the Village.
Trade Union Movement.
K. Tanaka: The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress and the Tasks of the Revolutionary T. U. Movement in Japan.
Paul Merker: The Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Strategy and Tactics of the R. I. L. U.
In the Camp of our Enemies.
The Role of Maxton and Cook under the Labour Government.

The Perspective of the British Labour Government

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

The first few weeks of the British Labour Government have already brought to the front the problems and basic contradictions with which it is confronted. In the international situation, the Anglo-American negotiations, no less than the delays and hesitations over the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union, are already beginning to show ever more clearly, behind the pacifist verbiage, the realities of strategic calculations and war preparations. In the colonial field, the Meerut trial has focussed in a single point for all to see the true rôle of the Labour Government as the imperialist hangman and gaoler of the subjected hundreds of millions. And in the home situation, the basic division between the Labour Government and the working class has already come to the front, despite the active efforts of the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy to

conceal and mitigate it by every means, in a whole series of issues: in the question of the miners, in the question of the Trade Union Act, and in the questions of the new wave of wage-cuts now threatening large numbers of workers.

These contradictions are of cardinal importance; for it is these contradictions that provide the basis for the revolutionary advance against the Labour Government, for the exposure of the Labour Government and the shattering of the illusions of the mass of the workers concerning it, and for the mobilisation of the forces of working class struggle against the Labour Government and capitalism.

The rôle of the Labour Government both in the international field and in Britain is governed by the special conditions of the present period. In 1924 the accession of the

Labour Government was the signal of the short-lived "democratic-pacifist" era, the period of MacDonald-Herriot, of the Dawes Plan, and of the partial reconstruction of world capitalist economy with American aid. To-day the situation is different. There is in appearance a surface similarity; there are the same slogans of "Peace" and "Reconstruction", the same appeal to America. But the reality of the present period is the character of intensifying contradictions; and the Labour Government, willingly or unwillingly, can only be the bearer of these contradictions. To-day the Labour Government gathers into itself the whole character of the new period, the period of advancing war preparations under the guise of talk of peace, of advancing colonial revolt and imperialist repression, and of rationalisation and intensified attacks on the working class. The essential task of the Labour Government is to screen these contradictions, and to secure the acquiescence of the working class in the preparations for war and in the new economic development of capitalism at the expense of the workers. On the success or failure of the Labour Government in these tasks turns in large measure the success or failure of Social Democracy in the present period.

What are the prospects of the Labour Government in these tasks for the execution of which it has been set in office by the bourgeoisie?

In the international sphere the Labour Government is attempting to make the pivot of its policy an Anglo-American understanding. Such a temporary armistice is of cardinal importance at the present juncture to British Imperialism, equally to delay the too abrupt advance to war for which it is not yet prepared, and to cover the actual preparations for war. The dangerous isolation of Britain which was revealed at the Young Conference in Paris must at all costs be overcome; and by the loudly boomed MacDonald-Dawes conversations, with even hints of possible pacts and treaties, Britain endeavours to appear as the partner of America, and recover its leading position in Europe, as in 1924, and on this basis to prepare the all-inclusive anti-Soviet front.

But the situation is no longer the same as in 1924, when America still had need of Britain as its intermediary to establish its financial hegemony in Europe. To-day the Anglo-American antagonism is now on the first plane. The speeches of Hoover, of Stimson, and of Dawes himself alike show that American policy is steadfastly pursuing its aims, already proclaimed at Geneva in 1927, without turning aside in a single essential for the honeyed words of MacDonald. Naval reduction and naval parity, in one form or another, will have to be established, if there is to be a settlement; and behind this demand is repeatedly brandished in every speech the open threat of superior material resources, expressed in the Naval Programme of 1170 million dollars. But naval parity does not merely mean the final abandonment of naval supremacy for Britain, which at present holds a superiority of five to three in battle cruisers; for the position is that, since British Imperialism, owing to the widely extended character of its possessions all over the world, requires a larger number of vessels of shorter range to hold them, parity will mean that America will in fact hold the superiority in vessels of larger range, and consequently in offensive fighting power. Nevertheless, American superior resources may compel Britain to surrender to this; as is indicated in the recent statement of Admiral Haggard, the Fourth Sea Lord: "Everything points to a reduction of armaments, and I think we will have to face it". In this case the Labour Government may be made the instrument and scapegoat of this capitulation.

Does this mean the solution of the Anglo-American conflict? On the contrary; no more than the previous Washington capitulation, which transferred the competition from battleships to battle cruisers. The basic Anglo-American antagonism, of which the armaments competition is only the final strategic expression, remains unaffected, and grows visibly stronger and more intense every year and almost every month, in all the markets of the world, in finance, and in every sphere of world imperialist domination. The strategic conflict moves to other fields; the war preparations go forward. It is already clear that air and chemical preparations outweigh in importance the naval issue. And it is already significant that one of the first acts of the Labour Government has been to decide to re-equip completely the Auxiliary Air Force, involving the provision of sixty new aircraft of the latest pattern. Thus early does the true war-preparations character of the Labour Government reveal itself.

If we turn to the home economic situation, the contrast with 1924 is no less striking. In 1924 there was a slight net rise in wages; the Labour Government was able to stave off the miners' issue with improved conditions; it did not have to deal with any larger issue of the capitalist offensive. To-day the position is more difficult. The process of rationalisation requires large scale attacks on the workers in the industries. The Labour Government can make some concessions to favoured sections of the workers; it can make limited concessions in social legislation, pensions and unemployed benefit; and it can create a certain amount of employment on the new construction work in connection with rationalisation (on the lines of the Liberal programme). By this means it will endeavour to blind the eyes of the workers to the real process of rationalisation, and, with the aid of the whole Mondist machinery of the trade unions, to maintain industrial peace. But it cannot go far either in concessions or in creating employment owing to the whole character of the economic situation; the gold standard is in a precarious position owing to the new American gold pull, and the raised Bank Rate of 5½% is at present more likely to go up than down; and in consequence the City will frown on any large scale credits. Speaking at the end of May of this year, Professor J. H. Jones, Professor of Economics at Leeds, had occasion to refer to the "empty talk about industrial peace"; he pointed out that since the adoption of the Gold Standard in 1925 the world price level had fallen 15—20%, and concluded:

"If the world price level did not come up again, the internal price level would have to come down, and the process of reducing it would mean a process of industrial strife of the first magnitude" (Daily Herald 25. 5. 29).

This is no encouraging outlook for the Labour Government's primary programme and role of "peace in industry".

Above all, the Labour Government is confronted with the necessity of the direct attack on the standards of the workers in the basic industries, consequent on rationalisation. This is already opened on a gigantic scale with the 12.5% wage cut demand for all cotton workers. This wage-cut, affecting directly half a million workers, was proclaimed by the textile lords on June 21st, within a fortnight of the Labour Government's formation, to come into operation on August 3rd. The cotton trade union leaders have been compelled to declare "united resistance". The Labour Government, in conjunction with the trade union leaders, will make every effort to prevent a struggle; it has already intervened, and will no doubt endeavour to secure a face-saving "settlement" by which the wage-cut is suitably reduced or made in more concealed and complicated forms. But the settlement on the basis of industrial peace can only be at the expense of the workers, with the consequent exposure of the role of the Labour Government as a wage-cutting Government.

The role of the Labour Government as a wage-cutting Government has already been significantly brought out in its first two weeks by the Dawdon miners' struggle. For four months the Dawdon miners, in MacDonald's own constituency, fought against a wage-cut with desperate tenacity; MacDonald during the election ostentatiously refused to stir a finger in their support. After the election they appealed to MacDonald, who, through his state officials, then effected a "settlement", by which the wage-cut was not withdrawn, but merely referred to arbitration, to be enforced in a month.

At the same time, the workers, stimulated with the sense of a Labour "victory" at the elections, are looking for improved conditions and an advance in wages. Such moves for an advance are already developing in engineering, mining and other industries. To the Labour Government and the trade union bureaucracy falls the rôle of holding back the workers. For this rôle they are strongly equipped with their complete control of all the machinery of the working class organisations; the Labour Government and the trade union bureaucracy to-day represent the most highly developed apparatus of capitalism for the control and repression of the workers. But the execution of this rôle necessarily hastens the process of revolutionisation, the exposure of social democracy and the divorce of the Labour Government and the working class.

In particular, two immediate issues of an urgent character confront the Labour Government — the issues of miners' hours (increased from seven to eight by the legislation of Baldwin) and of the Trade Union Act of Baldwin. On both these the Labour Government stands pledged to repeal, although already before the election the wording of its pledges was taking on

an increasingly hesitant and ambiguous character. To-day it is anxiously surveying how best to escape these pledges, and to replace "repeal" by "amendment". The trade union leaders are doing their best to assist them in this process, and Cook and his colleagues are busily announcing their desire "not to harass the Labour Government", and to take into account the "national and international economic situation". But at the same time they are compelled to go through the form of approaching the Labour Government for the fulfilment of these pledges. The Miners' Federation Executive interviews the Labour Government for the fulfilment of the pledge to restore the Miners' seven hours in the first session of Parliament, and announces that it cannot regard the Labour Government as released from this pledge. The General Council passes a resolution welcoming the prospect of the speedy repeal of the Trade Union Act. These are shadow manoeuvres between friends; but the fact that they have to be made is evidence of the strength of feeling of the mass of trade unionists. The mass of trade unionists confidently expects the immediate and unconditional execution of the pledges; and if this is not done, the disillusionment will undoubtedly be strong.

All these issues are only the first issues of a developing situation. The Labour Government is confronted from the outset with the intensifying contradictions and antagonisms which are the character of the present period. These issued provide the favourable and gathering conditions for revolutionary advance and awakening of the workers. But this advance depends for its realisation on the energy and effectiveness of the independent rôle of the Communist Party in leading and making conscious the opposition. The problem in the period now ahead is the problem to find the means to mobilise and organise on the widest possible basis the forces of class struggle opposition to the Labour Government and to the whole policy of rationalisation and war.

POLITICS

The Situation in Germany and the Reparations Question.

The Young Plan, the Workers, and the Menace of War.

By Philipp Dengel (Berlin).

German bourgeois circles are not contented with the outcome of the Paris Conference; they had counted on more assistance on the part of the big creditor, the United States, in their negotiations with the Reparations creditors. At the Paris Conference imperialist France held the trump cards, being courted both by Great Britain and by the United States. France therefore occupied the best position financially, practically liquidating its external indebtedness and having the prospect, in the case of a partial mobilisation of the Reparations, of also getting rid of a considerable part of its internal debts. The German imperialists again found themselves in the main in the rôle of a pawn in the settlement of imperialist differences among the victorious Powers.

The German bourgeoisie was anxious to turn the outcome of the Paris negotiations to profitable account. Although the hopes the German bourgeoisie had set on assistance on the part of America were not realised, the Reparations onus has been considerably decreased by reason of the Young Plan. The payments for the next five years figure according to the Paris plan at about one third less than according to the Dawes Plan. This is a considerable facilitation for the German bourgeoisie, all the more so seeing that it will immediately and exclusively benefit the capitalists and that it represents a powerful and comprehensive offensive against the workers.

Part of the offensive programme of the bourgeoisie has already been realised by the passing of tremendous agrarian duties. The duty on potatoes is to be doubled, that on butter raised from 24 to 50 marks, that on wheat from 5 marks to 7.50 marks, that on rye from 5 marks to 6.50 marks, while the duty-free importation of frozen meat will be practically strangled by veterinary regulations and the duty on sugar again experiences an increase.

But this is only the beginning. At the session of the Reichstag in the early autumn, a renewed rise in agrarian duties will be determined. At the same time, a general assault on the social-political position will commence.

The offensive programme of the bourgeoisie has already been set forth in dozens of announcements in economic circles, starting with the National Union of German Industry and various conferences of bankers and extending to the Chambers of Commerce. It was most concisely summed up in an article in the "Berliner Börsen-Zeitung" of May 30th, which contained the following passage.

"The first thing to be done is the regulation of the finances of the Reich, a task which calls for an immediate rigorous cut in unemployment insurance, particularly in the direction of an exclusion from benefits of the seasonally and permanently unemployed. The rates of unemployment insurance must be reduced all round, while the supervision of unemployment and the exemption of all cases of proved employment must be far more severely carried out. Economy can also be effected in other directions in regard to national insurance, which should be gradually divested of its coercive governmental character and transformed into an optional matter of thrift. Another and equally important point is the protection of German national production by adequate duties. In the third place, a fundamental alteration of our entire system of taxation is essential. A progressive income tax hampers the accumulation of capital, while death duties, the tax on the acquisition of real estate, and company taxation are also ruinous to capital accumulation. In the present circumstances consumption must be more heavily taxed. The economy of labour within the country must also be subjected to a fundamental change. The coercive regulations governing wages and working hours must be abolished and we must introduce the freedom of employment and a wage system on the basis of the work actually performed."

These aims of the German capitalists are gradually being realised with the active assistance of the German Social Democrats. Already in the coming autumn unemployment relief will be regulated (i. e. reduced) in keeping with the desires of the capitalists. The same autumn session will entail an essential reduction in all those categories of taxation which are borne by the capitalists themselves.

Obviously, the German workers cannot simply submit to this gigantic additional onus. Therefore all possible efforts are being made in two quarters to exercise increased political pressure on the workers. Those governments in particular in which the Social Democrats wield a decisive influence, are proceeding to employ Fascist methods against the workers. The massacre of 31 workers in Berlin in connection with the May Day demonstrations, the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters' League, the suppression of the Communist press, the threatened prohibition of the Communist Party, and the threat of a pronounced dictatorship expressed by Wels at the Magdeburg Party Conference of the S.P.G. and confirmed most brutally and cynically in the Reichstag by Severing after the expiration of the Law in Defence of the Republic, are symptomatic of the indicated course of action. At the same time, however, there are sections among the German capitalist class which urge the proclamation of a Fascist dictatorship without the aid of the Social-Fascists and without the servile trade-union bureaucracy. These circles place tremendous sums at the disposal of the Fascist formations, especially the "Stahlhelm" and the National Socialists. The leader of this movement is Hugenberg, the immediate confidant of the heavy industries. This competition is bound to urge the Social-Fascists to employ yet more brutal measures against the working class.

It is obvious that this general assault on the standard of living of the working class and on their most primitive political rights cannot be without influence on the position of the workers in the other capitalist countries of Europe. The immediate outcome of the Paris negotiations will thus be an extraordinary aggravation of the political and economic pressure on the working class in all capitalist countries.

Within the German bourgeoisie there are at present strong tendencies in favour of a closer co-operation with the French imperialists as the best means of a speedy realisation of their aims. These circles even go so far as to contemplate and discuss plans for the formation of a customs union with France with a view to presenting a united front against the inroads of American imperialism. This approach to imperialist France, which even found a reflection in a recent speech of Stresse-

mann in the Reichstag, finds but little favour in the eyes of the French imperialists.

Even after the Paris negotiations the foreign policy of Germany is likely to remain uncertain and vacillating. German bourgeois circles feel that under present circumstances they cannot look for any essential improvement in their foreign-political position. Hopes are therefore being fixed on some fundamental change in the international situation, which might make possible a reconsideration of the Reparations problem. The nature of this change appears from the secret negotiations which took place in Paris at the time of the Reparations discussions. Comrade Stöcker made the following observations in the course of his speech at the foreign-political debate in the Reichstag.

"It is significant that in Paris there were German generals, German politicians, and German industrialists, who suggested to the Entente Powers not only an economic but also a military alliance against the Soviet Union. General von der Lippe submitted to the Allied statesmen detailed strategic plans of an action against the Soviet Union with the co-operation of German military forces. In full agreement with General von der Lippe, the well-known potash magnate Rechberg submitted to M. Poincaré the same suggestions of an economic, financial, and military nature.

How is it that Rechberg was able to submit these plans to M. Poincaré with the knowledge and sanction of the German Ambassador von Hoesch? How is it that Rechberg had several discussions with von Hoesch in Paris, at which these plans were discussed? As we learn from a reliable source, a very great degree of interest in the discussions between Rechberg and Poincaré was evinced not only by von Hoesch himself but also by Schacht and Stresemann, who procured detailed information in regard to the negotiations. Rechberg himself writes that these discussions had and continue to have the serious attention of German deputies and politicians of various parties from the Right to the Left.

Interest also attaches to the discussions which Messrs. von Kühlmann and Schacht carried on in regard to the Russian problem. The opinion of Schacht on Soviet Russia may be seen by an announcement made by the President of the Reichstag to the correspondent of a Belgian Liberal paper, the "Flandre Libérale". "The first step taken by Europe must be the fight against Bolshevism, and the second the exploitation of the natural resources of Russia."

To these sensational disclosures in the Reichstag, Herr Stresemann has vouchsafed no answer, despite repeated interpellations on the part of the Communist fraction. His silence completely confirms what Comrade Stöcker reported. The silence of Stresemann and the Social Fascists shows that the entire German bourgeois parties, from the German Nationals to the Social Fascists, are unanimous in their desire to make war on the Soviet Union. What has been pointed out for years past by the Communist Party of Germany, i. e. that imperialist Germany is one of the most active factors in the preparation of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union, is now fully confirmed. There are still certain obstacles in the way of a united imperialist front such as would be requisite for a war against the Soviet Union, but the Paris negotiations marked an important stage in this preparation of imperialist war against Soviet Russia.

The Tension between Holland and Belgium.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

The relations between the Dutch and the Belgian bourgeoisie have reached a fresh turning point.

On June 16th the diplomatic correspondence which has passed between the governments of Belgium and Holland during the last twelve months was published in both countries — and this exchange of notes, in which the most polite diplomatic language cannot hide the gravity of the conflict, shows the hopeless divergence of the Dutch and Belgian capitalists on a question which is of vital importance to both.

It is a question of joining up Antwerp with the Rhine.

It will be remembered that in its intoxication of victory immediately after the war Belgium advanced demands relating to the annexation of Dutch territory for the purpose of commanding the coalmines of Limburg and the joining of Antwerp with the sea along the Scheldt.

At that time the Belgian capitalists did not succeed in getting this demand satisfied.

Thereupon followed negotiations between the two States which lasted a whole year and achieved no result. Finally, a proposal was approved by both governments in the year 1925 and ratified by the Belgian Parliament and the Dutch Lower House. However, after a wild anti-Belgian campaign throughout the country, the "First Chamber" of the Dutch Parliament rejected the proposal, and the man who had for many years conducted the foreign policy of Dutch capitalism, van Karnebeck had to quit.

In June, 1928, fresh negotiations began, and were ended on June 8th, 1928, by a note from Holland. It appears from this note that the conflict has become intense upon the one main point, namely, the connecting of Antwerp with the Rhine by cutting a fresh canal. This would affect the interests of the two big rival ports, Rotterdam and Antwerp. The Belgian interests aver that the Dutch Government permits the channel connecting Antwerp with the sea and the Rhine to silt up, so that Rotterdam may monopolise the Rhine traffic. They demand a new canal direct from Antwerp to the Rhine, passing through Dutch territory and built in accordance with the requirements of modern technics.

The Dutch Government flatly rejected this demand, refused to permit the cutting of a fresh canal and is prepared to do nothing more than improve somewhat the natural waterway between Antwerp and the Rhine.

The negotiations were broken off.

In the meanwhile, the Belgian elections have strengthened the Liberal Party with its sharp tactics, and this party of the Antwerp dock capitalists is by no means disposed to give way.

The proposal of the Dutch Government to submit the question to the International Court at the Hague was rejected by the Belgian Government. On the other hand, the Belgian Government proposes to bring the question to the forum of the League of Nations — in which Belgium's allies France and England wield decisive influence! — or to these big powers direct, as arbitrators. Naturally, the Dutch Government will do everything possible to avoid this.

The Antwerp-Rotterdam conflict bears a distinctly imperialist character. It is a fight for the monopoly of the very profitable Rhine traffic and the power of the State is, of course, being brought to bear by each of the countries in support of its own capitalists. How strained relations have already become was demonstrated several months ago, when the so-called "forged treaty" between Belgium and France was published in a Dutch journal. A tremendous national agitation on both sides of the frontier ensued and apparently permanently injured the relations between the capitalist classes of Holland and Belgium, so that one might well speak of a serious danger of war between the two States. It cannot be doubted that the Belgian imperialists will take the first favourable opportunity of trying to get by force of arms that which they cannot get freely conceded to them. The Dutch bourgeoisie will try to find new allies in order to defend itself.

The social democracy is again playing its usual role. In both countries it is supporting its bourgeoisie. While in Belgium the social democrats, along with the whole of the capitalist class, are backing the demands of Antwerp, the Dutch bourgeoisie, and consequently also the Dutch social democracy, is divided on the question. The bourgeoisie of the harbour towns was and is against any concession to Belgium, and is supported in this attitude by "its" reformists; another portion of the social democracy follows that section of the Dutch bourgeoisie which is more inclined to concessions. In the future also we shall of course see the reformists of each country on the side of their bourgeoisie.

It is reserved only to the Communist Party — and this is one of its most important tasks — to unite the proletariat of

Holland and Belgium also in this question in the common fight against the bourgeoisie of both countries.

It must be driven home to the mind of the working class of Holland and Belgium, and also of other countries, that the Belgo-Dutch question has become a source of war danger on the European Continent.

CHINA

War Confusion among the Kuomintang Generals.

By Tang-Shin-She (Moscow).

After a short interval, during which it was said that Feng-Yu-Hsiang had been invited by Yen-Shi-San to accompany him on a trip round the world, the British and Japanese telegraph agencies are again reporting feverish preparations for war on the part of Chiang-Kai-shek and Feng-Yu-Hsiang. At Suchow, which is easily accessible from Honan by means of the Lunghai railway, Chiang-Kai-shek convoked a conference of war to discuss plans of a general assault on Feng-Yu-Hsiang. This is naturally done on behalf of his imperialist masters, as has been aptly expressed by the "Yik-Khuan-Poh", an organ of Chiang-Kai-shek in the Malay States. "The Government," writes this publication, "desires real uniformity and a strong central authority, so that the foreigners should feel secure as to their capital investments in China and so that the task of restoration should be energetically taken in hand." Meanwhile at Shenchow in the province of Honan on the bank of the Hoangho (the other bank of which is occupied by the province of Shansi, which is Yen-Shi-San's territory), Feng-Yu-Hsiang has formed a new government. He himself has repaired with his family to Yunchen in the province of Shansi, where he has been heartily welcomed by the representatives of Yen-Shi-San. These facts make it fairly obvious that Shenchow, which would be easy to bombard with cannon from the opposite bank, may be looked upon as the headquarters of the two allies, Feng-Yu-Hsiang and Yen-Shi-San.

Chiang-Kai-shek continues to act as though Yen-Shi-San were still siding with him. He has instructed him to reorganise the army of Feng-Yu-Hsiang. But that sly old fox Yen-Shi-San has at all times pursued a policy of allowing several authorities to "rule" in Northern China, so as to give himself a greater freedom of activity. If he were now on the side of Chiang-Kai-shek and were carrying on a campaign of destruction against Feng-Yu-Hsiang in co-operation with Chiang-Hsu-Liang, he would not only have no scope for action but would be exposed to attacks from either of the Chiangs. While at Nanking and Shanghai Chiang-Kai-shek has been denouncing Feng as a traitor and renegade from the Party and organising a punitive campaign against him, Yen-Shi-San has always declared that there must be peace and that he would gladly persuade Feng to accompany him on a journey round the world. This era of peacefulness and this planning of journeys, however, were merely an interval during preparations for war and for the conclusion of an alliance.

It may easily be imagined that these two astute generals are on the look-out for a third confederate and willing to delay the outbreak of hostilities. In Chiang-Kai-shek's fight against the Kwangsi troops, Tang-Sen-Dji (the butcher of Woohan in 1927) was again placed at the head of his old army. However, he and his 70,000 men remained almost completely inactive in Northern Chili. He has naturally not given up the idea of transferring his authority to Hunan and Hupe. His troops in Chili, meanwhile, were always an obstacle in the way of Yen-Shi-San's efforts at uniformity in that district. Therefore the latter would be glad to assist Tang-Sen-Dji to get to Hankow. The possibility of a triple alliance is thus given. On the other hand, Tang-Sen-Dji may possibly continue to act for Chiang-Kai-shek and march by his orders from Chili to Honan, whence he could make an assault on Hankow.

Shortly before the 3rd Party Congress of the Kuomintang in March last, there were rumours of a so-called Left Bloc against Chiang-Kai-shek. The manifesto issued on the occasion

of the Kuomintang Congress by Wang-Ching-Wei and seven others has been called the birth-certificate of the Left Bloc. Though not signed by Feng himself, it bears the signature of a confidant of his. Tang-Sen-Dji (thus Wang-Ching-Wei frequently declared in Paris) is still his faithful partisan. The Left Bloc may therefore be said to extend from Wang-Ching-Wei via Feng-Yu-Hsiang to Tang-Sen-Dji. The existing military alliance of Feng-Yu-Hsiang, Yen-Shi-San, and Tang-Sen-Dji is thus no mere matter of coincidence.

Chiang-Kai-shek's victory over the Kwangsi group without any serious warfare was in the main due to the so-called Left or Wang-Ching-Wei group and its propaganda against the Kwangsi. Since this change of masters, the Left group has been carrying on a lively propaganda for Feng against Chiang-Kai-shek. The main arguments employed against Chiang are that he is a traitor who has given away the air-navigation rights to the Americans, suddenly and secretly settled the critical Shantung problem with the Japanese, and consequently forbidden all anti-Japanese movements as acts of Communist agitation. Feng's proclamation against Chiang makes mention of the same reasons, besides which the 3rd Party Congress of the Kuomintang is not recognised by Feng on the grounds that the delegates were appointed, and not elected by the members. The reason why Feng is not disposed to march immediately on Nanking is that he wishes first, in order to ensure victory, to increase his propaganda against the "traitor Chiang-Kai-shek", in which respect he desires to figure as an angel of peace and the only true adherent of the Kuomintang.

The declining star Chiang-Kai-shek, meanwhile, who is wont to think himself a sort of Napoleon, is anxious to start operations against Feng-Yu-Hsiang, so as to ensure his own position by a speedy victory. After the taking of Hankow in April he immediately addressed a military threat against Shantung and Honan and forced the sly Feng, who was not to be provoked, to evacuate Shantung and a part of Southern Honan. Feng was excluded from the Party, deprived of all his offices, and branded as a traitor to the Party, but he took no notice of this and called upon the members of the Party to work in the interest of peace. Those of his subordinate generals who were opposed to him and who had already received a great amount of money, arms, and ammunition from Chiang-Kai-shek to employ against him, he summarily dismissed. Chiang's plan of liquidating the authority of Feng very speedily has thus proved illusory.

The constant state of war turmoil in China, in which since March the Kuomintang generals have also been participating, is no longer limited merely to central and southern China but has also spread to the north. The obvious falsehood of the Kuomintang and its imperialist masters that the revolution is over and China united, has burst like a soap-bubble. The Kuomintang, which was wholly rotten as far back as 1927, has continued to declare itself to be united, but such a lie can now no longer be maintained. There are thus no longer any fanatics who believe that the Kuomintang can save China and that it is in any sense still a revolutionary party. Nor will any one wish to maintain that the Left Bloc (composed of Wang-Ching-Wei, Feng-Yu-Hsiang, and Tang-Sen-Dji) still intends to carry out revolution. Wang-Ching-Wei was not only the chief betrayer of the Woohan Government, but also the chief butcher engaged in putting down the Canton Soviets.

It is obvious that the fights between Chiang-Kai-shek and Feng-Yu-Hsiang will tend to strengthen the revolutionary wave in China. The leader of the Chinese revolution, the Chinese Communist Party, has now some great tasks to fulfil, viz. not only that of rallying the revolutionary forces on as broad a basis as possible but also that of carrying on an enhanced campaign against the Right, conciliatory, and liquidatory elements in its own ranks, which maintain that Chinese economy is already beginning to become stabilised with the help of the United States dollar, or that a revival of the revolution is to be attained by an alliance with the Left wing of the Kuomintang or with the Third Party.

THE BALKANS

Assist and Defend the Struggling Dock Labourers of Greece!

An Appeal by the Executive Bureau of the Balkan Communist Federation.

In reply to the refusal of the demand for higher wages and to the terrorism brought to bear upon the dock labourers, a general strike has broken out in the harbour of Piraeus, Greece. This most important of Greek ports is therefore at a standstill. The shipowners and the Government are attempting to get the better of the strike by force and by the employment of gangs of strikebreakers, in which attempt they are being actively assisted by the Greek Social-Fascists. This tendency and the resistance of the strikers have already led to collisions between the latter and the army and police.

It is generally thought that the strike of the dock workers will not be limited to Piraeus but will also spread to other Greek ports. The workers of various categories declare their willingness to lay down work as a sign of solidarity with the strikers; among others, the tobacco workers of Salonica and the mill and bakery hands have expressed this situation. The present strike marks the revival of the strike movement in Greece as an utterance of the great aggravation of class-differences in the country. In connection with the great struggle the Greek proletariat is putting up against the emergency law to which the Government of Venizelos is desirous of subjecting the revolutionary labour movement and its vanguard, the Communist Party, very great political importance attaches to the general strike of dock labourers, which will undoubtedly exercise a decisive influence on the further development of the class struggle of the entire Greek proletariat.

It is urgently necessary that a campaign of protest be set on foot in the other Balkan countries and internationally against the excesses of the Greek Government and that a relief action be organised for the struggling dock workers, with the special participation of the dock workers of Bulgaria, Roumania, and Yugoslavia.

In view of the extremely significant rôle which the dock workers and transport workers are called upon to play in the struggle against imperialist warfare and upon the outbreak of any such war, the perseverance and victory of the Greek dock workers in the present strike are particularly important, as are also an energetic international solidarity with the strikers and their support by the workers of all countries.

The heroic fight of the Greek dock workers must serve as an incentive for the dock workers of the other Balkan States to follow their example. The active solidarity with the Greek strikers must strengthen and widen the fighting alliance of Balkan dock workers.

The Balkan Communist Federation calls upon the entire Balkan and international proletariat and in the first place upon the transport workers to come speedily and energetically to the aid of the Greek dock labourers.

Long live the fight of the dock workers of Greece!

Long live the fight of the Greek proletariat against the anti-Communist laws and against Fascism!

Long live the revolutionary solidarity of the proletariat!

June, 1929 .

The Executive Bureau of the
Balkan Communist Federation.

Money remittances and letters of sympathy should be sent to the newspaper "Rizospastis" at Platia Agion Theodoron 9, Athens, Greece.

Mass Strikes and Terror in Bulgaria.

Letter to the "Inprecorr".

Sofia, 22nd June 1929.

The slogan of the Independent Trade Unions of Bulgaria to extend the strike front throughout the whole country and effect all factories, is being more and more successful. Two strikes are particularly energetic in the textile centre of Slivno where 2000 textile workers, 250 embroidery workers, 40 shoemakers, 300 tobacco workers and various other categories of workers are on strike. A general strike will probably take place.

Reports from all the larger towns like Varna, Jambol, Burgas, etc. show that the workers are in a ferment. Strikes are threatening everywhere.

The strike movement is also growing in Sofia. Particularly interesting was the 24-hour protest strike of the shoemakers in support of the struggle of the tobacco workers for an unconditional amnesty and against the terror. All strike meetings protest against the fake amnesty announced by the government. The mass pressure of the strikes has already had a certain effect and the authorities are planning to extend the amnesty to a greater number of prisoners than originally intended. There is an actual if not a formal state of siege in all larger towns. Meetings are prohibited, that is to say, strikers may not appear on the streets more than two together. Whoever violates these regulations is arrested, mishandled and compelled to pay a fine of 2,000 Leva (14 Dollars). The members of strike committees are arrested and the trade union offices leading the mass strikes, are closed down. The workers' press is persecuted and suppressed, as for instance the central organ of the Independent Trade Unions in Sofia "Edinstvo" (Unity). In the last eight weeks the chief editor of this newspaper and five other editors have been arrested and charged under the law for the protection of the state.

The organ of the Independent Trade Unions brings the following picture on Bulgarian conditions on the 22nd June 1929:

"The terror in Slivno has taken on particularly sharp forms. There is a regular state of siege in the town. The strike pickets are hunted and harried. Arrests and mishandlings have taken on a wide-spread character even for Bulgaria. But nothing is able to break the spirit of the strikers. Strike meetings are being held despite the strictest prohibitions and threats. In order to render the movement leaderless, all the members of the district committee of the Independent Textile Workers Union in Slivno have been arrested, including the secretary of the local trade unions, and charged under the law for the protection of the state. The public prosecutor has commenced a process against the Central Committee of the Independent Trade Unions on account of a telegram published in No. 2 of the strike bulletin. The bulletin itself has been suppressed."

The bourgeois and social democratic newspapers are conducting a violent campaign of vilification against the strikers, and in particular against their leaders, the Independent Trade Unions. They demand that the government should take sharp measures against the unions and against all working class organisations standing on the basis of the class struggle. Immediate international assistance for the strikers is therefore necessary.

Thousands of Arrests in Yugoslavia.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

According to a report from Zagreb, the military fascist regime of General Ciovkitch is continuing its campaign against all revolutionaries and in particular against the communists. Recently almost a thousand arrests have been made, including 650 in the province of Zagreb alone. Numerous "corpses of persons unknown" have been found in various parts of the country. According to the authorities it is not possible to discover the identities. In most cases the relatives of the arrested

are not given any information by the police and they know little or nothing about the fate of their bredwinners.

The following are a few examples of how the police works. After Jackovitch and Hekimovitch were murdered the district secretary of the Independent Trade Unions, Iwan Krndeljez was to be "put out of the way". He was taken by gendarmes to his home. On the way he was told that he was free and could go where he wanted, but Krndeljez saw through the plan immediately and as he did not want to be "shot whilst attempting to escape", he refused to leave the sides of the gendarmes, who were compelled to take him back again to Zagreb. The leather worker Marganovitch, who was dreadfully tortured in prison and for whose safety the greatest fears were harboured, is now seriously ill. Doctor Loevy, who was arrested a little while ago in Zagreb and charged with being a "Soviet courier", is being "examined" daily in prison and dreadfully maltreated. There are a number of women amongst the arrested and they are being treated in exactly the same fashion. An "expert" has arrived from Belgrade, the notorious sadist Lieutenant-Colonel Petrovitch, together with a staff of 300 Serbian detectives. The police are also striving to extract statements from the relatives of the arrested persons. It is reported that King Alexander will arrive in Zagreb on the 10th July and by this time the police hope to have "cleaned up the town".

BEFORE THE FIRST OF AUGUST

British Communists Prepare for Anti-War Day.

By W. M. Holmes.

London, 2nd July — Special enlarged plenums of the principal District Committees of the Communist Party of Great Britain have now been held to discuss and decide on the organisational details of the anti-war campaign which culminates on August 1st.

Both at these meetings and in the Party's central organ **Workers Life** the fundamental characteristic of the Anti-war campaign as a drive into the factories has been stressed.

A national demonstration is planned for Sunday July 28th in Trafalgar Square, London, as a final rally before August 1st. In this demonstration, as in the extremely successful national anti-war demonstration in London last year, women will play a leading part. Arrangements are in hand in all districts for the sending of representative delegations of women to London on July 28th: and for this purpose, as well as for the general rallying of working women to the anti-war campaign, the Women's United Front Committees (which performed invaluable services in organising last year's demonstration) are being re-established. Local rank and file women's conferences are being called for the election of the delegations to the national demonstration.

The **Workers' Legion** — the nucleus of a British Red Front Fighters' league — is also to play a prominent role in the national demonstration.

Emphasis is laid throughout on the United Front character of the Party's conduct of this campaign, both through special organs like the Women's United Front Committees, mentioned above, through the Party's co-operation with organisations such as the Minority Movement, Red Aid, Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, and Workers' Legion, and through the Party's direct agitation in Trade Union branches and District Committees, Women's Co-operative Guilds, and so on, both by the Party fractions in these bodies and through circular letters addressed to them.

But naturally the most important application of the United Front from below in this anti-war campaign consists in the Party's direct approach to the masses of the workers in pit, factory, and depot. Factory-gate meetings and demonstrations, with the distribution of leaflets, special agitational bulletins etc., are planned to take place during July at the biggest factories in all industrial areas where there are Party organisations.

For this purpose, among others, the leading national propagandists of the Party are being sent out into the districts, roughly for the period of the last two weeks in July. During this period each District will be served by approximately half-a-dozen national propagandists.

Reports already received from the Party District Committees in London, Manchester, South Wales, Birmingham, Sheffield, Tyneside, Notts and Derby, show two things: 1. the intensive inner-Party preparation for the campaign, by means of enlarged district and Sub-District Committee meetings, special area and local aggregate meetings of members; and 2. the concentration of activity in the principal rail and road transport depots, metal-working factories, docks, chemical, air craft and munition works.

In London, also, a special mobilisation of members is taking place for a demonstration at **Hendon Aerodrome**, in the outskirts of the metropolis, on Saturday July 13th, when the Royal Air Force has its annual display. This display, which **MacDonald** and other leading members of the Government are to attend, is a large scale glorification of the latest developments in aerial warfare: its culminating point is the bombing of a "fortified port" by military aircraft.

The **Manchester** district — which covers the Lancashire cotton area and coalfields, and also the West Riding of Yorkshire — is linking up its campaign with the present textile disputes. Thus in Yorkshire, where some 900 wool textile workers have been on strike for seven weeks against wage reductions, and where 3000 textile workers have recently suffered a 10 per cent. wage cut, the Party is issuing a call for the extension of the existing sectional struggle to embrace the whole woollen industry. Activity here is being concentrated on some 20 of the largest woollen mills.

In Lancashire, where the cotton employers are threatening the workers with a general 12.5 per cent. wage cut, the Party is calling for an immediate strike of the whole cotton industry to resist the employers' attack, and to win certain immediate demands, such as the abolition of fining and speeding up systems. Fifty cotton mills, covered by 13 Party locals, are being concentrated on. The District Party Committee is issuing special mill sheets, with local material in each, for the campaign, with a view of establishing permanent mill papers as a result of the campaign. Some 36,000 mill sheets will be issued, in three issues of 12,000 each.

In both these cases the immediate struggle of the textile workers is to be linked up with the fight against war.

A canvass at mill gates and also from house-to-house is to be conducted in a dozen of the principal cotton towns in Lancashire, in order to secure the necessary number of signatures to requisition special meetings of the local cotton workers' union at which the Party's line for the anti-war campaign can be put forward. Rank and file conferences are to be held in **Blackburn, Bolton and Oldham**.

There is to be concentration also on 8 metal works, 2 railway works, the docks at Salford (Manchester), collieries in the Wigan area, and two chemical factories. On the eve of August 1st there will be demonstrations in every local in the Manchester District.

The **Sheffield** district, in addition to concentrating on selected big factories and pits, is holding three mass demonstrations on August 1st at Sheffield itself, which is of course the great steel centre, and at Doncaster and Castleford, in the heart of the Yorkshire coalfields.

The **Nottingham and Derby** Sub-District is organising regular weekly meetings outside the huge railway works in Derby, also outside a large artificial silk factory and the big Rolls-Royce Motor works (who manufacture aircraft engines). Railway depots and engineering works at Nottingham and Long Eaton are also being covered, and collieries in the Mansfield area. Three United Front Conferences are planned.

In **South Wales** the district Party Committee is organising intensive concentration at 70 collieries (pit papers which were formerly published at 13 of these collieries are being revived), 14 railway depots, 14 omnibus and tram depots, 18 metal and engineering works, 10 dock centres, 6 chemical works 5 electric power stations, two aircraft works, and four army barracks. Arrangements have been made for sending communications explaining the Party campaign and anti-war policy for publication in the correspondence columns of eleven local bourgeois newspapers.

The Preparations of the C. P. of Italy for August 1st.

By Luigi Gallo.

The campaign of the C. P. of Italy for the Anti-War Day on August 1st is meeting with various difficulties. Without a legal press and without the possibility of carrying on even a limited agitation openly, and deprived of the best representatives of the proletariat, who have died fighting or been imprisoned by the Fascists, the Party must cope with the very cruellest reaction before it can hope to penetrate into the works, to spread its principles among the working masses, or to organise the latter. The Party has nevertheless resolved to make every effort to carry out its intentions. Both the internal and the international position of Italy (for which country with its Fascist regime the danger of war is particularly acute) call for this effort on the part of the Communist Party.

Already at the time of the campaign for the plebiscite the Party succeeded by means of its directives in calling upon the masses to disregard the Fascist threats and to vote in the negative; it succeeded in piercing the lethargy of the masses and in restoring them to confidence in their own powers, in mobilising and organising them for an open fight against Fascism under the guidance of the Communist Party.

These achievements the Party intends to broaden and deepen by its campaign for August 1st. The objective difficulties of the position will be overcome by the heroism of the Italian revolutionaries and by aid of the experience accumulated in more than seven years of complete illegality.

The campaign against war and for the celebration of August 1st in Italy will be closely connected with the current campaigns against Fascism in general.

In Italy the Communist Party is at present operating in three main directions, viz for a rise in wages, for an amnesty, and for the re-establishment of the trade unions. This last demand is closely connected with the problem of the international relations of the Italian Workers' Confederation.

The preparations for August 1st must render possible the consolidation and advancement of all these campaigns, promoting them by an explanation of their intimate connection with the problem of war preparations. The same must be the case as regards the agitation of the Party against taxation, in favour of the freedom of coalition, assembly, and the press, against the Fascist influence among the young, and against the Church.

The close relationship of all these questions with the war policy of the Fascists is likely to render the campaign against war particularly effective. On the other hand, the accentuation of the problem of wages, the problem of trade unions, and the defence of political prisoners opens up great possibilities of success to the agitation for August 1st.

For years past the Fascists have under one pretext or the other again and again reduced the wages of the workers. A fresh reduction is under way, accompanied by a reorganisation of the categories of workers in the factories. The qualified workers engaged in special operations are declared to be simple artisans. There is great discontent in this connection among the working masses. Regular starvation wages give these masses the courage of despair. In certain of the most important works this discontent has found spontaneous and collective utterance, which is saying very much under Fascist rule.

The motives leading to these wage reductions are obvious. The Italian bourgeoisie is to be given greater economic possibilities of supporting the imperialist designs of the Government; Fascism is to obtain the necessary surplus for its war policy.

In view of the new offensive of Fascism, the Party is attempting to mobilise the masses to effect a counter-offensive. Its present parole is not only that of a fight against the new wage reductions, but that of a fight for higher wages. The struggle against war and the preparation for August 1st form the necessary completion of the campaign for higher wages, the political significance of which they serve to underline.

The question of the international relations of the Workers' Confederation was first raised as a matter of daily routine, as a question to be solved. Amsterdam is approaching an understanding and an open co-operation with Italian Fascism; it has commenced negotiations with D'Aragona, Rigola, and other Italian trade-union leaders who have betrayed the workers and gone over to the Fascists.

The position in Italy is such that a struggle for higher wages and free trade unions can only be a life-and-death struggle against Fascism. The relations between the Workers' Confederation and Amsterdam must be severed. The Italian class trade unions must look for a footing in the proletariat, which is organised in the R.I.L.U., since the Italian working class requires this international help for the purpose of fighting against Fascism.

On the other hand, Amsterdam is a tool of the League of Nations which is itself an institution for the preparation of the next war, especially that against the Soviet Union. In preparing this war Amsterdam plays the leading part. A fight against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union means a fight against Amsterdam and a severance of even the most formal of relations with that International.

The Fascists intend not only to keep the best leaders of the proletariat in prison but also to destroy them physically. Terracini, Sola, and thousands of others have been terribly tortured in Fascist prisons. The Fascists desire to deprive the Italian proletariat for ever of its best leaders. A beaten, disorganised, and leaderless proletariat would represent no further danger in the preparation and operation of an anti-Soviet war. Any demand for the liberation of the political prisoners and convicts is the utterance of a determination to oppose the war actively.

The Church is the latest prop of Fascism. The compromise between the Church and the Fascists is a new step in the preparation of war by the latter. This compromise is an agreement between robbers for the purpose of effecting, by force of arms and by prayer, the capitalist exploitation, Fascist oppression, and religious befuddlement of a population that desires to have nothing to do either with Fascism or with the Church. The real meaning of this so-called reconciliation of two reactionary elements, must be made clear to the Italian population. They must be shown that this reconciliation aims at the preparation of a war for the suppression of the colonial nations.

Only in this way, if the agitation against war, against Italian imperialism, and against the Fascist depredations in the colonies (of which we have more instances daily) is connected with the immediate struggle of the Italian workers and peasants for the daily demands, only thus will the C.P. of Italy be able to ensure demonstrations on August 1st against war and Fascism and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

What form is the demonstration on August 1st to take in Italy? That is the most vital and most difficult question.

If we are to answer this question, we must take into consideration the objective situation in Italy, the brutal terrorism prevailing there, the fact that the proletarian organisations have been literally destroyed and that they can only be re-erected with the greatest difficulty and in an illegal way. A great inactivity on the part of the masses, moreover, is still the decisive characteristic of the situation in Italy.

The 1st of August must be the incentive and the motive of forming a breach in this inactivity, as was the case in connection with the plebiscite and again on the 1st of May. To persuade the masses to act collectively in this connection is the chief task of the Party.

The main thing is to demonstrate, however and wherever possible, against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. To demonstrate by a unanimous interruption of work, by a retarded commencement of work, by a premature cessation of work, by demonstrations at the moment of entering the works, by cries of "Long live...!" and "Down with...!", by a display of the red flag, by proclamations on walls, and by assemblies. The Party recommends a consideration of the question as to whether and how the electric current could be switched off and the machinery brought to a standstill. The main effort must be concentrated on the works producing war material and on transport enterprises.

While leaving the workers the greatest liberty as regards their choice of a form of demonstration, the Party has instruc-

ted the main organisations to set themselves the task of a general and collective interruption of work.

In the present state of Italy this aim is by no means too bold. United interruptions of work have already been effected in connection with wage demands, as also on the occasion of the protest against the new organisation of categories in the works. Indignation in this connection is still vehement and is likely to be increased during the next few weeks in view of the deterioration in the position of the workers. A well-managed campaign against war, connected with the agitation of the Party for higher wages, for proletarian liberties within the works, may well entail an accentuation of discontent which will then find utterance in a mass demonstration.

The collective interruption of work can and must be the first step in this direction. Some such demonstrations in the most important factories of Italy would be of tremendous importance for the revival of the labour movement in Italy. They would be of utmost significance inasmuch as they would restore the demoralised and desparate workers to a sense of their own powers, while imbuing them with a feeling of solidarity and with the necessary enthusiasm for a great fight against the regime, a fight for authority.

The Party has taken a number of technical and organisational measures for the purpose of ensuring the satisfactory issue of the campaign. Mainly for organisational purposes, the Party has started a fund under the device "A penny for the war against war! A penny for revolution!" This collection promises good results. Sufficient material for agitation and propaganda is being distributed among the comrades and the working masses.

There is every reason to hope that, in spite of Fascism and thanks to the heroic efforts of the Communist vanguard, the Italian proletariat will not fail on August 1st to take its place in the international front against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Preparations for August 1st by the Communist Parties of Scandinavia and Finland.

By A. J. S. m.

At a meeting in Stockholm, representatives of the Communist Parties of Scandinavia and Finland recently resolved to convoke a Scandinavian-Finnish Workers' Conference, to be held at **Gothenburg** in Sweden. It will comprise not only the Communist Parties themselves but also all organisations with Communist sympathies and is to form part of the campaign against the imperialist war menace and for the defence of the Soviet Union. It is to be a preparatory step for far-reaching demonstrations in all the northern countries on August 1st.

The Communist Parties and youth organisations of the countries in question will develop an untiring activity in the works and mass-organisations so that, in particular, the workers employed in the war industries and in transport, and the local trade unions may send many delegates with a view to making this conference a powerful revolutionary demonstration of the broad masses against imperialist war armaments.

The Scandinavian countries and Finland cannot be said to be out-of-the-way in this connection as they were in the recent war; on the contrary, they play a very important rôle in the war preparations of the capitalist states against the workers' and peasants' state. In this connection they have been more and more closely united during the last few years. The Baltic States, which like Finland are completely under the influence of **Great Britain**, have allied themselves with their "Scandinavian brothers", the initiative in this respect having emanated from the late **Social Democratic Government in Sweden**. The Finnish President, **Relander**, who is known to all class-conscious workers of Scandinavia as a regular "butcher", was invited to pay an official visit to Stockholm, where he was received with much ceremony; subsequently, the Government sent the King to pay a country visit to Finland, a thing not even a bourgeoisie Government would have dared to do a few years before.

Of late, these courtesy visits of the Scandinavian and Baltic rulers have increased in number; the Danish and Norwegian kings have been in Finland, Relander was at Copenhagen, the heads of the blood-stained white-guard republics of Estonia

and Latvia proceeded on warships to Stockholm, where they were feted by bourgeois and Social Democrats alike, and a British fleet has made the round of visits to the Finnish ports. Meanwhile, the Social Democrats carry on increased agitation against the Soviet Union among the workers, doing their utmost at the behest of Amsterdam to isolate the trade unions of the Baltic and Scandinavian countries from the Russian workers and at the same time to "purge" them of Communists.

In view of these facts, great importance will attach to the anti-war conference at Gothenburg; it will serve as a criterion for the influence of the Communist Parties in the Baltic countries and will at the same time stimulate the revolutionary workers to fresh and powerful efforts, against the imperialists, against the disruptive work of the reformists, against the Social Democrats, and in favour of the defence of the Soviet Union.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Military Training of Boys.

By N e m o.

In almost every capitalist state the military training of young people is regulated today by law. This was not the case before the war. Those states especially which have since abrogated the general conscription introduced during the war, which are unable for financial reasons to maintain more than a small army, or which are striving to shorten the term of compulsory military service, see in the military training of boys a practical means of compensating themselves for the lack of soldiery. And whilst at first the military preparation of young people was carried on by private and "unpolitical" organisations beneath the banner of gymnastic and sport clubs, today these neutral cloaks are being cast aside, and the military organisations are being made the subject of legal enactments.

France for instance has made the realisation of its army reform, which envisages a reduction of the term of military service, dependent on the regulation by law of the military training of boys. Even such countries as **Lithuania** and **Estonia** have regulated the military training of their boys by a compulsory military service law. In **Germany** it is General von Seeckt who at the present time is exploiting his powerful publicist influence for propagating the legal regulation of the military training of young people.

Up to the present the **Czech** parliament has refused to issue any legal enactments for the regulation of the military preparation of young people but still it does not dispense with it. On the other hand, bills proposing such enactments have been submitted to the **Belgian** and **Yugoslavian** parliaments.

The countries most active in the military training of young people are **Great Britain**, the **United States** and **France**; **Italy** and **Poland** are following their example. In the **United States** military preparation is an obligatory subject in both school and university. Shooting stands are provided in the schools, the colleges have their military faculties, and the passing of the state examination depends on military knowledge. The number of young men joining the army training camps increases from year to year. The training corps for officers of the reserve is supplied inexhaustibly from the high schools and universities. Militarism has assumed stupendous dimensions in the schools and universities of the "pacifist" **United States**.

In **Great Britain**, as in the **United States**, the military training is given by teachers provided by the army administration. The **British** officers' training corps counts 38,000 cadets, whilst further 60,000 boys are being trained as non-commissioned officers in the "young men's corps". When we add to this the boys' rifle clubs, which train their 200,000 members in shooting and drilling and remember the 582,000 members of the **Boy Scout** associations, we realise the wide circles embraced by the military preparation of young people in **Great Britain**.

In **France**, on the other hand, physical and military training does not begin until the 16th year has been reached. The military training here given aims at forming two groups, the former of which is ready for fighting service as soon as it enters the army, and the latter being speedily promoted to non-commissioned officers. The higher educational establishments provide theoretical and practical military preparation for training as officers of the reserve. 9000 schools already include military

training in their syllabus, and to these we must add the 9000 rifle and sport clubs, 700 non-commissioned officers and 350 officers are teaching in these schools. In 1927 34,000 boys with military training entered the examinations.

Italy has placed the military preparation of its young people in the hands of the Fascist militia, which works on the instructions of the ministry of war. The "Balilla" extends its grasp over the boys from 8 to 14 years of age, the "Avanguardisti" includes those between 14 and 18. From the age of 16 onwards a two years' military training for the army, navy, and air force is obligatory, enabling a shortened term of military rifle practice and drilling grounds. In 1928/29 the state subventions are fairly high.

Poland too devotes much attention to the military training of its youth. An enactment issued on 24th May 1925 called into existence a special Supreme Council for physical and military training, and this is given by special instructors or associations in all private and state schools. Even the young girls are under the compulsory obligation of training in ambulance and social welfare work. The municipalities have to provide rifle practice and drilling grounds. In 1928/29 the state subsidies amounted to approximately 20 million zloty.

In most countries the military training of the young people is superintended by the ministry of war, and directed by active or former officers. The state supplies funds, uniforms, shooting and drilling grounds, implements, and ammunition. The instruction given is not merely confined to physical exercises, but includes the primary items of infantry training: drill, shooting, riding, etc. This is accompanied by a thorough theoretical education. The annual practices held by the boys' organisations are frequently combined with the regular army manoeuvres. This military preparation of the young people is being carried on in all countries. Even Denmark pays a yearly subsidy of 100,000 for this purpose, and even Estonia provides year for year for the military training of 10,000 boys.

In Germany too attempts are being made towards the regulation by law of military training for boys, and towards making this compulsory in a more or less veiled form.

The International Communist Press in the Struggle against the Danger of War.

W. G. (Berlin).

During the 12th Party Congress of the C. P. of Germany, at Wedding, there was also an international press discussion, the participants being representatives of the "Rote Fahne" (Berlin), the "Rote Fahne" (Vienna), the "Kämpfer" (Zurich), the "Sunday Worker" (London), "Norges Kommunistblad" (Oslo), "Folkets Dagblad Politiken" (Stockholm), "Rude Pravo" (Prague), the "Ruhr-Echo" (Essen), the "Sächsische Arbeiter-Zeitung" (Leipzig) and Party delegates from France, Belgium, and Italy. Finally, the "Agitprop" department of the C. C. of the C. P. G. and the "Agitprop" department of the E. C. C. I. were represented. It was the last-named that had given the initiative for this international press discussion; the representative of the "Agitprop" department of the E. C. C. I. submitted a detailed report which led to a lively debate.

The outcome of this session furnished the proof that the Communist press is a great power, which, if it proceeds properly, can very effectively influence the struggle of the Communist International against the imminent danger of war and in favour of the defence of the Soviet Union. It was these tasks of our daily press in preparation for August 1st which the report in question particularly worked out.

The bourgeois press, which is subventioned by financial capitalists, wealthy parties and organisations, and the bourgeois State, has the advantages of a great circulation, manifold propaganda, and a low price.

Undoubtedly the Communist press cannot compete in this direction. But it is not devoid of powerful weapons of its own. Its most important task lies in the direction of voicing in its columns the interests of the industrial and agricultural workers, the proletarianised middle-class, and the impoverished small farmers. It is only the Communists that can point out to all those who are exploited and oppressed the path of struggle for greater economic and political liberty. It is only the Communist

press that can create ideological presumptions for this fight and help to organise and advance it.

This is the task with which it is faced in the preparations for August 1st. In this connections, however, many possibilities are still left unexploited by our press. Let us quite soberly consider the fact that millions of workers, agrarian labourers, intellectuals, and small farmers do not yet realise the seriousness of the situation or recognise the danger of the national and international preparations for war against the Soviet Union and are unaware of the necessity of an immediate, powerful, and systematic fight against the war-mongers, against the direct military, political, and economic war preparations, and in favour of a vigorous defence of the Soviet Union which is threatened by the imperialists of all countries.

It is for our press to furnish enlightenment, to convince the masses of the accuracy of the resolutions of the VI World Congress, to spread the recognition among the masses that it is wrong to pay no attention to the problem of war, that it is harmful to stand idly by, that the masses must fight against the State and against all State-preserving bourgeois parties, that it is not sufficient to convoke various meetings and pass a few resolutions, and that in their serious Leninist fight against the war menace the masses must proceed from the resolution to the deed, from meetings to demonstrations and strikes, so as to counter-act the war preparations and to stay the arm of the bourgeoisie and thus save the Soviet Union.

Undoubtedly there is here another slight weakness of our press. It has not yet properly succeeded effectively in carrying out a centralised campaign, in dismembering it into a series of small campaigns, while at the same time preventing these subordinate campaigns from becoming independent actions and being carried on alone, if not, indeed, altogether crippling the main campaign. It is in this that the art of the mass-propaganda and mass-agitation of the Communists really consists. It is the art of showing the internal connection between the economic struggles of the working class, the results of capitalist rationalisation, the accentuation of class-differences, the decline of bourgeois democracy, the bourgeois and reformist endeavours in the direction of a transfer to a Fascist or Social-Fascist dictatorship, the growingly critical situation in the colonies, and the increasing agitation against the Soviet Union. It is only in this connection that it will be possible effectively to expose the pacifist phrases, to show up the farce of disarmament as an elaborately arranged bourgeois campaign of lies, and to elucidate the circumstances of the international military competition in armaments, the endeavours for the creation of favourable presumptions for an anti-Soviet war, and the growing persecution and oppression of the revolutionary proletariat with its Communist vanguard and press.

Women and juvenile workers, whose relative importance in the process of production is constantly increasing and whose significance was barely apparent until the last great war, deserve all the more consideration on the part of our press in view of the menace of war.

Let us, however, have a look at the central question in the campaign for August 1st. What is our present position as regards the untiring and comprehensive defence of the Soviet Union against the flood of lies and calumnies which is but now beginning afresh and which threatens to grow yet more formidable? This is a very serious point, in connection with which all our press organs must be reminded that they are lacking in initiative. The lies of our opponents must not be left unanswered. It would be a shame to allow the Social Democrats and Fascists to spread the wildest tales in the factories, while our readers have to listen without being able to reply, without being in a position to cull from their own press the arguments with which to refute their opponents. There is certainly no lack of sources of information. What is wanting, perhaps, is a satisfactory division of work in our press offices.

There are a number of other questions to be discussed. A better get-up of our publications, a more careful illustration, due consideration in the choice of headlines, and careful formulation not only of the leading articles but also of the comments in the supplements and the columns dealing with local topics.

A final question, which appears to me to be one of the most important, White terror is again on the advance. A wave of press prohibitions is drawing near for Party organs hitherto enjoying full legality. Resistance to this bourgeois terrorism must be increased in the interest of the liberty of our press.

At the same time, our press must be fully prepared to cope with an illegal status. In this connection the lessons to be learned from conditions in countries under Fascist dictatorship are of great value to the entire press, in so far as it is still legal. In the first place there is the question of the connection between the newspaper offices and the leading industrial enterprises. A Party journalist who does not place the columns of his paper at the disposal of the worker correspondents in the big industrial enterprises and the worker correspondents of the Soviet Union and who is himself not a regular collaborator in revolutionary publications in the works, cannot claim to call himself truly revolutionary. A Party journalist who, in the eventuality of a prohibition of the legal Party press, is not able to answer with the publication of other press organs and of publications in the works, who does not feel the urge and responsibility to find ways and means, even in the most serious times of the revolutionary struggle, to serve the cause of revolution most effectively with his mind and his pen, has failed to grasp the revolutionising, mobilising, and organising rôle of the Party press particularly in a state of illegality.

We could here only touch on a few questions. It is our most important task to build up and extend the international connections of our press, to enhance the exchange of material, experience, and correspondence, and to improve our activity in all spheres of revolutionary journalism.

International Naval and Air Armaments.

By W. H. (London).

It is stated here, on the authority of "The Times" of the 25th June, that the "Auxiliary Air Force" (the Territorial Volunteer section of the British Air Force) is to be completely re-equipped this Summer with the most modern general purpose airplane in use by the regular Air Force. This machine is an all-metal two seater of the latest and fastest type. More than sixty of these machines will be supplied to the five squadrons of the Auxiliary Air Force.

Statistics just issued by the U. S. A. Navy Department show that Great Britain leads in the tonnage of capital ships, aircraft carriers, and first-line cruisers.

Great Britain has 20 capital ships of a 556,350 tonnage, against the United States' 18 capital ships of 525,850 tonnage; the other powers recorded are Japan, France and Italy with 10, 9 and 4 vessels respectively, the tonnage being 301,320; 194,550; 89,976.

In aircraft carriers, the British tonnage is 107,550, the U. S. 82,500, Japan 63,300, and France 21,653.

In first-line cruisers, Great Britain leads with a tonnage of 420,140, followed by the tonnage of the U. S. (255,000), Japan (213,955), France (135,955) and Italy (143,419).

The U. S. leads easily in second-line (light) Cruisers, with a tonnage of 179,435. Great Britain has no vessels in this class; while Japan, France and Italy combined have a tonnage considerably less than that of the U. S.

The U. S. again leads in first-line Destroyers. Here her tonnage is 310,429. Great Britain's is 241,330; Japan's 135,460; France's 124,792; and Italy's 109,531.

France leads in first-line Submarines (a tonnage of 90,884), but is closely followed by the U. S. with 87,327 tonnage. Great Britain with 84,785 and Japan with 79,267, Italy bringing up the rear with 40,611.

British Imperialism to "Develop" Chinese Navy.

By W. M. H.

London, July 2.

The Foreign Office announces that an agreement has been signed between the Governments of Britain and China providing for the training of Chinese naval cadets in the British Navy and the despatch of a British Naval Mission to China to assist in the development of the Chinese Navy.

The communiqué adds that the Chinese Government are understood to have a "comprehensive programme" for the building of a "substantial navy" and that they intend to have some new vessels constructed in Britain.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE DAY

The Co-operative Societies of the Soviet Union and their Part in Socialist Construction.

By Zaborov.

Under the conditions given by the proletarian dictatorship, the tasks of the consumers' co-operatives are the following: 1. the systematic supplanting of private trade in the sphere of the circulation of commodities and its replacement by co-operative trade, 2. the participation of the 25 million peasant farms in the process of the circulation of commodities in the Soviet Union, in order to aid thereby the reconstruction of the technical and organisational basis of the separate individual peasant farms, enabling these to perform their part in the socialist transformation of the whole economy of the Soviet Union.

It need not be said that the co-operative societies can only accomplish these stupendous tasks if supported by the Soviet state and all its organs on the one hand, and by the most active assistance of the masses of the co-operative members on the other. In spite of the enormous difficulties to be overcome in solving these problems, difficulties still confronting the co-operative organisations, the consumers' co-operatives can place on record great progress in every branch of activity during the last few years.

The proportion of business passing through the hands of the co-operative societies has increased steadily in the Soviet Union of late years. The co-operative societies have already become the leading apparatus in the country for the distribution of goods. A few figures may serve to illustrate this advance.

In 1923/24 the proportion of socialised trade to all trade in the Soviet Union was 59.2%, rising to 90.7% by 1927/28. The share taken by the co-operative societies in the socialised sector of trade in commodities rose in this same period from 18.0% to 40.2%. In these same years the share falling to private trade sank from 40.8% to 9.3%.

In retail trade 51.4% of all retail trade fell to the socialised sector in 1923/24, by 1927/28 76.6%. Of this the share taken by the co-operative societies was 22.0 and 53.5% respectively. The share falling to private capital sank proportionately, from 58.6% to 24.1%.

In the course of barely four years changes have taken place in the social structure of the goods distributing network, demonstrating that the socialist sector has decisively defeated the private capitalist trader, and conquered firmly established positions in the process of the circulation of commodities.

That this setting aside of private trade has been in favour of the co-operative societies may be seen from the above figures; the share of retail trade falling to the co-operative societies has increased practically in proportion to the decline of the private capitalist share. The network of co-operative societies has thus become the most important goods distributing apparatus in the country, controlling retail trade, and forcing the private trader to adapt his price policy to that of the co-operative societies.

These facts further prove that, under the conditions given by the proletarian dictatorship, the rôle played by the co-operative society is growing steadily in importance, whilst in the capitalist countries the goods turnover of the co-operatives, as compared with that of the great trading concerns, is as steadily sinking. Thus for instance the returns of the Central Union of German Co-operative Societies amounted to 130 million marks in 1903, to 492 million in 1914, and to 881 million in 1927, whilst the returns recorded by the great trading concerns in these years were 50 million, 600 million, and 1.6 milliard marks respectively. The returns of the co-operative societies in Germany are therefore being outstripped by those of the great trading concerns.

The following figures bear witness of the tempo of development being maintained by the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union: The trade returns of the co-operative societies increased from 1.8 milliard roubles in 1923/24 to 14.4 milliard roubles in 1927/28. The means possessed by the co-operative societies increased from 200 million roubles on

1. October 1924 to 805 million roubles on 1. October 1928. Finally, the distribution network increased during this same period from 371,000 co-operative stores to 883,000.

The same phenomenon may be observed with respect to the recruitment of new members. Whilst in the capitalist countries the number of members, with but few exceptions, has either remained unaltered or has fallen off, the number of members in the Soviet co-operatives is growing steadily and rapidly. The total number of members rose from 7.1 million on 1. October 1924 to 22.6 million on 1. October 1928.

The co-operative societies of the Soviet Union have already assumed a leading rôle in the system distributing the productions of state industry among the working population. 70% of the total products of state industry are sold by the co-operative societies in accordance with general agreements with these industries. The proportion is even greater than this in some cases; for textile goods it rises to 86% of the total production, for sugar also 86%, for vegetable oils 70%, etc.

This uninterrupted expansion of the general trading operations of the co-operative societies enables these to ensure that the working masses expend an ever increasing proportion of their income in the co-operative stores. At the present time a working man's family already expends 62% of its income with the co-operative societies; the needs of the population in industrial productions are covered by the co-operative societies to the even higher extent of 70%, whilst the demand for agricultural products is met to 40%. The important part here played by the co-operative societies in satisfying the requirements of the working masses in necessary articles of consumption has been of enormous advantage to the masses of the consumers. The private trade prices are on an average 25% higher than the prices of the co-operative societies. In 1927/28 alone the members of the co-operative societies were thus able to save about 3.5 milliard roubles by buying in their stores. Nothing could prove more clearly the great importance of co-operative trade in maintaining the real wages of the workers.

The successes hereby won by the co-operative societies during the last few years create the necessary basis for the further and even more rapid development of the movement during the coming five-year period. The plan already drafted for the development of the co-operative societies in the years 1928/29—1932/33 envisages the following perspectives: The trade returns of the co-operative societies will be doubled by the end of the five-year period, reaching 30 milliard roubles. The needs of the total population in the productions of state industry will be covered by the co-operative societies to the increased extent of 88%, the demand for agricultural products to the increased extent of 56%. The share of the co-operative societies in the total retail trade turnover of the country will increase to 80%, whilst the share of private capital will drop to 7%. The number of members will increase to 47 millions, and will comprise 38% of the total rural population and 70% of the city population.

The achievements hitherto made by the co-operative societies would, however, have been impossible had the co-operatives not accompanied their trading operations by extensive activities in the field of cultural and educational work. The co-operative societies have at their disposal an extensive system of special schools and co-operative institutions. Six colleges have co-operative faculties; five technical schools and twenty five departments of state technical middle schools are training fresh cadres of higher co-operative functionaries. The courses of higher practical instruction and correspondence courses given by the Centrosoyus fulfil the same task. 300 middle schools and 53 office work and commercial schools are educating functionaries of medium qualification for the consumers' co-operatives. Finally the consumers co-operatives organise short terms of instruction every year for the further training of co-operative functionaries, and 20,000 co-operative employees and workers are given the opportunity of attending these. At the present time about 10,000 students may be counted in the educational institutions supported by the co-operative societies. To sum up, we may therefore place on record that the co-operative societies of the Soviet Union have already become one of the most important factors in the transformation of the whole economy of the Soviet Union upon a socialist basis. Their importance will increase in proportion as they draw ever widening circles into their sphere of activity in town and country, and give these masses the opportunity of working actively for the building up of socialism all over the country.

Significance of International Co-operators' Day to Proletarian Women.

Forty-five millions of co-operators, including a large proportion of working class women will be called upon by the International Co-operative Alliance to demonstrate on **International Co-operative Day**, — July 6th.

International Co-operators' Day this year, will be celebrated in a period of intensifying class struggle and of energetic preparations for war. The working class is everywhere engaged in a grim fight, not even, in most cases, for the **improvement** of its wretched standards of living and exhausting conditions of work, but to prevent them from being still further **worsened** in the course of the ever-growing competition between the rival capitalist groups.

At the same time the **war preparations** put heavier burdens upon them now, and open before them the prospect of being driven in the near future to slaughter one another in the interests of the same class. Even now they see the armed forces of their imperialist masters being used for the enslavement of the colonial peoples, with consequent reactions upon the conditions of white workers. And above all, every day brings new evidence that the predominating purpose of these systematic preparations is an attack upon the U. S. S. R., to which they look for inspiration and aid in their own struggles.

The co-operatives, in their social composition, are overwhelmingly **proletarian** organisations. What part are they playing in the fight against the economic and political offensive of the respective national sections of the bourgeoisie, and against imperialist war? Do we find them striking back powerful blows against the bourgeoisie, adopting a policy ever more revolutionary as it becomes clearer that the bourgeoisie will stop at nothing in its efforts to extricate itself from the grip of capitalist contradictions and perpetuate its power?

The contrary is true: for while the membership of the co-operatives is predominantly proletarian, the leadership in the great majority of cases consists of petty bourgeois and even bourgeois reformists. This is partly due to the advantages which these elements possess in capitalist society of better education, administrative experience, etc.; and partly to artificial hindrances to the coming forward of proletarians to leading positions (high share and purchasing qualifications, regulations forbidding workers in co-operative enterprises from being elected to boards of management, etc.).

These bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements, pre-disposed in any case to accept the ideas of the ruling class, do so the more readily by reason of the co-operative **property** which they control, regarding as an end in itself the increasing of the amount of land, the number by the co-operatives, and fearing above all things, any conflict with bourgeois legality, which would endanger the possession of such property.

Thus we have the spectacle of large and rich co-operatives, embracing thousands of working men and women, standing aloof while **great class battles** are in progress, the issue of which is of the utmost importance for the co-operatives themselves; and even lending active assistance to the capitalists against the workers. The reduction of the workers' purchasing power, by wage-cuts, short time, unemployment, etc., severely affects the prosperity of the co-operatives. In times of long continued distress large numbers of members are lost to the co-operatives. At the same time, when the co-operatives are singled out for direct attack by the capitalist class, by means of boycott, discrimination, taxation, fascist violence, etc., the attacks can only be defeated by common action with the militant organisations of class struggle and the revolutionary workers in the industries.

The reformist leaders of the properous co-operations, however, wilfully shut their eyes to these facts endeavouring to perpetuate a policy of "neutrality" in industrial struggles and on the political field to guide the activity of the co-operatives into reformist parliamentary channels.

Thus, we saw that in **France**, where at the end of 1928 the textile workers were engaged in a struggle with their employers, La Federation Nationale des Co-operatives de Consommation ignored the appeal for help to the strikers made by the revolutionary co-operators' circles. Only the co-operatives which were under revolutionary control (about 100 in

number and small in size) gave all the assistance they could to the striking workers.

Similarly in the great lock-out of metal workers in the Ruhr in the same period, the social-democratic co-operative leaders declared their neutrality in the dispute. Under pressure from their members, some very slight help was given in places (e. g. in the form of credits to strikers, on the same terms as and after, the private tradesmen had given credits) but this was confined to their own members, and was expressly proclaimed as an act of charity, not as a measure of class solidarity. On the contrary, a revolutionary co-operative in Merzeburg (Saxony), which, in defiance of the prohibition of the higher bureaucracy of the movement organised demonstrations of support for the locked-out workers, and made grants of money for their benefit, to the Workers' International Relief, was expelled by the District Co-operative Conference of Central Germany.

The English co-operatives (all of which are under reformist control) have a somewhat better record to show, in so far as rank and file pressure has sometimes compelled a measure of practical aid to workers engaged in struggles, chiefly to the miners: nevertheless to a far from satisfactory extent. In 1921, 362 co-operatives gave grants to the striking miners to the amount of £ 82,000; and credits to the extent of £ 600,000. In the 8 months' lock-out of 1926 a large number, of co-operatives made gifts to the miners of money, food, etc., many in mining areas gave credits; in South Wales kitchens were opened to feed the workers and their families. The Co-operative Wholesale Society (the business centre of the movement) however, gave nothing at all; and the Co-operative Union (the social centre) only after a strenuous fight of the rank and file delegates at its congress voted £ 1,000, a sum only equal to that given by one large society in London.

Again in the recent March of Unemployed from all parts of England to London, a number of individual co-operatives along the route gave food and shelter to the marchers; and in other cases many militant co-operatives assisted to form "reception (hospitality) committees" under Communist leadership. But the main body of the co-operative bureaucracy supported the official leaders of the trade unions and "Labour" Party, who condemned and attempted to ruin the march.

In the strikes of textile workers and miners which have taken place in Czechoslovakia this year, aid again came solely from the co-operatives under revolutionary leadership, which made gifts directly to the strike committees.

This anti working-class rôle of the co-operative bureaucracy in the class-struggle within each capitalist country is coming to be clearly recognised by large number of workers, thanks to the sharpening of that struggle itself, which leaves ever less possibility for the mis-leaders to play a double rôle. What is not so easy to perceive, is the fact that each group is assisting its "own" bourgeoisie to prepare for war. Yet, (apart from the fact that the sabotage of economic struggles in itself strengthens the bourgeoisie and enables it to forward with greater freedom with its war-measures) there is an ever-closer liaison between the co-operative leaders and the organisations and institutions of the ruling class, an ever-closer identification of the co-operative and social democratic bureaucracy, an ever growing similarity between the policies of all three.

In England we have just seen a Co-operative leader, Alexander, appointed to the post of First Lord of the Admiralty in a Labour-Imperialist cabinet! In less noticeable ways influential co-operative officials are drawn into various advisory bodies of the capitalist states, with the object of using them as vehicles for imperialist policy in the co-operative movement. Thus we see the co-operatives of Belgium and England veiling the colonial policy of their respective bourgeoisie by exploiting the coloured peoples in the tropical countries on their plantations (for tea, fruit, cotton, etc); and in the case of England appeals for closer unity with the co-operatives of Australia etc., not for purposes of common action against the imperialist wage-cutters and war-makers, but in order to strengthen the British Empire. In such manner do they introduce and foster the ideas of imperialism among the workers, and facilitate the preparations of the war-makers. From this there is only a small step to a determined endeavour to place the entire co-operative apparatus at the disposal of the imperialist governments in the event of war; just as the "socialist" and "labour" parties placed theirs during the last war.

These treacherous services are the more dangerous in that they are masked behind protestations of unity against war,

and illusions about its prevention by peaceful means, of which a typical specimen is the **Manifesto of the International Co-operative Alliance** issued in connection with July 6th. This manifesto is addressed "To The Co-operators of the World", and proclaims:

"The International Co-operative Alliance hails with satisfaction the steady advance of its principles and the realisation of its aims; it calls upon its constituent members to demonstrate everywhere the unity of our movement, confidence in its power to raise the standard of life and civilisation to a still higher plane, and ultimately, to realise the co-operative commonwealth".

And the leading body of this International Alliance has admitted **Fascist co-operatives** to membership, while endeavouring repeatedly to drive out the co-operatives of the U. S. S. R. — the only country where the aims of proletarian co-operative are genuinely realised; the one country which has made a sincere contribution to world peace.

Yes: the **proletarian women co-operators** must indeed demonstrate on July 6th; but not in support of the lying claims and the anti-working-class policy of the reformist leaders. Let them organise under the leadership of the **Communist Party** together with the revolutionary trade unions, revolutionary oppositions, and all militant organisations of the workers and the peasants, to demonstrate their solid resistance to the capitalist offensive and to the threat of war.

Let them declare for a cleansing from their movement of all collaborators of the capitalist class; for systematic united action with all other organs of class struggle, especially such (strike-committees, etc.) as are set up in times of economic conflict; for systematic connections with militant co-operators abroad, and especially in Soviet Russia; for support of the Soviet co-operatives in the I. C. A.; above all, for energetic participation in the Red Day Against Imperialist War! The July 6th will be a memorable milestone in the history of the international co-operative.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The New War in Morocco.

By E. C. (Paris).

The "glorious annals" of the conquest of Morocco by the French imperialists has been enriched by a new and extremely sanguinary battle. A strong body of troops, which was composed of Moroccan rifles and soldiers of the Foreign Legion (forming part of the garrison of the newly conquered position of Ait Yacub), proceeded into not yet occupied territory for the purpose of relieving an action undertaken farther to the north, located in the centre of the Atlas range on the Ued el Abid river. On June 8th this troop was attacked by a strong detachment of the tribe of Ait Haddidu, almost all the officers being killed and the unit dispersed. The Moorish riflemen, who were but little inclined to fight against their countrymen, threw away their arms and ammunition. On the French side, nearly 100 soldiers and officers were killed. For several days the position of Ait Yacub was besieged by the rebels and could only be held by the reinforcement of the garrison and by recourse to air-planes.

Such a significant occurrence could not but create a great impression throughout France. The Government of the "National Unity" immediately mobilised its apparatus of mendacity and attempted to shift the entire blame onto the responsible officer, who had allegedly acted contrary to his instructions. But the workers are not to be hoodwinked so easily. Both in its press and through the mouth of Comrade Cachin in the Chamber, the **Communist Party** pointed out the full responsibility of the Government and the Supreme Command and proved that the battle of Ait Yacub was anything but a matter of chance, being, indeed, part of a whole series of military operations which have been long in preparation for the purpose of occupying territory not hitherto subjected.

In Morocco there are, as a matter of fact, very considerable areas which have not yet been subjected by the French imperialists, viz. the **Central Atlas Region** and the region

of **Tafilalet**, both situated on the southern border of the "protectorate". In 1925 and 1926, France, then busily engaged in the Rif war, was obliged to shelve this task, which had long been envisaged. It was only towards the end of 1927 that attention could once more be turned in this direction. After the sanguinary Rif war, however, which had cost the French proletariat and the natives more than 10,000 dead, the imperialists hesitated to initiate another great and unmasked operation of the same kind. Their tactics rather tended in the direction of a complete blockade of such areas as had not yet been subjected, on which all the tried methods of corruption were brought to bear. So as to render more effective this starvation and demoralisation of the enemy, their camps were bombarded by air-planes, and small military operations were undertaken against them. As far as possible, no European soldiers were employed in this connection, the unfortunate Algerians and the Moorish partisans being used as cat's paws. In this way it was hoped to avoid any irritation of public opinion.

However, the unsubjected tribes are determined to defend their independence, knowing only too well what lot awaits them if they bow to foreign rule. They know that immediately after the termination of the Rif war the natives of the area chiefly concerned were deprived of 40,000 hectares of their best ground. They know that the primitive democracy which prevails among them will be replaced by the unrestricted autocracy of a Caid in the service of the imperialists. They know many other things, too, and are therefore determined to fight desperately for their liberty, their ground, and their belongings.

Their resistance, moreover, is strengthened by the fact that they appear to have recognised the necessity of uniting against the invaders. The bourgeois press is right in surmising that the attack of the **Aid Haddidu** tribe on the outpost of **Ait Yacub** is intended to divert attention from the struggle of other tribes against the French offensive in the region of **Ued el Abid**, which is situated at some distance from **Ait Yacub**. Though they have not at their disposal such first-rate war material as the Rif warriors had, they are at any rate fighting in a mountain region every feature of which is intimately known to them.

The war thus commenced by the French imperialists is likely to call for great sacrifices both in money and in lives. The occupation of the regions of **Tafilalet** and of the Central Atlas is considered by all military experts as a very serious and difficult matter.

The French imperialists, however, are determined to carry out their intentions at any price. Nor are they without good reasons for this determination.

In the first place the existence of a yet unsubjected area in the centre of Morocco constitutes a great danger for the French rule. The tribes already subjected pay minute attention to all that passes in the independent regions. The heroic resistance of the valorous **Berbers** has awakened an enthusiastic echo throughout Morocco and constitutes a danger to the imperialist rule in that country. On the other hand, the economic wealth of the **Tafilalet** and central Atlas regions is very considerable, the occurrences of ore being particularly promising. In the region of **Tafilalet** there is hard coal, and in the central Atlas region iron ore. The valley of the **Ued el Abid** contains extensive areas of extreme fertility, the river alone being a potential source of exceptional wealth (for Moroccan circumstances), since its rapids would render possible the artificial irrigation and consequently also the agricultural exploitation of a great area. Besides this, water-power stations might well be erected on this river.

A conquest of the territory not yet subjected to French rule would thus mean the possibility of a really intensive exploitation of the country. The problem, however, is of even farther-reaching significance than this, considering that a construction of the **Trans-Sahara Railway** would be impossible without a previous pacification of the **Tafilalet** region.

The **Trans-Sahara Railway** is a great imperialist enterprise which is intended to join up the French possessions in **West and Equatorial Africa** with **Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis** and thus also with the mother country. It would in the first place render possible an increased exploitation of the "black" colonies. At the same time it would enable France to effect a rapid transport of large numbers of troops in the case of a war or for the purpose of putting down rebellion either of the French workers or of natives in the colonies. Over and above this, it would represent the backbone of any military defensive

system for the African colonies of France. By means of the **Trans-Sahara Railway**, France would be able to move troops and war material from one end of its colonial empire to the other in five or six days instead of the fifteen or twenty days now required by the respective ocean passage, and without having to fear the interference of foreign naval Powers. The **Trans-Sahara Railway** will undoubtedly be a powerful weapon in imperialist warfare. Therefore it may safely be assumed that the subjection of the **Tafilalet** region, through which the **Trans-Sahara Railway** will have to pass, constitutes an essential part of the military plans of the imperialists.

The events in Morocco have given rise to extremely demagogic manoeuvres on the part of the **Socialists and Radicals**. The Socialists "opposed" the military operations, which they suggested should give place to a so-called peaceful penetration. In the Chamber they enthusiastically welcomed **Steege**, the former Governor of **Morocco**, who is alleged to have employed methods of peaceful penetration and who was a few months ago replaced by **Saint**. **Steege's** peaceful penetration had — to judge by the bombardments and battles during his administration — very little in common with pacifism and has led to such fights as that of **Ait Yacub**. In reality the Socialists, like all other bourgeois parties, are faithful and absolute adherents of the colonisation of Morocco; it was but recently that the deputy **Riviere** condemned the Communist motion for the withdrawal of the French troops. The Socialists, who in 1925 sanctioned the credits for the Rif war and thereby incurred the partial responsibility for the death of more than 10,000 soldiers, will no longer be able to deceive the proletariat as to their true intentions.

The Communist Party is opposed to all forms of colonisation by the imperialists. As at the time of the Rif war, it again calls upon the workers, peasants, and soldiers both of the mother country and of the colonies to oppose the war now in progress and to fight for the military evacuation of Morocco by the French and for the absolute independence of that country. It is only by an alliance between French and colonial workers and by a fraternisation between the French soldiers and the native peasants that the victory of such principles can be ensured.

Persecution of Indian Workers under the MacDonald Government.

By G. P. (Paris).

The English Government, of which **Ramsay MacDonald** is Premier, the Socialist **Clynes** Home Secretary and, finally, the Socialist **Sidney Webb** Secretary for the Colonies and the Dominions — this government has commenced its existence with a most repulsive act. It has allowed the secretary of the Indian trade-union organisation "**Girni Kamgar**" (Red Flag) to be arrested in **Nagpur**.

This latest victim of British repression in India, **Leslie Hutchison**, is not and never was a Communist. He is a young journalist, who came to India to work on the Indian "**Daily Mail**", but not for long, as, under the impression made by the mighty revolutionary movement and revolted by the regime of terror of the wire-pullers in London and Delhi, he shortly left the "**Daily Mail**" and became editor of the "**New Spark**", the organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

With what "crime" is **Hutchinson** actually charged? He was elected by the Indian workers president of the **Red Trade Union**, the so-called "**Girni Kamgar**", which at present embraces about 65,000 members. He is the leader of the big textile workers' strike in **Bombay**, which the reformist union (with scarcely 10,000 members) did its best to sabotage and betray. In spite of threats and persecution of all kinds 90,000 textile workers are still fighting for the reinstatement of comrades penalised by the employers and condemned to starvation.

As is well known, immediately after the victory of the Labour Party the General Council of the trade unions disavowed the workers on strike. The Viceroy, who felt his position thereby strengthened, declared the movement in **Bombay** to be illegal. He had 31 Labour leaders arrested and their trial began a week or two ago in **Meerut**.

The accused in this monstre trial were arrested in **Bombay** and transported to **Meerut**, where, it was hoped, the law might be violated with impunity. His Majesty's Government declared

that the 31 workers should not be tried by jury but by a court composed of carefully selected officials. The Government of India also selected counsel for the prosecution. The choice fell upon Langford James, a well-known enemy of the Indian people. The trial, which began on the day after the election, was postponed several days in view of the Mahomedan holidays and resumed on June 24th.

The counsel for the prosecution has already made his debut. His speech, a selection of the most bigotted counter-revolutionary absurdities and anti-Bolshevistic incitement, strings together the most amazing contradictions. But the whole of it is characterised by blind hatred of the Soviet Union.

It is the Soviet Union against which the charge is directed. It is against that country that the "empire" of MacDonald is mobilising its judges before sending out its armed cruisers.

In his efforts to please his employers, the counsel for the prosecution has, however, overshot the mark. The anti-Bolshevist specialists in the London editorial departments decided after seeing the "document" from Meerut (which describes Stalin as president of the Comintern) not to publish it.

The 31 prisoners addressed a telegram to MacDonald about a week ago, protesting against the emergency court. The socialist Prime Minister has not replied to their protest.

The socialist Prime Minister is no beginner. Under his first government in the year 1924 four Indian workers in Cawnpore were sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment.

Much has happened since 1924. The Labour Party has zealously put itself at the service of colonial oppression. It is characteristic of the evolution of Social Democracy that the hangmen of the Indian people can to-day count upon the co-operation of a Lansbury, who but yesterday was president of the League Against Imperialism.

But, while the leaders of the Labour Party have entered into an alliance with the Conservatives, the Indian workers have broken away from the policy of compromise of Gandhi and his supporters. They declare their solidarity with the October revolution, and support the Workers' and Peasants' Party. One strike follows upon another. To them it is a question of a fight against those who have oppressed them for hundreds of years. Their fight is being followed with intense interest by the international proletariat, and especially by the proletariat in England and France, which sympathises with the Indian workers in their struggle against Franco-British imperialism.

Those who conquered India by the sword are now calling upon the leaders of the Labour Party for help. They command them to suppress the Indian revolution with the sword. It is, however, too late!

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Annual Conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation.

By W. Holmes (London).

A good fight was put up by the Communist fraction of twelve delegates at the Annual Conference of the **South Wales Miners' Federation**, held in Cardiff. The whole line of the Executive Committee could be summed up in the phrase "put your faith in the Labour Government", and this line was accepted by the majority of the delegates, most of whom are local officials of the Federation. It was true, nevertheless, that a considerable number of delegates were half inclined to accept the Communist estimation of the Labour Government's role, but they evidently were waiting for the Government's actions and policy to convince them.

On the question of hours, a cautiously worded resolution for the "early" (not immediate) restoration of the seven-hour day was carried, after the Executive had shown much concern in defending the Labour Government from the "suspicion" that it would not honour its (supposed) pledges in this matter.

The Communist delegates fought for a resolution calling on the Conference to take

"every action necessary to secure the nationalisation of the mines and by-products without compensation and with workers' control".

This resolution was defeated in favour of one reiterating the pious hopes for "nationalisation", without any concrete statement of what was meant.

Characteristic of the officials' attitude was the intervention in this debate of **Tom Richards**, the aged General Secretary of the S. W. M. F., who made a vicious attack on the Soviet Union declaring that the

"policy of confiscation had brought chaos in Russia and had resulted in the starvation of the workers".

"Orders from Moscow" was also the line taken by the Executive in attacking a resolution (supported by the Communist delegates) which criticised the failure of the M. F. G. B. to resist the coal-owners local and district attacks on the miners, urged an immediate policy of resistance to all such attacks, and demanded a national conference to prevent the renewal of the District agreements and to fight for a national agreement by strike action if necessary. The resolution was rejected in favour of one calling in general terms for a national agreement.

On the question of unemployment, a Communist delegate moved a resolution, 1. condemning the "transference" scheme and the disqualification of unemployed workers from unemployment benefit, 2. "demanding the immediate restoration of the seven-hour day and the cessation of the reparations coal deliveries", 3. preparing for a struggle to achieve these demands by strike action if necessary, in the event of the Government refusing to act. The first two points were adopted but the third rejected in favour of an amendment that a national conference should be called to discuss the matter.

A victory was secured by the Communist fraction on the question of the **May-Day holiday**, which the Conference agreed for the first time, should be observed in the South Wales coal-field on the First of May.

In regard to pensions for aged miners, where the Executive did not wish to tie down the Labour Government to a definite scale, the conference decided on the scale of £2 a week at the age of 60, and not 55, as the Communist delegates demanded.

In the election for president, **Arthur Horner**, the well known Communist miners' leader, received 17 votes against 112 for **Morrell**, the retiring president. The vote was by show of hands and, contrary to precedent, a "card vote" was refused. Other retiring officials were also re-elected by large majorities.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

The Foch-Marty Case and its International Significance.

By Gab (Paris).

The French Court of Appeal has committed the enormity of sentencing **André Marty** to an imprisonment of five years and ten months' duration. In the annals of French jurisdiction this is the most severe sentence ever recorded on a transgression in journalism. This sentence embodies a new threat against the anti-militarist propaganda of the Communists. Its substantiation, which was the outcome of long confabulations, establishes a precedent according to which it is a punishable act to call historical facts of fraternisation to mind.

If ever the history of the Foch-Marty case in written, it will have to be pointed out that the individual phases of this case corresponded to individual international situations and that in a certain sense the case was the utterance of the bellicose anti-Soviet policy of the French imperialists.

Let the reader judge for himself. It was in August 1927, but a few weeks since events of great importance had occurred in China. The revolutionary troops had conquered Shanghai and Nanking. In February **André Marty** addressed to the French workers an appeal for solidarity with the Chinese proletariat.

Frightened by the increasing revolutionary wave Great Britain induced agents of **Chang-Tso-Lin** to raid the Soviet consulates. The Foreign Office compiled obviously provocative Notes. The Soviet government replied calmly and coldly. In confusion and at a loss how to act, **Chamberlain** and **Joynson-Hicks** had the premises of the Arcos occupied by the police and the safes opened by experts. There ensued the breach with the Soviet Union.

In the meantime Comrade **Voikov** was murdered at Warsaw. France did not remain a passive spectator of these aggressive preparations. She would not content herself with being towed by Great Britain, but desired to play a more active part. The policy of the Government of National Unity was determined by open hostilities towards the Soviet Union. This was the policy plainly expressed by **Marshal Foch** in the interview published in the "Referee". The Marshal recalled the events of the Ambassadors' Conference in 1919, gave expression to his impotent hatred of the victorious proletariat, and finally announced the Franco-British alliance for the purpose of "putting a stop once for all to Bolshevism".

To this provocation, Marty, who was under arrest at the time on account of his protest against the war in Morocco, replied on August 24th. He spoke as one who had taken part in the mutiny of the French navy in the Black Sea and had therefore been chosen by thousands of French workers, as a member of the Communist International, as a member of the Central Committee of the C. P. and in the name of that Party.

He supplied the true version of the historical facts misrepresented by Marshal Foch, pointing out that Foch's plan of 1919 represented the commencement of a punitive expedition, which was frustrated by the resistance of the crews of the French battle-ships in the Black Sea. André Marty wound up by saying:

"If ever you dare to repeat the crime of 1919, we shall employ the united efforts of the Communist Party to the end that the army and navy should not content themselves with refusing to serve but should place their arms at the disposal of the workers and peasants."

The further events are well known. Marty was arrested and imprisoned with common criminals. The Government denied the authenticity of the interview in the "Referee" in spite of a confirmatory declaration on the part of the chief editor. On April 10th, 1928, however, Painlevé, shouted down by the peasants of his Ain constituency, was forced to admit that it had really taken place, though he added that the publication had been made without the consent of the Government.

Nevertheless, Marty was condemned 16 days later by the twelfth penal senate to four years' imprisonment.

In the meantime the French imperialists had worked out their aggressive policy against the Soviet Union. At the end of August 1927, the correspondent of the telegraph agency of the U. S. S. R. was expelled from the country for having reported in a telegram on the demonstrations of the workers on August 23rd against the murder of **Sacco and Vanzetti**.

Almost simultaneously there began the agitation against **Rakovski**, then Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Paris. **Rakovski** was obliged to quit his post in October. The Government press did not even attempt to veil the fact that the recall of **Rakovski** was the first step in the direction of a breach.

In December 1928, the Marty case was brought before the Court of Appeal. **Mr. Preston**, the head of the foreign political section of the London "Referee", who had arrived from England, confirmed the declaration of his editor-in-chief and made various serious depositions as regards the circumstances accompanying the interview. But what mattered that to the judges? They had been instructed to condemn and they did so. They confirmed the sentence of four years imprisonment and 3000 francs penalty.

At Geneva the disarmament plan of the Soviet Government was declined by **Boncour** and subsequently by **Clauzel**, who both gave their adherence to the provocative attacks of **Lord Cushendon** on the Soviet Union. **Briand** found fit to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union before the League of Nations. Meanwhile **General le Rond** was making his round of visits to places like Bucharest and Warsaw. **Franchet d'Esperey** and **Admiral Fato** betook themselves to Belgrade, where a few months later the coup d'état ensued. **Pilsudski** declared a war between Poland and the Soviet Union to be inevitable. A Bucharest journal, the organ of the Roumanian secret police, betrayed the technical side of the military plan of attack on the Soviet Union. While these preparations were being made, the negotiations for the Kellogg Agreement continued undisturbed.

Finally, a few months prior to the new condemnation of Marty, a military and naval agreement was concluded between London and Paris. The two governments agreed on a uniform policy towards the United States, the colonial peoples, and the Soviet Union.

The Marshal, however, did not content himself with the interview he had granted the representative of the "Referee" in August 1927, the interview to which André Marty replied. A few days after his death, the "Neue Wiener Journal" published an announcement by the German industrialist **Arnold Rechberg**, which aroused considerable interest. **Rechberg** reported an interview he had had with Marshal Foch on the day following the occupation of the Ruhr district. In speaking of the Franco-German relations, Foch said:

"I am not so naive as to believe that a handful of criminal tyrants will indefinitely be permitted to govern half our Continent and a great part of Asia. As long as France and Germany are not united, however, nothing can be done against them. Will you please transit my kind regards to **General Hoffmann**."

Marty was sentenced on December 14th, 1928. Three months later, however, the workers elected him to Parliament on the occasion of a by-election at Puteaux.

In view of this election, Marty was obliged to appear once more before the Court of Appeal. It was on April 24th. A few days earlier France had turned down the plan of disarmament proffered at Geneva by Comrade **Litvinov**. The ring around the Soviet Union was getting tighter. Consignments of arms were constantly being sent to Poland. Between March 20th and 28th, three great consignments arrived at Danzig from France and Great Britain. **General le Rond** was appointed chairman of the Danzig shipyards. In an article in the "Bergwerkszeitung", the French senator **Jouvenel** announced the Franco-German alliance against the Bolsheviks. The French press applauded Great Britain's intrigues in Afghanistan. In an article signed by **A. Gulewitch**, the "Revue Hebdomadaire" recommended the imperialist governments to support the White terrorist organisations which are attempting to create disturbances in the Federal Republics of the Soviet Union.

Such was the state of affairs when Marty again faced his "judges". The trial was twice adjourned, so that the 1st of May and the demonstration before the so-called "wall of the confederates" should be safely past. Then the verdict was pronounced. Marty was again condemned, altogether to five years of imprisonment, to which, in flagrant violation even of the bourgeois laws, a supplementary ten months were added.

Thus each phase of the Foch-Marty case corresponds to an episode in the offensive against the Soviets, in which the Socialists took part without any reservations. It was a Socialist, **Felix Gouin**, who compiled the law of December 30th, 1928, which "leaves it to the Courts to determine the character of the offence in each individual case".

It was the Socialists, again, who joined the anti-Communist coalition at Argenteuil and Puteaux against the imprisoned Marty. They, too, on the occasion of Foch's death, took part in the manifestations of a hysterical chauvinism.

Thus we see the international significance of the Foch-Marty case which is an instance of the hopeless efforts of the French bourgeoisie against the only Party which is mobilising the masses against rationalisation and the war menace.

It was a trial which was typical of the preparations of the French imperialists and their Socialist minions against the Soviet Union.

In a double sense, therefore, the workers, who have included the liberation of Comrade Marty in their demands for the International Red Day, must be enlightened as to Marty and the principles for which he stands.

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror in Mexico.

By M. D. R.

The course pursued by the **Calles-Portes Gil** Government, with its shameful capitulation to Yankee imperialism, points out a new path for the revolutionary movement in Mexico.

The rapid climb down of the government, now held firmly in the grasp of the ambassador of the United States, **Morrow**, and proceeding to "settle" the religious question, has reached its uttermost depths with the opening of a campaign of persecution against all the revolutionary organisations of the workers, peasants, and students, a campaign which can only be compared

with the Carranza epoch of ten years ago: attacks upon the trade unions, confiscations, imprisonment and deportation of the workers' leaders, assassinations, censorship of press and correspondence, suppression by force of arms of the May-Day celebrations of the revolutionary workers, actual programme against workers and peasants adhering to the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, expulsion of the sole communist deputy, the barbaric shooting of our Comrades **Rodriguez** and **Gomez**, known as leaders of the peasants, and finally, the present direct attack on the Communist Party, which it is intended to destroy completely, the prohibition of its newspaper "**El Machete**", and the sealing up of the premises of the C. C. of the C. P. of Mexico.

The Mexican bourgeoisie may be well satisfied with the rôle which the Government has played, and the real motive force, North American imperialism, may be more satisfied still.

The radicalisation of the working and peasant masses under the influence of the Communist Party, the organisational and political activity of this Party of late, the existence of a powerful workers' and peasants' bloc, whose independent policy tends towards a real programme of class struggle and towards the setting up of its own candidate at the presidential election, — all these are facts which the bourgeoisie and imperialism cannot tolerate, and which they are resolved to combat to the death, beginning with the vanguard of the movement, the Communist Party of Mexico.

The "comb out" being conducted by the Calles-Portes Gil Government against the revolutionary movement in Mexico is intended to furnish a proof to Yankee imperialism that the present government is capable of grasping the situation with an "iron hand", and that it is a reliable viceroy and safeguard of Yankee interests in Latin America.

The Mexican bourgeoisie and the imperialism of Wall Street are fully agreed in the wish to intimidate, by means of the White Terror, that revolutionary trend of feeling which has been aroused among the masses by the economic conditions, and is due to the system of capitalist exploitation itself.

This phenomenon is not typically Mexican; it is indeed an international phenomenon. Despite all obstacles, the Mexican masses, like the exploited masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, develop towards the Left. This is one of the consequences of the present epoch, the "third period" in the development of capitalism. After the great war, so efficiently analysed at the VI. Congress of the Comintern.

The situation in Mexico mirrors once more those same phenomena which we have already witnessed in the countries exploited by international imperialism. It is therefore not by accident that the masses of the workers and peasants, feeling the increasing pressure of Yankee imperialism on their shoulders, are rising and taking their place in that great mass movement whose revolutionary rhythm, set swinging by monopolist capitalism, beats stronger day by day.

The fact must not be overlooked that Mexico is to be counted among the most important sources of that raw material which will be decisive for the impending imperialist war — oil. Despite the wealth which the Mexican oil fields have already yielded, their enormous deposits are still almost untouched, whilst the oil springs of the United States will be exhausted before long. Experts state that in Mexico there are still over 60 million hectares of oil fields awaiting exploitation.

Here, and wherever else the possession of mineral wealth comes in question, the conflicting interests of the competing imperialists encounter one another.

The revolutionary proletariat of Mexico will not permit itself to be suppressed, not even when the reformist trade union leaders, such as **Morones** and his like, now playing the sorry rôle of Social Democracy towards the imperialism which is enslaving the masses, lend their aid to that imperialism.

The international proletariat, the revolutionary labour movement, and the anti-imperialist masses of the whole world, will not permit that capitalism destroys with impunity the revolutionary movement of the Mexican workers and peasants against their oppressors.

The revolutionary organisations of the whole world, but above all of Latin America and the United States, must show North American imperialism that the fates of the oppressed peoples are indissolubly bound up with one another, and that, whilst international imperialism finds the question of the rule

of the world's markets to be of decisive importance, the working class is conscious of its historical duty — to combat imperialist capitalism internationally, and to overthrow it internationally.

The combined forces of international capitalism, of its vassal governments, of the treacherous leaders of Social Democracy and reformism, will not suffice to prevent all oppressed peoples from rising up against the slavery forced upon them by imperialism; the revolutionary organisation of the great masses of the oppressed is the prerequisite ensuring the frustration of the infamous aims of imperialism.

The urban and the rural proletariat of Mexico, like the revolutionaries in China, in India, in Java, and in the other Latin American countries, expect that the brutal persecution of international imperialism will arouse the oppressed masses to energetic and unanimous protest.

The colonial and semi-colonial masses will not be able to fulfil their historical task of champions against the imperialist war being prepared against the Soviet Union, unless the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist great powers guards the position allotted to it by its own struggle for economic and political emancipation: its position as vanguard of the proletarian revolution in its own country, supported by the colonial and semi-colonial masses in their fight for that national liberation which forms a necessary stage on the road to final emancipation.

Latvia in the Pay of Fascism.

By Valentin Olberg.

The Latvian bourgeoisie does not content itself with persecuting the Labour movement in its own country. It violates the right of sanctuary. One month ago the Polish Communist **Paszyn** was handed over to the **Poles**. Latvia now wants to perform a similar service for Fascist **Lithuania**. The political emigrants from Lithuania are treated like common criminals in Latvia.

On June 14th three Lithuanian political emigrants, comrades **Januchaitis**, **Krepauskas** and **Ribokaite** were deported from Latvia. They went to **Danzig**, where they were placed under police supervision. It is the intention of the **Danzig police** to send the comrades back to Latvia, in which case they will, however, be promptly handed over to Lithuania, and one of the comrades may be sentenced to death there.

The proletariat must everywhere raise its voice on behalf of the three comrades, for only a mighty action of protest on the part of the working class can save them. Immediate action is imperative!

At the same time, the international proletariat must raise a protest against the Terror in Latvia. What the Terror is like in that country may be seen from the following example.

At the end of May there took place in **Dünaburg** the trial of the participants in the illegal demonstration on August 22nd, 1928. The accused were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three months to seven years. When the prisoners were to be conveyed to jail a crowd (about 300 workers) gathered before the court-house to accompany them. From the crowd there were heard cries of "Down with the bourgeois class justice!". The prisoners took up the same cry, and for this they were sentenced to 15 days confinement in dark cells. In reply they went on hunger strike.

In the course of the same day (May 25th) the governor of the jail appeared with gendarmes in the cell of Comrade **Gerber**, whom he supposed to be the organiser of the hunger strike. He categorically demanded the cessation of the hunger strike. Comrade **Gerber** made no reply to this demand. Thereupon he was beaten by the gendarmes until he bled. The gendarmes took Comrade **Gerber** out of the cell to put him in another part of the prison. When they heard his cries for help, the other political prisoners smashed the window panes and started to shout.

Dünaburg is a small town. Very shortly practically all the inhabitants of the town had gathered in front of the prison gate. However, soldiers and police dispersed the crowd. The prisoners were savagely beaten by the police with sticks and the butts of rifles. That was not sufficient: water was poured into the dark cells. In some of the cells the water was knee deep. For hours and hours the hungry and wounded comrades had to remain standing in the water.

The political prisoners in Latvia are often put on the same footing as criminals. The prison regime is the most primitive. The prison diet is inadequate. All organised relief for political prisoners is forbidden. The Red Aid is suppressed and is forced to work illegally. It is persecuted just as are the Communist Party and other Labour organisations. Even articles of food can be taken to the prisoners only in very small quantities. Comrades taking foodstuffs into the prisons have often been punished. Visits from relatives are very seldom permitted.

The bourgeoisie of Latvia believes that it can suppress the growing Labour movement by such methods. It is following the example of Italy, Poland and Hungary. As gendarme of Fascist Poland and Lithuania it is desirous of fulfilling the duty of bourgeois class solidarity to the full extent.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union and World Economy.

By D. Mishustin.

According to the computations of competent expert members of the State Planning Commission, the Soviet Union is now, economically speaking, at a stage of development which the United States had reached about 50 years ago. Its speedier rate of development, however, will enable the Soviet Union to outstrip the most advanced countries of Europe in a matter of 15 years and the United States themselves in a further similar period. If we compare the level of production in the Soviet Union and that in other countries with the level in the year 1913, we shall see that Great Britain has not yet regained the pre-war level, of which it still falls short by 10 per cent., while Germany is at about 104 per cent. of its pre-war output in spite of a gigantic influx of foreign capital. Only the United States has reached a level of about 150 per cent. of the record for 1913. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, which suffered far more severely as a result of the war, had already last year reached 120 per cent. of its pre-war output level.

In coal-mining the output figure in the United States is now about 99 per cent. in comparison with pre-war times, whereas in the Soviet Union it is 110.4 per cent. In five years, it is computed, the coal output in the United States will be around 105 per cent. of the 1913 record, while in the Soviet Union it will figure at 230 per cent. Great Britain has now an output of 82 per cent. of the pre-war quantity; in five years, at the rate of development recorded of late, it should have 87 per cent.

As regards the volume of its coal output, the Soviet Union now occupies fifth place after the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France. France is at present raising 52 million tons per annum and the Soviet Union 35 million tons. According to the computation of the experts attached to the State Planning Commission, France will in five years' time be raising 67 million tons in a year and the Soviet Union 70 million tons, so that the Soviet Union will then have outstripped France and occupy fourth place. In the output of pig iron, meanwhile, the Soviet Union will advance from sixth to third place.

In the United States the share of human and animal labour in production figures at 2 per cent., the share of mechanical energy at 53 per cent., and the share of caloric energy for technological purposes 45 per cent. In the Soviet Union the corresponding figures are 50 per cent., 23 per cent., and 27 per cent. In the Soviet Union there are 0.98 h. p. of mechanical energy per worker, and in the United States 4.3 h. p. In five years, however, the Union will have got up to a status of roughly 2 h. p., that is to say the number of h. p. per worker will have been doubled. In the United States, meanwhile, such a development, i. e. a doubling of the mechanical proportion in this sense, would require not 5 but 26 years. It is remarkable, moreover, that according to the five-year-plan the yearly accretion of mechanical forces per head of the workers figures at 35 per cent., while in the United States the increase has of late years been no more than 10 per cent.

Projected industrial constructions, comprising the erection of giant concerns, will greatly accelerate our progress. In the Dnieper industrial district the output of electric current for production purposes, computed per head of the workers, will be eight times as great as the corresponding output for the whole of American industry. At the rapids of the Dnieper, water turbines of a record capacity of 55,000 kilowatts are now under construction.

In the productivity of work, too, there will be essential changes. Over against an increase in the working output in the United States between 1919 and 1925 of 59 per cent., there was in the Soviet Union an increase of 13.5 per cent. in 1925/26, 14.7 per cent. in 1927/28, and 17 per cent. in 1928/29. In five years there is likely to be an increase of altogether 110 per cent.

The gross output of the German chemical industry stood in 1927 at a value of 2,000 million roubles. In the Soviet Union it is at present 650 million roubles, but is likely to increase in the course of the next five years to 2,160 millions. In Germany 700,000 tons of nitrogenous fertilisers are now produced in a year; in the Soviet Union only 21,000 tons. But in 1933 the Soviet Union output will be 840,000 tons. The chemical industry of the Soviet Union will multiply by 3.5 in five years' time.

The supply of agriculture with means of production will in five years' time have reached the American level for 1927 per unit of the area under cultivation. In Germany 45 per cent. of the purchases of the agrarian population falls to the share of means of production and 55 per cent. to that personal requirements. In the Soviet Union the respective proportion is 22 to 78 per cent., though in 1933 it is more likely to figure at 32.5 to 67.5 per cent.

As regards the national income per head of the population, the present figure of 163.90 roubles is to increase by 1932 to 256.50 roubles or by 56.5 per cent. In the United States the increase at the time of the business boom was 58 per cent. The annual accretion of the national income figures in America at 4.5 per cent., while in the Soviet Union it will amount to at least 12 per cent. In some progressive capitalist countries the accretion is considerably smaller; in France, e. g., it is barely 0.8 per cent. per annum.

The realisation of the five-year plan will make it possible for the Soviet Union to reach and outstrip the technically and economically most advanced capitalist countries. In the most favourable years of their development, the capitalist countries have recorded an increase of production by from 7 to 10 per cent., whereas the five-year plan of the Soviet Union provides for a growth of production by 27 per cent. per annum.

Labour Unions to Take an Increased Part in the Work of the Socialist Transformation of the Village.

In one of its recent decisions the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union examined the work of the labour unions in the village and exposed its weaknesses with open bolshevist self-criticism.

The socialist transformation of the village under the conditions of an intensified class struggle, declares the decision, demands the further consolidation of the leading positions of the working class in the village, and the consolidation of the alliance of the proletarian town with the village. There are four million labour union members who live and work in the villages, and a further four million members who are more or less closely associated with the villages in one form or another. For this reason the labour unions represent one of the most important instruments for the influencing and the socialist transformation of the village.

Despite the great importance of the work of the labour unions in the village, declares the C. C., they have not yet exhausted all methods for strengthening the proletarian influence upon the village. Many labour unions have approached their work in a much too exclusive and narrow fashion. These unions have occupied themselves only with the political and cultural necessities of their own members in the villages and have neglected the great question of the socialist transformation of the village.

Commenting upon the decision of the C. C., the "Trud", the central organ of the Labour Unions of the Soviet Union, enumerated, inter alia, the following cases: The decisions of the last Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Textile Workers Union say nothing about the tasks of the collectivisation of agriculture. All the decisions are limited to the "immediate service of the union members". In one of its decisions the Moscow Council of Labour Unions described "the idea that the cultural work of the labour unions is work amongst the whole population of the village", as "a deviation which must be avoided" etc.

The decision of the C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union now makes an end of all these deficiencies, and points out that the work of the labour unions must embrace all sides of life in the village, and that its main weight must be laid upon the tasks of the socialisation of agriculture. The labour unions must mobilise the forces of the working class to a much greater extent than previously in order to assist in the work of the organisation of State and collective agricultural undertakings on a large scale, to increase the production of the poor and middle peasant farms by strengthening the work of the patronage societies, by systematically extending the successfully tried system of workers brigades and by educating politically all sections of the toilers connected with the village. In this way the labour unions must take the initiative for the socialisation of the village, for the improvement of the co-operative and State apparatus, and the enlightenment of the rural masses concerning the significance of the struggle against the kulaks and concerning the importance of the agronomic measures etc.

The workers in industrial undertakings in the country must become the centre for the economic and cultural improvement of the village and for its socialisation. All labour unions must contribute actively to the consolidation of the Union of Land and Forest Workers, and must assist this union to raise the political and cultural level of the land and forest workers, and above all to abolish illiteracy amongst these workers in order that from amongst the ranks of the workers on the soviet and other agricultural undertakings, responsible labour union, State and co-operative officials may be taken. The unions organising the intellectuals in the villages (educational workers, Soviet employees, transport workers, health service employees etc.) have the very important task of drawing the village intelligentsia into the social life of the soviets and making the teachers, agronomists, doctors, etc., into active propagandists for the idea of the socialisation of agriculture. Finally, the decision demands the mobilisation of all forces and means in order to raise the cultural level of the backward national territories, and to draw their population into an active participation in the public life of the village.

In order to carry out these tasks systematically and to organise and control them centrally, the Central Committee of the C. P. requests the Central Council of the Labour Unions of the Soviet Union to form a permanent commission for the carrying out of the work of the labour unions in the village.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress and the Tasks of the Revolutionary T. U. Movement in Japan.

By K. Tanaka.

Convened against the express desires of the reformists and in spite of the persecution and repressions of the ruling class, the Pan-Pacific T. U. Conference held in Hankow in May 1927 proved a great success, for the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (P. P. T. U. S.) was duly founded.

The revolutionary significance of the P. P. T. U. S. for all workers in the Pacific and for the revolutionary T. U. movement of Japan in particular cannot be overestimated. Militants in Japan have to struggle against Japanese imperialism and capitalism on the one hand, and against reformism in the ranks of the working class, on the other.

The despatch of Japanese troops to China, the reinforcement of the Japanese Occupation Army in Manchuria and the seizure of Shantung which is now a fact, the concentration of fighting forces on the U. S. S. R. frontier and the plans to build five railroads in Manchuria (to further Japanese penetration in Mongolia) — all go to show that Japanese Imperialism is busy preparing to extend its colonial empire. Meanwhile, the Japanese bourgeoisie is ruthlessly suppressing the national emancipatory movement in its "own" colonies, mercilessly stamping out all signs of independence or freedom.

The policy of the Japanese bourgeoisie at home is to increase to a maximum its exploitation of the workers and peasantry. The mass arrests of Communists, and the closing down of Left Wing proletarian mass organisations, including Hiogikai, the Left wing Centre, are two examples of the reactionary policy pursued by the Japanese bourgeoisie where the revolutionary proletarian movement is concerned. Promising to improve the position of the working class and the peasantry, the bourgeoisie are duping the workers right and left, for in actual fact, what with capitalist rationalisation and compulsory arbitration, etc. they have never been exploited as they are to-day. Bribed by the bourgeoisie, the reformists are doing their best to help the capitalists to line their pockets out of the blood of the workers. In the meantime, the Japanese bourgeoisie are making feverish preparations for the coming war in the Pacific.

Having drawn up a plan for the general mobilisation of the country for war, the Japanese military clique will be carrying out military manoeuvres near **Kioto, Osaka and Kobe** this Summer. These new measures are directed first of all against Japan's rival — American Imperialism. But it must not be forgotten that like other imperialists, those of Japan are getting ready to attack the U. S. S. R. — the Motherland of workers the world over. Whereas British Imperialism heads the anti-U. S. S. R. movement in Europe, Japanese Imperialism, without any doubt whatever, is the outpost of world imperialism in the East, having the same end in view. Japan's aggressive policy towards the U. S. S. R. has become even more marked, since the new secret Anglo-Japanese Agreement was concluded at the end of 1928.

It is in this complicated international situation in the Pacific that the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress will be meeting in **Vladivostok** where the representatives of the revolutionary organisations will gather together.

The revolutionary workers and T. U. organisations of Japan are now preparing the ground to carry out the tasks they have been charged with. They have fought — and are still fighting — the capitalist offensive tooth and nail. They have always fought — and are fighting to-day — to defend the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese Revolution, to emancipate the colonies, against imperialist war, while simultaneously much work has been carried out to organise and strengthen, on the industrial principle, the Left Wing trade union movement throughout the country. All these matters have been, and are, the basic tasks of the Left Wing movement in the trade unions of Japan. But they are faced with another important piece of work. The Left Wing must struggle against the social-traitors who are helping the reactionary Government to persecute militant leaders. When the Pan-Pacific Conference had successfully concluded its work in 1927 and the delegates had all returned to their home countries, to press forward activities (resulting in a marked development of the revolutionary labour movement), these traitors, following instructions received from the leaders of world reformism, drew up a plan to convene a Pan-Asiatic Conference. This plan was drawn up with the direct participation of **Albert Thomas**, the General Secretary of the International Labour Office, together with reformist leaders in Japan, India and China. The convening of the Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference is nothing else but an attempt on the part of the reformists to split the labour movement of the East. Hence, to smash this plan and to struggle against the disruptive activities of the reformists is the most important task now confronting the revolutionary movement in the East and in particular the Left Wing Unions of Japan.

The Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Strategy and Tactics of the R. I. L. U.

From the Report of Comrade Merker to the XII. Party Congress
of the C. P. of Germany.

The I. F. T. U. is the international of the corrupted and bought labour-aristocratic upper stratum in the trade unions of all capitalist countries. As, however, the policy of the labour aristocracy is not an international proletarian class policy and can only be the policy of the national bourgeoisie of the individual countries, the I. F. T. U. merely serves the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie of veiling the growing danger of war, misleading the masses, preventing international proletarian actions and agitating for war against the Soviet Union.

The committee session of the I. F. T. U., which was held from May 23rd to 25th in Prague, therefore placed at the head of its so-called economic programme (a proletarian fighting programme is an impossible thing for this social-Fascist organisation) the following directive:

"The efforts of the I. F. T. U. in economics are applied in the first place to two big problems: the reconstruction of economy, which was so disorganised after the war, and the new tendencies in present-day capitalism."

The programme of the I. F. T. U. is the programme of the League of Nations of the imperialist States, of the organisation which is organising the war upon the Soviet Union and upon the international working class, as also upon the colonial slaves. The reactionary development of the I. F. T. U. also finds expression in the readiness of the American trade unions to join this organisation and in the incipient friendly relations with the Fascist trade unions of Italy.

The main demands of the I. F. T. U. are, in international policy, the development of an International Economy Office, State control of trusts and rings, free trade, international arbitration for economic differences and international regulation of wages and working conditions. The purpose of this programme is to cloak class conflicts.

In international policy the I. F. T. U. demands: assurances that "rationalisation will not be abused", co-operation of the trade unions in international economic and credit policy, promotion of public economy, extension of the economic enterprises of Labour, supervision of private economy by the capitalist State and participation of the trade unions in the control of industry.

That is the programme of holding back the working masses from their fight and of supporting the national bourgeoisie.

That is the programme, on the basis of which the social-imperialist trade-union bureaucracy in every capitalist country will one day call upon the masses of the workers to defend their own capitalist nation and to attack the enemies of their own bourgeoisie.

The I. F. T. U. must, therefore, split up into its "national" component parts as soon as the international competitive fight becomes acute and the imperialist wars begin. It will remain united only in case the war happens to be an attack upon the Soviet Union or upon one of the oppressed colonial countries.

On the other hand, the Red International of Labour Unions grows in extent and essential strength in proportion to the class conflicts. Not only has the R. I. L. U. greatly enhanced its influence upon the masses of Western Europe since its 4th Congress, it has also penetrated into South America, into the countries of the Pacific Ocean, into Africa and Australia. The R. I. L. U. is the only genuinely proletarian, general international trade-union organisation. It is the international leader of the revolutionary trade-union fight. The resolutions of the 4th R. I. L. U. Congress and of the Strassbourg Conference in February, 1929, on the question of revolutionary strike strategy

and tactics for the revolutionary working class of the whole world are of great significance. The R. I. L. U. alone is the tool of the international working class for organising and conducting their international actions.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Role of Maxton and Cook under the Labour Government.

Statement by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party.

The Labour Government has scarcely been in office a fortnight, but already many workers are beginning to have their eyes opened to the immense swindle which the Labour Party perpetrated on the workers in the General Election.

Hundreds of thousands of miners were induced to vote Labour by the pledge, solemnly repeated at innumerable meetings, that a Labour Government would restore the 7-hour day. Ever since the General Election an intense propaganda campaign has been carried on by the capitalist press, the Labour leaders and the miners' officials, preparing the workers for the realisation that the Labour Government intends no such thing. The keynote of the campaign has been the appeal to the miners: "Don't embarrass the Government!"

The delay and mustery around the oft-promised resumption of full diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, and the Labour Government's continued persecution of Indian trade union leaders, are a further indication to thousands of workers that the Labour Government is a government of the capitalist class. The lesson is not being lost on the workers, as is shown by the resolution of the Manchester Trades and Labour Council demanding the release of the 32 Indian working-class leaders now undergoing a fake trial at Meerut.

Faced with the probability of widespread disappointment and disillusionment among the workers, the Labour Party is having recourse to a familiar dodge. It is letting loose its tame and well-trained "Left Wing critics", Messrs. Cook, Maxton and Co. After using all their influence in the General Election to get a Labour Government returned, these individuals are all of a sudden becoming very "militant".

Cook only a week ago was appealing to the miners to have consideration for "our comrades in Parliament". He now loudly proclaims that "the Labour Government is on trial". Maxton less than a fortnight ago was echoing the capitalist cry that the Labour Government "has no mandate for Socialism" (as though it ever asked for such a mandate); he now warns the Government that "there are more than three parties in the field". The Conservative Evening Standard obligingly takes the cue, and begins advertising "Mr. Maxton's fourth Party".

The Communist Party warns the workers not to be swindled again by this pitiful comedy. Maxton, Cook and Co. are not genuine: they are merely the protective colouring assumed by the Labour Party leadership when it sees the workers becoming uneasy. The Cook-Maxton manoeuvre is intended to create the belief amongst the disappointed workers that there is still hope for the Labour Party, and thus to swindle them once again. This is only the beginning of such manoeuvres: many more are likely, as the workers become disgusted with the Labour Government. The Communist Party urges the workers not to be swindled by these tricksters, Cook, Maxton, Kirkwood and Co., who because of these tactics are even more dangerous enemies of the working class than the open and unabashed Right Wing.

All class-conscious workers genuinely anxious to fight capitalism are invited to join the Communist Party, which alone leads the fight against both the capitalist class and its instrument, the Labour Government."