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The Ratification of the Kellogg Agreement and the Communist Parties.

By Walter Stoecker (Berlin).

After lengthy and heated discussions, the United States Senate ratified the Kellogg Agreement for "outlawing war", whereupon, in full appreciation of the value of the said agreement, it proceeded to the discussion of the tremendous programme of naval armaments, which is to supply the Yankee imperialists with fifteen new and more destroyers. The alteration in the Senate turned upon the question whether the agreement was to be ratified with or without the particular reservation of the "right of defence" and explicit adherence to the Monroe Doctrine. Kellogg declared that such reservations were not necessary, seeing that the agreement in no way infringed on these natural rights of the United States. Nevertheless, the Senate passed a series of reservations, while not attaching importance to making them expressly known to the other Powers.

Thus the Yankee imperialists, who have at all times attained their predatory aims by means of wars and military oppression, have now hypocritically "outlawed" war. During the next few weeks this mendacious comedy will be continued by the ratification of the said agreement by all Parliaments in the capitalist countries.

It is obvious that the Communist fractions in the individual Parliaments will in all cases take the opportunity of severely denouncing the odious and hypocritical manoeuvres of the imperialist Governments and will reject the whole false and dishonest Kellogg agreement. That the Kellogg Agreement is nothing but an ingenious form of camouflage for the imperialist policy of war is manifest in view of the rejection of all disarmament suggestions made by the Soviet Union and of the enormous armaments effected by all the capitalist Governments in preparation for the next passage of arms and the realisation of their imperialist aims.

Quite apart from the fact that the wording of the Kellogg Agreement by no means excludes all warfare, some highly characteristic reservations were made by the capitalist Governments prior to signing it.

All the Governments, and the German Government in particular, most emphatically declared that the agreement naturally in no way impaired the right of so-called national States. With the express consent of Kellogg, all the capitalist States reserved to themselves the right to decide absolutely for their

selves whether they would go over to a so-called military "defence". Seeing, however, that hitherto all the predatory wars of the imperialists have been styled "wars of defence" and carried out as such, it is obvious that by this reservation all the capitalist Powers secure the right to wage war, so that the entire agreement is invalidated as regards its so-called "guarantee of peace".

The second reservation made by all the Powers lies in the express suspension of the agreement as soon as it is violated by another Power. He who knows how easily such violations can be construed at times of imperialist conflicts, will recognise the true character of this reservation, which likewise opens the door wide to all imperialist plans of war.

In addition to these, a number of States made an express point of registering special reservations; thus Great Britain and France required exemption for all war-obligations which might arise out of the League of Nations or the Locarno agreement.

British imperialism, indeed, went to the length of setting up a new Empire Doctrine in opposition to the Monroe Doctrine of the United States imperialists, declaring that accession to the Kellogg Agreement should not imply any infringement of British rights (even such of a warlike nature) in certain regions of the world, "the inviolability of which was particularly or vitally essential for the peace and security of the British Empire".

Diplomatically, the Kellogg Agreement is a weapon of United States imperialism against the imperialism of Great Britain and of the League of Nations which the latter controls, and an attempt to transfer the foreign-political bias more than hitherto to the United States and to gain for the imperialism of the United States the dominating rôle in political and military matters in Europe in addition to its financial and economic supremacy. Hence the British and French sabotage of the Kellogg agreement and on the other hand the ready accession thereto of the German Government. The most emphatic answer to the suggested agreement was given by the British Government in its subsequent conclusion of the military and naval agreement with France. It is well known how this Franco-British military agreement, which is directed against both the United States and the Soviet Union, has aggravated the present international situation.

A further great danger afforded by the Kellogg Agreement to the working class lies in its tendency against the Socialist State of Workers and Peasants, the Soviet Union, which was significantly enough from the beginning excluded from the entire initiatory and preparatory negotiations, added to which the British imperialists expressly demanded the exclusion of the Soviet Union from participation. If the British bourgeoisie failed in this point, it was only owing to the great differences between the United States and Great Britain. In his well-known press-interview on the Kellogg Agreement in August last, Chicherin very rightly declared:

"It is abundantly proved that the Kellogg Agreement is an integrating part of the war-preparations against the Soviet Union."

That the Soviet Government had been the first to ratify the Kellogg Agreement, was a correct and clever step in the peace-policy of the Soviet Union, the only State in the world honestly working for peace. It was a necessary step to counteract the more and more serious war-preparations of Great Britain and France against the workers' and peasants' State. And it was equally right that the Soviet diplomats should have made use of the Kellogg Agreement in their attitude towards the intentions of Poland (a country backed by the bourgeoisie of Western Europe) and in their manifestation of a true desire for peace. It is natural that the Soviet diplomats must do their utmost to frustrate the monarchist war-preparations against the Soviet Union which this very agreement serves to cloak.

It is for us to oppose the Kellogg Agreement as an imperialist manoeuvre intended to veil the war-preparations against the Soviet Union and the imperialist armaments in general, a manoeuvre at the same time directed by American imperialism against the British Empire. In the capitalist countries the Communists will therefore oppose the ratification of the agreement and at the same time continue to wage their fight against the bourgeoisie and against imperialism with all possible vigour and with the purpose of definitely unmasking the hypocritical comedy of international peace.

POLITICS

The Insurrectionary Movement in Spain.

By Vicente Arroyo (Paris).

The revolt against the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, which only recently led to a partial revolt of the artillery officers, has caused fresh disturbances in Valencia. In connection with this only recently led to a partial revolt of the artillery officers a number of big industrial towns, for instance in Valencia, Alcoy, Cartagena, Burgos, Corunna, Merida, Bilbao, these disturbances mean a decisive turn in the insurrectionary movement. For the first time the organised force of the working class comes upon the scene in the insurrectionary movement; it is proceeding to seize the leadership in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, in Alcoy, even the general strike was proclaimed. According to the meagre news which has come through regarding the actual happenings in Spain, the cause of the present strike movement is to be sought in the indignation at the terrorist suppression of the strike which was threatening a few weeks ago in Barcelona. But there is no doubt that the broad strike movement is pursuing far-reaching political aims.

According to reports from bourgeois sources Primo de Rivera has already sharply intervened in Valencia, so that the revolt in this town can already be regarded as settled. The fact, however, that this time broad sections of the working class have intervened in the dispute between the ruling and the rest of the sections of the bourgeoisie seems to indicate that Primo de Rivera will this time not so easily settle the insurrectionary movement. Primo de Rivera and the government have realised this danger, which is shown by the fact that Primo de Rivera wishes to annihilate the insurrectionary movement by decreeing brutal exceptional laws. He has set up a special court with powers of a military court and abolished the last remnants of the so-called freedom of the press. Further, a decree has been issued under which the "Union Patriótica", the fascist organisation upon which Primo de Rivera relies for support, takes over official police functions. A close network of spies has been spread out over the whole country.

In less than two years six conspiracies have been prepared against the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, which conspiracies for the greater part, were discovered before they were ripe and collapsed shortly before or after their commencement. This series of conspiracies shows the discontent with the present regime and further shows that this discontent is spreading to even in the bourgeois camp. The ferment in the country is not the same time, however, a proof that they were not based on a real revolutionary plan.

The government of Primo de Rivera was not supported by the big industrial, agrarian and financial bourgeoisie, when it came to power by a coup d'état. Its policy of protecting the big bourgeoisie, however, procured it the unconditional support of this class, and at the present time Primo de Rivera has a social basis for his policy, which he formerly lacked. Along with the consolidation of his position there is revealed, on the other hand, the contradictions which this policy causes even in the bourgeois camp. The ferment in the country is not restricted to the workers, who are frightfully exploited in the interest of big capital and whose freedom of coalition and political activity are stifled, but also comprises the middle strata and certain sections of the manufacturing industrial portions of the bureaucracy, which after the establishment of the dictatorship have been ousted from their former positions of power, and portions of the army.

But these opponents of the government have not organised themselves in a united front. The middle strata and the professional soldiers of the army do not wish to have anything to do with the workers. They are merely aiming at a constitutional monarchy, or in the best case at a democratic Republic. Therein lie the weakness of the Spanish insurrectionary movements and the reasons for the repeated failures of the plans of the Spanish "Conspirators".

The last defeated movement, which was of a greater extent than the previous ones, as important portions of the army and navy, in agreement with some politicians of the old regime,

are said to have participated in it, likewise failed as a result of this inner weakness of the revolt. Among the weaknesses of the last insurrectionary movement was also the circumstance that, as in the case of the conspiracy of San Juan and the later movements, only the army was drawn into it. The leaders of the conspiracy not only exclude the workers from the movement but they actually fear their intervention. This fear is not unjustified. The officers know very well that the masses of Spanish workers will not remain passive if power passes into the hands of the insurgent officers. They know that the working masses form the bulk of the army and will not be satisfied with a "revolution" which in place of Primo de Rivera re-establishes a monarchist government of the old regime. They know that the masses wish to drive the revolution to the Left. These officers fully realise that the revolutionary working class of Spain, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will overthrow not only Primo de Rivera, but also the monarchy and the Spanish bourgeoisie if the conditions are ripe for it.

The repeated defeats of the military conspiracies in Spain proves the correctness of the Communist standpoint that a revolution is impossible in Spain as long as it is not a proletarian revolution organised and led by the Communist Party, a revolution which cannot be satisfied with a simple change of government.

But in the preparation of this revolution the Communist Party, as everywhere, encounters an enemy in the working class itself: the Socialist Party which has unreservedly placed itself in the service of the dictatorship and the monarchy. Hundreds of social democrats are working in the pay of the government in numerous committees and organisations having to do with labour affairs, whereby the socialist leaders maintain the closest collaboration with the dictatorship in order to nip in the bud every revolt of the working class. The Spanish socialists are endeavouring by all means to paralyse the fighting will of the workers, to retard their strike movements, to prevent their developing and growing into a general strike with revolutionary aims.

The insurrectionary movement is acquiring enormous importance in view of the revolt of the workers. The Communist Party of Spain must oust from their positions the socialist traitors of the cause of the working class and organise and give a clear revolutionary aim to the discontent of the masses which is growing from day to day.

The Civil War in Afghanistan.

By F. Raskolnikov.

Afghanistan is a country with a considerable historical past. Its small connection with the economy of the world, its centuries of artificial isolation, have preserved in Afghanistan quite a number of antiquated forms of feudal rule. The remnants of feudalism which may be found in abundance in China, India, Persia, and a number of other Eastern countries, have been preserved in Afghanistan in their original undisturbed form. The entire economy of the country is based on agriculture, in which again feudal property is predominant. Enormous masses of the population have not yet settled down to a regular tilling of the soil but carry on a nomadic pasturage. Every year at the beginning of spring tens and hundreds of thousands of herdsmen wander with their flocks and herds, their families, and their entire scanty possessions to the blooming mountain pastures (encountering on the way all sorts of obstacles and not infrequently warring against the settled peasant population), to return in the autumn to the lower-lying winter encampments. In the system of Afghan economy, the few and thinly populated towns play no important rôle. Despite the wealth of natural treasure concealed in the mountains of the Hindu Kush, mining is insufficiently developed. The industrial output, concentrated at Kabul, is yet in its infancy.

This backwardness in the development of productive forces determines the class structure of the country. The overwhelming majority of the population consists of peasants (engaged in agriculture, pasturage, and cattle-breeding). The peasantry lives in the utmost poverty, is subjected to spoliation and coercion on the part of the landowners, suffers under the incompetency of the officials, and has to wrest from nature every hand's breadth of tillable soil.

The political power lies in the hands of the landowners, the so-called "sirdars". The ruling class is connected with the mass of peasant population only by means of the individual links in the long feudal-bureaucratic chain.

Under the conditions of this patriarchal manner of living, the heads of the clans and the elders represent the organised authorities.

In contradistinction to China, India, and Persia, where there is a pronounced national bourgeoisie, there is practically no middle-class at all in Afghanistan. Not only that there can naturally be no question of an industrial bourgeoisie, seeing that the few existing factories are in the hands of the State — even the commercial bourgeoisie is still at an embryo stage. The entire foreign trade, which is mainly carried on via India, is (with negligible exceptions) in the hands of Indian merchants. At the same time it is possible in Afghanistan to observe the interesting process of a dovetailing of landed-property and commercial capital. Many landowners invest their land-revenues in commercial enterprises and employ the profits gained thereby in extending their landed property. While in Persia the voice of the bazaar exercises a considerable influence upon the policy of the Government, the small element of the Afghan commercial bourgeoisie possesses absolutely no political significance. The small number of industrial workers have not yet begun to feel themselves a special class and are thus altogether unorganised. They figure just as little in the political arena as do the artisans who are dispersed all over the country. The Islamite clergy, on the other hand, has long since grown used to exercising an important political influence, amounting in the main to a pronounced support of reaction.

In the past, when the cruel and despotic Abdur Achman or the sensual Habib Ullah still sat upon the Afghan throne, all proceeded on the lines of a well-ordered feudal State. The great sirdars guided the destinies of the country, the peasants sowed and reaped beneath the sweat of their brows and paid the onerous taxes. From time to time the Government sent punitive expeditions to conquer the independent tribes of Kohistan or of the more distant Badakhshan.

Under cover of a control of its foreign relations, British imperialism turned Afghanistan practically into a subject colony.

In 1919 there was a palace revolt in Afghanistan. One February morning Habibullah, who had been hunting in the surroundings of Jalalabad, was found to have been murdered.

What were the reasons for the overthrow of Habibullah? He had failed to take into consideration the changes and developments which the world war and the October revolution had brought about in the international position of Afghanistan. He continued to bow to the Viceroy of India. In the meantime, however, the war had weakened the authority of Great Britain, and the October revolution changed fundamentally the proportion of power in the countries immediately adjoining Afghanistan. Up to the October revolution Afghanistan was in the toils of the two imperialist allies Great Britain and Russia, which could at any moment suppress any Afghan attempt at national emancipation. After the October revolution the Soviet Union was practically at war with Great Britain. Habibullah did not understand how to exploit these international differences in favour of the national interests of his country, and for this incompetency he paid with his life. The rise of the revolutionary movement in India which set in in 1919, stimulated the activity of the Young-Afghan nationalists, who brought about a palace-revolt. The Young-Afghan party then placed upon the throne the third son of the late monarch, Amanullah-Khan, who was proclaimed Emir in defiance of the prior claims of his two elder brothers. At the same time, the brother of the murdered Habibullah, NasrUllah Khan, laid claim to the throne. A civil war ensued, but did not last very long, since the troops of Amanullah, supported by the peasant population, soon gained the upper hand; NasrUllah was taken prisoner and shortly afterwards executed.

This civil war created a marked line of demarcation between the adherents of the old feudal conditions and the champions of a reconstruction of Afghanistan. The pious and reactionary, pan-Islamite leaders rallied round them all the conservative elements, from the feudal landowners to the Islamite priests. The progressively-minded Amanullah relied on the peasant masses, on the army, and on the organised Young-Afghans, who were to the greater part descended from the more progressive of the small landowners.

The programme of the Young-Afghans contained the claim to the independence of Afghanistan as regards foreign politics, besides radical reforms in the country itself.

The first step of the new Government was the declaration of the independence of Afghanistan. But Amanullah was quite aware of the fact that such a declaration alone would not suffice. The country's independence had to be fought for. He therefore turned all his arms against the usurper of Afghan independence, against British imperialism. A small but fanatical Afghan army invaded the frontiers of British India in the spring of 1919. Naturally the fight was unequal, since Great Britain was furnished with all up-to-date implements of war. The Afghan troops had to retire across the frontier and for a time even to leave the town of Hosta in British hands. But the internal position of India was very critical, for 70 million Indian Moslems openly sympathised with the Afghans and were inspired with such revolutionary zeal that the British could not profit by their victory. They saw themselves forced speedily to make peace and with heavy hearts formally to recognise the independence of Afghanistan.

Simultaneously with his declaration of war on Great Britain, Amanullah sent Lenin a telegram with the suggestion of an initiation of diplomatic relations. Soviet Russia most readily acceded to this proposal and was thus the first Power to recognise the newly gained independence of the young State.

The entire activity of Amanullah in regard to foreign politics was neither more nor less than an epoch of "enlightened absolutism under the specific conditions of a backward Oriental country".

In the course of the past ten years, the Young-Afghans under Amanullah's leadership effected some great reforms, which covered various fields of activity: 1. Creation of a native State industry (arsenals for the supply of the army, cement-works, etc.); 2. Enhancement of the cultural level of the country (development of the school system, delegation of teachers to study abroad, institution of female schools, etc.); 3. Reorganisation of the army; and 4. Emancipation of women (abolition of yashmaks, creation of women's organisations, etc.).

These reforms were of progressive significance for Afghanistan, guiding the country in the direction of bourgeois development. The tragic of Amanullah's case lay in the fact that he undertook bourgeois reforms without the existence of any national bourgeoisie in the country.

By his crusade against the feudal system and his exclusion of the clergy from political power, Amanullah naturally incited these classes against his reforms. The difficulty lay in the fact that he needed a firm class basis for his fight against feudalism and the Islamic clergy.

The organic fault of all the reforms of Amanullah lay in the fact that they were devoid of an economic basis. These reforms, in themselves highly progressive, were extremely superficial and entailed no real advantages to the Afghan peasants.

But at the same time the reforms occasioned a tremendous outlay. The peasants, who had already plenty of taxes to pay, had to part with their last rumpes to pay for these expensive reforms. Taxation increased. Thus the tax due on asses rose by 400 per cent. in the course of ten years. Amanullah's chief mistake lay in the circumstance that he opposed feudalism without effecting any comprehensive land reform.

Amanullah could easily have had the entire peasant population behind him, if he had taken the land from the feudal lords and given it to the peasants or if he had decreased the tax pressure on the peasantry by increasing that on the landowners.

Under the given circumstances the increased tax pressure caused the greatest dissatisfaction among the peasants, a fact the reactionary elements immediately turned to account.

The oppositional tendencies developing by reason of this pauperisation were exploited by the Afghan reactionaries for their own ends. Naturally it was not the entire peasantry that opposed Amanullah. The bulk of the peasant population observed an expectant neutrality, a section thereof rallied round the King. The fact remains, however, that the peasants of Kuzistan and the Shinvari tribe rose in arms against Amanullah.

As an Oriental reformer, Amanullah has not infrequently been compared with Kemal Pasha. The latter, however, was in a very much better position, since he effected his reforms in a less backward country. Therefore, based on the Turkish national bourgeoisie, he succeeded in destroying the Caliphate,

separating the church from the State, and breaking the back of the clergy.

For lack of a firm social basis, Amanullah was not in a position to attack the clergy and religion with such determination. He went more cautiously to work, restricted himself to half-measures, left the "shariat" untouched, and merely renovated and cleaned it a bit. Such an ambiguous position could not be without serious dangers.

The complicated national conditions in Afghanistan added to the complexity of the class struggle. There are in the country numerous tribes which are constantly at variance, thus the tribes of Shinvari and Mangal which have had a feud between them for centuries. Such differences have often been exploited by the Government.

The feeling of State citizenship is not very pronounced in Afghanistan. Each citizen is in the first place a member of a tribe and only in the second place an Afghan. Amanullah's policy of centralisation aroused resistance not only on the part of the feudal landowners but also of entire tribes. His propaganda for national independence was highly comprehensible to the Young Afghan officers and students of the Kabul Academy, but failed to awaken an echo in the minds of the nomad tribes.

Finally, the policy of the British imperialists played a great rôle. The British Government could never get over its failure to subdue Afghanistan; which remained the sore point in British world hegemony. All the intrigues of British diplomats, from Lord Curzon to Sir Francis Humphrys, the Minister at Kabul, were directed towards bringing about a rupture of diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Threats and promises, secret notes and open ultimatâ, terrorist attempts and reactionary risings — in a word, the entire arsenal of an experienced bourgeois diplomacy was employed to this end.

The British need a dummy in Afghanistan after the pattern of King Fuad of Egypt or of King Feisal of Mesopotamia. Amanullah is naturally not to be used in such a way. Once the British diplomats had recognised this fact, they had already decided to get rid of him.

During Amanullah's visit to Europe last year, the rising was prepared and there can be no doubt but that Bacha-i-Sago, "famous" as a chief of banditti in the vicinity of Charikar, was in close touch with the British Legation at Kabul.

From the standpoint of war-preparations against the Soviet Union Afghanistan is a highly important base for the British. An independent Afghanistan represents a danger to the British possession of India, while on the other hand an Afghanistan under British suzerainty would mean a real menace to the Central Asiatic regions of the Soviet Union.

Amanullah has not yet abandoned the fight. If he regains his authority he will be obliged to broaden his social basis, to rely on the peasants, to effect a land reform, to lessen the taxation of the peasants and to carry on the fight against the feudal lords and the priests with greater determination than hitherto.

Concerning a Coalition between the Liberal and Labour Parties.

By W. M. Holmes.

London, January 29th 1929.

An interesting situation in the relations between the Liberal and Labour Parties has arisen following two speeches by Sir Herbert Samuel, chief organiser of the Liberal Party.

Speaking at the Northern Liberal Federation at Newcastle, Samuel said: "Progressive Conservatives might safely join the Liberals, because pledges had been given by Mr. Lloyd George, himself and other leaders that on no account would they put the Labour Party into office".

Again, speaking for the Liberal candidate in the by-election at Bishop Auckland, Samuel repeated that if no party had an absolute majority after the General Election "We, (the Liberals) have made it clear that . . . the Liberal Party would not again lend support to the instalment and maintenance in office of a Socialist Government".

These statements have caused great excitement in the Labour Party, where a strong section have favoured Liberal-Labour

coalition. The reformist "Daily Herald" explains that the Labour Party has never wished for coalition with the Liberal leaders, but only to win over the Liberal rank and file voters. This, of course, is quite true in one sense and explains the purely liberal character of the new Party programme "Labour and the Nation".

On the other hand, a strong liberal section definitely favours coalition with Labour, and the "Manchester Guardian" which expresses this point of view, commenting on Samuel's pronouncements, points out that Liberal-Labour coalition is the only possible solution to a post-election situation where no party has a majority.

It is interesting to note that the week-end Conference of the London District of the I. L. P. passed a resolution declaring "emphatic opposition to any pact, alliance or understanding between the Labour and Liberal parties" and demanding a special Party conference in the event of such an arrangement.

It is more than possible that the Liberal statement is purely a pre-election manoeuvre intended to preserve the Party's independence and to shapen Labour's election tactics, thereby keeping the timid Liberal vote from going over to the "Labour and the Nation" programme. It certainly cannot be taken as ending, or even affecting, the prospects of eventual Labour-Liberal coalition. Such a coalition will mean the final disintegration of the I. L. P.

THE BALKANS

Against the Arbitrary Rule in Yugoslavia!

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Workers and Peasants of the Whole World!

Comrades,

Since the beginning of this year there has been ruling in Yugoslavia a militarist-dynastic dictatorship. For the first time since the end of the world war an unrestricted arbitrary rule is established, as the most reliable instrument of the policy of international imperialism. Of tremendous fundamental and international importance in the Belgrade upheaval is the fact that it exposes with striking clearness the brazen hypocrisy and the direct deceit of the conductors of this policy, who have hitherto attempted to conceal their actions under the cloak of "democracy" and under the authority of a power based on "representation of the people". The dictatorship of the Serbian monarch, which is supported by the reactionary officers' clique and which was brought about with the aid of the English and French imperialists, tears to shreds that network of lies and intrigues in which their policy is enwrapped, and shows the true countenance of the last stage of imperialism.

The joint pressure exercised by England and France for renewal of their military agreement led to a passing alleviation of contradictions between the various Balkan countries and the establishment of a regime of the most cruel terror of the ruling classes in these countries. The kingship of Achmed Zogu in Albania, the dictatorship of Ljapitcheff in Bulgaria, the uniting of the bourgeoisie around Venizelos, this popular leader of the bourgeoisie in Greece, the national-Zarunist regime which rests on a "broad social basis" (of the bourgeoisie) in Roumania, and finally the arbitrary rule in Yugoslavia are all links in the chain of the imperialist offensive in the Balkans.

The imperialists are endeavouring to solve the inner contradictions by which the Balkan States are rent and to prevent the extension of the class struggles which are beginning to break out here, by establishing a hangmen's regime. They are endeavouring to create in the Balkans a military point of support against the country of the proletarian dictatorship and to draw the Balkan countries into active participation in the fight against the proletarian dictatorship.

The arbitrary rule of the Serbian monarchy in Yugoslavia appears to the imperialists as a suitable means for achieving these aims. Before the upheaval the country was on the verge of complete catastrophe. Agriculture, this basis of the economy of Yugoslavia, was being undermined by the wholesale impoverishment of the peasantry. It groaned under the continually growing burden of taxation. Decline of the harvests, sinking of the purchasing power of the peasantry, tremendous falling off in the breeding of cattle, chronic famine which devastated

ever larger areas of the country. These are the results of the ten years mismanagement of the big Serbian bourgeoisie and soldiery.

The proletarians in the towns were in a no better situation. The shrinkage of the home market and the competition of the industrially developed countries led to a serious crisis in the Yugoslavian industry, to unemployment, to the reduction of the standard of living of the workers.

Only the parasitic war industry showed a certain tendency to develop and constituted a heavy burden on the national budget. The impoverishment of the workers of the whole country, the cruel political persecution were accompanied by the national oppression of all the non-Serbian peoples of present-day Yugoslavia by the Serbian hegemonist bourgeoisie.

The growth and aggravation of the class struggle in town and country and the struggle of the suppressed peoples endangered the existence of the Yugoslavian State in the shape in which it had been established by the imperialists, and could have led to the collapse of the whole Balkan policy of the imperialists. The latest events in Yugoslavia have shown how shaky the cause of England and France was and how easily the movement for freedom of the Croat peasantry could overstep those limits which the leaders — traitors to the peasant-democratic coalition — wished to set to it.

The arbitrary rule in Yugoslavia is the reverse side of the dictatorship of the Belgrade Stock-Exchange. It is an attempt on the part of the ruling Serbian bourgeoisie to stifle the national liberation movement and the peasant movement and to remove by drastic means the national and peasant questions from Yugoslavian home politics.

The imperialists knew that their chief enemy in the fight against the first proletarian State is the working class, the national liberation movement and the peasant movement of the colonies and of the dependant and backward countries. The crushing of this movement is a prerequisite for the success of the general attack of the imperialists on the Soviet Union. The chief task of the arbitrary rule in Yugoslavia is, therefore, to crush the national liberation movement in the country and its advance-guard, the Communist Party.

The establishment of the arbitrary rule in Yugoslavia marks the opening of a new page in the development of world imperialism. Parliamentarism, the Constitution and the other achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions no longer suffice to secure the rule of the bourgeoisie in the epoch of the hegemony of monopolist finance capital. After the Yugoslavian experience the imperialists will attempt, whenever the rule of the bourgeoisie is shaken, to apply the same methods of "consolidating" the bourgeoisie in order to avoid open civil war.

Workers, peasants and all toilers, oppressed and exploited! The case of Yugoslavia ought to serve you as an historical example! The bourgeoisie of the dependant and backward countries, which is taken in tow by world imperialism, is robbing you of your class positions won in centuries of struggle, condemning you to privation and hunger, to unbearable hard labour. It is depriving you of the most elementary civil rights and preparing the worst horrors and misery of a new world war.

Prepare for the last decisive fight!

Prepare for the decisive mass resistance to the insolent henchmen of the international imperialist robbers!

Only by organised mass struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the workers standing under the leadership of the Communist Party, can the victory of the toilers and their emancipation from the yoke of the exploiters be assured!

Workers and peasants of the whole world!

Help your comrades and brothers in Yugoslavia, as their fight against the dictatorship of the absolute monarchy is a fight against the plans of world imperialism, which are directed against you as well as against the Soviet Union.

Down with the arbitrary rule!

Long live the revolutionary fight of the workers and peasants!

Down with the opportunists and the betrayers of the national emancipation movement!

Long live the power of the workers and peasants!

Long live the Soviet Union, the only defender of all the oppressed in all countries!

Long live international revolutionary solidarity!

Under the Military Dictatorship in Yugoslavia.

By B. B. vitch (Belgrade).

The petty-bourgeois illusions as to a short duration of the military dictatorship are rapidly being destroyed. Even the "Pravda", the Belgrade organ of the Foreign Office, now writes that the military dictatorship must last at least five years. The organs of the big bourgeoisie no longer assert that the military dictatorship must speedily prepare the population of Yugoslavia for a new political construction and fresh Parliamentary life. The Zagreb big-bourgeois publication "Novosti" has already sought to prove that the question of elaborating a new constitution is no pressing one, seeing that there are now more important and more urgent matters to attend to. The leaders of the Democratic peasant coalition, **Matchek**, **Pribitchevitch** and others, only now begin to see whether their compromising opportunistic policy has led and to declare that they had imagined the "non-Parliamentary Government" to be quite different.

But while the leaders of the Democratic peasant coalition still cherish the hope that King Alexander will at any rate comply with the "just demands" of the Croatian people and grant them an autonomy within the limits of the Treaty of St. Germain, the military dictatorship is establishing the White Terror. The Croatian Peasants' Party (Raditch), the Federalist Party (Trumbitch), the Croatian Party of the Right, and the Clerical Party have already been dissolved, besides all Croatian cultural organisations (libraries, singing-clubs, sports clubs, and the like). All the cultural organisations of the national minorities (German, Hungarian, etc.) have likewise been dissolved. Furthermore, the Government has pronounced the dissolution of the Yugoslavian Moslem organisations and of the Slovenian People's Party. The funds of the said organisations have been confiscated.

Naturally the regime of the military dictatorship, with its barbaric, Asiatic measures, is directed primarily against the working class and against their vanguard, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. All the laws relating to the protection of workers are violated. **M. Drinkovitch** Minister of Public Welfare, has postponed the elections for the Labour Chambers, which should have taken place at the commencement of this year. He has likewise indefinitely postponed the election of the factory councils, while at the same time suspending the activity of the existing factory councils. The capitalists, feeling themselves backed by the active support of the military-Fascist State apparatus, are proceeding to an open offensive against the working class. All independent trade unions have already been prohibited, their funds have been confiscated, their functionaries (such as **Manoilovitch**, **Milutinovitch**, **Karlevitch**, **Marianovitch**) arrested. Throughout the country labour leaders are being thrown into prison. At Belgrade some 30 trade-union functionaries were arrested, at Zagreb 35, at Mostar 60 labour representatives, at Cilli 7, at Ljubljana 60. According to preliminary data, more than 200 workers' representatives have been arrested in all. It may easily be imagined how these prisoners are treated now that the liberty of the press has been abolished, quite especially in the notorious Belgrade jail of **Glavniacha**, where — even prior to the repeal of the restricted freedom of the press — political prisoners were subjected to the cruellest tortures. The cobbler's assistant **M. Petrovitch** is rumoured to have died from the effects of the tortures sustained. The newspapers have been strictly forbidden to report on the arrest and ill-treatment of the political prisoners. The military dictatorship in Yugoslavia is really tantamount to a declaration of war on the working classes, the peasantry, and the oppressed nationalities by the Serbian bourgeoisie and the Monarchy. To this declaration of war, the peasantry is already replying by increasing its troops of partisans. Even the Serbian bourgeois organ "Politika" contains a detailed report (on January 24th, 1929) of an armed encounter between one such troop and the police, which took place the day before at the village of **Chirikovatz** (in the Fosherevatz district in Serbia). The police employed three motor-lorries full of gen'arines and two detachments of soldiers armed with machine-guns. There were many dead and wounded on either side. Doubtless this movement of the partisan troops will continue to spread in connection with the sabotage of agrarian reform and its revision with a view to

a definite liquidation under the lead of Dr. O. Frantchesh, the representative in the Ministry of the Yougoslav landowners.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is now the only force which is capable of mobilising the working class, the peasantry, the oppressed nationalities, and the urban petty-bourgeoisie and to conduct them to an armed fight for the overthrow of the military dictatorship. One of the last appeals of the C. P. of Yugoslavia ended with the slogans: Down with the military dictatorship! Down with the Monarchy! Uncompensated expropriation of the land in favour of the working peasants! Down with imperialism! Down with war! Defence of the Soviet Union! Boycott of taxes! Self-determination of the peoples to the extent of secession! The Balkan Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics! Democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry! Creation of defence committees of the workers and peasants!

There can be no doubt but that the clarion call of the C. P. of Yugoslavia will meet with a general echo among the broad working masses in Yugoslavia, all the more so as the leaders of the Democratic Peasants' Coalition and of the Social Democrats have capitulated without the least resistance to the military regime.

The leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the reformist trade unions have not only capitulated to the rule of the sabre, they even went to the length of demonstrating their servility to the generals. After these declarations, the military dictators refrained from dissolving the Social Democratic Party and prohibiting its publications. The reformist trade unions are permitted to continue their activity. The Social Democratic officials may remain in their positions in the Labour Chambers, the national insurance offices, the labour exchanges, and so on. The Social Democrats of Yugoslavia thus follow the example set by their brethren in other lands by associating themselves more and more with the military-Fascist State apparatus and become the official hangmen of the working class.

On January 19th King Alexander issued a decree instituting a Supreme Court to be entrusted with the defence of the State. The chairman of this court is **Dr. Dushan Subotitch**, a well-known leader of the Black Hundreds. All workers who are suspected to have taken part in the printing or distributing of pamphlets or handbills of the C. P. of Yugoslavia, have been brought to Belgrade and handed over to the Supreme Court. Ten years of bourgeois-democratic White Terror have not sufficed to intimidate the vanguard of the proletariat or to smother their sympathies for the Soviet Union. The White Terror of the military dictatorship will succeed no better. In spite of White Terror and military dictatorship, the C. P. of Yugoslavia, the vanguard of the working class, continues to mobilise the working masses and to prepare the armed fight for the overthrow of the military dictatorship.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

A Polish Manoeuvre of Circumvention.

By M. P. (Moscow).

On January 19th the Polish Ambassador to the Soviet Union, **Patek**, handed Comrade **Litvinov** a Note, one of the first passages of which ran as follows:

"After the ratification of the Kellogg Agreement without any alteration by the United States of America and after the relative negotiations with the signatory Powers, the Polish Government is now in a position to enter into discussions with the Government of the Soviet Union as to the form and mode of signing the suggested protocol, to which the Polish Government has already signified its consent."

Thus the moment which gave the Polish Government the possibility to open negotiations with the Soviet Government regarding an immediate application of the Kellogg Agreement, depended upon the consent of the signatories, i. e. the Great Powers. It is hardly to be doubted but that the position of the

French Government was of decisive importance for the Polish Republic. The standpoint of Briand, the leader of France's foreign policy, in regard to the negotiations between Poland and the Soviet Union in connection with the peace protocol suggested by the Soviet Government is thus of particular interest. On January 16th, Briand made the following declaration in the French Senate in answer to the interpellation of Lemairie as to France's foreign policy in general and to the significance of the Soviet suggestions in particular:

"We have discussed this question and have come to the conclusion that in the given instance the Kellogg Agreement may assume the character of an agreement of non-aggression, such as Poland itself proposed to Russia, albeit on the understanding that the said agreement should not refer only to Poland and Russia but to all European countries immediately adjoining the latter, from Roumania to the Baltic States. Upon this point a discussion ensued. Poland declared that it would very willingly sign the agreement, ensuring an immediate application of the Paris Agreement, but that it was forced to renounce any such arrangement compatible with considerations of its own security. It had no right to ignore the interests of other friendly or associated States in a position more or less similar to its own. If the agreement is signed at all, then all must sign it."

In view of the fact that, as Briand says, "we" (i. e. not only the Polish Republic but also the French diplomats) have discussed the matter at issue, there can be no doubt but that Briand's speech may be regarded as a key to many less comprehensible passages in the Polish Note of January 16th.

Poland has no right to ignore the interests of other allied or friendly nations. That is how Briand characterises the position of the Polish Government in its first negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union. As is well known, the Soviet Government expressed the wish in its very first Note of December 29th, that all European States should accede to the protocol in regard to a premature application of the Kellogg Agreement. The fourth paragraph of the draft of the Soviet protocol says expressly that "the present protocol is open to accession by the Governments of all countries". The formulation of the Soviet Note permits of no doubt, be it in regard to form or to contents.

And what does Poland now suggest? "The Polish Government", says the Note, "continues to adhere to the standpoint that the Baltic States, in so far as they give expression to their willingness in this connection, must absolutely take part in signing the protocol". One cannot help recognising in this statement an attempt to veil the real meaning of the protocol. In the present case, however, it should hardly be found possible to dissemble the difference between the Polish formulation and that of the Soviet Government. "Taking part in signing the protocol" is by no means the same as "adhering to the protocol".

Briand's interpretation of the attitude of the Polish Government and the continual reiteration in the Polish Note of the significance of the "mode" of signature, make the real meaning of that Polish formulation altogether obvious which refers to the "participation in the signing of the protocol" on the part of all the Baltic States and Roumania. It is fully apparent that Poland visualises collective negotiations at which the Soviet Union on the one hand will be faced by all the Baltic States with Poland at their head on the other. Such a "mode" would be neither more nor less than the revival of the old Polish plan of negotiations "at the round table". The Polish diplomats intend to turn the peace suggestions of the Soviet Union into a weapon for the formation of a war-bloc against that country.

It is altogether comprehensible, why the "mode" of negotiating should, in the present instance, have become the crucial point in the eyes of Poland. Since the Polish diplomats have no possibility of declining the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, they are attempting to exploit them in the interest of an aggressive policy. Without for a moment abandoning the fundamental line of war-preparations against the Soviet Union, the imperialist leaders of Poland desire to make the anti-war agreement into their starting point for grouping together all anti-Soviet forces.

The press has already published an extraordinarily large number of facts which demonstrate the real character of the

Polish policy. Of late, there has been a regular accumulation of reports in the German and the Roumanian press in regard to military preparations on the part of Poland in the regions bordering on the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The correspondence (published in the Vienna "Abend") between the Ministers of Petljura threw a strong light on the relations between Polish Government and military circles and the White-Guardist Ukrainian emigrants. The assurances of M. Zaleski, redolent of a love of peace, are not nearly so convincing as are the endless transports of arms from France to Poland and the allegedly "private" visits of General Le Rond to Warsaw and Bucharest. And what can finally be more interesting than the fact of secret councils of Polish legionary leaders, of which the "D. A. Z." and the "Vossische Zeitung" report? At these councils, which were attended by eminent adherents of Pilsudski and at which plans were discussed for an occupation of Lithuania, a "resolution on principle" was passed, according to which the enemy is to be sought in the East.

It is no more than natural that in view of all these well-known facts and circumstances, public opinion in the Soviet Union can harbour no illusions in regard to Poland's "love of peace". The hypocritical tone adopted by the allegedly peace-loving Polish Note is an exact reflection of the hypocrisy characterising the entire policy of Polish Fascism. It will not be long before the "love of peace" of the Polish imperialists is unmasked in the eyes of the workers, not only of Poland but of the "friendly and allied nations". The working masses will then once more see how our unambiguous and obvious peace proposals have been frustrated by the sabotage of the imperialists.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

Sir Henri Deterding's Chervonetz Forgeries.

By B. D.

The strictly secret minutes of the investigation instituted against the Georgian chervonetz forgers Sadathierashvili & Co. have been "stolen" from out of the safes of the German judicial authorities, photographic copies thereof being sold to London. This is the latest phase of a highly political scandal which reaches back to the autumn of 1927.

On November 19th, 1927, it became known that the German police had arrested some Georgian white-guardists, who had engaged in the emission of forged chervonetz notes. At first it was intended to treat the matter as a simple criminal transgression, but the political import of the matter soon came to light. It was discovered that the forger had been aided by Bavarian National-Socialists. In a Bavarian printing-works no less than 24 cents of forged chervonetz notes was found. The forgers were, moreover, found to be in direct communication with the white-guardist "Georgian National Government" in Paris and with the "Committee of Georgian Social Democrats", to which the well-known Menshevists Jordania and Zerctelli belonged. Further connections were likewise revealed, e. g. with General Hoffmann (since deceased), the hero of Brest-Litovsk, and with the Anglo-Dutch oil-king Sir Henri Deterding.

General Hoffmann was in intimate touch with all the anti-Bolshevik, white-guardist circles of Europe, by which he had been selected as the intended strategist of the war of intervention against the Soviet Union. In this capacity he frequently conferred with Deterding in London in the course of 1926, being accompanied by the Georgians above mentioned.

The rôle played by Sir Henri Deterding in the war agitation against the Soviet Union is well known. As chairman of the British Royal Dutch Shell oil-trust, he has in conjunction with the British Admiralty repeatedly worked out plans for the conquest of the Soviet oil-fields in the Caucasus. Hence his close connection with the Georgian white-guardists and Social Democrats, who have included the surrender of Trans-Caucasian oil to the British imperialists in their programme of "national liberation". It may be called to mind that Deterding was the driving-force in the Georgian Menshevik-white guard conspiracy, the oil-war against the Soviet Union, and, inter alia, the vehement

agitation against the Soviet Embassy in Paris, which led to the recall of Rakovsky.

It is therefore not at all surprising that Deterding should also have allied himself the Georgian white guardists with a view to harming the Soviet Union by chervonetz forgeries on a tremendous scale. For that was the object of the emission: the undermining of the Soviet currency, stabilised by the united efforts of the Soviet workers at the cost of tremendous sacrifices. That is the highly political significance of this "criminal case", which forms a link in the chain of capitalist attacks upon the Soviet Union. In this attack, Georgian Mensheviks, white guardists, Bavarian reactionaries, General Hoffmann and Deterding joined forces. Deterding, meanwhile, the spiritus rector of the scheme, is a confidant of the British Government, whose complicity can thus not be denied.

The capitalist world, however, is greatly interested in covering up the traces. Deterding has published a denial. General Hoffmann has died in the meantime. The threats lay in the hands of the German investigatory authorities. The manner in which these latter conducted the investigation is characteristically illustrated by the fact that Sadachrashvili, the chief defendant, was frequently released, so that he might have the possibility of covering up the traces. Nay, the general amnesty proclaimed in the Reich was employed for the purpose of putting him altogether beyond prosecution, the pretext advanced being that he came politically under the amnesty. In the meantime, the contents of the minutes was preserved a strict secret, even the Soviet Government being refused any insight into them.

What was refused the mainly injured and therefore primarily interested Soviet Government, however, was attained by Deterding, who had the minutes "stolen" and purchased a photographic copy thereof. He is thus in a position to prevent any further investigation by suppressing the necessary evidence. The honourable oil-king, who developed so much moral indignation about the "stolen" oil of the Soviet Union, unscrupulously helped to forge banknotes and to steal documents. But what may not be done in fighting the Bolsheviks? Are there any laws at all in this regard?

It is hard to believe that a theft of such very secret documents could possibly be effected without the connivance and aid of some of the most important German judicial authorities. In this "criminal" case we may once more see the peculiar duplicity of Germany's policy in relation to the Soviet Union. On the one hand we hear that Germany adheres to the Karab policy of friendly relations towards the Soviet Union; on the other hand the anti-Soviet activity of British imperialism is in reality assisted, both actively and tacitly. Thus it happened that Deterding could steal from the German authorities these documents, which are of such importance for discovering the anti-Soviet plans, so as to cause the traces of his own activity to be covered up, while at the same time the Soviet Government was refused insight into the documents in question.

FASCISM

Convocation of the International Anti-Fascist Congress.

By Mari.

The initiatory Committee for the Convocation of an International Anti-Fascist Congress, under the presidency of Henri Barbusse, has now convened the Congress for 9th and 10th of March, 1919, at Berlin. The preliminary agenda contains the following items:

1. Fascism, imperialism, danger of war.
2. The fascist terror (and persecution of the national minorities).
3. The position of the working class, peasantry and intellectuals in the fascist countries. Position of the Trade Unions.
4. The means of the international struggle against fascism.

The necessity to rally all forces for the struggle against Fascism arises from the experiences of recent years. Against Italian fascism, this government method of open dictatorship of the capitalist class, against masked fascism which hides

itself under the cloak of democracy in the other countries, against the international of capital, it is more than ever necessary to unite the working class into a firm granite block. This block must know how to proceed from the local and partial struggles, from the struggles of defence to an action leading forward a united front on the basis of a uniform plan. Only in this way can concrete results be obtained.

The struggle against fascism in Italy is a struggle against world fascism and international reaction. Victory or defeat on one sector of the economic and political system of capitalism means victory or defeat for the whole working class.

In the light of these facts the necessity of an Anti-Fascist Congress is quite clear and must meet with the approval of all class-conscious revolutionaries. It is not sufficient to create a movement. This movement must possess its forms of organisation and action. The anti-fascist Congress will have to solve these tasks. The struggle against fascism must interest all the workers and peasants, be they social democrats, Communists or non-party. The workers and peasants everywhere, in the factories, in the mines, in the villages, will elect their delegates to this Congress. These delegates and those of the proletarian organisations will represent at the Congress the will of the masses and organise the struggle on a broader basis. The anti-Fascist Congress is to be not only a protest but the recognition of the necessity of this struggle and the recognition of the fact that only those parties and only those organisations defend the Italian and the international proletariat against fascism which have placed themselves on the basis of the following demands:

General amnesty without any restrictions!

Abolition of the Special Courts and the exceptional laws!

Setting up of an international investigation commission for the Italian prisons and the fascist torture regime!

The anti-fascist Congress must also say a word with regard to the right of asylum of the political refugees and mobilise all the forces of the masses for an action which shall compel the governments to grant the right of asylum to political refugees.

Therefore, all the class organisations of the workers and peasants must take part in this Congress; they must support the Congress by the weight of their political importance and by their experiences. Only then will the Congress have any result at all and constitute an important page in the history of the working class, from which the struggle against fascism and capitalism receives a new impetus.

Switzerland and Italian Fascism.

By M. Bodemann (Basle).

The fight against Italian fascism is today of front-rank importance for the international proletariat. The Swiss working class is particularly interested in it. It feels the pressure of the fascist regime both in the economic and the political sphere. This applies particularly to the Southern portion of the country, the Canton of Ticino, where the Italian language is spoken. The fascists have repeatedly emphasised in their programmatic declarations and writings that Ticino really belongs to Italy and that they demand its incorporation in the "great" nation.

Fascism has succeeded for the time being in creating in Ticino a close network of organisations of Italian fascists. They have formed not only political but also so-called trade union organisations. The whole Canton is filled with Mussolini's spies. These follow step for step the activity of the Italian anti-fascist workers, who are very numerous there.

Any worker who is active politically or in the trade unions is deprived of his permit to cross the frontier, and must therefore starve, along with his family, as he receives no further permission to leave the country. The pressure of the fascists in Ticino is such that wages there are partly so reduced that they amount to only a third of those received by workers engaged in the same occupations in the towns in the rest of Switzerland. In Ticino, where the international capitalists go to recuperate, the workers have no bread with which to feed their families.

The working population in town and country endeavour to escape the pressure of fascism by emigration or by obtaining work in other parts of Switzerland.

But in the other parts of Switzerland the fascists, under the benevolent toleration of the authorities, carry on a very lively activity. In recent times the workers have repeatedly had to prevent public demonstrations by the fascists. Espionage work and the withdrawal of passports by the fascist Consulates is taking place everywhere. The workers in the building industry in particular feel the effect of the activity of the fascists. Any Italian worker who wishes to go abroad as a season worker must first sign the Italian labour agreement, which provides for longer working hours and lower wages. The employers in Switzerland are very grateful to the fascists for this and prefer Italian workers. It is almost impossible to draw these workers into the trade union movement, as they have their families in Italy and have to reckon not only with the deprivation of their passports but also with brutal measures on the part of fascists on their return to Italy.

The Communist Party, the Workers' Defence Corps, the Anti-Fascist Alliance and the Red Aid have decided to carry out at Easter in Ticino a great demonstration, a Red Day. The Red Day is to be not only a fierce challenge to fascism, but the class-conscious workers of the rest of Switzerland will thereby show to the workers in Ticino that they are prepared to help them to shake off the fascist yoke. Ticino was also chosen as the rallying centre in order to express on the frontiers of the Italy of Mussolini brotherly solidarity with the suppressed Italian proletariat. The class-conscious workers of Switzerland and the entire working population of Ticino have eagerly welcomed this decision.

The bourgeois and social democratic press at first simply reported the decision to hold the Red Day without making any comment. In the Italian press there set in a great campaign against the Red Day. The fascists are demanding that it be prohibited. It is urged that Switzerland, as the seat of the League of Nations, cannot permit that a demonstration against a friendly nation be held on its frontiers. And finally, they threaten that if the Swiss authorities do not forbid the demonstration, that they, the fascists, will themselves maintain order in the Ticino.

In face of these threats the whole bourgeois press is grovelling and demanding the prohibition of the Red Rally. The social democratic newspapers have likewise shown themselves to be willing helpers of reaction and of fascism. Of course, they claim to be against its prohibition but they seek to make the demonstration ridiculous and describe it as a means of aiding the fascists, etc.

The government has now announced through the press that it will prohibit the demonstration. It has further announced that it will proceed not only against every demonstration in Ticino itself but will prevent the departure of demonstrators from the railway stations in the interior of Switzerland: Basle, Zurich and Schaffhausen. The Federal railways have received instructions to refuse to grant extra trains and other facilities.

This intended prohibition shows very clearly that the Swiss bourgeoisie and its government do not venture to conduct an independent policy with regard to Mussolini. As already in a whole number of cases, also in this case the Swiss Federal Council has shown itself to be a lackey of the murderers of Matteotti and Sozzi. The intended prohibition stands in sharp contradiction to the provisions of the Constitution. But this does not trouble the government of the oldest democracy in the least.

The class conscious workers are making ready for the Red Rally in Ticino in spite of the intended prohibition. At numerous protest meetings they are expressing their determination to conduct the fight against fascism with all means and stigmatising the miserable role of the Swiss government, which is acting as the agent of the murderous regime of Mussolini.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

A Negro Rebellion in French Equatorial Africa.

By M. Joubert.

The aggravated policy of oppression and persecution practised by the French imperialists in the colonies is more and more inciting the native masses against the French rule.

Added to the increasing peasant revolts in Indo-China, the latest events in southern Algeria, the constant state of war in Syria and Morocco, the Negroes of Central Africa have now taken up the anti-imperialist struggle.

In spite of the denials or merely partial admissions of the French Government and press, the "Humanité", the organ of the French Communist Party, has furnished proof that a rebellion is in progress in French Equatorial Africa, a region five times as large as France.

It is not the first time that the Negroes have risen against the sanguinary rule of the French imperialists. As early as 1924, new measures of colonisation, the first put into operation, called forth a rebellion which was choked in blood. The French Government kept this rising and the subsequent persecutions secret from the French public. Since then the movement in question has never quite ceased, flaring up first in one and then in another part of the enormous territory and taking the form of a sporadic resistance on the part of the Negroes to the aggravated forms of oppression.

The increased exploitation of this colony, the more and more extensive public works, at which the workers employed die like flies, the tax pressure and the consequent increased demands made of the workers, have now caused the rebellion to be renewed (towards the close of 1928), but this time not sporadically but in several parts at once. In spite of the assurances of the Government, in spite of the contrary reports of the bourgeois press, and in spite of the troops employed to put down the rising, the latter has as yet not been overcome. In fact, the situation is so disquieting for the French imperialists that the Minister for the Colonies has proceeded in all haste to the spot.

It is no mere coincidence that, after so many other movements of the kind, the African natives should now be in rebellion. After the conquest of the country, the colonisers divided the spoils like vultures over a dead body; the Kouilou-Niara Company received 28,000 square metres, the firm of Tréchaux Brothers 2 million hectares, the "Société du Haut-Ogooué" 11 million hectares, etc.

The exploitation of the natives and the increased demands made of them enabled the colonisers to reap scandalous profits. The Compagnie Commerciale had 5 million francs net proceeds, the Comp. Colonies de L. A. F. likewise 5 millions; the Compagnie Equatoriale des Mines has increased its capital from 7½ to 20 millions, the Congo Mining Company from 1 to 25 millions, the Compagnie Coloniale de L. A. F. from 4 to 30 millions, and so on.

It was only by an immeasurable exploitation of the Negro population that the colonisers could reap profits such as these. In spite of the laws against slavery, such a state actually continues under the name of compulsory labour. This law permits of the forced recruitment of Negroes for purposes of administration or for private concerns; the workers are paid in lashes. The State itself has become a slave-driver, having contracted with private firms for the supply of the necessary labour power.

For the purpose of recruiting these workers, special military formations are employed, who surround the villages, seek out the able-bodied men, and commit the most atrocious cruelties (violation of the women, murder, and looting) if the Negroes venture to make the least resistance.

Entire villages have thus been robbed of their able-bodied men. For the construction of the railway from Brazzaville to the

coast, the villages of the surrounding regions had to "supply" the fifth part of their male population.

Once the Negroes are recruited, their life is a veritable hell. Exhausted by 15 or 16 hours' work daily, underfed, afflicted with tuberculosis and various other diseases, they are driven to work under blows of the whip.

The construction of the first 140 kilometres of the Congo railway line cost 17,000 Negro lives, 120 per kilometre!

Such wholesale massacres as in the case of the Forest Company are frequent occurrences, without any one being punished therefor.

The administrative commander at Bodembéré had 32 hostages shot and 5 children burnt. General Hutin ordered Molenda to be sacked.

At Cuesco an officer ordered the scrotum of his black servant to be struck off with a hammer. An employee on a plantation at Libreville whipped his boy to death and was acquitted at the trial. The bourgeois journalist Albert Londres was told by a planter that he might safely fire with any weapon he happened to be holding at men, children, and even pregnant women!

M. Pacha had 1000 Negroes of the Bayas tribe murdered and ordered the guards commissioned with the execution to bring him the ears and the genitals of the victims in proof of their death. The list of crimes — mostly unknown — which accompany the process of colonisation is very long, that colonisation of which the Socialist deputy Fontanier dared to say that it was a means of lifting the backward population to a higher level of civilisation.

As though forced labour were not enough, the Government in pursuance of its war plans is recruiting the remaining able-bodied men for its army, in which, thanks to the Social Democrat Paul Boncour, they are destined one day to play a great rôle.

Any detailed description of the tragic plight of the Negroes under the iron heel of French imperialism would take up tremendous space. It must not be forgotten that those who give their strength and often their lives for practically nothing, are also forced to pay taxes which often amount to two or three times the sum total of their wages. We might add in what manner the colonisers make use of alcohol to enslave the natives, or mention the ravages which disease and working-casualties cause in a country in which there are only 17 doctors for a population of three millions.

The French rule of terror in Central Africa has entailed a mortality which absolutely decimates the Negro population. The bourgeois deputy Vaude established that "the appearance of the French in this part of the world has led to a decrease in the population". While official statistics for 1910 showed a population of 9 millions in the territory, it must now be admitted that by 1921 the population had already dwindled to 2½ millions. The French colonisation, which the Socialists praise as a means of raising the backward population to a higher level, has thus caused 6 millions to disappear in an incredibly short time.

At a time when the imperialists are exploiting their colonies in an increased degree and when the bourgeoisie intends to allot an important rôle in future wars to the colonial troops, at a time when colonial peoples are everywhere rising against oppression, the revolt of the Negroes gains great significance. The French proletariat, engaged in a struggle against the French bourgeoisie, has not been slow to recognise this fact. The solidarity between the French workers and the other colonial populations will assuredly be extended to the Negroes in their struggle against the common enemy, who exploits all alike, i. e. against French imperialism.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Hunger Strike of the Hundred and Fifty in Kovno.

Appeal of the Red Aid of Lithuania to the International Proletariat.

Bloody fascist terror has been reigning for more than two years in Lithuania. A gang of Lithuanian fascists, backed by the British imperialists, has usurped power. At first they had the best sons of the Lithuanian working class shot. The most active champions of the revolutionary working class are thrown into the prisons and concentration camps. The workers and peasants are robbed of every liberty; their organisations have been destroyed by the fascists. The fascist reaction is worse than the reaction in the time of Tsarism. The arrested workers and peasants are cruelly tortured in the dungeons of the Lithuanian Swalgiba (Political Police). Even today the hangmen of Smetona's secret police flog the workers and peasants who have fallen into their hands and sprinkle salt into their wounds. The prison regime is worse than in the time of Tsarism.

There is no hygiene at all. In a cell only large enough for 8 to 10 people at most, 25 are incarcerated. The cells are hardly lit up, so that one can become blind from working. The lack of air and light, the wet walls undermine the health of the prisoners. The conditions in the Worny camp are frightful. There are 200 interned, among them being women and children, who are being shamefully ill-treated by the hangmen-officers and sergeants.

The regime to which the political prisoners are subjected is getting worse and worse; there is no end to be seen of it. The political prisoners in the prison of Kovno, being no longer able to endure the prison regime, resorted on January 26th to the last means, the hunger strike. They unanimously decided on this last fighting means rather than perish by the barbaric methods of the fascists.

Comrades! The political prisoners in the Lithuanian prison of Kovno call to the international proletariat for help. The revolutionary working class in the Soviet Union and also in Germany has often supported us, both materially and morally, when it was a question of rendering aid to the emigrants who have fled from the clutches of Lithuanian fascism.

They have often conducted protest actions against the bloody terror in Lithuania and thus have assisted us tremendously in our struggle against fascism.

Comrades, we call upon you to save our comrades who are on hunger strike in the prison of Kovno!

Raise your voices against the torturing of revolutionaries! Do not let the political prisoners die of hunger! Organise protest meetings and protest demonstrations against the murder of the champions of the Lithuanian working class, against the bloody terror and against the fascist dictatorship! Demand the release of the political prisoners in Lithuania!

Long live the revolutionary political prisoners of the Kovno prison!

Down with the torturers of the revolutionaries!

Down with the bloody fascist terror!

Long live the solidarity of the international proletariat!

Long live the International Red Aid!

Central Committee of the Red Aid of Lithuania.

Matthias Rakosi — a Hero of the Proletarian Class Struggle.

By G. Peri (Paris).

In all Leningrad and Moscow factories and in the great German industrial centres the workers are raising their voices in indignant protest against the terrible tortures to which Matthias Rakosi and two other comrades are being subjected in the prison at Vác.

Thousands of telegrams of protest are pouring into the Hungarian Legations in all capitals. The Berlin Legation has

ected to close its doors to the deputations of workers, which have for the last week or so appeared daily to demand justice.

In France, the "free press" champions saboteurs like Trotsky, against whom the Soviet Government is now proceeding, but it preserves silence on the subject of the crime which is being perpetrated in a Hungarian jail against a proletarian fighter, for the Hungary of Bethlen is sacred to the France of the "National Unity". The Hungary of Bethlen, that blot on the face of a civilised Europe, that workshop of forgers, is sacred in the eyes of those who are engaged in screening the meanest of frauds.

This Hungary is the illegitimate child of Entente imperialism. It was the Allied generals who strangled the young Hungarian Commune.

True, Bethlen and his clique have not at all times proved particularly grateful to their Paris deliverers. In their intrigues in the last few years they have frequently crossed French plans. One day they forged French banknotes; on another occasion they smuggled arms.

But what do such small incidents really matter? They can all be forgiven and forgotten now that Hungary has joined the anti-Soviet front.

What of a little forgery, a little chafing under the yoke of Trianon, if Hungary is willing to torture Communists?

Massacre the leaders of the working class and much shall be forgiven ye. That is what the French imperialists say to the various Fascist Governments.

The Budapest hangmen have taken this advice to heart. A few days ago the press law was applied more severely for the purpose of suppressing the movement of protest which the policy of the Hungarian Government entailed even in Hungary itself among the workers. It is now altogether impossible to criticise the Government at all.

According to the peace treaties, Hungary has been "disarmed". But some 10,000 soldiers are allowed to be kept under arms for the purpose of keeping down the workers. More than one fish, however, can slip through the meshes of the treaty nets. The Budapest Cabinet has just resolved upon the institution of fresh brigades of gendarmes for the purpose of coming with the hunger riots in various rural districts. In proportion to its population, Budapest has at all times had the strongest police force in the world. In future there will be a special police for the open country. These unheard-of measures are naturally suffered by the Powers, by the Conference of Ambassadors, and by the Quai d'Orsay.

Hungary renders thanks to the Powers and to the Quai d'Orsay by torturing Matthias Rákosi.

Matthias Rákosi certainly merited the hatred of the hangmen and the war-mongers. Under Béla Kun he was one of the staunchest champions of the Hungarian revolution. During the Hungarian Soviet dictatorship, Comrade Rákosi was at the head of the People's Commissariat of Trade. Driven from the country by the rule of terror following upon the suppression of the Commune, he returned to Hungary in 1925 so as to work among the Hungarian workers. Arrested and condemned to eight years' imprisonment, Rákosi now has to suffer privations and persecutions of every kind.

Towards the middle of December he was thrown into a foetid cell, devoid of light or air, and placed on bread-and-water diet.

Thereupon he started a hunger-strike, which he did not abandon until the Minister of Justice had formally promised to repeal the aggravation of his penalty immediately.

But of what worth is the promise of a Minister acting under Horvay, Bethlen, or Teleki?

Since then the tortures have recommenced and Rákosi is still in the dark cell. His very life is in danger.

Rákosi is the symbol of the Hungarian working class, which followed the example of the Russian working class in setting up its dictatorship. He is the symbol of the Leninist fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for solidarity with the Soviet Union, and against war.

Rákosi is a hero of the proletariat. The international proletariat does not abandon its heroes. That the present masters of Hungary would do well to remember.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The National Party Conference of Trade Union Workers of the C. P. of Germany.

By Paul Merker (Berlin).

On January 26th and 27th more than 350 leading Communist trade-union workers met together to consider the lessons of the recent Labour struggles in Germany and the directive of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress, which was so successfully employed, and the continued use of this directive in the coming economic fights and at the election of the factory councils. The conference was attended by 217 delegates from the various districts, among them being 91 trade union functionaries, 83 factory functionaries and 11 trade-union employees. Of the delegates 78 were members of trade unions before 1914, 32 before 1918, 61 before 1923 and 25 after 1923. 196 of the delegates are at present members of the free trade unions and the other 21 were expelled by trade-union bureaucracy on account of their revolutionary activity.

The conference was opened with consideration of the world situation as analysed by the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress and the VI. World Congress of the Comintern and recorded an aggravation of the inherent contradictions in capitalist economy in its present stage of development, which the congress called its third stage, an aggravation of the imperialistic and class conflicts and the growing danger of war, especially against the Soviet Union. Much of the experience gained in recent fights proved the accuracy of the findings of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress, which pointed out that the social-imperialistic trade-union leaders, the social-imperialistic trade union apparatus are becoming more and more incorporated with the capitalist State and economic organs, that in conjunction with the concentration and monopolisation of industry the Labour-aristocratic stratum of the working class is spreading and consolidating, that the trade-union leaders are opposing decisively the fight of the workers and preventing them or, in case they cannot sabotage their outbreak under the pressure from the working masses, putting themselves at the head in order to throttle the fights before they can affect the imperialistic profit interests of the bourgeoisie.

The recent fights in Germany showed that the social-imperialistic leaders, in common with the bourgeoisie and the Government, suppressed the fights ruthlessly. The dictatorial regulation of Labour conditions for hundreds of thousands of workers (metal workers of the Ruhr, shipyard workers, textile workers, etc.) by the Social-Democratic Minister proved that the working masses can organise and carry on their fights for the achievement of their demands only against the will of their social-imperialist leaders and their sabotage under a revolutionary leadership elected by the masses themselves.

It is a prime necessity in this regard that a united fighting front should be formed in the factories and revolutionary fighting leaders be elected in every movement. In recognition of this necessity the conference confirmed the active policy conducted by the Party, especially during the Ruhr fight, the shipyard workers' strike, etc. among the unorganised working masses, which led to a reinforcement of the united fighting front of the workers and of the revolutionary opposition in the trade unions. The conference regards as an essential preliminary of the successful organisation and carrying out of Labour struggles a firmer organisational establishing of the big political influence of the revolutionary opposition in the factories by means of suitable organisational measures. It is imperative to carry on the decisive fight for the trade-union factory functions. It is necessary to develop the factory nuclei, to get the workers who are in sympathy with the Party, into the political and organisational work of the Communist nuclei and to get the organisations of the Workers International Relief, of the Red Front Fighters League and of the Red Women's and Girls' League to work closer with the Communist nuclei in the factories, to support most intensively the reinforcement of the Workers International Relief as an organisation for the organising of prompt aid in case of Labour fights, so that in this manner the organisational basis of the revolutionary trade-union opposition put up by the Commu-

nists in the factories may be extended. It is necessary to promote the fraction work in the unions, which, however, is only possible through energetic and comprehensive mass mobilising work in the factories.

In contradiction of the right Brandler-Thalheimer-Walcher group, who mainained that the carrying out of the directive of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress separates the organised workers from the unorganised workers, and who vehemently opposed the policy of the Party in the metal workers' movement in the Ruhr district, the following example proves the complete falsity of their calumnies and the Social-Democratic character of their policy.

In the Ruhr district 1217 new members were enrolled in the Communist Party during and after the Ruhr fights. This fact alone is sufficient to confirm the accuracy of the policy of the Comintern in this movement. Of these new members 1370 belong to trade unions and 56 per cent. of them work in factories employing over 3000 hands. The policy pursued in the Ruhr district, therefore, led to a big increase in the influence of the Communist Party among both the organised and unorganised workers, for during the fight over 4000 workers, who for the most part do not belong to trade unions, joined the International Red Aid.

The conference resolved almost unanimously (two votes being cast against and four withheld) on a change in the tactics of the Party in making up the list of candidates for the factory council election. In order to prevent the nomination of revolutionary candidates the Leipzig Congress of the A. D. G. B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions) resolved that the members of free trade unions can stand as candidates for the factory council election on the free trade-union lists only. Protest against this resolution led in many cases to the expulsion of revolutionary workers from the unions. Every year the social-imperialist trade-union leaders have ruthlessly suppressed workers' democracy at the factory council elections. The conference consequently resolved, in contrast to previous years, when the revolutionary opposition in the great majority of cases yielded to the dictates of the social-imperialist trade-union leaders to reply to the measures of suppression by fighting for workers' democracy in the trade unions and factories, for the putting up of a uniform list of candidates by the free trade unions on the basis of a programme of proletarian demands, which can be shared by Christian-Socialist, Hirsch-Denker and non-party workers who have shown that they are disposed to advocate the interests of the workers. If the social-imperialist bureaucracy of the unions refuses to permit a democratic compilation of the lists, the conference will introduce its proposals for these lists as its own election proposals in the factories where the majority of the workers demands such a course.

This resolution compels the Party to carry on energetically the election fight and to increase its work among the masses of factory workers. It will lead to a tremendous aggravation of the differences between the social-imperialist leaders of the unions and the revolutionary opposition. It means strengthening the class fight to the factories, promoting the fight for a revolutionary policy and leading the united workers front on the basis of the class struggle between the revolutionary opposition and the Social-Democratic coalition politicians in the factories. It calls for the mobilisation of the working masses for the approaching big fights, for the demands of the workers and against imperialist war.

The social-imperialist trade-union leaders and the right-wing renegade Brandler-Thalheimer-Walcher group will greet the resolution of the conference with a howl of rage. The united and firm attitude of the conference on tactics for the factory council election is a guarantee that the directive will be applied with the greatest consistency and the greatest activity in order to strengthen the revolutionary cadres of the working class.

Statements of the Minority of the C. C. and of the C. E. C. of the C. P. of U. S. A. on the Cannon-Trotsky Case.

Statement by Foster, Bittelman and other Comrades.

We wish to make the following statement in the name of the minority comrades in the Polcom and in the C. E. C. (Foster, Aronberg, Bittelman, Hathaway, Wagenknecht, Costrell, Gomcz, etc.):

1. We consider it an error that the comrades of the minority elected Cannon a member and spokesman of the minority steering committee at the membership meeting in New York on October 3rd. This error resulted, in our opinion, from failure to draw all the political implications from Cannon's remarks and statements at that time.

2. We also consider it an error that the comrades of the minority, in their efforts to expose and bring before the Party the developing Cannon Trotskyist opposition between October 3rd and 10th, did not advise and work with the Polcom. This error resulted, in our opinion, from the existing unhealthy factional situation which in this case influenced the comrades in their actions.

3. In their handling of the Cannon-Trotsky matter between October 3rd and the Polcom meeting of the 10th the comrades were guided solely by the thought to find the most effective means to expose Cannon before the Polcom and the Party. In no sense did they hesitate on the Trotsky-Cannon question or in any way whatever try to shield Cannon.

4. We wish to protest once more against the campaign of the majority that the minority are objectively helping the Cannon opposition. We again state that only the line formulated by the minority can successfully combat both the Right danger and the Cannon-Trotsky opposition.

5. We are preparing a longer statement in this matter for publication in the Party press.

* * *

Statement of the Central Executive Committee of Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The Central Executive Committee welcomes this admission by the Foster-Bittelman Opposition of some of the serious errors it made in the Cannon Trotskyist developments in the Party. The Central Committee hopes that this admission will serve as a step towards the unification of the Party. Nevertheless, the Party cannot close its eyes to the shortcomings of this admission of errors on the part of the Opposition.

The Opposition explains its selecting Cannon as a member and spokesman of its steering committee at the New York membership meeting of October 2nd, by their "failure to draw all the political implications from Cannon's remarks." This explanation is inadequate. Every Party member could have easily drawn all political implications from Cannon's demand on October 3rd that the Opposition must fight the Communist International. The Party has a right to know why the leaders of the Opposition found it necessary to take three months time for drawing such basic political implications—namely, that no one demanding a fight against the Communist International can be permitted to be a spokesman of Communists.

The claim made by the Opposition that it needed from October 3rd to the 10th for gathering more material before disclosing the Cannon-Trotsky developments to the Central Committee is worthless. The investigation conducted by the Political Committee shows that no evidence whatever was subsequently submitted to the Polcom not already in possession of the Opposition on October 3. Comrade Bittelman's declaration in the Polcom session of October 27 clearly shows this to be the case.

The Opposition also explains its delay in bringing the Cannon-Trotsky development before the Political Committee because of "the existing unhealthy factional situation". It is correct to state that the Opposition's attitude was largely factional in this matter. This very delay by the Opposition was a further factor in sharpening the factional situation. The Party has a right to demand from the Opposition why it persists so strenuously in contributing so much to this "unhealthy factional situation" by a closed national caucus which admits to and expels members from its ranks, which operates on a programme of struggle against the Central Committee as the Right wing

despite the unmistakable decision of the Communist International declaring this accusation unfounded. This dangerously wrong policy of the Opposition continues despite the fact that the Comintern has declared

a) The immediate task of the Party is the speedy liquidation of the factional situation;

b) There is no serious difference in principle as a basis for a factional fight in the American Party;

c) The charge against the Central Committee of being a Right wing Central Committee is unfounded;

d) The absolute subordination of the Minority to the Majority is an indispensable prerequisite for unity.

The Party calls upon the Opposition not only to recognise that these errors which it has made are due to the "unhealthy factional situation" but also to tell the membership what it proposes to do to end this unbearable situation. When will the Opposition begin to liquidate its caucus? When will the Opposition begin to accept decisions of the Communist International without reservation? When will the Opposition drop its common platform with Cannon, "The Right danger in the American Party", and unite with the C. E. C. on the common platform of the Communist International?

The protest of the Opposition 'against the campaign of the majority that the Minority are objectively helping the Cannon Opposition' is without foundation. The Opposition itself now admits some of the very errors which the Central Committee some months ago called upon them to admit and correct. It is these errors of the Opposition which hindered the speedy mobilisation of the Party against the Trotskyist Cannon forces. This baseless accusation against the Central Committee by the Opposition is founded only on the fact that the Central Executive Committee insisted upon pointing out the very errors now partly admitted by the Opposition itself.

The Central Executive Committee never questioned the sincerity of the Opposition's disassociation from Cannon's Trotskyism. But the Central Committee insists that the Opposition must recognise that its tactics put obstacles in the path of the Party's struggle against Trotskyism. By disregarding the Comintern decisions, for instance through dubbing the Central Committee the Right wing, the Opposition enables the Trotskyites to hide within the Party on a platform of struggle against the Party. By persisting in reservations to Comintern decisions, to the analysis of the theses of the Sixth World Congress, the Opposition objectively weakens the struggle of the Central Committee against the Right danger and Trotskyism. By maintaining an iron-bound caucus within the Party, the Opposition sharpens the existing divisions for which there is no serious basis in principle to lay, and thus further weakens the Party's fight against the Right danger and Trotskyism. Through their persistent campaign of trying to undermine the authority of the Party leadership, the Opposition contributes materially to weaken Party discipline and consequently to weaken the resistance of the Party to the menace of the Right danger and Trotskyism. By branding the Central Committee as the Right danger, the opposition infers with a clear realisation of the real character of the Right danger, of the poisonous influence of social reformism and bourgeois ideology on the American working class and the Party.

Mechanical admission of errors does not cure the ills of the Party. Admission of errors must be followed up by definite steps to correct these errors. Thus only can we help the Party to complete its inner consolidation and unification. The unification of all Communist forces is a prerequisite for a successful fight against imperialist war and struggle against the Right danger and Trotskyism.

The Central Committee recognises that this belated admission of some of its errors by the Opposition is due to the overwhelming pressure brought to bear on it by the membership in the recent discussion meetings throughout the country. The Central Committee is confident that the Party membership, in the unit elections being held throughout the country this week and in the coming conventions of the various Party subdivisions, by supporting the Central Committee which follows the line of the Comintern without reservations, will bring to bear upon the Opposition the remaining necessary pressure which will help them correct all of their errors, and to join the Central Committee in a united effort for Bolshevik self-criticism, proletarianisation of our Party ranks, and unification of all Communist forces on the basis of unreserved acceptance of the Comintern decisions.

Central Executive Committee,
Workers (Communist) Party of America.

FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER

Resolution of the C. P. of Norway on the Fight against the Right Danger in the C. P. of Germany.

Regarding the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the C. P. of Germany the Polit-Bureau of the C. P. of Norway declares as follows:

The VI. World Congress of the Comintern has stated that at present most of the deviations within the individual Communist Parties are on the Right from the correct political line. This fact is closely linked up with the immediate stabilisation of capitalism and the influence of social democracy connected with it, which exerts a strong pressure upon certain sections within the Communist Parties. The struggle against these deviations must therefore be placed in the foreground, which however presupposes a systematic fight against those elements which adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the Right tendencies in the Communist Parties.

With regard to the German Party the Congress pointed out that the Right tendencies have found their political expression in the slogan of control over production, a slogan which under the present conditions becomes a prop for the social democratic fraudulent agitation for "economic democracy", in opposition to the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. and in the conciliatory attitude towards the so-called "Left" social democratic leaders. At the same time the Congress stated that it is the task of the Party to overcome completely such tendencies in the Party which are conciliatory to the Right elements, and that the minority must unconditionally submit to the majority.

After the Congress the Rights in the C. P. of Germany have intensified their fractional attacks in order to frustrate the political line of the Party. By means of its own papers and information sheets and by the introduction of its own fraction discipline, the Brandler fraction went over to the open attack on the Party and did not even submit to the most elementary Party discipline. The fraction officially deviated from the political line which has been elaborated by the VI. World Congress and accused the Congress of having laid down an ultra-Left line for the sections of the C. I. The attacks of the Rights upon the tactics of the Party were especially malicious and injurious to the Party during the Ruhr struggle, where the Rights were objectively supporting the struggle of the social democrats against the strike committees which were established by and stood under the leadership of the Party. With regard to the conciliators who are grouping round Ewert-Meyer, they omitted, even in this situation, to support the struggle of the Party against the Right danger. On the contrary they went over to the attack upon the Party leadership and thereby formed, objectively, a bloc with the liquidatory Rights against the Party.

The precondition for the further advance of the C. P. G., which is in the midst of the struggle for the leadership of the working masses, in the direct struggle against a strong and deeply-rooted social democracy is not only to combat ideologically but also to drive out of the Party such elements who are attempting to form a new party within the Party and are forming a bridge to social democracy. In this connection it is politically necessary that the 'conciliators' be plainly confronted with having to choose between the liquidators and the Party.

The Polit-Bureau of the C. P. of Norway therefore entirely approves the Open Letter of the Comintern of December 19, 1928, which signals the intensified struggle against the opportunist Right danger, and also approves the expulsion of the anti-Party Right fraction leaders.

Proceeding from the experiences of recent times and in connection with the changes in the tactics of the social democracy of Norway and of the trade union bureaucracy, the Polit-Bureau emphasises the international significance of the Open Letter.

Expulsion of Brandler and Thalheimer from the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 29th January 1929.

The following decision of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been published:

Having regard to the fact that Brandler and Thalheimer openly oppose the decisions of the fifth and sixth Congresses of the Communist International and of the fourth congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, that they have refused to cease their fractional work which they are still carrying on in the Communist Party of Germany, despite the fact that they are members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that they answered the inquiry of the Central Control Commission as to whether they were prepared to submit to the conditions set up by the Executive Committee of the Communist International with regard to the Right wingers in the Communist Party of Germany, by declaring in a letter of 18th January 1929, that they refused to cease their fractional activities, the Central Control Commission is convinced that such an attitude towards the decisions of the Communist International and of the R. I. L. U. and the continuation of the fractional work is incompatible with membership of the Communist Party, and has decided to expel Brandler and Thalheimer from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Conference of the International Propaganda and Agitation Committee of the Revolutionary Miners.

At the end of January there took place a conference of the I. P. A. C. of the revolutionary miners, at which the miners of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union were represented. It appeared from the reports submitted to the conference that in the mining industries of all countries class conflicts are becoming more acute. In order to carry on the competitive fight which is being waged among the individual coal-producing countries, rationalisation is everywhere being continued by mining capital in a more drastic form. This is leading to an intolerable state of affairs for miners.

In view of these facts the conference was also able to record that within the last few years the miners have been taking up a decisive attitude of defence against the methods of exploitation. The passivity which was caused in some measure by the defeat of the British miners in the year 1926 and was observable among the miners of all countries during the year 1927, can be regarded as a thing of the past.

Under the leadership of the revolutionary miners' section of the International Workers Federation the Czech miners carried on strike struggles in the year 1928 for increases in their wages, and, in spite of reformist sabotage, these were brought to a successful close for the miners. In the North-West-Bohemian coal fields the attack of the coal owners upon the six-hour shift on Saturdays was successfully parried and an increase in wages was attained.

The circumstance that a wave of strikes of the miners is rising is also shown by the strike of the French miners of the Loire Basin and the Basin of the Gard. For the first time the revolutionary vanguard succeeded under the guidance of the unitary miners' union in leading the miners into the fight in spite of the strong reformist influence. Even though the reformists succeeded once more, in conjunction with the power of the State, police, military and a state of siege, in organising strike-breaking, so that the miners were forced to resume work without material success, the strike must not be underestimated, because it demonstrates the growing fighting spirit of the mining proletariat.

The conference also dealt thoroughly with the role played by reformist trade-union bureaucracy in the miners' fights. Here again it was ascertained that there is no difference between the reformists of the various countries. In the fights in Czechoslovakia, as also in France, they have remained true to their tradition, stood by the coal owners and sabotaged the demands of the miners.

The activity of reformist bureaucracy of the miners' unions of Germany and Great Britain is strikingly anti-Labour. Splitting tactics are applied ruthlessly in these countries. In Germany not only are individual expulsions resorted to, whole district administrations are deprived of their functions for making wage demands against the will of the executive or not submitting promptly to its dictatorial behests. All proletarian democracy is excluded from these unions. This course on the part of the reformists compels the revolutionary miners to wage the organised fight against the reformist splitters with all the means at their disposal in order to prevent the bureaucracy from destroying the miners' unions.

An important point, which was treated at the conference, was the present coal crisis. There was a long report upon conditions in the various countries and upon the causes of the coal crisis. A resolution, proposed and adopted, called the attention of the miners to the dangers which lie in the reformist demand for remedying the coal crisis. As is well known, the reformists desire to overcome the coal crisis by distributing the coal markets and forming an international coal syndicate. The conference stated that under capitalist economy such a solution could only be in the interests of international coal capital and should, therefore, be strenuously opposed.

In regard to the demand that there should be convoked a world conference of the miners of all countries irrespective of organisation and allegiance to an international, with the object of preparing a fight in all countries for the shortening of working hours, the introduction of seven-hour shifts, the increasing of wages and the raising of the standard of living, the conference called upon the revolutionary organisations and the minorities in all countries to increase in this sense the work and continue with all their power the work among the miners.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Albert Thomas in China.

By Tang Shin She.

Albert Thomas, head of the International Labour Office in Geneva is very fond of travelling. His last spring trip to Rome to visit Mussolini and the Fascist trade unions will still be recalled. Last November he executed a further difficult job during his journey through China: he hailed the murder of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants by the Kuomintang generals.

On the 21st of November M. Thomas paid great tribute in Peking to the big speech of Peh Tsuang Tuhi, who on April 12th, 1927 dissolved the Chinese trade unions in Shanghai and had thousands of workers shot with machine guns and later he declared that he himself was also an opponent of Marxism. In a conversation with the reporter of the newspaper "Sun Pao" in Shanghai, he expressed himself as follows:

"As far as I have been able to see in China, the lives of Chinese workers and capitalists are on the same level. There are no class differences. The business people describe themselves as the bourgeoisie; that does not coincide with facts. That the workers regard the business people even as capitalists is completely ridiculous. Taking all things together, Sun-Yat-Senism alone is in a position to solve all difficult questions for China. The class war has absolutely no value for this country."

In a speech made to the official trade unions of Peking Thomas stated:

"The Chinese workers must submit unreservedly to the doctrine of Sun-Yat-Sen, which says that it is first of all necessary to increase production, after which the question of equal distribution can be discussed." (All taken from the Shanghai "Sun Pao" of November 22nd, 1928.)

When Thomas said that he, like the bloody generals of Peh Tsung Tshi, is an opponent of Marxism, he was at least speaking the truth.

That there are no class differences in Chinese society, that the standard of living is the same for employer and worker, was never maintained by anybody before Thomas; this idea never even occurred to his colleague Sauerwein, the agent of capitalists and imperialists. This statement of his calls for a revision of even that famous colonial resolution of his own Second International, passed by the Brussels Congress, which admits that capitalism was created in China through foreign intervention.

Thomas has already fulfilled his mission in Peking; in Nanking he is attending to formal engagements. He is negotiating with the Nanking Minister of Industry and Commerce in regard to three points:

1. He has requested the Nanking Government to acknowledge all the resolutions of the Geneva Labour Office. The Nanking Government might reserve the right to create for China a special labour law corresponding to the standard of living in China.

2. He proposed that China should send to the session of the International Labour Office in the year 1929 a complete delegation, consisting of two representatives of the Government, one of Labour and one of the employers.

3. He requested the Nanking Government to foster the co-operative movement in China.

Finally he called upon the Nanking Government to lend its support to the Geneva Labour Office and to create a branch office in China. When the Chinese demanded the resolutions of the Geneva Labour Office should be respected not only by Chinese industrialists but also by foreign employers and those in the foreign concessions, Thomas replied that he himself would speak to the authorities in question. It would be best if the Chinese workers would co-operate with the workers of the countries in question. Practically speaking, Thomas therefore declined to fulfil his duty as head of the Geneva Labour Office, namely, to work for the Chinese workers. His only wish was that the Chinese workers should get into touch with the reformists; in other words, he wishes to introduce reformism into China at any price, so that it can continue cultural work for the imperialists in place of the missionaries.

The bloody Kuomintang generals were completely satisfied with Thomas. Peh Tsung Tshi regarded his trip to China of extraordinary significance to that country.

"Through his method the influence of the III. International will wane. By this means a great work of peace will be done on the international plane." (Peking "Shuntien Shijh" of November 27th, 1928.)

In view of his speeches and actions Thomas has been most heartily received by the Chinese bourgeoisie and the foreign capitalists in China. When he arrived in Shanghai the Merchants' Union of the Pacific Ocean (the organisation of the big Chinese and foreign business people) gave a banquet in his honour; when he left Shanghai a farewell banquet was given by the four important Chambers of Commerce in Shanghai. The imperialist Press in China was loud in his praise. From November 28th to December 3rd the Kuomintang general's conducted him around with music and escorts of troops from station to station and from banquet to banquet. Thomas was accompanied to the banquets only by a few yellow trade-union leaders; the Chinese workers greeted him with strikes. When he left Peking it was the tramway workers who struck, and in Shanghai the municipal workers in the French Concession went on strike. The reformist doctrine of peace between employers and workers was flatly rejected by the Chinese workers.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Result of the London "Rego" Strike.

By A. B. Elsbury (London).

The strike of the 600 clothing workers at the Rego factory in London attracted national attention because of the following features in connection with it.

1. It was the first strike of any large dimensions, apart from the miners, which has taken place since the passing of the repressive Trades Dispute Act by the Baldwin government.

2. The leadership of the strike was of a militant left-wing character facing the opposition of the national officials of the Garment Workers' Union.

3. The strikers were mostly young female workers who have always been the most difficult to organise.

4. The duration of the strike without national union support. It commenced on October 8th and lasted until the end of the year.

The Rego clothing factory is run in connection with a large string of retail shops in London and is an extremely prosperous concern. The profits on the original capital of the firm have been as high as 63% but this was disguised by means of the distribution of bonus shares.

The wages of the workers can be judged from the following:

Adult piece-worker, 49 hours. Average from April to October, 28 shillings per week. Girl, aged 16, similar average, 11 shillings and 6 pence. Time worker, 20 weeks work, 24 shillings.

Out of these wages the expenses amounted to 4/6d for fares, 3/- dinners and 10/3 teas. Numerous girls had to pay 7d. to 1/- per day in fares and, after 2½ or 3 days work, drew 3/- or 4/- for the whole time they were working.

The organisation catering for these workers is the Tailors & Garment Workers' Trade Union with headquarters in Leeds. It is affiliated to the Amsterdam International and, out of an income for 1926 of £ 36,987, expended in Dispute Pay £ 188.

The London Branch of the Union, with an Organiser who is a Communist, has for long been a thorn in the sides of the National officials, by reason of its pursuance of a militant policy. The trouble of the London Branch with the Rego came to a head when the firm refused to meet the London Organiser to discuss workers' complaints and a mass meeting of the workers decided to strike on October 8th for Union recognition.

On the 7th a full meeting of the National Executive was held in London to meet the London Branch Committee and decided, after meeting them, that they "were unable to give a decision at the moment (to sanction the strike) and will further consider the situation at the end of the coming week". Verbally, however, they wished the London Committee, "good luck!", conveying the impression that their official support was impending.

To the dismay of the strikers they were acquainted on the 13th by the National Executive from Leeds that "sanction" had been totally refused on the excuse of pending negotiations for a National Agreement. The London Committee was thus faced with the alternative of "calling-off" the strike and probably smashing the London organisation or to continue it unofficially. They decided to continue and set up an apparatus to collect the large amount of strike pay necessary each week. Appeals were sent out throughout the country not only by the London Committee but also by various left wing organisations including the National Minority Movement and Young Communist League who had come to their aid.

Unaware of the unofficial character of the strike even the "Daily Herald" gave support for some time. The strikers themselves in the meantime built up machinery for collecting finances and made spectacular marches, led by their London officials.

in all parts of London. They accumulated a repertoire of strike songs with words set to topical and revolutionary tunes and became known as "The Rego Singing Strikers". They attended all large meetings and even forced their way into a scantily attended Demonstration addressed by Ramsey MacDonald in the Albert Hall where they sang and took up a collection on behalf of the strike funds. The striking girls, besides picketing the numerous retail Rego shops and bringing their trade almost to a standstill, took collections at all the big work centres they could reach, Docks, Bus Garages, Printing Works, etc. where the support they obtained, despite frequent police interference, was always generous.

Branches of other Trade Unions also aided materially by sending donations and greetings, but the largest single donation came from the Russian Needle-workers' Trade Union which sent along a gift of over £ 200, a lesson in international solidarity which considerably affected the girls. By these means, together with a levy of 5% volunteered by the London membership, the strike pay was maintained to the customary Union level throughout the three months of the dispute.

The "Morning Post", the organ of British aristocracy, made a bitter attack on the Communist leadership of the strike and had to face an indignant deputation of the girl strikers which caused them to moderate their tone. Then the National Executive issued a repudiation of the strike through the Union organ, which was eagerly taken up by the Labour and Capitalist press and by the Rego who were now suffering from the effects of the picketing, as was evidenced by the "laying-off" both blacklegs and Union Cutters who were working with them.

Strikers were fined and severely lectured by magistrates for alleged offences against blacklegs.

The National Officials held a meeting with the employers' Federation on Dec. 12th and, over the heads of the strikers and London Committee, drew up a "Settlement" which was a virtual surrender with victimisation. This the strikers unanimously rejected when it was placed before them for approval.

As Christmas approached the firm, in desperation, asked for an Injunction in the legal Courts against the "Picketing and Intimidation" of the strikers. After several hearings the London Organiser and Secretary agreed to withdraw the pickets only on condition of an early meeting with the Rego representatives.

On December 21st this was held and the Shorthand Report of 117 large pages displays the manoeuvrings of the National Officials (who were present, together with those of the employers' Federation) to effect a new settlement on the basis of that of December 12th. Their obvious tactic was to ensure that the London officials present should not obtain more for the strikers than their own abortive settlement of the 12th would have effected. But the London officials were adamant and, after a protracted discussion, secured not only complete "recognition" for the future to the London Branch but also most explicit assurances against any victimisation of the strikers. In other words a victory in the dispute.

The strikers marched back to work in the best of spirits singing their strike songs and refused to listen for a moment to the Union's National Woman Organiser who had been sent to the factory to address them. They demanded from her where she had been during the months of the strike and sent her away in tears.

The labour and capitalist press has, unanimously, refused to give adequate reports of the victory with the result that aid is still being offered to the strikers a month after its successful termination. A London candidate for the National Executive has just been elected by the membership from whom are coming demands for the resignation of the National Officials.

The Rego victory has given a considerable impetus not only to the forward movement amongst British Garment workers but also to the young workers in other trades who have already conducted several lightning-strikes for better conditions with success.

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The Business Manager.