

co-operation of all the communist parties will be essential to accomplish such an important task, as the publication of a complete edition of the works and correspondence of Marx and

Engels, and to prepare all materials necessary for writing the scientific biography in connection with the history of the socialist and of the labour movement in the nineteenth century.

Souvarine Resolution.

Having heard several comrades of the French delegation and Comrade Boris Souvarine;

Having also carefully examined all the material bearing on the breaches of discipline with which Comrade Souvarine is charged:

The Commission declares unanimously:

1. That comrade Souvarine has been guilty of very serious breaches of discipline:

a) Declaration in the Communist Bulletin.
b) Letter to the subscribers of the Communist Bulletin containing attacks on the Managing Committee of the Party.
c) Publication outside and without the knowledge of the responsible Party organs of Comrade Trotsky's pamphlet "The New Course" with a preface directed against the Party and the Communist International.

2. That these actions show that Souvarine is imbued with a petty-bourgeois spirit which puts personal considerations before the interests of the Party.

3. That such conduct on the part of a comrade engaged in specially responsible Party work has wrought great havoc within the French Communist Party and has jeopardised Party discipline.

4. That the explanations made by Comrade Souvarine have not mitigated in the least the seriousness of the breaches of discipline committed repeatedly by Comrade Souvarine, and that these explanations were imbued with the same petty-bourgeois spirit which characterised Comrade Souvarine's attitude during

the incidents which have caused such perturbation within the Party.

Therefore, the Commission proposes to the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

1. To accede to the demand for Souvarine's expulsion placed before the Fifth Congress of the Communist International by the Delegation of the French Communist Party.

2. To leave it to the French Section of the Communist International to propose to the Sixth Congress of the C. I. to re-admit Souvarine into the Party, provided his conduct in the meantime be loyal towards the Party and towards the Communist International.

To the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International.

In the course of its work, the Souvarine Commission has come to the conclusion that communist discipline is far from being fully understood and applied in the ranks of the French Communist Party. The Commission deems it absolutely necessary that the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International intervene energetically in the form of an open letter to the members of the Party, in order to make them realize the true meaning of Party discipline and to urge them to enforce its strict application by suppressing energetically all serious breaches of discipline and all attempts by any member of the Party whatever to carry on an independent policy.

(Theses and Resolutions to be continued.)

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Hands off China!

To the Workers of Europe and America! To the Toilers of the Oppressed Countries in the East!

The British Government, now the Government of the Labour Party at the head of which stands one of the leaders of the Second International, J. Ramsay MacDonald, is preparing for armed intervention in South China for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the Chinese nationalist party, the Kuomintang.

The British Consul General of the Labour Government has handed a note to the People's Government of South China, couched in the usual imperialistic terms, threatening to fire on the Chinese population if the nationalist government of China defends itself against the rebel merchants, a revolt organised and supplied with arms from the British corps of HongKong. This revolt is headed by a wealthy Chinese merchant who is the agent of the Shanghai HongKong Bank of the British shipowners.

Comrades, before the very eyes of the whole world, in the face of the world revolutionary labour movement the MacDonald Government is preparing to destroy the base of the national liberation movement of the long-suffering Chinese people. The aged leader of the revolutionary party of China which in 1911 overthrew the despotic Manchu dynasty, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who is the present head of the South China Government rightly says that the imperialists have occupied China to take the place of the overthrown feudal despotism. The imperialism of the pacific-democratic government of MacDonald serves not only the interests of British financiers in China but also the interests of the Chinese counter-revolution which has been tyrannising over the masses of the Chinese people for decades.

Comrades, American imperialism is undertaking an attack on North China simultaneously with the British attack on the South. The French Government of Herriot has also sent cruisers from Indo-China to the Chinese ports of Tientsin and Shanghai. The smaller imperialist States are joining the Great Imperialist

Powers. A world imperialist conspiracy is being organised against the toiling masses of China which is being carried out by the attack on the South of China by the MacDonald Government.

Hardly has the ink of the agreement of the London Conference dried, an agreement which has been hailed as the commencement of an era of peace and disarmament, than the governments of these advocates of pacifism and democracy send their battleships to shoot down the toiling population of China.

Workers of Great Britain, you must not, you cannot allow the British imperialists in your name to shoot down Chinese revolutionaries as they did recently in Hankow and on the Yantse Kiang when British naval officers shot down the leaders of the Railwaymen's Union and the Boatmen's Union. You must not permit a government bearing the name of a labour government to aid the feudal reaction and the merchant capitalist counter-revolution for the purpose of securing easier profits for the British bankers and British colonisers.

British workers, you must call upon your trade union Congress now in session to intervene and prevent the impending butchery in China. You must put up a powerful protest against armed intervention in South China and turn aside the hand of the imperialists who are directing the muzzles of their guns upon the centre of the national liberation movement in China.

Long live the national revolutionary movement in China!
Down with the imperialism of MacDonald, Herriot and Coolidge!

Moscow 4th September 1924.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

POLITICS

The Imperialists' Attack upon China.

By G. Voitinsky (Moscow).

The recent events in China only constitute the culmination of those proceedings which have taken place during the last eighteen months. Part of these proceedings was the ousting of Japanese influence by America and England, the strengthening of English and American capital and its pressure upon North- and Central-China, resulting in the consolidation and strengthening of the reactionary militarist clique in the North, the Tchili-Party. At the same time there is another process going on, that of the growth, the extension and deepening of the national-revolutionary movement, which is seeking a new way to conduct a real fight against the yoke of foreign imperialism. The most important events of the first process were: the victory of U-Pei-Fu over Tchan-Tzo-Lin and Sun-Yat-Sen in the middle of 1922, the bloody suppression of the railway strike, the crushing of the independent army of the Sychuan province in 1923, the election of Tsao-Kun as president, the strengthening of the power of U-Pei-Fu throughout the whole of Central China etc. On the other hand the strengthening of the struggle against foreign imperialism is characterised by such historical facts as the agreement with the Soviet Union, the continual systematic struggle even of the present Chinese government against the "great powers" and the growth of national revolutionary consciousness throughout the whole public opinion of China, under the pressure of which the Peking government was compelled to bring about the agreement with the Soviet government.

We saw already in February this year at the re-organisation congress of the Comindan Party (the national-revolutionary Party which is led by Sun-Yat-Sen) a tenacious fight between the right and left wing. The representatives of the right wing, comprising in the main the mercantile interests, fought against the reorganisation of the party; they desired that it should remain in its present loose and divided condition in order that they should still be able to retain it in their hands as an instrument for the protection of their interests against the industrial North and Central China, as well as against the worker and peasant masses in South China. The left wing of the Party, at the head of which our Communist comrades stand, is striving to convert the Party into a real national-revolutionary Party, which shall rely for main support upon the masses of workers and peasants. It is one of the greatest historical merits of Sun-Yat-Sen, the leader and creator of the Gomindan Party, that at this critical moment he ranged himself on the side of the left wing and led the Party with firm hand along the road of real struggle for the interests of the working and peasants masses and for the interests of the town petty-bourgeoisie.

This marked the beginning of a split. The mercantile interests formerly connected with this Party are turning more and more from Sun-Yat-Sen and are becoming his open opponents. The necessity of maintaining a military territorial basis in South China, which unavoidably involves the taxation of big commercial capital, is sharpening the struggle of the big merchants of the South against Sun Yat Sen. In this struggle for their pocket interests the commercial bourgeoisie find themselves allied with English capital, which from Hong Kong is bringing immediate pressure to bear upon Sun Yat Sen. The foreign capitalists are supplying the bourgeoisie of Canton with weapons and money. Volunteer fascist troops are being openly organised for the struggle against Sun Yat Sen and his government. Such an attitude on the part of the bourgeoisie of Canton is impelling Sun Yat Sen to a still more closer alliance with the masses of workers and petty bourgeoisie of Canton, and with the millions of peasants of the Southern provinces and of the whole country. In order to protect the city against the foreign enemy and against the growing inner counter-revolution, armed troops of workers are being formed, which have already defended Canton against the attack of hostile military forces. The provocation on the part of the big commercial bourgeoisie, the setting up of armed fascist troops, was replied to by Sun Yat Sen with the confiscation of a ship loaded with weapons and with the strengthening of the struggle against the leaders of the counter-revolutionary revolt which is preparing. Suddenly, however, there appeared upon the scene English capital, which is sup-

ported by the great naval forces in Hongkong and by the "Labour Government" of Ramsay MacDonald in London. It transpired that the leader of the fascists, the Chinese counter-revolutionary Tschan-Lin-Pak, is at the same time an agent of the English Hongkong-Shanghai Bank and that even on Chinese territory stands under the immediate protection of the English consul. His residence in one of the suburbs of Canton is guarded by English soldiers and English (Indian) police. The fight against the counter-revolutionaries is regarded by the agents of MacDonald as a crime against the principle of democracy and against the interests of foreigners.

The recent declaration of the English and American consuls in China constitutes an open proclamation of an immediate armed intervention on the part of the "great" imperialist powers against the growing national revolutionary movement of the country. The American note to the Chinese government states, that "the Powers will adopt all measures and use every means at their disposal which are necessary for the protection of the life and property of foreigners". The ultimatum which the British consul in Canton handed to Sun-Yat-Sen speaks more openly as to the British naval forces having received appropriate orders. At the same time these declarations were backed up by deeds: American warships were assembled at Shanghai, English naval forces were sent from Hongkong to Canton and French warships proceeded partly to Shanghai and partly to Canton. America and England, led by MacDonald, are proceeding to open acts of war in order to strangle the national revolutionary movement: America mainly in Central China and England in Southern China.

The united armed action of world imperialism against China is only the beginning of a long and tenacious struggle between the former and the uprising East. In this struggle the suppressed peoples of the East have only one friend and ally: the Union of Soviet Republics.

It is difficult to say at present what form the struggle in South China will assume, and whether Sun-Yat-Sen will succeed in defending Canton against the combined imperialists. In any event one can confidently say that the approaching struggle will weld together all national revolutionary elements for the defence of the revolutionary South, which is under the leadership of Sun-Yat-Sen and the Gomindan Party. This combined attack of the imperialists will prove a powerful stimulus, which will stir up the struggle against foreign imperialism throughout the whole of China.

The Outer Political Situation of the Soviet Union.

(From the speech of Comrade Kamenev delivered at the session of the Moscow Party Functionaries on the 22nd of August 1924.)

The Importance of the Treaty between England and the Soviet-Union.

The most important fact in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in recent times is of course our treaty with England. You all still remember the time when we had to fight for the mere existence of our Union, the time of intervention and blockade, which was then succeeded by a period in which we were compelled to fight for the mere recognition of our economic and political system. Our treaty with Great Britain is the first international act whereby the full equal rights of our political and economic order with the order of the great political world powers were recognised.

Those who are familiar with the text of the Treaty must immediately perceive that its realisation has only been possible on the basis of the recognition of all the essential political and economic institutions of our Union. The Treaty not only repudiates all authorities in the Soviet Union other than the Soviet authorities, but the whole Treaty rests upon the recognition of the nationalisation of the land and of the great industries and the cancellation of the debts, as well as on the recognition of all the other achievements of the October Revolution.

What does the Treaty give us? And what do we give to England?

This document is not merely an act of recognition. It contains the pledge on the part of the English government to guarantee a loan to be granted to our Republic. This guarantee

means that if the Soviet government after the conclusion of a loan treaty should, for any reason, refuse repayment of this loan, then the English government is pledged to pay the same instead of the Soviet government. Thus the English government guarantees the stability of the Soviet power, it guarantees our credit and gives a documentary confirmation that the Soviet power will fulfil its obligations. How far removed we are from those times when it was sought to surround us with a *cordón sanitaire*, when the Soviet government was regarded as a government of conspirators, who had chanced to get power into their hands and were doomed to perish.

What have we promised in return? The chief point of course is the satisfaction of the claims of English subjects against us and of our claims against England. In the Treaty these claims are divided into four categories.

To the first category there belong those sums which were lent to Russia during the war. These form the chief item of the demands, which amount to an enormous sum.

Against these demands we put forward our counter-claims, which constitute a bill for all the damage and destruction which the Soviet Republics have suffered through the English intervention. We are convinced that these counter-claims of ours, which are based upon the interference of England in our inner affairs, upon those predatory acts which were committed in our country with the help of the blockade and intervention, will exceed by far all the war debts of the old Russia. Under the terms of the Treaty the discussion over these two sets of demands — over our war debts and our counter-claims — is held over for a later period. When this will take place we do not know, and it is probable that the English do not know either. It is true we have arrived at an understanding with the English that the non-solution of the question of the war debts and of our counter-claims shall not hinder the establishment of normal economic relations. This of course must not prevent us from drawing up the items of our counter-claims.

In addition to this there are three further groups of demands. Firstly the demands of the holders of the Russian pre-war loans; secondly, the so-called small and miscellaneous demands, that is the demands of various English subjects who received no salary during the October revolution, or of those whose goods which were dispatched to Soviet Russia were confiscated or who have suffered minor losses. Finally, there come the claims of those English subjects who have been owners of any kind of property, factories, mines, and land. What have we promised regarding these demands?

In clause 10 of the Treaty we have undertaken to enter into negotiations with those English subjects who formerly had property in Soviet Russia. As regards the pre-war debts we have promised that we will meet the holders of pre-war debts by means of a new treaty with the government. We have therefore undertaken no concrete obligations expressed in definite figures. We have only undertaken to continue negotiations. On the other hand, the English government has undertaken in the event of a favourable conclusion to these negotiations — and the treaty defines what is to be regarded as a favourable conclusion — to guarantee our loan. This Treaty therefore only provisionally provides the frame work within which our further treaties must be set up. These treaties will deal with the concrete figures which will determine what we shall pay and what we shall receive.

Why does the Treaty contain no concrete Figures?

For very simple reasons. Because we had not yet been able to come to an agreement with those British subjects who have brought claims against us. There is in the Treaty itself, however, a very important declaration of the English government in clause 6: "The Government of His British Majesty recognises that the financial and the economic situation of the Soviet Union does not permit the full satisfaction of the claims mentioned in the previous paragraph".

Thus the English government recognises that it does not expect a full rubel for all those stated in the demands. But for one rubel there can be paid 75, 50, 25, 10 or even 5 kopeks. How much shall we pay? We do not proceed on the principle that we are in any way pledged to pay anything for these debts, but we proceed from quite another standpoint.

For the development of our socialist economy we need money and we intended to raise this money in the form of a foreign loan. As the English capitalists — and one can only obtain money from capitalists — have never provided anybody with money for nothing, and as they of course wish to profit

more from a loan granted to the Soviet government than if they lent money to their bourgeois colleagues, we were compelled, as real politicians, to agree to pay more for this loan than one is wont to pay for loans generally. If the capitalists thereby wish to employ the interest which we shall pay to them for the loan for the repayment of what they regard as "our" debts, we of course have nothing against it. If the amount which we shall receive corresponds to the needs of our national economy and if the interest which we have to pay for this loan is proportionate to our economic and financial possibilities, then we shall willingly conclude this bargain.

We do not need the loan because we could not develop our economy without foreign capital but only in order to accelerate the pace of our economic development.

The Allies, under the leadership of America, imposed slave conditions upon Germany. The proletariat and the peasantry of Soviet Russia, however, has not been vanquished by anybody as has the German bourgeoisie; and therefore we will not agree to any slave conditions.

The fact that the agreement, in spite of the fierce resistance of the bankers, has been signed by the English government, is due to the energetic pressure which the English Labour organisations have brought to bear upon the government. We all remember that at the critical moment of the negotiations the organ of the English Labour Party openly put the question to MacDonald: "Will a government, which calls itself a Labour Party Government, break off the negotiations out of regard for the interests of the private property owners?" Yesterday, at the session of the Moscow Soviet, we heard the declaration of Miss Susan Lawrence, a member of the English parliament and of the Executive Committee of the English Labour Party. She declared that she could think of no better platform for the next parliamentary elections than the platform of the agreement with the Soviet Union.

It is obvious that the recognition of the full equal rights of our proletarian socialist state and the political, legal and commercial recognition of the gains of our revolution by English Imperialism, by the British Empire, opens a new era in the international situation of the Soviet Republics. This general world situation can at present be characterised as the collapse of the methods of brute force, as the replacement of the system of Curzon-Poincaré by the system of MacDonald-Herriot, as the beginning of a period, which although deceptive and transitory in its nature, can be regarded as the period of the attempt at a pacifist solution of international questions. This of course is a symptom of the weakness and not of the strength of the bourgeoisie.

The Dawes Plan a Bargain at the cost of the German Proletariat.

Almost simultaneously with the negotiations which comrades Rakovsky and Tomsy conducted in London, there was concluded a bargain at the Conference of the Allies together with Germany, at which the notorious Dawes plan was accepted.

There is to be extracted from German industry, for the benefit of the Allies, all those payments which were imposed upon Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. This means that by this transaction German economy is converted into a colonial department of American, French and English capital. This, of course, will be carried out at the cost of the German proletariat, and we have here before us a quite unconcealed bargain on the part of the German bourgeoisie, which hands over a portion of its rights and income to the American, French and English bourgeoisie in the hope that they will be able to make good all their losses at the expense of the German working class.

We must reckon with the possibility of the creation of an economic front against us.

The pacifist era which has now set in in Europe will only serve to sharpen all the contradictions which exist in post-war Europe and which are contained in the peace of Versailles. The shameless bargain at the cost of the German proletariat can, however, at the same time form a sort of basis for a temporary reconciliation of the interests of the German, English, French and American capitalists.

The irreconcilable antagonisms which divide them cannot be bridged over by any exterior pacifist transactions. Europe remains a powder magazine, which is bound to explode. But in every great historical period there is an interlude, when the diverging interests of the various capitalist countries can be temporarily adjusted, and they of course can only be adjusted

at our expense. This temporary and very unstable reconciliation of the interests of the Allied and German capitalists can even result in the setting up against us of a united economic front. We must therefore so develop our economy that we shall be able to oppose to this our own economic front.

Other States will follow the example of England.

This united economic front against us must be sharply distinguished from the immediate danger of war. Against the latter we have a certain security in the signing of the English Treaty. France cannot for long remain behind England, although the negotiations with France will last even longer than those with England; for the former Russian capitalists and landowners have contracted a far greater debt with the French capitalists than with the English.

Negotiations with Japan, which are now being carried on in Peking, have proceeded so far that there only remains the question of the Sachalin concessions. All the remaining points have fortunately been settled in the previous negotiations. With China we have arrived at complete agreement. There remains only the question of handing over the Eastern Chinese railway.

Our dispute with Germany has fortunately been settled. We have received in principle full satisfaction, as the ex-territorial rights of our Trade Mission have to a certain extent been recognised by Germany. All these circumstances naturally create a very unfavourable situation for our nearest friends and neighbours, Poland and Roumania.

At present we can say, that we are not confronted with any immediate danger of war, but probably we shall be faced by the setting up of the European economic front against us on the basis of the agreement between Germany, France, England and America regarding the division of the German booty. We must therefore carefully examine what we can oppose to this united front, how we can develop our economic life and what prospects we have. If the united economic front is set up against us, then its guide, leader and standard-bearer will be none other than the Second International. By the whole of its past activity, it is adapted for the leadership of the economic campaign against the Soviet Union.

The II. International and the London Pact.

By Karl Radek.

As the fathers of the London Pact which has converted in the midst of Europe one of the oldest industrial European nations into a new Turkey, as the fathers of the Pact which reduces the German workers to the level of Chinese coolies toiling for the world financial capitalists, there appear the leaders of the II. International. The President of the London Conference was Mr. Ramsay MacDonald the leader of the English Labour Party. M. Herriot enjoys the support of the Socialist Party of France, without the help of which he would not be able to retain power. The chief force in Germany (claiming to speak in the name of the working masses) which stands in favour of accepting the London Pact is the German Social Democratic Party. The II. International, in fighting for the London Pact and in defending it, only consummates its post-war evolution.

Comrade Leder in his brochure has assembled all the documents showing how the leaders of the II. International throughout the whole post-war period have been the foremost advocates of reparations. One must admit that this policy is a perfectly logical one. Once the II. International accepted the premise that the victory of the proletariat is impossible, that the international bourgeoisie is capable of reconstructing shattered Europe, there follows with inexorable logic the necessity of aiding the bourgeoisie in this work of reconstructing Europe. If it be impossible to proceed along the path of proletarian revolution, and if it be impossible to continue living on the ruins of Europe then there is no other way out than to support the bourgeoisie, no matter with what means it attempts to stabilise capitalism in Europe.

But this assumption of the II. International led inevitably to a complete betrayal on its part, not only of the final aims of the working class, not only of the socialist revolution and of socialism, but even of those aims in the name of which the II. International fought and is still fighting the Comintern. Bourgeois democracy, that is the immediate aim of the II. International which it opposes to the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. The II. International in a whole number of countries (it is sufficient only to mention Germany Hungary, Bulgaria and Italy) helped to set up fascist and semi-fascist governments, because, in fighting against

the revolutionary vanguard of the workers, it was compelled to help, and it did help, the representatives of financial capital, the representatives of feudal counter-revolution in restoring and re-establishing their regimes.

The II. International has now in London completed on a world scale its evolution from democracy to helping in the setting up of the dictatorship of financial capital. The II. International, as an agent of Morgan and Norman (the head of the Bank of England) as an agent of Wall Street and the City of London—this is the denouement of democratic socialism opposing itself to revolutionary communism. This shameful culmination illustrates the objective fact that for Europe and for the world, in the period of social revolution, there is no other alternative than the proletarian dictatorship or the dictatorship of the financial capital of England and America.

The II. International defends its policy by affirming that this dictatorship of financial capital signifies a victory for Peace, a victory for Pacifism. This is said by the very same people who, in a number of books, in dozens of brochures and in hundreds of articles have demonstrated that imperialism and imperialist war are the outcome of the domination of financial capital. This is declared by the leaders of the II. International after the world war which was provoked by financial capital! This is said by people who are familiar with all the intricacies of the banks, of finance, of heavy industry and their connection with the policy of armaments, by people who cannot ignore the fact that the domination of financial capital must inevitably provoke a whole series of new wars.

At the present time the English and American banks are going hand in hand into the fight against France's independent imperialist policy, but at the same time there is going on in all countries the mutual fight for independent plundering, for an increase in the share of plunder. At the moment when this fight will become still sharper, at the moment when this fight will lead to armed conflict, international financial capital will find support in the fact that the II. International has induced the masses to subordinate themselves to the interests of the former, that it taught them to regard the bankers as the angels of peace. The II. International is already helping the world banks to create a situation in which a new 4th of August will appear as the unavoidable consequence of reformist policy.

But the most striking proof of the betrayal of the most fundamental and essential interests of the working class is the fact that the so-called pacifist dictatorship of financial capital is based upon the complete enslavement of the working class. In the history of so-called bourgeois pacifism there can be distinguished two periods. The idea of international peace promulgated by the bourgeois pacifists was connected with the idea of a slow but permanent improvement in the situation of the working class; reduction of armaments was to be accompanied by an increase of social reforms. This connection between pacifism and social reform was an obsession of Laurès, the greatest leader of international reformism.

The pacifism of the Normans and the Morgans is not only a policy of obtaining a capitalist breathing space pending the time when armaments will be completed, when all the requisite imperialist treaties will have been concluded, when the masses will be mobilised for the new war; the pacifism of the Normans and the Morgans, right from the outset, is based upon the policy of the restoration of capitalism at the expense of the working class. The whole international bourgeoisie openly and clearly declares that the Experts' Report and the decisions will only prove scraps of paper unless the German bourgeoisie compels the German working class to renounce the eight hour day, unless, while reducing the wages of the working class to far below the pre-war level, it at the same time tries to raise the intensity of its labour to a far higher standard than the pre-war standard.

While aiming at abolishing all the social gains of the German working class, the international bourgeoisie, in the person of M. Pinnaud of the Comités des Forges, at the same time demands the abolition of the eight hour day in France, pointing out the necessity of opposing to the chief competitor maintaining itself on cheap labour and upon increasing its exploitation, an increase in the working capacity of the French working class. The cry of M. Pinnaud is taken up by the Morning Post and by other organs of the English industrial bourgeoisie, as well as by the employers' press of America. Messrs MacDonald and Blum, in helping to place the noose around the neck of the German proletariat, are at the same time placing it round the neck of the proletariat of France, England, Italy and America. By discarding

democracy, by coming forward as the champions of bankers' pacifism, they at the same time bury all idea of social reform and render themselves the open representatives of the interests of heavy industry against the working class.

The London Labour Review is quite right when it states: "Perchance the Labour Party does not perceive what an enormous power it hands over to the international financial syndicate, which by this means obtains the possibility of ruling over the economic life of Europe. With the aid of manipulations with the German railway tariff this syndicate is in a position to throw enormous quantities of cheap goods on to the English market, to create competition for the industrial productions of England and to force the workers of our country to be satisfied with the same wage and the same conditions of living to which the German proletariat will be condemned. When the German railways are taken away from the state and handed over to the international trust, when the standard of living of the German workers has been successfully lowered still further, then there will inevitably be created a tremendous threat to the position of the English working class."

The working class of Germany, France and England does not, for the greater part, perceive the danger threatening it. It still regards the London Pact as a diminution of the danger arising from the adventurous policy of Poincaré, it sees the loans which are to help Germany to emerge from the slough, but for the present it does not yet see that which is to follow, that is, that within a short time the result of the worsening of the position of the working class, in the first place of Germany, will be seen in huge strikes and that the English, French, Italian and American working class will feel the consequences of the worsening of the position of the German workers.

The II. International which bears the full responsibility for the London Pact, the II. International, the champion of the domination of the London and New York Stock Exchanges, will bear the full responsibility for the policy of these Exchanges. The II. International at this moment derives a certain amount of capital from the weariness of the working masses, from their illusion that perchance the masters of Wall Street and the City of London may grant them a crust of bread, but one can foretell with mathematical certainty that the time is not distant when the process of the disintegration of the II. International, which is retarded for the time being, will proceed at an accelerated rate, thanks to the treacherous policy which is now being carried on by it.

Europe is on the eve of a fresh wave of labour unrest. This fresh wave which will be created by the London Pact, will originate in the defense of the most primitive interests of the working class — the eight hour day, wages, which if they do not permit of a decent human existence, at least prevent the workers from perishing like dogs. And in this fight there will come to life the new wave of proletarian revolution which will drown the treacherous II. International.

German Political Parties and the London Pact.

By Arthur Rosenberg.

Things have turned out as nobody who had seriously examined the class groupings in Germany could have doubted. The German Reichstag has adopted the experts' Report, and all it involves, by an overwhelming majority. It was obvious, right from the first, that the flunkies of the German bourgeoisie, the Social Democrats, would unreservedly accept the Dawes Plan. In its propaganda for Dawes and Morgan the Social Democratic Party has gone to such lengths as constitute a crying disgrace for a workers party. That the "Vorwärts" could in all seriousness publish a cartoon representing the Dollar as the rising sun, to which the masses are bowing down in worship, is really a bit thick. The C. P. of Germany will distribute this "Vorwärts" cartoon, with suitable comments, in a mass edition among the German proletariat. In 1910 Hilferding, in his "Finance Capital", adopted the standpoint that the actual slogan of the day for the proletariat must not be free trade, but socialism. 14 years have passed since then. In the meantime such trifles have occurred as the world war, the seizure of power by the proletariat of Russia and the chronic crisis of capitalist economy since 1918, but the same Hilferding in August 1924 stood in the German Reichstag as the chief speaker of the S. P. G. for the acceptance of the Dawes Report. The Hilferding of 1924 no longer regards socialism, but only the dollar as means of salvation.

Just as the attitude of the S. P. G. was to be seen beforehand, so also was that of the German Nationalists, in spite of their stage-thunder in the press and in meetings. One must not be led astray by the varying party signboards of the bourgeois parties of the Reichstag. Why does Dr. Reichert, who, after the revolution, in the name of German industry, established a class truce along with Legien, sit along with the German Nationalists? Why does Herr Becker, the notorious minister in the Cuno government, sit with the German People's Party? Why is Herr von Siemens a Democrat? And why are Kloeckner and Lammers in the Centre group? One could shuffle the cards otherwise. The above mentioned gentlemen all belong to one and the same real party, namely, the National Federation of German Industry. This all-powerful union, which for years has been the real German government, considers it better tactics to sail under false colours. Not one of these gentlemen would be elected if he appeared openly, as a candidate of the National Federation of German Industry. But when they appear as German National, Centre Party etc. they are able to gain votes by the million from the misguided masses. As a matter of fact, the National Federation of Industry conducts a thoroughly united policy and has all the bourgeois parties on a string. This is the reason why the big bourgeois parties in Germany had to accept the Dawes Plan, that is, because the National Federation of Industry had so commanded it.

The difficulties which the German government encountered owing to the attitude of the German Nationalists, have special grounds. The powerful mass party of the German Nationalists (at the last elections the German National People's Party received 6,400,000 votes, it is numerically stronger than the S. P. G. and by far stronger than the C. P. G.) has, in addition to the prominent great industrial groups, several other elements. There are the great agrarians, the fascist petty-bourgeois and workers, there are the members of the old high Prussian bureaucracy. The fascist middle classes were and are against the capitulation of Germany to International capital. The great agrarians of Ostelbia are somewhat disgruntled over the temporary scarcity of credit and over the financial policy of the Reichsbank. They sought to express their discontent by creating difficulties for bank capital in the carrying out of the Dawes plan. Finally, the old bureaucracy want to gain back their old positions, which in Prussia since the revolution have been occupied by the S. P. G. For German big industry it is matter of indifference whether the Upper-President of Silesia or the Police President of Berlin is a Social Democrat or a German Nationalist, for the Social Democratic bureaucrat is at least just as submissive to capital as the German Nationalist. But for the old Prussian junkers and officials it is of course not a matter of indifference who has the posts. It is for this reason that these groups are pressing so urgently for the entry of the German Nationalists into the Prussian government.

The National Federation of Industry has, along with the government, very cleverly overcome the opposition of the German Nationalists to the Dawes Plan. The great agrarians are treated alternately with threats and bribes. The bribe was the bill for a tariff on corn, the threat was used by the president of the Reichsbank, Schacht, in the Foreign Committee of the Reichstag, when he bluntly announced to the agrarians, that if they rejected the Dawes Plan they would not receive a further penny of credit and would be compelled to pay the whole of the loans they had received from the Reichsbank. Both methods were effectual. The heroes of the agrarian Union, it is true, howled over extortion, but they submitted. At the same time the leaders of the German National fraction carried on negotiations for the formation of the bourgeois block with the German People's Party, the Bavarian People's Party and the big capitalists of the Centre. Agreements were arrived at which insure the entry of the German Nationalists into the National government, as well as in the Prussian government, in October. The German National Minister of the Interior will then begin a big clearing out in Prussia. The Social Democratic government councillors, district councillors, upper presidents and police presidents will all be consigned to the rubbish heap to which they belong.

The only group which remained obdurate in its opposition to the Dawes Plan was the petty bourgeois fascist group of the German Nationalists. Certain secessions from the German Nationalists to the German Fascists are possible as a result. The fact that the German fascist deputies in the Reichstag fought along with the Communists against the London Pact has been made use of by the S. P. G. in the most stupid demagogic manner. But the outcry over the united front between Ludendorff and Katz will not mislead any serious person. The Communist

fraction of the Reichstag, and the C. P. G. as a whole, has in the last few weeks not made the slightest concession to the fascists. There can be no alliance between the party of the class-conscious proletariat and the party of the Technical Aid (strike-breakers' organisation). But something else was to be seen in the fight of the C. P. G. against the Dawes Plan. The ruthless energy with which the Communists fought against Entente capital and against the bargaining away of Germany to Morgan has caused complete demoralisation in the fascists camp. The C. P. G. stands before the masses of the German people as the only genuine national party, in the sense that the national salvation of Germany is only possible by the overthrow of German and foreign capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. It is impossible nowadays for the big bourgeoisie to drive the hesitating petty bourgeois masses forwards against the revolutionary workers under the national slogan. In this sense the fight of the C. P. G. against the Dawes Plan has already achieved a great and real success.

The future political struggles in Germany will be conducted already this autumn on the clear front of the bourgeois block against the C. P. G., i. e. big capital against Labour. The confused petty-bourgeois leadership of the S. P. G. and of the fascists will be compelled to adopt an attitude in this struggle. There is not the least doubt what this attitude will be. The S. P. G. speaker Hilferding, in the decisive sitting of the Reichstag pathetically implored the German Nationalists to vote for the Dawes Plan, that is, he consciously assisted in the formation of the bourgeois block. The fascists already support the bourgeois block governments in Thuringia and Mecklenburg and fight on the side of the bourgeois blocks in the Reichstag for the protective tariffs. But at the same time the C. P. G. will in these fights rally round it ever larger portions of the working masses of Germany. The C. P. G. can approach the struggles of the coming autumn and winter firmly, united and with full confidence.

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the First Half Year of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

II.

The Agrarian Crisis.

In the first months of the period under review the agrarian crisis in the Central European countries made itself very apparent. Wheat prices in Germany remained considerably behind world market prices, because the peasants, in consequence of the heavy taxes, were compelled to place their products on the market and on the other hand the inner market could not absorb the quantity of goods placed upon it. In Poland also, after the stabilising of the valuta, it was seen, that there existed a big "pair of shears": according to the "Economist" of 5th July, with corn one could only purchase 50 to 70% of industrial products as compared with pre-war time.

Apart from minor fluctuations, relations of prices on the world market until July remained practically unaltered. Prices for wheat, reckoned in gold francs, furnished the following picture:

	1924				
	Average 1913	February	April	2 May	6 June
Canada:					
Winnipeg (Manitoba 1) . . .	16,76	18,30	18,08	19,30	20,09
U. S. A.:					
Chicago (Winter 2)	17,19	21,52	20,37	20,90	20,59
Minneapolis (Northern 1) . . .	16,90	22,66	21,52	21,90	21,71
New York (Winter 2)	18,52	24,47	22,80	23,14	22,37
India:					
Karachi (white)	17,26	19,65	19,16	19,72	20,17
Argentina:					
Buenos Aires (Bariotta)	19,03	18,51	18,60	19,82	19,71
London (Manitoba 1)	20,90	24,75	23,05	23,51	23,14
Germany (Brandenburg)	24,56	18,33	21,24	21,24	18,46
England (home grown)	19,86	23,27	22,68	24,07	25,30
Italy (home grown)	28,10	22,76	25,07	26,44	25,19
Holland	20,60	23,61	24,83	25,77	—

We see from these figures that, 1. the world-market price for wheat shows a far smaller increase than the general level of prices; 2. that in those European countries which before the war had a duty on corn, prices are lower than before the war. These conditions of prices are sufficient explanation for the existence of a general agrarian crisis.

It must be specially emphasised that the lower prices of corn are not the result of over-production. According to the data of the Research Institute for Agriculture, Prof Sehring published in "Wirtschaftsdienst" of 4th of July 1924 the following: Reckoning on the five years average from 1909 to 1913, the cultivation of crops in the year 1923 show a falling off as follows:

Wheat	17%
Oats	13%
Rye	8%
Barley	24%

Also the total yield of cereals — especially if we include Russia — remains very much behind the pre-war level. On the other hand, the population has increased by about 10%. It is also obvious that it is not a question of absolute over-production, but of reduced consumption. This is all the more so as according to the authorities mentioned above, East Asia, China and Japan have, in the current year, been in a surprising manner good purchasers of North American corn. In the first four months of 1924 shipments from North America to non-European countries — that is to East Asia — amounted to 36.12 million cwts., as against about 16 million cwts. in the previous year.

In the month of June, and particularly in July, a sharp increase in the price of corn set in on the world-market. Quotations in Chicago, which in the months of April to May stood at 110 cents, at the end of July showed an increase of 135 cents. A similar increase showed itself throughout the world-market.

The cause of this great increase of prices is not, however, an improvement in the receptive capacity of the world market, but the reduction of the area under cultivation, and before all the prospects of the next harvest. As regards the area cultivated, in the most important states, before all in the United States, there appears a considerable decrease. As regards the yield from the next harvest we have not of course any definite figures; but the estimates for the harvest in the whole of South Europe — Spain, Italy, France, as well as Hungary and Roumania — are much lower than in the previous year. In Germany an unusually high percentage of the autumn sowing, it is alleged 12%, has had to be ploughed in. That the yield of the harvest in Russia is not good is generally known. In the present year Russia will export far less than in the previous year, in spite of the greatly increased area under cultivation. What is most striking, however, is the bad yield of the harvest in the United States and Canada. The last estimates for the harvest, compared with the final result of the past year, show a decrease of 6% in wheat, 14% in barley, 4% in oats and 17% in maize. The estimate for maize is the lowest in the history of the United States, and the maize crop is so backward that there is no possible chance of it ripening unless the autumn frosts set in exceptionally late this year. As is known, the production of maize in the United States is twice as large as all other cereals together, so that a failure of the maize crop constitutes a real catastrophe for American agriculture. In addition to this it must be borne in mind that in the United States maize is only put on the market to a very limited extent; the far greater part is consumed on the farms themselves in feeding the live stock. This means that for the farmer the high price of maize is no compensation for the poor crop. Only in the event of the prices for cattle etc. showing a corresponding increase would this constitute a certain recompense. The prospect for this, however, is very poor as even the price for swine was very low last year. In the May report of the National City Bank of New York we find the following interesting figures regarding the prices for swine in the United States:

Year	Total number of swine slaughtered in millions	Export of swine products in million pounds	Average price of all sorts of swine in Chicago in Dollars
1910	26	688	8,90
1913	34,2	1028	8,35
1918	41,2	2263	17,45
1921	39	1640	8,65
1922	43,1	1497	9,20
1923	53,3	1998	7,55

These figures show, 1. the great increase of the home-consumption in the boom year of 1923; 2. the efforts of the farmers

to bring swine to the market instead of fodder, which has resulted in reducing the prices below those of the pre-war time. If we take into consideration that in consequence of the great unemployment and the bad economic situation in the United States there has been a great decline in the consumption of meat, it is obvious that the farmers will not be able to recompense themselves for the bad yield of the maize crop by high prices for cattle produce.

In Canada also the land under cultivation has fallen off by 4%; as regards the prospects for the harvest it is impossible to say much at present as the crops are very backward.

Taken altogether we can therefore say: Considered on a world scale the shears will be greatly reduced, perhaps even absolutely liquidated, in the year 1924/25, especially if taxes on agricultural products are again introduced in the European countries. The liquidation of the shears, however, does not mean the liquidation of the agrarian crisis. For the abolition of the shears is not the result of the restoration of world economy, it is not the result of an increase in the world consumption of food corresponding to an increase of population, but the result of reduced cultivation, and in particular of the bad harvest. It is very questionable whether the peasants and farmers will fare better with the threatening bad harvest and higher prices than with a good harvest and lower prices.

The agrarian crisis remains even if it exists in a changed form.

The American Crisis.

The American crisis, anticipated by us in our reports for about the autumn of 1923, has made its appearance after a delay of about six months. As we already mentioned, there are various signs indicating that the outbreak of the crisis was artificially retarded in order to create more favourable chances for the republican party presidential at the elections. If this attempt really was made, it was a complete failure. The postponement of the crisis only caused it to set in afterwards with unheard of violence, so that American production dropped with a suddenness scarcely experienced in the whole history of American crises.

Our readers are already aware that the Federal Reserve Board issues a collective index for industrial production, and another index for the occupation of workers in industry. Both of these take the degree of employment obtaining in 1919 as a basis, and the standard number 100 refers to this year. These indexes show the following figures during the first five months:

	Production in the key industries	Degree of employment	Wholesale prices
Average 1923	120	101	164
March (maximum)	125	103	170
December	111	99	163
January 1924	120	98	163
February	120	99	163
March	116	99	160
April	114	97	158
May	94	93	156

These figures only give a general survey. In some branches of industry especially significant for the economic situation, as for instance the iron and steel industry, the textile industry, etc., the falling off of production has been incomparably greater, sinking in many cases to 50% of the production of the month of February.

With regard to the causes of the crisis, we hold it to be of little importance to seek for any special causes. In our opinion the present American crisis is a perfectly "normal crisis", which is the usual accompaniment of capitalism. An exceedingly characteristic incident, for instance, is the speech delivered by the president of the Steel Trust, Gary, at the general meeting of the undertaking held in the Spring of 1924; the president explained that orders were declining, but nobody knew the reason for it.

What really requires explanation is rather the long duration and intensity of the preceding boom. It appears as if the cessation of building activity during the war, and the neglected condition of the railways, which furnished wide fields for activity during the recent boom, have been the extraordinary cause of the long duration and intensity of America's recent run of prosperity. The belief that the American boom was based on a sound foundation was so widespread that even our Party, in the resolution passed at the beginning of the year, did not expect the present crisis until 1925.

It is worthy of special remark that the customary tightness in the money market which precedes any crisis has been entirely absent in this case. Normally, the outbreak of a crisis is preceded by a slackening of demand, a gradual accumulation of unsaleable goods in the sphere of circulation, bringing about an increased demand for money capital to enable production to be continued. Hence the rate of interest for loan capital generally rises. And at the moment of the actual outbreak of the crisis, when confidence is shaken, exorbitantly high rates of interest are the rule. It is not until the acutest point of the crisis has passed that a period of relaxation customarily follows, in which the rates of interest are low. The most interesting characteristic of the present crisis in the United States is that the period of tension in the money market, of high rates of interest, has been skipped. The period of difficulty in finding markets, and of tremendous decline in production, has been passed through in the midst of ample available money and extremely low rates of interest. Even at the present moment the rate of interest in the United States is fully one per cent lower than in England, and there is no lack of ready money.

The cause of this phenomenon is obviously the above-mentioned colossal accumulation of gold and money capital in the United States; an important part is, however, also played by the extreme concentration of production, the extraordinarily advanced monopolist agglomeration of capitalist enterprises. It is impossible to learn from the data at our disposal whether there has been any accumulation of goods in the sphere of circulation or not. The American news, official and private alike, maintain categorically that this is not the case. The thorough organisation binding the capitalists together, the subjection of a preponderating portion of production and circulation to the command of a limited number of concerns, appears in any case to have had the result of completely preventing the shaking of confidence, the panic, by which crises are generally accompanied. If this view is correct, we must arrive at the conclusion that the organisation of the capitalists is not capable of preventing the crisis, but is strong enough to avoid damaging consequences for the capitalists.

We may also observe this tendency in the fact that the market-crisis has not been overcome by great reductions in price, but mainly by limitation of production. The American price index is given above. This shows that prices have sunk but little, despite the tremendous falling off of production. To give a concrete example: During the second quarter of the present year the production of iron and steel was reduced by almost 50%. But the basic price for iron only sank by 15%, from 22,50 to 19,25. Various statements from capitalist sources clearly declare that the crisis is to be overcome by an adjustment of production to the demands of the market, in other words, by a limitation of production. This means that the burdens of the crisis are to be cast mainly upon the proletariat, in the form of continuous unemployment.

It is an important question how long the American crisis will last. The capitalists in general are very optimistic. Reports are already heard that the markets are improving again in retail trade. The increased prices for agricultural products are especially accentuated as favourable indication of the rapid overcoming of the crisis. We consider this last conclusion to be entirely incorrect, for — as explained above — the increased prices for agricultural products in the markets of the world are not the result of an improvement in international economics, but the result of the bad crops. It is very questionable whether the buying powers of the American farmer, the decisive factor for the future course of economic conditions in America, will, despite the higher prices, be greater than before, so long as the crops are bad. We do not by any means believe that the American crisis will be of such brief duration as the capitalist press of America is inclined to assume.

American Capital and Europe.

Of the two conflicting tendencies in American economic policy, the pro-European and the anti-European, the pro-European tendency has decidedly obtained the upper hand during the past six months. The first step in this direction was even taken last year. This was the much discussed telegram sent to Lord Curzon by the British ambassador in America, on 16. October 1923, in which the government of the United States expressed its readiness to participate in the re-organisation of European conditions, and in the settlement of the reparations question in particular. We quote the most important sentences of this document ("Frankfurter Zeitung", October 26. 1923.):

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"The opinion is held that the present conditions render it urgently necessary to draw up a common financial plan, if an economic catastrophe in Europe is to be prevented, the effects of which would be felt all over the world . . . The government of the United States is therefore fully prepared to take part in an economic conference participated in by all the European allies chiefly interested in German reparations, for the purpose of considering the question of Germany's capacity for making reparation payments, and of drawing up a suitable financial plan securing such payments."

The American government imposed three conditions for participation: It emphasised that it had no desire to see Germany released from her responsibility for the war, and from her just obligations, but that consideration must be accorded to the following points: 1. Germany's capacity to pay, and the fundamental condition of the restoration of Germany, without which any payment of reparations on the part of Germany is impossible; 2. The conference to be of a consultative character only; 3. The question of inter-allied debts should not be dealt with:

"Germany's capacity to pay is not in any way touched by any debt of any ally to us. This debt does not lessen Germany's capacity to pay, and its payment would not increase Germany's solvency."

This was followed by the participation of the American experts in the experts' commission sent by the reparation commission, in which the Americans actually appear to have taken over the intellectual leadership. This was again followed by the action taken in support of the French franc, and the participation of the Americans in the London reparations conference. Thus although the decision of Congress, that the United States shall have nothing to do with the reparation questions is still formally in force, the fact still remains that at the present time American politics are completely involved in European affairs. It is only natural that the enormous economic ascendancy enjoyed by the United States also secures them a political ascendancy in European questions.

The cause of this change in American policy is mainly to be found in the necessity of finding an outlet outside of the country for the superfluous capital, above all of gold, which has accumulated in the United States. Contrary to the prophecies of Hoover and other American experts, the influx of gold into the United States is not only not ceasing, but is assuming ever greater dimensions.

"Since the beginning of 1924 the import of gold has proceeded on a larger scale than in any year before; at the same time there is a decreased demand for means of circulation, so that the funds have become still richer." (Fed. Res. Bulletin, June 1924.)

In the course of the ten months ending April 1924 the net import of gold to the United States amounted to 342 million dollars as compared with 171 millions in the months ending April 1923. Thus the gold import has been doubled in the course of one year.

This mighty accumulation of gold in the United States, leading to the present ample supply of ready money despite the crisis, as mentioned above, and finding no profitable employment in American economic life itself, is forcing the bourgeoisie of the United States to seek opportunities of investment for their capital abroad. As a matter of fact during the first quarter of 1924 more capital was invested abroad by America than by England. But all this has proved insufficient; a way must be found to invest the superfluous capital in Europe, for the absorbing power of the extra-European countries is but limited, despite their rapid economic development.

The situation is very clearly represented in a resolution passed by the Council of the Federal Reserve Banks on 12. May 1924. In this the Federal Reserve Board is called upon to revise its statutes, and to create the possibility of modifying these in such a manner that the Fed. Res. banks be given the possibility of participating to an increased extent in the financial and economic reconstruction of Europe.

The resolution then proceeds:

"Until America finds ways and means of enabling the mighty power possessed by its banks to be participated in by other countries, especially those countries anxious to put their economics in order, the dollar cannot maintain its position as the standard currency of the world. With the exclusion of the dollar from the world market, foreign countries, and even American banks and American commerce, will again become more dependent on the pound sterling, and

obliged to pay tribute to it. There is no use in lauding the employment of the dollar if we do not at the same time render it possible for others to share the advantage. It is obvious that our credit powers cannot go on increasing without limit without the danger of over-saturation. If the stream of gold flooding our coasts is not dammed back in time, there is justifiable fear that we shall not be able to avoid inflationist consequences, and an inflation would redouble the economic derangements already existing beyond our frontiers — derangements which not only damage our trade with other countries, but at the same time render our agricultural position especially difficult and unfavourable."

This document appears to us to present the difficulties of American economics in a very clear light. It further points out that it is necessary for America to give the fullest support to the Dawes plan. But at the same time the financial rivalry with England is clearly evidenced in the demand that the German central bank which is to be created, that is, the new German currency, is no longer to be connected with the English pound, but with the dollar. (The German gold note bank, intended to function temporarily until the new central note bank provided by the Dawes plan is established, is on the pound sterling basis.)

The American bankers, that is, the mightiest section of the American bourgeoisie, are anxious to seize the leadership of the money markets of the world, in order to find possibilities for the superfluous capital present in the country. English competition, as expressed by the problem of "dollar or pound sterling", is, however, not the sole difficulty encountered; there is also the question of security for American capital invested abroad, especially in Europe. The question of secure investment plays an extraordinarily important role at the present juncture. In spite of the great lack of capital in Europe, the reports issued by the Department of Commerce in the course of the year 1923 show extensive sums of European capital to be invested in American securities, the purchases being as follows:

foreign bonds bought from Americans . . .	410	millions	\$
American bonds bought from foreigners . . .	394	"	\$
American notes bought from foreigners . . .	50	"	\$

We thus see that more capital has been brought to American by foreigners than the United States have exported, apart from private credits. To this the official report observes: "If we have not been able to retain our position as the first money-lending country of the world, as in the last year, this is not due to lack of capital on our part, but to the unsettled conditions abroad, which make the investment of capital abroad less attractive to the Americans."

The problem facing the American bourgeoisie is thus quite clear to us: As there is no possibility of utilising the superfluity of capital in the country itself; and as the extra-European countries are not capable of taking up this superfluity, the American bourgeoisie is confronted with the task of creating "settled conditions" in Europe. This is the key enabling us to understand the role being played by the Americans with reference to the Dawes report, and their line of action in London.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

First Conference of Transport Workers of the Pacific.

By G. Voitinsky.

At Canton, in the territory of the revolutionary government of Southern China, the first Conference of the Transport Workers of the Pacific Ocean was held in the latter part of June this year.

It was not by mere chance that the Profintern succeeded in convening a conference of representatives of the railway workers and seamen of Northern and Southern China, of the Philippine Islands and the Isle of Java, precisely in Southern China, in the province of Kwantung, where Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, the leader of the People's revolutionary Party — Koumintang — is at the helm. Here the representatives of the oppressed peoples may freely meet to discuss the methods of struggle against world imperialism and to establish connecting links among the national revolutionary organisations.

The Conference showed a very good fighting spirit. In addition to practical solutions on questions of organisation and trade-unionist propaganda on a national and international scale,

the conference was in the main devoted to the formation of a united antimilitarist front.

The delegates of the Chinese railway workers, who had travelled thousands of miles, illegally, to attend the Conference, with vivid memories of the bloody events of the Peking-Hankow strike and the shooting of workers in May this year, and also the Javanese comrades, constituted the left wing of the Conference. They gave a cold and dubious reception to the declaration of the responsible representative of the Koumintang Party, who called upon the workers to form a united front with the peasants and intellectuals, but not under the hegemony of the proletariat.

The Javanese Comrades, who had also experienced a big and serious railway strike in May last year and who had detached a considerable left wing from the pan-moslem organisation "Sarikat Islam", joined in the appeal for the united anti-militarist front, but under the leadership of the real revolutionary organisations in which there is sufficient communist influence.

The Hong-Kong seamen, remembering the experiences of their big strike in the early part of 1922, took up a half-way position: they favoured the formation of a united front of all the revolutionary elements of the oppressed peoples of the Far East, and at the same time emphasised the need for the revolutionary leadership by the left wing of the national revolutionary movement.

The delegates from the Philippines, who represented the Transport Workers' Union and the "Labour Legion", expressed themselves also in favour of the united front, which they understood chiefly in the sense of the "moral" struggle against the imperialists, extending the united front to all the elements of the oppressed nationalities and ignoring the social and class differentiations within these nationalities.

The significance of the Pacific Conference will be even more appreciated, if one bears in mind the background of acute discontent of the toiling masses of the colonies on the Pacific, which, among other things, found its expression in the attempted assassinations of the viceroys of American and French capital: of Governor-General Wood on his visit to Semerang (Java) and of Morlane of Indo-China on his visit to Canton.

The Conference issued a manifesto addressed to all the toilers of the Far East, which we print below, and laid the foundation of an international seamen's club in all the important ports of the Pacific. The Conference constitutes a beginning, which is fraught with tremendous consequences, to the task of linking up the revolutionary movement of the Far East with the communist proletariat of the West.

Manifesto

of the first Transport Workers Conference of the Orient addressed to the Toiling masses of the East, to the proletariat of Europe and America.

For the first time in the history of the young but growing labour movement of the East an event has occurred which is pregnant with important consequences. In the territory of revolutionary South China, in Canton, representatives of transport workers from South and North China, from Java and the Philippine Islands gathered in conference called by the Red International of Labour Unions.

We, the representatives attending this conference declare the following:

Since the world imperialist war six years have elapsed. All the promises made by the big capitalist governments to the oppressed nations of the East, whose man power, raw materials and other necessities were taken in order to help win the war, were not only not fulfilled and the promised independence not given, but instead, in almost all the colonies and semicolonial countries, the imperialists strengthened their administrative oppressive apparatus, increased their military punitive forces on land and water and assumed a more high-handed colonial policy.

In this respect there is no fundamental difference between the policies of all the imperialist States. The oppression of Korea by the semi-feudalistic and militaristic government of Japan; the oppression of British India by the so-called Labour Government of England, which is in fact a bloc of labour aristocracy and liberal bourgeoisie transacting the affairs of British financial capital; the oppression of the Philippine Islands by "democratic" America; the oppression of the islands of East India by Holland and the united oppression of China by all the imperialists, all have the same exploitative aim, all bring great sufferings to the oppressed peoples, depriving them of the possibility to live and develop freely.

* In those few colonies where the imperialists have implanted "democratic" institutions of government patterned after their own forms of State power, these institutions are mainly a plaything in the hands of governor-generals appointed by these imperialists. There, these governor-generals can, by a scratch of the pen, annihilate all the decisions passed by the very "democratic" institutions introduced by the imperialists as though for the benefit of these colonial peoples.

The imperialists of England, America, Japan and France, who have so treacherously betrayed the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies during the war and who have shown such cynical contempt for the promises made at the close of the war, are again, because of the growing unrest, attempting to persuade the colonial peoples that they will be given independence as soon as the subject nations can show that they are ripe for self-government.

But what the imperialists mean by the term "ripe for self-government" is never explained. However, every attempt on the part of the subject nations to accomplish actual independence and begin governing themselves, is called restlessness and inability by the imperialists and force is applied to break the will of the people in their struggle for independence.

This was the case in 1919 in India when General Dwyer snatched down the people of Punjab with machine guns. This was the case in March 1919 when the Japanese militarists massacred the Koreans while they were peacefully demonstrating for independence. This was the case in Egypt, Mesopotamia and other colonies after the war. At present in India, the labour government of MacDonald has sentenced to hard labour the most faithful leaders of the independence movement.

The imperialists are particularly watchful regarding the development of the labour movement in the colonies and semi-colonies and there is no limit to their cruel persecution and suppression of the organised workers, especially those engaged in transport.

The history of recent years is replete with examples. It is sufficient to recall the strike on the Peking-Hankow railroad in February 1922, when workers by the score were killed by soldiers; labour leaders were decapitated in public at railway stations and hundreds of workers were sentenced to many years imprisonment. Or to recall the strike of the Hongkong seamen, in the same year, when the British Government murdered many of them and instituted mass arrests. It is sufficient to recall the strike of the railwaymen of Java in May 1923, when the Dutch Government set in motion its entire military and police apparatus in order to wreck this best, most revolutionary and compact organisation of the Javanese proletariat, declaring Martial Law and ordering mass arrests and deportations of active workers.

It is enough to recall the occurrence in North China, this May, when five railwaymen of the Peking-Hankow line were shot by general Lu-Pei-Fu because they were active in both the organised workers and nationalist movements.

The imperialists of all lands know very well the significance of organisations of the workers in liberating the oppressed nations and classes and attack with gruesome vengeance even the beginnings of a labour movement.

Therefore the more important it becomes for the toiling masses to maintain and develop their organisations, which are the main lever in the struggle for their liberation.

Toiling masses of the East! Revolutionary proletarians of Europe and America! We, the representatives of transport workers of the Orient declare that the best proof that the people of the East can and will govern themselves lies in the very fact that they are conducting a revolutionary struggle for independence. The imperialists will not grant independence to any subject people voluntarily.

We further declare that the toiling masses in the colonies and semi-colonies will achieve their national, economic and political independence as a result of organised struggles against world imperialism, against native feudalists, militarists and capitalists who compromise with the imperialists.

Such organised struggles of the colonial peoples against imperialism in this historical period when the world proletariat, organised in revolutionary parties and led by a revolutionary centre against the strongholds of capitalism, necessitates the formation of militant peoples parties in the colonies, consisting of workers, peasants, intellectuals and non-propertied classes in the cities. Such parties will not only unite the struggling forces for independence inside of the colonies, but will bring the colonies into closer contact with each other and will also bring the

national revolutionary movements of the East in contact with the world revolutionary labour movement.

Toiling masses of the East! We call upon you to organise yourselves into labour and peasant unions! We call upon you to assist in the organisation of peoples' parties for the struggle against imperialism. We call upon all transport workers organisations in the colonies and semi-colonies of the East to amalgamate their unions, to affiliate with the revolutionary transport workers of the world. We call upon you to carry on extensive organisation campaigns, so that the present organisations may become a real power in the fight against capitalism and imperialism.

Long live the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the East against Imperialism!

Long live the United Front of the toiling masses of the East and the Revolutionary Proletariat of the World!

Down with the oppression of one nation by another!

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Belgian Reformists declare War on Communists!

Open letter to all workers of England, Germany, France, Belgium, Austria and other countries, who are organised in the Amsterdam International.

To the Presidium of the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation.

Comrades!

The Congress of the Trade Union Commission of the Belgian Labour Party, in other words, the Belgian Trade Unions, has passed a resolution forbidding Communists to occupy leading positions in the Trade Unions.

Whilst the best portion of the organised world proletariat is exerting its forces in order more and more to unite the workers' organisations, whilst even the representatives of the greatest trade unions of the Amsterdam International itself, i. e. the English Trade Unions, have spoken in favour of uniting the working class of the whole world, whilst under the attack of capital the number of the trade union members is dwindling more and more every day, the leaders of the Belgian trade unions could find nothing better to do than to proceed to expel the Communists.

Do the Belgian reformists, and with them some of the leaders of the Amsterdam International: Oudegeest, Silberschmidt, Jouhaux, who supported this resolution at the Congress, believe that the expulsion of revolutionaries from their positions in the trade unions is a guarantee against the lengthening of the working day?

Do they believe that the expulsion of Communists, the most persistent, the most devoted pioneers of the working class, who are conducting an unrelenting struggle against the danger of war and reaction, will moderate the offensive of capital and postpone the feverish preparations for an imperialist war?

Do they consider it the best form of democracy to forbid the rank and file of the workers to elect as functionaries of their unions those people in whom they have the greatest confidence and whom they regard as real champions of the workers' interests?

When the leaders of the Belgium trade unions got rid of the "danger from the left" did they then raise the alarm against the danger from the right? One would think that the first task for a workers' organisation should be to fight against the bourgeois-fascist deviations to the right, for the class enemy of the proletariat is to be found not on the left but on the right.

Has the Congress therefore also excluded those of the Belgian Labour leaders, such as Mertens, Vauters and others, who have joined the ultra-reactionary "National League for the Defence of the Franc" and who have concluded an alliance with such arch-reactionary fascists as Pierre Nothomb, the head of the Belgian fascists, with general Baron Jacques, Demets and other sworn enemies of the workers?

Quite the contrary! The proposer of the expulsion of the Communists at the Congress was Mertens himself.

The Belgian opportunists consider their class enemies to be the left wing section of the working class, the most class conscious and most revolutionary elements.

The advocates of "Democracy" trampled their principles under foot as soon as it was a question of guarding against the growing revolutionary wave. The simple worker then has no right to make use of his vote even within his own trade union.

By this means the reformist leaders seek to retain the trade union apparatus in their hands in order to have the possibility of selling their influence to the Belgian capitalists.

May the workers of Belgium and of the whole world get to know of this!

The Red International of Labour Unions, which has repeatedly given proof of its endeavours to bring about the unity of the labour movement of the whole world, declares even now that the Belgian trade union bureaucrats will not succeed in provoking a split: the revolutionary workers prize unity too high for that.

We demand, however, from the leaders of the Amsterdam International a clear and definite reply to the question: is the policy of the Belgian Trade unions that of the International? And if not, why were the Belgian splitters not condemned?

At the same time we call upon the organised workers of Belgium to raise their protest against this contempt of their rights. We are convinced that the sympathies of the honest workers of all countries will be on the side of the revolutionary proletarians of Belgium.

Fellow-workers!

In this hour which is so difficult for the working class, it is necessary to knit ourselves more closely together into a united fighting army.

Down with collaboration with fascism!

Down with the attempts to split the trade unions!

All forces and all energy for the fight for unity!

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Events in Georgia.

By W. Lominadse (Tiflis).

The communication published by the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia regarding the action of the Mensheviks in Tschiatyri and some other localities in Georgia will doubtless be seized upon and exaggerated by the whole foreign bourgeois and social democratic press. The miserable attempt, "to create a revolt" throughout the whole of Georgia, which only ended in a few bandit like attacks upon the local Soviets in two or three districts and immediately suffered a crushing defeat, will be represented by the Georgian Mensheviks living abroad as a popular rising against the Soviet government. A revolt of the masses of the people in Georgia, moreover, under the lead of the Mensheviks! — anything more stupid, absurd and phantastic is impossible to imagine. Never was the Soviet power in Georgia so strong, and never was it more popular among the broad masses, not only of the workers and peasants, but also of the petty bourgeoisie, as at the present time when the mensheviks embarked upon their crazy adventure. At no time during the last 25 years was the menshevik party of Georgia so weak, so helpless, so estranged from the masses and so demoralised as at the present time when they ventured to commence their bloody game.

The idea of any revolt in Georgia is quite out of the question. The Mensheviks knew this just as well as we. They were perfectly aware that any attempt to stir up an armed struggle against the Soviet power in Georgia was doomed to failure, to inevitable collapse. The question arises: Why then did the Mensheviks, who knew that an armed rising in Georgia was hopeless, nevertheless enter upon the adventure?

The cruel irony of fate compelled this party to choose an effective means for its own destruction: the Putsch, which will without doubt be the last act of the Mensheviks in Georgia. The reasons which induced the Mensheviks to adopt the suicidal method of the Putsch are of a twofold nature.

The first reason is of an international character. The Mensheviks staked all their hopes of their return to Georgia upon the European capitalist governments. They hoped that England would not recognise the Soviet Union, that France would not recognise Soviet Georgia and would only support the Menshevik government, which long ago transferred its head quarters to Paris. They

hoped the same of Italy etc. It was upon this childish calculation that the Mensheviks based their plans for restoring the bourgeois-democratic order in Georgia. Italy had, however, granted de jure recognition to the Soviet Union and consequently also to Soviet Georgia; England had also concluded a Treaty with the government of the Soviet Union, there remained to the Mensheviks but one faint glimmer of hope. In the note which MacDonald sent to the Soviet government in January it was stated that England would recognise the Soviet union insofar as the people belonging to this Union themselves recognise it. The whole task of the Mensheviks consisted therefore in furnishing proof that the Georgian people were fighting against the Soviet power.

How was this proof to be obtained? An armed rising in Georgia had to be undertaken. Throughout the whole of the present year the Mensheviks were feverishly preparing to carry out their plan. The Mensheviks originally intended that the outbreak of the "revolt" was to synchronise with the London Conference between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. For this end some of the most prominent leaders of the Mensheviks returned illegally to Georgia, namely: B. Tschchikovili, Nidija, Waliko, Dshugeli (the former leader of the Menshevik National Guard) and others. The Leader of the Georgian Mensheviks, Jhordanija himself wrote several times regarding the necessity of taking up an armed struggle, as only in this case would help from abroad (that is from the European capitalists) be forthcoming.

The Menshevik leaders after their return fell, one after another with their whole correspondence and the plans for the armed uprising, into the hands of the Extraordinary Commission. "Everything is lost now", declared Waliko Dshugeli, when some days after his arrest he read in the newspapers of the signing of the treaty between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. There still remained, however, the period until the ratification of the Treaty by the English parliament. On the other hand there exists not the least doubt that the French Mensheviks, as well M. Herriot, gave the Georgian Mensheviks a payment in advance for this undertaking, reckoning upon the possibility that in the event of a successful revolt against the Bolsheviks, Soviet Georgia would not receive recognition. This came to light through the confessions of the Mensheviks as well as through their correspondence with the leaders of the Second International (for example the letter to the Second International and Renault's reply thereto etc.). In order to make an impression upon the English Mensheviks before the signing of the Treaty, in order to prevent recognition on the part of France, in order to furnish the yellow International with propaganda material etc. the Mensheviks could not choose a better time than the present.

On the other hand, the Mensheviks were probably urged on to their armed adventure by still more important reasons of an inner political character. Just previously — on the 25th of August — a year had elapsed since the last congress of the Georgian Mensheviks, at which 12,000 workers and peasants, the oldest members of the Menshevik Party, were represented. This Congress declared the Georgian Social Democratic Party to be dissolved. These 12,000 were followed in the course of a few months by a further 5000 workers and peasants who withdrew from the Menshevik Party. All proletarian and peasant elements have without exception finally broken off all connections with the Mensheviks. The petty bourgeois intellectuals also began to forsake this party. Best proof of this is furnished by the withdrawal from the Party of the chairman of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks, Dewdariani. The forces which the party had accumulated during the 25 years of its existence dwindled more rapidly every day.

The Party became corrupt and putrescent as a corpse. Now and again, out of the emigration, the best men were sent back to carry on illegal work, but every means failed to revive the corpse. Then the Menshevik Party in Georgia began to seek a new social basis and they found it in fact among the expropriated landowners, nobles and dukes, counter-revolutionary ex-officers, (who, under the Soviet regime were out of a job) speculators, jobbers, among the newly risen bourgeoisie and also among the clergy, who were without flocks.

These circles gladly came together in the Menshevik Party for the purpose of overthrowing and completely annihilating the hated Soviet power and the Bolsheviks, reckoning upon foreign aid and upon the blessing of the Second International. They were promised help by Herriot, MacDonald and Renault. These parasitic elements had in any event nothing more to lose, and the only prospect of a return of their former prosperity consisted in the armed overthrow of the Bolshevik power. It was only by

means of the slogan of armed insurrection and of foreign intervention that the Mensheviks were able to rally these people.

Once having set out on this dangerous game, the Mensheviks were compelled to follow all its consequences, as the logic of desperation dictated: They took up the sword and they perished by the sword. Although the result was "a revolt" which would make a cat laugh, it will not remain without consequences. The chief result of the futile Menshevik Putsch will be the complete bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary Menshevik Party. Their ignominious activity during the course of 25 years, which was filled with treachery and deception, has been crowned with an equally ignominious end, with a bloody, even if pitiable farcical revolt, with the help of the most reactionary dregs of Georgian society, with two or three acts of brigandage, which were carried out at the behest of the Second International and of the capitalist circles of Europe.

The bourgeois governments, in whose ranks there sit the representatives of the Second International, have often demanded from the Soviet Union that the latter shall cease all interference in the inner affairs of other states, and shall also instruct the Comintern to do likewise. There was nothing to prevent Messrs MacDonald and Snowden, the high priests of the Second International, from issuing instructions to the Second International to cease preparing futile putches in Georgia. In any event the Mensheviks are beyond all aid.

* * *

An interesting light is thrown upon the events in Georgia by the statement, contained in the report which Dshugeli made after his arrest to the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party. In this he expressed his opinion that the idea of an anti-Soviet insurrection had no support among the masses and that the Soviet power is politically and economically firmly established. He writes: "The great question of the revolt, with which I was enthusiastically in agreement, is under these circumstances doomed beforehand to become a mere adventure. I have become convinced that the moment has arrived when the logic of sentiment must give place to the logic of facts." He appeals to all his comrades to have the courage to abandon once for all the idea of an armed insurrection. He further emphasises that the circumstances under which he was captured by the Tche-ka were quite unexpected, and what he has seen of the Tche-ka has filled him with astonishment and has left him defenceless. In accordance with the usual menshevik reports he had expected to find the Tche-ka to resemble mere brute beasts, and he found them to be revolutionaries wholly devoted to the cause of the workers and peasants. Ed.

Savinkov's Confession.

By Otto.

Shortly before the 6th anniversary of the attempt upon the life of Comrade Lenin, there stood as an accused before the military court of the Highest Court of Justice of the Soviet Union, one of the originators of this attempt, one of the most desperate, active and cleverest enemies of the Russian workers' and peasants' revolution, the former revolutionary and terrorist Boris Savinkov. His speech of defence occupied two whole days and in the mouth of Savinkov became a powerful, bitter and annihilating indictment against himself, against the whole of European imperialism with all its Curzons and Poincarés, with all its MacDonalds and Masaryks.

The trial and the confession of Savinkov is not only one of the most interesting episodes in the fight of the Russian workers and peasants against the counter-revolution, but it is perhaps an equally important symptom of the consolidation of the Soviet power as is its de jure recognition on the part of European imperialism.

Who does not remember how proudly, how full of self-assurance Goz, Timofeyev and other comrades of Savinkov spoke two years ago at the great S. R. trial, how impudently and unashamed they bore themselves before the Revolutionary Court. It is true there were at that time among them people who candidly confessed that they had been mistaken, that they had committed an unpardonable crime, that they had fought against the State and the Party of their class.

Those who are familiar with the life of Boris Savinkov will hardly be of the opinion that he abandoned his six years fight against the revolution and compromised his former pro-

tectors and confederates in a most definite manner out of cowardice or from fear of the death sentence. Boris Savinkov was one of the most courageous revolutionaries during the time of the Tsar and one of the boldest counter-revolutionaries in recent years, who very often risked his life. When he broke down and declared before the Revolutionary Court of Justice that he recognises no other power in Russia but the Soviet power, it amounted to nothing else than the *de jure* recognition of the October Revolution on the part of the whole Russian counter-revolution.

For us it is of course not the subjective, psychological aspect of this trial which is the most important, although it contains much which is very interesting. What is important for us are those facts which he revealed in his confession. He allowed us a peep behind the scenes of Democracy. One after another there marched before our eyes the Russian democrats, the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks who fought in the same camp as the monarchists against the workers and peasants.

This is an excellent lesson for those workers who even today are not yet cured of their democratic-pacifist illusions.

Why did Savinkov become a counter-revolutionary?

Some days before the court proceedings, Savinkov submitted a written confession in which he sought to state the reasons why he, the former revolutionary who participated in the murder of the Tsarist Minister Plehve and of the Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich and who, as he said, had sacrificed his whole life for the people, had fought with the weapons in his hands against the Russian workers and peasants. He put forward four reasons:

"Firstly . . . I was an S. R., consequently I was compelled to defend the Constituent Assembly; secondly, I believed that the prematurely concluded peace was fatal for Russia; thirdly, I believed that if we democrats did not fight against the communists, the monarchists would capture power and fourthly, we could not in the year 1917 foresee that the Russian workers and peasants would stand in masses behind the Communist Party."

These are the reasons which Savinkov puts forward. These reasons, however, declared Savinkov, have ceased to be valid.

"The Constituent Assembly has proved to be a mere fiction. The Communists have completely annihilated the Monarchists and rendered impossible a restoration, finally, and this was the most important, the Communist Party of Russia was supported by the workers and peasants of Russia, that is, by the Russian people . . . I have the courage to declare openly; that my tenacious, prolonged fight, my life and death struggle with every means against you, has been futile. This fact shows that the Russian people stands not behind us but behind the Russian Communist Party . . . I did not know that in the year 1924 the Communist Youth League would have one million members."

"The day of Democracy is past."

Savinkov begins his actual confession in the proceedings with describing how immediately after the outbreak of the October Revolution he began his counter-revolutionary activity. When he learned that generals Kaledin and Korniloff were attempting to organise a voluntary army against the bolsheviks, he immediately joined them. The conditions in this army brought him his first disappointment.

"I had the impression that nobody thought of the fatherland, that everyone was concerned with his own petty interests . . . I said that it was perfectly impossible to fight against you unless we had the support of the peasantry and unless we defended the interests of the peasants. To this Bogayevski answered: 'No, the day of Democracy is past, we rely upon the bourgeoisie and the Cossacks.'"

And in spite of this Savinkov and the other "Democrats" fought on the side of these generals.

He was, however, not satisfied with the whole thing as it was, and seized the initiative himself. He formed the notorious "Union for the Defence of the Fatherland and Liberty." This also he intended should have a democratic form, but it turned out otherwise. The Union in its programme adopted the standpoint of dictatorship.

The president: "Whose dictatorship?"

Savinkov: "That is not stated in the programme." (Laughter). And then Savinkov related further how the Democrats, "the protectors of the people", fought in the name of democracy against the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to set up the dictator-

ship of the monarchists. Savinkov, as an experienced revolutionary, began to create an illegal officers' organisation on the lines of the old romantic pattern of the S. R.

The Plot against Lenin and Trotzky.

Regarding his connections with the attempted assassination in the year 1918, Savinkov declared as follows:

"I always held the view that if I was conducting a war, I must make use of every means. We desired before all an armed revolt, but we did not abandon terrorist acts. In 1918 we planned an attempt against Lenin and Trotzky, but very little came of it. Not because we did not desire it, but because we were not able to do it."

The Russian Patriots as the Tools of French Imperialism.

Savinkov described in detail the role of the French ambassador Noulens in the counter-revolutionary rising in Jaroslave and Rybinsk. The French financed the movement. They demanded, however, deeds in return for their money. Noulens ordered Savinkov to begin the revolt in Jaroslave or Rybinsk at the beginning of July 1918 and promised effective support in the form of landing French troops. The revolt was commenced. The support, however, was not forthcoming.

The President: "Have the Left S. R. also taken part in the negotiations with the French?"

Savinkov: "I was not in touch with the left S. R.s., but I know from French sources that they also received support from the French."

And these Left S. R.s. had the impudence recently to call upon the Communist Party of England to protest against the persecution of their "innocent", "revolutionary" comrades in Soviet Russia.

Masaryk and the Terror.

The President: "From what source did you derive your money at this time and what was the amount?"

Savinkov: "I remember at the time I was in the greatest desperation, as I did not know from whence we could obtain money, when, without any solicitation from me, we were approached by certain Czechs, who handed me over a sum of 200,000 Kerensky Rubels. This money saved our organisation at that time . . ."

The President: "Who was it who gave this money to you?"

Savinkov: "Klepando." *Klepando*

The President: "In whose name?"

Savinkov: "In the name of Masaryk."

The President: "Did you know under what conditions the Czechs paid over this money?"

Savinkov: "They declared as follows: They desired that this money should be employed for terrorist fighting purposes. They knew—I did not conceal the fact—that I recognised terror as a means of struggle, they knew that and gave us money, emphasising that it should be chiefly used for terrorist purposes."

The Mensheviks as well . . .

After a detailed description of the Jaroslave revolt, Savinkov mentions the composition of his organisation, the so-called national centre:

"Everything was based on personal relations. Among the members of the organisation there were some Mensheviks, S. R.s., left Cadets and right Cadets. There were various people here."

"The Cup of Degradation."

The Russian patriots, whom the French and English imperialists made use of in the interest of their aim of economically subjugating and exploiting Russia, could not help noticing very soon that the sublime friendship of the Allies was not for the sake of them personally but for the Russian Petroleum wells and other mineral riches.

"No matter how much I endeavoured to obtain our admission to the discussion of the Treaty of Versailles, we Russians were not allowed to cross the threshold . . . We did not know what was being decided there and what they thought. We were not invited to any conference, not even with advisory votes. It became obvious that they drove us on to fight at every opportunity, but did not want to help us. In fact they gave considerable help to Denikin, but we

had to drain the cup of humiliation . . . We had to supplicate for every pair of boots."

Savinkov succeeded in obtaining a certain measure of support from England. To the question of the president under what conditions he succeeded in getting this, Savinkov replied:

"There were no actual conditions, but the English attempted to have their policy carried out. They spoke to me very much and very persistently as to it being desirable to set up an independent South-Eastern Federation consisting of Northern and Transcaucasia. They said this Federation would only be the beginning, as Aserbeidjan and Georgia would be joined to it later on. Here one smelt Naphta . . ."

"They did not speak with me regarding military questions, they did not consider me as a military expert. Churchill once showed me the map of South Russia, in which the positions of Denikins' and your army were indicated with little flags. I still remember how shocked I was when I went to him and he, pointing to the Denikin flags, said suddenly: 'This here is my army.'"

The President: "Did you make any reply to this?"

Savinkov: "I did not reply, but stood as if rooted to the spot. I was going to leave the room, but then I thought if I made a scandal here and shut the door on myself, our soldiers in Russia would be left without boots."

The President: "It is not clear from your statement for what purpose the English and French supplied you with these boots, shells machine guns etc."

Savinkov: "Officially, they had very noble aims. We were faithful allies, you were traitors etc. In the background there was the following: as a minimum: Well, Naphta is a very desirable thing. As a maximum: let the Russians squabble among themselves, the fewer there are left living the better, Russia will be all the weaker."

Herriot and Macdonald, the "sincere friends" of Soviet Russia.

Lloyd George once asked Savinkov what he thought regarding the question of the recognition of the Soviet government. Savinkov suggested to him that before recognition, three conditions should be submitted: right of ownership of small private property and of peasant property, freedom of the individual, freedom of soviet elections. Lloyd George declared that he adopted the same attitude; in spite of this he did not support this view in Genoa and Cannes. It appeared that not only were the open imperialists inclined to Savinkov and his plans, but:

"Before my departure from Berlin I was approached by somebody who asked me why I had not spoken with Herriot, and whether I did not desire to speak with him. I assumed from this that Herriot was prepared to meet me at any moment. I declined to visit him because I had to leave town. Almost at the same time I was approached by another person who expressed himself in an exactly identical manner in regard to Macdonald. I had the definite impression that were I to come to London that Macdonald would at once receive me in order to discuss with me the Russian question."

You can see from all this that Macdonald and Herriot, although they of course knew that I was your implacable enemy desired to speak with me."

The "Chief Error".

The President again asked Savinkov what had prompted him to submit to such humiliations, as for instance, the conversation with Churchill.

Savinkov: "When Churchill said to me, that is my army' I turned icy cold. Yes, I had committed a great error, but my errors are only the consequence of my chief error, namely, that I turned against you in October. After the October upheaval I thought, the Bolsheviks are usurpers, they have not the people behind them. There, there reigns dissolution, murder, chaos—here, with the Whites, will be order, discipline and idealism, here there will be no murder. And all this has proved totally false. And with horror I became more and more convinced that they thought not of the fatherland, not of the people, but only of their own class interests. A deeper disappointment was brought to me by the realisation that a white movement was impossible without foreign aid . . . I went through everything, I saw everything in this white movement and learned to hate it." Savinkov forsook the white movement and began to organise the "green" peasant movement. He attempted to incite great peasant revolts, but here again he met with "disappointment"; his peasant-movement degenerated into a band of brigands.

Terrorist plans against Rakovsky and Chicherin.

Savinkov also attempted to establish connections with Mussolini, but received no support from him. Then he tried again to find satisfaction in terrorist preparations.

"It is true that nothing regarding this is contained in the indictment but I will tell you of this nevertheless. I attempted in Berlin to organise a terrorist act, when Chicherin and Rakovsky were staying there. I thought that something would come of this. The thing, however, led to no result. Terrorist acts can only be accomplished by those who know they have the people behind them. When one expects the gallows and knows that one is serving the people, then one can go ahead and act. Terror demands an enormous strain on the moral forces and that is impossible to-day. To-day there are none of our tendency who have not this worm gnawing at their heart. That is the reason why no terrorist acts can be accomplished."

The Old and the New World.

The President: Tell me something further regarding the year 1923."

Savinkov: I understand the great world-importance of your revolution . . . The new world against the old world . . . Under the term the old world, I do not mean only the generals, but also myself the S. R.s. and everybody who is not with you, because every one who is not with you is allied in one or another form with the old world . . . I began to think of coming to Russia to see with my own eyes and to hear with my own ears. I thought, perhaps it is all lies what I read in the foreign newspapers. This idea came to me through thinking that it can be by no mere chance that every struggle against you was frustrated. I thought it cannot be that people whom nobody can overcome have done nothing for the Russian people . . . When I came to Russia it became clear to me that the people are with you."

The Conclusion.

At the conclusion of his confession Savinkov summed up the results of his life and his struggle against the workers and peasants. He made use of all the arts of style of his poetic talents in order—apparently—not to convince the judges, but himself, that he is not a criminal, that even when he conducted a life and death struggle against the Russian workers and peasants he was convinced that he was fighting for the "people". This had involved a severe inner struggle. He is quite broken down when he speaks of his old revolutionary past:

"I remember one summer morning. Petrograd, Ismailovskii Prospect . . . Upon the pavement there lies Sasanov, stretched out, wounded, his blood spurts out, and I stand beside him. Close by there stands the shattered coach of Plehve. A policeman approaches me excitedly, the revolver is in my hand . . . I remember also the fortress of Sevastopol. Iron bars as now. The sentinel goes to and fro before my door. Death penalty as to-day. I remember all this. How happy I was at that time when I sat in the cell. How proudly my heart beat. I knew that the whole Russian people, all workers and peasants were with me and that there was not a single person in the whole of Russia who would not think of me when I died. And I stood with joy and pride before my judges. They did not hang me, I escaped. Now it is otherwise. Now I am overpowered by a deep gloomy feeling. I ask myself whether the Russian workers, whether the Russian peasants will understand my life, whether they will believe that I did not sin against them consciously but only from error. It is hard to die with this feeling."

In one point of his speech Savinkov finds the correct explanation of the paradox of his life, the life of a petty bourgeois intellectual, who believes himself to be a revolutionary and to be acting in the interests of the working people, although in his deepest consciousness he never knew the working class and always remained alien and hostile to them. He said:

"I spent my whole youth in the fighting organisation. This means I lived, as it were, in a glass case, that I saw nothing else but my conspiracy, my absolute laws. I did not know the masses, I did not know the people, I did not know the workers and peasants. I loved them, I was prepared to lay down my life for them. But their interests; their actual desires—could I have any knowledge of them . . ."

fighting organisation and emigration, this was my whole experience.

After a hard, long and bloody struggle against you, in which perhaps I have done much more than many others, I declare without any compulsion to do so: I unconditionally recognise the Soviet Power and only the Soviet Power. And I call upon every Russian who loves his fatherland, I who carried on this bloody and hard struggle against you, I who repudiated you as no other: If you are a Russian, if you love your people, then submit to the workers' and peasants' power and recognise it unconditionally."

The Russian counter-revolution has in these words pronounced its own death sentence, the death sentence which the Russian workers and peasants have already carried out. Therefore — and not perchance from sentimental reasons — they were able to exercise a mildness in judgement which no other state would have allowed in such a case. The Russian counter-revolution is dead—therefore, Savinkov is allowed to live.

Bulgarian Social Democracy and the bloody Zankoff Regime.

The facts regarding the execrable role played by the Bulgarian Social Democracy in aiding in the Zankoff Putsch of June 1923, and participating in the unexampled reign of bloody terror which followed the coming to power of this political adventurer, are fairly well-known to the enlightened workers throughout the world and have still further blackened the already disgraceful record of the Second International.

Although since then the Bulgarian Social Democrats, as a result of the pressure of working class indignation, have withdrawn from the Zankoff government, there is every indication that Bulgarian Social Democracy, far from feeling any sense of shame for its responsibility in bringing about a white terror, which surpasses in horror every other terrorist regime which has been inflicted on the workers of other European countries during the last few years of capitalist and fascist reaction, is still quite proud of the services it has rendered as butchers assistant, and continues to justify the present Zankoff government. Evidence as to this is furnished by a letter which T. Tchitchovsky, the London correspondent of the Social Democratic newspaper "The Narod", has recently sent to the "Manchester Guardian" replying to an article on "Bolshevism in the Balkans" written by the "Manchester Guardian" Correspondent in Belgrade. In his letter polemising against the article in question, this bright ornament of the Second International, Mr. Tchitchovsky says:

"The assertion that 'Communism hardly exists' in Bulgaria is absolutely untrue. The Communist party was only a year ago the second individual party in the State, its voting strength being about 20 per cent of the electorate (200,000 votes in round figures). It still exists secretly, with 'Otziv', appearing daily as an independent paper, as its organ.

In the overthrow a year ago of the peasant dictatorship of Stambolisky men of all the political parties took part, including the Socialist and the Radical parties. The 9th of June was hailed as a day of deliverance from a tyranny. The Socialist party, which was at the head of the opposition against Stambolisky's regime, entered, too, the new Government at that time.

One should be fair to the present Bulgarian Government and refute the allegation that it is supported only by the army and the "Wrangelists". The truth is that it represents the strongest party in the State, the Democratic Union, which is formed by the fusion of the People's party the Democratic party, and the Radical party. Tsankoff's Government have never admitted that 10,000 people were killed in September. It gives the figure of 2,000.

It is an old legend that there are in Bulgaria 10,000 armed Wrangelists. In regard to the army, what the Government and all other political parties, including the Socialists and the Agrarians, are asking for is the replacement—not an increase—of the present costly voluntary army by a conscript one and the saving in this way of a sum of 500 million lira, to be used for social and productive (!) purposes.

The Agrarian party is passing at present through a process of purgation; the moderate elements, under the leadership of Draghiëff and Tornoff—the latter being an ex-Minister thrown out of the Cabinet by Stambolisky three

months before the 9th of June, are steadily getting the upper hand. The party is severing its relations with the Communists and seeking for a rapprochement with the Socialists and the Radicals."

This statement clearly shows where Bulgarian Social Democracy still stands as regards the Zankoff government; it thereby openly avows its joint responsibility for the further wave of violence and brutality which this Government has let loose against the long-suffering population of Bulgaria.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Alexander Blanc

By Marcel Cachin.

It is with the deepest sorrow that we learn of the passing away of our friend Alexandre Blanc, who has been taken from our midst and our Party all too soon.

His rectitude of character, the perfect honesty of his political and personal life, his firm unswerving attitude, rendered Alexander Blanc a splendid champion of Communism. In all his public work one can find no case of weakness and toleration towards the ruling powers, not a single case of renunciation of principle.

He was elected several times to the Chamber of Deputies by the revolutionary proletariat of the province Vaucluse. He preferred rather to lose his mandate than make any compromise in order to retain it. When he was defeated in the elections he returned, just as a matter of course, as a simple teacher to the elementary school from whence he came to us many years ago. He was just about to take up this profession again when death suddenly took him from us.

In the year 1916 Blanc went to Kienthal, regardless of the consequences which such an act could have for him in the midst of the war. He was justly proud of this energetic decision. Later on he was one of the first of the old party, who stood for affiliation to the III. International. On every occasion and opportunity he proved himself to be a true, devoted and irreproachable fighter for his party.

He had been ailing for some time and was therefore compelled during the last few months to take a rest, which he was very loth to do. The state of his health even prevented him from responding to the call which the workers and peasants of Vaucluse sent to him in May. They desired that he should again lead them in the struggle against the bourgeois block. But as he was already prostrated by illness, he was unable to carry on the fight to its conclusion. Four months afterwards he died. The Communists mourn his loss.

To the Communist Party of Sweden!

Comrades!

The long concealed struggle which Höglund and his group have carried on against the spiritual and organisatory unity of the Comintern has now been carried out into the open. After their efforts to divide the whole Swedish Communist Party from the Communist International have been foiled, they are seeking now to split the Party itself. By their anti-communist and anti-Party attitude they have placed themselves outside the ranks of the international alliance of the revolutionary workers and thereby gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie and of their social democratic lackeys.

This marks the conclusion of a development which expressed itself in the year-long struggle of Höglund within the Communist International for opportunism, and against the battle-ried communist principles. From his opposition to the 21 conditions, to his attitude to Tranmael, Levi and Frossard up to his present struggle against the revolutionary discipline and centralism of the Communist International, Höglund has followed a direct course. Höglund is attempting to pose as a representative of an oppositional tendency in the Comintern. He wants to mislead you.

The Executive has through many concessions exhibited great indulgence towards Höglund. Of course it did not do this for the sake of Höglund and his group, but for the sake of the honest Swedish workers, who do not recognise the actual liquidatory aims and still regard Höglund as a revolutionary leader. It has done everything possible to preserve the unity of the Party. The last provocations of Höglund proved that he has completely broken with the Communist International. The Executive had to take measures in order to bring about a clear decision in the Swedish Communist Party.

This decision has now been made.

Comrades!

The Communist International stigmatises Höglund and his followers as renegades and enemies of Communism. They have no right to bear the name of communists and to call their group a communist group. There is only one Communist Party of Sweden: that which has, under the leadership of comrades Kilbom, Samuelson, Thunell, Wynberg, Thure, Andersen and Hugo Silen, placed itself unconditionally behind the Communist International and its decisions.

Under the opportunist leadership of Höglund, the Swedish Communist Party failed to develop into a real revolutionary mass party. It was completely paralysed by cowardly and treacherous opportunism. The broad masses of the Swedish proletariat saw in the daily practice of the class struggle scarcely any difference between the social democratic and the Communist Party. The influence of the Communist Party of Sweden declined instead of increasing, as in other sections of the Communist International. These are the fruits of Höglund's policy.

Now, when his opportunism has been completely exposed and he has lost the hope of bringing over the whole Party to Tranmael, he is attempting by means of a split to retain his influence upon at least a portion of the Swedish proletariat. His efforts will, however, be in vain. The Swedish revolutionary workers who clearly see where Höglund wished to lead them, will refuse to follow him along the road of reformism. Now they have been freed from Höglund and his group their way is open to an unretarded development into a strong Communist Party, which by numerous fights against the bourgeoisie and the reformists will draw the masses to it and march forwards to victory.

The Communist International calls upon you, Swedish Party comrades and fellow workers, to stand united and firm behind it and its Swedish section. Fight for the unity of the Party and against the criminal reformist splitting policy of Höglund. You and your revolutionary Party Executive, as well as the vanguard of communism in Sweden, the Communist Youth League, can be sure of full brotherly support and solidarity from the International and all its sections.

Down with the opportunism and cowardice of Branting and Höglund and their like!

Long live the united Communist Party of Sweden!

Moscow, 29th of August 1924.

The Executive of the Communist International.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The IV. World Congress of the Communist Youth International.

By R. Schüller (Moscow).

What are the results of our IV. World Congress? The answer to this question can be stated in one sentence: The IV. World Congress of the CYI. has given the CYI. the definite task of bolshevising the organisation.

In the first place we must remember that the V. Congress of the C. I. put forward the task of bolshevising all sections of the Communist International. Numerous tendencies showed themselves in the Comintern in recent times which tended to dilute and revise the bolshevist principles, in short to "debolshevise" the parties. These were the fatal opportunist tendencies which appeared between the IV. and V. World Congresses in the Russian, German, French, Swedish, Polish, Czechish, American, English and Bulgarian Parties. Against this the V. World Congress carried out a purging of the tactics of the opportunist deviations, and showed that the failures and defeats which we had to record hitherto could, for the greater

part, be traced to the fact that we have not yet real bolshevist parties and activities.

The CYI. like every other section, was faced with the task of bolshevising itself. Expressed in concrete terms this means for the CYI. the following:

1. The whole communist youth must be systematically educated in the spirit and teaching of Lenin and bolshevism, in order that there shall grow up a generation of real bolshevist-Leninists. A constant struggle must be conducted against the opportunist and ultra-left deviations, and the correct bolshevist line must be followed. The CYI. and all communist youth organisations must actively and definitely co-operate in the bolshevising of the parties.

2. The chief conclusion for the CYI., as well as for the Comintern, is the necessity of developing the Communist youth organisations into Communist mass organisations of the whole working youth.

Further, our IV. Congress has adopted unanimously the decisions of the V. World Congress of the C. I. At our Congress there was no discussion with a right wing as was the case at the V. Congress. This was not because of any political indifference — at this Congress the political interest was keener than at all previous congresses — but for the simple reason, because the right wing had gained no footing in the CYI. The only real discussion was that with the majority of the Italian youth delegation, which, although agreeing in all questions of activity of the CYI., unfortunately revealed the incorrect outlook of Bordiga in the C. P. of Italy. From the whole discussion the CYI. emerged united, politically firm and definitely on the line of the decisions of the V. World Congress and of Leninism.

The IV. Congress has closely examined the development of the CYI. since the III. Congress and its present condition and arrived at the following conclusions: The CYI. has, since the III. Congress, undoubtedly increased in power and is still increasing in strength. The cause of this increase is due to the correct political activity and the carrying out of the decisions of the III. Congress for the development of the Communist Youth organisations into mass organisations. The activity of the Communist youth organisations has developed more in the nature of mass activity, their influence upon the masses has become greater and more enduring, their membership has increased. Thus to-day the CYI. numbers for the first time a million members; that means that since the first congress it has increased fivefold and since the III. Congress by about 40%. Nevertheless, the Congress stated that with the exception of the Russian Communist Youth, the CYI. had no mass organisation of the working youth.

According to our IV. World Congress there are three chief indications to be observed in judging whether a Communist Youth organisation is to be regarded as a mass organisation in the actual sense of the word:

1. Its numerical strength, that is in relation to the strength of the Party and of the total number of the working youth. A Communist youth organisation must endeavour to have as many members as the Party, even more. 2. The Communist Youth organisation must, not only in isolated cases and occasions, but continually, lead the masses of the working youth and represent their interests. 3. Their organisation (factory nuclei) and activity must have a mass character.

The Congress defined by means of what activity we must in the present period proceed along the road to becoming a mass organisation and leader of the working youth. In this respect it took into consideration the present democratic-pacifist wave, which only serves to hide the increased war preparations. Accordingly it gave five chief tasks to the Communist youth organisations:

1. Regular political activity, in the sense of the decisions of the V. Congress, and political training of the members in the spirit of Leninism.
2. Complete and speedy reorganisation of the Leagues on the basis of the factory nuclei.
3. Fight against imperialist war danger, and intensive bolshevist anti-militarist work.
4. Increased activity in the trade unions.
5. Propaganda in the country.

The IV. Congress dealt with these tasks in a very thorough manner and worked out these regarding them. If these decisions are carried out with energy, the Communist Youth International will make incalculable further progress.

APPEALS

With the Young Communists on the 10th International Day of Youth!

The following appeal arrived too late to be published in our last week's issue. Ed.

To all Communist Parties!

On September 7th the Young Communist International holds its

Tenth International Day of Youth.

Millions of revolutionary young workers in all the countries of the world will march out once again, as every year, for powerful demonstrations in the struggle

Against Imperialist War and Militarism.

Comrades!

A few days ago the bourgeois world trembled at your powerful demonstrations on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the imperialist slaughter.

Give Them No Rest!

Use the Tenth International Day of Youth in true solidarity with our heroic revolutionary young workers to shout the battle cries of the revolutionary proletariat to the bourgeois in the period of imperialism:

For the Proletarian Revolution!

For the Civil War of the Poor against the Rich!

The International Days of Youth are stages of the struggle. The first took place on the 3rd October 1915 in the middle of the maddest excitement of the imperialist war. The 10th takes place in 1924 in a time of tense military armaments, unheard of exploitation of the proletariat and traitorism of the social-imperialists crying to Heaven from Scheidemann to Vandervelde, who have already once led you to the slaughter house.

"Remember the War and the Social Democratic Treason!"

Called the master-mind of the Revolution Lenin, to the workers of all nations. And we repeat his cry:

Do not Forget and Organise the Revenge!

You can only prevent a new world war a thousand times more terrible than the last through the **Proletarian Revolution**. Our working youth is the first sacrifice to the imperialist slaughter. Therefore we must demonstrate with them.

Working Class Mothers!

Think of your murdered children!

They did not die for you, but for your capitalist oppressors.

An Iron Front on the Tenth International Day of Youth between the Young Communists and the Communist Parties of all Countries!

Long Live the Revolutionary Youth!

Long Live the Struggle against Imperialist War!

Long Live our combined Struggle for the Revolution!

Moscow. 29th August 1924.

**The Executive Committee
of the
Communist International.**