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## CONTENTS

Declaration of Comrade Zinoviev on the Alleged „Red Plot“.

Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Zinoviev: The Seventh Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Maslov: Seven Years Dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party. - Six Years so-called Democratic Government.

Voitinsky: The October Revolution and the Peoples of the Colonies and the Semi-Colonies.

Steklov: The French Recognition of the Soviet Union.

Albert: Five Months of the Government of the Left in France.

Christiansen: The Stauning Ministry in Denmark.

China

Imperialist Intervention in China!

### Economics

Eugen Varga: Economics and Economic Policy in the Third Quarter of 1924. I.

### In the Soviet Union

A. Glyn Evans: Conditions of Labour in the Soviet Union.

### In the International

John Pepper: The Results of the Split in the C. P. of Sweden and the Swedish Elections.

### The White Terror

M. N. Roy: Imperialist Terror in India.

D. Cosma: The Persecution of the Trade Union Movement in Roumania.

### The Peasants' Movement

T. Dombal: A Year of the Peasants' International.

## Declaration of Comrade Zinoviev on the Alleged "Red Plot".

The Letter of 15th. September 1924 which has been attributed to me from the first to the last word a forgery. Let us first look at the heading. The organisation of which I am the president, describes itself officially as the "Executive Committee of the Communist International"; the official name is "Executive Committee of the Communist International". Equally incorrect is the signature: "The Chairman of the Presidium". The man who has shown himself to be very stupid in his choice of the name of the 15th of September 1924 I was taking a holiday in the mountains and therefore could not have signed any official document.

These things are of course trifles. The clumsiness of the forgery can best be seen by examination of the contents of the letter.

It is time you thought of forming such a group, which, together with the leaders, might be, in the event of an outbreak of civil strife, the brain of the military organisation of the workers. Go attentively through the lists of the military "cells", select from them the more energetic and capable men, give attention to the more talented military specialists who are available for one reason or another, left the service and hold their own views. Form a directing operative head of the "Military Section".

This, it is alleged, was written by the E. C. C. I. to the Central Committee of the British Communist Party. Of course the thing is an absurdity from beginning to end. At present there exists no military Section in the C. P. of Great Britain. The British C. P. has no need to bother itself with attracting "talented Military Specialists". It has more important tasks: the winning of the majority of the English workers by means of agitation and the propagation of the ideas of marxism.

"The Military Section of the British Communist Party, so far as we are aware, further suffers from a lack of specialists, the future directors of the British Red Army".

This quotation from the alleged letter of the E. C. C. I. needs no comment. Everyone knows that the C. P. of Great Britain today has far more urgent business than the creation of a British Red Army. The British Communist Party, supported by the "Minority Movement" in the trade unions, is seeking to propagate the views of the Communist International among the masses of the ordinary English workers. There is not the least doubt that the C. P. of Great Britain is fulfilling this great task with ever-increasing success. If this were not the case the English bourgeoisie would not have recourse to such extraordinary methods as the forging of documents.

What is the meaning of the whole stunt regarding the alleged "letter of the E. C. C. I."? And who is the chief culprit in this forgery?

Apparently the "Daily Mail" played a great role in the whole affair. A telegraphic report states that "a copy of the document is in the possession of the 'Daily Mail' and we consider it our duty to publish it. Yesterday at noon we sent copies to the other London papers, and somewhat later the Foreign Office decided to publish the document". It is evident that the "Daily Mail" is not quite innocent in this matter.

It is remarkable how the date was chosen. The "exposure" of the alleged letter of the E. C. C. I. took place at a time when it was impossible for our answer to arrive in time in England, as only a few days remained to the end of the elections.

It is not difficult to understand why some of the leaders of the liberal-conservative bloc had recourse to such methods as the forging of documents. Apparently they seriously thought they would be able, at the last minute before the elections, to create confusion in the ranks of those electors who sincerely sympathise with the Treaty between England and the Soviet Union.

It is much more difficult to understand why the English Foreign Office, which is still under the control of the Prime Minister, MacDonald, did not refrain from making use of such a white-guardist forgery.

We, on our part, have proposed to entrust the examination of the whole affair regarding our alleged "letter" to the English Trade Unions, the General Council of which will appoint a commission which shall have access to all documents, and whose decision we will regard as final. I hope that by means of this proposal we shall best prove to all English workers and to all unprejudiced people in England, that we have nothing to fear from an investigation of this affair, and that the "document" attributed to us constitutes a forgery.

To-day we received news from fairly reliable sources that the forged letter originated in Polish circles. In Poland, apparently, there is a permanent group of enterprising people (who are probably closely connected with the Polish counter-revolutionary spy service), who supply similar "documents" to those foreign governments who, for any reason, require them.

A strange state of affairs! It suffices when any bourgeois statesman of Europe or America — let us say Mr. Hughes — finds himself in a difficult situation, if this or that "letter" of the Executive of the Comintern, alleged to be signed by us, is immediately placed at his disposal. This "letter" is solemnly published and the press of a certain camp raises the necessary alarm.

It would seem therefore as if the Executive Committee of the Comintern take a pleasure in writing letters which are very convenient to statesmen of the type of Hughes and Curzon. And in a strange manner these alleged "letters" — like eggs at Easter — fall into the hands of the respective bourgeois ministers, precisely when they need them in this or that political campaign against their "own" working class, or against the Soviet Government.

The parliamentary elections in Germany are approaching. It will be a terrorist election, in the sense that the German government, to the advantage of the social democrats, is throwing almost the entire staff of the Communist Party and thousands of the best workers who sympathise with the Communists into prison. We shall not be surprised if some days before the German elections one or the other reactionary German newspapers, or one or the other bourgeois ministers of Germany, likewise at the most appropriate time, receives from somebody a "letter" of the Executive of the Comintern, which will be worded precisely in the way in which the enemies of communism require it.

Nevertheless, this weapon will become blunt from too frequent use. We are convinced that the too frequent abuse of forged "letters" of the Executive of the Comintern by the statesmen of Europe and America will result in this weapon of lies finally losing its point.

Moscow, 27th of October 1924.

## SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

### The Seventh Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Speech delivered by Comrade Zinoviev in Leningrad on 18th October 1924.

If I were asked, what is the most important result that we have attained during the seven years since the October Revolution, I would reply: The most important thing is that today, all working men and women of the Soviet Union are supporters of the October Revolution.

We have followed the right path, and if we have not completely attained that form of life which the working class must create, the fault is not ours. If we still have difficulties, it is because we have years of severe fighting behind us, during which the whole bourgeois world was proceeding against us.

#### The General Results of the Seven Years

I begin with the question of our home policy. I still have vivid recollection that on the eve of the October Revolution one of the most powerful arguments against it was the meagre bread ration in Petrograd. The town was only provisioned for two days. If the Revolution is carried out, said many, then to-morrow Petrograd will be without bread, and already existing starvation will be increased ten-fold.

I recollect that on the first anniversary of the October Revolution our speakers pictured the time when we would be able to revert to white bread. For years there was no more urgent and actual question for our city, and for all the workers of Russia, than the question of the bread ration. Now it is a longer trouble us.

There were times when the question of fuel was for literally a question of life and death, when everything hung by a hair, and when we had to send the best workers of Petrograd to the Donetz Basin in order that they might be able to obtain for us some meagre consignment of fuel. Later we were cut off from the Donetz Basin; Russia began slowly to freeze before our eyes, one after another the factories closed down. Daily we received reports as to children frozen in children's homes. Nowhere was there a ray of hope of ever being able to escape from our situation.

At present we have difficulties of quite a different nature. We do not know where we shall dispose of our coal and oil. The comrades from Baku who yesterday brought us 50,000 Roubles on behalf of the districts damaged by inundations related that the productivity of the naphta industry is steadily growing, but it is difficult to find markets for it. This, however, in my opinion, is only a temporary difficulty.

You remember the fate of our Soviet money. Recently many of us were millionaires, even milliardaires, as our salaries were reckoned in hundreds of millions. But as millionaires we had a fairly hard time. On the seventh Anniversary of the October Revolution, however, we are no longer troubled with the question of stabilising our currency. We have now a real genuine soviet currency.

Call to mind the turn of affairs in 1921: the transition to the New Economic Policy, to the so-called Nep. That was a time of great uncertainty. Many workers stood at the road and hesitated. It was not only the non-party workers who vacillated, but many Communists too. It must now be understood that by means of the Nep we shall arrive at socialism and the complete emancipation of the working class.

Even a superficial glance at the events of the last seven years shows that we have a considerable balance to our credit. Among the questions of our inner political life there seem to me to be two of very great importance:

#### Our Tasks in the Village.

The first question is the village, the peasants and their relations with them. The second is the raising of the productivity of labour.

The working class cannot maintain power without the support of the peasantry. And it is not sufficient when we speak of the alliance of the working class with the peasants

as being the most fundamental of all questions. The working class cannot raise the national economy, it cannot start with socialist construction, if we have no real union with the peasantry.

The working class, as the class which possesses power, must judge the situation from the standpoint of its rule. It must continually keep in mind that if the many millions of peasants are not perfectly clear as to what is taking place in the Soviet Union, we shall meet with innumerable difficulties.

We cannot stabilise our budget, our economy, and the wages of the workers merely by what is being done in the towns. We must always remember that side by side with us there live millions of peasants who carry on their undertakings in the most backward manner. Therefore we must get into closer contact with these backward sections of the peasantry.

War and other calamities have hitherto prevented us from engaging in building up the soviet power in the village to the extent which was necessary. We have now taken the thing in hand: we shall attract many more non-party peasants into the work and we shall devote much more attention to their opinion.

When, therefore, we consider the question of our inner political life, we must say that there is no more important question today than the necessity of promoting the work in the villages, of linking up the village with the soviet constructive work, of raising the activity of the non-party peasants, of abolishing bureaucratism, and wiping out bribery and intemperance.

#### Increasing the Productivity of Labour.

There was a time, let us say in 1920, when we issued the slogan of increasing the productivity of labour. But how was it then with the productivity of labour? Wages were either not paid at all, or when they were paid the worker received worthless money, and if the money still had some value, he was not able to buy anything with it. Therefore almost all workers made pipe-lighters etc. during their work time. At that time the campaign for raising the productivity of labour was more or less futile. Today it is otherwise.

Today there exist the prerequisites for raising the productivity of labour.

At present we must somehow work with the machines which we have and carry out every possible technical improvement. For this we need thinking people. If we employ specialists, if we pay them better, then they must be really valuable workers, who are of indisputable benefit to the production. The increase of the productivity of labour depends, at least 50%, not immediately upon the workers, but upon the government, upon the administration, and upon the trade unions. The other half, however, depends upon you, yourselves, comrades. This is what you must bear in mind.

#### The Outer Political Situation of the Soviet Union.

What was our international situation at the time of the revolution? We were in a desperate position. People said to us: Let us suppose that a miracle occurs, that you win the majority of the workers of Petrograd, of Moscow, and perhaps the whole of Russia; let us suppose that you seize power and drive the bourgeois government out of the Winter Palace; let us further suppose that you form a Soviet government — but don't you understand that that will be an absurdity, that the foreign bourgeoisie will drive you out, if not to-day, then to-morrow, if not the German, then the English, if not the English then the Japanese bourgeoisie? What will you do, with your inexperienced Red Army, with your feeble working class, against the English ironclads, against the German guns, against the French tanks?

The situation of the international revolution was at that time really desperate. Nobody knew what the morrow would bring. We were surrounded by enemies on all sides. Everyone of us still remembers the German aeroplanes which appeared over Petrograd; we still recollect the occupation of Pskov, the occupation of the Ukraine, and of the Don area by the Germans, the capture of the Caucasus and of Archangel by the English.

Let us call to mind our relations with Germany. At the time of the October Revolution our chief enemies were the German imperialists. Their troops, who were armed to the teeth, were two steps from our frontier. We were compelled to accept the humiliating Brest-Litovsk Peace, in accordance with which we had to pay a great indemnity in gold and to give

up a whole number of provinces. Our workers had to accept this Treaty, while they gritted their teeth, with the expectation that times would alter and that in any case we should not pay the indemnity.

Are we threatened today with any sort of immediate danger on the part of the ruling class of Germany? I think not. Their arms are too short. Of course there still exist in Germany the landowners, the fascists and junkers who would like to encompass our downfall. Now their only concern is how to retain their positions against their own workers.

#### Our Relations with France \*

Let us consider another power which is hostile to us, bourgeois France. We read in today's newspapers that the French government has finally decided to recognise the Soviet Union. Of course this question is not yet finally settled, but it will be settled in the next day or so.

We have already had a Franco-Russian alliance (an alliance between the tsar and the French bankers) which only resulted in creating misery in our country (and also for the French people). It resulted in that the interest alone on the loans which the French bankers granted to the tsar, in order that he might maintain his secret police, and his dungeons, and to enable him to conduct the war against Japan, amounted to many millions of Roubles. We do not need such an alliance as this. By means of the Communist International we maintain connections with the French workers and peasants, as a real friendly bond between two peoples, which is independent of our recognition by the capitalists.

As regards the present French government, it is here a question of business relations, of a recognition which is necessary for the setting up of commercial relations, which are advantageous for both sides. Even the most reactionary French bourgeoisie no longer dreams of compelling us to pay the old tsarist debts. Of course they remain our bitter opponents. But behind the imperialists there stands an army, the army of their "own" workers, at the head of which there stand such comrades as comrade Marty, who was ready to risk his head for the sake of the Russian workers, in the same way as our workers are ready to support the French workers with all their power. The old times are past.

#### Our Relations with England.

There was a time, it was some years ago — even before the revolution, when there was no other dictator in Petrograd than the English Ambassador, Buchanan — the Russian workers know this name very well. At that time the English government held everything in its hands: first the tsarist government, and then the provisional government of the Russian bourgeoisie. Before the October Revolution the workers did not know that the English Ambassador lorded over everything. The Bolsheviks were persecuted. After the October Revolution, Buchanan sent warships against us and took possession of Archangel. It was with his active participation that the blockade was organised.

You are aware of the recent dispute between the leader of the English Liberals, Lloyd George and the leader of the English Mensheviks, MacDonald. MacDonald is prepared to guarantee a loan to us of 300 to 500 gold roubles, under conditions advantageous to both parties. Lloyd George, however, the representative of the "liberal" bourgeoisie, says: I will grant nothing, they must do without it. Thereupon the Menshevik MacDonald replies that he, Lloyd George, has spent a hundred million Pounds on interventions, in interfering in Russian affairs, and now he will not grant 30 million pounds under advantageous commercial conditions.

When the Mensheviks and the Liberals quarrel, we learn a piquant detail, we learn the exact figures: a hundred million pounds has been expended in order to fight against our revolution. The English imperialists considered no sum too great in order to annihilate us. What do we see now?

In England there is taking place a stormy election. The excitement is enormous. And what is the struggle all about? What constitutes the central point of the struggle? Our Soviet Union. What are they quarrelling about? They are disputing as to whether they shall guarantee a loan of 300 million gold roubles.

I believe that by this example one can see how far our revolution has progressed. We have promised the English that

\* The speech of comrade Zinoviev was delivered before the recognition of the Soviet Union by the French Government. Ed.

if they grant us a loan we will pay higher interest; they shall consider this as wiping out all previous debts.

Of course, all factory owners whom the revolution has deprived of their factories are crying out in chorus: "robbery"! They demand the handing back of these factories. But we answer: Give us a loan of 500 million roubles and we will pay you not 6% interest, but somewhat higher. A section of the capitalists agree to such an arrangement and have honestly said, it would be more advantageous to grant such a loan, because the Soviet Union keeps its word. In the meantime the English workers are becoming more revolutionary and are fraternising with the Russian workers.

When we see all this, then we say: things are really going forwards. The international situation of the Soviet Union has become more firmly established.

#### The Soviet Union and Japan.

Let us take another country, in the East, say for instance, Japan. This also is among those states which attacked us after the October Revolution. What do we see today? We are carrying on negotiations with it, which will probably soon be concluded. Previously the Japanese practically demanded that we cede Irtusk to them, especially after Koltshak's campaign, who promised them half of Siberia.

And now the question is when Japan shall withdraw its troops from that portion of the Isle of Sachalin which belongs to us. And if you look at the map you will see that the Isle of Sachalin lies very far East of Irtusk. And Japan will evacuate it, if not today, then to-morrow. Sachalin is important for us because it contains petroleum wells, all though these are not being worked at present.

I believe that this example also shows how the power of the first proletarian revolution is growing in the international arena. We were told at first: "if you attempt to seize power, it will not help you, because on the very next day the English, French or Germans will force you to restore power to the bourgeoisie", and now you see how the attitude of the foreign powers towards us has changed.

Today, nobody can force the working class of our country to hand back power to the bourgeoisie. In addition to this I must tell you that the English and French, as well as the German and Japanese bourgeoisie, are now in a position when they must rather think of saving themselves than of destroying others. They must take care that they do not lose power themselves. There has been an exchange of roles. At the beginning of the revolution they expended hundreds of million of roubles in order to help the Russian counter-revolution overthrow the soviet order; today the situation has changed considerably.

Our Soviet Union is the Friend, the Brother and the Teacher of the Workers of all Countries.

Our Soviet Union, by means of the Communist International, has become the friend, the brother and the teacher of the working class of all countries, and also of a considerable portion of the peasantry. The best representatives of the working class of the whole world look to us for help and brotherly support.

It was a hard task for us and for the international working class to make the first breach in the capitalist front. The beginning was difficult. We have made the beginning and we have maintained power under such conditions as we never even thought. It is hard to enumerate those difficulties which our revolution has overcome since the blockade, up to the epidemics and famine of the year 1922, when it almost came to cannibalism. Nevertheless we have overcome them. Why? Because we relied upon the broad, powerful, iron foundation of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry; because the revolution revealed such powerful creative forces of which even the boldest revolutionaries never ventured to dream; because the revolution has stirred the deepest strata of the people; because the working women, the peasants, the communist youth and our entire generation have taken up the cause of the revolution.

The workers of all countries are interested in our success. In the difficult famine years of 1919 to 1922, the social revolutionaries daily prophesied our downfall. Now it is different. Now every worker in all countries feels instinctively that our cause is marching on, and that our revolution has become the tocsin rousing all workers of the world to struggle.

The Idea of Lenin will be Victorious throughout the World.

There was a great man in our midst who, in the most difficult time for the working class, when the Russian workers hung

their heads and the English and Russian capitalists danced for joy, was firmly convinced that the working class would be victorious. I speak of course of Comrade Lenin.

The result of all we have passed through is: When we perceive how passionately and enthusiastically the working masses and huge masses of peasants are supporting our cause, when we perceive how, in spite of the desperate situation in which we have been not so long ago, a splendid young generation of workers is growing up before our eyes, who regard the cause of the State as their own, then we say: "Comrade Lenin is no longer with us, but his cause lives and will be victorious throughout the whole world."

## Seven Years Dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party. — Six Years of so-called "Democratic Government".

By A. Maslow.

### I.

The proletarian dictatorship on the territory of the old Russia has now been in existence for seven years. Seven years of Soviet Republic. Seven years of "experiment" as all bourgeois, learned and unlearned, choose to express it. Seven years of "dictatorship of an insurrectionary clique of conspirators, of a minority, over the great Russian people which groans under its yoke", as all democratic, autocratic and social democratic worshippers of capitalism have declared for the past six years.

In the course of these seven years — a complete change of stage and scenery over the whole globe. 1917—1918, an apparently victorious German-Austrian alliance: advance into the Ukraine, into the Caucasus, carnage in the Ukraine, in the Baltic provinces — the formation of which into an independent unity with constantly modified frontiers, was the invention of a German or Austrian Pole — the claim of the Duke of Urach to Lithuania (on the grounds that he was of equal stature with the Lithuanian princes of the 7th century); the democratic apostle Wilson with the well-managed Steel Trust, which supplied munitions, guns, railway material, whilst Wilson supplied the necessary cannon fodder; the campaign of honest old England for self-determination of the nations (those which were not under the sphere of influence of honest old England); France playing the part of the noble martyr in the cause of civilisation and culture; Italy as a champion in the fight for democracy (after it had become clear whose "democracy" would be victorious); the Second International in favour of war to a victorious end in their respective countries; German social democracy suddenly against annexations (which they accepted with pleasure at the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucarest) after they had got scent of the fact that things were going amiss for Germany. Then the bacchanal of the peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon, the orgies of "democracy" and "self-determination" through the Balkanisation of Europe, annexations on a most liberal scale, tributes, wars of intervention, secret treaties, military alliances, colonial intrigues (think only of Syria, Silesia, Mesopotamia, Armenia). Added to this the change of scene in the governments: Wilson, the democrat followed by the republican Harding; his successor Coolidge already fighting against a new movement; Lloyd George replaced by the Conservative Bonar Law and he by Baldwin, he again by MacDonald the labour leader who, in his turn, has been overthrown by the Conservatives — all this in democratic England, where as class antagonisms intensify, a Fascist movement will no doubt not arise spontaneously, but be created. In France the change from Clemenceau via Deschanel and Poincaré to — alas, only to Doumergue the "brave garçon" of whom the best that can be said is that he has a "sweet" smile. An external change from Briand to Millerand. A change of ministers from Poincaré to Herriot. But all along the supremacy of the de Wendel family and of M. Loucheur. In Italy — from Nitti, the sighing hanger-on of Liberalism, to Mussolini the whilom socialist, now a wave-ringing Fascist. In Germany and Austria the whole gamut of "Socialist" (the Lord preserve us!) governments down to the reactionary combinations of priests, generals and — "socialists" of course. Everywhere unrest, lack of equilibrium, problems for which a new "patent solution" is found every three months which holds good for exactly three weeks. Colonial risings, new dangers of war in the Far East and the Near East, in the Balkans

Germany a colony of a syndicate which is disunited in itself. No rest anywhere, not even a stable government anywhere, everywhere bankruptcy of Parliamentarism (for if it cannot even procure a stable government, what is the good of it?), bankruptcy of Fascism in Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, bankruptcy of the ideology of the Second International which differs in every country, is in every country, as occasion demands, nationalist, defends the "just" war of its "own" country, enthusiastically acclaims reparations and sanctions, praises or disapproves of the Dawes plan as occasion demands, works in close alliance with or loyally opposes Fascism, as occasion demands (Bulgaria, Italy, Germany).

At the same time, everywhere, growth of the influence of the Communist International. In the colonies increasing anti-imperialist movements. Among the proletariat a growing deep longing for unity and revolutionary class-war, realignment of the proletariat which from the political and ideological point of view is most backward, the English.

These are the variegated scene-shiftings on the world's stage.

### II.

Only on the territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics do we see quite another picture. A picture which to the lools of the bourgeoisie and their heralds the Reformists, is still an insoluble riddle.

At the time of the blockade it was possible with a serious face to say to one's neighbour: "Do you know that in Russia the Bolsheviks only rule with the help of the Chinese; they have simply chopped off everyone else's head", but nowadays it is hard to palm off such nonsense. It is, however, tried, even if without success. Thus, on the occasion of the most recent Georgian comic-opera insurrection, the he-circulating factories first of all had the whole Caucasus conquered by the insurgent "people", then not only Budjonny and Trotzky seriously wounded, but also 10,000 "insurgents" murdered by the "Tscheka" and 15,000 "hostages" transported (by what means of transport?) to Russia.

But not a single reasonable person believes a word of such silly fables.

On the contrary, every sensible being must ask himself: How is it in reality possible that 130-150 million people, of whom all the workmen carry arms, are indeed systematically armed (not only compulsory military service for all those who do not exploit the labour of others, not only a system of militia for them but also compulsory training in arms for the young), who have created a voluntary air force, who are creating a voluntary chemical (gas) war association, allow themselves to be "ruled" by a party of not more than about 500,000 members? And how is it that this rule, under exactly the same Government, is again and again "tolerated", nay, accepted with enthusiasm or at least with confidence by Soviet congresses, conferences and peasants' organisations, without any disturbances or difficulties.

The "riddle" is easily solved; the answer is that the Soviet Government, this dictatorship of the Communist party (as the "democratic" fools say: "over the proletariat") is that form of government which best suits the transition from Capitalism to Communism.

The magogic talk of the dictatorship of the Party "over the proletariat" is easily refuted. The Communist Party is the party of the proletariat. The essence of Leninism is that it theoretically propagates and practically realizes the thesis: there is and can be only one party, the party of the revolutionary proletariat. Events in Europe have fully confirmed this doctrine. Wherever it has been disregarded (as in Germany in 1923) the proletariat has experienced a defeat. The reformists who claim that their party also is a proletarian party, know very well why they do it. As long however as the proletariat does not treat the Reformist parties as enemy, bourgeois parties, it will enjoy the advantages of a "democracy" of a German, English, French, Italian or Bulgarian cut which, as occasion demands, will make use of Martial Law, Special Powers Acts and Fascist Government monopoly, but will still remain a dictatorship of the bourgeois leaders over the proletariat and lower middle classes.

But this already shows the difference between the two dictatorships. The dictatorship of the proletariat (the government affairs of which must naturally be organised; this is of course the party of the proletariat and as its party relies upon its sympathy and active help) is the dictatorship of an enormous majority over a very small minority. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which calls itself democratic, is always the dictatorship of a small clique over a vast majority.

But there is nowhere a party of the bourgeoisie. For the bourgeoisie is in itself split up and therefore often consists of many not organised, but disorganised parties (Germany, France, Poland with its national minorities, also Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Finland). Parliament, with its lack of definite grouping and majorities, only reflects this splitting up while it conceals the important fact that hardly anywhere in the bourgeois democracies does party rule, only marionettes in the hands of quite small cliques of the Capitalists as in America, Germany, France, to say nothing of the small new States.

### III.

The other objection, that in Russia the proletariat represents only a small fraction of the population, only points out the particularly fine achievements of the Bolsheviks. Russia is, it is true, a land with an immense peasant majority but, in contrast to the Reformists, the Bolsheviks realised that it was necessary to make an ally of the peasant population.

The proletarian dictatorship has only become possible through the agrarian and peasant policy of the Bolsheviks. It is the peasant policy of the Bolsheviks which gives the dictatorship of the Communist Party the firm hold which it has. No serious student of Russian conditions, no matter to what camp he may belong, has been able to deny that the Soviet Government is thus firmly rooted in the broad masses of the peasantry. All enemies of Communism regard with indignation, astonishment and a lack of understanding this hegemony of the proletariat, rule of the Communist party (dictatorship of the proletariat) which at the same time is a stable, reliable alliance of proletariat and peasantry. This is the solution of the riddle.

On the other hand, in no country does or can the bourgeoisie understand how to keep even the bourgeoisie together. If we consider the occurrences in Germany in 1923, the pitiless expropriation of the people with small possessions through inflation and, instead of talking of the Dawes plan in empty phrases, seriously consider its consequences, it is easy to see that the governing cliques of the bourgeoisie themselves split up and differentiate the bourgeoisie and cannot fail to proletarianize a portion of them and to drive some into the Communist, some into the Fascist sphere of influence. This is true, on the whole, of all European countries and of the United States. The present desperate cry of Germany "co-operation of all classes", the symbol of which is a coalition of all parties from the German Nationalists to the Social Democrats, has no more value than the hue and cry of pacifism: when wars are being prepared, the clamour for peace is loudest, when class structure is crumbling to the ground, the howl for solidarity of the people is wildest.

The process of differentiation is developing fast in Germany. It will also be accelerated in England and France. In England the way leads via class solidarity, but as class contrasts increase (which will result from the Dawes plan), the bourgeoisie even there will cry for solidarity of the people (in order to save the Empire).

### IV.

The clamour however will not be of much avail. For, side by side with the process of differentiation in the capital cities, there is another mighty process of differentiation of peoples: in the cities the division is between the exploiting and exploited classes; in the colonies the exploited peoples separate themselves from the predatory exploiters (and in the process of this anti-imperialistic growth of self-consciousness of the peoples of the colonized lands, a separation of classes within these peoples develops simultaneously).

Here also the bourgeoisie naturally proves entirely incapable of understanding the problems (in this case the Reformist leaders who, for instance in Germany, are actually once more thirsting for colonies, must be counted as belonging to the bourgeoisie). For the few victorious imperialistic profiteering States (England, U. S. A., France, Japan; Belgium, Italy; Holland), States existing and thriving by robbery and usury and corrupting the aristocracy of Labour by means of these super-profits, the colonies are a prerequisite.

To have recognised this and made practical use of it is a further great achievement of the Bolsheviks.

These colonial and national problems which theoretically (and in the end practically also) are on the same level, have been completely solved by the Soviet Union, whereas no bourgeois State has found even the beginning of a solution. Neither the large States with their shamelessly exploited colonies and with the newly created "colonies", Germany and Austria, in which, in

the nature of things new national questions arise; nor the small vassal States with their unspeakable suppression of national minorities.

The Bolsheviks alone have understood how to make the various nations in the Union of Soviet Republics nationally independent and thus — down even to Choresma and Buchara and the Moldavian Republic, which is regarded by Roumania with obvious surprise and suspicion — to link and bind them more firmly than ever to the Socialist Soviet Union.

V.

The balance of the seven years of Soviet Republic is easily drawn. Through all imaginable difficulties, the economics, culture and physical health in the Soviet Union have gradually and steadily developed, in spite of all natural catastrophes (famine in 1921, partial failure of the harvest in 1924), in spite of all the destruction through war and civil war, in spite of all the evil which arose from the low level of culture of the Russian population.

And Europe? Its peoples are fed with promises while the difficulties increase. The Dawes plan will help — so say the promise-mongers in France and Germany, patented and "approved" for the last ten years; the League of Nations will help — as those fools profess who will not see that the League of Nations will soon help Europe on to her feet through general mobilisation for a war in which more or less all towns have the prospect of being exterminated by means of gas, like nests of vermin. The uncle from America will help — as those swindlers whine who have not yet had enough of the American "help" of the late man of honour, Mr. Wilson. Oh yes, America will help, with fire and sword and the ledger of the chief agent for Reparations.

Only the proletariat will and can help. For it must help itself and only itself. The seven years' balance of Soviet Russia is proof enough that this is the case.

## The October Revolution and the Peoples of the Colonies and the Semi-Colonies.

By G. Voitinsky (Moscow).

In the seventh year of its existence the importance of the October Revolution for the oppressed peoples of the East stands out with greater clearness than ever. China with its population of many millions, rent asunder by world imperialism more than ten years ago, is now in the seventh year of the October Revolution experiencing a great revival among her population, who are uniting in order to resist the intervention of the imperialists of America, England, France, Japan and other countries. With an unprecedented absence of concealment, the great capitalist powers have undertaken a grand attack upon the toiling masses of China.

At this moment the only ally of the Chinese masses and the Chinese people as a whole, the only defender of their interests, is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This fact is now known to the populations of Southern, Northern and Central China as well as to the peoples of Outer China — Tibet, Chinese Turkestan and Outer Mongolia.

The treaty recently concluded by the USSR, and the Chinese Republic has shown to the Chinese people that the new state is inspired by the spirit of real national equality in its relations to a people oppressed by imperialism. The enslaving treaties which were violently enforced upon China by the imperialists of all nations and by the former Czarist Government, were disclosed to the Chinese masses by the Chinese-Soviet Treaty and the great danger menacing China by further penetrations of imperialism became obvious.

Our treaty which once and for all abolished the shameful privilege which permitted the Czarist government to have its own streets (extra-territorial concessions) on Chinese territory, its own courts, its own armies, and its own laws, aroused a wave of enthusiasm among the Chinese masses. It also intensified the hatred of these masses towards the imperialists who still continue to exercise these privileges.

The annulment by the Treaty of the Russian portion of the Boxer indemnity, the annulment of an imposition of many millions, laid upon the Chinese people in favour of the imperialists as a sign of the latter's victory over the Chinese people in 1900—1901, will have great influence in bringing the Chinese masses nearer to the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat.

The Chinese people are beginning to understand the duel between our Red diplomacy and world imperialism on the territory of China. In the heart of China, Peking, after a bitter struggle, the red flag was finally hoisted in the stronghold of the imperialists, the Legation Quarter. The stone wall surrounding the imperialists' quarter in Peking, through the openings of which guns bitterly menace the Chinese people, has collapsed where the concession of the Czarist government were originally; from this side the Chinese people have secured the possibility of entry into the stronghold of imperialism. Here the memorial of Lenin, whose name is honoured by the entire Chinese people, will serve as an inspiration to the toiling masses of China and as a symbol of our great October Revolution.

The Chinese-Eastern Railway, which was constructed by the Czarist Government with the object of enslaving the Chinese people, and which later served as the highroad for the plundering expeditions of world imperialism, has at last been torn from the clutches of the imperialists, and will henceforth serve as the highroad for the victorious proletariat marching to the aid of the oppressed masses of China.

At the other end of Asia, the small country of Afghanistan, heroically fighting for its independence, and struggling desperately to rid itself of the remnants of medieval feudalism, finds in the USSR, a trusty ally and a comrade who is prepared to defend it from the aggression of British imperialism. The insurrections inspired and nourished by the "Labour Government" and headed by Prince Kherim Khan, who is aiming at the throne of Afghanistan, is serving still more to unite the Afghan people with the Union of Soviet Republics, which for many years has proved its sincere desire to help the people of Afghanistan to liberate themselves from the chains of feudalism and foreign intervention. The flight of the red armen, who, with the audacity of eagles crossed the Hindu Kush into Afghanistan, serves as a symbol of the assistance which the victorious proletariat is prepared to lend the oppressed peoples of the East in their struggle against imperialism.

The people of Turkey, who experienced the revolution of 1908, the impulse to which was our revolution of 1905, who suffered from the intervention of imperialists after the world war, and who from peasant Angora fought for the independence of Turkey, found a trusty ally and a friend in the USSR in every stage of its struggle. With the aid of the Soviet diplomacy, and thanks to the firmness of Soviet policy, on questions of the Near East, the struggling Turkish people succeeded in retaining their independence at the Lausanne Conference. The Turkish people know that their only friend both in the fight for political independence and in the future struggle for economic independence, is the Union of Soviet Republics.

Our neighbour, Persia, who for long years has been the prey of the imperialist powers of England and Czarist Russia, has since the October Revolution entered on the path of national independence. At the present moment, when British imperialism, masked by the flag of the 2nd International, is instigating insurrections in Southern Persia with the object of overthrowing Riza Khan, the leader of the national-revolutionary movement of Persia who succeeded in securing the independence, the mighty influence of the Soviet Union is a wall against which the British schemes of plunder are being smashed.

The innumerable millions of toilers of India have since the October Revolution ceased to feel that they are alone in their fight against the British oppressors. They know that in the North a powerful force has sprung up and is ripening, a force capable of inspiring fear even in the heart of "invincible" British imperialism. The toilers of India know that the country of the Soviets is their one true and unselfish ally.

It is not therefore surprising, that at the trade union congress in 1921, the Indian proletariat declared its fraternal solidarity with the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

It is not surprising therefore that on the death of Lenin the oppressed masses of India united with the general mourning of the toiling masses of the world.

It is not surprising therefore when the blind hatred of the British bourgeoisie towards the Soviets is urging them to break the agreement with Soviet Russia, the Indian revolutionaries are defending the Soviet Union against the attacks of British imperialists, even bourgeois and Indian newspapers, such as the "Bombay Chronicle", are obliged to admit this fact.

The idea of the October Revolution is becoming familiar even to the most backward and oppressed peoples of the Near Middle and Far East.

Korea, a country with a population of 15 millions, struggling in the iron clutches of Japanese imperialism, has since 1919, and under the influence of the October Revolution, made heroic attempts to liberate herself; she has been swept by a revolutionary wave coming from the west, from the Amur and the Maritime regions. The cry "Hands Off China" is being carried from the country of the Soviets throughout the whole world and will without doubt find a response in oppressed Korea, the fate of which is so closely bound up with China, and will serve as a further stimulus to the Korean liberation movement.

The peoples of Arabia and the African colonies who are fighting an unequal duel with the armies of the imperialists, are turning their eyes more and more to the Soviet Republics, feeling that they are their sole friend and protector in their struggles. These peoples have found the way to Moscow, and on the seventh anniversary of the October Revolution the representatives of Arabia will be able to celebrate with us the victory of the working class over the deadly enemy of the peoples of the East — Czarist Russia, and over international capitalism.

Greater and greater divisions of the oppressed sections of mankind are marching under the banner of the October Revolution. All forms of struggle against oppression are being dedicated to the great idea of the October Revolution: whether the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat in the capitalist countries, of the national-emanicipation movements of dependent peoples, or the struggle against theocracy, against religious oppression — all these are becoming identified with the struggle of the vanguard of the world proletariat, the Union of Soviet Republics.

## POLITICS

### The French Recognition of the Soviet Union.

By J. Steklov (Moscow).

The French Government has at last decided to undertake a step which both its friends and enemies have for long been expecting it would take. On the 28th October there arrived the de jure recognition of the Soviet Union by France.

France constitutes the last of the so-called great European powers which, having for long refrained from granting recognition to the Soviet Union, have finally decided to do so. Germany, Italy and England have already recognised us some time ago. With the decision of the Herriot Government there is completed the act of diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union in Europe. Greater the recognition on the part of small European States has any special significance, and some of them will perhaps regret that have been so behindhand with their decision and have thereby placed themselves in a less favourable situation.

In a word, in Europe the fundamental cycle is completed. Among the non-European great powers who maintain the position of non-recognition, there now only remain the United States and Japan. It may be presumed that the de jure recognition of the Soviet Union on the part of the latter powers will take place before very long, and it may be that Japan will be compelled to adopt this course under special conditions, that is to say, as a State which, in the new European-Asiatic political combination, is seeking to defend its interests in the Far East from the onslaughts of world imperialism, which has commenced an offensive.

From the point of view indicated above, the decision of the French Government has, in a certain respect, a historical significance. It marks the conclusion of an entire phase in the international relations of the Soviet Union and the opening of a new phase of the establishment of mutual relations between the Soviet State and the capitalist States, under the conditions of so-called normal diplomatic relations.

Like every document of this character, the Note of the Paris Cabinet is couched in general and sometimes vague terms, allowing the widest interpretation. We shall probably be obliged to return to its interpretation more than once; and a whole number of its clauses will only receive precision during the approaching negotiations between representatives of the two countries. But its main outlines can be seen with tolerable clearness at the first glance.

On the whole, we must acknowledge that this historical document is drawn up in a form acceptable to the Soviet Republic. The document has been drafted in a spirit approximating to

those ideas which have been repeatedly developed in the columns of the "Izvestija".

On one point the French Government has proved to be more decisive and more logical than MacDonald, i. e. in that it at once decided to proceed with appointing its ambassador in Moscow, and in that it proposed that the Soviet Government should appoint its ambassador in Paris. This shows on the one hand that the deficiencies of the English method, which deferred the exchange of ambassadors to the indefinite future, have been proved by experience, and on the other hand it bears witness to the readiness of the French Government to clear the ground for a genuine understanding with the Soviet Union, and to eliminate beforehand the trifling formal hindrances which could only arouse mistrust and create justifiable dissatisfaction.

It was remarked in the foreign press, and in particular in the French, that from the actions of the French Government as regards the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Republic, one derives the impression that France desires to occupy a "vacant place" temporarily created by the English political crisis. If this be the case, it would only prove the keen discernment of the French politicians, and also that they have finally realised the full importance for France of the renewal of friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

One of the clauses which might arouse some objections is that which formulates the extent of the recognition of the Soviet Union by France. In contradistinction to the document submitted by MacDonald, wherein reference is made to the territories which recognise the rule of the Soviet Government, the French document refers to the inhabitants who recognise it. This is perhaps a slight reflection upon the English document and constitutes its improved edition. It would perhaps be impossible to find a better formulation which eliminates any doubts regarding hidden intentions on the part of the other party.

But basing ourselves partly on French official explanations, and partly starting with the logical assumption that the French Government which knows our attitude towards any attempt to challenge the unity and indivisibility of the Soviet Union — hardly desired to create misunderstandings between both countries at the very outset, we are ready not to see in this formulation any hidden intentions until the contrary has been proved.

The more so as this formula, under certain conditions, can also be interpreted in a sense particularly favourable for the Soviet Union. Thus, for instance, the inhabitants of Bessarabia, which has been illegally taken from the Soviet Union, without doubt acknowledge as their rule, not the Roumanian oligarchy, but the Soviet Government. And in certain circumstances it will be possible to make use of this formula in the defence of their right to self-determination, and as an argument against the ratification of the Bessarabian protocol, which was duly acknowledged by the French parliament.

It is only natural that the French Government carefully and definitely reserves all its rights, leaving ours in the shadow and passing over them in silence. It goes without saying that we, on our part, will formulate our point of view, which in a series of questions may not be opposed to the French, but in others will unavoidably differ from theirs. For if M. Herriot emphasises that the recognition cannot violate any of the obligations and agreements accepted and signed by France, so we on our part will be compelled to consider whether amongst those obligations and agreements there are not some which clearly infringe our interests and were concluded to the detriment of our inviolable rights. And if M. Herriot gives expression to the hope that French confidence will find itself justified, so also we should like to hope that our confidence in the good-will of France will not meet with any sharp disillusionment.

M. Herriot intends to seek a just and practical way out of the situation which has been created. We also seek the same, and we presume that with goodwill, and having regard to the mutual interests, that it will be possible, though not without pains, to find such a way out. But it is clear that it will be necessary to seek such a way.

However this may be, now at last the ground has been created, and the soil prepared for an agreement between both governments. From now on there will begin the negotiations between them for the purpose of sifting and settling all those disputed questions which divide them. It may be assumed that these negotiations with France will proceed more rapidly and smoothly than was the case with other states.

## Five Months of the Government of the Left Bloc in France.

By R. Albert.

Five months have passed since the Parties of the middle class of the Third Republic took over the reins of the government of Herriot, the radical socialist, supported by the majority of the Left Bloc, with the approval of the Socialist Party, which renders this government a hardly concealed support.

During these five months events have taken their natural course. The Ruhr will be evacuated when the Dawes Plan is carried out. Poincaré could not have done the thing better. The civil service employees, to whom the Left Bloc had promised an increase of salary up to 1800 Francs a year, are beginning to lose patience. The Anarchist Cottin, who slightly wounded Clemenceau, has served his term of five years imprisonment. Poincaré has "pardoned" the Communist Marty; but neither Sadoul nor Guilbeaux have been granted an amnesty.

The budget for the year 1925 amounts to 32 milliard Francs with a deficit of about 4 milliard 183 million, which is to be covered by a loan according to the approved methods applied by the National Bloc. At the same time there appears no likelihood of a reduction of unproductive expenditure, no tax reforms and no income tax. Our Comrade Rappaport has rightly pointed out that while the English bourgeoisie pays income tax to the amount of 20 milliard Francs, the French bourgeoisie only pays 5 milliards. In France, the main burden of taxation falls upon the small tax payers and the consumers, that is, upon the poor. The incomes of the rich are sacred. The career of Caillaux was completely wrecked precisely because he was a bold advocate of the income tax. In spite of the extremely moderate budget of Herriot, which is as like to that of Poincaré's as two peas, the government of the Left Bloc, as regards financial affairs, is regarded with disfavour, as is shown by the articles in the "Temps".

The budget question constitutes the main problem of French politics. The income from reparations remains a doubtful item. It is impossible to ignore the debts owing to the United States and to England. The loans which served to cover the last budget now fall upon the present budget. The Franc, which has been temporarily rescued — under what conditions? — by the Morgan Bank, is again sinking perceptibly, so that the dollar now costs over 19 Francs. The small vassal states of France, Roumania and Poland require money. Prices are increasing. The civil servants are demanding the increase of salary which they were promised by the Left Bloc. What is to be done? The Left Bloc has a relatively weak majority, and Herriot knows very well that if he seriously attempted to touch the incomes of the great bourgeoisie he would immediately lose his majority. He has retained the taxes adopted by the national Bloc, among them the addition of two tenths to all taxes, over which there was such an outcry during the election campaign. But even this will not be sufficient. The problem of the deficit remains as pressing as ever.

There is being formed under the aegis of Millerand, a Bloc of the Right which will be quite capable of protecting its coffers.

The movement of the civil servants is closely bound up with the budget problem. The number of the civil servants amounts to nearly a million; with their families they comprise an influential mass of over 3 million persons. The minor officials who constitute the overwhelming majority are miserably paid, many receiving less than 400 Francs a month, that is less than half the wage of a skilled worker. The officials had expected a great deal from the victory of the Left Bloc. They had been roused to a great pitch of excitement. Herriot was compelled to order the dismissal of the oldest official in the ministry, of the name of Brun. Some days ago there took place in Paris the Congress of the Civil Servants Union, "in an atmosphere which was charged with electricity". At this gathering the "Internationale" was sung. For the rest, the official organ of the Left Bloc, the "Quotidien", speaks of an increase in the salaries of the officials, but at the price of the dismissal of 20,000 officials. Is that a solution?

Such symbolic acts of fraternisation which took place at the funeral of Anatole France cannot serve to divert attention from these facts. The President of the Republic, the government, the leaders of the National Bloc, the French Academy, the exiled Radical Caillaux, arm in arm with Herriot, the reformist

trade unions represented by Jouhaux, and the Socialist Party have let flow a flood of empty rhetoric over the grave of the great poet. The return of Caillaux to the scene has no importance whatever for the moment.

Much more important is the visit to Paris of General Sikorski, the Minister for War of Chief of the General Staff of Poland. The reception given him by the Herriot government proves that in spite of the formal recognition of the Soviet Union there has been no departure from the traditional anti-soviet policy initiated by Clemenceau, Pichon and Noulens and faithfully followed by Poincaré. General Sikorski has, of course, come in order to obtain money. A portion of the 400 million Francs lent to France on the 15th of February 1923 to Poland is shortly to be employed by French concession companies in the construction of a fortified harbour and submarine base at the point of outlet of the Polish corridor, Gdynia, in order, according to the "Matin", "to secure freedom of access to the Baltic, which at present controlled by the German and Russian fleets".

Our Comrade Cachin was perfectly right when he wrote "Humanité": "There has no change been made in the policy encircling Russia". Finally, it is to be noted that the Herriot budget provides 600 million Francs more for the army and navy than did that of Poincaré, and for the strengthening of the military forces in Morocco.

## The Stauning Ministry in Denmark.

By Ernst Christiansen (Copenhagen).

As a result of the Reichstag elections on 11th of April, the took place a parliamentary change in the second chamber. The previous majority, consisting of conservatives, big agrarians and city capitalists, was replaced by a majority of social democrats and left radicals (55 social democrats and 20 Left radicals against 73 members of the Right parties and one representative of the German minority). The government of the big peasants had to give place to a social democratic government. This was formed with Stauning at the head and was hailed with jubilation by the social democratic workers and received the passive good-will of the bourgeois press, which declared itself ready to give this government "fair play".

The social democrats conducted their election campaign under the slogan of the fight against economic misery. A remedy for the prevailing bad state of affairs they advocated in the first place a tax on fortunes.

As a matter of fact the tax on fortunes was to be a very moderate measure, for the rate of taxation for the very largest fortunes would not even amount to 4%! And the yield from a fortune of 60,000 Danish Crowns, for example, would only amount to 120 D. C. a year.

But the bourgeoisie would not accept even this wretched inadequate measure. When the newly formed social democratic government found it necessary, in accordance with their promises, to submit the bill to the Reichstag, it was immediately buried in a commission. Even the "radical" Party, which supports the government, refused to render the least assistance in carrying through this bill.

In the meanwhile, when it became urgently necessary to raise money for the purpose of the state, the government hastened to carry through a number of indirect taxes, again which only a few months previously the social democrats had conducted a furious campaign. But the economic crisis and the depreciation of the valuta has not been improved thereby in spite of the good will of the government to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. During the last weeks secret negotiations have taken place and a bourgeois social democratic motion regarding the currency is to be expected shortly.

The activity of the Stauning Ministry during the course of the last six months has confined itself principally to fulfil promises, to promises of miracles which are to be accomplished in the beginning of October there took place the reopening of parliament. The government gave proof of its intention by the introduction of the state budget and the disarmament proposal.

The state budget was alleged to be an honest measure which is perfectly true in so far as it proves the good-will of social democracy to stabilise capitalist society. The granting of huge sums to the enormously rich royal family is still carried

on as before. The unemployed are not to receive a penny more increase in their benefit than was allowed by the previous government. The public works are greatly neglected, in spite of the great demands of the social democrats in this connection. As regards the various state undertakings, great efforts are being made to increase the profits from these enterprises, which means in fact a heavy indirect taxation of the general population by increased railway fares etc. In addition to this the Finance Minister Bramsnaes has announced that there is to be a reduction of the state debts and a gradual repayment of the loan granted by the National Bank by means of new taxes amounting to a 100 million Crowns. In view of the tactics hitherto followed by the social democrats in regard to taxation questions, there can be no doubt that the social democratic government will know how to transfer the new heavy burden of taxation on to the working class.

The greatest performance of the Stauning Ministry, however, is the so-called disarmament proposal. For months past this proposal has been boosted as the true way to the salvation and emancipation of the people. Stauning came forward with this proposal in Geneva, and received the praise of his colleague, MacDonald, the imperialist who sanctioned the building of new warships. The Minister of Defence, Rasmussen, had already declared some months ago, with reference to the Communists, that should occasion arise the military must of course be used against the workers.

According to this proposal the Danish military budget will be reduced from about 65 million Crowns to about 15 to 20 millions Crowns. In this connection, however, it is interesting to note that according to the declarations of Rasmussen, this proposal has not been made for reasons of economy, as no sacrifice is too great in order to secure the capitalist — fatherland.

The essence of the "disarmament proposal" is to be seen in the new naval and military decree. For the time being this provides for 7000 men, and a fleet of 10 ships and 12 aeroplanes. With regard to this military institution, Rasmussen's proposal provides that the new regulations concerning organisation, appointment of personnel, training, term of service, transfers and discharges etc., are to be carried out by royal proclamation. Hence there is not the least doubt that this body will form a white guardist band destined to assist the capitalist class in suppressing the working class.

Stated briefly, the import of the disarmament proposal is: the upper class will be armed, the workers will be disarmed, an armed corps will be placed at the disposal of the king and the capitalist state. Further, the Stauning Ministry declared its willingness to make concessions to the right and to increase the corps from 20,000 to 30,000 men. The Communist Party has rightly exposed the disarmament proposal as a piece of hypocrisy and sham, which aims at diverting attention from the economic exploitation of the working class and the stabilisation of capitalism.

The Communist Party of Denmark has therefore declared its sharpest opposition to this government which aims at securing the further rule of the Danish capitalist class.

## HANDS OFF CHINA

### Against Imperialist Intervention in China.

Comrades!

The new pressure of Anglo-American imperialism proves that Anglo-American capitalism is putting forth every effort to regain control over China.

In order to achieve this end it was necessary for Anglo-American capital to cripple the national revolutionary movement, and to nip the Communist movement in the bud. Anglo-American capital is not prepared to yield up voluntarily the rich resources of the country and the opportunity of exploiting the cheap labour-power, especially that of women and children.

Of very great importance in order to form a picture of the exploitation at present obtaining, is the report of a commission set up by the administration in Shanghai to investigate conditions of child labour. According to this report, in 275 factories in Shanghai and its surroundings, there are employed 175,000 persons, of whom 44,000 are men and boys above 12 years,

106,000 are women and girls above 12 years, while there are 4500 boys and 18,000 girls under 12 years. The children are already accepted in the factories at the age of 6 to 7 years. As regards the other industries, they represent the same picture — everywhere women and children constitute the majority of the employed. In 500 large and medium factories there are employed 34,000 grown men and youths, and 99,000 adult women and girls in their teens. In the same factories there are employed 4500 boys and 17,000 girls. In the cotton industry there are employed in 38 of the largest factories, 23,000 men, 61,000 women and 7500 children. In the silk industry nearly 50% of the children employed are under 12 years. The conditions of work are very severe. Thus, for instance, they work over 12 hours a day; while women and children are allowed to do night work. The inevitable results are: sickness, disease and infantile mortality, which devour many victims and thereby weaken the Chinese proletariat.

Just at the present moment, when the militarist-capitalist struggle for the control of the world market is being fought out, precisely now with the foreign intervention against the national-revolutionary movement in China, it is one of the most important tasks for the Communist Parties of England, America and of the Western countries in general, to call the attention of the women proletariat to the danger which threatens the national-revolutionary movement in China and the Kuomintang Party from Anglo-American capitalism.

Our Comrades, the Communist women of Western Europe, must summon the broadest masses of the female proletariat to active support of the national revolutionary movement of China, and against international imperialism. Our women comrades must also call upon the women of other proletarian organisations, as for instance the co-operative societies etc., to render support to the slogan, "Hands off China!". The working women and the peasant women of Soviet Russia know that the struggle of the Chinese people against world imperialism is part of their own struggle, and they therefore stand at the side of the fighting Chinese proletariat. They are joining the "Hands off China" League in masses, and their example must be followed by the proletarian women of the Western European countries.

Hands off China!

Long live united China!

Long live the united defence of the working class of China against international intervention!

Long live the anti-militarist front!

The International Women's Secretariat Moscow.

## ECONOMICS

### Economics and Economic Policy in the Third Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

I.

#### General Section.

In this quarter the world's economics again showed a lack of uniformity. The following main features may be indicated:

In the United States the crisis reached its acutest point in the month of June. August and September show a tendency towards improvement, but it is not yet certain whether this is the beginning of a permanent improvement in American economics, or whether it merely signifies a slight recovery within the crisis phase.

In Germany economic conditions became worse and worse during the whole of the period covered by this report; only in September were there slight signs of improvement.

In England economic conditions have become steadily worse during the last quarter, as evidenced by the unexpectedly extensive increase in the number of unemployed.

With regard to other European countries, better economic conditions continue to obtain in France, whilst the countries bordering on Germany: Poland, Czechoslovakia, are still passing through crises.

The most important economic facts of the period covered by this report are the following:

The disappearance, internationally speaking, of the disparity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products. During the last three months the price of every kind of grain have risen considerably and have been followed by the prices

of other agricultural products: meat, fat, milk, etc. The cause of this rise in prices is the failure of the corn crops in the Northern hemisphere. In our opinion the present advance in the prices of agricultural products does not signify any permanent liquidation of the agrarian crisis, but is merely a transitory phenomenon, lasting one or two years, or for even a shorter period.

Apart from Russia, which only influenced the world's markets in the years 1923/24, and will play no part in the coming economic year in consequence of the bad crops, we find that though the corn crops of the Northern hemisphere are considerably less than in 1923, still they are not less than the average crops for 1918/1922. As there has been no extensive increase in the consumption of foodstuffs during this time (we deal with this point later), as the present high grain prices will induce a further increase of the area cultivated this autumn (reports from the United States show the area under cultivation for winter wheat to be 7 1/2% larger this year than last), and as Russia is certain to appear in the world's markets again in the immediate future, with large quantities of grain, it may safely be assumed that within a calculable period the prices of agricultural products will return to their low level, and that the disparity between these prices and those of industrial products will again be in evidence. In our opinion the present advance in prices does not signify any liquidation of the agrarian crisis, or any final abolition of this disparity; it is merely an interruption brought about by the failure of crops.

A fact of great importance is that, whilst in the whole of the Northern hemisphere the crops are bad in comparison with 1923, and whilst an actual failure of crops is reported from some districts in Russia, Poland, and Germany, the United States form the sole large area in the Northern hemisphere where the crops, with the exception of the maize crop, show a better yield than in the year 1923. This fact, combined with the high price of grain, signifies that the economic ascendancy of the United States is receiving fresh support from the action of natural forces. The importing countries of Europe are forced to cover the greater part of their requirements by purchasing from the United States at high prices. This means renewed enrichment of the United States at the expense of Europe.

The improved economic conditions in the United States are closely bound up with the failure of the world's crops. The high prices of corn and foodstuffs give the farmers of the United States the opportunity, the first they have had for years, of liquidating their accumulation of debts, and of appearing in the markets as buyers of industrial products. The same applies to the cotton farmers: the cotton crop is better than it has been for years, and the present price of cotton signifies a considerable improvement in the position of the cotton farmer. It appears likely to us therefore that though the present improvement in American economic conditions does not signify the beginning of a fresh boom, still it is probable that this year the economics of the United States will not revert to the low level which they had reached in the month of July. This appears to us to be one of the most important facts to be recorded for the period of this report.

Another important fact is that up to now there has been no sign of the satisfactory solution of the reparation question which was expected from the acceptance of the Dawes plan. It may of course be objected that the execution of the Dawes plan is only just beginning. Germany has not yet received the loan, and the evacuation of the Ruhr area has not yet commenced. But despite this, one thing can already be seen: The opinion so emphatically upheld, especially by the German and English reformists (Hilferding), that the removal of political uncertainty by means of the settlement of the reparation question is a factor of paramount importance for the betterment of the world's economics, has proved to have been wrong. Although a quarter of a year has passed since the acceptance of the Dawes Report, and the political crisis — as understood by Hilferding and his consorts — has been cleared up, there is still no talk of a betterment in the economic position of Europe. It is not necessary to say that political antagonisms, that is, the hostile interests of the imperialist powers of the world, have not by any means been wiped out of existence by the acceptance of the Dawes Report. These antagonisms have merely changed their form, and are at present being expressed in the transfer question, and in the negotiations over commercial treaties.

From the point of view of economic policy, a point of equal importance to the acceptance of the Dawes plan in London (dealt with in our previous report) is the attempt at creating a Dawes

plan for France and Russia. The situation may be summed up as follows: the economic ascendancy of the United States over the rest of the capitalist world is being expressed more strikingly every day, both economically and politically. Modern war technique being what they are, economic and industrial ascendancy naturally implies at least a potential ascendancy in the military sphere.\*)

The pacifism of the present epoch, as based upon the fact that the European imperialist powers, and also Japan, are in part satisfied for the time being, and in part feel themselves too weak at the moment to take up the struggle against the United States. They are forced to swallow quietly every provocation offered by the United States.\*\*) This economic and political ascendancy of the United States makes itself acutely felt in the sphere of economic policy. At the London conference it was the United States bankers who really dictated the conditions. When the terms of the loan were drawn up, the American bankers secured for themselves an extra profit of many million dollars, and actually forced France to subscribe a part of the Dawes loan. And even this did not suffice them, for they proceeded to draft a Dawes plan for France. As a matter of fact France is dependent on the United States at the present time to the same extent as is Germany.

"Lured onwards by the success of the Dawes plan, the United States do not even take the trouble to conceal their intention of Turkifying Europe by means of their policy of forcing their money upon Europe, of dominating credit here, and sending their financiers to act as proconsuls controlling the banks and governments."

This is not written by a communist paper, but by the "Information Financiere" of 16. September 1923, a strictly capitalist paper, in close sympathy with the government.

But the intentions of the United States go still further. The more or less veiled hints made by Hoover in America and Baldwin in England, and which were expressed with more brutal candour by the German Eckart, show that it is purposed to draw even Russia into the sphere of American imperialism. Germany is to serve as a great industrial colony for the United States. In order that it may not become dangerous from the military standpoint, in spite of its great industry, it is to be kept under the constant military supervision of the League of Nations. Russia, on the other hand, holding a position which prevents the United States from hoping for its immediate political enslavement, is to serve as a supplier of raw materials for German industry, while its industrial development is to be artificially retarded, so that it may become a harmless opponent from the military point of view.

Besides Russia, the United States are anxious to drag China, or at least parts of it, into their sphere of imperial power, and at the same time to dam the spreading influence of Bolshevism in Asia. When we add to this peaceful penetration of the American continent (Canada, Mexico, South America) by United States capital, we gain an idea of the vast plans and endeavours being made by the United States, under cover of pacifism, for the imperial world hegemony. Compared with the far-reaching imperialist activity of the United States, which encroaches on the interests of all the other imperialist powers, the antagonistic interests among the other great powers take quite a secondary place in the immediate future.

Rates of Exchange.

The tendency towards the stabilisation of the rates of exchange of currencies, already remarked upon in our report on the first half of 1924, has continued during the period of this report. The calculated total index figure for the dollar, giving the

\*) Every day brings fresh reports of new military inventions in the United States. Coast guns with a range of 217 kilometres are being constructed. A new gas has been discovered, causing every living creature breathing it to fall into coma for forty eight hours, the gas to be carried into the enemy's positions by means of aeroplanes controlled by wireless. These are the latest achievements of the pacifist era in the United States.

\*\*) Thus for instance the United States have greatly increased the range of the guns on their warships by increasing their elevation — only an exceedingly liberal interpretation of the enactments of the Washington agreement enabling them to do this. England's objections, that this procedure is not in accordance with the spirit of the Washington agreement, have been simply set aside.

percentual valuation of 100 cents as the nominal value of foreign currencies in dollars, shows the following development:

May	62 cents
June	60 "
July	59 "
August	62 "

The following table shows the development of the various currencies, the European currencies being given approximately in the order of their previous depreciation.

Rate of exchange of foreign bills in New York (monthly average)

Dollars for	Partly		July 1923		January 1924		July 1924		August 1924		22. Sept. 1924	
	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly	Partly
Switzerland (frs.)	100	19,30	17,57	17,81	18,19	18,81	18,94	18,81	18,94	18,81	18,94	18,81
Sweden (crowns)	100	26,80	26,53	26,20	26,58	26,59	26,63	26,59	26,63	26,59	26,63	26,59
Holland (florins)	100	40,20	39,24	27,30	37,92	38,77	38,55	38,77	38,55	38,77	38,55	38,77
England (£)	100	4,87	4,58	4,25	4,37	4,50	4,46	4,37	4,50	4,37	4,50	4,37
Spain (pesos)	100	19,30	14,30	12,74	13,31	13,40	13,24	13,31	13,40	13,31	13,40	13,31
Denmark (crowns)	100	26,80	17,54	16,94	16,04	16,19	17,10	16,04	16,19	16,04	16,19	16,04
Norway (crowns)	100	26,80	16,21	14,08	13,42	13,84	13,81	13,42	13,84	13,42	13,84	13,42
France (frs.)	100	19,30	5,89	4,67	5,12	5,46	5,29	4,67	5,12	4,67	5,12	4,67
Belgium (frs.)	100	19,30	4,89	4,18	4,56	5,02	4,94	4,18	4,56	4,18	4,56	4,18
Italy (lire)	100	19,30	4,30	4,34	4,30	4,44	4,39	4,30	4,44	4,30	4,44	4,30
Finland (Finn. marks)	100	19,30	2,77	2,48	2,51	2,52	2,52	2,48	2,51	2,48	2,51	2,48
Czechoslovakia (crown)	100	20,26	3,00	2,90	2,95	2,98	2,99	2,90	2,95	2,90	2,95	2,90
Romania (dinar)	100	19,30	1,07	1,19	1,24	1,41	1,41	1,07	1,19	1,07	1,19	1,07
Rumania (lei)	10000	1930	52,00	49,93	43,00	46,00	51,00	52,00	49,93	52,00	49,93	51,00
Germany (Bill. marks)	100	23,82	1,0	22,0	23,8	23,8	23,8	1,0	22,0	1,0	22,0	1,0
Poland (zlotys)	10000	2026	1,0	0,39	0,12	0,13	0,135	0,39	0,12	0,39	0,12	0,135
Austria (crowns)	10000	19,30	*)	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14

1) 10.000 M. = 0,035. 2) 1000 p. M. = 0,07.

A slight improvement may be noted in the rate of exchange of all European currencies during the course of the last quarter of a year. It is doubtful whether this improvement will continue, considering that Europe is under the necessity of purchasing large quantities of grain from the United States. It is worthy of note that the newly stabilised currencies — Germany, Poland, Austria — have proved absolutely stable.

In view of the stability of conditions, it is not necessary for us here to adduce the rates of exchange in relation to the lire.

Movement of Prices.

Owing to the stability of the currencies, and the uncertain state of the markets, the fluctuations in prices have been slighter than is customarily the case. The sharp rise in the price of corn and agricultural products does not yet find expression in the price indexes, which have for the most part only been drawn up as far as August. The advance in the prices of agricultural products is partly compensated by the reduction in the prices of coal, iron, and heavy industrial products. The following table shows the development:

Index of wholesale trade prices 1913/14 = 100.

	United States	Sweden	Switzerland	Japan	England	Denmark	France	Italy	Germany	Poland	Soviet Union (Gosplan)
1923 July	139	157	175	193	155	207	407	566	89	—	—
1924 January	142	152	183	211	173	223	495	571	117	—	181
March	137	154	182	206	172	228	500	579	121	—	161
May	134	151	178	205	168	219	459	571	122	104	150
June	133	149	173	199	168	220	466	566	116	101	155
July	137	148	171	—	173	233	481	567	115	102	164
August	139	152	170	—	171	231	477	572	120	109	—
September	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	122	—	—
14. October	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	123	—	—

It is interesting to observe that in Germany, despite the favourable economic conditions, prices have still risen considerably. Here we see the effects of the advance in the price of corn, which has been relatively greater than in the markets of the

world. The following table shows the development of wholesale trade prices, reckoned in gold:

Wholesale trade prices (gold) 1913 = 100

	United States <sup>1)</sup>	Japan <sup>2)</sup>	England <sup>2)</sup>	France <sup>2)</sup>	Canada <sup>2)</sup>	Germany <sup>2)</sup>
1923 August	159	176	154	115	146	—
1924 March	160	172	158	117	143	121
April	158	165	162	137	140	124
May	156	161	158	128	141	122
June	154	156	155	120	142	116
July	156	—	156	116	146	115
August	158	—	160	125	149	120

Unemployment.

We append a table showing the percentage of unemployed among the workers organised in trade unions:

	England	England % of all insured	Belgium	Holland	Denmark	Sweden	Norway	Germany	Germany (On Short-Time)	United States Level of Employment 1919 = 100
1922 July	14.6	12.3	5.3	9.5	12.5	18.2	12.5	0.6	0.8	—
1923 July	11.1	11.5	2.2	10.6	7.4	9.1	6.9	3.5	14.5	101
1924 January	8.9	11.9	3.7	22.4	21.0	13.6	9.1	26.5	23.4	98
March	7.8	9.9	2.1	11.2	18.4	13.8	7.8	16.6	9.9	99
May	6.0	9.5	3.2	8.2	6.1	7.6	6.1	P <sup>1)</sup>	8.2	93
June	7.2	9.4	3.3	7.2	5.1	7.3	4.3	1	19.4	90
July	7.4	9.9	3.2	7.9	5.3	6.3	3.2	—	28.2	86.5
August	7.9	10.6	—	—	5.4	—	—	—	12.4	27.5
September	8.6	10.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

With reference to the total number of unemployed, we only possess reliable data for England. In England the number of unemployed has increased steadily during the period of this report, and has now reached 1,200,000, according to the official returns. All unemployed workers are not in receipt of benefit, and the actual number of unemployed is approximately 1 1/2 million.

In Germany the number of unemployed receiving the dole was stated to be 588,000 at the end of September. The actual number is certainly more than twice this. The right to the dole is not only being legally limited, but in actual practice the authorities exert their utmost endeavours to reduce the number of those in receipt of benefit. If we were to assume the percentage of unemployed in the trade unions as giving a fair idea of the situation among the whole of the workers of Germany, the percentage of unemployed among 15 million recipients of wages and salaries would be 1,800,000. Here it must be further remembered that in England the percentage of unemployed in the trade unions, as may be seen from the above, is considerably less than the percentage of unemployed among the workers, as a whole. While we assume only 1,200,000 unemployed in Germany, this number certainly falls far short of the truth.

In the United States the number of unemployed can only be ascertained by indirect means. The maximum degree of employment attained by factory workers had risen to 103 in the first half of 1923; by July this had sunk to 86.5. Since this date a very slight recovery has taken place. If we assume that there were no unemployed whatever at the highest point of the boom — though this assumption is certainly erroneous, for there are always unemployed, even in the midst of the greatest boom — then the reduction since then is more than 16%. Assuming the minimum number of wage receivers to be 20 million, the number of unemployed in the United States must be over 3 million at the present time. If we add to this number the unemployed in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and other small countries, we again arrive at the number of 6 to 7 million unemployed in the capitalist world economy. There is no general improvement to be recorded during the period covered by this report.

1) Fed. Res. Board. 2) Official returns.

The World's Shipping.

The crisis in the world's shipping continued undiminished up to the end of July. The reduced export of coal from England exercised special pressure on the freight rates.

"The last few days have shown that every steamer has been able to find full cargo for the home freight market. It is still the huge shipments of grain which comprise the greater part of the tonnage now seeking shipment."

In a report published 3. October we read:

"Freight activity has again increased in almost all markets. Freight rates are rising all along the line. The prospects of extensive Autumn business have never been so favourable for shipping agents as at the present moment. Europe has still to cover a mighty shortage of grain before the Spring."

We see from this that the misfortune of the failure of crops in Europe has become a special source of profit to the shipping world, which has been suffering from hopeless conditions for years.

The freight rates have risen correspondingly. The freight index published by the "Economist" gives the following picture:

Table with 2 columns: Month (May 1924 to September) and Index value (132.94 to 128.56).

The advance in freight rates naturally contributes to the advance in the prices of grain and foodstuffs in Europe.

Developments in the Cotton Industry.

We here append a table compiled from the report issued by the international association of cotton manufacturers. The table only extends to 31. July 1924, but is extraordinarily interesting in many respects:

The Situation in the World's Cotton Industry<sup>3)</sup>.

Table with 5 columns: Region (World, Europe, Asia, etc.), Spindles in last Half Year, Cotton Consumption in last Half Year, Cotton Consumption in previous Half Year, and Number of weeks (48 hours) spindles were idle.

A particularly conspicuous factor is the great disparity between the number of spindles in Europe and the quantity of cotton consumed. Whilst in Europe 100 million spindles show a consumption of not quite 4 million bales of cotton, Asia with its 16 million spindles has consumed almost 3 million bales, and America with its 41 million spindles also almost 3 million bales.

1) Old statements, new one not published. 2) 2,743,360 spindles working. 3) International Cotton Bulletin. 4) In Japan the Working week is 120 hours, in China 132.

These figures graphically mirror the crisis in the European cotton industry. Unfortunately, the degree of occupation is expressed in weeks, or not stated at all in the case of most countries.

The extensive production of the Asiatic countries is especially noticeable. If we take the consumption of cotton as decisive for the significance of the industry, we find that the states may be arranged in the following order:

United States, Great Britain, Japan, India, China. Despite the very small number of spindles in China, its cotton consumption gives it the fifth place during the past half year. This large consumption of cotton is to be explained by the fact that in the Eastern countries 120 hours are worked weekly in two shifts, in China even 132 hours, as compared with the 26 to 30 hours worked in the English cotton industry.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Conditions of Labour in the Soviet Union

By A. Glyn Evans.

In the following article Comrade Glyn Evans, who in company with other English miners has recently visited Soviet Russia, gives an account of the conditions of work in the mining and other branches of heavy industry in the Soviet Union.

Workers in a capitalist country are apt to look at the conditions prevailing in U. S. S. R. from the same view point as a capitalist country. In England, for example, one would say a coal miner receives a certain sum per week, and from that would have an opinion of what kind of "existence" the miner has, especially when he has a family of four or five to keep, the rent of the house, lighting and water rates etc. to be taken into consideration. This is the accepted fodder-basis and is generally below the statistical cost of living basis. From that one is able to draw certain conclusions.

It is quite different in the U. S. S. R. Here we visit metallurgical factories, locomotive works, biscuit factories and coke ovens, and went down salt and coal mines. We questioned the workers themselves and obtained information regarding their work and social life and also gained an idea of the tremendous change which has taken place since the revolution.

A large metal works in Moscow employing 3000 workers was working at full pressure. New buildings were being constructed to enlarge the works. Great care was taken of the workers, especially in the hard manual departments. In the tin plate mill department the workers had a spare hand for the most strenuous tasks, and the hours were six per day. In the rope making department, sets of three workers operated, changing the other after every 40 rolls of wire were completed, thus one worker rested while two sets were being made, a feature worthy of emulation in English metal factories.

All kinds of steel products were being made, from nuts and bolts to finished steel cylinders. There was also a chemical section to finish the wires. In this section the workers received extra rations of milk and butter, on account of the as yet unavoidable influence of chemicals injurious to their health. In the smelting section a machine which saved a deal of hard labour, and which was controlled by one man had been installed to carry scrap iron to the furnace.

The workers in the highest grade received from 80 to 100 roubles per month, and in the other grades, such as the nut and bolt department, where young men and women worked on equal terms, they received from 50 to 60 roubles. In most departments a fixed standard was paid for a standard amount of work done and any work done over that standard was paid extra bonus. This sum does not give any idea as to the standard of life, because of the concessions in rent, free lighting and water etc.

The comrade who showed us round was only elected supervisor from the workshop a fortnight previously by com-

ment of the workers. Here as was the case in all factories and mines we visited, the first people we met were the secretary of the communist Party local, the chairman of the works or pit committee who supervised any dispute or conflict that arose, and the director or manager. All worked hand in hand making possible a harmonious whole, the basis being the workers themselves.

In all the factories a large number of workers were on holiday recuperating their health, a term applied in Britain only to the bourgeoisie, the usual holiday of the worker being a day's excursion on Bank holiday.

Attached to every factory was a Red Aid Department, and doctors and dentists supplied free attendance in all cases, paid out of expenses of administration. The factory or pit committee expenses were also met from the same source and room was provided for their convenience at the works.

One of the best features in all cases was the conspicuous absence of boys on the premises, no boy or girl under 16 being allowed by state law to enter the factory or mine.

Being miners we were more interested in the mining area, and in the Donetz Basin we found conditions which could be examined in a more special light and comparisons with Britain could be seen more clearly. We were told that the Don Basin is far more advanced than any other coal field. If that is so then the other basins must be very good, because we can truly say that, taking on an average, the conditions of labour in the Don Basin are above those prevailing in Britain today.

Technically the mines are not so highly developed as in Britain, but it is only in the coal screening process that this is marked, due entirely to the lack of funds to develop machinery; a factor which will soon be overcome as plans were already in preparation for this purpose.

Down in the mine itself James Welsh's poem "Down in the deep sunless murk, guiltless of laughter and mirth" could not be applied. The workers were full of enthusiasm for the reorganisation of their devastated industries. They discussed with us how to obtain better wages as a thing in itself, but questions of better production, how to develop the mine and better plans for the carrying out of this purpose, because they realise that with more production their position and standard will be advanced. Monthly meetings are held for the purpose of examining the development of production and the laying of plans for the future. The responsible officials give a report of progress, and here the workers have their say and freely criticise any step or undesirable step that been taken and plans to rectify same are drawn up.

One pit we visited was an up to-date shaft, a double decked shaft with a patent safety catch in case the rope broke. We were shown the airways and found very good ventilation everywhere.

There was always a plentiful supply of timber and the hewer would place them the way he found best. Consideration of cost did not prevent this and in all the coal faces no question of idleness entered, first and foremost came the question of the safety of the workers.

The method of working was somewhat similar to some mines in Britain, the levels were quite modern; there was a double road-way, which means a quickening of production and facilitating of the transport of wagons.

The miners work about 18 days per month, the hewers receive 60 roubles as a standard, and for this he has to hew about 10 ft by 5 ft in a one yard seam of coal in a six hour day. The majority hew above this amount and make about 80 to 100 roubles monthly. In comparison to the British mines it is easier and lighter with better facilities for working.

They receive extra clothes for wet places and any extra needed for special places.

The miner pays as dues to his union about 2% of his wages, and this money is allocated to different spheres, some of them unique. For example 25% for educational work, 5% for unemployed, 5% for strike fund, which is used to aid strikers abroad, 2% for international solidarity, also 1% for mutual aid to send aid to such as the German miners when they were starving while working. He possesses the spirit of internationalism.

The output is growing month by month, and in contrast to the mines in England, where the last ascertainment meant a reduction in wages, the Don Bas miner's standard is being advanced.

Every week the English papers write of pits closing. In Asia they are reopening the pits flooded by the whites during

the Denikin and Koltchak raids as fast as machinery can be obtained for their maintenance. This is due chiefly to the cohesion that exists in the working out of production in the Soviet State, where all the factories and mines are run by the State for the workers.

Any worker injured in the mine receives three months full pay, and if permanently injured he is paid for a year, then handed over to the State which pays insurance benefits. If illness arises then the worker is paid 15% of his wages plus a state grant and also a quota from the mutual aid organisation which takes care of all organised workers who are ill.

Every year the miners have a month's holiday and are sent to the best parts of Russia, to the Crimea and the Caucasus. The surface workers have a fortnight holiday. They have also organised about 700 beds at holiday resort for workers who are suffering from various complaints such as asthma, rheumatism etc., all fares being provided free.

The miner's house is free of rent and there is no payment for electric light or water. Hence the Don Basin miner's standard is much above the standard of the average British miner, when regard is had to his work, social life, his clubs (of which there is one for every thousand workers) theatres and parks.

The Russian miner discusses with pride the plans for the future and his enthusiasm is infectious. The revolution has created in the U. S. S. R. a type of worker who will dare anything rather than lose what he has. His understanding of international affairs is far in advance of the average English worker. He has advantages due to the control of his own working conditions, and this makes him look upon his work, not as an irksome duty, but as part of his existence. It also develops an attitude world-wide in its range. The world's proletariat are his brothers, and he will fight to retain the Soviet Republic because it is the vanguard of the cause of emancipation of the working class from the bondage of wage slavery, and capitalist and internationalist oppression.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Results of the Split in the C. P. of Sweden and the Swedish Elections.

By John Pepper (Moscow).

It is now possible to judge the final results of the Party split in Sweden. Taken as a whole we can say that these results mean a complete victory for the Communist International.

The Hoeglund Group, a Sect. — Our Section, The Party.

In its fight against Hoeglund the Communist International appealed to the Party membership by means of a referendum. Hoeglund did not recognise this referendum, he even went so far as to issue a proclamation to the members of the Party forbidding them to take part in it. Hoeglund had the whole official Party apparatus in his hand and controlled the Party press. In spite of this the Executive of the Comintern succeeded in having the referendum carried out among the whole Party. Out of 8000 party members, no less than 6064 took part in the referendum. The overwhelming majority, 5282 of the Party members, recorded an affirmative vote, that is, for the Communist International, 123 voted against it, 477 refrained from voting and 188 declared themselves "neutral". Out of the 283 local organisations of the Party, no less than 215 took part in the referendum.

Today the section of the Communist International in Sweden has over 6000 Party members, while the Hoeglund group has only about 1500.

A further indication of the relative strength of our Party compared with the seceded group is the press. In the split we have succeeded in capturing almost the whole Party press: The section of the C. I. has retained the following papers: two daily newspapers, one of them being "Politiken" the Central organ of the Party; two papers which appear three times a week; two papers appearing twice a week; the weekly paper of the Youth League and the monthly magazine of the women. The Hoeglund group was only able to deprive us of one paper, which appears three times a week. After the split Hoeglund founded a new daily in Stockholm.

### The Results of the Elections.

The results of the parliamentary elections prove beyond doubt that we have been able in the split, not only to retain the overwhelming majority of Party members, but also the entire mass influence of the Party. In the elections held in September our Party polled 65,283 votes, while on the other hand the Hoeglund group polled only 24,619 votes. Our section obtained 4 seats, the Hoeglund group only one.

In judging this result one must bear in mind that the Party split took place immediately before the parliamentary elections, and was used against our Party by the whole bourgeois, social democratic and syndicalist press. In the split Hoeglund retained not only the official electioneering apparatus, but also the funds which had been collected for the elections. He enjoyed the full support of the entire bourgeoisie, as well as of social democracy, while our section was regarded as the enemy and was opposed in the most brutal fashion. A complete united front, from the extreme right to Hoeglund, was set up against our Party, which made use of the intervention of the Executive of the C. I. It was declared that our Swedish section was not a Swedish Party, that it was at the service of a foreign power, and that the representative of the Executive Committee is now behaving in Sweden in the same way as did formerly the "Russian provosts", the one-time instruments of foreign suppression over the Swedish people.

Our Party has lost two seats out of six, but not because there was a reduction in the vote recorded, but only because Hoeglund instructed his followers to vote for the social democrats. For the rest, the results of the elections have shown with brutal clearness the fraudulent character of Swedish democracy. The proportional representation system works entirely against us. Even a liberal newspaper, the "Dagens Nyheter" of 5th October, declared that the system of proportional representation works in the interest of the great parties, as the social democrats obtained a seat for every 7000 votes polled, the Peasants' Union for every 7900, the Democrats for every 8600, the Liberals for every 16,500 and the Communists for every 17,700.

The figures as to the Party membership, the party press and the election prove beyond dispute that the Hoeglund group is an impotent sect, and that the Swedish section of the Communist International is in reality the Communist Party of Sweden.

### Hoeglund's Reversion to Social Democracy.

Hoeglund's political development since the split constitutes the most striking proof of the correctness of the decisions of the Enlarged Executive against him. Since the split Hoeglund has become, not only in words but also in acts, a social democrat of the first water. Before the split he declared that there only existed "organisatory", and in the worst case only "tactical" differences, between him and the Communist International. Even at the time of the split he declared that he was fighting, not against the Communist International, but against its Executive.

A few facts serve briefly to show Hoeglund's rapid reversion to Social Democracy after the split:

The election manifesto of the Hoeglund group differed from the election manifesto of the Party, which has been previously drawn up in agreement with the representative of the Executive, in that it contained no word regarding the following points: the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviets, the arming of the working class, and the criticism of bourgeois parliamentarism.

During the elections the Hoeglund group concluded an open alliance with the social democrats against the Communists, united their votes with the social democrats, and thereby made a present of two seats to the Branting Party which they robbed from the communists.

After the elections Hoeglund's newspaper welcomed the new social democratic Branting Ministry and declared that "the co-operation of the social democratic and of the bourgeois democratic Party is more advantageous to the working class than the present reactionary government". Fredrik Ström declared in the name of the Hoeglund sect that "they will criticise the mistakes of the new Labour government very sharply, but concretely; nevertheless they will support it against all attacks of the reaction and of the bourgeois Parties".

The only provincial paper of the Hoeglund group, "Nya Smoland", has openly reverted to social democratic pacifism. It announces that it is opposed to every form of militarism, and that it is not only an opponent of the arming of the bourgeoisie, but also of the proletariat.

For Hoeglund, any ally is good enough in his fight against the Communist International. He has not only allied himself with Tranmael, but also with the socialist Party of Italy, with the dirty renegades of the Avanti group. As can be seen from the articles in Hoeglund's paper "Nya Politiken" and in the "Avanti", Angelica Balabanoff has played the role of match-maker in this new love affair. Tranmael supported Hoeglund's election campaign in Stockholm, and Hoeglund is now supporting the election campaign of Tranmael in Christiania. The chief slogans of these two boon companions are: "For a new revolution in Soviet Russia!", "Against the Communist International!"

That is Hoeglund as he appears in his true colours, after having shaken off the "chains" of the Communist International. For years he was able to pose before the Swedish working class as the representative and upholder of communist principles. He is now very quickly unmasking himself.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Imperialist Terror in India.

By special order of the Viceroy, 66 leading members of the Nationalist Party in the province of Bengal have been arrested. The police raided simultaneously hundreds of houses all over the province, which is as large as France. The arrest of the nationalist leader, Chittaranjan Das, is also expected.

This reign of terror is sudden and totally uncalled for because the men arrested and the party they belong to are frankly partisans of constitutional action, and do not stand for separation from the Empire. This brutal repression is inaugurated on the pretext of the existence of secret terrorist organisations supported by the Nationalist Party. But the very fact that this wholesale repression could not be carried on with the help of ordinary criminal law, proves the groundlessness of the pretext. Because, had there been any terrorist societies really in existence, and had the nationalists had any relation with them, ordinary criminal law would be enough to bring them both to trial and secure adequate punishment. Since the pretext is the invention of the police, the autocratic powers of the Viceroy had to be invoked.

In spite of their moderate programme, the Nationalists have during the last year, made much trouble for the government. At every step, they resisted the autocratic action of the government, and repeatedly inflicted on it parliamentary defeat. By means of the sham Reforms granted after the war, British imperialism sought to buy off the Indian upper classes and squander its domination with the much advertised doctrine of self-determination. From the very beginning, the majority of the people rejected these reforms as totally inadequate; and the movement of Non-cooperation with the government was launched in 1920. Subsequently a section of the National Congress gave up the negative programme, and participated in the elections of 1921. Their plan was to capture the pseudo-parliamentary bodies with the view to exposing their sham and impotence. In less than a year they have accomplished this plan admirably. In two provinces, faced by a nationalist majority, the governors assumed dictatorial powers, and dismissed the legislature. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the government was defeated on a number of vital questions, including the budget, but calmly overrode the verdict of the elected representatives of the people. The whole country has been in a political and administrative deadlock for several months. All these unparliamentary, undemocratic and unconstitutional events took place while the Labour Government was in office. The latter did not do anything but to sanction the action of the colonial pro-consuls. On the eve of assuming office, Mr. MacDonald shook his mailed fist at the Indian Nationalists, and during his short life of glory repeated the inglorious feat several times. Nevertheless, the Government of India did not dare wreck its vengeance on the impertinent nationalist while the Labour Government was in office. It feared a possible intervention. Of course, there could be no apprehension that the Labour Government would intervene; but the British proletariat would not permit a government ruling in its name to connive at such an unwarranted reign of terror.

The last straw that broke the camel's back, was the motion carried in the teeth of official opposition, repealing the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1909 — a law which empowered the

executive to place any part of the country practically under martial law without observing the formalities of declaring it. Thus, not only the worthlessness of the "Reforms" was thoroughly exposed, but the precious prestige of the forces of "law and order" was gravely jeopardized. The British bourgeoisie at home and their representatives in India breathed fire, and demanded the blood of the nationalists. The press was full of lurid accounts of "murder organisations" spread all over the country. The fall of the Labour Government was a God-send. The only obstacle to the inauguration of a reign of terror was gone.

Now what is the crime committed by these Indian Nationalists? They have not risen in an armed revolt; although even such an action on their part could not be held culpable by any code of law, if democracy and self-determination were not mockery. Indian Nationalist parties, including the most extreme wing, are ardent advocates of non-violence. Failing to prove otherwise, not by yellow journalism, but by authentic facts, their profession cannot be legitimately challenged. They demand democratisation of the present administration, and have shown that the Reforms of 1919 do not contain the most rudimentary principles of democracy. The brutality of wholesale repression against this "crime" is a hundred times accentuated, because it is perpetrated on the bloody background of the last five years.

The II. International rushes gallantly to the aid of Georgian counter-revolution; but it approves bloody British Imperialism, which it glorifies as a "civilizing agency". We appeal to the European proletariat to repudiate the social-imperialism of the II International, and declare their solidarity with the Indian people fighting for freedom. This solidarity can be expressed through protest meetings and by sending to the Indian Nationalists messages of support and sympathy. The appeal is especially directed to the British working class, on whom falls the major portion of the responsibility of springing to the aid of the Indian Nationalists suffering under the iron heel of imperialism. Direct action should be taken to stay the bloody hand of the bourgeoisie.

Proletariat of the World! Your revolutionary tradition is at stake.

Proletariat of Britain! Your revolutionary spirit is put to the test.

Spring to the aid of the victims of Imperialism in India.

M. N. Roy,  
Communist Party of India.

## The Persecution of the Trade Union Movement in Roumania.

By D. Cosma (Bucarest).

The Communist Party of Roumania having been rendered quite illegal, the terrorist organs of the Roumanian oligarchy now believe the time to have arrived for strangling the revolutionary trade union movement. Whilst on the one hand the employers, by means of lockouts and mass discharges, increase the already growing unemployment, and in spite of the increasing prices not only refuse the justifiable wage demands of the workers, but even attempt to reduce wages, the state authorities on the other hand proceed to annihilate the trade union organisations in order to crush completely the working class. Mass arrests, dissolution of trade union organisations and closing of the trade union premises are the usual methods of this terrorist campaign, which is chiefly directed against the unitarian trade unions which follow a class war policy.

The signal for this general attack by the state authorities against the revolutionary trade unions was the dissolution of the Unitarian Trade Union Central, which was followed by the closing of the workers club in Targu-Mures. As a result, trade union organisations comprising 5000 workers were deprived of premises.

In Timisoara the local authorities ordered the trade unions to cease all activity. In Zernest the unitarian metal workers group was dissolved by means of brute force. At the same time the local premises of this group were closed and the members of the executive placed under arrest. Among those

arrested was the local treasurer Josef Toth, who, in spite of being a Roumanian citizen, was expelled from the country.

For months past the unitarian trade unions have been forbidden to hold meetings. Whilst the reformist organisations enjoy full freedom of assembly, the authorities do not even allow the members of the unitarian trade unions the opportunity of meeting together in order to discuss wage disputes. The premises of the Bucarest unitarian trade unions are visited by agents of the political police by day and night in order to prevent the trade union functionaries from carrying out their duties. The Trade unions therefore sent a protest delegation to the Minister for Labour, who stated to the delegation that so long as the organisations concerned were not affiliated to Amsterdam he could not guarantee them any freedom of activity.

The Unitarian metal workers' union convened a national congress on the 26th of September. The chief of the police, however, forbade the holding of this congress, although it had previously been sanctioned by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry for Labour.

Arrests and house searches are part of the order of the day. In Targu-Mures the trade union secretary Joseph Mihaly was placed under arrest, because he carried on organising activity among the non-organised workers. On the 21st of September the premises of the unitarian wood workers' union was raided by the police. The search of the premises did not yield the least result, but this did not prevent the police from arresting numerous members of the executive. The secretary, comrade Josef Husar was among the arrested and was afterwards ill-treated in the most brutal manner. A similar action was taken against the Clothing Workers Union and the entire correspondence and office books of the union confiscated.

A brutal act of terror was committed by the Bucarest military court which condemned 21 members of the unitarian trade unions to six months to one year's imprisonment merely because they had called a meeting for the purpose of establishing a workers' book shop. The condemned included the secretary of the unitarian trade union council, comrade Nr. Marian, who has been sentenced to six months prison.

The Hermannstadt military court imposed a brutal class judgment upon twelve miners of the Schiltal coal district who had made propaganda for the restoration of trade union unity which had been destroyed by the Amsterdamers in September 1923. Sentences of six months to two years imprisonment were imposed. The condemned appealed against this judgment, which is in open violation of the law, to the court of appeal, which quashed the judgment of the lower court. Nevertheless our comrades were not allowed to enjoy their freedom for long, as they were again arrested on the 7th of September and soon afterwards expelled from the country. These acts of terror followed upon a denunciation by the reformist trade union bureaucrats.

That the government authorities stand in a united front with the employers was shown in the plainest manner in Pételvalva, where the obstinacy of the directors of the local paper factory recently compelled 400 workers to down tools. At the beginning the directors were opposed to any increase of wages, and it was only after long negotiations that they declared themselves ready to grant a 20% increase. But in return for this they refused to take back a portion of the strikers. The workers, of course, would not agree to this and continued the strike. Thereupon the directors applied to the authorities for assistance. On the 14th of September the strike leaders were arrested by the police and, under the pretext "that they were going to blow up the factory", were handed over to the Hermannstad military court. After these arrest the police went from house to house and forced the workers to return to work. Many workers attempted to resist this act of violence and fled into the surrounding woods. The police organised a regular hunt after them, drove them all together, brutally ill-treated them and escorted them back to the factory.

The latest act of terror is the campaign against the Arad unitarian trade unions. On the 11th of October comrades Vostinar, secretary of the local trades council, Johann Baga, member of the national trade union council, Franz Léárd, a metal worker, and in addition a working woman, named Aranka, were arrested under the pretext that they had participated in organising a "Bolshevik plot". At the same time the workers club was closed. The arrested comrades were taken to the "Siguranca" (political police), where they were subjected to the

notorious inquisitorial cross-examination of the Roumanian police. As they refused to place their signatures to the "confessions" which had been previously concocted by the Siguranca, they were all brutally mishandled. Comrade Aranka was so severely injured as a result of the ill-treatment she suffered, that her life is depaired of. The Banat district secretary lodged a protest against this brutal ill-treatment, to which the authorities paid no attention whatever; to the contrary, twenty further arrests have taken place.

All these persecutions, which along with the existing economic crisis only constitute the symptoms of the process of dissolution of the present reign of terror, are, however, in no way capable of destroying the fighting spirit of the class-conscious Roumanian proletariat; they will much rather increase the desire for fight and the class consciousness of all the workers of the country. The international proletariat must realise its duty and stand by the Roumanian workers in this time of suppression, and demonstrate its solidarity by energetically supporting the emancipatory struggle of the working masses of Roumania.

## THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

### A Year of the Peasants' International.

By T. Dombal (Moscow).

The idea of founding an international organisation of peasants had already arisen before the war. The first who endeavoured to realise this plan were the reactionary leaders of the peasants' movement, amongst them the president of the Swiss Peasants' Union, the well-known Lau, who has now renewed his efforts to realise the idea of a reactionary Peasants' International. After the war, when the class-consciousness of the peasants had increased, attempts were made by the different agricultural organisations of various countries to get into touch with one another. Stambuliski, who established a Peasants' Dictatorship in Bulgaria, tried to create a green Peasants' International. In 1922 he called a Congress of agricultural workers — mainly Slav — in Sofia and Tirnovo, which agreed to found a Green Peasants' International. This attempt caused a great stir throughout the world. Even a green Peasants' International frightened the bourgeoisie, for it showed that the peasantry was beginning to free itself from their leadership; but this green International was unable to develop, not merely because Stambuliski's dictatorship was soon overthrown (this fact is the best proof that it is a mistake to regard the peasantry as an independent, decisive political factor), but chiefly because Stambuliski and his friends could not find an economic and political platform for the co-operation of the peasantry of different countries. The question of founding an international peasants' organisation interested me, an agricultural politician, extremely. I began to study this question. Having acquainted myself with Lenin's works on the agrarian and peasant question, I had come to the firm conclusion that a platform for a Peasants' International does exist

— as a matter of fact it was created by Lenin through his activity and his teaching as to the revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants, the bond between the industrial town and the agricultural village, and the part co-operation plays in a period of transition as an instrument for the realisation of Communism in a peasant environment.

At this time I began to advocate in the Press the founding of a Peasants' International. A lively discussion on this question arose in the Labour and Agricultural Press of various countries. It was just the time when the Agricultural Exhibition was being prepared. Several prominent agricultural politicians of various shades of political opinion from a series of countries then resolved through personal correspondence to make use of this circumstance to create a Peasants' International. At the invitation of the initiative group of peasants to send delegations to Moscow, delegates of 40 different nationalities arrived there. After informative discussions, the initiative group was authorized to call a Conference. One hundred and fifty eight delegates from 40 countries took part in this Conference. In ten sittings the Conference dealt in detail with the question of the position of the peasantry in various countries, with co-operation, and the danger of fresh imperialistic wars which are the cause of the extreme pauperization of the peasantry.

The Conference worked out a platform, the foundations of a programme of work and the statutes of organisation. On October 15th the resolution regarding the organisation of the Red Peasants' International was unanimously adopted and the International Peasants' Council, with a Presidium at its head, was elected.

Representatives of all the 40 countries present at the Conference were appointed to the Council, the Presidium was elected consisting of 11 members from all parts of the world. The Conference enthusiastically accepted the following slogan as the motto of the Peasants' International: Peasants and Workers of all countries, unite!

The Red Peasants' International is of extraordinary significance in the international Labour movement.

This is best expressed by Lenin's opinion, reported by Zinoviev at the Conference of the peasants' delegates that this most important event of our century marks an epoch in history.

The significance of the Peasants' International consists mainly in the fact that it carries out on a world-wide scale Lenin's instructions as to the alliance of workers and peasants, and thus accelerates the detachment of millions of peasants from the camp of the bourgeoisie and their going over to the proletarian camp. The effort of the Peasants' International to form a World Union of republics of workers and peasants, and the methods of fighting are almost identical with the aim of the proletariat which marches under the flag of the Comintern.

The Peasants' International is developing into a dangerous opponent of the bourgeoisie and the landowners. This is best proved by the recently renewed attempt to oppose it by the Green and the Black Peasants' International.

I am convinced that the Peasants' International will, in the course of a year or two, become a tremendous force in international politics.

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## CONTENTS

Karl Radek: Open Diplomacy or Regime of Forgery.

Politics

Arthur Rosenberg: How the C. P. of Germany is conducting the Election Campaign.

Karl Frank: The Railway Strike and the Resignation of the Seipel Government in Austria.

A. Maslow: The End of the Pacificist Era and the Regrouping of Forces.

Hands off China

A. Joffe: The Outlook in China.

Labour Movement

The Lessons of the Defeat of the Miners of the Borinage District.

For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement  
Friedrich Adler and the Unity of the Trade Union Movement.  
To the Teachers of the World.

Union of Soviet Republics

L. Kritzmann: The Economic Achievements of the Proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Sokolnikov: The Financial Situation of Soviet Russia and the Question of Foreign Loans.

N. Semashko: Physical culture in the Soviet Union.

The Youth Movement

Summons to the Fight against the Dawes Plan.

The White Terror

Against the White Terror in Poland

Revelations as to the Bulgarian Government of Murder.

## Open Diplomacy or Regime of Forgery.

Open Letter to Messrs Arthur Ponsonby, E. D. Morel and to other Founders of the Union of Democratic Control.

Gentlemen,

At the beginning of the War you founded the Union of Democratic Control in order to combat Secret Diplomacy, which, according to your opinion, appeared to be one of the causes of the War. You have done much to unmask the secrets of English imperialist diplomacy. You even left the Liberal Party, being convinced that it is so much bound up with imperialism that it is incapable of conducting a struggle against all the lies and tricks of imperialist diplomacy which threaten the general peace. But alas! After the Labour Party, to which you now belong, assumed power, it became the most zealous guardian of the secrets of the Foreign Office — of those secrets which are not directed against other peoples but also against the mass of the British people. The Foreign Office passed into the hands of the pacifist Ramsay MacDonald, who not so very long previously had made use of the most scathing terms in order to characterize the atmosphere prevailing in Downing Street and the methods employed by the Foreign Office officials. It was Mr. Ponsonby, who was appointed as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and you are perfectly aware that not one of the officials of the Foreign Office, whom you considered capable of any forgery, was removed from his post. Once the Labour Government decided to establish Peace through the mediumship of these gentlemen it became obvious that it was compelled to keep the archives under safe lock and order not to expose the previous forgeries on the part of the Foreign Office officials. We "barbarians", "anti-democrats", "imperialists", immediately we seized power, made known to

the world the secrets of the predatory treaties of Czarism. You, the "democrats", the "pacifists" and "opponents of secret diplomacy", helped to keep dark secrets of English imperialism.

But this is not all! The final act of your government — the affair of the alleged Zinoviev letter — is the last straw. Here the impotence of the Labour Government to put an end to the rule of the diplomatic forgers by means of resolute action becomes transformed into direct support of them.

What is Mr. MacDonald's version of the affair? On the 10th October the Foreign Office receives the alleged Zinoviev letter; on the 15th it forwards this letter to MacDonald. Mr. MacDonald is familiar with the affair of the forgeries of 1922, when the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs proved that the alleged documents which gave rise to the ultimatum by Lord Curzon originated from the German secret police, an agent of which, the Baltic Baron, Uexkuell, had set up a special falsification bureau, and even a special press organ, for spreading these falsifications. Mr. MacDonald was aware that the People's Commissariat had at that time sent to the English Foreign Office, proof of the bogus nature of the documents upon which the latter had acted. A facsimile of the original falsification was printed in a series of English papers; it became known afterwards that the German government, after having gone into the complaint of the Soviet Government regarding the toleration of the existence of such a lie factory in Berlin, expelled Baron Uexkuell from German soil. Mr. MacDonald was also aware that in 1923 the Soviet Government declared to Lord Curzon, on the occasion of his famous Note, that the documents on which his Lordship had