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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.

The 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 frauds 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 only 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 characterise the atmosphere prevailing in Downing Street and the methods employed by the Foreign Office officials. It was you, 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 to be 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 key in order not to expose the previous forgeries on the part of the Foreign Office officials. We "barbarians", "anti-democrats", "red 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

based his note were either partial or complete forgeries and that it, the Soviet Government, undertook to prove the same before any impartial commission.

Mr. MacDonald was aware of the fact that the officials who, on the 15th October, sent him the alleged Zinoviev letter are the very same people who had made use of falsified documents in the past. Nevertheless, he entrusted these same officials with the task of looking into the authenticity of the letter and, in the event of their finding the Zinoviev letter to be genuine, of drawing up the Note to the Soviet Government.

Gentlemen. The fact that Zinoviev proposed to entrust the examination of this affair to the General Council of the English Trade Unions, and that the Soviet Government proposed to the English Government that these documents be examined by a Court of Arbitration, leaves not the least possible doubt regarding our affirmation that this so-called Zinoviev letter is a forgery.

What consequences must follow from this constant manipulation with forged documents on the part of the English Government in order to discredit the Soviet Government? You have had sufficient political experience to be able to admit that the aim, and partly also the result, of these forgeries is to undermine confidence in treaties concluded with the Soviet Union. Can the Soviet Government tolerate indefinitely these machinations? It must not tolerate them. And if the Soviet Government, for the sake of an amicable settlement of this dispute, were to consent to a compromise in the solution of this question, the public opinion of our country would certainly not agree to this. It possesses means of compelling English public opinion to give a clear answer to the question, whether it consents to tolerate further in the Foreign Office people who are either scoundrels or idiots.

Carlyle on the British Foreign Office.

"Everyone may remark what a hope animates the eyes of any circle, when it is reported, or even confidentially asserted, that Sir Robert Peel has in his mind privately resolved to go, one day, into that stable of King Augeas which appals human hearts, so rich is it, high-piled with the droppings of two hundred years; and, Hercules-like, to load a thousand night wagons with it, and turn running water into it, and swash and shovel at it, and never leave it till the antique pavement and real basis of the matter show itself clean again!... To clean out the dead pedantries, unveracities, indolent somnolent impotencies, and accumulated dung-mountains there, is the beginning of all practical good whatsoever... Nay, there are men now current in political society, men of weight though also of wit, who have been heard to say, 'That there was but one reform for the Foreign Office — to set a live coal under it', and with, of course, a fire brigade which could prevent the undue spread of the devouring element into neighbouring houses, let that reform it!

"Latter-Day Pamphlets" (1850). Quoted in E. D. Morel's "Truth and the War".

Confidence in England has been undermined in all countries of the world, and before all in the countries of the Near and Far East. What will you say if here in Russia there will be founded a Union for the study of the regime of forgery which is carried on by the English Government while at the same time people who on many occasions by their courageous actions have saved the honour of the English name, remain silent? What will you say if this Union causes to be published, in hundreds of thousands of copies, in Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and other languages, the detailed history of the forgeries of the government of Lord Curzon and of the forgeries concealed under the name of the Labour Government? What will you say if in all European languages there appears a similar yellow book concerning the swindles practised by the official representatives of the English Government, and containing facsimiles of all the original documents?

As experienced politicians you will certainly say that this would be an extremely hostile and dangerous agitation against England. And this of course is the case. But this will be done, and no thunder bolts hurled by the most terrible of all the Curzons will be able to compel the Soviet Government, or the public opinion of the Soviet Union, to refrain from such an investigation — for this is required, not only in the interests of the Soviet Union, but also in the interest of clearing the world-

atmosphere of a gang of scoundrels who think that, as against the Soviet Union, everything is permitted.

I am convinced that you yourselves will thoroughly understand the necessity of carrying out this operation with your own hands — with the hands of honest English politicians, who have repeatedly shown that they repudiate the jingoistic slogan: "my country right or wrong." I express the conviction that you yourselves, gentlemen, will use every means in order, in the shortest possible time, to bring before the bar of public opinion those who have committed this forgery.

I am Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

Karl Radek.

POLITICS

How the C. P. of Germany is conducting the Election Campaign.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The Communist Party of Germany is preparing for the elections of Dec. 7th, the penitentiary elections, as the popular saying rightly expresses it, under the most difficult conditions. The situation recalls the Duma elections under Czarism, or the elections which have taken place in recent times in the domain of the Polish "Democracy", in Finland, Jugoslavia or Mussolini's Italy. The fact that there were 62 Communist members of the Reichstag in Germany and that on the 4th of May, 3,700,000 votes were cast for the Communist Party, did not at all fit in to the system of the Dawes Plan. In the experts' plan the German Government has been explicitly charged with the task of creating, in mutual agreement with the creditor countries, such conditions as would make Germany appear a trustworthy debtor in the eyes of other countries. Four million Communists in Germany constitute however a factor which most seriously injures the credit of the German bourgeoisie. Every million less of Communist votes implies a cheapening by 2% of the credit for the German State and private loans abroad. The weakening of Communism is a vital part of the policy of fulfilment of the German bourgeoisie and German Social Democracy.

As a matter of fact these tactics are exceedingly stupid. A revolutionary movement is not destroyed by excluding it from or reducing its strength in Parliament, since revolutions are, as is well-known, not made in Parliament. All great revolutions of modern times have been made by groups which were either not represented in Parliament or were in the minority. Think of the Bolsheviks, the Jacobins, Cromwell's party. Even in Germany, legal parliamentary elections in Oct. or Nov. 1918 would never have produced a majority for the Republic, for the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns, the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils. Thus the German bourgeoisie will sleep no more quietly even if they succeed in forming a better Reichstag.

In many respects the Germany of 1923 resembled the Russian Empire of 1905. Just as the defeat of the revolution of 1905 in Russia gave rise to a period of wildest reaction, so the German bourgeoisie would like to take revenge for the fright suffered in 1923 by a Stolipin period. The German miniature Stolipin has already been found in the person of Jarres, Minister of the Interior who, every few weeks states in his circulars that penal servitude has a very good effect on the Communists. This little Stolipin has unfortunately not the faintest idea of what is actually going on among the German population. Were he to observe a country in which the persecutions are especially violent, for instance Württemberg, he would find that the Württemberg proletariat has at no time stood more firmly by the C. P. of Germany than at the present moment, has never been more ready to fight nor more willing to sacrifice itself than today — in spite of the innumerable arrests and arbitrary acts of the Bazille-Bolz Government, that faithful disciple of Herr Jarres.

Jarres works hand in hand with Ebert, with the Chancellor Marx, with the internationally notorious examining magistrate Vogt and, — let us not forget — with the Social Democratic police authorities, Severing and Richter. These Social Democrats are using every possible means in the election campaign to weaken the Communists and strengthen the Social Democratic Party. In Berlin they are not contenting themselves with per-

secuting the Communist members of the Reichstag, but the lesser functionaries also are being arrested in masses. The Press bureaux of the police president Richter and the Minister of the Interior Severing publish every few days tales of horror about Communist bombs, the disintegration of the C. P. G. etc.

The C. P. G. is carrying on this electoral campaign in a situation in which the well-known and effective speakers of the Party cannot appear in public at all, and every other kind of election work is seriously paralysed by police interference. At the same time a concentrated attack of all parties, from the German Nationalists to the Social Democratic Party, is being organized against us. Under these extremely difficult conditions the election campaign will be a veritable ordeal for the C. P. G. It will have a significance which far exceeds that of other election contests.

Last winter, when the Party was prohibited, the pressure against it in diet elections, as in Thüringia, or in municipal elections as in Saxony, was nevertheless nothing like so severe as now. If the Party succeeds, in spite of this unexampled unfavourable situation, in obtaining millions of workers' votes on Dec. 7th, it will prove that it is impossible to defeat the C. P. G. in present day Germany.

The civic elections in Hamburg on Oct. 26th were a good prelude to the Reichstag elections. In spite of the extreme terror exercised against the C. P. G., they did not succeed in overthrowing us. In Hamburg especially many hundreds of Communist functionaries are detained in prison or are refugees. Nevertheless, in spite of extensive abstention from voting, due to the lack of interest on the part of the masses in the parliamentary farce, the C. P. G. in Hamburg obtained 81,000 votes. The Social Democrats did not succeed in gaining any increased vote in Hamburg. That which was demonstrated in Hamburg on Oct. 26th, will be seen again in the whole of Germany on Dec. 7th.

The Party is carrying on this election campaign absolutely on principle. It is evident that in the present period of increased terror on the part of the bourgeoisie, there is not much likelihood of democratic illusions existing among the working class. The idea of opposing a Communist Social Democratic Labour block to the bourgeois block, i. e. an alliance with Severing against Jarres would indeed be stark madness. But in the election, the Party naturally upholds the principle of a united front of all workers against the bourgeoisie and it extends from the workers to the employees, the officials, and particularly to the radical small peasants' organization. The C. P. G. is using the election campaign as a means of rousing the whole Party and the whole of the working class. The questions which are being put in the foreground are those of the every-day life of the proletariat: wages, hours of work, increased cost of living, and especially the amnesty. The 7th of December must demonstrate that the working masses of Germany will have nothing to do with the Dawes Plan, that they refuse starvation wages and a 10 hours' day and that they demand the liberation of the political prisoners. Besides this the Communist vote on the 7th December must be a demonstration for the taking over of power by the workers as against the rule of capital. The Communist vote on Dec. 7th will be a demonstration against the League of Nations fraud and in favour of an alliance between a proletarian Germany and Soviet Russia.

The chief enemy we have to deal with in this election is perhaps not the bourgeoisie, not the Social Democrats, not the police, not the law, but the indifference and lack of interest of large circles of the working people to parliamentarism. The radically inclined German workman is so convinced of the futility of parliamentary procedure, that it becomes more and more difficult to drag him to the poll. The C. P. G. is devoting special attention to the agitation for convincing these sections of the workers that every vote which is not recorded on Dec. 7th is a vote for the reduction of wages and against the amnesty. A defeat of the Communists on Dec. 7th would only increase the arrogance and the brutality of the bourgeoisie and thus worsen the situation of the proletariat.

In spite of persecution and hindrances, the C. P. G. is carrying on the election campaign with all its force and with confidence, under the firm conviction that on Dec. 7th the Party will succeed in uniting millions of German proletarians upon the fundamental Communist standpoint and on the lines of the V. World Congress of the Comintern.

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

By Karl Frank (Vienna).

The Austrian government of the prelate Seipel has suddenly resigned. It took this step because the railwaymen, after having for months been refused the granting of their moderate demands, have entered on a strike.

These events reveal in the most vivid manner the critical situation of the "sanitation" in Austria. At present it is impossible to see the full consequences of these events, but one thing is certain — a decisive struggle has begun as to the distribution of the burden involved in the sanitation, which renders it impossible to carry it out further on the present basis.

For two years the Seipel government has without opposition transferred all the burdens and all the cost of the capitalist sanitation on to the working class. This government of mass dismissals of civil servants, of unemployment, of bread profiteering, of high prices, has been able to carry on its business in the interest of the Geneva robbers so far, because the powerful Austrian Social Democracy only conducted a sham opposition against it, and as a matter of fact by means of this sham opposition facilitated the carrying out of the Seipel Sanitation. It is not the official coalition with the weak petty bourgeois party of the German nationalists, which supports the christian socialist majority in parliament, in committees etc. which forms the chief support of the "sanitation work", but rather is it the secret coalition, the actual co-operation with social democracy.

The Seipel government has now resigned, because both its partners in the coalition, the German nationalists and the social democrats, have begun to vacillate. This fact found strongest expression in the railway strike. The social democrats, just as the German nationalists, were compelled in the last few days, as a result of the pressure of the German nationalist railwaymen's union, which is coming more and more under the influence of the fascists, to withdraw their support of the Seipel government which they have granted hitherto.

The strike of the railwaymen broke out after the ultimatum of the socialdemocratic railwaymen's union had been rejected. The driving force, however, was not the social democratic railwaymen's union. The latter had, in complete co-operation between the administration and the personnel, (as the "Arbeiterzeitung" admits), put off for months the fully justified demands of the railway employees and kept secret the demands contained in the ultimatum until the very last day — demands which did not even make up for the reduction of the real wages which was apparent even from the Austrian index as to the cost of living, demands from which the trade union leaders were prepared, on the day of the expiration of the ultimatum, to make some abatement.

The trade union leaders, supported by a carefully selected official apparatus, had not convened any members' meeting for over a year. But in the last moment they were unable to hold back any longer as the German nationalist railwaymen had determined on the strike (on the day of the expiration of the ultimatum, long before the strike decision of the social democratic trade union, the strike placard of the German nationalists were posted up on all railway stations in Vienna). The German nationalist railwaymen's union belongs to the concern of the German Nationalist Party whose ministers sit in the Seipel government. The German Nationalist Party has recently been disintegrated by fascist attacks and therefore was unable to prevent the action of the railwaymen's group. The Seipel government saw in this a breach of the coalition agreement.

The resignation of the government has taken place therefore, though it has not yet been admitted, not only because the demands of the railway workers endanger one of the chief supports of the sanitation i. e. the sanitation of the national railways, but because Seipel and the Christian Socialist Party wanted by this act to obtain either a suitable backing up by their coalition comrades for the further assistance in carrying out the sanitation programme, or, by means of new elections under the slogan: save the "sanitation", to create a secure foundation for the carrying out of the Geneva slave treaty.

The negotiations over the demands of the railway workers have clearly revealed these intentions of the government. According to the statement of the president of the national railways, Günther, these negotiations were wrecked owing to the refusal to grant an increase to the workers of less than 10 milliards;

agreement has been reached on all other points. These 10 milliards constitute not even two thirds of the income from the railways from one day. The obstinacy of the government who declared that if this demand were granted the whole work of sanitation would be wrecked, is especially revealed by the fact that on the other hand the government recently made a present to the Austrian capitalists of about 250 milliards by the abolition of the tax on banking- and valuta transactions. The Finance Minister openly admitted this at a meeting held at the eve of the outbreak of the strike. In addition to this the same government very willingly took over responsibility for the enormous losses caused by the swindles of the Castiglioni bank and by the Woelersdorf fraudulencies.

The situation of the national railways has become exceedingly favourable owing to the ruthless cutting down of the staff, by the shameful wages paid and by other "policies of economy". After the dismissal of 43,000 employees, after the discharged employees had been swindled out of their pensions and partly by a 64 hour week in return for a wage of 280,000 Kronen (17 sh. 6 d.) the deficit of the railways has almost completely disappeared. For the coming year there will be a contribution of 414 milliards Kronen placed at the disposal of the railways as an investment fund. Compared with the refused amount demanded by the workers which caused the break off of the negotiations, all these figures show that the real cause of the provocation on the part of the government is different from that which the government announces and that it is only pursuing its own political ends.

It is nonsense to say that the wage demands of the workers, if they were granted would place the government in an impossible situation. The fact that the Seipel government make use of them as a pretext for resigning proves that the government perceives the crisis in the work of sanitation and that they wish to take up the fight against the proletariat at the most favourable moment.

For if one aspect of the sanitation is expressed in the favourable situation of the state finances, the other aspect is shown in the terrible crisis of Austrian production. Nearly 100,000 unemployed out of 2 million workers, whose real wages did not even amount to two thirds of the pre-war wage. 80% of the Austrian production is for the export trade. This export production which only has a very limited market, will in the near future, when the new tariff comes into force, be still further limited as a result of the inevitable increase in the cost of living and the unavoidable severe labour conflicts.

After the brief revival following on the sanitation, Austria has a terrible year behind it. During this period there have flared up one after another the signals of the sanitation crisis. In the spring the strike of the bank clerks, a month or two ago the metal worker strike and now the railway workers strike. All these movements have arisen against the will of social democracy, against the slogan of Otto Bauer: "wage struggles cannot now be carried on with success". It shows that the sanitation can only be carried on further if the workers are willing to starve. It shows further that the working class, in spite of the secret coalition of the social democratic party, is beginning to take up the defence. In order to carry out further the policy of the Geneva robber treaty the government need a strong support. They hope to obtain this by their action in the railway strike.

The Communist Party of Austria is still too weak in order to take over the leadership of the working masses against this plan. It can only demand at present the convocation of the National Factory Councils Congress and the general strike in support of the railwaymen. It further demands that the Factory Councils Congress decide on a government of the workers and peasants, which will have nothing to do with the Geneva democracy. In Austria the bourgeoisie has no forces at its disposal as is the case in other countries which could prevent such a government. It can only be prevented by the social democratic party leaders. There is no doubt that the latter will do their very utmost in this respect. But it is equally certain that in this unavoidable struggle the programme of the social democratic party leaders: capture of power by means of the ballot box, will suffer shipwreck.

Whatever may be the outcome of the government crisis and of the railway strike, a step further will be taken towards revolutionising the masses and a step forwards towards a revolutionary sanitation.

The End of the Pacifist Era and the Regrouping of Forces.

The Defeat of MacDonald and its Consequences for England Itself.

By A. Maslow (Berlin).

To seek to attribute the annihilating defeat of MacDonald solely to the anomalous, obsolete English election system is childish. A whole number of factors have contributed to this defeat.

Numerically regarded, the defeat of the first English "Labour government" is, at the first glance, not great. The proportion of the votes cast by the Conservative Party and the Labour Party respectively are as 6 to 5½. But in spite of these figures prove on closer inspection, to be crushing for the Labour government.

For the masses of the electors consist of workers, of compact masses of workers, who, in the cities, as for instance in Birmingham, have overwhelmingly voted for the Conservatives. What is the reason for this?

It can be regarded as a rule that masses who are not politically trained and steered do not think of supporting a government which has not done something definite for them.

This was the experience in Russia; not only with Kerensky, but in many struggles in Siberia, in the Ukraine, in Caucasus. This was the experience in 1923 with the "Workers' Government" in Saxony, where the proletariat entirely failed to defend "its" government against the Reichswehr, precisely because it had experienced nothing to show that it was "its" government.

The MacDonald government had given nothing to the broad masses of the English workers. Not even good propaganda. Therefore there remained nothing else for the broad masses of English workers, with their imperialist tradition and their petty-bourgeois ideology, than to act like the real gentlemen, to be responsive to the oratory of the Conservatives, the more so when the well-aimed bomb of the forged Zinoviev letter exploded. It appealed to their British sentiments: "the first people in the world", "the freest people, and here was interference on the part of the barbarian, undemocratic and unmoral soviet government", "we want to promote English trade, not to give our money to untrustworthy undemocratic despots, who in return incite our brave soldiers and blue jackets to mutiny", and such like cheap appeals.

This was to be seen on one side. On the other hand there was the increase in the votes cast for the Labour Party. That means that the English working class is becoming politically conscious and more revolutionary. In fact there was no more radical party in the elections than the Labour Party. The eight Communists do not count. And in spite of its miserable policy this Party gained votes in the election. This shows that class antagonisms in England have increased, are increasing, and will continue to increase.

The new Conservative government in England will no more be able to solve the chief question, the question of unemployment, than did the Labour Party. On the other hand, the Baldwin government will soon restore the McKenna duties (upon sugar, tea and coffee) and thereby abolish the only cheapening of food stuffs achieved by Snowden's budget. Tariff reform will follow, the notorious preference for the dominions upon tinned salmon, plums, apples, dried fruit etc., and then of course there will come tariffs on industrial products, and probably also on corn and wheat. A fierce struggle will flame up against these tariffs and against the increase of prices.

Secondly, the Conservative government will abolish the Wheatley Housing Scheme. This act was a pure swindle: it provided for the building of 2½ million houses at the cost of the state and municipal authorities during the course of 15 years. But the Labour Party will make a virtue of necessity and mobilise the workers against this abolition of the housing scheme.

Thirdly, the Conservatives will conduct a campaign against the unemployed maintenance.

Fourthly, they will set up fascist organisations in order to crush any rebellious working masses. (They will have no opportunity of discharging "socialist" officials, as the Labour government did not appoint any, but took over the old conservative apparatus as it stood.)

The inner political effects will undoubtedly be a strong revolutionising of the working class, an enormous increase of class antagonisms, and at the same time a differentiation within the working class, which will proceed much more rapidly than in the last nine months.

The workers now have a new charter, a programme of demands for which they will fight. These demands are unacceptable for the Conservatives. Nationalisation of the railways, mines and banks, a 44 hour week, a legal minimum wage — all this will not be granted by any Conservative government, unless they are thoroughly compelled to it. The carrying out of even these inadequate and incomplete demands means the death of English capitalism. A fight, a real fight over them is a fight for life and death.

This fight stands on the order of the day. This does not mean that English capitalism will be "settled" to-morrow or the day after. But this means that in England the struggle for the ending of capitalism has begun. And this means a great deal, and pushes the whole international labour movement a stage forward.

Everything at present is in a state of flux. Singapore, the greatest naval base in the world, the link between Africa, Asia, Australia and America, will be renewed and will immediately raise three questions: the attitude of the dominions to the mother country and of the mother country to the dominions; the attitude of England to the United States and vice versa; the attitude of England to Japan and vice versa.

Another example: Mosul. Here a policy of prestige can lead very rapidly to a great war.

A third example: Egypt. The Egyptian question can very easily become a French or Franco-Italian question. For the Egyptian opposition can be used as a pretext so to strengthen the Mediterranean Fleet that it would not be tolerated by France.

All these possible difficulties render it improbable that the English Conservative government will create unnecessary difficulty by withdrawing the recognition of the Soviet Union.

But the Treaty will certainly not be ratified. Even if the government wished, they could not ratify it in the face of the election campaign, which was waged against the Treaty. There will therefore be new negotiations, prolonged negotiations: the Conservatives will practise the strategy of wearing down their opponent.

The new era which is now beginning will be an era of unrest, of mistrust of one government by the other, of sham conferences, of secret agreements, of diplomatic intrigues, of increased war preparations.

What is the task of our Communist Party in England? It was rightly pointed out that its tasks and its possibilities of development were especially great during the "democratic-pacifist" era. This era is at an end. The tasks however not only remain, but have grown.

Broad work of enlightenment among the masses. Energetic rallying of the workers for the demands of the Hull Congress or even "only" the election manifesto of the Labour Party, which the leaders will of course let drop. Creation of factory councils. Rallying of all active elements in the trade unions. Penetration into local organisations of the Labour Party. Organisation of the fight against the fascist organisation which are arising. Recruitment of members, extension of the press with the view to setting up a communist daily paper with a mass circulation. Energetic propaganda of Communism — these are the tasks of our Party in England.

HANDS OFF CHINA

The Outlook in China.

By A. Joffé (Moscow).

The recent upheaval in Peking appeared at the first moment as a quite unexpected and even unintelligible event. Nevertheless everyone who is more or less acquainted with the situation in China could foresee this turn of affairs.

Two years ago, during my stay in China, I continually pointed out that after the overthrow of Tsao-Kun, Wu-Pei-Fu, who was the real master of the situation, had confided the protection of Peking and of the Peking district to the "christian

general" Feng-Yu-San, and that in analysing and estimating the coming events in Central and Northern China, great attention had to be paid to what General Feng-Yu-San was doing and what he intended to do.

Now Feng-Yu-San has "spoken" and his "word", as was to be expected, proved to be the most decisive. The government of Tsao-Kun, or more rightly of Wu-Pei-Fu, has been overthrown; the military power of Wei-Pu-Fu has been annihilated; a new government has been set up, in which the Anfuists, who are friendly to Japan, will play an important part. Tsang-Tso-Lin, the most bitter enemy of Wu-Pei-Fu, apparently stands behind Feng-Yu-San, although the last named has already openly declared (and this declaration deserves the greatest attention), that he is acting quite independently. Also Sun-Yat-Sen, the most popular figure in present day China, who, in his fight against the most reactionary groups of Wu-Pei-Fu and Tsao-Kun, is seeking support from Tsang-Tso-Lin and Anfuists, is not hostile to the overthrow. How will things further develop?

In order to arrive at a proper understanding of the events in China, one must always keep in mind that agents of one or the other imperialist powers, or one or other of the fighting Chinese generals, not only constitute groupings of power, but are also conducting an independent struggle for power.

In China there are only mercenary troops. In order to possess an army one must possess local financial resources, as the general income of the state is almost entirely absorbed by the foreign imperialist states. But in order to possess such resources, one must have control over a district or province. Up to now this division of spheres of influence and of territory has been clearly defined; in the South, in Canton — Sun-Yat-Sun; in the centre, in Peking — Wu-Pei-Fu; in the North, in Manchuria — Tsang-Tso-Lin. The smaller chiefs have constantly vacillated between the one and the other power. The foreign imperialists have never permitted a complete victory of one group over another, as they are of the opinion that a peaceful China would be contrary to their interests. For this purpose they used a very simple means — the district of the Shanghai-Peking railway, which according to the Treaty of 1901 is in the hands of the foreign powers. When in the last war Tsang-Tso-Lin threatened to annihilate Wu-Pei-Fu, the foreign powers declared that neither the troops of the one nor of the other must cross the "neutral" railway track. Tsang-Tso-Lin had to withdraw from Shanghai-Quan, and Wu-Pei-Fu was saved.

At the beginning of the present war the great powers attempted to extend this "neutral" zone still further. They declared the city of Shanghai and the whole district to be neutral. It was only the interference of the Soviet Union which wrecked this plan. In spite of this we can already say that the powers will just as little permit the complete annihilation of Wu-Pei-Fu, as the English in their time permitted the complete annihilation of Tschén-Dsu-Min by Sun-Yat-Sen.

On the other hand, Feng-Yu-San does not belong to the category of weak and insignificant generals who conduct no independent policy, and content themselves with supporting one or the other of the powerful groups. Feng-Yu-San has at his disposal an army of over 30,000 excellently organised, well armed and disciplined soldiers. Up to now he has not acted on his own account, but supported Wu-Pei-Fu. The latter is an agent of England and America. Feng-Yu-San is beholden to the United States of America, not only materially but also, so to speak, morally.

American capital when seeking to penetrate into China carries in one hand the money bag and in the other hand the cross. The missionary and the merchant are the two mediators of American influence in China. General Feng-Yu-San and his whole army are christians, and are under the strong influence of American missionaries and are closely connected with them. The coup d'état carried out by Feng-Yu-San, however, places power in the hands of the leader of the Anfuists, Duan-Tsi-Dschu, of the diplomat Wan-Tschen-Pin, who is friendly to Japan, and rescues Tsang-Tso-Lin from the threatening military defeat. Tsang-Tso-Lin, even if he is not an unconditional friend of Japan, in any event stands nearer to Japan than to America.

What has happened here? Has the Japanese money-bag won the victory, or the American cross? It is possible that this has played a certain role. We believe here however, that what we might call "the sense of independence" of Feng-Yu-San is of greater importance. He is tired of playing second fiddle; he is too strong for that and would like to follow the example of others and play a leading role. As a christian he is not sufficiently

popular in order to be able to take over this role personally, he therefore needs the Anfuists, Tsang-Tso-Lin, still more Sun-Yat-Sen, and perhaps in the first place the support of the Soviet Union. If nothing prevents him he will become more and more "independent", and will endeavour to occupy the place vacated by Wu-Pei-Fu.

Will he succeed in this? We do not think so. The time is past when the generals, supported by the foreigners, could do what they liked in China. During the last few years the movement for national unity and freedom, at the head of which stands Sun-Yat-Sen, has achieved great success. The prestige of Soviet Russia, which supports this movement, has grown enormously. Not a single Chinese government can ignore either us or Sun-Yat-Sen. On the other hand, Japan, which in the near future will acquire a serious influence upon Chinese affairs, cannot ignore us, if only out of regard for its own policy and the understanding with the Soviet Union which is being prepared.

Whatever the participants in the present events in China may think and desire, the objective course of history is compelling them to follow the path of the national unity of China and of the emancipation of the country from the foreign yoke. Viewed from this standpoint the overthrow carried out by Feng-Yu-San constitutes a step forwards and not backwards.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

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

To the Workers of Belgium!

To the Workers of all countries!

Comrades,

After a tenacious struggle lasting for two months and which was followed with eager attention by the workers of all countries, the miners in the Borinage area have suffered a defeat, which is at the same time a blow for all the workers of Belgium.

The mine owners in Borinage were victorious not merely because hunger and need beat down the 35,000 striking miners, but also because the reformist leaders of the Belgian Miners Federation were in alliance with the mine owners.

The miners in Borinage struck in response to the attack of the mine owners, who attempted still further to cut down the starvation wages of the miners. On two different occasions they expressed by an overwhelming majority of votes their clear determination to carry on the struggle until complete victory. In spite of the misery of their wives and children, they held out for two months. Comrades were killed and wounded in collisions with the police, and in spite of this they were prepared to go on fighting until they attained victory.

The reformist traitors prepared the way for the defeat of the workers. They hindered in every possible way the extension of the strike to the other coal districts, into a general strike of the Belgian miners, and thereby isolated the struggle in Borinage. By means of treachery and betrayal the reformists succeeded in carrying out their devilish intentions. The strike was throttled and wages were reduced.

Comrades, the defeat of the workers in Borinage and the open treachery of the reformists are something of far more than local importance. In connection with the carrying out of the Dawes Plan, with its provisions for enslaving the working class, there is to be expected general attacks of the capitalists in a whole number of countries; and it is to be expected, as was the case with the miners in the Borinage district, that the reformist leaders will openly side with the capitalists; for the reformists are not only responsible for the acceptance of the Dawes Plan at the London Conference, but are also responsible for its carrying out, as they adopt the standpoint that the Dawes Plan means the salvation of capitalist Europe. The reformist leaders of all countries know very well that this plan for saving capitalism can only be realised by the blood and sweat of the working class.

Therefore everyone who is for the reconstruction of capitalist Europe by means of the Dawes Plan, is and must be against the working class. In Borinage, this little district of little Belgium, we see reflected as in a drop of water how and by what means

the capitalists, in alliance with the reformists, mean to carry out the Dawes Plan.

Against the predatory intentions of capital and its flunkies there must be set up the unity and determination of the proletarian masses. Against the Dawes Plan there must be set up the plan of struggle of a united working class. Every honest proletarian must now more than ever help to bring about this necessary unity and determination in the daily struggle, against the will of his reformist leaders, and when once that has been achieved, the betrayers of the working class will no longer succeed in dividing the struggle of the working class into partial actions as the reformists always do, and as the Belgian reformists have done in the miner's strike in Borinage.

May the sufferings and privations of the miners and their families in Borinage during their two months struggle serve as a lesson to the working masses of the other countries. May the blood of the miners in Borinage which has been shed by the hirelings of the Belgian capitalists serve as a means of cementing the unity of the working class.

Long live the Miners of Borinage who carried on a two months heroic struggle!

Honour to the memory of those who fell in the fight against the mine-owners of Borinage!

Down with the disruptive reformists who betray the interests of the working class!

Long live the unity of the working class and their victorious fight against the bourgeoisie!

Moscow, 22nd October 1924.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Friedrich Adler and the Unity of the Trade Union Movement.

We publish below those portions of the speech delivered by Friedrich Adler, the General Secretary of the II. International, at the Salzburg Conference of the Austrian Social Democratic Party in which he deals with the question of the Unity of the Trade Unions.

The Communist International has not up till now laid down any conditions as regards uniting the Trade Unions. If, however, Friedrich Adler makes as a condition for unity the right of self-determination of the proletariat in the trade unions and in wage struggles, and pledges himself to fight for this condition against the trade union bureaucrats, who, as is known, on the occasion of every strike throttle every opinion which does not please them, he will find the best and most reliable comrades in this struggle among the communist trade unionists.

Ed.

... I will therefore say something as to the experiences of the workers' councils regarding the problem of the so-called United Front.

In their struggle against us the communists have two possibilities. The first is the direct struggle. They abuse and slander; we refute these slanders, but it is at least an open fight and I shall never despise them for this. The other tactic is that of the so-called united front. This is the most underhanded deception of the working class. It is an attempt to catch the proletariat by trickery, an attempt to use one policy as a screen for another, and never since the time of Machiavelli has there been anything more cynical than the form in which the united front has been employed by Moscow in which it deliberately proceeds to use the proletariat, against its will and against its discernment, in the service of this idea. Our attitude is: We want to conquer, not by the confusion of the working class, but by its intelligence. We want the working class to understand what is to be done. And it was at the Workers' Council where the Communists were compelled to appeal to the intelligence of the workers, and it was there where they failed.

The slogan of the united front which is now issued under so many forms, that is something different; they want to achieve their end by round-about means. My attitude has always been: yes, I am for the united front, I was in favour of it in the Austrian Workers' Council, I was in favour of it on the international field. I am able to point out that it was owing to the Vienna International that the Berlin Conference was convened, where the three Internationals (Moscow, London, Vienna) met together, and we there proposed: we will establish the united front, but we will establish it on the basis of proletarian democracy. We will not allow ourselves to be taken advantage of, we will not allow ourselves to be duped, but we wish the majority of the working class to decide! (enthusiastic applause) I should like now to demonstrate the communist tactics of the united front by means of two examples. The one makes use of something which appeals to the heart, of charity...

The Splitting Tactics against the Trade Unions.

The question of the International Workers' Relief is, however, of trifling significance compared with the wholesale attack which is being planned, under cover of the united front, against the proletarian organisations. We observe a change of tactics on the part of the Communist International which confronts us with great problems. Everyone who followed the last International Trade Union Congress in Vienna knows what forces are at work in order to undermine the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation. The new communist tactic is a clear conscious, widely-planned attack upon the unity of the trade unions. In all the appeals of the III. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions it is commanded:

The Red International of Labour Unions, now as before, abides by its old platform of the struggle for unity. The slogan of destroying the trade unions must be definitely and categorically refuted, and not from motives after the manner of the fascists, but because the capturing of the majority of the working class by splitting the trade union movement is becoming exceedingly difficult... There where the trade union movement is split — in France, in Czechoslovakia, in Roumania and Yugoslavia — it is absolutely necessary to carry on a determined struggle for reuniting the separated parts. There, one must fight with all powers for the unity of the trade union movement.

The "Inprekorr" has a special heading entitled: For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement. Under this heading we read in an article last week dealing with Germany:

Into the Free Trade Unions!... In the middle of October a final date will be given for the whole Party, within which time every comrade must be organised in the free trade unions.

All this sounds very agreeable to our ears. "Unity of the Trade Union movement" everything must be done in order to arrive at unity." That is the new fighting slogan. But if we wish to understand it we must call to mind how this Red International of Labour Unions was founded in August 1920 in Moscow. We then recognise the utter lack of shame revealed in this slogan, and how the communists speculate upon human forgetfulness, when they venture to talk of the unity of the trade union movement. At that time, the man who has all the blunders of the communists on his conscience, Zinoviev, delivered a speech in which, according to the official report of the congress, he said:

Amsterdam is a force; some millions of workers are represented in it, who, however, are led by the social democrats and are therefore reactionary. We must split them and draw them over to us. That is the main task and our first step is a big stride forwards. We can now say to every trade union: "You must now withdraw from the Amsterdam International. You now have an international of red trade unions to which you should affiliate." We will remain in the national trade unions in order to bring people over to our side and not to leave the trade unions in the hands of the Amsterdam International but to organise them under the leadership of the Third International. We want to win over the trade unions by every possible means, on a national scale if necessary. One must be doctrinaire from head to foot in order to stand aside when on the one side we have the yellow International, and on the other the Moscow organisation. We will push the Trade Union bureaucracy on one side, and millions will go with us against capitalism and against the yellow trade union International.

Zinoviev's motion was adopted with only thirteen dissentients. Those who raised objections against the splitting tactics were overridden. This tactic of Zinoviev's is distinctly laid down in the statutes of the Red International of Labour Unions, which, like all Moscow things, contain 80 paragraphs (yells of laughter). There we read:

The founding of this centre of the revolutionary trade union movement marks the beginning of a bitter struggle within the trade union world movement under the slogan, "Moscow or Amsterdam". The split within the old trade union movement into two camps is proceeding the more rapidly the more the economic crisis increases and the less prospects there are for the proletariat of a peaceful development.

In the statutes of this Red International of Labour Unions we read among the condition regarding acceptance:

Membership of the Red International of Labour Unions is open to every revolutionary, class organisation which accepts the following conditions: Point 6: Severance of all connections with the yellow Amsterdam International.

The people who deliberately wish to destroy the Amsterdam International now talk of the unity of the trade union movement. They wish to penetrate into Amsterdam. That which they wanted previously to accomplish from without they now attempt to realise from within. They hope before all, by means of radical phrases, to win a majority among the masses of the unemployed, and by this means to reach their end: domination of the trade union international.

We stand by the rule of the Workers' Council: they shall come in, but must pledge themselves to abide by the principle of proletarian democracy in the trade union international. (Stormy applause.)

This movement is not without danger for us. It has found an ally who possesses some importance, and regarding whom a word must be said. The Moscow people have succeeded in attaching to themselves the former secretary of the Amsterdam International, Edo Fimmen, who has been the most powerful propagandist and whose qualities we have highly appreciated on many occasions. We will say here quite openly: It is one of the most regrettable tragedies of which we know. That which Fimmen has been saying during his visit to Moscow is devoid of all sense of responsibility. When he, two days after his arrival, praises everything, then one knows what such detailed "studies" are worth, and when he glorifies the prisons in which Russian social democrats are confined as desirable "sanatoriums", then his irresponsibility becomes transformed into base cynicism.

We will not blind our eyes to the fact that all faults are not on one side. In the Amsterdam Trade Union International there are many men belonging to the so-called right wing who provide sufficient grounds for attack, and who do many things with which we cannot agree, and regarding whom Comrade Hueber has already had to carry on a hard struggle in Amsterdam. But Fimmen uses the mistakes of others as an excuse for making mistakes himself. He belongs to those people — I have become acquainted with many such during the course of years — who say we must tend towards the left in order to counter-balance the right, and then a correct middle course will be followed. I have heard many such preach this beautiful principle long before the war, and have subsequently seen them glide into the arms of bolshevism. Against this idea of Fimmen — going blindly to the left in order to counter-balance the right — we say that the conscientious trade union leader has the duty not to follow such convenient tactics, but it is his duty to defend with tooth and claw the correct way against the working class and not take advantage of the fact that others do stupid things in another direction. (Great applause.)

And I therefore say, that with all the good qualities which I do not for a moment deny that Fimmen possesses, I do not hesitate to say, that after having first allowed himself to be entangled in the International Workers' Relief and is now on the road to becoming an instrument in the fight against the International Federation of Trade Unions, that unfortunately we must see in Fimmen one of those who is steadily losing all strength of character. That is the sad truth.

To the Teachers of the World!

Comrades, Colleagues!

The Congress of the Teachers' International which was held at Brussels is now over. We have consolidated our organisation and have become clear as regards the way which lies before us. We now send out to you the appeal:

Join your national Teachers' Trade Union organisations! See to it that your organisations affiliate to our *Internationale des travailleurs de l'Enseignement* (International of Educational Workers) the only Teachers' International Trade Union organisation in the world!

Is it necessary for us again to say why this joining of forces is necessary and will become more so with every day?

In all countries we teachers are experiencing more and more the pressure upon us, upon the youth and upon the school, of international combined capital, which rules the world according to its will and is now endeavouring, by means of the Dawes Plan and of the London Pact, to convert the world into a gigantic trust for the exploitation of all workers. Against this international power it is necessary to set up an international organisation for the maintenance and improvement of our material and social position.

And allied with this enemy there stand everywhere opposed to our work as educators, the dark powers of the church and fascism, which are knit together by a thousand threads: You are to be the agents for the education of the people in the spirit of the nationalists, the militarists and the clergy.

You must tear this net asunder by means of your organisational unity over the frontiers of all countries!

The International of Educational Workers (Paris) provides as an organisation, the guarantee of unity and clearness of aim for this international solidarity.

We are an autonomous organisation, independent of the two trade union centres of Amsterdam and Moscow. We are autonomous because the conditions in the International labour movement still compel us to be so. We wish nothing better — and we will fight for it, not only by our example — than the setting up of the unity of the international trade union movement.

But in spite of this independence, our International is not lacking a firm ideological basis. As teachers of the people and as employees, we see our natural allies in the organised working class, which fights as a class against exploitation and suppression and for the socialist order of society. Only prejudice and the intrigues of the ruling class separate us today from these our fellow class-fighters.

Our patience does not extend so far that we accept in our international organisation those who reject the class struggle: for then we should be incapable of fighting both as a trade union and as pioneers for a new ideal of school and education.

The main pillars of our international were set up in 1922. To-day ten countries are affiliated to us, comprising about 600,000 teachers. We ask the comrades of those Teachers' organisations who are still waiting for instructions from the Amsterdam Trade Union International: **How long will you stand aside? Where is there room for another International beside us?**

What basis shall it have if not ours?

But there is a place for you in our ranks!

Follow the example of the Belgian comrades, who have broken the ban!

Show that the teachers are capable of creating the International which is desired by all workers, and which is absolutely necessary for the prosecution of class struggle!

Show that it is possible to combine organisations which are affiliated by their national centres either to the I.T.U.F. or to the R.I.L.U. in one united organisation.

Comrades, Colleagues!

Recognise the dangers which threaten you from the forces of capitalism and of reaction! Join us and strengthen the front of the fighting Teachers and workers!

Long live the Teachers International of the class struggle!
Long live the fight for the unity of the International labour movement!

Long live the International of the Educational Workers!
Paris, September 1924.

The International of the Educational Workers.
(Paris)

The General Secretariat.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Economic Achievements of the Proletariat in the Soviet Union.

By L. KRITZMANN (Moscow).

More than three years of imperialist war and more than three years of civil war have caused the productive forces of our enormous country, with its population of 130,000 millions, to sink in an unheard-of manner.

This is illustrated by the following table which gives the figures of production, the pre-war standard being reckoned as a hundred:

	At the end of the imperialist war 1917	in the civil war 1920	In the famine year 1921
The corn crop about	88%	62%	43%
The total production of big industry	77%	18%	—
Transport of goods (per railway)	—	20%	—
		less than	
National Income (rough estimate)	85%	40%	—

In the year 1920 the standard of living of the Russian worker sank on the average (if one leaves his lodging out of consideration) by more than a third. The enormous mass of the peasantry in the terrible years 1921—1922 were delivered over to death from starvation.

The extent of the reduction of the productive forces in consequence of the imperialist and civil wars are clearly shown by the following facts: the importation of foreign corn in the years 1921—1922 into Russia, which formerly provided half the requirements of the world in this respect, and, shortly before, by the raising of the question of importing foreign coal into the Don basin.

It is only if one bears in mind this terrible picture that one can grasp the extent of the economic achievements of the proletariat which is ruling the Soviet Union, and of the creative force of the proletarian revolution. Scarcely four years have passed since the end of the civil war (at least in the European portion of the Soviet Union), and only a little over two years since the famine-year of 1921—1922.

In this short period it has been impossible to make good the enormous destruction caused by world capital in the economic life of Russia, but one must admit that the rapidity of the restoration of the national economy in the Soviet Union is unexampled.

For agriculture, in which the overwhelming majority of the population of the Soviet Union are employed, the year 1923 was the first year of revival, for it meant an increase in the area under cultivation by 10 million desjatines (19 per cent), and an increase in the total production of agriculture by 14 per cent. As a result, agricultural production already in the year 1923 amounted to three quarters of the pre-war production of the total agriculture, and about 85 to 90 per cent of the pre-war production of the peasant undertakings. This revival of agriculture was especially noticeable in the sphere of technical culture. The partial crop failure of this year (1924) did not apparently hinder the general revival of agriculture.

Since the year 1923 there is to be seen an important revival of cattle breeding.

The cessation of "relief" from abroad, and the appearance of the Soviet Union upon the world market in the capacity of an important exporter of corn and other agricultural products speaks eloquently as to the extent of the revival which has taken place.

Still more important is the revival of industry. The total production of big industry has increased in the last three years by over 250 per cent, and at present amounts to nearly half (45 per cent) of the pre-war production. The increase in the number of workers remains considerably behind the increase of production, consequently the increase of production goes hand in hand with the increase in the productivity of labour.

The Next Year — A Year of Economic Boom.

In the financial year 1924/1925 the Soviet Union will stand on firm ground. In no circumstances will we accept such conditions for a loan as would mean the enslavement of the Soviet Union. We declare this in the most definite manner, and add at the same time: We have reason to hope that the financial year 1924/1925 will be the last difficult year through which the Soviet Union will have to pass, and that the following year will be the first year of a great economic and financial boom in the Soviet Union, a consolidation of the Soviet Power, and that it will satisfy the desires of the working and peasant masses. The masses perceive that the consolidation of the Soviet State is proceeding visibly, and every year this state realises more and more the programme set up by the October Revolution.

Physical Culture in the Soviet Union.

By N. SEMASCHKO.

Chairman of the Central Council for Physical Culture.

The Soviet Union is the country of the worker. The Soviet Union is surrounded by bourgeois enemies. These two features which characterise the position of the Soviet Union determine its immediate tasks regarding physical culture.

The foundation of the Soviet system is Labour. The most important duty of the republic of the workers is therefore to maintain the working capacity of the population, and to preserve and develop the young sources of creative power of the country. Physical culture in our Union chiefly serves this purpose and aims in this direction.

The bourgeois-capitalist environment is another factor which induces us to devote a corresponding attention to the development of the protective power of our army. As it is, our army is at present built up on the territorial principle. It is, as a matter of fact, a part of the working population. The first task (improving the health of the population) is thus inseparably linked with the second (increasing the fighting capacity of the army).

The tsarist system has bequeathed us a very burdensome inheritance as regards physical culture. Tsarist Russia was a country with a tremendously high rate of mortality: about three million persons died every year. The chief causes of death were the so-called "everyday illnesses", the various forms of typhoid fever, cholera, smallpox, infantile diarrhoea, and syphilis, which was not due to sexual intercourse. About 25% of all diseases were such "everyday" illnesses. In a population so backward in culture the most elementary hygienic habits were lacking.

Handicapped by such an inheritance, the Soviet Government had to train the population in physical culture.

The sense of the necessity for physical culture seized hold of the widest circles of the active workers. It is only a year since the Central Council for Physical Culture at the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive was founded, and already, on a moderate estimate, millions of workers are practising various forms of physical exercise. The Youth were the first to respond to this call. The C.Y.P.A.R. (Communist Youth League of Russia) was a pioneer of the idea of physical culture. At every Congress of the C.Y.P.A.R. members were urged to take a really active part in this movement, and there is at present no group of the C.Y.P.A.R. which does not, in some form or other, take part more or less in the general movement.

The Trade Unions also have taken up keenly the idea of physical culture. They grasped at once that physical culture is, for the workers, the fundamental pre-requisite for their personal well-being and for the improvement of the national economy. The Trade Unions also had a decisive influence on the nature of the physical exercises. For the workers, physical culture is not a means to hypertrophy in one particular direction (and therefore injurious) — it is no bourgeois sport which produces champions with strong fists and weak brains. Physical culture in a workers' State is a powerful means for the harmonious development of the mental and physical forces of man. The physical exercises are also intended to counterbalance the injurious sides of certain occupations. Thus, for occupations which involve for instance the breathing in of dust, noxious vapours, etc., exercises are organised which differ from those for occupations associated with abnormal positions of the body (carpenters, turners, shoemakers)

The average wage of the industrial worker has almost doubled in the last three years and now amounts to two thirds of his pre-war earnings.

The uninterrupted revival in all branches of our national economy, the increased transport activity, the increased consumption of goods, the approach of a budget showing no deficit, the currency reform, the complete calm prevailing in the country — all this bears witness to the extent of the economic achievements of the proletariat of the Soviet Union during a relatively short period of creative activity.

The difficulties still to be overcome are enormous. The tremendous destruction of entire plants and machinery and of the technical basis of national economy in general, the enormous masses of poor peasants who do not find sufficient scope for their labour power, the low cultural level of the country and the revival of Capital, particularly of commercial capital, and finally the spectre of intervention on the part of world capital — this cursed heritage of capitalism — creates for the proletariat of the Soviet Union ever fresh problems. But in spite of everything the economic reconstruction in Soviet Russia is making progress, and, particularly if one bears in mind the terrible condition of national economy in the year 1920—1921, with truly astonishing rapidity.

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

(Extract from the Report of Comrade Sokolnikov, delivered on the 21st of October at the Second Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.)

The Significance of Foreign Credits.

When the English press asserts that we need a loan in order to stabilise our currency, we can only say that this assertion is simply untrue. We do not need a loan in order to stabilise our currency. We have already accomplished this task. The foreign press is likewise in error when it states that we need foreign loans in order to balance our budget. We can balance our budget without the aid of foreign loans. And when it is claimed that foreign loans are necessary for us in order to secure the advance of our economy in the present financial year, this is also untrue, for our production will in this year increase by not less than 30%, and this we shall be able to accomplish with our own resources. Thus we do not require foreign loans in order to rescue our currency, our economy or our budget. We do not require them in order to develop our national economy at the same rate at which it has been developed hitherto. Foreign loans can only be of service to us if, by means of their help, we can reach a far higher rate of development, if we wish to make a step forward which will mean not 30 per cent but 50 or 100 per cent increase.

We have not received a single rouble from abroad, but our national inland credit, the credits which industry, commerce and the co-operative societies have received from the banks and the state, have increased by over a milliard. No doubt the renovation of the means of production in the textile industry, in transport and in other spheres, could proceed much quicker. The programme of electrification would be realised much more rapidly if we received loans from abroad. Foreign loans however, are not for us a question of existence.

The Hypocrisy of the English Bankers.

At the moment when the English Liberals and Conservatives overthrew MacDonald, under the pretext that the Soviet Union deserves no confidence and that therefore there could be no talk of granting it credits at the same moment the English bankers, when it is not a question of political struggle but of business, are not at all disinclined to grant credits to the Gossbank (Russian State Bank), as was the case in the last few weeks. I am able to inform the Executive Committee that the negotiations with regard to granting commercial credits of a considerable amount to the Goss bank are at present in a very satisfactory stage, and that not only the greatest English banks, but also the branches of the American banks in London are taking part in these negotiations.

etc. The idea of physical culture has soon become popular among the troops. Physical exercises are a part of the system of military training. In this way the ideas of physical culture not only permeate the Red Army, but are also carried by the territorial divisions to the towns and villages of our extensive Union.

The Soviet physical culture has had no easy fight against the remains of the old bourgeois sport (even now this struggle has not come to an end). We are of course not opposed to sport. On the contrary, we regard sport as one of the most important factors in the development of the body. We are, however, opposed to sport which does not promote health, but cripples the individual; we disapprove of sport which does not promote human feelings in man but turns him into a brute.

In order, however, to direct the physical training in this way towards a "eugenic" goal, the goal of the harmonious development of all the forces of the individual, it was necessary to form a staff of well trained instructors. The State Institute for Physical Culture of the People's Commissariat for Health has undertaken this task and, during the six years of its existence, has specially educated several hundred doctors and pedagogues for this function and, in short training courses, has prepared special instructors for various factories and assigned them for this purpose to the factories in question.

The All-Russian Congress of the Councils for Physical Development, which was held in the spring of this year, recorded the fact that a tremendous success has already been attained in this domain, but it is also emphasized that much still remains to be accomplished, both in the field of ideological elaboration of the principles of physical culture and in the field of the methodology and organisation of this work. Soviet practice shows, however, that once the mass of the people has made up its mind to accomplish a given task, their aim will be attained.

The Supreme Council for Physical Culture is firmly convinced that it will succeed in its aim of turning Russia, from a land of capitalist slavery, of semi-serfdom and backwardness in the domain of health, into a land of free, happy, healthy labour.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Summons to the Fight against the Dawes Plan.

To the Working Youth of Germany, France, England, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia.

In London, under the pressure of the American bankers, there has been concluded between the representatives of the imperialist governments of International capital, the Experts' Agreement. The representatives of the financial and industrial magnates have there worked out a cunning device for transferring on to the working class of all countries the entire burden of war debts. This will mean the complete enslavement and colonising of Germany; that means for the working class, and in the first place for the young workers, reduction of wages, lengthening of the working day up to 12 and 14 hours, increase of taxes, growth of unemployment and enormous increases in food prices.

A winter of starvation confronts the German working class.

It means at the same time that the English, French and Belgian capitalists will make use of the competition of German goods to cut down the wages of the workers in their own countries, and to lengthen the working hours. The price of bread is already rising in France, while unemployment is again increasing in England.

In spite of all the talk about peace, the danger of fresh imperialist wars was never so great as today. The English and American imperialists have already instigated a civil war in China in order to suppress the national revolutionary movement. In Mexico, in Morocco, in Egypt, on the borders of Bessarabia, everywhere where the antagonist interests of the imperialist powers are concerned, these same governments, who cannot make use of enough pacifist phrases are making an open practice of militarism. MacDonald has held naval reviews on an unprecedented scale, poison-gas, death-rays and the whole of modern war technic are being employed in order to demonstrate to the peoples what pacifism is in actual practice.

But all these economic and military measures on the part of the capitalists have at the same time one purpose:

Against Soviet Russia!

The economic offensive of America, the attempt of the English bourgeoisie to sabotage the Anglo-Russian Treaty, the obvious readiness of Germany to serve as base of operations in any future war against Soviet Russia — all this must clearly show to the working class what is at stake.

It is the young working class of all countries which is first threatened by the new attack of capital. It is the young workers in all countries who will be sacrificed as cannon fodder in the approaching conflicts for the profit of international capital. Those who do not fall victims to the poison gases and grenades will have to sweat in the hell of the factories for 12 or 14 hours daily for a starvation wage. The proposed industrial conscription law will compel the young German proletarians to work for two years for the German and for international capital without any payment whatever, while at the same time they will be secretly militarised by means of the old Prussian drill system.

This must not be allowed.

We Communist Youth of Germany, France, England, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Holland appeal to the workers of all countries: You the proletarian youth are the first who will be affected, you should also be the first, in the same way as Karl Liebknecht at the beginning of the international slaughter, to raise the red banner of rebellion against this devilish plan. With you the whole working class will take up the fight. There are already over 2000 young German communists placed behind prison walls by the terrorist sentences of bourgeois class justice. In France, Herriot, in spite of all his talk of an amnesty, is still imprisoning young communists who have fought against militarism. The young workers of France, England, Belgium and Czechoslovakia must protest in powerful demonstrations against the justice terror of the German law courts; they must demonstrate for a

complete amnesty of all proletarian political prisoners!

The Dawes Plan must not be carried out!

Against the Exports' Report of the capitalists we set up the expert's report of the workers. That means however:

Fight for socialisation,

Fight against every increase of work time,

Fight for the six hour day and for raising the wages for all young workers.

Fight against bourgeois militarism,

Fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The Communist Youth of Germany, France, England, Belgium, Holland and Czechoslovakia, united together in common action, calls upon the whole working youth of these countries to take up a determined struggle for these demands. Show everywhere, in protest meetings and mass demonstrations, your determined will to defend yourselves, organise an obstinate and unrelenting struggle in every workshop, in every trade union.

Under the banner of the Communist International unite together as the young guard of the revolution.

Down with the slave agreement!

Long live the united fight of the juvenile and adult working class!

Long live the leader of the international revolutionary young proletariat, the Communist Youth International!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the world revolution!

Communist Youth of Germany, France, England, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Holland.

THE WHITE TERROR

Against the White Terror in Poland.

In the course of a few weeks the white terror of the possessing classes and the Government in Poland has increased to a degree which was unknown to the Labour movement even at the worst time of the Czarist reaction. No longer singly, not even in groups, but by hundreds, workmen, peasants, intellectuals and students are thrown into prison.

In the last few days, trade-union meetings for peaceful discussion in Warsaw have been attacked by the police; in the

leather workers' union more than 150, in the textile workers' union more than 100 persons have been arrested. About 100 boys and girls — juvenile workers, peasants and students — have been imprisoned during this time. All the prisons in Lodz are overcrowded with political prisoners. In Upper Silesia and in the Dombrova basin the police have made raids and arrested in masses those workmen who have dared to enter the lists for the protection of the eight hours' working day; committees of action which had been formed by the whole of the working people, have been placed behind bars. In Polish villages and in provincial towns, peasants and workmen are arrested who protest against the brutal oppression on the part of the local councils and the officials.

The prisons of White Russia and West Ukraine (East Galicia) are full to bursting with peasants and workmen, Ukrainians, White Russians, Jews and Russians. The districts near the Eastern frontier present one vast picture of raging class and national hatred. In Luck, a small frontier town, alone, 48 juveniles, boys and girls, were imprisoned in one day, merely because they professed Communist ideology. No wonder that in the whole of Poland the number of imprisoned and tortured victims of the White Terror has reached the fantastic figure of 6000.

The ferocious persecution by the police is aimed both at the proletarian organisations and the Labour Press. In the past few weeks the "People's University" in Warsaw, a well-known educational institution which has survived the worst times of reaction, has been closed, the educational club of the factory "Parowoz", the branch of the Mickiewicz University in Stryj were closed, the following trades unions have been forbidden: the leather workers', the textile workers', the hat workers' union; in Lodz the tailors' union, and in the provinces a whole series of trade unions and educational organisations. The whole independent Labour Press without exception has been gagged.

The murderous Polish courts of justice work without intermission. Years however may elapse before the victim is brought face to face with the Polish bourgeois class justice. Even in Warsaw where, in view of the public opinion of the western Countries the authorities try to preserve an appearance of democracy, the prisoners spend two or three years awaiting trial. The sentences are never less than 4 years; they rise as high as 10—12 years hard labour as penalty for membership of the Communist party, or for spreading Communist ideology in word and print.

No consideration is shown for age or sickness.

Happy are those who escape with their lives from the murder-dens of the Polish "Courts". After the shooting of the youthful combatant Engel in Lodz, Dietrich and Solonicko, who through provocation were involved in a criminal attempt on the Lemberg powder magazine arranged by the police, were shot; in Lodz comrade Piontkowski was executed for resisting the police, and 18 prisoners in Slonin were brought before the court-martial for attempting to escape.

It is however not only in this "legal" way, not only on the basis of civic "justice", that workmen and peasants are murdered by the possessing classes. Only recently the workman Viktor Bialy, member of the Warsaw Committee of the Polish Communist party, was murdered by traitors to socialism in the ranks of the P. P. S. (Polish Social Democrats) at a meeting under the eyes of the police because he had, in a speech, called for the support of the workmen of Upper Silesia in the form of a general strike.

The police not only made no efforts to seize the murderer, they did not even examine the members of the P. P. S. suspected of the murder, whose names were publicly mentioned. Horthy's Hungarian methods are zealously imitated in Poland.

Quite recently, in the middle of September, the working people of Warsaw were alarmed by a new horrible police murder. Kalonowski, a municipal workman, was taken to the police station for a trifling dispute with a policeman in the street and was there tortured to death. When the public got wind of this police crime, the police tried to make out that Kalonowski had been drunk and had died of alcoholic poisoning. The post-mortem examination showed however that the dead man had been terribly beaten, so that his bowels were ruptured and other internal organs crushed. The bourgeois Press remained indifferent to this crime; it also omitted to mention — in common with that traitor to socialism "Robotnik" — the fact that the

proletariat of Warsaw protested by extensive demonstrations against this wanton murder.

All these facts, in spite of their horror, pale before the ill-treatment and torture to which the political prisoners are exposed. When protest was raised against this martyrdom of the political prisoners, the Polish Government officially denied these facts. But since then fresh cases have occurred which indisputably justify the former accusations and brand the Polish Government as a band of murderers. Or is there no reason for the fact that in the central goal in Warsaw a prisoner poisoned himself, that in the Paviak goal another cut open his veins, that Comrade Gustav Scholz, who was known in the widest circles, was tortured to death in a police cell in Posen for fighting for the rights of the political prisoners, and died almost on the threshold of the prison, as, just before his death, he was released from the clutches of the torturers?

Or is it only a legend that in the neighbourhood of the prisons and of the torture chambers of the Defensive and the police courts the groans of the murdered people can be heard for quite a distance?

If you doubt it, read what the "Kurjer Wieczorny" of Sept. 2 1924, the organ of the Lodz bourgeoisie, which no one can suspect of sympathy for the Labour Movement, writes:

"For the past few days the inhabitants of that part of the town which borders on the prison in Targowa Street have been distressed by mysterious alarm signals and cries which are heard not only by day, but also by night, and which penetrate through the walls and bars of the prison and cause all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood and passers-by to shudder...

As it is not known what is the matter, it might be imagined that in this prisons some sort of inquisition is taking place, that these heartrending cries are torn from the breast of tortured and murdered people...

After hearing dull cries in the night, the inhabitants of this district were awakened in the morning by piercing shrieks. This however was only the introduction to what happened a few moments later before the eyes of the inhabitants.

It was an unusual sight which then presented itself to us. Men with pale, sunken, ashy countenances, hardly resembling human beings, were carried into a rattling motor-lorry which was standing in the street. These men who were carried from the prison, gazed around with staring eyes and, as though in protest, made with their last effort some kind of utterance. Stentorian voices of high police officials, rattling of the motor, clattering of horses of the mounted police, groaning and blood-curdling cries of the unfortunate people surrounded by the police gave the impression of an indescribable inferno...

According to unofficial but reliable reports the cause of these occurrences was the hunger-strike of the political prisoners which had lasted for six days. The attitude of the authorities, who did not let the public know anything of the six days' hungerstrike of the political prisoners, is certainly not creditable. The Public Prosecutor should make inquiries as to how it is that these people took no food for six days.

Yours faithfully

Jean Bardczak."

We have in our hands hundreds of dreadful complaints of tortured victims, who in the torture chambers of the Defensive and the prison dungeons are at the mercy of the naked brutality of the police and prison torturers. We will only state one case. A boy, B. Rabinowicz, who was arrested in consequence of his report of a provocative agent, writes the following words in his complaint to the Public Prosecutor of the District Court in Lodz:

"After being twice subjected to examination, I was, at 11 o'clock in the night of August 5th — 6th, summoned to the office of the chief of the second division, Zakrzewski, for cross-examination. In the course of the examination Zakrzewski proposed that I should become a confidential agent of the "Defensive", and promised that I should go entirely free from punishment. As I refused to make any statement which was not in accordance with truth, I was beaten in a most inhuman manner. I was struck in the face and on the head and kicked in the stomach. Zakrzewski and the provocative agent Pasiak were those who ill-treated me. When finally, as the result of these blows, I lost consciousness, they brought me to myself, whereupon Zakrzewski seized me by the throat and began to throttle me, so that I again lost consciousness. This ill-treatment was repeated several times; again and again I fainted and

was brought to and the blows renewed. In a semi-unconscious state I finally, towards morning, wrote down all the statements that were demanded of me."

Hundreds of persons have been thus ill-treated and murdered in the divisions of the Defensive.

In order to defend themselves against these terrible brutalities, the prisoners who, separated from their families and the working class and surrounded by a wall of mysterious secrecy, are left to themselves, seize the most desperate means of defence — the hunger-strike. Never a week passes without a hunger-strike of political prisoners breaking out in some Polish town. Particularly in recent times has the wave of hunger-strikes been spreading through the land: in three prisons in Warsaw, two in Lodz, in the Dobrova basin, in Kattowitz, in Petrikau, in Posen, in Bialistok etc.

For what are the political prisoners mainly fighting? Let us take the first example that occurs to us: the demands of the prisoners in Lodz. Their fight is for better food (without maggots), for 12 cubic metres of air each, that the windows should no longer be darkened, for straw to fill their mattresses, for a weekly bath, that they should be given newspapers, books and letters, for separation of political prisoners from criminal elements, for not longer than 48 hours' detention before trial, for the abolishment of tortures during examination, for outdoor exercise, for visits from their parents, for the right to receive food from their relations, for the right to study etc.

These demands alone, which are made in almost the same form by all political prisoners, speak effectively for the desperate situation in which political prisoners in Poland find themselves.

At the present moment the Government is preparing a new prison regulation which will deprive the political prisoners of their dearly bought rights and put them on a level with common criminals. In order however suitably to prepare the ground for the introduction of this law, a wave of new oppressions is passing through the prisons; this produces a series of hunger-strikes which are increasing from day to day.

Workers of the whole world! Workers of England, France and Germany! We call upon you to stand by us in our fight against the monstrous crimes of the Polish possessing classes.

There is only one argument, the argument of force, which can hold its own against the undisguised superior power, the naked brutality, by the help of which the bourgeoisie, which is incapable of any further creative action, is trying to preserve its supremacy. This force is ripening daily. The fighting proletariat of Poland will bring enough force to bear to put an end to the orgies of the impudent bourgeoisie reaction, to break the criminal, insane regime of a class which is doomed to disappear from the arena of history.

You are however aware, Comrades, that your active help and action on your part will increase the sense of their own power in the masses of the Polish proletariat, will fortify them in the fight against superior forces and help to hasten the approach of the great historical day of final emancipation from the clutches of capitalism.

Comrades, we summon you to join in the unrelenting campaign against the crimes of the Polish bourgeoisie. See to it that the White Terror in Poland is discussed at every meeting of the working people. Just as in the past, the working people of England did not allow the blood-guilty Czar Nicholas to put his foot on English soil, just as the representatives of Czarism did not dare to show themselves in the streets of the cities of Western Europe, lest they should have cast in their teeth accusations of the murder and brutal oppression which they exercised on thousands of combatants in the cause of Labour — so do you see to it that nowadays the representatives of the bourgeois Polish Republic, that worthy successor of Czarism, are met from all sides by the scorn and hatred of the class-conscious revolutionary masses of the working people.

Let the Polish bourgeoisie and its Socialist Fascist henchmen know that their crimes are known to the whole International

Working Class, that the International Proletariat extends a brotherly hand to the fighting masses of the Polish people, that it stands by their side and will support them in the decisive moment of the final battle for emancipation, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Polish and International Soviet Republic.

The Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Poland.

Warsaw, Oct. 19th 1924.

Revelations as to the Bulgarian Government of Murder.

From the 15th to the 21st of October last there took place in Sofia the trial on account of the murder of the peasant member of parliament, Petkov. The foreign press has written almost nothing concerning this trial. The revelations made by the witnesses during the proceedings provide a clear picture of the fascist regime in Bulgaria. During the course of the trial over 30 witnesses were called; among them well-known political personalities and also the mother of the murdered man. The latter testified that her son had been threatened with death almost immediately after the putsch of June 9th 1923. Petkov at first believed that he had been condemned to death by the Macedonian organisation, and she, the witness, addressed a letter to the chief of this organisation, Alexandrov, asking if this were true. The answer stated that the Macedonian organisation had passed no judgment against Petkov as he had done nothing against the said organisation.

Later Petkov learned that he had been condemned to death by the officers League (an illegal terrorist fascist organisation which forms the chief support of the Zankov government), which decision was duly communicated to him by letter. The mother of Petkov sought by means of influential relations to obtain a pass for her son so that he could go abroad and thereby save his life. The government, through the Minister of the Interior, refused to supply Petkov with a pass. Shortly afterwards he was murdered in the open street.

The witness concluded her statement with the following words: "In my eyes it is not the accused police agent Karkalachev who is the murderer of my son. The government, the officers league, the leading members of which are the Ministers of the present government, have murdered my son. The fact that my son's wife and myself were not permitted to hold a Mass at the place where the crime was committed, the fact that when the murder was announced in parliament the members were not permitted to rise from their seats as a last mark of respect for the victim, and finally the fact that it was attempted to keep me, the chief witness, from coming to Bulgaria in order to prevent me from being present at the trial — all this furnishes the best proof that the government caused my son to be murdered."

These revelations on the part of the mother of Petkov constitute an annihilating indictment against the fascist regime in Bulgaria.

The murderer of Petkov, the police agent Karkalachev, was sentenced to death. This judgment, however, applies much more to the Zankov government, which is the real culprit.

To Our Readers.

Owing to Postal difficulties, consequent on the railway strike in Austria, it has been impossible for us to publish in this Number the second instalment of comrade Varga's Economic Report for the third Quarter of 1924, but we hope to publish this in our next Regular Number.