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POLITICS

The "Pravda" and the German Elections.

Special Telegram to the Inprecorr

Moscow 10th December 1924

The "Pravda" has published a leading article regarding the German elections which states that the German elections are extremely instructive. The hopes of the bourgeoisie of destroying the Communist Party remain unfulfilled. In spite of the persecutions, in spite of the Dawes Plan, in spite of the furious attacks of the social democrats, the Communist Party has emerged with honour from the terrorist election. This means a moral victory for Communism. In spite of everything the C. P. of Germany has stood the ordeal and the annihilation of the C. P. of Germany has proved a failure.

The C. P. of Germany lives and works, and will yet pronounce a decisive word. In spite of the temporary Austrianisation of Germany, which is reflected in the result of the elections, there exists no firm parliamentary majority. No decided alteration will take place in German politics. The chief lesson of the elections is that the prophecies of the enemies of the C. P. of Germany have proved to be premature. The C. P. of Germany has achieved a great moral victory. We send greetings to our brother Party.

The Elections in the United States.

By Wm. Z. Foster

With a great sweep the big capitalists mastered behind them the millions in the elections in support of their programme. Their candidate, Coolidge, on the Republican ticket, polled 13,803,118 votes, as against 7,976,172 for Davis on the Democratic ticket and 3,847,959 for La Follette on the Progressive ticket. This gives the candidates' electoral votes as follows: Coolidge 382, Davis 136, La Follette 13. To be elected Coolidge required 233. The Republicans have gained a solid control of the Lower House, which will be made up as follows: Republicans 246, Democrats 183, Farmer-Labourites 3, Socialists 2. In the Senate the Republican control is doubtful. They have 55 votes as against 40 for the Democrats and 1 for the Farmer-Labourites. The Republican Senate majority is a shaky one, however, as La Follette, Norris, Brookhart, Ladd, Frazier, while nominally classed as Republicans, cannot be depended upon to support the full programme of Coolidge.

The surprise of the election was the comparatively small vote cast for La Follette. His campaign managers made the most exaggerated claims before the election. Many of his leading supporters maintained that he would be elected. Wm. H. Johnston, head of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, declared that he would poll 20,000,000 votes. The least that was expected was that he would carry enough states to give him a sufficient electoral vote to prevent Coolidge having a majority. This would have thrown the election into Congress and would have certainly defeated Coolidge. Even the big capitalist press

were deluded as to La Follette's strength. Almost without exception they declared that he was the man Coolidge had to beat. But as it was, La Follette carried only his own state, Wisconsin. In the industrial east he ran third, polling on an average only 10% of the vote as against 20% for Davis and 70% for Coolidge. In the agricultural west, however, La Follette developed greater strength. In nine of the principal Western states, he polled 34% of the total vote, as against 11% for Davis and 55% for Coolidge. The agricultural south, as usual, went solid for the Democratic candidate.

At this writing the vote cast for the Workers Party is as yet unascertainable. In all likelihood, however, it will be quite small. Various reasons contribute to this. In the first place the masses of unskilled foreign-born workers in the basic industries, the ones to whom the Workers Party makes its strongest appeal, are to a considerable extent without the right to vote. In addition the La Follette movement made an especial appeal to the more advanced sections of the working class, hence it cut heavily into those elements that otherwise could have been expected to support the Workers Party. And finally, the Workers Party vote, as officially returned eventually, will be greatly reduced by the fact that the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of Columbus, and other reactionary capitalistic elements controlling the election machinery, will not count the vote of the Communists. Even La Follette, in spite of his elaborate organisation, has been robbed out of a million or more votes in this fashion. Such vote stealing is typical in American elections and can be depended upon to operate in full force against Communists. The Central Executive Committee estimates the total national Communist vote cast to be approximately 100,000, although it is doubtful if the official reports will show more than 35,000 for presidential candidates. The Party is carrying on an elaborate investigation in its 1400 branches to determine as closely as possible the actual vote cast.

The election was a striking demonstration of the tremendous power the capitalist dictatorship exerts. The attack was centered against the La Follette movement and it was made with crushing force. The 3,000 daily papers, with a circulation of at least 30,000,000 copies, almost unanimously attacked the petty bourgeois movement with ferocity. The middle class liberals and corrupt trade union bureaucrats, who formed the leadership of the La Follette campaign, crumpled in the face of the overwhelming assault. The capitalists are jubilant over their victory. The stock market is now in a wild frenzy of stock speculation.

Every conceivable manner of propaganda was made against the La Follette movement. Following the lead of the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, Dawes, the papers assailed La Follette for his alliance with the Socialist Party. He was denounced in veritable floods of propaganda as a dangerous "red" planning to Bolshevize America. One of La Follette's policies proposed in his election programme to restrict the autocratic power of the United States Supreme Court. At the present time this court exercises a veto over the legislation passed by Congress, by declaring it unconstitutional. La Follette proposed that this veto power be taken away from the Supreme Court and that Congress be given the right to put laws into effect even in the face of hostile decisions from the Supreme Court. This proposition, which would not in any sense have weakened the power of the capitalists, was denounced as a violent attack upon the American form of government. The great capitalist propaganda machine raised the cry that to take away any power from the Supreme Court would be to throw the government into the hands of the mob and practically to surrender to Bolshevism. Ridiculous though such arguments may be, they had a profound effect in terrorising the petty bourgeoisie and more ignorant sections of the working class into voting against La Follette.

The capitalists made every use of their economic control to influence the elections. A few months prior to the elections agriculture and industry were fast dropping into a deep crisis. This lent great strength to the La Follette movement. The recent rise in agricultural prices relieved the pressure on the farmers somewhat. Although this was due to a world wide shortage of farm products, the Republicans claimed full credit for such relief as was had. As for industry, the big capitalists gave it a dose of most drastic stimulant by placing all possible orders for equipment and other commodities in the pre-election period. By thus galvanising the industries into life again, a semblance of returning prosperity was created. The capitalists told the workers brutally that if they did not vote for Coolidge they would have no jobs. In many cases they told the workers that if Coolidge

was not elected they should not come back to their employment after election. Word was served upon the people in general that the election of La Follette would mean the wholesale shutting down of industry.

In the face of such drastic methods the La Follette movement practically collapsed. Three weeks before election it was giving evidence of great strength, but as the election approached and the terrific force of the capitalist propaganda began to make itself felt, the more timid elements among the workers and the petty bourgeoisie began to fall away from La Follette and to turn to Coolidge in sheer terror. Although the American Federation of Labour had gone on record endorsing La Follette's candidacy, numbers of its sections and powerful bureaucrats turned tail against it and endorsed either Coolidge or Davis. Just on the eve of the election the New York Central Labour Union, which claims to represent one-fourth of the total membership of the American Federation of Labour, withdrew its support from La Follette and endorsed Davis. When the election finally took place, about the only elements who supported La Follette were the more advanced sections of the trade unions and the poorer ranks amongst the farmers. The election was a striking illustration of the capitalists' great power to mobilize the masses. Only the fact that most of the members in the two houses of Congress were not up for election, prevented the capitalists, in their great Coolidge landslide, from getting complete control in both houses of the government.

The election, and the development of the La Follette movement in the months preceding it, will have profound effects upon the policy of the Workers Party. This is because of the merging of the Farmer-Labour Party movement into the La Follette third party movement. The masses who had been organising into the Farmer-Labour Party, were petty bourgeois in ideology, and when the crisis came they deserted the Farmer-Labour Party, of which the Communists were the leading spirits, and they went over en masse to the petty bourgeois movement headed by La Follette. This liquidation of the Farmer-Labour movement forced the Workers Party to withdraw its support from the Farmer-Labour Party presidential candidates, Mac Donald and Bouck, who were nominated at St. Paul, and to place in the field its own presidential candidates, Foster and Gitlow. The desertion of the masses to La Follette had destroyed the Farmer-Labour Party as an independent organisation and isolated the Workers Party.

In its statement issued immediately after the elections, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party said:

"A general agitation campaign by the Workers Party under the slogan of 'For a Mass Farmer-Labour Party' would not be profitable or successful. The policy of applying the united front tactics by attempting to form a mass Farmer-Labour Party of which the Workers Party would be a part is not adaptable to the present period. Our chief task in the immediate future is not the building of such a Farmer-Labour Party but the strengthening and developing of the Workers Party itself as the practical leader of the masses and as the only party that represents the working class interests and knows how to fight for them. The best means to this end is to agitate and fight for the united front from below with the rank and file workers in their daily struggles, in the spirit of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International."

This means that because of the liquidation of the independent Farmer-Labour movement, the Workers Party was compelled to drop its organising slogan, "For a Mass Farmer-Labour Party." The value of this slogan to the Workers Party during the past couple of years was that it could rally masses of workers and poor farmers, upon whom the Workers Party could exert Communist influence. But now the slogan cannot rally the masses. They have gone to La Follette's movement. Nor is there any reason to expect that the slogan can be profitably resumed in the early future, if at all. To continue using the dead slogan would simply be for the Communist to agitate in the name of a Party that cannot be organised, and thus to sabotage the interests of the Workers Party itself. A strong minority of the C. I. C., led by Comrades Ruthenberg and Lovestone, dissents from this policy, holding that now more than ever the slogan of the Farmer-Labour Party is valuable to the Workers Party. An elaborate Party discussion is about to begin on the controversy, which will come to a head in a convention of the Party in the near future.

The Heroic Struggle of the Estonian Proletariat.

Moscow, 4th December 1924.

The news from Reval leaves no further doubt that the recent revolt was a spontaneous act of desperation on the part of the Estonian working class, to which they were driven by the terroristic regime of the Estonian government. In the Soviet press there is the firm conviction that the recent trial of the communists and particularly the shooting of comrade Tomp, were definitely intended to provoke such acts of desperation in order to have a pretext for crushing the whole labour movement.

The revolt which was participated in by 300 workers, among them many women, appears to have been completely unprepared. According to news which has arrived, the insurgents exhibited the firmest heroism and held their own for hours against the far superior forces. A police station with 35 armed police was attacked and taken possession of by three workers. The government offices were occupied by groups of five or six workers. The number of deaths has not yet been ascertained, but these probably amount on the side of the workers to about 10, on the side of the police to about 15.

The Reval revolt seems to have been followed by similar events in other parts of the country.

During the night from the 3rd to 4th of December machine gun fire was heard in the direction of Narva, on the Soviet frontier.

Immediately after the suppression of the revolt in Reval an indescribable terror set in. The number of the arrested amounted to 100, among them being several women.

The court martials up to the 3rd December had condemned 100 insurgents to death. The sentence has already been carried out.

General Laidener who exercises dictatorial powers, dispatched orders in order to capture the insurgents who had fled to the forests. Throughout Estonia arrests and house searches are constantly taking place. The workers' clubs have been closed.

The Estonian social democrats and the so-called Independent Socialists immediately delivered over the working class to the hands of general Laidener by unanimously voting that he be given complete dictatorial powers and that state of siege be imposed.

The Soviet press exposes the true meaning of the campaign of terror against the Soviet government on whom the bourgeois press seeks to fasten responsibility for the revolt by spreading fantastic reports as to alleged preparation and support of the revolt by the Soviet Union. This campaign of lying partly serves as an diversion manoeuvre, just as in Germany where the social democrats are endeavouring to terrify the petty bourgeois by an increasing campaign against the communists, partly to divert public opinion from the imperialist crimes as was the case in England, or in France to mobilise the fascist forces as is being done in France. The reactionary press openly demands the formation of a special force, and it serves in general to conceal the true provocative nature of the events in Reval.

The empty rumours that on the day of the revolt the Soviet troops were seen in Estonian waters and that Soviet troops were concentrated on the Estonian frontier, are contradicted by the fact, confirmed by eye witnesses, that eight Estonian regiments were sent to the Soviet frontier, where the Estonian government had already sent armour trains and tanks.

A squadron of tanks patrolled before Narva. According to reports workers from Narva attacked the police. Artillery was brought into use against the workers. More than 100 deaths have taken place. There were seven deaths.

Moscow, 5th December 1924.

Up to now 34 death sentences have been carried out in Reval. The mass arrests are being continued without interruption. General Laidener, who came into power with the support of the social democrats, is a tsarist colonel and was commander in chief of the Estonian Army in the war against Soviet Russia in 1919; he was afterwards the chief leader of the reactionary Party in the National Assembly. In the last years he became notorious on account of his big business deals and formed along with the English a syndicate for exploiting the property of the Russian-Baltic Works which were stolen by speculators. He is an advocate of ruthless measures against the working

class. The military dictatorship of Laidener is based upon the united front extending from the social democrats up to the reactionary agrarian Party.

The Russian Social Democrats Support the Estonian Hangmen.

The representatives abroad of the social democratic labour Party of Russia, generals without army, issued an appeal, ostensibly against the blood justice in Estonia, but in reality in support of the Estonian hangmen. For in this appeal there appears the following:

"We must not fail to take into consideration the special condition of the small states bordering on Soviet Russia who, after the tragic experience of the Georgian Republic, have every reason to regard their communists who are subsidised and controlled by Moscow, not merely as one of the usual parties but as agents of a neighbouring great power which, in spite of solemn assurances of friendship, does not hesitate, under certain circumstances, under the pretext of revolutionary necessity to attack weaker neighbours."

Thus speak the very same people who always appeal to "humanity" whenever a betrayer of the proletariat, a hired assassin of one of the leaders of the revolution, has been imprisoned in Soviet Russia.

The Crisis of Bourgeois Democracy in Estonia.

by O. R.

Bourgeois Estonia is faced by a catastrophe, and the present rulers, after vain attempts to escape from the economic cul de sac and to arrest the approaching catastrophe, are beginning to lose their heads.

The Disintegration of the Bourgeois Parties and the Economic Decay.

At the end of 1923 scandalous revelations began to come to light as to the "Land League Party", which consists of stockbrokers with Pjats at their head, and of landowners, and was at that time a ruling power. Speculation with forged shares of the Russian Baltic works and of the cellulose factories belonging to the industrial group of this party, and the abuse of office and of the influence of the Minister for Commerce and Industry for purposes of personal speculation exposed this minister and forced him to resign.

But all this was only a beginning. It soon transpired that the gold reserve, to the value of 15 millions, was almost entirely disposed of, as the Pjats Government had far too liberally put loans for unreliable undertakings at the disposal of its partisans. It became evident that the loans issued had been used for purposes of speculation and by no means for the restoration of industry, which was passing through a severe crisis. The Russian Baltic works, the industrial enterprises "Ilmarine", "Dwigatelj" etc., which had received loans and subsidies to the value of millions, concerned themselves with the breaking up of machinery and the sale of old iron and spare parts of technical equipment to foreign countries, instead of with the development of production.

The inflow of revenue into the treasury decreased and the reserves of gold and currencies which still remained were absorbed in covering the balance of trade. The failure of the harvest in the previous year had a devastating effect. The imports, chiefly of cereals and foodstuffs, increased. The unfavourable trade balance amounted in 1923 to 3,621,323,680 Estonian Marks or 18,005,618 gold roubles. In the first half of 1924 it amounted to 4,500,000 gold roubles.

Under strong pressure on the part of the other bourgeois parties, Pjats resigned. The economic crisis which it had been possible up to then to conceal from the outside world, now became manifest to its full extent: works were closed, large undertakings ceased work for want of credit; unemployment increased, the number of unemployed exceeded 15,000, the Mark showed a tendency to fall. The new Government which consisted of central parties carried on an economic policy which was no more decided than the previous one.

The Heroic Struggle of the Esthonian Proletariat.

Moscow, 19, December, 1924

The news from Reval leaves no further doubt that the recent revolt was a spontaneous act of desperation on the part of the Esthonian working class, to which they were driven by the terrorist regime of the Esthonian government. In the Soviet press there prevails the firm conviction that the recent trial of the communists and particularly the shooting of comrade Pjats were definitely intended to provoke such acts of desperation as could be expected for crushing the whole labor movement.

The revolt which was participated in by 100,000 workers, among them many women, appears to have been completely unprepared. According to news which has arrived the insurgents exhibited the greatest heroism and held their own for hours against the far superior forces. A police station with 35 armed police was attacked and taken possession of by three workers. The government offices were occupied by groups of five or six workers. The number of dead has not yet been ascertained, but these probably amount on the side of the workers to about 100, on the side of the police to about 15.

The Reval revolt seems to have been the worst of a series of events in other parts of the country.

During the night from the 16 to 17th of December, a heavy gun fire was heard in the district of Narva, on the Soviet frontier. Immediately after the suppression of the revolt in Reval an indescribable terror set in. The number of the arrested amounted to 130, among them being several women.

The court martials up to the 17th December had condemned 28 insurgents to death. The sentence has already been carried out.

General Laudener, who exercises dictatorial powers, dispatches troops in order to capture the insurgents who had fled to the forests. Throughout Esthonia arrests and house-searchings are constantly taking place. The workers of this have been almost

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The Crisis of Bourgeois Democracy in Esthonia.

By G. R.

Bourgeois Esthonia is faced by a catastrophe, and the present trials after vain attempts to escape from the economic crisis and to arrest the approaching catastrophe are beginning to lose their force.

The Disintegration of the Bourgeois Parties and the Economic Decay

At the end of 1923 scandalous revelations began to come to light as to the "Land League Party", which consists of stockbrokers with Pjats at the head, and of landowners, and was at that time a leading power in speculation with forged shares of the Russian Baltic works and of the cellulose factories belonging to the industrial group of this party and the abuse of office and of the influence of the Minister of Commerce and Industry for purposes of personal speculation exercised by this minister and forced him to resign.

But all this was only beginning. It soon transpired that the gold reserve of the government of Esthonia was almost entirely disposed of as the government had far too liberally put loans for amortisation and other things at the disposal of its partisans. It became evident that the loans issued had been used for purposes of speculation and not for means for the restoration of industry, which was passing through a serious crisis. The Russian Baltic works, the most important enterprises "Ilmarine", "Dwigatelj" etc. which had received loans and subsidies for the value of millions, concerned themselves with the breaking up of machinery and the sale of station and spare parts of technical equipment to foreign countries, instead of with the development of production.

The inflow of gold into the treasury decreased and the reserves of gold and currencies which still remained were absorbed in covering the shortage of trade. The failure of the harvest in the open country had a devastating effect. The imports, chiefly of cereals and foodstuffs, increased. The unfavourable trade balance amounted in 1923 to 3,021,321,888 Esthonian Marks or 18,005,015 gold roubles. In the first half of 1924 it amounted to 4,000,000 gold roubles.

Under strong pressure on the part of the other bourgeois parties Pjats resigned. The economic crisis which it had been possible up to then to conceal from the outside world, now became manifest to its full extent, works were closed, large undertakings ceased work for want of credit, unemployment increased, the number of unemployed exceeded 15,000, the Mark showed a tendency to fall. The new Government which consisted of central parties carried on an economic policy which was no more decided than the previous one.

The Finance Minister Strandman, a member of the Labour Party, raised the import duty on cereals by 275% and on articles of necessity by 200 to 300%. The prices of foodstuffs consequently rose by about 100%. The next step was to cut down the number of State employees. The army of unemployed increased; discontent with the Government grew even among the petty-bourgeois officials. Then came the introduction of a stable currency, the gold Krone. The Government fixed the value of the discarded Krone so as to make one gold Krone equal 100 Estonian Marks. On the Exchange however, the gold Krone is negotiated at 115 or more. The reception of the gold Krone by the right wing of the ruling classes was one of malevolent and annihilating criticism.

All these "reconstruction measures" led to a violent fight between the ruling cliques. The measures of the Government roused protests on every side. The stoppage of loans from the Estonian Bank, as well as the demand for the payment of old debts, placed debtors in a serious position; as they had not enough Estonian Marks to pay their debts, they had to exchange the foreign currencies or gold in their possession into Estonian Marks, and thus contributed to the "stabilization" of the Estonian Mark at the value desired. This artificial "stabilization" of the Mark reduced many large firms to bankruptcy, and the temporary improvement of the financial position was bought with the development of a more acute and hopeless crisis.

The wages of workers and employees did not increase during this critical period; their purchasing power has, on the contrary, diminished by more than 50% as a result of the fall of the Mark and the increase in the cost of living.

Disappointment with the Democracy and Spread of the Revolutionary Movement

The hopelessness of the situation and the Government's confession of bankruptcy are best seen in that it has invited a representative of the League of Nations to "investigate the economic conditions of the country". The whole bourgeois Press, including the social democratic, hastened to smooth the way for the representative of European capital, and agitated for "a just indemnification of the former landowners" for their land which had been nationalized. Even the intellectuals, officers and small landowners have given up all hope that bourgeois Estonia will be able to recover from the economic crisis. Those of the industrialists who had already previously been in favour of coming into touch with the Soviet Union are agitating for the speedy conclusion of a commercial treaty with the Soviet Union.

Pjais' Party focussed its interest on France and showed great enthusiasm for an alliance of the Baltic Provinces with Poland. The other parties had no definite orientation and up to the present have not found one. The fraud of Democracy and "independence" has lost its power of attraction for the broad masses of the populace, and it is difficult to imagine that this small country, in which 80% of those who are earning their living are independent craftsmen etc., will go on indefinitely looking for its salvation to the minute group of exploiters who, up to the present, have provided the workers merely with promises and suppression.

The Government has only one trump card left: to obtain foreign credit through the League of Nations and to sell the last remnants of the State-forests. This means the annihilation of the last reserve of capital and of the foundations of the national economy. And even then the bourgeois Press declares with deep conviction that the sum which would result from the sale of the forests is a mere drop in the ocean.

The political situation is becoming complicated. The palliative measures of the present Government satisfy no one. The Right declares that "we" — i. e. the bourgeoisie — cannot overcome even a fraction of our internal difficulties unless "we" can proceed with the revision of the constitution of the country. By "internal difficulties" they of course understand the revolutionary workers who, regardless of reprisals, persecutions and arrests, aim with increasing boldness and obstinacy at carrying out "their revision" of the constitution. The organisation of secret Fascist troops, the supply of guns and munitions to rural "volunteers", is an open secret to everyone except the liberalizing parties and the Socialists. The history of the Fascist organisations, which came to light in July, proves that the worthy members of the Labour Party and Socialists are deliberately lying when they assert that there are no Fascist organisations, that the

Communists have invented the Fascists, that they are in alliance with them etc.

The revolutionary workers understand perfectly well the hopeless situation of the bourgeoisie and know what efforts it is making to extricate itself from this situation. The increasing antagonism between the ruling classes, the general disintegration of the national economy, the thefts from the treasury and speculations, which flourish by reason of the general ruin, are evidence which go to show better than dozens of demagogic speeches that the cause of "independence" and of exploitation is approaching its end. This is recognised not only by the workers, but also by the great masses of the poor and lesser peasantry, of the officials, of the petty bourgeois intellectuals and of the artisans. Estonia has approximately 28,000 industrial workers. The whole force of the working class lies in its alliance with the agricultural labourers, the poor and lesser peasantry and other semi-proletarian elements. The revolutionary workers have, in the course of a few years, conducted an agitation for a united front of all workers and have made efforts to get into touch with the needs and demands of the semi-proletarian elements and to persuade them to join with the working class in a fight for their common interests. The sympathies of the majority of the working population are now on the side of the working class.

The Government is getting nervous. Its members are seeking a way of escape from the situation which has arisen. And the only means which the Government discovers in such a case are repressions and persecutions of the workers and of the Labour movement. The Labour papers are exposed to seizure and suppression. Workers are being arrested almost daily. But no one can intimidate the workers, let alone undermine the revolutionary movement. Only six months ago, when the trade unions were closed and destroyed and more than 200 active functionaries were arrested, the bourgeois Press triumphed; "The Communist movement here is entirely destroyed and will not easily get on its feet again." Now however, the revolutionary wave is rising higher than ever, there is no end to the influx of new forces and new combatants.

The most interesting fact in the development of the revolutionary movement however is that these new forces are recruited from the ranks of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, the teachers and the peasants. This demonstrates the shifting towards the left which is taking place in the camp of the semi-proletarian elements. This fact is described by the bourgeois Press as a "menace to democracy."

The country of the White Terror is passing through a very severe crisis which will undermine the power of democracy and will lead the working masses of the people to the last, decisive battles against the blood-guilty bourgeoisie.

HANDS OFF CHINA

A Manifesto of Sun Yat Sen.

Before his departure from Canton in order to attend the negotiations with the authorities in North and Central China, Sun-Yat-Sen published a Manifesto regarding the political situation which states:

"In the declaration published at the beginning of the war of 1924, which set forth the aims of the Northern war campaign, we declared that we wished to fight against imperialism which has converted our country into a semi-colony. When the revolution of 1911 put an end to the Manchurian despotism, it did not carry out all the aims of the revolution, as this was prevented by Chinese militarism, supported by foreign imperialism.

If we therefore wish to complete the work of the revolution, which consists in the national development of China, then we must in the first place destroy a twofold evil: Militarism and Imperialism.

These principles were contained in the maximum programme which was accepted at the first Congress of the Kuomintang Party, but in spite of that we are prepared to accept the minimum programme, which arises out of the needs of the present political situation. In this minimum programme we described it as the task of foreign policy to raise the demand for the annulment of the unequal treaties which have been forced upon China by the imperialist powers, as well as of the unjust conditions which permit the powers to keep China in a state of economic depen-

dence. With regard to the question of home politics, we declared that there must be an exact definition of the respective powers of the Central and provincial authorities, and that the province must be the fundamental unit of local self-administration.

In the course of 13 years, militarism and imperialism have proved to be the chief hindrances to the realisation of these ideas. Our Party has on more than one occasion pointed out that the militarists, who are endeavouring with the help of imperialism to unite the country by military force, must inevitably suffer a defeat. The overthrow of Wu-Pei-Fu proves the correctness of our assertions.

In order to prevent the imperialists from exercising an anti-national influence, and in order to give the nation the possibility of giving open expression to its requirements, the Kuomintang Party proposes to convene a National Assembly, the chief task of which will be to unite and restore our native country. But before the National Assembly can be convened, a preliminary conference must be organised at which the principles and the policy for the elections to the National Assembly will be determined. This conference must consist of representatives of commerce and industry, of teachers and students, of the trade unions, of the peasants, and those members of the army who have taken part in the present fight against Tsao-Kun and Wu-Pei-Fu. The number of the members shall be small in order to secure the most expeditious opening of the Conference. The National Assembly shall comprise the representatives of the same organisations who are to be elected by the direct votes of the members of the respective organisations. The armies shall also elect their representatives, as these have been converted into a true fighting instrument for the national ideas.

A general amnesty for all political prisoners must be declared. Freedom of the election campaign must be assured. The maximum programme must be submitted to the National Assembly in the hope that these principles will receive the support of the whole nation, the minimum programme, however will be submitted by us to the preliminary conference."

ECONOMICS

Economics and Economic Policy in the Third Quarter of 1924.

By Eugen Varga.

V.

Special Section (continued)

Italy.

Italy's economic situation, like that of France, shows a certain stability and tendency to improvement during the period covered by this report. This stability has been expressed by the unaltered rate of exchange of the lira, the maintenance of the 5½% bank rate, and the unchanged note circulation. Prices accordingly show but little alteration. The Bacchi index figures are as follows:

June	566
July	567
August	572

At the present time Italy's weakest economic point is agriculture. The area under cultivation for wheat has diminished from 4,744,000 hectares last year to 4,540,000 this year. The crops are very bad indeed. The yield for 1924 is estimated at only 48 million metre hundredweights (metre hundredweight = circa 220 lbs) as compared with a production of 61.7 million in 1923. The Italian government has therefore been obliged to reduce the import duty on wheat by one half, to prohibit the export of grain, and to limit the monthly export of flour to 100,000 tons. It is estimated that it will be necessary to import 25 to 30 metre hundredweights to meet the requirements of the current economic year. The situation is characterised by the fact that the government, as in France, is contemplating the reintroduction of "war bread" ("Economist", 13. September).

The vintners are passing through a severe crisis; at the present time there is said to be an unsaleable surplus of 15 to 20 million hectolitres of wine. In the best years export has only amounted to 2½ million hectolitres.

In industry the situation appears to be better. The official returns show the number of unemployed to be decreasing steadily, as follows:

31 January	281,000
31 March	219,000
30 June	131,000

In many branches of industry there are complaints of a shortage of skilled workers.

It is also of importance to note that shipping returns, with reference to the tonnage imported and exported, have almost reached the prewar level. The silk industry, and the artificial silk industry, have developed extensively. Business has however not been quite so good in these industries of late, since the Japanese silk manufacturers, who have recovered rapidly from last year's earthquake catastrophe, are competing strongly with Italy for the American market. ("Frankfurter Zeitung", 12. September 1924.)

The present position of the textile industry is unfavourable, and reflects the generally unfavourable situation of this branch of industry all over the world. The export of caoutchouc and motor cars increases slowly. The productive capacity of the electric blast furnaces is said to be a million tons a year at the present time. It is also a good sign that in Italy, though perhaps in no other country in Europe, building operations are being carried on extensively. Last year new buildings comprising 13,000 rooms were erected in Milan.

The adverse trade balance is slowly decreasing. The official reports also show an improvement in the financial situation. Last year's deficit is reported not to exceed 610 million lire; here it must however be remembered, that expenditure has increased from 18 to 20 milliard lire, and that taxation has had to be increased accordingly.

The emigration from Italy continues. The data referring to this are, however, exceedingly contradictory. Whilst private sources state the number of emigrants to be 3 million annually, the official emigration statistics give the number as being only about 200,000 for the first half year of 1924.

England.

England's economic situation has taken a decided turn for the worse during the last quarter of a year. This is demonstrated by the data referring to production and to unemployment. During this period unemployment has increased steadily, and by the 6. October had again exceeded the limit of 1,200,000. The number of unemployed is increasing uninterruptedly from week to week.

Various calculations have been made with the object of ascertaining the extent to which production at the present time (that is, in the year 1923) is less than it was in 1913. Various authorities have occupied themselves with this question, and have arrived at estimates varying between 83 and 95%. This last figure, the highest estimate, was calculated by the editor of the "Economist", Layton, on the basis of the following factors:

Home coal production	4%
Goods traffic, railways	7.5%
Grain production	4%
Export	25.5%
Import	7%

From these and similar figures he calculates the following results, 1913 being taken as 100:

1920	1921	1922	1923
95	80	86	95

If we take into consideration the fact that since the year 1913 England's population has considerably increased, the decline in production by 5 to 17% signifies a considerable lowering of the standard of living of the working class.

This decrease in production is, however, very unequally distributed among the different categories of workers. There exists a sharp dividing line between the industries working chiefly for export, in which we find the greatest amount of unemployment, and the so-called home industries, for which foreign competition does not come in question: building, railways, municipal work, etc. At the end of September 1923 the various classes of ship building and machine building workers were receiving wages amounting to 117 to 160% (for unskilled workers 176%) compared with the wages of 1914, although subsistence index figure was 172. The

coal miners, with their average wage of 163%, are also far behind the increased costs of living. The index figure of the agricultural labourers is 150.

As compared with this, the wages received by various categories of building workers reach the figure of 184 and 204%, those of the railwaymen 175 to 290%.

The most difficult thing about the problem is that up to now there appears to be no prospect of any solution. If we analyse the position of some of the main groups of English industries, we obtain the following picture*).

The Coal Industry.

The following are the chief data of England's coal industry for the last few years:

	1913	1922	1923
	Million tons		
Total production	287	240.5	279
Consumption by mining works	18	15	16
Household coal	72	77	77
Industrial consumption	97	69	87
Export and shipping coal	100	87.5	99

This table shows the great increase of exports in the year 1923, an increase due to the occupation of the Ruhr, and almost reaching the prewar level. The table shows at the same time that industrial consumption in England, although increasing from 1922 to 1923, is still very far behind the consumption of 1913 (the data do not agree with those calculated by Layton: the decline amounts to 10%).

The increased export is solely attributable to the Occupation of the Ruhr. The export to France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland, was as follows, in million tons:

	1913	1922	1923
	26	31	47

and in 1924, the data for the first seven months being taken as a basis for the calculation of a year: 29. These figures show clearly that the revival of the English coal industry and coal export in the year 1923 is to be directly attributed to the lessened production in Germany. As we already mentioned when dealing with Germany, at the present time German coal is to be had everywhere in Germany at the same price, or cheaper, than English coal, so that the import of English coal has come to a standstill.

It is obvious that under these circumstances a recovery of the English coal industry is only possible in combination with a general improvement in the world economic situation.

The production data of this industry are as follows:

Monthly production in 1000 t

	Iron and Steel Industry.	
	Iron	Steel
1913	855	639
1923	620	707
1924 June	608	652
July	616	680
August	589	528
September	569	645

The number of blast furnaces working at the end of September was 170, the lowest number since December 1922. The same process is here repeated, in all essentials, as in the mining industry. The improvement in 1923 was due to the standstill in the Ruhr area; now that the Ruhr area is producing again, English production is falling off continually from quarter to quarter.

At the same time the English iron and steel industry is encountering severe competition, even in the home markets, from Germany and Belgium.

It is characteristic for the position of the English iron and steel industry that a periodical like the "Economist", which is expressly in favour of free trade, should stand for an agreement as to prices among the iron and steel industries of England, France, and Germany. The "Economist" writes as follows:

"At the present time the expenditure for wages in Germany and Lorraine is low in comparison with ours. In consequence of

this our steel and iron industry will have to reckon with a period of acute competition. The price cutting will however, more likely come from Lorraine than from Germany. Nevertheless, the industrial leaders are not inclined for a struggle in any of these countries. Two or three years ago the steel industries of England, France, and Germany very nearly arrived at an international agreement. Since then politics have been the main obstacles the time is now ripe for reviving the agreement which existed between these industries before the war." ("Economist", 30. August 1924.)

Ship Building and Machine Industry.

This is the branch of industry suffering perhaps more than any other from the crisis. Every day the English newspapers report on orders for ships, engines, and machinery which have gone abroad.

And every day we may read complaints in the English newspapers that orders thus fall to the share of the foreign competitor. In the "Times" of 5. September 1924, for instance, we find a list of eight English towns which gave orders to foreign firms in the years 1922-23. The Federation of British Industry has frequently taken steps to induce the government to secure English orders for English firms; but so far without success. Here it is scarcely possible to adduce high wages as a cause, for, as we showed above, wages in this branch of industry are far below their prewar level.

Textile Industry.

We already touched upon the situation in the English textile industry in the introductory remarks of this report, and pointed out that the consumption of cotton was comparatively small, 56 million spindles being kept going. In this respect nothing has changed during the last quarter. The factories are working uninterruptedly with a working time of 26 hours weekly, and recently, on 15. October, the cotton manufacturers decided to keep to these working hours.

We thus see that in the four most important industries: coal, iron and steel, ship and machine building, and textiles, which employ the main body of English workers, the crisis continues as before, and there is no prospect of any fundamental improvement.

The working class reacts to these conditions by increased emigration: Thus the number of emigrants in the year 1923 was 130,000 as compared with 65,000 in 1922. The majority of these emigrants are skilled metal workers.

Up to now neither the labour government nor the English capitalists have discovered any means of overcoming to any extent the crisis in England's key industries. It is characteristic that the Labour Minister was anxious to cheapen production by means of increased output on the part of the workers. In the "Times" of 23. September we read the following in praise of the Labour Prime Minister:

"The Prime Minister has made use of the occasion of a new edition of his book, in order to call the attention of his impatient followers to the fact, that Socialism can only be attained step by step, and that it demands not less, but more sacrifice for the community than the present system."

We see that the labour government did its utmost to satisfy the capitalists, but it was as little able as they to solve the problems of English economics.

Foreign Trade.

The unfavourable situation of English economics is mirrored in the data of foreign trade, especially those referring to exports. These are as follows for the past few months:

	In million pounds	
	Import	Net exports
1913 monthly average	54.9	43.7
1923 monthly average	81.6	63.9
1924 June	78.4	62
July	97.9	71
August	93.2	66

When forming a judgment on these import figures, it should be borne in mind that the increase is principally due to foodstuffs and manufactured articles. Thus for instance the import of food-

stuffs, compared with the monthly average of 1923, which was 32.5 million pounds, amounted to 47.5 in July, and in August 46.9; in the case of manufactured articles the average import for 1923 was 21.4 million pounds, in July these amounted to 28.2, in August 26.2.

The United States of America.

The good grain crops in the United States, and the comparatively bad maize crops, have again placed the problem of American agriculture in the foreground. The high grain prices have had the effect that the area cultivated for winter wheat has been extended by 7.5% this year: this means that more wheat will have to be exported in the coming economic year of 1925/26. Our data however show that the United States export of grain and flour decreased considerably in 1924 as compared with 1913. This is the natural consequence of the good crops in Europe in the year 1923. The import of grain has been as follows:

	First seven months 1923	First seven months 1924
	in million dollars	
All grains and grain products	187.3	112.5
Of these: Wheat	63.4	29.3
Wheat flour	44.6	44.0
Rye	23.6	8.0
Maize	31.7	13.9

The chief economic ministers of America, Hoover and Mellon, expect that the restoration of Europe will open up markets for American goods. Hoover states that the restoration of Europe will render competition more keen in a number of industries, but at the same time the consumption in Europe will increase; increased employment in Europe means an immediate increase of consumption and a larger demand for agricultural products.

On the other hand, America undeniably fears the further extension of wheat growing in Canada, and the competition thus involved in the American and European markets. The special agent of the Trade Bureau of the United States in Canada reports that the extension of wheat cultivation in Canada does not depend on the amount of land available, but on the possibility of finding a market. Of the 170 million acres of arable land in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, only 40 millions' acres have been cultivated up to now. According to a recent estimate, there are still 25 million acres of non-occupied (non-owned) fertile land, lying at no greater distance than 15 miles from the existing railway line. Such land as this, adapted to cultivation, is being offered on easy terms at 18 dollars per acre. This estimate of 170 million acres may be taken as a very conservative one. According to Canadian estimates, the land suitable for the cultivation of wheat is 200 to 250 million acres. (Journal of Commerce, 3. Sept.)

Another very interesting phenomenon is the trustification of the wheat supplies in Canada and the United States. This has developed into very definite forms of late. Thus five of the largest grain trading firms, including the world-famed Amour & Co. have combined to form one company under the patronage of the "American Farm Bureau Federation", an organisation of the well-to-do and rich farmers, similar in many respects to the German "Landbund". These five companies had 40% of the grain trade of the United States in their hands. The reorganisation of these five great private firms into a farmers' cooperative will greatly enhance their power as a monopolist organisation. There is no doubt that in this form these five firms will exercise a speculative influence upon the price of grain in the American market, and thus to a certain extent in the markets of the world. The next few years will show to what extent a monopoly of the grain trade will evolve from this. Should the monopolist concentration of the grain trade in the United States and Canada become an actual fact, and the foreign trade monopoly be maintained in Russia, then the greater part of the grain placed upon the markets of the world will be excluded from the possibility of free fluctuation of prices. On the other hand, the great grain importing countries, as for instance England, show a tendency to concentrate the purchase of grain in the hands of state monopolist organisations.

Industrial production.

As shown in our introduction, the decline in production reached its lowest point about the month of July. We append some data upon this. Production has been as follows:

	Soft coal Million tons	Anthracite Million tons	Crude oil Mil. barrels	Iron and steel 1000 tons	Motor cars 1000 pairs	Cotton consumption 1000 bales
May	31.2	7.7	61.6	2657	2970	279.4
June	30.4	7.7	59.4	2059	2089	217.8
July	32.3	7.8	61.1	1814	1899	237.4
August	34.8			1921	2582	357
Septemb.				2814		485

These figures show that for the time being the American crisis reached its lowest point about July, and that an improvement has taken place since then. But in the more important industries, for instance coal and iron, production is still about 50 to 60% of the highest productive capacity. Improved conditions are shown by the increased number of orders received by the steel trust.

The good grain crops, in combination with the high prices, will increase the buying powers of the farming population, and we are of the opinion that economic conditions in the near future will greatly depend upon the prices paid for corn in this economic year.

Building activity has suffered comparatively little from the unfavourable conditions, so far as can be judged from the production of building materials.

With regard to the labour market, the official returns for August show the number of employed to have increased by 0.20%, whilst the total sum paid in wages is reported to have increased by 3.7% and the wages earned per head of the workers by 3.5%. This is the first time that an increase of employment has been recorded; since June 1923 there has, as a rule, been a steady decrease to report. It must however be observed that these figures are only compiled from a number of undertakings, so that the data do not actually refer to more than about an eighth of the working population of the United States. For this reason the American trade union leaders dispute the correctness of the statement issued by the Labour Office, and assert that even in the month of August unemployment increased to a great extent.

Wage reductions have been made in various branches of industry, especially in the textile industry; there have been some labour struggles, but to a comparatively small extent. We can scarcely be mistaken in assuming that the restrained attitude of the capitalists has been due to political motives. They have been careful not to drive the workers into the camp of Lafollette, or of the communists, just at the time of the presidential election. We consider it highly probable that after the election the campaign for the reduction of wages will set in with full force.

The Financing of Europe.

Our introductory section already dealt with the necessity which has arisen for the United States to invest more capital abroad than they have hitherto done. During the last few months, America's foreign trade has been very active again, and the only way of escaping a fresh influx of gold is to balance the surplus of foreign trade by granting extensive loans to foreign countries. The following is a survey of America's foreign trade during the past few months:

	In million dollars	
	Imports	Exports
May	303	335
June	274	306
July	277	277
August	270	331
September	285	427
	1409	1676

Whilst imports and exports just about balanced in July, in August, and especially in September, exports again took the upper hand, owing to Europe's extensive purchases of grain. On the other hand, gold imports and exports do not correspond to this. In August the import surplus of gold was 15.8 million dollars, in September 1.6. Thus despite a foreign trade balance of 140 million dollars, the import of gold has only been 1.6 millions. This means that this surplus of goods has been balanced by grants of credit to abroad. It need not be said that this does not signify any solution of the difficulties, for the United States cannot continue unlimitedly with sending goods abroad without receiving values in return.

* Quoted from the book: "Is unemployment inevitable?"

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Economic Struggles and Strikes in Germany.

By August Enderle (Berlin).

In spite of all the efforts of social democracy and of the trade union leaders to make the usefulness of the Dawes plan plausible to the German workers — did not the first chairman of the wood-workers' union, Tarnow, speak of the "sunny land", into which the Dawes plan leads the German working class — disappointment and recognition that the Dawes plan increases in every respect the misery of the working class, is spreading more and more among the masses of the proletariat. This is one of the facts which caused the social democratic Party, in the second half of the election campaign to talk less about the Dawes plan but all the more about the "reactionary" employers, the "enemies" of the republic.

The economic struggles, strikes and fluctuations in wages, which are taking place at present in Germany show very clearly how the Dawes plan is working out. The first symptom of "stabilisation" is a continual increase in the cost of all foodstuffs and articles of general necessity, which even by the bourgeoisie is estimated at 30% (from July—October). The result of this is that all groups of the proletariat, whether workmen, employees or officials have been stirred up and are vehemently demanding increases of wages and salaries. At first the employers as well as the Government categorically declined to make any increase of wages lest this should rouse the danger of a new "inflation" which would make it impossible to carry out the obligations arising from the Dawes plan. In order to calm the masses, the Government and the whole of the bourgeois Press announced a general reduction of prices. But instead of a reduction of prices, they only increased. Private capital simply pocketed the whole of the results of the reduction of railway fares and postage, of the tax on sales, the various taxes on property, which had been made with the object of "cutting down prices". This roused such a degree of irritation among the workers and officials, that the Government and individual branches of private industry found themselves compelled to grant slight increases of wages. But at the same time the policy was systematically pursued of granting small additions so as to take the edge off the demands for the really necessary increases. Thus the State official in general demanded 30—35% and received 10—12%. The railwaymen demanded 30% and got 9%. The same sort of thing happened in private industry.

The Role of the Arbitration Courts in the Suppression of the Labour Struggles.

The arbitration authorities which were first created in Germany at the time of the November revolution by a decree of the representatives of the people in December 1918 and finally "made law" by the settlement order, dictated on the basis of the Emergency Powers Act, play an ever increasing part in the economic struggles, and that in a direction which has always been refused by the working class, that of compulsory arbitration. In this, a direct working hand in hand of the arbitration authorities and the leaders of the trade unions may be observed, which is intensified by the fact that many of the Government arbitration officials, especially at the head of the most important industrial centres such as the Ruhr district, Berlin, Saxony, Hamburg and other districts, are Social Democrats.

A completely new form was created by the arbitration award and the immediate declaration of validity in the printing trade, the declaration of validity being against the will of both parties to the tariff. Although as a pure matter of form, there is legally no material compulsion for the parties to obey unconditionally the compulsory arbitration award, both accepted it. This method seems in practice to establish itself more and more and finally to grow into an established rule. This however implies blockage and hindrance of the class war and finally of every wages' struggle. That it is almost exclusively the proletariat which suffers, is obvious to everyone who knows that the arbitration authorities almost always consider the interest of capital against that of the workers. A very instructive example of this was given by

the Berlin Underground railway strike,

the significance of which lay less in the number of the participants (about 2000) than in the standstill of the most important means of conveyance in the giant city of Berlin. The Underground railwaymen demanded through the trade unions (Christian railwaymen's union and free traffic trade union) increase of wages and salaries and reduction of the working time to eight hours. The directors declined to meet them in any way. An arbitration award was given which only provides a ridiculously small increase of wages and no reduction of the working hours. At the suggestion of the directors the well-known Social Democrat Wissel, during the last year Government arbitration official for Berlin-Brandenburg, declared the arbitration award obligatory. The railwaymen unanimously refused the arbitration award as well as the declaration of validity and declared a strike. The trade unions however, the Christian as well as the free trade union declared: After a declaration of validity of the arbitration award it is impossible to sanction or support the fight. Although the strikers held together as one man and traffic was practically at a standstill, the fight broke down owing to the attitude of the trade unions.

Great Strike of the Metal Workers and Lock-Out in Thuringia.

In Thuringia, in the towns of Gotha, Eisenach, Greiz, Zeulenroda, Erfurt, Suhl and others, the metal workers in most of the factories have been for two, in some cases for six weeks, fighting for an increase of wages. How miserable is the pay of these metal workers is shown by the fact that a skilled full-time worker is paid 48 Pfennig, an unskilled only 36 Pfennig or even less. The total week's earnings for a skilled workman in Thuringia is 23.84 Marks, for an unskilled one 19.58. (The existence minimum for a proletarian reckoned according to shop and market prices of the most necessary articles amounting to 67 Marks.) Now that the workmen have been on strike for six, in some cases two weeks, and their prospects are very good (for in the employers camp the firmness is already crumbling away, some employers having already granted the workmen's demands), the arbitration authority has again interfered and this time even the Minister of Labour himself, who has declared three completely insufficient arbitration awards with quite small additions to wages of about 5%, whereas 40% was demanded, to be obligatory. The employers immediately seized the occasion with great joy and declared the strike ended.

The strikers however refused to resume work under these conditions. As the strike was continued, the employers have now declared a lock-out for the whole of Thuringia, beginning on the tenth or fourth of December. It is evident that their position has been considerably improved and that of the fighting workers injured by the interference of the arbitration authorities. In this case also the trade unions keep passively in the background.

Wages Movement in the Mining Industry.

The Reformist trade unions have given notice to terminate the wages agreement in the mining industry on the first of December. Here, in the mining industry, the most important industry in the whole national economy, the effects of the Dawes plan are most noticeable. It is in the large industrial centres that prices have increased most, but on the other hand, it is just through the working out of the Dawes plan, that the demand for coal has so greatly decreased. Thus there is serious unemployment in all German coal districts, and it is obvious to anyone that increased wages for the miners can only be expected by a revolutionary fight directed against the Dawes plan. The "Bergarbeiter-Zeitung" (Miners' Journal) states that the prices for articles of necessity have risen by more than 30% since the last wages agreement. The employers have refused any increase, pointing out the unfavourable economic situation and the impossibility of raising the price of coal. After weeks of dragging out the negotiations, the arbitration authorities have taken action and pronounced arbitration awards which provide for the Ruhr district 8.9% increase and for the Middle German coal districts actually only 3—21 Pfennig per shift, for some districts even a reduction of 4 Pfennig a day.

And what have the trade unions done? They have accepted the arbitration awards lying down, without any protest. The employers declined to accept it and, in all probability, a declara-

tion of validity will ensue so that the miners will be put off with at the most 8.9% increase of wages, which will mean that their actual wages will, as a matter of fact, be reduced by 20%.

By way of protest against this, the Union, the revolutionary miners' organisation, has summoned the miners to take up the fight as one man on December 1st, when the present wages agreement comes to an end. How far their summons will find an echo among the masses, the next few days will show.

In any case the part played by the Social Democratic trade union leaders in the miners' movement as in all other movements and fights in Germany has shown the workers how they have been gagged by the Dawes plan, and to what an extent the Social democrats and the bureaucrats of the trade unions have been completely enslaved and turned into defenders of capitalism by the Dawes pact.

The Persecution of the Labour Movement in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Trade Unions have addressed a Memorandum to all political Parties and trade Union organisations, to the Supreme Court of Justice, to Parliament, to all parliamentary fractions and members of parliament and to all workers and employees, from which we give the following extract:

The Acts of Violence against the Trade Unions.

That it is the intention of the Minister of the Interior to dissolve the trade unions is to be seen from his attitude towards them. We publish some facts which characterise the hostility and the hatred of the government against the trade unions, especially when they represent the true interests of the workers and employees. Since the 9th of July last up to the present day, the trade unions have been deprived of the right to convene meetings. Meetings can only take place after the previous permission of the police has been obtained, and subject to their direct control. Even the participants in one of these meetings of employees in Sofia were arrested. The records and property of the trade unions have been confiscated. The functionaries of the trade unions are arrested, interned, persecuted. Thus, for example, the secretary of the textile workers' union, H. Dantcheff, was arrested and dragged from one prison to another. After several months of imprisonment he succeeded, two months ago, in obtaining his release against a surety of 10,000 Levas. His sole crime was that, at the request of his organisation, he made a journey to Russia. In the meantime he has been again arrested without any cause whatever.

The trade union press is likewise persecuted and confiscated by the authorities.

In the wage-struggles of the workers the police have always sided with the capitalists. We will not go into details here regarding the interference of the police and the army against the striking dock workers in Varna, against the locked-out workers from the sugar factories in Gorna, Orechovitza and Philippopolis, against the striking textile workers in Sliven and Haskovo, where the local commander threatened to regard the strikers as common robbers and to have them all immediately arrested.

The Misery of the Workers.

What is the result of the government's policy towards the trade unions? The eight hour day has been abolished in 90% of the factories and workshops, wages have not been increased, on the contrary they are being reduced in spite of the daily increase of prices. Bread has risen from 3.50 Leva per kg. to 10.50 per kg. The cost of living is forty times as dear as before the war. The workers' wages, however, are only fifteen times higher than before the war. The employers are taking advantage of the enormous unemployment in order to reduce wages, lengthen the working day, to worsen the working conditions and to tread under foot the laws for the protection of Labour. The women and children are exposed to fearful exploitation.

It is only the trade unions that can improve the conditions of the workers and employees. If this sole means which the workers have for defending their interests is taken from them, the working class will be handed over to absolute slavery and the most fearful misery.

Organised Struggle, not Acts of Terror.

As a result of the dissolution and persecution of trade unions, the road for legal struggle is barred for the workers. It is ridiculous to think that if there were no trade unions the struggle between the employers and the workers would cease. On the contrary, the struggle would still be carried on by the workers with such means as would still be open to them. Without the trade unions the workers' struggles would be nothing else than a series of excesses and acts of violence.

We once again emphasise that the assertion of many official circles and government newspapers, that behind the trade unions there stood the Communist Party, is absolutely untrue. The records and the statutes of the trade unions are in the hands of the authorities. Let them bring forward a single fact or a document which will go to show that the trade unions took any part in the September revolt or in any kind of illegal work since the revolt. The 35,000 workers organised in the trade unions and the hundreds of thousands of sympathising workers and peasants, — men, women and children — exhausted by exploitation, who go hungry in rags, are raising their voices in protest against the destruction of the right of combination of the working people, against the suppression of the labour press, of meetings, of wage-struggles etc.

We know beforehand that the responsible officials will deny that they are strangling the trade union movement. They will call attention to the full freedom, and even the support, which the government gives to the "social-democratic trade unions". We declare that the working masses spurn these trade unions, and that neither the workers organised with us nor the unorganised workers will enter these trade unions, because they only pursue a social democratic party policy. This was openly asserted at the last congress of the social democrats.

The trade unions address this appeal to parliament and to all political parties, to all cultural and economic organisations and to the press, and expect from the Bulgarian working class that it will adopt a plain and unequivocal attitude to the great social question: the right of combination of the workers and employees; whether the workers have a right to their trade unions which have existed for twenty five years.

To the workers and employees we address the following appeal: Continue the struggle with still greater energy and tenacity until our rights are restored.

Sofia, 3rd November 1924.

For the Metal Workers Union	N. Petroff,
.. .. Tobacco Workers ..	G. Wangeloff,
.. .. Wood Workers ..	G. Dodoff,
.. .. Tailors ..	St. Maxanoff,
.. .. Leather Workers ..	M. Stajkoff,
.. .. Union of Employees	G. Christoff,
.. Food Workers	M. Stephanoff,
.. .. Miners' Union	M. Stojanoff.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

A Change in the Peasants' Movement in Poland.

by T. Dombal.

During the last few days communications have suddenly appeared in the Press as to the formation of a revolutionary Independent Peasants' Party in Poland. Anyone who has followed the political life of Poland carefully will find this news by no means surprising. In Poland an uninterrupted disintegration in the peasants' camp has been going on for a long time, since the year 1920.

Poland is a country in which the rural population is in the majority (75% of the population are peasants) and at the same time a typical country of an agrarian population who possess either little or no land. Seven to eight million peasants, owning little or no land are suffering acutely from hunger for land, whereas almost half of the total land of Poland (about 11 million hectares) are in the hands of 18,000 large landowners. In the years 1918—1919, the peasants were restrained from an agrarian revolution by the promise to carry out land reform.

The land reform law, which was accepted in July 1920 at the moment of acute anxiety over the advance of the Red

Army, has been sabotaged by all Governments with the excuse that the means to carry it out are lacking. The best evidence for this is the fact that, according to official statistics, hardly 818 hectares of land (hardly corresponding to the estate of a single landowner) has been taken by the Government from the large landowners with the object of carrying out agrarian reform.

The treacheries of the "Glur" (designation for the Polish large farmer) Witos, who lent himself to the liquidation of the land reform law by removing the principle of compulsory expropriation for the purposes of land reform and providing in its place a division of State lands and of a small part of the land voluntarily handed over by the large landowners to the allotment fund among the wealthy peasants, caused two splits in his party, with the result that the delegates and senators in his party fell from 73 to 42, and its influence with the masses by about 70%.

Apart from the land question, not the least part in the division of the village into two increasingly class conscious hostile camps, (on the one side the rich peasants, who agreed with the compromisers, on the other side the poor peasants owning little or no land with their readiness to revolt), was played by the unbearable burden of taxation which is at present 6-12 times that of the pre-war burden and is used chiefly for military purposes which, as is well known amounted to 50-70% of the total budget and this year reaches the sum of 640 million Zloti.

To this we must add the policy of the so-called reconstruction of finances at the expense of the workers and peasants, the constant increase of prices, the growth of the "scissors" and this year the difficult situation as regards the provisioning of the broad masses of the peasants owning little or no land as the result of the failure of the harvest, further the class and national repression of the workers and peasants both in Poland itself and in the border territories (West Ukraine and West White Russia) which was caused by the policy of colonisation towards the Ukrainian, White Russian and Lithuanian peasants.

Before the split in the Witos party, the opposition peasant party "Wyzwolenie" (liberation) with 49 delegates and senators, was able to play the part of the representative of the masses of poor peasants by cheap demagoguery; today, since it has joined the compromising delegates of the Witos party with Domski, the well-known hunter for ministerial office at its head, and in consequence of the efforts of its leaders to arrive at an understanding with the reactionary "peasants' union" the "Wyzwolenie" has become the strongest leading peasants' party and altogether the second strongest party in the Sejm; its leadership has begun more and more to tend to the right and to strive for the "creation of a Government of the Polish majority for the salvation of the Polish State". Its leader Tugut raised patriotic battle-cries, the slogan of the reconstruction of finances etc., but maintained silence on the agrarian question, and began to follow in Witos' footsteps, though rather more carefully.

These efforts of Tugut's caused ever growing discontent in the "Wyzwolenie". The parliamentary party "Wyzwolenie" is formally united, but as a matter of fact is split into a series of factions. A crisis in the party and its complete disintegration was only prevented by the retirement of its leader Tugut. All the reactionary and moderate elements of the "Wyzwolenie" united temporarily and tried to deprive the group of radical delegates, which consisted of about 10-12 members, of any influence and any political significance. The policy of continuous vacillation and the tendency towards the right which appeared in the "Wyzwolenie", forced some radical delegates to retire from the "Wyzwolenie", the radical group which had lost all political influence seceded and took the initiative of creating the "Independent Peasant Party".

From an interview granted by the delegate Wojewucki, the present leader of the Independent Peasant Party, and by an appeal which is addressed to the peasant masses of Poland, it is evident that their programme differs hardly at all from the fundamental theses of the Peasant International, which is extraordinarily popular among the peasant masses of Poland. The formation of the Independent Peasant Party is an extremely important event in the political life of modern Poland. The simultaneous growth of the Communist parliamentary party from two to six delegates and the union of six peasants delegates into a special organisation which has thus demonstratively broken off all connections with any bourgeois, petty bourgeois and compromising parties and is boldly approaching the revolutionary section of the working class, means less than the

creation of the preconditions for a powerful revolutionary workers' and peasants' bloc.

The active participation of the peasants in the revolutionary fight is the preliminary condition for a victory of the proletariat in Poland in the near future. Thus the formation of a peasant organisation with the programme of the immediate expropriation of all landed property without compensation and the handing over of the land to the peasants, the self-determination of the nationalities, the fight against imperialistic war with the watchword: "All power to the peasants and workers!" etc. i. e. with a programme which cannot be realised by parliamentary combinations but only by force, including armed fighting, is a sign of the revolutionary mood of the Polish village; it gives objective evidence of the ever increasing readiness of the millions of peasants to fight and to unite in brotherly bonds with the revolutionary workers.

This is no exaggeration, for the best proof is offered by the insurrection in Cracow in 1923, in the course of which for the first time there was fraternization between the soliders of the peasant class and the armed workers, while the tendency of the battle is convincingly shown by the armed partisan insurrection of the peasants in the enormous districts of the Wojwodships of Eastern Poland. Doubtless this process will continue slowly and with interruptions in the whole of Poland, but will nevertheless develop irresistibly in this direction. The formation of the Independent Peasant Party is no manoeuvre of the leaders, but a development which has been called into being by the situation of the lower strata of the peasantry.

The Peasants' International to the Independent Peasant Party in Poland.

The Presidium of the International Peasant's Council sent a telegram of welcome to the newly established Independent Peasant Party in Poland. This telegram contains the following statement:

"The Presidium of the Peasant International heartily welcomes on behalf of millions of organised peasants in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and in the colonies the establishment of an independent peasant party free from all control by landowners and by the upper and lower middle classes.

Do not attach any importance to the fierce attacks and persecutions of the Black Hundred elements and their lackeys, but raise your banner aloft in the struggle for land, freedom and power. It is absolutely necessary to form a determined workers' and peasants' bloc against the bloc of landowners, capitalists, bankers and the so-called "left", which deceives the masses by demagogical phrases while in reality supporting the deadly enemies of the people.

Concentrate your efforts above all on work outside the Sejm and do your utmost to gain the confidence of the rural population of Poland.

The Peasant International is with you and also the millions of peasants throughout the world who belong to it.

Let the villages of Poland be aroused by the fighting slogan: Peasants, enter into the ranks of the Independent Peasant Party!

May the powerful and determined workers' and peasants' bloc grow in numbers!

The land for the peasants, the factories for the workers!

The right to self-determination to all oppressed peoples! Down with war and armaments! Arise and enter into the fight for workers' and peasants' Poland as one of the Republics of the World Union of Workers' and Peasants' Republics!"

THE WHITE TERROR

The Brutal Sentences in the Upper Baden Trial for "High Treason".

By H. Tittel (Berlin).

The state court of justice under the chairmanship of Niedner has sentenced our comrades in Freiburg to 54 years hard labour and many years imprisonment. The agent provocateur and spy Köberle was allowed to go free.

The exceptional court of the Republic and the state court have now brought to an end the monster trial of the 36 revolutionary workers of Upper Baden and two other trials for high treason in Freiburg. Terrible sentences of hard labour were again imposed by the white justice upon revolutionary workers. A whole number of honest class conscious workers have been condemned to endure years of hard labour and imprisonment. Against one of the accused it was quite impossible to carry on proceedings as he had been rendered insane as a consequence of the barbarous ill-treatment during the year in which he was kept in prison awaiting trial.

The Public Prosecutor for the Reich had proposed that the accused Köberle, who for years had acted as a police spy, should be set free. This Köberle who is a danger to society, who managed to enter the Party and had with the most refined methods of a spy rendered service to the republican state organs, to the fascist organisations and fighting unions and in addition to the Wuertemberg big industrialists' "information service", is to be rehabilitated by the state court for the protection of the Republic.

This exceptional court against the Communist Party has sent to the Upper Baden treason trial its highest and most meritorious class judges: The most supreme prosecutor of the Reich, Ebermeyer, was there in person. President of the Senate, Niedner, who had acquired doubtful fame in the great trial of the Potsdam workers and soldiers, was president of the court. The bad conscience of the social democratic press caused them to shout out to the whole world that on this occasion there were no social democrats acting as judges. This was due to considerations for the approaching elections.

And in spite of it we charge the social democracy with being responsible for this bloody justice. It is not only that they have by their activity up to now consistently supported class justice; it is not only that in the trial against the murder organisation "Consul" they shared the responsibility for the pronouncement of a ridiculously inadequate sentence which practically amounted to a pardon; it is not only that in previous trials of high treason against communists they have helped to impose the bloody sentences which roused the indignation of all right thinking people; no, they also in this trial did everything to hand over our brave class fighters to the terrorist justice. A shameful abominable campaign against the communists was conducted in the Baden social democratic press. During the course of the trial the representative of the Reich Public Prosecutor repeatedly supported his case by referring to their mean denunciations.

The Niedner court was compelled by the sheer weight of facts to recognise the boundless misery of the Upper Baden proletarians in the autumn of 1923. Wages of two to eight Pfennig per hour (ten pfennig equal about one penny) for skilled adult workers were the order of the day. A worker with a family of six children could with his entire week's wages only buy bread for one day. The textile industrialists piled up profits from the misery of the proletarians. The rage and desperation of the working class against the capitalist vultures broke out in spontaneous demonstrations in Lörrach. As a result of this pressure the employers finally deigned to grant a single distress allowance of 10 Francs. As however "the state authorities embody the interests of the capitalists", to quote the classic words used by the prosecutor, the big industrialists sought the help of the Baden social democratic minister of the interior Remmele. And by means of the machine guns of the Schupo (security police) who were summoned, the capitalists broke the treaty concluded with the representatives of the trade unions regarding the payment of a distress allowance. The provocative attitude of the Schupo gave rise to fresh elemental mass demonstrations. The hunger of the textile proletarians was satisfied with lead, a number of demonstrators weltered in their blood. The authority of the state was saved.

Nowhere has the fascist terror and the putchist plans of the national socialists appeared in such an open light as in Upper Baden. Workers were attacked, threatened with armed force and brutally beaten. The fascists armed themselves in a systematic manner. The plans of a putch were organised down to the smallest detail and prominent fascist personalities were nominated for the leading civil and military positions which were to be occupied.

The exceptional court which was set up under the battle cry of the petty bourgeois Wirth, "the enemy is on the right", had the brazenness to deny the existence of any fascist danger. When it is remembered that the exceptional court can only exist with the help of the social democrats, then one has the most striking illustration of the republican civil peace from the social democrats to the fascists.

54 years hard labour and many years imprisonment have been imposed on the Baden Communists. Wherein consists their crime? Singly and solely in the attempt to erect an insurmountable barrier against the fascist terror. As a means of self defence, "Centuries" (defence units) were formed and the proletarians encouraged to hold themselves in readiness for the approaching defensive struggles. In some cases munitions and hidden explosive material were stolen from the fascists. This was the sole activity of the accused comrades. And on account of this activity they have already altogether served 30 years imprisonment awaiting trial.

Great importance attaches to the Freiburg trial. It furnishes important lessons for the working class which can be made use of at the present time. The republican capitalist class state has, through the medium of its terrorist organ of power, the exceptional court, completely exposed its hand. The Freiburg sentence is an affront to the sense of justice of the working class. It will goad it on to fight more energetically for the liberation, for the amnesty of the thousands of political prisoners, who are pining in the dungeons of the Ebert democratic Republic.

AGAINST TROTZKYISM

How should the History of October be Treated?

(On the "Lessons of October" by Comrade Trotzky.)

By G. Sokolnikov.

The number of historical works, memoirs, collections, documents about the year 1917 and the October revolution is rapidly increasing. Nevertheless the year 1917 is still awaiting its historian. We must admit, that Comrade Trotzky is right when he says "up to now we have no single work that gives us a general picture of the October revolution which would bring the most important factors in its politics and organisation into prominence". Comrade Trotzky is also right in saying that October should be studied with greater intensity.

We cannot however in any way agree with the methods Comrade Trotzky applies to the "study of October", nor with the conclusions he draws from the study. Just because the history of the preparations for October and the history of the October revolution only exist in fragments, just because the documents are not collected nor arranged, just because a series of most important facts have never been definitely recorded in black and white, it is the duty of everyone who writes about the events of 1917, to select and test with the utmost care the facts on which he founds his communications.

Comrade Trotzky has not written the history of October in this way, and with that we must reproach him. Indeed, by the fact that, with a certain "deliberateness" he focusses his work on the differences of opinion in the leading groups of the Bolsheviks in 1917, he descends from the standpoint of an apparently objective "chronicler" and "pedagogue" to that of a passionate public prosecutor, who fabricates according to his instructions, a malicious indictment; he descends to the standpoint of a "revealer" who approaches the history of the Party "from without".

The "study" of October has suffered considerably from this attitude of a public prosecutor and revealer, as a public prosecutor cannot resist the temptation to try and prove his case with the help of thought reading, circumstantial evidence, and making use of "reliable" witnesses, who however are no longer able to speak themselves. Thus he resorts to measures which rather complicate the question than clear it up.

Let us begin with an example which clearly shows how Comrade Trotzky distorts the history of the October revolution. The history of the April demonstration is an example of this kind.

"Lenin's speech at the Finland railway station on the socialist character of the Russian revolution had the effect of a bomb on many of the Party leaders. The polemic between Lenin and the partisans of the 'Completion of the Democratic Revolution' began on the first day. The armed April demonstration, in which the slogan 'Down with the Provisional Government' was given, was the object of violent disputes. This circumstance served the individual representatives of the right wing as an excuse for accusing Lenin of blanquism: the fall of the Provisional Government which had at that time the support of the majority of the Soviets was said only to

have been possible by eluding the majority of the working people.

As regards its form, this reproach may not be without some power of conviction, but in essentials Lenin showed in his April policy no vestige of blanquism. The April demonstration which took a direction more to the left than had been planned, was only a trial balloon to test the mood of the masses and the Soviets. After this test, Lenin withdrew the slogan of the immediate overthrow of the provisional Government.

Thus writes Comrade Trotsky

According to this exposition 1. the armed April demonstration is the object of violent disputes between Lenin and several leaders of the Party, 2. Lenin is in favour of the armed April demonstration which under the slogan "Down with the provisional Government" took a direction more to the "left" than after this test, after Lenin had withdrawn this slogan, 3. Lenin's attitude to the April demonstration gave the "right wing" the excuse for accusing him of blanquism.

Let us glance at the documents. There is Lenin's article in the "Prawda" of April 23rd 1917 on the "Lessons of the Crisis" Lenin closes his article with the following words:

"Fellow-workmen, the lesson is plain. Time will not wait. Other crises will follow the first. Dedicate all your powers to the enlightenment of the backward... dedicate all your powers to closing your own ranks... Refuse to be led astray by the petty-bourgeois opportunists and the capitalist defenders of their country, the partisans of the "policy of support", or by the individuals who tend to be in too great a hurry and to raise the cry "Down with the Provisional Government" before the majority of the people is firmly united. The crisis cannot be overcome by individuals employing force against others or by the isolated action of small armed groups, by blanquist attempts "to seize power", "to arrest the Provisional Government", etc. (The heavy type is mine. G. S.) The slogan for the day is: more exact, clear, broad enlightenment as to the line of the proletariat and as to its way of putting an end to the war... Rally round your Soviets, try to gather the majority of them round you by friendly persuasion and by electing new members."

In the same number of the "Prawda", Lenin, in an article called: "How to make a plain question complicated" ridicules the misrepresentation of the true point of view of the Bolsheviks in the bankers' journal "Denj" (the Day). He writes:

"The attempt to seize power would be an adventure or blanquism (the 'Prawda' pointed out the danger clearly, exactly, plainly and unequivocally), as long as it is not supported by the majority of the people. In Russia the state of freedom today is such, that the will of the majority can be ascertained by the composition of the workers' and soldiers' soviets, that is to say that the Party, if it wishes seriously, not by blanquism, to obtain power, must fight for influence within the soviets."

Finally Lenin writes on the 25th of April the article "Malicious Rejoicing." In this article he says:

"The Rabotschaja (Gazeta) ('The Workers' Journal' Menshevik paper) dances with malicious joy over the last resolution of the C. C. which brings to light certain differences of opinion within our Party (as a matter of fact in combination with the already published declaration of the representatives of the Bolshevik Soviet fraction *) Let the Mensheviks dance with malicious joy."

"This does not confuse us... Is it in any way convincing if those who have no organisation and no Party, dance and

*) This declaration was published in the "Prawda" No. 30, with an editorial comment. We quote it verbatim:

Recommended to the Notice of our Comrades.
Comrades Langewitsch (Laschewitsch? GS.), Krimow and Mawrij, representatives of the Bolshevik fraction of the workers' and soldiers' soviets ask us to explain how it was possible that the great majority of the workers who took part in the demonstrations of April 20th and 21st and carried placards with the inscription "Down with the Provisional Government", interpreted this slogan exclusively as meaning that the whole power must pass into the hands of the soviets, and that the workers will only take over the power when they have gained the majority in the workers' and soldiers' soviets. The present composition of the Soviets does not give full power of expression to the will of the majority of the workers' and soldiers' Soviets.

jump which joy at the mistakes they discover in an organisation with which they are not connected... We have no reason to fear the truth... The crisis revealed very feeble attempts to take a course slightly more to the left than that of our C. C. Our C. C. did not agree to this and we do not doubt for a moment that the unity of our Party will quickly be restored, a voluntary, conscious, complete unity."

Thus Lenin was in April, 1. against those individual comrades who tended to be in too great a hurry and wanted to raise the cry "Down with the Provisional Government", before the majority of the people was firmly united, 2. against the blanquist attempts and individual action of small groups of armed people, 3. against the very feeble attempts to take a course slightly more to the left than the C. C. He stigmatizes as "senseless malevolent joy" the exaggeration of these slight differences within the Party by the Mensheviks. With whom then did he have the exaggerated enigmatic — "violent disputes" about the April demonstration referred to by Comrade Trotsky? He had them — in contradiction of Trotsky's statements, — not with "the right wing" of the leaders of the Party, but with a small group of Petrograd functionaries, with Comrade Bogdatjew, the secretary of the C. C. at that time. These comrades took a course slightly more to the left than the C. C., and it was precisely these who were condemned in the resolution of the C. C. and in Lenin's article, in which their action was disavowed as a blanquist attempt "to seize power" and to "arrest" the Provisional Government.

Thus Comrade Trotsky who claims to have made a "profound" analysis, has made a thorough muddle: 1. the April demonstration did not give rise to violent disputes, nor indeed to any between Lenin and other members of the C. C., 2. Lenin was not in favour of the demonstration taking a direction more to the "left" than the line of the C. C., 3. Lenin was not accused by the "right wing" of blanquism in connection with the April demonstration, but it was he who, provoked by the mistakes made by a small group in the April demonstration, deprecated the blanquist tactics.

How could Comrade Trotsky make such a mistake which is true to "history" — as it appeared in the newspaper "Denj" and as written by the Menshevik Suchanow — but which contradicts the true history of our Party. This was possible for the very reason that he allows himself to be carried away by a premeditated aim through his methods of a public prosecutor in adjudging the proofs, because, instead of making an exact analysis of the differences, vacillations and faults, instead of revealing their actual limits, instead of bringing them into connection with the course of development of Lenin's line, as a digression to one side or the other, but as digressions which in spite of all the sharp differences of opinion always clung at one end to the mid-rib of Bolshevism, he tries to represent the history of Bolshevism before October as a fight between two parties within one party.

This is the reason why Comrade Trotsky, in contradiction to historic truth, had to maintain that the "arrangement of figures" in the October insurrection had been planned some months beforehand: by the "arrangement of figures" during the April campaign of Comrade Bogdatjew and the "individualist" Lunde against the Maria palace. It was absolutely necessary for Comrade Trotsky to "prove" the whole "lawfulness" of the differences of opinion of October. That is why with him, "April" anticipates "October". In this mistake of Comrade Trotsky — and this is very important — all the specific features of his "research" find expression: his great lack of correct information, his intense "joy over the discomfiture of others" and the methods of campaign of an unscrupulous "unveiler".

Let us turn now to the period September—October. In his representation of Lenin's point of view and the point of view of the C. C. from the time of the Democratic Conference to the

The Bolshevik fraction is therefore of the opinion that the resolution of the C. C. of April 22nd does not sufficiently well characterize the situation at the present moment.

Editor's Comment (of the "Prawda"): the resolution of the C. C. was of course not directed against the organisers of the mass demonstrations, and naturally such an interpretation of the slogan excludes any thought of irresponsibility or adventure. In any case the said comrades, as representatives of the organisers of the demonstration should be given the greatest credit for its peaceful and impressive mass character. They alone gave the bourgeoisie, which was demonstrating for its Provisional Government, the rebuff it deserved."

day of the insurrection, Comrade Trotsky "artificially" divides the disputes which took place between Lenin and the C. C. into two categories: in the first category he places those disputes in which Trotsky shared Lenin's point of view — in these cases, according to Comrade Trotsky's present representation, the C. C. diverged towards the point of view of a right wing and lapsed into Menshevism. In the second category are placed those disputes in which Comrade Trotsky shares the point of view of the C. C. and is opposed to Lenin — in these cases Comrade Trotsky is prepared to "justify" the C. C. Thus for instance, with regard to the protest of the Petrograd Soviets against Kerenski's command to send part of the garrison to the front, Comrade Trotsky remarks:

"Lenin, who was not in Petrograd, did not understand the full significance of this fact."

And further:

"He (Lenin) had no possibility of appreciating from his illegal hiding-place that complete change which had already become evident, not only in the attitude, but also in the whole military subordination and hierarchy within the organised groups after the "silent" revolution of the garrison of the capital in the middle of October."

The artificial manoeuvring with the differences of opinion between the C. C. and Lenin, through which the question is represented in such a way that the C. C. is right when it is of the same opinion as Comrade Trotsky, and Comrade Lenin is wrong when he is not of the same opinion as Comrade Trotsky, pursues the aim of representing the C. C. of the Party as it existed before as an institution which was completely under the influence of the right wing and had only "accepted" the insurrection after a "persistent, indefatigable, continuous pressure" from Lenin. This is no representation but a misrepresentation of the history of October.

Of course the "persistent, indefatigable, continuous pressure" exercised by Lenin in September—October lanned the energies of the C. C. and did not allow it to forget for a moment the duty of insurrection; he literally electrified the C. C. and the Party organisations. Thus did and thus alone Lenin work. But the C. C., as the immediate organiser of the insurrection had, in order to ensure its victory, to choose on the estimate of the situation, the form, time and place of the insurrection, without coming into conflict for a single moment with the instructions. And the participation in the Democratic Conference and in the Preliminary Parliament has, chiefly thanks to Lenin's warning against the possibility of dangerous divergences, been carried out in such a way that it did not produce those negative results which of course were possible and which Comrade Lenin justly feared, but made it possible for the Bolsheviks to organise the insurrection and prepare for it politically.

The historian is the very person whose duty it is now to state this calmly and dispassionately. Even though Comrade Lenin condemned the participation in the Democratic Conference and in the Preliminary Parliament, he characterised the policy of the C. C. from the end of November to the day of the insurrection still more sharply with regard to the linking up of the insurrection with the summoning of a Soviet Congress, which seemed to him an unnecessary "postponement policy".*)

*) A propos the Democratic Conference, Comrade Lenin writes in the "Rabotschi Putj" ("The Workers' Path") of September 24th, under the title "The heroes of deception" as follows:

"The participation of the Bolsheviks in this despicable deception, in this farce, has the same justification as our participation in the third Duma: our cause must be defended even in the stable, material for the enlightenment of the people can be produced even out of the "stable."

In a letter dated September 22nd, which however was obviously written later than the article, he expresses a different opinion as to the participation:

"The Democratic Conference ought to have been boycotted, we all made a mistake in not doing this, but we had no evil intention. We shall make good this mistake if we honestly intend to take our stand for the revolutionary mass fight."

These were the two different readings Lenin made of the participation in the Democratic Conference. This however does not hinder the inconsiderate writer of the remarks on Trotsky's book from making the following statement: "In the question of the participation in the Democratic Conference and of the boycott of the Preliminary Parliament, Lenin supported the boycottists in a most categorical way."

Comrade Trotsky quotes the following remark of Lenin:

"There is in our C. C. and among the leaders of the Party — writes Lenin on the 29th of September — a current or opinion in favour of waiting for the Soviet Congress to take place, against the immediate seizure of power, against the immediate insurrection. This current or opinion must be combated."

At the beginning of October Lenin writes:

"Hesitation is a crime, waiting for the Soviet Congress is a childish playing with formality, a stupid playing with formality, treachery against the revolution." (The italics are mine G. S.)

Lenin says in the theses for the Petrograd conference of October 8th:

"The constitutional illusions and the hopes placed in the Soviet Congress must be combated..."

But what does Comrade Trotsky say about this characterisation of the preparation of the Soviet Congress? Comrade Trotsky clings with "malicious joy" to every angry remark of Lenin's against any of the Bolsheviks, if he can exaggerate it to serve the purpose of calling attention to a "Party crisis".

What value does he place on Lenin's estimate of the C. C.'s plan with which Comrade Trotsky was also in agreement? In this case Comrade Trotsky does not grab at impressive proofs that the "treachery against the revolution" and the "constitutional illusions" lead straight to bourgeois parliamentarism etc. Comrade Trotsky is in no hurry to cling with hair-splitting arguments to the letter of Lenin's sentence and thus to represent himself as a Social Democrat.

In other cases he finds this method "superfluous". He begins with a modest remark: "All these letters, every sentence of which was hammered on the anvil of the revolution, are of extraordinary interest in characterising both Lenin and the situation." He then proves with great care that the concrete plan of insurrection of the C. C. was not at all bad. As a matter of fact, Comrade Trotsky without doubt exaggerates when he pictures the fatal effects which might have resulted from the plan of beginning the revolution in Moscow, of which Lenin spoke. In vain, quite in vain does Comrade Trotsky represent the matter as though Lenin by his unsuccessful plan to fix on Moscow for the beginning of the revolution, had endangered almost the whole success of the insurrection. Why? Is there any sense in imagining now how Comrade Lenin would have directed the preparations for the insurrection, if he had not had to hide from Kerenski's spies. Is there any sense in disputing about the question whether, had the revolt taken place a month earlier it would have been successful or not.)*

Only one thing is certain: Lenin's criticism of the participation of the Bolsheviks in the Democratic Conference and the Preliminary Parliament is absolutely bound up with the plan he evolved of a revolution which was to have been carried out independently of the Soviet Congress. The tactics of the centra

*) Here also Comrade Trotsky gives a wrong report of Lenin's way of putting the question as to the delay of the insurrection. Comrade Trotsky writes: "In September, in the days of the Democratic Conference, Lenin demanded that the insurrection should take place at once." No, Lenin formulated his "demand" much more carefully. How does Lenin actually close his famous paragraph on the surrounding of the "Alexandrija", on the occupation of the Peter Paul fortress, the arrest of the General Staff and the Government etc. in his letter which he addressed to the C. C. in the days of the Democratic Conference? Lenin closes his "practical programme for the insurrection with the following sentence":

All this is of course only an example and serves to illustrate the fact that in the present situation we cannot remain true to Marxism without regarding the insurrection as an art."

In another letter of the C. C., which dated from the same days, Lenin says quite clearly: "It is not a case of the "day" nor of the "moment" of the insurrection in the exact sense of the word. That can only be decided by united voice of those who are in touch with the workers and soldiers, with the masses... What is necessary is that the party should become clear as to the task before it: on the agenda are: the insurrection in Petrograd, in Moscow, the seizure of power, the overthrow of the Government. Consider in what way agitation should be made without expressing it openly in the Press."

committee towards the Democratic Conference and less towards (entering) than towards passing through the Preliminary Parliament was bound up with the plan to proclaim the Soviet power at the Soviet congress and at the same time to secure this power by an armed overthrow of the Kerenski Government. At that time Comrade Trotsky steered a middle course between these two readings of the strategy of revolution which of course represent purely material but not fundamental contrasts. Comrade Trotsky now tries to reap the harvest of this having steered a middle course by representing both the C. C. and Lenin in an ambiguous way. As a matter of fact however, it was precisely the co-operation of Lenin's leadership as far as principles were concerned, with the concrete leadership of the C. C. in the preparations for the revolution and of the Petrograd and Moscow Committee which ensured the October victory, in spite of the mistakes of prominent Bolsheviks.

One more: the C. C. and Lenin were in agreement, the hair-splitting attempts to represent them as in opposition, are ridiculous. The C. C. had no other "line" but Lenin's. It was however precisely this deep harmony in which the concord between Lenin and the Party was expressed, which made it possible for the C. C. to regard Lenin as not being an authority in opposition to the C. C., whose every "instruction" must be obeyed to the letter.

It was just on the strength of the unity and co-operation of the C. C. that Lenin's political leadership could amalgamate with the practical work of the Party. No practical unity would have been possible without this co-operation within the C. C. between Comrade Lenin and the other members of the C. C. (among them also Comrade Trotsky who at that time knew how to work as a member of a collective body).

For the sake of history and the right characterisation of the relationship between the C. C. and Lenin, it is desirable once more to describe clearly a series of "differences" between Lenin and the C. C. which existed in the period from July to October. After the July days, Lenin proposed to withdraw the slogan "All power to the Soviets", until power had been seized and then to create new Soviets. Lenin's proposal was not accepted in this categorical form. Kornilov's conspiracy which again made it possible for the Bolsheviks successfully to resume the work of winning over the majority of the Soviets, proves that the careful line of action taken by the C. C. to which Lenin also later on subscribed, was right. In connection with this there was still another difference of opinion: Lenin advised making the Party apparatus illegal, and making arrangements for the publication of an illegal newspaper; he did not believe it possible that the legal organ of the C. C. in Petrograd could be kept up any longer. On the other hand the C. C. resolved to keep up the open organisations and the legal Press, combining of course, wherever it was necessary "legality" with "conspiracy". It was possible shortly after the June days to hold the 6th Party session in Petrograd with a minimum of conspiratory precautions. The counter-revolution was not yet well enough organised and united to be able to suppress our Press and organisation effectively. The organ of the C. C. was forbidden, but it soon reappeared under another name, etc. In the days of the Kornilov adventure Lenin wrote an article: "On Compromises". The editor of the central organ was opposed to the publication of the article on the grounds that in his opinion the situation was not such as to give a motive for a "suggestion for compromise". Lenin insisted on the publication of the article - it appeared two days later in the "Rabotschi Puti". On this occasion right was of course on the side of Lenin and not of the editor of the central organ, which wished to take a course "slightly more to the left" than Lenin.

Of what had the compromise consisted which Lenin had suggested with certain limitations? Lenin wrote:

"The compromise consisted therein that the Bolsheviks, without laying claim to participation in the Government, refrained from demanding the immediate transference of power into the hands of the proletariat and of the poor peasantry and from the revolutionary methods of battle for enforcing this demand. (My italics, G. S.). A condition which would have been a matter of course and by no means new to the Mensheviks and the SR. would have been absolute right to agitate and the summoning of the Constituent Assembly without further delay or even with shortened notice."

That was Lenin's proposal. He took this tactical step on September 3rd 1917. There is not a syllable about all this in

Trotsky. Anyone however who wishes to give the true picture of Bolshevism before October and during the October days, cannot overlook the article "On Compromises". If this article is neglected, it is impossible to form any picture of Lenin's tactics, if it is neglected, the true character of Zinoviev's and Kamenev's vacillations and Lenin's attitude to the Party and to the vacillations of these comrades are incomprehensible. Anyone wishing for confusion rather than elucidation must indeed pass over Lenin's article "On Compromises" in silence. Unfortunately this was Comrade Trotsky's method.

These superficial remarks naturally raise no claim to throw light on the "complete picture of the October revolution". They are only intended to indicate the absolute invention of Comrade Trotsky's "Schemata" and to state the actual conditions in the Party before October as they were.

In actual practice things were quite different: Lenin manoeuvred in co-operation with the Bolshevik picked troops in the extremely complicated situation which often changed quite suddenly. Both Lenin and the other comrades sometimes made mistakes, they sometimes groped their way, and acknowledged when they had been in the wrong. At sharp curves some got left behind, others went too far forward, but the front was always dressed again within a short time. No single political party could have traversed the way from February to October without differences of opinion, deviations, mistakes. The Bolshevik Party passed along this way in much closer formation than any other Party could have done. The Party was of course not acting in an air-tight space, it had to resist the pressure of the middle classes. To a certain extent it had to reckon with these groups and adapt its tactics to them. It made great efforts however to bring these groups under its leadership. When should it yield, when and how should it wait, up to what limits should concessions be made? These questions do exist, and their existence is only ignored by those who imagine that in politics as in geometry a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, Lenin, in contrast to such politicians, manoeuvred, avoided many a rock, retreated - and then attacked ferociously. The differences of opinion between the Bolsheviks in 1917 can be regarded as a fight of two Parties within a Party only by anyone approaching the subject with a certain amount of prejudice. And that is only natural in such "historians" who judge the Party "from the outside".

Were Comrade Trotsky right with regard to the differences of opinion among the Bolsheviks, had there really been two Parties within a Party, the differences of opinion would inevitably have led to a crisis within the Party, i. e. to such a crisis in which the organisations would have split up or would have separated from the C. C. But this did not happen in 1917. The differences of opinion in the Spring of 1918 consequent on the Brest Peace, shook the Party much more severely than the differences of opinion in October which only stirred the surface. If Comrade Trotsky now makes the mistakes committed by a few Bolsheviks in October the centre-point of his "Lessons of October", he by that himself dooms his "Lessons" to be a complete failure.

What then is the "moral" which Comrade Trotsky drew from the lessons of October? Oh, he formed no conclusions. Why? Because these conclusions are of such a nature that it would be unpleasant to the author himself to express them. Therefore everything culminates in insinuations as to the necessity of a "leadership of such a nature", that it does not "fall off the rails", further in an intensified attack with "poisoned gas" on the present leadership of the Party from the cover of the white flag of the "Lessons of October". This however is no new doctrine, it is only "a repetition of what has already been learned", a repetition of what we learned from last year's "discussion". And as these lessons are still fresh in the memory of every comrade and no one has any desire to con these well learned lessons over again, Comrade Trotsky gives himself up in vain to that "unknown power" which drives him again and again to the "dreary coasts" of the currents of discussion.

Russian Workers' Reply to Trotsky's Statements.

The resolution passed by the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party has found a very strong echo in the whole of the Party organisation. The Central Organ of the Party is receiving declarations and resolutions from all parts of the country. We cannot quote all these resolutions in full here for it

would take up too much space. We will quote only the most important of them.

The resolution passed by the All-Union Conference of Political Workers in the Red Army and Fleet is of considerable importance. This conference meets once a year and is attended by the chiefs of the Political Departments of all the military ares and commissaries of divisions. The question of Comrade Trotsky's statements was discussed at a joint meeting of the Conference of the commissars of the units of the Moscow garrison. Altogether, 286 persons were present. Comrade Kameneff delivered a comprehensive speech on Comrade Trotsky's statement after which the meeting unanimously, with only one abstention, resolved to associate itself with the resolution passed by the Moscow Committee.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine completely agrees with the estimation made by the Moscow Committee of Comrade Trotsky's statement, i. e. as an attempt to renew last year's discussion, and that it contains a number of serious distortions of the history of the Party and of Leninism. Supporting the proposal of the Moscow Committee that this question be raised at the next meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine considers it necessary to intensify the study of Leninism in order to combat all forms of distortion. Bearing in mind, however, that "the Party as a whole at the present time is confronted by much more important questions than that raised by the literary efforts of Comrade Trotsky, which to a considerable degree has already been settled by the 13th Congress of the Party and the 5th Congress of the Comintern, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine recommends that the discussion be limited to the press and special lectures in discussion clubs and Leninist circles."

In Odessa the question of Comrade Trotsky's statement served as the subject for discussion at a joint meeting of the gubernia Party Committee, the Gubernia Control Committee and district committees. The resolution declares that "absorbed in the search for errors committed by certain comrades and in conducting a controversy over these errors, Comrade Trotsky ignores the role of the whole Party, the role of the working class in the October revolution", that "obliterating the whole of the pro-October period of the Party and reducing the fight of Bolshevism during that period to an inexhaustibly insignificant role, where as it was precisely this period that forged", he is committing an unforgivable error. "Absorbed in counting up the errors committed by certain leaders of the Party, (in fact, only one error was committed) errors long admitted and condemned both by the Party and by the comrades who committed them, Comrade Trotsky strives to generalize them and to formulate them theoretically in such a manner as to bring into question and undermine the whole of the post-October activities of the Party, not only in the past but in the present in order to sow this doubt in the international communist movement." "As a matter of fact this is a piece of intolerable card shuffling to which Trotsky has resorted, having forgotten the Party. The Party is sufficiently grown up to be able to read the strategic maps and will not permit this card shuffling." The Gubernia Committee further asserts that Comrade Trotsky's statement made at a moment when the internal and foreign situation is becoming more complex, "not only does not help towards the successful fulfilment of the tasks now confronting us but will weaken our capacity to do so by de-magnetizing Bolshevism both in our Party as well as in the Communist Parties of all other countries".

Asserting that "Comrade Trotsky began this literary controversy evidently forgetting the instructions of the Party given to its Central Committee at the Vth Congress, i. e. resolutely and firmly to maintain the consistent line of Bolshevism, the Party represented by the Central Committee should remind Comrade Trotsky of this as soon as possible".

The Tenth Conference of the Tsaritsin Gubernia Party Committee in its resolution says, inter alia: "The Party is confronted by enormous economic and organisational tasks. Consequently, the Party has no time to engage in discussion. The Party does not wish to tear itself away from its current work, but when war is being conducted against the principles of Leninism, the Party will find the proper reply."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of White Russia, the Anzhangel Gubernia Committee of the Party and a number of other organisations wholeheartedly support the resolution of the Moscow Committee, express themselves against

commencing a discussion and in favour of the question being raised at the next meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. The reply to Comrade Trotsky made by the Central, the Moscow and the Leningrad committees of the Young Communist League*) is being heartily supported by the local League organisations. In their resolutions the local League organisations also support the resolution of the Moscow Committee of the Party. At the Session of the Young Communist League in the Grand Theatre, which was attended by 2,000 people, a comprehensive resolution on the tasks of the Young Communist International was adopted. Among other things this resolution contains the following statement:

"A new generation of Bolsheviks is growing up in the ranks of the Young Communist League and the Young Communist International. We imbibe the tradition of that Party without whose long years of struggle there could have been no October victory, and whose Leninist training has preserved, is now preserving and will always preserve it from the commission of fatal mistakes. We are learning and have already to a certain extent learned to discriminate between true and false Bolshevism, and to recognise any distortion of its history or any misinterpretation of Vladimir Ilyitch's injunctions. On this account we cannot ignore Comrade Trotsky's recent expressions of opinion in the press.

"We fully identify ourselves with the statements concerning Comrade Trotsky's attitude contained in the letter of the Central Committee, the Moscow and Leningrad Committees of our League. We protest against this attempt to misinterpret the history of the Lenin Party. We regard these as anti-Party attempts to introduce in a new form a revision of Leninism and to initiate an attack on the leaders of our Party, the disciples and promulgators of Ilyitch's work. Comrade Trotsky is making another attempt to shake the unity of our Party. We now declare that he will not succeed in this.

"Yesterday and to-day the plenums of the district committees of the Moscow Organisation of the League were unanimous in their condemnation of Comrade Trotsky's action. Every blow directed against the old Lenin guard will meet with a resolute resistance on the part of the Young Guard which holds aloft the banner of Lenin.

"Vladimir Ilyitch taught us an iron party discipline. On behalf of the Moscow organisation of the Russian Young Communist League we declare to the leading organs of our Party:

"The Party must be protected against the propaganda of Trotsky's attack of fever; a stop must be put to the propaganda of Trotskyism in the guise of historical lessons for the young.

"It was not in vain that the Young Communist League grew up under the wing of the old Bolshevik Party. On the fifth anniversary of the Young Communist International we declare that the Russian as well as the world Young Communist Leagues will be a firm Bolshevik stronghold in all forthcoming battles for Leninism.

"Long live the implacable Young Guard of world Bolshevism!"

Letter of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany to the C. C. of the C. P. of Russia.

The Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany has addressed the following communication to the C. P. of Russia:

Dear Comrades, The C. C. of the C. P. of Germany expresses its regret that Comrade Trotsky, regardless of the decision of the responsible Party authorities, has thought fit, precisely at the present moment, to raise anew the Party discussion in the C. C. of Russia which had already been ended. The C. C. of the C. P. of Germany is of the firm opinion that the line of the XIII. Party Congress of the C. P. of Russia and of the V. World Congress of the Comintern must be ruthlessly carried out by all Parties. The C. C. is therefore against the renewal of the debates and in particular of the discussion in the C. P. of Russia. The C. C. of the C. P. of Germany once again categorically declares its unshakable solidarity with the line of the C. C. of the C. P. of Russia and expects from all comrades of all Parties that they will follow without deviation and carry out the accepted line.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany

*) See Inprecorr. Nr. 82 page 940.

The C. P. of France to the C. P. of Russia

"Since the V. World Congress, the C. P. of France has been working to carry out the decisions adopted regarding the reorganisation and revision of the Party."

The C. P. of France declares itself to be in complete agreement with these decisions, and has confirmed this at the conference of the district secretaries. Thanks to the carrying out of this policy the Party has almost become stronger, firmer and more united than previously.

It has begun the struggle for ideological and political unity under the flag of Leninism.

It condemns in the sharpest manner the attempts to subvert under ideological forms the fight against the Leninism of the C. P. of the Russia, these attempts which have been undertaken by the opposition under the leadership of Bukharin.

It will support with all its forces the fight against the revisionists attempts which are more dangerous in the C. P. of Russia in this form: the ideological and political strengthening of the C. P.

Only under the flag of Leninism will the Party be able to lead the working class to the decisive victory of the proletarian revolution.

The Party Health

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

A Russian Factory Delegate to Her Foreign Comrades

Dear Fellow-workers

I have heard from our foreign workers, been able to read the papers that we may write to you about our life and that you will describe your life to us. I have heard much about life abroad and that all the workers in your country have three rooms, with a bathroom. In this respect there is a great crisis here in present although building associations are busy and houses are now springing up in Moscow like mushrooms after rain. But in spite of this we cannot as yet get out of this difficulty, for our bourgeoisie never gave a thought to this question and we lived just anyhow, even without any proper housing accommodation whatever. For instance, I had to have a bed for one couple and twenty couplets a month in an inn. Whereas for themselves they build beautiful palaces. It is true that we took them away from them, but the palaces have been converted into hospitals, sanatoriums, dispensaries, etc. and for the poor we ourselves have to do with a few shabby condemned buildings. For instance, a couplet is a small apartment, and now we ask you, our foreign comrades, to describe your life and how thus if the city is so quiet possible. We are glad to read in your newspapers, workers' government papers the articles in which you describe the life of the workers. Tell us about your factory, the work, the conditions.

The workers' movement in the Soviet Union is assisted by the workers have to explain to you and the role of the Communist Party. I am a delegate from the workers' government, and a rather unpleasant one, deal with recently. I am interested in the lives of the workers who are struggling to establish an international regulation for a work week. The workers' movement in the Soviet Union is struggling for the workers' movement, and the workers' movement in the Soviet Union is struggling for the workers' movement.

Our workers' movement is struggling for the workers' movement, and it is difficult to know whether the workers' movement is struggling for the workers' movement. I am interested in the lives of the workers who are struggling to establish an international regulation for a work week. The workers' movement in the Soviet Union is struggling for the workers' movement.

with the shop commission. One working woman was a member of the shop cooperative. She came to the shop, finding the sensitive egg under my nose. Of course, I was dash off to the cooperative and to insist on a real examination of all the eggs in the shop. In the shop they grumbled at her, saying, "You are not a very caprice. I can tell you that the eggs are all good."

And now, I want to write and tell the how we could buy things in the shop, and so that they may be both in the shop and in the shop.

I have now a few years ago, learned to read and write and I am interested in to hear from you all about your own life and how it is.

A. S. Semyonova

Address: 37 Samskaya St. 21, Flat 86 Moscow

To the Workers of the Medical Profession in Western Countries.

Dear comrades, I should like to tell you something about the conditions of our Soviet medical workers. I am employed in the Moscow Institute for Tuberculosis in Moscow. Our Institute provides medical treatment free of charge to all insured workers. We have about 300 beds for tubercular patients only. We have about 125 people (the six hour day) has been introduced in our Institute for all those who care for the patients. The work is done as the ordinary nurses work in shifts, and the wages are according to trade union rates -- from 27 rubles a month in accordance with categories and experience of the nurses of all grandes, for sanitary attendants, etc. The union is making efforts to have our salaries raised, and just now we have received a ten per cent rise.

We have our own cooperative shop which gives all members credit until payday. We have also a communal house which accommodates nearly all our workers; recently, another small house has been put at our disposal. Trade union work among our employees is carried on by the union nucleus (employees committee) which protects the interests of the workers before the administration, sees to it that the labour protection laws are adhered to, and also carries on educational work. There is also in our Institute a nucleus of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) which superintends our political education and directs the work of the trade union nucleus. The latter takes part in the administrative and economic life of our Institute through special commissions, a club is attached to the Institute. We do not work overtime. Last summer we all had a holiday. Many went to rest homes or to sanatoriums.

Dear comrades, this is how we live and work. I should like to know very much what your life is like. Your comrades have visited this Institute and so sent you through them, fraternal greetings and expressed the hope that you will soon secure the same privileges as we have. We workers' movement advantages in our country. We have a very good medical service, the workers' movement, which is the result of the workers' movement. The Communist Party has been elected as the workers' movement in the industrial and trade unions, which is the result of the workers' movement and the workers' movement.

Dear comrades, I am interested in the lives of the workers who are struggling to establish an international regulation for a work week. The workers' movement in the Soviet Union is struggling for the workers' movement. I am interested in the lives of the workers who are struggling to establish an international regulation for a work week. The workers' movement in the Soviet Union is struggling for the workers' movement.

Address: A. S. Semyonova, Correspondent

The C. P. of France to the C. P. of Russia.

Since the V. World Congress the C. P. of France has been working to carry out the decisions adopted regarding the reorganisation and bolshevisation of the Party.

The C. P. of France declares itself to be completely in agreement with these decisions, and has confirmed them at its conference of the district secretaries. Thanks to the carrying out of this policy the Party has already become considerably stronger, firmer and more united than previously.

It has begun the struggle for ideological unity under the flag of Leninism.

It condemns in the sharpest manner the attempts to begin anew under ideological forms the fight against the Leninist C. P. of the C. P. of Russia, these attempts which have been undertaken by the opposition under the leadership of Trotzky.

It will support with all its forces the fight against the revisionist attempts which are more dangerous in the C. P. of France than in the ideological and political stronghold

under the flag of Leninism will the C. I. be able to lead the working class to the decisive victory of the proletarian revolution.

The Party Central.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

A Russian Factory Delegate to Her Foreign Comrades.

Dear Fellow-workers.

I have heard from our fellow-workers here who write for the papers that we may write to you about our life and that you will describe your life to us. I have heard much about life abroad and that all the workers in your country have three rooms with a bathroom. In this respect there is a great crisis here at present. Building associations are busy and houses are now being built up in Moscow like mushrooms after rain. But in spite of this we cannot as yet get out of this difficulty, for our bourgeois never gave a thought to this question, and we lived just anyhow, even without any proper housing accommodation whatever. For instance, I had to hire a bed for one rouble and twenty copeks a month in an inn. Whereas for themselves they built beautiful palaces. It is true that we took them away from them, but the palaces have been converted into hospitals, dispensaries, dispensaries, crèches, children's homes, etc., we ourselves have still to put up with crowded conditions. I have, for instance, a room of one sazhen (seven feet). In view of this I ask you, our foreign comrades, to advise us how to overcome this difficulty as quickly as possible. We value your advice, and our worker's government values the advice of every working man and woman. Tell us also about your factory and workshop conditions.

In our country all are masters, and comrades elected by the workers have frequently a hard time of it. For instance, I as a delegate from the women's section had a rather unpleasant case to deal with recently. In my department there are 500 workers, 75 of whom are youngsters who according to our labour legislation may not work more than six hours. But in connection with the campaign for the increase of production, piece rates have been allowed. Therefore, when one is not looking, these youngsters are trying to work longer. Young people are different now from what they used to be. We were satisfied with any kind of clothes, but they do not want to wear boots which cost only 8 or 10 roubles, but want boots at 25 roubles a pair.

Our young people are very much spoiled now, and it is very difficult to find out whether they are working in excess of the six hour day. It is in this connection that I got into trouble. A comrade from the Protection of Labour Committee came to our factory and found several youngsters at work after the usual working hours. It was of course blamed for it, which shows you that it is not such an easy matter to act as an elected representative of the workers. I can give you another instance of this in connection

with the shop commission — one working woman was supplied with a rotten egg in our cooperative. She came to me post haste holding the offensive egg under my nose. Of course I had to dash off to the cooperative and to insist on a real examination of all the eggs in the shop. In the shop they grumbled at me, of course, for taking notice of every caprice. I can tell you that such posts are very difficult.

Well, comrades, write and tell me how we could build our houses on a European plan, and so that they may be both comfortable and cheap.

About two years ago I learned to read and write, and now am very anxious to hear from you all about your own life and conditions.

A. S. Semyonowa,

Seamstress in the Uritsky Clothing Factory.

Address: Myasnitckaya St. 21, Flat 86, Moscow.

To the Workers of the Medical Profession in Western Countries.

Dear Comrades,

I should like to tell you something about the conditions of life of our soviet medical workers. I am employed in the Soviet Institute for Tuberculosis in Moscow. Our Institute provides medical treatment free of charge to all insured workers. We have about 300 beds for tubercular patients only. We have a staff of 325 people. The six-hour day has been introduced into our Institute for all those who care for the patients. The head as well as the ordinary nurses work in shifts, and our salaries are according to trade union rates — from 27 to 30 roubles a month, in accordance with categories and experience. This is the salary for nurses of all grades, for sanitary attendants, etc. Our union is making efforts to have our salaries raised, and just now we have received a ten per cent rise.

We have our own co-operative shop which gives all members credit until pay day. We have also a communal house which accommodates nearly all our workers, recently another small house has been put at our disposal. Trade union work among our employees is carried on by a union nucleus (employees' committee) which protects the interests of the workers before the administration, and also carries on educational work. There is also in our Institute a nucleus of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) which superintends our political education and directs the work of the trade union nucleus. The latter takes part in the administrative and economic life of our Institute through special commissions, a club is attached to the Institute. We do not work overtime. Last summer we all had a holiday. Many went to rest homes or to sanatoriums.

Dear comrades, tell us how we live and work. I should like to know very much what your life is like. Your comrades have visited this Institute and we sent you through them fraternal greetings and expressed the hope that you will soon secure the same privileges as we have. We owe our present advantages to our union "Medsantrud" (Medical and Sanitary Workers' Union) which under the guidance of the Russian Communist Party has become united and a member of the proletarian family.

Dear comrades, we urge you to follow our example and to unite all workers employed in the medical profession into one union. Your comrades who have been to our Institute and have seen with their own eyes how we live and work will tell you how we were able to achieve all this. Care for the health of the people must be taken out of the hands of the exploiting capitalist class and must be placed into the hands of the workers.

Write to us through our paper "Pravda". It will give me great pleasure to tell you how we managed to establish one big union for all workers of the medical profession. My comrades and myself will be very interested to hear something about your life and work. Do write us as we are anxiously awaiting your reply.

With comradely greetings,

Medical Workers' Correspondent
S. Gim.

The C. P. of France to the C. P. of Russia.

Since the V. World Congress the C. P. of France has been working to carry out the decisions adopted regarding the reorganization and bolshevization of the Party.

The C. P. of France declares itself to be completely in agreement with these decisions, and has confirmed them at its congresses of the district secretaries. Thanks to the carrying out of this policy the Party has already become considerably stronger, firmer and more united than previously.

It has begun the struggle for ideological unity under the flag of Leninism.

It condemns in the sharpest manner the attempts to begin under ideological forms the fight against the Leninist C. P. of the C. P. of France, these attempts which have been undertaken by the opposition under the leadership of Trotsky.

It will support with all its forces the fight against the Trotskyist attempts which are more dangerous in the C. P. of France than the ideological and political stronghold of Trotsky.

Only the flag of Leninism will the C. P. be able to carry to the decisive victory of the proletarian revolution.

The Party Central.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

A Russian Factory Delegate to Her Foreign Comrades.

Dear Fellow-workers,

I have heard from our fellow-workers here who write for the papers that we may write to you about our life and that you will describe your life to us. I have heard much about life abroad and that all the workers in your country have three rooms with a bathroom. In this respect there is a great crisis here at present. The housing conditions are bad and houses are now being built in a very primitive way. But it is not only the houses that are the cause of this difficulty, for our bourgeoisie never gave a thought to this question, and we lived just anyhow, even without any proper housing accommodation whatever. For instance, I had to hire a bed for one rouble and twenty copeks a month in an inn. Whereas for themselves they built beautiful palaces. It is true that we were driven away from them, but the palaces have been converted into hospitals, dispensaries, dispensaries, crèches, children's homes, etc.; we ourselves were able to put up with crowded conditions. I have, for instance, a room of one sazhen (seven feet). In view of this I ask you, our foreign comrades, to advise us how to overcome this difficulty as quickly as possible. We value your advice, and our worker's government values the advice of every working man and woman. Tell us also about your factory and workshop conditions.

In our country all are masters, and comrades elected by the workers have frequently a hard time of it. For instance, I, as a delegate from the women's section, had a rather unpleasant case to deal with recently: In my department there are 300 workers, 75 of whom are youngsters who according to our labour legislation may not work more than six hours. But in connection with the campaign for the increase of production, piece rates have been allowed. Therefore, when one is not looking, these youngsters are trying to work longer. Young people are different now from what they used to be. We were satisfied with any kind of clothes, but they do not want to wear boots which cost only 8 or 10 roubles, but want boots at 25 roubles a pair.

Our young people are very much spoiled now, and it is very difficult to find out whether they are working in excess of the six hour day. It is in this connection that I get into trouble. A comrade from the Protection of Labour Committee came to our factory and found several youngsters at work after the usual working hours. I was of course blamed for it, which shows you that it is not such an easy matter to act as an elected representative of the workers. I can give you another instance of this in connection

with the shop commission — one working woman was supplied with a rotten egg in our cooperative. She came to me post haste holding the offensive egg under my nose. Of course I had to dash off to the cooperative and to insist on a real examination of all the eggs in the shop. In the shop they grumbled at me, of course, for taking notice of every caprice. I can tell you that such posts are very difficult.

Well, comrades, write and tell me how we could build our houses on a European plan, and so that they may be both comfortable and cheap.

About two years ago I learned to read and write, and now am very anxious to hear from you all about your own life and conditions.

A. S. Semyonova.

Seamstress in the Uritsky Clothing Factory.

Address: Myasitskaya St. 21, Flat 26, Moscow.

To the Workers of the Medical Profession in Western Countries.

Dear Comrades,

I should like to tell you something about the conditions of life of our soviet medical workers. I am employed at the Soviet Institute for Tuberculosis in Moscow. Our Institute provides medical treatment free of charge to all insured workers. We have about 300 beds for tubercular patients only. We have a staff of 325 people. The six-hour day has been introduced into our Institute for all those who care for the patients. The head as well as the ordinary nurses work in shifts, and our salaries are according to trade union rates — from 27 to 36 roubles a month, in accordance with categories and experience. This is the salary for nurses of all grades, for sanitary attendants, etc. Our union is making efforts to have our salaries raised, and just now we have received a ten per cent rise.

We have our own co-operative shop which gives all members credit until pay day. We have also a communal home which accommodates nearly all our workers. Recently another communal house has been put at our disposal. The trade union work makes our employees interested in the work of the union nucleus (the soviet committee) of the factory. The soviet committee has the same functions as in the capitalist countries. It has a nucleus of the soviet committee, and also carries on educational work. There is also in our Institute a nucleus of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) which superintends our political education and directs the work of the trade union nucleus. The latter takes part in the administrative and economic life of our Institute through special commissions. A club is attached to the Institute. We do not work overtime. Last summer we all had a holiday. Many of us went to rest in the mountains or in sanatoriums.

Dear comrades, tell us how we live and work. I should like to know very much about your life at home. Your comrades have visited this Institute and we sent you through them fraternal greetings and expressed the hope that you will soon secure the same privileges as we have. We owe our present advantages to our union "Medsantrud" (Medical and Sanitary Workers' Union) which under the guidance of the Russian Communist Party has become united and a member of the proletarian family.

Dear comrades, we urge you to follow our example and to unite all workers employed in the medical profession into one union. Your comrades who have been to our institute and have seen with their own eyes how we live and work, will tell you how we were able to achieve all this. Care for the health of the people must be taken out of the hands of the exploiting capitalist class and must be placed into the hands of the workers.

Write to us through our paper "Pravda". It will give me great pleasure to tell you how we managed to establish one big union for all workers of the medical profession. My comrades and myself will be very interested to hear something about your life and work. Do write us as we are anxiously awaiting a reply.

With comradely greetings,

Medical Workers' Correspondent
S. Gim.