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We Want our Parents to be Literate.

The First Year of the Comintern without Lenin.

By Bela Kun.

I.

The greatest of the great, under whose leadership the world proletariat made its first serious preparations to leap "from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom", still works, even after his death, in his army.

The death of Lenin a year ago gave the army of the Communist International the stimulus to a great ideological deepening and to organisatory equipment. One of the most important features of that year through which the revolutionary proletariat had to fight its way without the leadership of Lenin, consists precisely in the fact that the Communist Parties are not only beginning to feel, but consciously to realise what they have lost in Lenin and the heritage they have received from Lenin. In other words: the young communist Parties, which were driven towards revolution by the first post-war wave of revolution without an ideological and organisatory preparation, are now beginning to scale the lofty summit of Leninist theory and revolutionary practice.

He who has lived through only a part of the revolution of the Russian proletariat and the peasantry, and has learnt to estimate, in its real significance, the molecular process which is going on among the masses, will be able to perceive, even in this "non-heroic" period of the Comintern, the true signs of progress along the road to organisation and victory of the revolution. The phenomena which indicate this, although they were not too abundant this year, nevertheless permit us to characterise

this year as the first year of the deepening in Leninism, both as regards the growing recognition as to the rôle of the Communist Party, as well as in regard to the organisatory work in the Comintern and in its sections.

In this sense the year which the Comintern has passed through without Lenin means a serious step forward to the organisation and to the victory of the international revolution.

II.

In those days when the sorrow of the revolutionary proletariat followed the coffin of Lenin, the hopes and the rose-coloured illusions of the other wing of the proletariat followed MacDonald's motor-car which conveyed him to the palace of George the V. of England. The "democratic-pacifist" era made its entry in this car. That portion of the working class which was filled with opportunist illusions, expected from it the cessation of the capitalist offensive, of the fascist form of bourgeois rule, and cherished a vague hope, which was encouraged by MacDonald and the II. International (which had thrown aside even the mask of Marxism), of something which was called "constructive Socialism", in order thereby to give expression to its antagonism to "destructive" Marxism-Leninism.

The fiction of the "democratic-pacifist" era meant from the point of view of the strategy of the bourgeois counter-revolution — as was soon seen — nothing else than an exceedingly astute manoeuvre. For the revolutionary strategy of Lenin,

especially of that strategic plan which he developed in his last writings, this "era" constituted an acid test. Nearly a year before his death, Lenin wrote in an analysis of the situation of the international revolution as follows:

"The system of international relations assumed such a form that in Europe one state was subjugated by the victor states. This state is Germany. Thereupon the oldest Western states arrived at a situation in which they were able to make use of the victory in order to grant a number of concessions to their suppressed classes, and which, in spite of their meagre character, somewhat postpone the revolutionary movement in these countries and create something resembling a "social peace".

At the same time a number of countries — the Orient, India, China etc. have, as a direct consequence of the late imperialist war, been shaken out of their ruts. The development of these countries has finally assumed the same pace as European capitalism. It has been seized by the European ferment. And the whole world now perceives that these countries have been drawn into a development which must necessarily lead to the crisis of world capitalism."

The aim of the democratic-pacifist era, as a joint manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie and of social democracy, consisted precisely in so perpetuating this "social peace", that it creates the illusion that although the separation of the world into robber and robbed states still remains, there exists the possibility of abolishing it. This manoeuvre has succeeded for the time being. Great masses of the working class have fallen victims to this manoeuvre. The clearness of Lenin's strategical plan was necessary in order that the Comintern should guide the revolutionary movement in such a manner, that it neither becomes isolated from the masses nor loses for a moment its way in the dangerous maze of democratic-pacifist illusions. That this was achieved without great loss in a very unfavourable situation constitutes one of the greatest victories of Lenin, which he achieved after his death.

After the "German October", which gave rise to the organising of an open opportunist wing (the point of crystallisation was furnished by the opposition of Trotzky), the inner situation of the Comintern appeared all too favourable for the destructive work of the "democratic-pacifist" era. The right wing was very much inclined to fall into these illusions. In France the right wing of the C. P., under the leadership of Rosmer, welcomed the coming into power of the English Labour Government as a historical turning point; in England, Newbold, Price, and with them a whole group of Party intellectuals, forsook the ship of communism, which they believed would sink in the stream of democratic pacifism; in Sweden, Hoeglund and his followers attempted to liquidate even that feeble revolutionary attitude which the leading circles of the Party had retained from the anti-militarist movement during the war; in Czechoslovakia, Kreibich, Smeral and their followers sought to apply the united front tactics in the form of a coalition — not only with the social democrats but also with Masaryk; in Germany, the right wing of the C. P., under the leadership of Brandler, wished to continue its tactics which, instead of linking up with the every-day demands of the working class, wished to link up with the illusions of the working class; in Spain, the leaders of the Party, who have since been removed, wished to liquidate the anti-militarist propaganda of the youth; one could quote further examples of the first effects of the democratic-pacifist era upon the different sections of the Communist International.

On the other hand, the attitude of the "ultra-left" in the trade union question, the instinctive aversion to the application of the united front, resulted in the danger of the isolation of the Party from the masses — owing to the fact that these comrades did not wish to take the democratic pacifist era into account at all.

In addition to all these more or less vague tendencies, there appeared the appropriate ideology, in the shape of various expressions of comrade Trotzky, who, by means of an "epochal" confrontation of the democratic-pacifist era with fascism, in reality placed the development of liquidationism into a "theory" upon the order of the day.

War on two fronts — as demanded by Leninist tactics —, in accordance with the concrete situation: strong opposition to the serious liquidatory opportunist danger; fresh steps on the way to building up the C. I. as a centralized world Party; fight against the "infantile sickness", which has appeared in the shape of "ultra-leftism"; further application of the united front tactics (purged of its opportunist deviations); decided opposition to

leaving the trade unions; energetic continuation of the work in the trade unions and in other mass organisation of the working class — this is what would have meant taking into account the democratic-pacifist era, which at the same time would constitute the preparation for settling accounts with these illusions.

The past year brought with it a more intensive work in the peasant question and in the national question within the Comintern. The attempt was made to apply the national policy of Leninism in a more concrete form than hitherto to Central and Southern Europe. The work among the peasants, the setting up of the Peasant International, signifies the effort after an extension of the proletarian front within the frame of that strategic plan which Lenin drew up in his last analysis of the situation of the international revolution.

The democratic-pacifist era came to full bloom in the past year, it also bore fruit, even if it was not of such a kind as the misguided masses of workers had hoped, and also soon shed its leaves. The imperialist bourgeoisie no longer required the democratic-pacifist exterior; already today it is openly showing its fascist countenance. In the East, as well as in Germany (the non-evacuation of the Cologne area), imperialism is appearing in all its brutality and we can say without fear of exaggeration that the "era" of democratic pacifism is at its last gasp.

III.

The concrete results of the united front campaign up to now consist in the fact, that in England the question of communism has been raised before much broader masses than the still weak C. P. of Great Britain could have done alone. The second concrete result could be illustrated by the fact that at the time when MacDonald and his followers, bewildered by the election victory of the Conservatives, declared not the Conservatives but the Communists to be the real "enemy" of the working class, a section of the leaders of the English trade union movement began to fraternise with the Russian working class and with its trade unions.

Finally, there exists a concrete result, whose importance it is impossible to overestimate, although the greatest precaution must be used in judging its further prospects, that is, the sharpening of the antagonisms between the English and the continental trade union bureaucracy within the Amsterdam International. The action for unity is even engaging the yellow American trade unions, which so far are not even affiliated to the Amsterdam International.

There is no doubt that in order to avert the danger — created by the democratic-pacifist era and the illusions of the masses connected with it — of isolating the C. P. from the masses, there could be nothing better suited than the action for trade union unity.

IV.

"Into the masses by the bolshevising of the Communist Parties" — that was the slogan of the first year in which the Comintern had to conduct its struggles without Lenin.

This slogan was the further concretising of that strategy and tactics, the fundamental teachings of which were given us by Lenin.

Bolshevising means establishing connection with the masses and organising the masses. It means the adaptation of that science of victory with the help of which Lenin led the Bolshevik Party to victory and captured and maintained power, it means the application of the revolutionary experiences of the Bolshevik Party to the concrete conditions.

Bolshevising is still in its initial stages, although it can already record indisputable successes. The task before the Comintern at the end of the first year without Lenin is the concretising and differentiating of this slogan for every individual Party.

V.

The first year in which the Comintern had to lead and to manoeuvre without Lenin is characterised therefore by the intensification of the spread of the teachings of Lenin. Much has been contributed through the fight against all opportunist deviations from Leninism, among them not the last being the fight against Trotzkyism.

The fight against revision of Leninism had necessarily to assume an international character, and thus the victory of Leninism over Trotzkyism, not only on a Russian but an international scale, will conclude the first year of the Comintern: without Lenin, but under the leadership of Leninism.

Vladimir Ilytch Ulyanov Lenin.

By M. I. Ulyanova*).

It is now a year since our Lenin closed his eyes for ever. In this year the international proletariat has had to fight against capitalism without the leadership of Lenin. It is hard to reconcile oneself to the loss. The rôle of Lenin in the international fight of the proletariat was too great for that. Intellectual genius and an iron will, combined with a wide theoretical training and many years experience of struggle, gave him the possibility of determining the tactics of the revolutionary working class in the most difficult periods and boldly to lead the masses into the fight at the favourable moment.

Lenin was revered and loved by the broad masses of the workers hardly as a leader of the workers' movement. They perceived in Lenin not only the great leader, but a fellow human being, standing in close contact with them, who lived and spoke with them as simply as themselves.

His simple, friendly attitude to the masses of the workers, which was entirely free from any touch of haughtiness or aloofness, won the enthusiasm of all.

"We can only govern when we rightly express that which

the people bear within themselves", he said once in a speech at the 11th Congress of the C. P. of Russia, and on another occasion:

"He only will retain power who believes in the people, and who again and again dips into the spring of the vital creative power of the people."

And he knew how to express himself rightly and to dip into that spring through his accessibility and his nearness to the masses.

"Lenin, that is we ourselves" said the workers of him.

Lenin is no longer with us, but we must appreciate our good fortune that he was with us.

The vast literary heritage he has bequeathed, which must be studied with reverence and painstaking care, will for decades remain an inexhaustible source for those who carry on his work and from which they will be able to draw counsel and instructions in the fight.

His personal example will shine like a beacon, leading ever fresh fighters into our ranks.

"The Victory will be ours!"

POLITICS

Instruction in Marxism. — An Open Letter to Mr. L. A. Urquhart.

By Karl Radek.

Dear Mr. Urquhart,

After reading your letter to the editor of the "Izvestia", I felt the full weight of our responsibility towards you. How far we have driven you by involving you in the Treaty with us!

So far that Leslie Andrew Urquhart has seized upon Marx and is beginning to study him by means of English and Russian translations.

And then we are surprised when the English press raises a great outcry over the horror of the bolshevist terror!

The capitalists of the world have exploited the workers for centuries, but not one of them was ever compelled to study Marx as a punishment. You, however, have to occupy yourself with such a terrible subject in order to gain access to Kischtym. But our sense of responsibility towards you, Mr. Urquhart, does not absolve me from the duty of calling your attention to the fact, that in your study of Marx you have made no more progress than I have in the study of the English language. How often, when in London, have I endeavoured to speak with one of your London Bobbies and have invariably been referred to the next policeman, who spoke French. But as you have started to undergo instruction in Marxism, I would advise you to persevere with it and perhaps you will achieve better results than you have in your negotiations with the Soviet Union. I, on my part, will endeavour to point out to you the mistakes you have committed in your first steps in the domain of Marxism.

You commence with the undoubted Marxist conception that the political order of a country in a definite epoch is determined by the prevailing methods of production and exchange and the social order arising therefrom. From this you conclude that no government can impose upon a country a treaty which runs counter to the social order obtaining in that country. These two definitions are correct. But what are the conclusions you draw from them? Your first conclusion is that the Treaty which the Labour Government of England concluded with the Soviet government, and which guaranteed the loan to be granted to the Soviet Union by the English banks, in the event of these banks arriving at an agreement with the Soviet government regarding the Tsarist debts and compensation for losses by British subjects, runs counter to the social order of England, and, therefore, could not be ratified.

You do not attempt to substantiate your conclusions, for your remark that in England it is not the government but the capitalists who dispose of money, is by no means a proof of your assertion as to the contradiction between the social order of England and the Treaty. The Treaty did not pledge the English capitalists to grant money to us. You need not remind Mr. MacDonald that the seizure of possession of the Premier's chair in Downing Street, is by no means the same thing as the seizure of possession of the safes in the City. The English Communists are at present engaged in propagating this truth and you have no need to compete with them. The Treaty merely facilitated the granting of the loan by the banks, in the event of an agreement being arrived at regarding the other questions in dispute. Since when has a facilitation of the activity of the bankers by the English government run counter to the social order of England?

If the English capitalists overthrew the Labour Government, this was not because they feared the Treaty could shake the foundations of the social order of England, but because they believed that the Labour Government — which was dependent upon the working masses of England — would not use sufficient energy in shaking the social foundations of other countries — in the first place of the Soviet Union, of China, and of the colonial peoples. For in spite of the course in Marxism which you have so heroically undergone, you and the rest of your colleagues — who have not studied Marx — are of the opinion that the proposition that no government, no matter how strong, is capable of imposing upon a country a foreign policy which runs counter to the foundations of its social order, only applies to England; while with regard to Russia, for example, you do not stick to this Marxist principle. You declare that the Soviet government, if it seriously intends to attract foreign capital to Russia, will be compelled to reckon with those well-known conditions which international capital is aiming at, even "at the cost of giving up this or that principle which at present forms the foundations of the social order in Russia".

In this you make Russia an exception to the Marxist law that the foreign policy of a country corresponds to its social order. You are apparently of the opinion that the Soviet government is so strong that it can do everything, that it can even abrogate the laws of Marxism. This is illogical, Mr. Urquhart! You will reply that this only contradicts formal logic, but we are Marxists, that is to say, you and I do not stand upon the basis of formal logic, but upon the basis of dialectics. Let us now consider your dialectic arguments, which abrogate for Soviet Russia those Marxist laws which you recognise.

You quote a passage from the "Communist Manifesto", in which our mutual great teacher states, "that capital creates a world after its own image". You point out that the bourgeoisie, "by the cheapness of its commodities, lays low all Chinese walls and forces the barbarians to adopt so-called civilisation, that

*) Lenins sister.

the bourgeoisie has not only subjected the country to the rule of the town, but has made **barbaric or semi-barbaric** countries dependent on civilised countries, nations of peasants on bourgeois nations, **the Orient on the Occident**".

This Marxist law without doubt correctly describes the world-exploiting tendency of the international bourgeoisie and of the capitalist order. But in order to be a dialectician (and you claim to be such), one must not only know the tendencies which Marx with penetrating genius recognised in 1848, but also the tendencies which you can now see, without any genius, right before your eyes, without even leaving the premises of the City Banks. Have you not noticed in the last decades, during which you have transacted so much business with the despised "barbaric or semi-barbaric Orient", that not only does capitalism wish to subjugate the East, but that the East is striving to free itself from the domination of West-European capital? We have entered upon a new epoch of revolutionary upheavals, from the Pacific Ocean to the Mediterranean. And in the first place the Orient is endeavouring to drive into your head, into the heads of the English capitalists, with a cudgel, so to speak, the science of this tendency of world development. Your Marxism, Mr. Urquhart, is the Marxism of the book-worm, who learns passages by rote, but who is incapable of grasping living reality with the aid of Marxist methods. This ossification of Marxism is frequently to be observed in England.

Consistent with the Marxist idea, according to which the capitalist order strives to subjugate the semi-barbaric countries and to subordinate the Orient to the Occident, you prepared the way for this subjugation by means of the expedition to Archangel, with the help of Koltchak and Denikin. In this you applied all the old experiences you had acquired in India, which Prof. Seeley so interestingly describes in his book on the "Expansion of England" which is so instructive for us Russians. To the question, how could such a miracle occur that a tiny handful of Englishmen were able to conquer a huge country like India, Prof. Seeley replies, that for this purpose England made use of the disunity of India, of the divergency of interests of the Maharajahs and of the lower Rajahs.

In the year 1918 you attempted to conquer Russia by persuading the Russian Maharajahs that you were doing this solely for the sake of their reinstatement, and not in the interests of English domination. But what was the end of the affair? The despised Russian peasant, under the leadership of the workers, drove back the Whites and you did not possess sufficient forces which would have enabled you to despatch millions of your own soldiers to Russia. You became bankrupt, Mr. Urquhart, you abandoned Koltchak to his fate and returned to England without having accomplished anything. There is still some hope for a bankrupt who understands the causes of his own bankruptcy. Real bankruptcy begins when the bankrupt begins to indulge in phantasy, and seeks consolation in the sweet illusion of a miracle which will rescue him and restore to him again his lost positions. But in order to convert Soviet Russia into a colony, one must either conquer it with the bayonet or catch it in the noose of famine or of gold. You do not possess any bayonets, while we will overcome the famine, and your golden noose is not so long that you will succeed in throwing it over the neck of Russia.

You quote with great satisfaction a passage from Karl Marx, where he describes England as "the despot of the world-market". It is remarkable how you, a citizen of free democratic England, are pleased with the designation of despot, and even of despot of the international market! But pardon my blunt way of putting it, Mr. Urquhart: in citing this passage from Marx, in which he by no means intended to flatter England, you resemble an old dame who derives great satisfaction from calling to mind the compliments which her cavaliers used at one time to whisper to her. If this old dowager calls to mind with a sigh her faded charms, this is only due to the weakness of the human heart; but should this old beldame on the strength of these past compliments seek to captivate young gentlemen, this would only be a piece of absurdity which could cause the sentimental creature much heart anguish and lead to very disagreeable practical consequences.

I am aware that you, as the director of the "Russian Asiatic" and as a member of English capitalist society, are in a by no means enviable situation. I certainly do not wish to offend you, but as I have undertaken the task of rectifying your un-Marxist deviations, my duty towards you as a fellow-man compels me to inform you Mr. Urquhart, that England is no longer

the despot of the world-market. That was long, long ago in the time of her Manchester youth, when Bright and Cobden shone like stars in the firmament and when the cotton manufacturers of England considered England to be the workshop of the whole world, while they regarded the whole world as their supplier of raw material. Those times have long since passed away. You plunged into the war with Germany in order to get rid of your young rival. You scratched her eyes out. But your daughter, the United States of America, has grown so much that you cannot appear in company with her without even the blind clearly seeing how your beauty, Mr. Urquhart, is — shall we say, overripe!

When one lays aside poetic similes, which I only made use of in order to sweeten the bitter pill a little for you, one is compelled to say that you English capitalists are hopelessly behind the times. The capitalist organism of England is ailing in every part; it is choking with asthma. The Indian stomach and the spinal nerves of the Suez Canal are giving you pains; the whole nervous system is shattered; your Canadian and Australian extremities are making independent movements, and only your mouth remains as gluttonous as ever while your hands stretch out after fresh morsels but are incapable of conveying them to your mouth. You must undergo a cure, you must conserve your powers; but you must not think of making fresh conquests in the Orient. Even should you succeed in gulping down a fat juicy morsel, it would only choke you, for one of the stronger and younger dogs would try to snatch it from you. The study of Marxism is of great hygienic, not to say of medical importance for your capitalist class.

But I will not leave you in doubt regarding a certain point you have mentioned. In the last part of your letter you call our attention to a passage from Marx, wherein he states that the French Revolution in 1848 could not secure its victory within the national frontiers without a revolutionary war, as England dominated the world market. From this you argue that Soviet Russia must give way, as the world revolution not having been victorious within the first years after the war, the bases of the Soviet policy must undergo revision; as one can no longer reckon upon the support of the revolutionary West, but must capitulate to capitalist Europe.

I know that you are a very eager reader of the "Izvestia" and of the "Pravda". I hope therefore that while I write these lines you will read with all the eagerness characteristic of a young student of Marxism, the great discussion on the "permanent revolution" which is at present being carried on in the columns of our Party organs. This discussion must have made it clear to you that we, as a result of the experiences we have gained during the seven years existence of Soviet Russia, and having regard to the international development, have arrived at the conviction that many of us simplified the actual state of affairs in an un-Marxist manner. Yes, the world revolution is not yet victorious, but it has sufficiently shaken world capitalism as to render a campaign against us impossible.

We now read for example the threatening language of your Conservative press, we even hear how Mr. Austen Chamberlain is inciting the good M. Herriot to enter with him into a "holy alliance" against us. We will exercise due precaution and adopt the necessary counter-measures, but let me inform you under the seal of secrecy, that the devil is not so black as he is painted. You are attempting to exert pressure upon us — at least not you, Mr. Urquhart, the truest friend of Soviet Russia, who is only disputing with us regarding a misunderstanding of Marxism, but the Conservative government of England and the industrial and financial circles it represents. But we are not easily frightened. Our country is large and rich, but as our poets at one time wrote, no order prevails in it. But we are introducing order, we do not wait for the invaders, but should they come without invitation, we shall know how to receive them in a proper manner and hope to prove to them that even with the slowly developing forces of the revolution — and they are developing — one can not only retain power in the hands of the working class, but even make use of this power for the slow but steady development of Socialism.

My lecture has proved to be rather long; that is bad from the pedagogic standpoint. I conclude in the hope that you will continue your study of Marxism. If you will permit me, I would earnestly advise you not only to read Marx but also Lenin. For Marxism has, in the epoch of imperialism and of world revolution and enriched by the new experiences and new phenomena, assumed the form of Leninism. If you continue your

study of Marxism and come to realise that one cannot make a colony of Soviet Russia, we shall, at some time or other, come to an understanding, and we shall be very pleased to be able to regard you as one of our Red Directors who combines Marxist and Leninist training with extensive business experience.

If you, however, stay in the rut of petty bourgeois individualism and wish to work as a concessionaire in Russia, then I shall be quite prepared to discuss with you the question of the *modus vivendi* of socialist and private enterprise. This could form a second lesson in practical Marxism. But in the second lecture we shall not be able to revert to the questions with which we have already dealt, as, for example: regarding the colonies, the expansion of the capitalist West, the barbaric Orient etc. Such repetition is only necessary when instructing very backward children.

I remain with the greatest respect,
Yours sincerely

Karl Radek.

After the "Solution" of the German Government Crisis.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The German Government crisis, which lasted for five months, is, for the time being, ended. The bourgeois block ministry of Herr Dr. Luther has obtained its assured majority of 250 votes with 160 against and 40 abstentions. The German government crisis was a wonderful phenomenon, for in the one question which is of vital importance for Germany, the acceptance and the carrying out of the Dawes Plan, there exists complete unanimity from the German Nationalists to the Social democrats. There is also the same unanimous agreement that the Dawes Plan shall be carried out at the expense of the masses of the working population. There exists, therefore, in the Reichstag an enormous majority for positive political work in the interests of capitalism and on the lines of the policy of fulfilment. Only the communists have a quite different policy, if one disregards the shattered and unimportant groups of national socialists.

What was the reason for this prolonged and difficult government crisis, which commenced in August last? At that time, after the acceptance of the Dawes-Plan, the German People's Party demanded the inclusion of the German Nationalists in the Reich government. In Autumn there took place the famous negotiations of Reich Chancellor Marx for the creation of a "peoples" government. These negotiations proved abortive. There followed the dissolution of the Reichstag, the election campaign etc. After the elections there came the difficult negotiations to form a government before Christmas. These again proved futile and the worthy German parliamentarians sought refuge from the cares and worries of the sittings of the fractions in the peaceful shade of the Christmas tree. In the New Year the new Reichstag assembled. Dr. Marx proclaimed his bankruptcy. He was succeeded by Luther, who, after weeks of strenuous efforts, finally formed his government. He secured a large majority in the Reichstag, but the experts in German government crises are of the opinion that the Luther government is again in a very shaky condition.

What is behind all this?

The real governmental power in Germany is exerted, apart from foreign capital, by heavy industry, which is powerfully organised in the Federation of German Industry. German heavy industry has opposed do it as open enemies, only the revolutionary advance-guard of the proletariat (Communists) and isolated petty bourgeois groups (Hitler people). All the rest are under the control of German big capital. But the enormous masses of followers and electors of the bourgeois parties, including the Social Democratic Party, do not form a uniform body. Thus, in order to enable German heavy industry to exert its power, it must somehow organise the many millions of petty bourgeois, intellectuals, peasants, big agrarians and non-revolutionary workers.

The German economic situation for the time being is such, that big capital can only maintain itself by the most brutal exploitation and suppression of all the other sections of the population. In order to render possible the capitalist sham revival in the shape of the German stabilisation of 1924 it was not only necessary drastically to reduce the standard of living of all wage earners. It was not sufficient to deprive the workers of the Eight Hour Day and to pay them and the

employees and officials miserable wages. In addition to this it was necessary, with the help of inflation, to plunder the whole of the middle class, and then, in the time of stabilisation, to refuse to allow them a "revaluation" of their small savings and investments, whose value had dwindled to nil during the period of inflation. It was necessary to burden the farmers with taxes and at the same time to withhold from them the necessary credits.

It only appears as if 90% of the German electors are satisfied with the existing state of affairs. They are confused and are involved in various illusions, they have the most divergent interests and moods, they do not know who are their real friends and their real enemies.

It is not difficult to find a political formula which would be acceptable to the Federation of German Industry and the leaders of the bourgeois Parties, including the Social Democratic Party, in the Reichstag. But to find a government formula which would satisfy the 20 million electors of the so-called bourgeois Parties, is quite another matter. And if one adds to this the 8 million social democratic electors, the situation becomes even more complicated.

The chief forces of the bourgeoisie, the German Nationalists, the German People's Party and the Bavarian People's Party, comprise 10 million electors. Among them are 9 million farmers, middle-class people, officials, employees and workers, who believe in the black-white-red ideology; elements who vote "right" in order to express their opposition to the existing state of affairs, to the existence of the November Republic. In order to satisfy these masses of electors, the right parties have to make use of national phrases, although the capitalists who control them are entirely in favour of the fulfilment policy. For the same reason these parties have to fight fanatically against the "November criminals", against the social democrats, although they know perfectly well that the Social Democratic Party is the tamest and the most servile organisation of German capitalism. Therefore, it is the fascist phrase, the spirit of the nationalist organisations which compels the German right parties, in forming the government, to act not with, but against the social democrats.

The ranks of the bourgeois Parties also include the Centre with 4 million catholic peasants, petty bourgeois, workers etc. The Centre, in order to meet the demand of a great portion of its followers, needs to have a social reform plank in its platform. The catholic workers are opposed to forming a government with "reaction", with the German Nationalists. In addition to this the leaders of the Centre are afraid of the fascist unions which are behind the German Nationalists. They fear that the German Nationalist Ministers will be compelled to satisfy their fascist followers by an arrogant foreign policy, which would result in endangering relations between the German bourgeoisie and the Entente. Finally, the finishing industries and commerce have great influence among the Democrats; these two groups fear being driven to the wall by heavy industry in the approaching commercial treaties and tariff laws.

To sum up it may be said: In order to solve the German government crisis it was not only necessary to bring the German Nationalists, German People's Party, Bavarian People's Party, the Economic Party, the Centre, the Democrats and also the social democratic Party under one umbrella, which is by no means a difficult task, but a common formula had to be found; first for heavy industry, secondly for finishing industry and commerce, thirdly for the fascist and petty bourgeois masses, fourthly for the catholic pacifist bourgeois masses, fifthly for some millions of distressed farmers, sixthly for the Christian workers, and seventhly for the fascist workers — all this excluding the social democrats. As we mentioned above, heavy industry is not in a position to grant any concessions to groups 2 to 7. If one keeps these facts before him, one can understand why the German government crisis lasted five months and why it can break out again at any moment.

The German bourgeoisie, thanks to the help of the German social democrats, was able in October 1923 to avert the threatening workers' revolution. In the year 1924, the German bourgeoisie, thanks to the help of Morgan, was able to stabilise its currency. But the German bourgeoisie cannot reconstruct the German state, either economically or politically. That is the meaning of the chronic German crisis, which is not a government crisis but a crisis of the State and of the relations of the classes.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany Sabotages the Amnesty.

By H. Tittel (Berlin).

7000 revolutionary workers are still languishing in the German prisons. The terrorist justice is raging with undiminished fury. Every day demands fresh victims. In introducing the motion for an amnesty in the Reichstag, the communist speaker declared that in the period from the 1st of July to 31st December 1924 alone 3793 proletarians were condemned by German class justice. Their total sentences amounted to 1319 years and one month imprisonment, 517 years prison with hard labour and 577 years and 10 months fortress confinement. With the increase in the fury of the terrorist justice, however, there also increases the demand of the working class for the liberation of the political prisoners and for a general amnesty. The broadest masses in the town and in the country are being drawn into the fight. On the occasion of the opening of the German Reichstag and the Prussian Diet the Communist Party passionately voiced the demand for the amnesty.

This demand expresses the will of hundreds of thousands, in fact of millions of workers. At the opening of the Reichstag workshop delegations from all parts of the Republic came to Berlin in order there to voice the demand of the workers for the amnesty. The staffs of the big factories, the trade unions and other labour organisations telegraphed to the Reichstag decisions to the same effect.

The expression of the will of the proletariat assumed the form of street demonstrations. The former members of the Bavarian Soviet government, Mühsam, Olschewsky, Sauber and Karpf, who, as a result of working class pressure, had to be released from the Peter-Paul fortress of Bavaria where they had been imprisoned 5½ years, immediately placed themselves at the head of the fight for the amnesty.

The demand for amnesty finally induced the Social Democratic Party to introduce an amnesty bill in the Reichstag. The Social Democratic Party perceived that it is no longer possible to withhold an amnesty in Germany; for even the social democratic workers, impressed by the brutal character of the class justice, have been drawn into the movement. But true to their rôle as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the social democratic Party is endeavouring by means of its amnesty bill to hinder a real general amnesty.

It is significant that in this bill no mention whatever is made of those victims of the Exceptional Courts which were established after the defensive fights against the Kapp putchists in March 1920. Many comrades are still in prison today as a result of their participation in these fights against the monarchist coup d'état. According to the bill introduced by the S. D. P. of Germany, these class fighters are to perish in prison in spite of the fact that President Ebert, one of the shining lights of the II. International, has pardoned von Jagow, the only Kapp putchist who was sentenced.

In Bavaria there are still 20 members of the former Bavarian Soviet government undergoing hard labour. Each one of them has still to serve 10 years. According to the intentions of the Social Democratic Party, these proletarians are still to remain in the hands of the executors of the Bavarian white justice.

During the election campaign for the Reichstag the social democratic speakers sought to appear as the sincere friends of Max Hölz, in order to drive a dirty political bargain. Max Hölz repudiated them. But now, when it is a case of converting words into deeds, the Social Democratic Party intends that Max Hölz shall end his days in prison; for according to the draft bill of the S. D. P., he is also excluded from the amnesty.

The bloody terrorist judgments of the exceptional court against the communists have been imposed with the help of leading social democrats. It is the will of the S. D. P. that these terrorist sentences, with a few exceptions, shall remain in force. The social democratic draft bill expressly demands the upholding of the bloody sentences which have been pronounced for infringement of the law regarding the possession of explosive materials. If in the fights against the fascists and the black Reichswehr a counter-revolutionary has been shot or wounded, or if white guardists have been disarmed by the workers, then all these proletarians who, as a result, have fallen into the clutches of white justice, must still remain in prison. The social democrats likewise refuse to grant an amnesty to the Hamburg

October fighters who have been condemned by the court on the charge of high treason.

One sees, therefore, quite clearly that the Social Democratic Party with its amnesty bill is playing a wretched farce. The same social democratic speaker in the Reichstag, the well-known Lawyer, Rosenfeld, who was put forward by the II. International as a defender of the Russian counter-revolutionaries in the great trial of the social revolutionaries stated in his speech: "Justice in Bavaria constitutes a special chapter, which one cannot designate otherwise than as shameful... There still remain in prison those prisoners who have been condemned in 1919 to the most rigorous hard labour sentences. Here one can only exclaim: 'human victims without end!' We still experience the cruelest treatment of all left wing elements. Justice affords no defence to the Republic... The pronouncements of the Supreme court give occasion to the sharpest criticism!..."

All this is nothing else than mere clap-trap. It is in absolute contradiction to the amnesty bill of the social democrats. True to the rôle it has always played in sabotaging the mass will of the proletariat and appearing as the delivering angel for the bourgeoisie, the S. D. P., even in this amnesty struggle of the German working class, plays the game of reaction. This treacherous rôle must be exposed before the working class of the whole world.

The German proletariat is convinced that in this struggle it will receive the most active support of the international working class.

The Situation in France.

By B. Z. (Paris).

The thesis of the V. World Congress of the Comintern, that the centre of revolutionary development would be transferred from Central Europe to the Western democracies has been confirmed to an unexpected extent. With regard to England it is a generally recognised fact. The fate of MacDonald, the remarkable proceedings in the trade unions and in the Labour Party speak a very plain language.

But recent developments in France fully and entirely, and perhaps even more clearly, confirm the above-mentioned thesis.

With regard to the character of the economic crisis we are almost entirely in the dark. It is easier to predict the effects of the Dawes Plan upon France than actually to observe them at present. The great deficit in the budget of 1924/1925, which the financial Minister, Clementel, attempted to conceal, gives promise of further complications. The oversensitiveness of the Exchange, which reacted to petty home political happenings by great fluctuations in the prices of shares and securities; the constantly sinking purchasing power in the home market; small local crises in various industries (the automobile and textile industries) — all these are indications of a slowly approaching crisis, but which cannot yet be clearly seen.

But that this crisis is serious is to be seen from the social regroupings which are taking place. The big bourgeoisie is insisting more and more energetically upon a change in the system; the old forms no longer secure them their profits and do not provide an opportunity of its emerging from the crisis. The bond which has hitherto so firmly bound the petty bourgeoisie to the ruling class is becoming constantly looser. The mass of the left bloc electors is disintegrating. The red ex-servicemen's unions and the left inclined metal workers' unions are having an unprecedented influx of membership. One movement of the civil servants follows upon the other. The most important thing, however, is the change taking place among the peasantry. In many of the Southern districts the majority of the communist electors consisted of peasants (whilst in the same districts it sometimes happened that the workers organised in the C. G. T. U. voted for the Left Block).

One cannot speak of an agrarian crisis in the usual sense of the word, but the peasants find it impossible to live. For example, the peasant has no more flour. The small mills have disappeared. He sells his corn to the dealer, who delivers it to the two flour trusts. The peasant buys his bread from the baker, who has become a new factor in the village. And his money does not suffice to purchase the bread he needs. The influence of the Communist Party in the village is increasing rapidly. The "syndicates of workers and peasants" which have been set up by the Communist Party are steadily growing.

The development of fascism occupies the chief place in the political arena. The big bourgeoisie of France needs a fresh sharpening of its tactics, in home and foreign policy. These

sharpened tactics demand a change of system. It is impossible for the big bourgeoisie to attain these new aims by means of the Left block as constituted at present. But in France, it is impossible to rule against or without the petty bourgeoisie. The Left Block was a concession to the discontented petty bourgeoisie. The new regime must also reckon with the petty bourgeoisie. Fascism claims to be a solution. It is prepared to realise the policy of violence, both at home and abroad, in grouping the petty bourgeoisie, instead of around its pacifist-democratic leaders, around its active bellicose wing, the old officers, students etc. The profound discontent which has seized the petty bourgeois masses on account of the deceitful pacifist-democratic leaders, is calculated to facilitate this manoeuvre.

But there exist not only the preconditions for fascism, fascism itself is already on the scene.

Let us give a short recital of events: The period following the elections is characterised by the abandonment by the Left Block of one item of its programme after another; the increasing prices (bread has increased from 1.25 to 1.50 Francs per kilogram), and the growth and strengthening of the Communist Party in the industrial districts. On the 9th of November the C. P. held a gigantic demonstration in "Luna Park".

The reactionaries are shrieking with alarm. They are calling for the formation of patriotic unions, which we can designate as the cadres of the fascist organisations: League and association of the "Action Française" (patriot-monarchist), the League of Patriots (patriotic-catholic), League of National Republicans (Millerand).

The Left Block is endeavouring to divert the stream of the masses into the bed of its own politics. It arranged that the conveying of the corpse of Jaurès to the Pantheon should be a mass ceremony. But the experiment turned against it: the demonstration was attended by a few thousand conventional citizens who tramped behind the flags of the official cortege, while over a hundred thousand workers and petty bourgeois demonstrated beneath the red banner and with the revolutionary slogans of the C. P.

On the following day — 24th November — the whole bourgeois press instituted a furious campaign against the communists. The Left Bloc press for the time being kept silence. Then it found itself compelled to join in this campaign. It published faked documents regarding the C. P. Further, the Left Block government considered itself compelled to act. Herriot did act. But not against the fascists — against the communists. On the 6th of December he arranged the infamous raid upon the School at Bobigny, the central Leninist training centre of the C. P. In addition to this an era of expulsions of foreign members of the trade union and Party movements has commenced.

The fascists are continuing their campaign with increased violence. "Documents" are published every day. The communist putch was announced for the 14th, the 18th, and without fail for the 24th of December. The result: the Exchange is unsteady. Foreigners are leaving the country, the capitalists are transferring their capital abroad. (End of December 1924, beginning of January 1925.)

The Left Bloc then proceeded to a new attack: it appears that the opportunity is favourable to compromise fascism: it commences the prosecution of a paper ("Liberté") which has published forged documents regarding a communist putch in Amiens. It denounces fascism for shaking the credit of the country.

On the next day: the fascists sound a retreat: "The communists are defeated for the time being." Herriot himself, however, comes forward as an institutor of bloodless fascism. He supports England in the occupation of Cologne, he warns Russia not to countenance the III. International, he continues to expel Italians, Spaniards and Poles.

This is the point at which the rivalry between open fascism (the Leagues) and bloodless fascism (Herriot) has arrived. The Leagues have arrived at a dead point in their development.

Fascism, right from the first moment, found the proletariat at its post. It has not succeeded, as in Italy, in winning over the masses of the petty bourgeoisie. The Parisian philistine has up to now had no difficulty in making his choice: he has seen miserable demonstrations and numerous banquets of the fascists, and on the other hand powerful, well-organised, militant demonstrations of workers with the communists at the head. He has not decided for the generals and the frock-coats of the Leagues. The workers appear to him to be the stronger.

But we are only at the commencement of the new development.

The Communist Party still has enormous tasks before it, both in Paris and before all in the Provinces.

THE BALKANS

Down with the Pan-Serbian and other Balkan Cut-Throats.

To Peasants throughout the World.

Brothers and comrades,

A campaign of brutal repression of the peasants' and workers' liberation movement was inaugurated by the Pan-Serbian government of landlords and capitalists. Having outlawed the Independent Labour Party, the Pan-Serbian fascists, led by Pasitch and Pribicevic, issued a decree on the eve of the elections dissolving the Croatia Republican Peasants Party, arrested the leaders of this Party and destroyed its lists of candidates. This they did on the grounds of a faked document which had been clumsily and preposterously fabricated by them.

This offensive against the peasants and workers of Yugoslavia has its profound causes. Just like the Balkan wars, the world war failed to regulate the complex relations among the several Balkan peoples, and even further aggravated them. The Balkans had always been a volcano, where every conflagration of war had had its origin in the past. At the present moment they represent a seething cauldron, and out of this spot an imperialist war may flare up at any moment. Yugoslavia is now in the centre of the events in the Balkans. The Pan-Serbian clique of bourgeois and landlords that is led by Pasitch and Pribitchevitch carries out the policies of the imperialist world-robbers in the Balkans. Just now it is first of all the lackey of the British conservatives, who are endeavouring to create a united front of all the counter-revolutionary forces in the Balkans. To this end they must wipe out all the organisations of peasants and workers, in Yugoslavia as well as in the other Balkan countries. But the Balkans are chiefly inhabited by peasants. The struggle of the peasants for land, freedom and power constitutes a menace to the landlords' and capitalists' domination.

The struggle of the peasants in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Dalmatia and Vojvodina is expressed in the aspiration to do away with the national yoke imposed by the Pan-Serbian bourgeoisie. At the same time it is a fight of the land-hungry and landless peasants against the landlords for a redistribution of the land among the toiling peasantry. In 1919 the Pan-Serbian clique succeeded in stemming the rising tide of peasant revolt by the promise of agrarian reforms. But the promised agrarian reforms remained on paper, and the peasants saw that it had been a fake. The land problem became a mighty moving force in the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, a source of "bolshivist peril" in the Balkans.

Moreover, Yugoslavia is passing just now through a profound economic crisis. Production is cut down, unemployment is on the increase, the high cost of living is growing, and the paper money is becoming worthless. This intensifies the struggle of the peasants and workers. In Macedonia, in Montenegro, and partly in Dalmatia, this spontaneous movement is assuming the character of armed fighting.

Denouncing the peasants' aspiration for land, liberty and power as the "bolshivist peril", as "soviet imperialism", the Pan-Serbian clique takes all measures to smash the peasants organisations. At the head of the peasants' liberation movement in the Balkans is the Croatia Republican Peasants Party, led by Raditch, who, by the way, was recently offered the premiership by the king if he would only betray the cause of his people. This party in the last elections obtained nearly all the votes of the Croatian people and won all the Croatian constituencies. Its allies in the remaining Yugoslavian constituencies polled nearly two thirds of the votes of the entire population of Yugoslavia. In the present elections the utter defeat of the Pasitch-Pribicevic clique and the triumph of the Croatia Republican Peasants Party and its allies could be anticipated, if the questions of land, power and self-determination of peoples were to be determined by a count of the votes. The gerrymandering of the elections in Yugoslavia is proof positive of the fact that the landlords and the capitalists, while prating about democracy and pacifism, are clinging to their power and will under no circumstances yield it in a parliamentary way.

Left in the minority, they are deciding the question of power by means of violence parading under the mask of fake "demo-

cracy". This is the best proof that only by force and by struggle can the peasants and workers gain their freedom.

Brothers and comrades,

The events in Yugoslavia should indicate to you the way in which your fight ought to be and will be waged. A wave of dark reaction looms throughout the world. Under the slogan of combatting the "bolshevist peril", the capitalists and landlords of all countries are starting a united front offensive against the toilers of town and village in all countries.

Peasants! What is being done to the peasantry in Yugoslavia is also in store for you. The onslaught in the Balkans is the beginning of the general offensive of the dark reaction against the peasants throughout the world. The imperialists, led by Chamberlain, are creating a united counter-revolutionary front against the toilers. All the cut throats are uniting. The notorious hangman of peasants and workers, Zankov, who has drowned the Bulgarian peasants' revolt in blood, shooting down about 20,000 peasants and workers, is now paying visits to Pasitch in Belgrad and to Bratianu in Rumania. The Rumanian government of Bratianu, which only recently has drowned the Rumanian peasants' revolt in blood, is trying to outlaw the peasants' party. In Albania, with the aid of Yugoslavian troops and the benediction of England and Italia, the Albanian government of Fan-Noli was overthrown and the old feudal and landlord government of Ahmed-Zogu was restored. Under the banner of the "league for the combating of communism and the bolshevist peril", an offensive is being waged against the peasantry. Signs are not wanting of attempts to extend this offensive to a number of other countries where the discontent of the peasantry is growing, after it has dawned on the minds of the peasants that all the promises of reform were mere frauds. Nincic, foreign minister of Yugoslavia, is trying to draw also Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Baltic countries into the counter-revolutionary league.

Brothers and comrades,

The world-robbers, in their desire to crush you, are preparing for military aggression against the only workers' and peasants' republic in the world, against the Soviet Union. Without crushing this Republic they will not be able to suppress you. The existence and growth of this Republic inspires the toilers throughout the world and speeds your victory. Do not let yourselves be deceived by the bogey of "bolshevism" and "soviet imperialism". The cry of "bolshevist peril" is the screen behind which preparations are made for bloody suppression of the national and liberation movements of the peasants who are fighting for land, liberty, and power. Thus the world-robbers themselves have confronted you with the task of uniting the peasantry of all countries under the banner of the Peasant International. You now have to decide: either to join the ranks of the Peasant International and march on to victory, shoulder to shoulder with the working class, or to be crushed singly. There is a reason when those robbers assail the Party of Raditch because it is a member of the Peasant International. We call on you, for the sake of the millions of toiling peasants of all countries, to rally to the defence of the peasants of Croatia and Yugoslavia. Let the peasants throughout the world raise their loud voice of protest for the defence of the Croatian Republican Peasants Party.

Brothers and comrades,

Organise protest meetings in all villages. Prevail upon your representatives in parliament and in other institutions to raise their voice of protest. Let all your organs of publicity take up the defence of the Raditch Party. Rally around the banner of the Peasant International! On to the fight for land, liberty and power! The workers throughout the world will support you in your fight.

We know the unalterable verdict of Fate.

The victory shall be yours.

Long live the Croatian Republican Peasants Party, member of the Peasant International!

Long live the union of the peasants and workers of Yugoslavia!

Down with the Pan-Serbian and other Balkan cut-throats!

Down with the imperialist world-robbers and the fascist league of counter-revolution!

Down with imperialist war!

Long live the united front of peasants and workers throughout the world!

All power to the peasants and workers!

Long live the world-union of workers' and peasants' republics!

Long live the Peasant International!

Peasants and workers of all countries, unite!

On behalf of the Presidium of the Peasant International Council: **Dombal** (Poland), **Renauld Jean** (France), **Marius Vazey** (France), **Otto Rydlo** (Czechoslovakia), **Gorov** (Bulgaria), **Richard Buergi** (Germany), **Orlov** (USSR.), **Gero** (Scandinavia), **Alonzo** (Spain), **Odinetz** (Ukraine), **Khudaikulov** (Uzbekistan), (Central Asia), **Nguen-Ai-Quack** (Indo-China), **Ursulio Galvan** (Mexico), **G. Green** (North America), **Ken Haiashi** (Japan), **Teng** (Esthonia), **Rugero Rossi** (Italy).

Moscow, 8th of January, 1925.

The "Insurrection" of the Albanians.

By ERAMUS.

The so-called insurrection in Albania broke out on Dec. 16th of last year. The ex-Premier Achmed Zogu — a reactionary and a representative of the Albanian large landowners — whose government had been overthrown by Fan Noli, and who had fled to Yugoslavia, organised the insurrection on Yugoslavian territory. After two weeks of sanguinary fighting, the "insurgents", supported by Serbian soldiers and Wrangel's counter-revolutionary bands, conquered the whole of Albania.

Fan Noli, accompanied by his Ministers, Generals and his Staff, fled from Valona to Brindisi (Italy) where he was given permission to land.

In this way Achmed Zogu has once more become absolute master of Albania.

What exactly, was the cause of this insurrection? It would seem that it had nothing in common with the previous one. This time it was not a fight between the different tribes or religious sects: Catholic "Miridites", orthodox Serbs, Moslems and Greeks. The causes of this insurrection, which are numerous and complicated, must be sought elsewhere.

Fan Noli, the Albanian Prime Minister who has been overthrown, had promised to adopt a policy which would lead to a new organisation of the country, liquidate the feudal regime and divide the land among the peasants. In the month of January new elections were to have taken place; the new Parliament was to have worked out the Constitution and given the country democratic laws. Fan Noli had up to then not kept his promises, and thus weakened his own position.

Achmed Zogu and the other leaders of the insurgents — large property owners and conservatives — wanted at all costs to prevent the realisation of this plan of Fan Noli, who would finally have yielded, at least to some extent, to the pressure of the peasants, and thereby to save the feudal regime. The parliamentary elections might have strengthened Fan Noli's position. For this reason the Conservatives did not let slip the favourable moment for the insurrection, the eve of the elections.

Achmed Zogu's forces were not strong enough for an insurrection; he was forced to look for an ally, and found one in the Fascist government of Yugoslavia. Having experienced such an enormous rise since the imperialistic war, Yugoslavia could not reconcile itself to an independent Albania — as a neighbour — especially one in which Italian influence was predominant.

The Yugoslavian Imperialists Organised the Albanian Insurrection.

Yugoslavia intends to occupy the Northern part of Albania, in order to extend its base to the Adriatic. On the other hand, Pasic, the Yugoslavian Prime Minister, who at the same time owns large property in Kosov, is afraid lest the Macedonian peasantry, following the example of Albania, should demand the dividing up of the land. Finally, the Fascist government of Yugoslavia, on the eve of the Fascist elections in their own country, thought it advisable to turn the attention of the Yugoslav population to the "danger of the events in Albania"; this is why Pasic helped Achmed Zogu.

This is how Imperialism came to intervene in Albania.

From the first days of the Albanian insurrection, the Yugoslavian, Italian and English imperialists declared that they would in no way intervene in Albania, that they would remain

true to the policy of "disinterestedness". This was the old diplomatic hypocrisy. Facts have proved the contrary.

The whole world knows to-day, that Achmed Zogu organised the insurrection on Yugoslavian territory and that he was supported by Serbian soldiers and Wrangel's bands.

As regards Italy, it is true, in spite of all Mussolini's declarations, that two Italian naval units were despatched to Albanian waters. After Achmed Zogu's first successes, the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs informed the English and French Chancelleries that, if the Albanian government — with the internal political programme of which the Italian government naturally did not wish to have anything to do in its own country — could not hold the insurgents, favoured by Yugoslavia, in check, Italy, the nation which is particularly interested in the maintenance of order in Albania, would find itself compelled to assert its rights, which are recognised by the Powers.

The Conservative English Government played the chief part in the Albanian insurrection. The English imperialists are engaged in building up a further anti-Bolshevist and anti-Soviet front in Balkans. In Yugoslavia, Roumania and in Bulgaria they have just created a united front against the "Communist peril", i. e. against the Union of Soviet Republics.

Fan Noli's Government recognised the Soviet Union. And now the big bourgeoisie has the impudence to attribute the responsibility for the — reactionary — insurrection in Albania to — "Bolshevist agents".

And as soon as the plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Republics, Comrade Vrakotovskiy, who had been recognised by the Albanian government, arrived in Tirana, the capital of Albania on Dec. 16th, the representative of England, supported by the representatives of Italy and Yugoslavia, protested against his admission to Albania.

England's representative declared that Achmed Zogu's offensive would have been prevented if Vrakotovskiy had been sent back; thereupon the Albanian government called upon him to leave Albania; the plenipotentiary of the USSR, returned to Moscow, but the English could not stop Zogu's offensive.

Victory has remained in the hands of the insurgents, Achmed Zogu has become ruler of the country; but the slogan: "the land to the peasants!" has for the first time roused the peasantry. The masses of the peasantry will not long tolerate the yoke of the feudal regime, and sooner or later will rise against the big land-owners.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Successful Strike in Douarnenez.

By Marie Dubois (Paris).

The strike of the sardine fishers and of the women in the sardine industry in the little sea-coast town of Douarnenez in Brittany, the most backward region of France, — in spite of the fact that it took place in a little town of scarcely 12,000 inhabitants — for over six weeks attracted the attention of the whole of the French proletariat while the news of it even penetrated abroad.

The strike was begun on the 21st November 1924 by the mechanics in a local canning factory. The women sardine workers joined in the strike, and finally also the sardine fishers. The working women demanded an increase in their miserable wages, which only amounted to 80 centimes an hour while no higher rate was paid for overtime or night work; and this in spite there being no limit to the length of the working day — the women have to wait for the return of the fishers, which entirely depends upon the chances of the catch, when they must immediately start with the work which has to proceed without interruption until the whole catch is disposed of, in order that the fish shall not be spoiled, while during the season they had to work as long as 72 hours without interruption!

As result of these miserable wages and this fearful exploitation the women were forced to live on potatoes and fish and were compelled to toil from the age of 12 to 75 years.

After a strike lasting 47 days and the failure of the fascist attack, the modest demands of the working women have been fully granted. In accordance with the new agreement, the women sardine workers will receive a wage of one franc an hour, with an increase of 50% for overtime and a 100% for overtime after

midnight. The working day is still 10 hours and can be prolonged without limit by the employers.

The result of the strike was only possible thanks to the active help of the C. G. T. U. and of the Communist Party and thanks to the solidarity of the French proletariat. The Communist Party succeeded in arousing the interest, not only of the proletariat, but also of the whole of the general public to such an extent, that the Left Bloc and the government were compelled to make some sort of gesture. In order not to injure the prestige of the Left Bloc among the workers and employees on the eve of the municipal elections, the organ of the Left Bloc, "Quotidien", organised a collection for the strikers. In order to excuse themselves in the eyes of the bourgeoisie the collection committee wrote that the strikers were "not disturbers of law and order but unfortunate".

At the beginning of the strike there was not a single trade union organised woman sardine worker in all Douarnenez, and the C. P. of France had only 18 members in the locality. With the exception of two days in 1905 there had never been a strike in Douarnenez. At the commencement of the strike the women sardine workers were afraid of appearing at public meetings, and they were also afraid to march in the streets and to carry the old trade union banner of 1905. They were greatly under the influence of the priests.

When the strike was drawing to a close, they arranged magnificent street demonstrations, which paraded the streets singing the "International"; they disputed for the honour of being allowed to carry the banner, although the village priest declared that he would not grant absolution to any woman who carried the banner. On the way to the negotiations they met their employers with loud cries: "Long live the strike!" They now have complete confidence in the C. G. T. U. and in the Communist Party. Formerly they had placed their confidence in Flanchez — the communist mayor who had been removed by the authorities during the strike but who had to be reinstated later — as a man; now they have confidence in the revolutionary workers' organisations, which they have seen at work.

In Douarnenez a branch of the provision workers' union has been formed, and of its 2000 members 1800 are women.

The women sardine workers, after their victory, in full public and before the eyes of their employers, presented flowers to the strike committee. The cakes they presented them with were ornamented with Sickle and Hammer. The mood in Douarnenez was such that the socialist member of parliament for the locality took good care to make himself scarce during the strike.

In conclusion a few words must be mentioned with regard to the events on the 1st of January. The fascists sent to Douarnenez 16 strike breakers armed with revolvers, but who felt so unsafe that some of them went to the strike committee to inform them that 16 strike-breakers had arrived, without however mentioning that they were armed. Thanks to this information the strike committee was able to warn the strikers not to allow themselves to be provoked, and to be on the spot immediately after any attack of the strike-breakers in order to appease the justified indignation of the crowd. Under these circumstances the despicable and clumsy attack even contributed to the victory of the strikers, as the government and the employers were afraid of allowing the attention of the proletariat to be directed any longer to this strike.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

Concerning a Menshevist Lie.

(Re Kefali's Open Letter to Comrade Purcell.)

By D. Melnichansky.

The visit of the British Delegation to Soviet Russia and their action there have stirred up the entire Menshevist swamp. Many of them are raging with anger and are digging up all sorts of fairy tales to weaken the impression made by the statements of the delegates abroad. A well organised campaign is conducted against the Delegation by the Social Democratic press with the hearty endorsement of the bourgeois papers.

Among others, the Mensheviks have dug up and brought into the limelight the not unknown, in Moscow, Menshevist faker, Kefali-Kammermacher and set him barking against Comrade Purcell with an open letter (published in the Berlin Vorwärts on December 10th. 1924). In his letter Kefali states plainly: "I

address you because those of the followers of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) who adhere to the same ideas as I do, attach considerable importance to the liberation of the Russian proletariat and of their organisations from the fetters of the Communist dictatorship." Thus Kefali gives the game away by exposing those who goaded him in to taking this move.

We know the value of such letters and had no intention of replying to it, but since this letter of the living corpse is being flaunted in a number of countries by our political opponents, we consider it necessary to decipher the impudent lie resorted to by the Mensheviks.

Kefali-Kammermacher's letter is an attempt to prove, by the example of the printers, how the Communists (Bolsheviks) "crushed the labour movement" of Russia, how they "put down the trade unions" and "enslaved" the working class. Kefali-Kammermacher reminds Comrade Purcell of the printers' general meeting held in Moscow in 1920 in the presence of Purcell, Skinner and Wallhead, which overwhelmingly adopted the Menshevik resolution, and by this reminder he tries to weaken the impression gained by Purcell at the Printers' meeting held in November 1924 in the same Hall as in 1920.

Kefali does not mention the speeches made by Purcell, Wallhead and Skinner at the 1920 meeting. Had he done that he would have brought out the attitude then taken by the Britishers at the meeting. Purcell declared at that Printers' meeting that "we (the delegates) are not concerned with individual grievances and individual wrongs, but are interested in the real conditions under which the life of the working class develops."

"Upon returning to England we will endeavour to tell the working class of everything seen by us here, of the tremendous work carried out by the working class of this country. We greet the working class and its great Revolution, and hope that it will be only the beginning of a series of revolutions in other countries, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be set up throughout the world." (from the Russian translation of Purcell's speech in 1920, quoted from the stenogram).

The delegate Wallhead stated in his speech "I do not intend, just like the speaker who came before me (Purcell) to speak of the difference of the political situation in Russia in the past and at the present. We are concerned with the differences existing in the trade union movement, but such differences exist also among us, and not only among us, and if you were to come to us to speak about our movement, we would tell you that we are ourselves able to manage our affairs. We are convinced that Russia has greater freedom to develop its internal political situation and its internal stability. You have gained freedom without foreign aid, and you must have an opportunity to arrange your affairs without foreign aid as well. We greet the steps made by you, we greet the Revolution that you have made."

These excerpts from the stenographic report of the speeches of the two delegates at the Printers' meeting should suffice to indicate the attitude of the British Delegation who attended the 1920 meeting of the printers towards the farce staged by the wire-pullers from the Menshevik Central Committee. Kefali states that the meeting was attended by 6,000 people. It takes a tremendous imagination to cram into the Conservatory Hall 6,000 people. However, the question is, was this a meeting of printers or a general meeting of the Moscow Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists; at least practically the entire membership of the Moscow and Central Committees of the Mensheviks, many Social Revolutionaries, with Chernov at their head, and numerous Anarchists, certainly made themselves very conspicuous by their presence on the platform.

At any rate, neither the Moscow Menshevik printers nor the particular meeting could credit themselves with the greetings and speeches of the British Delegation which were uttered in support of the October Revolution.

Kefali also states that "a month after the general meeting, on June 18th, 1920, an armed detachment of Chekists broke into the Moscow hall of the union, arrested every Executive and Shop Committee member present there, who were known as advocates of trade union independence, and turned over the Executive powers to a new body appointed by the Moscow Trades Council, i. e. by our friend Melnichansky. On that same night Chistoc, Deviatkin, Romanov, Zinulin and Buksin were arrested in their homes by these same Chekists". Kefali's bluff becomes altogether too transparent here: The above named persons were none other than members of the Executive Committee which directed the Menshevik policies; how was it possible to

arrest them on one and the same day, both in the Union hall and at home?

What then really did happen to the Printers' Executive after the meeting? Our real tactic in regard to our opponents in the trade union movement and particularly to the Menshevik printers will become clear after we tell some of the history of the Moscow Printers' Union.

The Moscow Executive of the Printers' Union was controlled by the Right Mensheviks throughout 1917. Through all the stages of the Moscow workers' struggle against the Provisional Government, Kerensky, Kornilov, and during the October days the Moscow Printers' Executive actively supported the Right Mensheviks. This appeared in a particularly bold light during the days of the October Revolution, when the Printers' Executive refused to accept the decision of all the other union Executives of Moscow and kept aloof from the uprising. The Printers' Executive moreover took under its defence the counter-revolutionists, sent out Delegations demanding the release of the bourgeois newspaper printing shops captured by the workers, refused to print the appeals of the Trade Union Council and the "Izvestia" of the Revolutionary Committee, while printing the orders and newspapers of the counter-revolutionary staff.

After the victory of the working class the Moscow Mensheviks converted this Union into their own stronghold, provoking the workers to political demonstrations against the Soviet Power, against the All-Russian and the Moscow trade union movement. Crying out about the lack of freedom of speech, the Mensheviks, under cover of the Union and its inviolability, were arranging hundreds of meetings among the printing workers, scores of meetings of representatives and general meetings of the printers where, taking advantage of the grave situation of the country during the blockade and the civil war, they egged the printers on to making counter-revolutionary statements, resolutions and petitions. The Moscow Trades Council never once interfered with their activity, though warning them that if they continued to work in the direction differing from the majority of the trade union movement we would be forced to request the printers to withdraw from the Moscow Trades Council. In view of the frequent counter-revolutionary speeches of these gentlemen, the Cheka did once in a while arrest some of them, but I as President of the Moscow Trades Council, used my influence every time towards their release as Union and Executive members. The various privileges and exemptions enjoyed by trade union members and trade unions obtained also in their case. I frequently worked for the exemption from mobilisation from the Red Army of Executive members of the Printers' Union as well as of their instructors, and not one request or plea of the printers that could possibly be met under the conditions obtaining at that time was left unfulfilled.

In our tactics we never applied the methods used by the Amsterdamers and we not only did not expell from the unions Menshevik sympathisers, but even such malicious Right Wing Mensheviks as Kefali and his friends were left alone. We would only urge upon the Amsterdamers and the Vorwärts adherents to pursue similar tactics in their trade unions.

Neither at the meeting described by Kefali nor at any time after it were there any repressions applied against the printers in retaliation for this meeting, though the government had sufficient ground to call to account the Presidium of the meeting for admitting into the hall and giving the floor to the "famous" counter-revolutionist, Victor Chernov, who was then being sought by the police and living illegally.

At the meeting Kefali-Kammermacher, who was acting officially on behalf of the Union Executive, made the following statement about the leading trade union body of Russia, the All-Russian Trade Union Congress: "They succeeded with the aid of unheard of measures, threats, violence, terror, measures considered shameful for the Socialists of every country, in packing the trade union congress." Thus Kefali, in face of a large meeting and of the British delegates, hurled against the Russian trade union movement an official charge of falsifying the All Russian Trade Union Congress. I asked Purcell and the other delegates at the very meeting how they would act if a charge like this were thrown against the British Trade Union Congress at a meeting in England. Perhaps Kefali does not even suspect that Purcell and his comrades replied that they would form a Committee of Investigation and would demand facts substantiated by documents and were the charge not proven, they would expell the Printers Executive from the trade union movement unless the said Executive repudiated Kefali's statement.

Apparently Kefali's memory fails him or else he could have recalled how a few days after the meeting an Investigation Committee was set up by the Union which repeatedly summoned him and his friends to appear and which requested them to furnish facts and documents substantiating their charge. The Executive members endorsed Kefali's charge, though they could not bring a single document to substantiate it. To enable the Committee to report, a special plenary meeting of the Moscow Trades Council with all the 24 Executives of the Moscow trade unions and with the attendance of representatives from the A. R. C. C. T. U. and the Printers' Central Committee, was held on June 18th, 1920. This meeting adopted by all against two dissenting and four abstaining votes, the following resolution:

"In view of the plainly growing counter-revolutionary activity of some of the Executive members of the Moscow Provincial branch of the Printers' Union, who disorganise the ranks of the Moscow trade unions, it is resolved to dissolve, by agreement with the Central Committee of the Printers' Union, the Moscow Executive of the said Union."

On the same day the new Organisation Committee appeared at the Printers' Hall. There was no one there from the Cheka and no one was arrested in the Hall of the Union. The only thing that happened was a refusal on the part of the Executive to turn over the affairs and the disappearance from the Union hall of all the files, all the books and documents which were previously removed or hidden by the Mensheviks. This is all there is to the history of the dissolution of the Printers' Executive.

When the Organisation Committee set up by us held elections to the provincial congress of the printers, meetings were arranged in every printing shop and instructions to the delegates were adopted. Of the 18,000 members of the Union, 15,500 voted in favour of the instructions at the various meetings.

At the Conference, which consisted of 400 delegates 270 were non-party members, yet only 8 votes were cast for the resolution of Kefali's friends. This conference finally swept the Mensheviks out of the leadership in the Printers' Union, and Purcell made no mistake in his analysis of the situation at the Printers' meeting on November 1st, 1924. It should also be added that since 1920 a good deal has changed and the Moscow Union of Printers has since increased its membership from 18,000 to 29,000.

This growth is the best evidence in favour of the Union.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The First Teachers' Congress in the Soviet Union.

There has just been concluded in Moscow the first Congress of elementary school teachers of the Soviet Union, which lasted for a week and to which the Party, the press and the public paid great attention. The change in the mood of the great mass of the teachers towards the Soviet power and the Communist Party was very much in evidence at the Congress, as was also the determination to impart the communist ideology to the masses, to participate in the constructive work of the soviets in the villages and to become a binding link between the working class and the peasantry.

The Communist Party, which had already recorded this change of mood in the resolutions of the XIII. Party Congress, devoted special attention to the Congress as being a step towards the strengthening of the connection of the Party with the broad non-party masses, especially in the village, which is expressed by the fact that the comrades **Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Frunse** and **Bucharin** delivered speeches there.

Among other things the Congress decided upon the material requirements for popular education: in the budget for 1924/1925 the expenditure on education amounts to 380 million gold roubles, as compared with 147 million in the last financial year, including the local budgets. The State publishers have issued 28 million text books for the villages. The Soviet government fixed the minimum salary for elementary school teachers at 28 roubles per month, as compared with an average of 10 roubles in the past year.

There were present at the congress 1682 delegates, who represented 250,000 teachers of 49 nationalities from all parts of the Soviet Union. 82% of the delegates were unattached to any party.

The change in the ideology of the teachers was expressed in a unanimously accepted declaration of the Congress in which the Congress

"openly recognises the errors which in the first years of the revolution kept the teachers aloof from the heroic fight of the working and peasant masses. The teachers were filled with democratic illusions, failed to recognise the class character of bourgeois democracy and have now fully recognised that only by means of unrelenting class war and by the proletarian dictatorship is it possible to arrive at Communism, and that the only class which is consistently following this course is the working class with its collective mind, the Communist Party. We place complete trust into this heroic Party, whose tasks are in no way distinct from those of the non-party teachers. We perceive the economic construction and the improvement in the position of the elementary teachers which is being brought about by the Soviet Union, and are convinced that the time will come when the Soviet Union will be the leading cultural country in the world".

In an appeal to the teachers of all countries the Congress declared that the teachers of the Soviet Union are closely united with the workers and peasants, whose cause is their cause. The Congress called upon the teachers of the capitalist countries to join the ranks of the fighting world proletariat in order to prepare for the great tasks which the inevitable world revolution will impose upon the teachers.

In a letter of greetings to the Paris Teachers' International, the congress assured it the support of 250,000 school teachers of the Soviet Union and declared that the experiences of work under the Soviet regime prove that the transformation of the school is only possible in a State in which the power is in the hands of the workers.

In a message of greetings to the delegation of the English trade unions, the Congress expressed its thanks for the courageous proclamation of the truth regarding the Soviet Republics and denounced the social democratic attacks upon the delegation.

The Position of the Trade Union Organisations in the Soviet Union.

By Dogadov, (Secretary of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council).

In considering the situation and the work of the trade unions of the U. S. S. R., we notice in the first place the increase of membership of the federations of the U. S. S. R. Two years ago, the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council included 4,547,000 members, whilst at present there are 6,036,000. Of these members 61% are workers and 38% employees.

The relative percentage of organised women has fallen in this period from 28 to 24%, the number of organised juveniles from 3.7 to 3.1%. This does not however indicate an absolute reduction in the number of organised women and juveniles, but is explained by the fact that the number of men has increased decidedly more rapidly than the number of women and juveniles. There are 391,000 unorganised wage-earners and salaried workers, i. e. 8%.

The financial position of all trade union organisations has considerably improved during the time of the 5th Congress. On Oct. 1st 1924, the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council had no longer a deficit. Whilst among 23 central trade union committees, only 11 were in a stable financial position at the time of the 5th Trade Union Congress, all the unions, with the exception of two or three, have now closed their budgets without deficits and many have accumulated an appreciable surplus.

As regards wages, they have on the average, risen in industry by 63% since the 5th Congress. As regards separate branches of industry, the following figures are valid for the wages of today. The average wage of a metal worker is 56.6% of the pre-war wages, of the textile worker 91.7%, of the miners 52.2%, of the chemical workers 89.2%. On the average wages are 75% of the pre-war wages in the whole Union of SSR.

In Leningrad there are 148,000 workers, i. e. about 60% of the pre-war number. In the chief branches of industry, the number of workers has reached the pre-war number. Of the total number of workers, 43% are now metal workers, before the war 45%; textile workers 16%, before the war 17%; chemical workers 9%, before the war 11%.

The average wage in Leningrad is 86% of the pre-war wages, and in light industry, i. e. textiles, leather, food and luxury industries however, wages are even above the pre-war rates.

The favourable influence of the increase in the productivity of work on the reduction of unemployment is shown by the reduction of unemployment brought about by the revival of industry in the USSR. in the years 1923 and 1924. Thus on Jan. 1st 1923, 1,410,000 workers were employed in factories, on July 1st 1924 this number had increased by 300,000.

Wages, Policy and Practice.

In the two years between the 5th and 6th All-Russian Trade Union Congresses, i. e. from 1922 onwards, workers' wages have considerably changed.

At the time of the 5th Trade Union Congress, the average wage of an industrial worker was 11 roubles 29 kopeks a month, i. e. 30% of the pre-war rate.

At the time of the 6th Trade Union Congress, the average wage is 75% of the pre-war rate and wages have considerably increased in those branches of industry in which, up to the present, the smallest possible wages existed.

In deciding the rate of wages, the trades' unions always take into consideration the total condition of the branch of industry in question, so as to give them the possibility of developing and strengthening themselves, which again is the best guarantee for the possibility of a further increase of wages.

Successes and Tasks of the Trade Unions.

In summing their successes on the 7th anniversary of the October revolution, the trade unions of the USSR. can quote the following positive results:

The central committee of the metal workers' union considers the chief result of its seven years of work to be the establishment of the closest and firmest connection between the trade union organisation and the large number of members. Now the individual trade union member knows not only what the union is, but also what every one of its organisations is doing. The percentage of members who pay their subscriptions unpunctually, when individual collection is made, does not exceed 15%.

As regards unemployment pay, the union now supports one third of its unemployed members from its own funds.

The workers are beginning to take an interest in questions of production, and at general meetings and conferences, pay more attention to these questions than to any others.

All these results are closely connected with the growth and improvement of the situation in the metal industry. The chief task of the union in the immediate future is the reduction of the cost of production in the metal industry by good organisation of production and by increasing the productivity of labour which makes a further rise of wages possible.

The central committee of the railway workers' union states that in the seven years since the revolution, the union has attracted 60,000 members to its work. The apparatus of the union was reduced. The union intends to attract on the broadest lines the most active members to responsible work. As regards wages, it is the opinion of the central committee that further increase of wages is only possible at the cost of economy in the means of transport, for which reason the chief attention of the union must be directed towards cheapening the cost price of the management and to the increase of productivity of labour.

The builders' union has at the present moment 350,000 members. In the seven years since the revolution, the political consciousness of the workers in the building trade, the majority of whom are half peasants, has considerably increased. The wages amount to 90% of the pre-war rate, and in some cases are higher. The tasks immediately before the union are, the improvement of the work of the union, the development of the self-activity of the masses, the strengthening of the connection with the rural population, the increase of the productivity of labour, the perfecting of production.

The union of chemical workers has 164,000 members. Since the revolution, the chemical workers union has accomplished a tremendous amount of work in the restoration and consolidation of the chemical industry. The result of this work was that in the last business year the chemical industry as a whole made a profit of about 5 million roubles. This position of the chemical industry has had a beneficial effect on the workers' wages, which, on the average, amount to 78% of the pre-war rates.

The productivity of labour of the miners, which in 1921 amounted to 51% of the productivity of the year 1913, rose in this year to 64%. There are union nuclei in every mine, in every shaft, in every mining concern. Schools are to be found in every district, clubs at every mine. Soon there will be no miners who cannot read and write.

The greatest achievement of the leather workers' union since the revolution, is the firm connection of the organisations of the union with the masses of the people and the resulting great activity of the members of the union.

The clothing workers' union has 58,000 members, of whom about 30,000 are employed in the works of the State clothing industry. The wages amount to 70% of the pre-war rates.

The textile workers' union has now more than half a million members. The material position of the workers improves in proportion with the development of the textile industry, even though the wages of the textile workers are rather behind the wages of the other branches of industry.

Among the achievements of the unions, the successful fight against the lack of housing accommodation must be emphasised. A great deal has been accomplished in the domain of culture and education. Among the textile workers (the majority of the members of the textile workers' union are women) there are now only about 8% who cannot read and write.

The wood-workers' union has 131,000 members. Of these 86% work in the State wood industry. The productivity of labour amounts to 86% of the pre-war production, the wages on an average, to 65% of the pre-war wages.

Health Measures for the Workers.

In 1912, the employers, according to the insurance act, were only obliged to provide at their own cost, out-patient treatment and first aid in cases of sudden illness for the workers. And even this law only included the workers of the wholesale industry, i. e. about 20% of the wage earners. The remaining 80% of the proletariat did not participate even in this help and were obliged to employ private doctors and chemists. State health measures for the working class hardly existed at all before the revolution.

Nowadays every insured person (and all wage earners without exception are insured at the cost of the employer) and the members of his family have a right to free medical treatment, including midwifery, dental treatment, treatment in sanatoria and bathing resorts, home treatment etc. Special attention is given to prophylactic medicine. The workers and employees in branches of industry, which are injurious to health, and all juveniles are periodically medically examined. Compulsory small-pox vaccination has been introduced etc.

The chief kinds of medical treatment, out-patient and hospital treatment are guaranteed to all insured persons. Before the revolution there were only 8 physiotherapeutic institutions, in 1924 already about 30. Dispensaries for treatment of venereal diseases did not exist at all, now there are more than 40. Before the revolution there were hardly any municipal clinics for tuberculous patients, now there are about 100. A special institute has been opened in Moscow for the study of occupational diseases.

After the October revolution, the working class in the union of the SSR. was afforded the possibility of making use of sanatoria, bathing resorts and convalescent homes which had previously been inaccessible to them. The fact that in the Summer of 1924 about 200,000 workers were accommodated in 30 convalescent homes, is an evidence of the wide spread of convalescent homes.

The Workers' Budget.

In the 7 years since the October revolution, the standard of living of the Russian worker has seen many ups and downs. While being very low in the first half of this period, it began to improve steadily at the beginning of the second half. The civil war, armaments and the intervention, the economic blockade and the famine catastrophe in 1921 are all factors which necessarily had a distinctly negative influence on the workers' budget.

The actual wages of the industrial worker which, in 1913 was on the average 25 roubles a month throughout Russia, sank in 1917 to 17 roubles and 79 copeks and continued to fall

in the following years until in 1921 it reached 6 roubles and 95 kopeks.

Before the war the cost of a worker's food was 40—45% of his total expenses. During the civil war, in spite of the prices of products necessary to life and foodstuffs being fixed extremely low, the cost of a worker's food was in 1918 70% of his total expenses and in 1920 74%.

The present budget of a worker, according to the statistics for November, consists of the following items in pre-war roubles. Of the total average monthly earnings of a worker's family, amounting to 39 roubles 43 kopeks, only 14 roubles 2 kopeks, i. e. 40,5% are required for food and on an average 1,62 roubles for rent, instead of 3 roubles before the war.

The amount spent on spirits has also greatly decreased (almost 20 times in comparison to pre-war times). The expenses in connection with religion have also decreased (from 10—20 kopeks per worker to 2—5 kopeks). The expenses for social, cultural and political needs on the other hand, have increased from 2,5% before the war, to 5% now.

One other factor must be stated, i. e. through whom the worker makes his purchases. Here we see that, for instance in Leningrad (June—August 1924) the worker made two thirds of his purchases at the private market, whilst he bought the last third at the co-operative stores (26%) and in the State warehouses (7,6%). In other workers' districts, as for instance in the Donetz basin, the worker makes about 50% of all his purchases at the co-operative stores. The credit which is granted him at the co-operative stores and at the State warehouses is a great convenience for the worker.

The Correctional Labour Codex of the Soviet Union.

By E. Sheervindt.

One of the most important legislative questions which came up for decision at the recent session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, is no doubt the plan for a correctional labour codex. At the present juncture the necessity for the introduction of a legislative act, capable of coordination and systematising the fight with criminality and the adoption of measures for the defence of society, has made itself very much felt. "The Regulation concerning places of incarceration", which was promulgated nearly four years ago, and the circular instructions based on this regulation have become obsolete and out of keeping with the criminal codex adopted during the last few years, which consists of a good-working system of codified rules drawn up for the purpose of consolidating the foundations of revolutionary legality.

As far as the execution of the sentences passed in the courts of justice is concerned, revolutionary legality could also only be ensured by the promulgation of a uniform Correctional Labour Codex for the USSR. The Codex adopted by the recent Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and promulgated, shows by its nature that the Soviet power has remained faithful to the principles of its correctional labour policy. The slogan "the system of punishment must be definitely replaced by a system of measures of an educational character", which already found an expression in paragraph 2 of the programme of the Russian Communist Party, is even more fully expressed in the Codex which has come into force.

"The Correctional Labour Codex must be applied to prisoners", says paragraph 4 of the Codex, "by means of replacing the prisons of the old regime by a network of agricultural and industrial colonies and intermediate houses of correction, which should, if possible, be situated in the country and should be gradually developed and perfected.

Contrary to the Bourgeois criminal laws, our Codex is not based on the principle of punishment and of retribution for the offence which was committed. It also eschews the application of all measures which destroy individuality and emphasises the position of slavery which prisoners occupied under the bourgeois system. Our Codex sets to the correctional institutions the task of exercising a wholesome influence over the prisoners and bringing out traits of character and inculcating habits which will prevent them from falling back into their old errors. This being so, the Codex declares that detention in places of incarceration must not have for its object the infliction of physical suffering and of degrading human dignity.

At the same time the Codex aims at the individualisation of the measures applied in the defence of society. It does not place all the prisoners into one category, as this was the case in Czarist prisons. On the contrary, it distributes them in correctional labour institutions of various types and divides them into categories, transferring them from lower into higher categories and vice versa, in conformity with their individuality, their social position and motives of the crime, their conduct and successes achieved in their work and various occupations. By such means correctional labour institutions are able to neutralise and even abolish altogether the influence of the worst and most dangerous elements over the other prisoners.

This Codex also represents the first attempt to deal with prisoners on a class basis. With this object in view, the Codex divides prisoners into three categories. It places into the first two categories all those sentenced to solitary confinement, persons not belonging to the working class whose offence was the outcome of class habits, views and interests, as well as professional criminals and declassed elements, acknowledged to be dangerous to society. While the Codex establishes for these two categories of prisoners a stricter regime, which isolates them from society, than for the third category of prisoners of the working class, it at the same time declares that even for these categories of prisoners the regime must be devoid of all cruelty. Not to mention the total abolition of all the attributes of Czarist power (shackles, flogging, etc.), the Codex emphasises the inadmissibility in places of detention of methods causing suffering, such as handcuffs, punishment cells, strict solitary confinement, deprivation of food and visits, the wearing of prison clothes and other measures which degrade human dignity.

According to the Codex the regime in all places of detention is based on two principles: prisoners' labour and cultural — educational work among them. Prisoners' labour which is carefully regulated, is not the former slave labour performed in prisons. It is rational labour which is aimed at accustoming prisoners to regular work and giving them some vocational training. Moreover, their labour is subject to the ordinary labour protection laws. The cultural-educational work does not amount to religious and moral pressure on prisoners as was the case in Czarist, and is still the case in the prison regulations of bourgeois countries. On the contrary, concentrating on the working class elements of the population, the correctional institution endeavour to raise the intellectual level of the prisoners and to develop in them the sense of citizenship by educating them and bringing vocational knowledge within their reach, and also by explaining to them the foundation of the Soviet social order and the duties of citizenship in the Soviet Republic. With this object in view, those in charge of the places of detention organise club sections and study circles, lectures and readings. They also encourage the publication of periodicals, newspapers, magazines, etc.

The Codex pays special attention to labour homes for young offenders, which are penitentiary and pedagogical institutions at the same time, where, contrary to other correctional labour institutions, the superintendence of the work is in the hands of the Pedagogical Council in which the Public Instruction Department has a representative.

The new Codex regulates the liberations of prisoners before the expiration of the term of imprisonment to which they have been sentenced. Taking into consideration that during their term of incarceration prisoners are given every opportunity to develop and to exercise all their mental faculties, the Codex provides for the reduction of the original sentence by reckoning two days of intensive work for three days of the original sentence. It provides for this purpose the establishment of special authoritative Distributing Commissions, which have been endowed with greater powers (page 23).

Finally, taking into consideration that one cannot deal with criminality only by means of repression, but that preventive and prophylactic measures must be used, the Codex provides for assistance to prisoners and to those who have been liberated from prison. The Codex rejects the bourgeois idea of charity, and bases its apparatus of assistance on the help and contributions of Assistance Committees into which it draws Soviet Trade Unions and Party Organs.

ORGANISATION

The Reorganisation of the C. P. upon the Basis of Factory Nuclei.

By Mickiewicz-Kapsukas.

The chief organisational question with which the E. C. of the C. I. and all its sections is concerned is the reorganisation of the Communist Parties upon the basis of factory nuclei, the consolidation of the nuclei where they are already in existence and working and the organisation and consolidation of communist fractions in the various workers and peasant organisations.

What concrete results have we obtained in the reorganisation of the Communist Parties upon the factory nuclei? Let us consider these gains according to the individual countries.

Germany: The reorganisation of the Communist Party of Germany began before the Fifth Congress. The question of the reorganisation received nowhere such a thorough discussion as in the C. P. G. According to the report of the Central Committee of the German Party submitted to the organisational department of the E. C. of the C. I., 1,092 factory nuclei were formed up to the 1st August 1924. At the present time this number is much higher. The factory nuclei carry out all the functions of the lower Party organs in the workshops. They occupy themselves not merely with general Party questions but also with the needs of the workers in the respective factories. They attempt to take over the leadership of the struggle against the exploiters and in this way to win the sympathy of the masses of the workers. The fact that the recent terror elections brought such comparatively good results for the German Party must be ascribed to the work of the factory nuclei.

330 factory nuclei in Germany have their own newspaper (To-day this number is still greater). The extent to which the idea of factory newspapers has been adopted in Germany is shown by the following facts: there are two police and one military nuclei papers issued (the latter is of course strictly illegal). Almost all nuclei papers in Germany are printed. The material for them is supplied by the workers themselves. The circulation of these papers is continually increasing. The managers and foremen of factories search for the editors of these papers energetically, and if they discover them immediate dismissal follows. The social democrats and even the fascists have recognised the great importance of the factory newspapers and here and there they themselves have undertaken the issue of such papers.

The largest factory nuclei endeavour to get into touch with nuclei of the Russian Communist Party in similar factories and to carry on an exchange of letters with them. Unfortunately, the nuclei of the Russian Party have not shown sufficient initiative and activity in this direction up to the present.

Those communists who do not work in factories (domestic servants, porters and the like), are organised in street nuclei. The main share of the Party work however, is already concentrated in the factory nuclei. The Young Communist League of Germany has already carried out the reorganisation upon the factory nuclei basis in Berlin, in Thuringia, in the Ruhr district, in Cologne and in Halle-Merseburg. There are approximately 600 nuclei. These factory nuclei of the youth also issue their papers which are for the most part hectographed. There are over a hundred of such papers.

France: Since the Fifth World Congress the C. P. has achieved great success in the reorganisation upon the factory nuclei basis. In the Paris district it has been carried out completely, the former "sections" no longer exist and all comrades are organised in the factory nuclei. The territorial nuclei have been almost completely abolished in the Paris district. In this district there are over 500 factory nuclei and 30 sub-districts. In the North there are 80 factory nuclei functioning. In other parts of France the reorganisation has been similarly taken in hand. Thanks to the factory nuclei, the Party work has been considerably enlivened. All nuclei members are drawn into the work. Contact with the non-Party masses is being established. Thanks to these circumstances the French C. P. has won 3,000 new members since the Fifth Congress.

The French factory nuclei have also commenced to issue their own factory papers. In the organisational department of

the E. C. of the C. I. there are approximately 80 different factory nuclei newspapers from Paris. In the North there are about ten factory newspapers issued. It must, however, be remarked that the French papers are behind the German in many respects. They are edited mechanically and often contain no notice whatever of the life in the shops. The workers take very little part in the production of these papers, but nevertheless, the work is going forward.

Czechoslovakia: Although the question of reorganising the C. P. on the basis of the factory nuclei was energetically discussed even before the Fifth Congress, actual nuclei were formed only in Bratislavia and in Reichenberg.

The decisions of the Fifth Congress spurred the C. P. to greater activity in this direction. The discussion inside the Party which commenced after the Fifth Congress gave the question of the factory nuclei a great impetus. The Party conference adopted new statutes on a bolshevik basis (Factory nuclei as basis of the Party, the activity of all members, democratic centralism etc.) Naturally, we are still very far from a complete reorganisation of the Party on the basis of these statutes. According to the information of the "Rude Pravo" there are already a few hundred factory nuclei in existence. According to the decision of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia, the reorganisation upon the new basis must be completed by 1st May 1925. Up to the moment only one newspaper has appeared from these nuclei. Even for this the workers of the particular factory have apparently made very little contribution.

Italy: The reorganisation of the Party is being carried out under illegal conditions. Therefore, it was not possible to achieve such success in the time as in France. However, even here considerable success has been achieved. In Turin the formation of factory nuclei was commenced before the Fifth Congress and this work furthered the influx of new Party members, at the same time the number of members in other towns permanently decreased. After the Fifth Congress the formation of factory nuclei was undertaken all over Italy. At the present time there are 40 factory nuclei in Milan with 450 members. The entire organisation in Milan has a thousand members. Approximately half of the membership is organised in street nuclei. The Italian factory nuclei are somewhat different from the nuclei in other countries for not merely are they composed of Party members, but also of sympathisers. This looser form in the Italian nuclei hinders them without doubt in their efforts to become real bolshevik Party nuclei. However, the factory nuclei carry on a far greater activity than that of the old "groups". Thanks to the revival of the work of the C. P. I. and the general strengthening of the anti-fascist movement, the membership of the Party has doubled itself in the last few months and has now reached 25,000.

Great Britain: The C. P. G. B. is directing great attention to the reorganisation of the Party upon the factory nuclei. The formation of nuclei is made very difficult by the numerical weakness of the Party. Despite this however, there are 17 factory nuclei in existence in Great Britain. A plan for the reorganisation of the whole Party has been drafted.

U. S. A.: A great discussion is taking place in the Workers Party of America upon the question of the reorganisation upon the basis of the factory nuclei. The reorganisation meets with great difficulties on account of the various nationalities among the American workers, and on account of the fact that the immigrants can oftentimes not understand the English language and because of the numerical weakness of the American Party. At the moment the Party actually represents a federation of national sections loosely bound together in which the immigrants are dominant. In consequence of this the reorganisation must be proceeded with very carefully. The organisational department of the E. C. of the C. I. is of the opinion that the national sections must be maintained, their functions must however be confined to agitation and propagande work amongst the workers of their particular nationality. The chief political work and the Party work in general must go through the factory nuclei which must organise all communists of a particular factory without distinction of nationality. Despite all hindrances there are already a few factory nuclei in the United States. The Young Workers League is already almost completely reorganised on the basis of factory nuclei.

Scandinavia: 1. **Norway:** The Norwegian Workers Party, from which the Communist Party of Norway originated, was built up upon the basis of collective membership of the trade

unions and individual membership was quite unknown. Whole trade union sections have affiliated to it. This circumstance in reality placed the trade unions above the Party and was not able to promote the development of the activity of the Party members. Therefore, the first task of the C. P. consisted in carrying out the change from collective to individual membership. This has already been practically carried out. Work is now proceeding for the formation of factory nuclei. In Oslo (Christiania) there are 38 factory nuclei organised in various districts. The Party members not working in the factories are organised in street nuclei. There is also one factory nucleus paper.

2. Sweden: In Stockholm there are factory nuclei in the larger industrial centres. Under the old party leadership and up to the split they only existed upon paper. The new Central Committee is devoting all its attention to the carrying out of the decisions of the V. World Congress relating to the reorganisation of the Party upon the basis of factory nuclei.

The Baltic States: The Communist Parties of Finland and Lithouania are, for the greater part, and the Communist Party of Esthonia completely, built up upon the basis of the factory nuclei system. In Latvia the Party of the Bolsheviks was organised upon the basis of the factory nuclei, in independent Latvia, however, the factory nuclei disappeared in consequence of the lack of large-scale industry. They are being now organised afresh.

Poland: There were factory nuclei in the old Polish social democracy and also in the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviki). However, under the old leadership of the C. P. of Poland the skeleton of the Party, — the factory nuclei — completely disappeared in many districts and in their place came the loosely organised and not very active "free" circles, to which not only party members but also sympathisers belonged. Unfortunately, the new leadership of the C. P., which devoted all its forces to the overcoming of the opportunistic deviations in the Party, does not pay sufficient attention to the reorganisation of the Party upon the factory nuclei basis. The Young Communist League of Poland has achieved much greater success in this connection. The "free circles" and the few women's circles have been completely liquidated. The factory nuclei of the Y. C. L. of Poland show great activity.

Austria: The Communist Party is weak and it is continually torn by fractional struggles. According to the reports submitted to the organisational department of the E. C. of the C. I. there are 6 factory nuclei in Vienna, including one in the Warchalowski locomotive works with 600 members.

The Balkans: Bulgaria: The C. P. quickly adapted itself to the new conditions of work, the conditions caused by the fascist terror and the complete illegality. The organisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei is in process but has not yet ended. The Party members not working in the factories are organised in territorial and village nuclei.

Jugoslavia, Rumania and Greece: The reorganisation of the Communist Parties has begun. Factory nuclei exist in all these countries.

From this short survey we can see that the reorganisation of the Communist Parties upon the basis of factory nuclei is still in its opening stage. At the same time the endeavour is being made to utilise all party members in the activity. In this connection, as we have seen, certain results have been obtained, but much work still confronts us. We know what great efforts this cost in the Russian Communist Party. It will cost still greater energy in the West and in America, but nevertheless this work has begun and is proceeding, if only slowly, forwards.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Victory is Certain.

By N. Krupskaya (Moscow).

In the "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels there was clearly characterised for the first time the historical rôle of the proletariat. The rôle consists in the transformation of capitalist class society into a society without classes. The proletariat fights against the bourgeoisie for the seizure of political power. In this struggle the industrial proletariat needs the alliance of broad sections of all workers, of all the oppressed. But the

proletariat strives after political power, not in order to establish its hegemony for all time, not to secure the privileges which would oppress other workers — no, the proletariat seizes the State power in order to abolish itself as a class and to set up a classless society. From this fundamental idea there follows another: **the proletariat must become the leader of all workers.**

Lenin profoundly thought out this idea of Marx and Engels and employed all his energies for its realisation. His attitude and his activity in the **peasant question** bears eloquent testimony to this. The proletariat itself comprises sections of varying degrees of class-consciousness. Lenin wrote: the Communist Party, which is the advance-guard of the working class, must be in close contact with all sections of the proletariat and fill them with its spirit. In the same way the working class as a whole must be in closest connection with all toilers, and must understand how to make its ideas clear to them.

From this conception of Lenin regarding the class struggle, there arises his attitude to the **women's question**. The proletarian women form a section of the working class who, as a result of their conditions of life and work, are generally on a lower level of class-consciousness than the remainder. Lenin always emphasised that great attention must be devoted to this section of the working class, and that Party work among the proletarian women is of the greatest importance. The proletarian women must learn to realise that they are a portion of the working class, that the cause of the working class is their own cause and therefore they must connect themselves as closely as possible with the Party.

Further, the proletarian women must keep in mind that it is easier for them than for the men to carry on recruiting work among the other working women, among the house-wives, peasant women etc. The proletariat must be the leader of millions, must have behind it the great mass of all toilers; only then will it succeed in marching forward. Therefore, Lenin was always greatly pleased when the work among the proletarian women achieved any success.

I remember one occasion, in 1921, when I went along with Lenin from the Trade Union House where he had delivered a lecture to the Kremlin. On the way we met a great delegation of Mahomedan women. Some of them still wore the "Tshadra" — the veil which they wear over the face when in the presence of men. They recognised Lenin, embraced him, tore off their Tshadras, spoke to him and wept. Lenin was visibly touched. He addressed a few words to the Mahomedan women and then we proceeded on our way. After Lenin had been walking on in silence for some minutes, he said: "You see, the most backward sections of the toilers have advanced, these women, — they are the most enslaved, they are the rearguard of the whole world. Now Socialism is sure of its victory."

Yes, it is true: Socialism is sure of its victory.

APPEALS

To the Airmen of the Whole World!

Colleagues and Comrades!

We have heard with feelings of the deepest sorrow and indignation of the crime of the Esthonian government: of the shooting, which took place on the 6th December 1924, of two Esthonian airmen for having refused to fire from their aeroplanes upon their brothers, the Esthonian workers.

At the same time we admire the boundless devotion to the cause of the workers and the steadfastness of these two fallen airmen, who refused to act as slaughterers of their people and who would not convert aviation into an instrument for the execution of Esthonian workers when the latter were engaged in a fight for their rightful demands.

The conduct of these two fallen Esthonian airmen fills us with the firm and profound belief that among you, the airmen of all the imperialist armies of the world, there are undoubtedly hundreds and thousands who under no circumstances will degrade their profession, their aeroplanes into guillotines, into instruments for the execution of the fighting workers of their country.

We have no doubt that this class-conscious section of the airmen of the air-fleets of all imperialist countries will be equally

determined and courageous as these two fallen Esthonian airmen have been when they refused to use their aeroplanes against their own brothers.

We are profoundly convinced that the best among you and those who are in solidarity with us will join in our protest against the brutality and cruelty of the Esthonian government towards the airmen who were so devoted to the working class and towards the leaders of the Esthonian proletariat.

We firmly believe that you also, when necessity arises, will have the ability and courage so to act as the interests of the working class dictate to you.

The Airmen of the Charkow Division of the Flying Corps of the SSSR.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

We want our Parents to be Literate.

("Krassny Bogatir" Works.).

The workers run down the hill and slip in quickly through the lattice-work gates eager to get to their club.

Today we celebrate the fifth anniversary of the decree on the liquidation of illiteracy.

Old men and old women go there to testify to the achievements of October.

Who will believe that we were illiterate up to our old age, and that we can now read and write.

What appeared before impossible and fantastic, has become a reality, such is the boast of the working men and women who have overcome their illiteracy.

This feeling of just pride is noticeable in every corner and in every seat in the hall: go and see the little room, it is down-

stairs, next door to the orchestra, where refreshments are sold. In this little room you will see our exhibition. You will find there our wall-newspaper which we have published with the help of the Young Communist League. It is called "down with illiteracy". Just imagine, we, who were recently illiterate, have now published our own paper.

Their joy is great.

The satisfaction and pride of the working men and women who have overcome their illiteracy, call forth the feelings of animosity in those who do not want to admit that even old people can be taught. Our factory employs 3,000 workers including 150 illiterates. To these illiterates, the young pioneers go with this slogan: "We want our parents to be literate".

A little girl from the kindergarten taxes the adults with their illiteracy. One can hear her shrill little voice, which can be heard throughout the large hall, saying: "We, children, are only small, and can read and write, but you are grown up and you can neither read nor write. We are little and there are things which we cannot understand, but you, who are grown up, cannot explain these things to us. And waving her tiny hands she finishes her harangue by saying: "We little children ask you to begin to learn, as our Lenin told you to do".

The speech of the little girl has come to an end. But she does not move, she wants to say something else, but her little brain refuses to connect the thoughts as quickly as she would like. And then the echo rang out in the hall — E — NIN! (Lenin).

A cute little beggar — was the verdict of those present, and a deafening applause drowned the echo.

And late in the evening, after the dramatic performance, some were joyously and proudly discussing, and only a very few hastened to get home, as if ashamed of something.

RISNIK.