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CONTENTS

G. Zinoviev: Proletariat and Peasantry.

Politics

Karachan: The Treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Peritus: Mr. Hughes' Resignation.

U. Man: Poland's Designs upon Danzig.

I. Zamfirescu: The Situation in Roumania.

For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement

Pierre Semard: The Conference of the C.P. of France and the Question of Trade Union Unity.

The All-Russian Trade Union Council to the I.F.T.U.

Fritz Wieser: The Undermining Work of the Right Wing Amsterdamers.

The Labour Movement

The "Pravda" on the Conference of the English Minority Movement.

In the International

The Results of the Enlarged Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Russia.

The Leningrad District Conference of the C.P. of Russia for the Decisions of the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee.

The White Terror

El Encerrado: The Persecution of the Spanish Communists.

Allan Vallenius: Justice in Finland.

Union of Soviet Republics

Prigradov-Kudrin: Workers' Education in the Soviet Union.

The Activity of the Marx-Engels Institute.

Workers Correspondence

Letter from the Workers of the "Spartak" Factory.

Proletariat and Peasantry.

The Significance of the Slogan: "The Face to the Village!"

By G. Zinoviev.

"The rural population which in all advanced States is excessively split, divided, oppressed and condemned to semi-barbaric conditions of living, because, for economic, social and cultural reasons it is interested in the victory of Socialism, is only capable of supporting effectually the revolutionary proletariat, after the latter has won political power, after it has definitely settled accounts with the large property owners and capitalists, only after these oppressed people have experienced in practice that they have an organised leader and defender, which is powerful and established enough to give them help and leadership and to point out to them the right path."

N. Lenin.

I.

The Peasantry after the Seizure of Power by the Proletariat.

One of the most characteristic and at the same time strongest sides of Leninism is the circumstance that Comrade Lenin, more than anyone else, understood the reciprocal relations between the classes in their dynamics. Leninism does not consider the reciprocal relations between the proletariat and the peasantry, for instance, established for ever, "poured into a mould". The fundamental distinction which Leninism makes is between the attitude of the peasantry towards the proletariat before the seizure

of power by the working class, and the attitude of the peasantry towards the proletariat after the seizure of power by the working class. Comrade Lenin measures a whole series of other fundamental questions by this criterion. In this sense Leninism is thoroughly dynamic.

The Communist vanguard of the working class is fighting against social democracy (workers' aristocracy, petty bourgeois hangers-on) for the working class. The working class with the Communist party at its head, is fighting against the bourgeoisie for the peasantry. The whole work of Bolshevism even from an international point of view, can be traced back in a certain sense to these two tasks. But it is one thing to court the favour of the non-party working masses before the seizure of power by the proletariat, and another thing to court their favour after the seizure of power. The same applies to the peasantry. It is one thing to compete with the imperialistic bourgeoisie for the peasantry before the seizure of political power by the proletariat, and another thing after the seizure of power.

An extremely important document exists which, in the most concentrated and clearest form gives an exposition of the views of Leninism regarding the relations between proletariat and peasantry. This document is the acme of Bolshevism in the question of proletariat and peasantry. In our opinion this is the most remarkable document of Bolshevism. For this document

attempts firstly to internationalise the views of Bolshevism on the peasantry, i. e. to find a formula which is acceptable not only to Russian Bolshevism, but also to international Bolshevism (we refer to the remarkable resolution on the peasant question which was proposed by Comrade Lenin at the second World Congress of the Communist International and was passed by the Congress); and secondly, and this is really the chief point, this document was written by Lenin after the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country had been in existence for 3 years. This document therefore has generalised the views of Leninism on the reciprocal relations between the proletariat and the peasantry on the basis of the experiences of the Russian revolution. Comrade Lenin extended and enriched his teaching particularly in that, in the fresh tracks of the great events of the Russian revolution, he once more raised the problems of the international proletarian revolution and solved them on the basis of Marxism. The question of the mutual relations between proletariat and peasantry before and after the seizure of power by the proletariat, belongs however without doubt to these essential problems.

In the documents referred to, Comrade Lenin wrote that the Social Democrats

"do not understand the truth which is thoroughly demonstrated by theoretical Marxism and fully confirmed by the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia, i. e. that the rural population which in all advanced States is excessively split, divided, oppressed and condemned to semi-barbaric conditions of living, because, for economic, social and cultural reasons it is interested in the victory of Socialism, is only capable of supporting effectually the revolutionary proletariat, after the latter has won political power, after it has definitely settled accounts with the large property owners and capitalists, only after these oppressed people had experienced in practice that they have an organised leader and defender which is powerful and established enough to give them help and leadership and to point out to them the right path."

Thanks to a favourable concurrence of circumstances, the peasantry, especially those of its members who were under arms — the army exhausted by the imperialistic wars — gave us ample and powerful support in 1917. Immediately before October 1917 the whole mass of the peasantry supported us. The slogan "Down with the war!" melted into the slogan "The land to the peasants!" (according to Lenin the main stay of the national revolution). Now after the seizure of power, if we succeed in consolidating our economic lead of the village, an epoch will begin in which the lasting and firm support of the peasantry will be assured us. According to Lenin, it is only after the proletariat has seized political power, that the main mass of the peasantry is capable of supporting it decisively and firmly, earnestly and for a long time. This hint is of enormous significance. For us it is of the greatest actually, just in the present new phase of the proletarian dictatorship. This is just the moment at which our Soviet Government is entering the period which Comrade Lenin foresaw in the thesis quoted. It is just this that we must understand in order to become clear, what the slogan "The face to the village!" means.

Comrade Lenin pointed out to the world proletariat that the above three groups (1. — the agricultural labourer, 2. — the semi-proletariat or dwarf peasants, 3. — the small farmers) together form in all countries the majority of the rural population. Comrade Lenin further emphasised as regards the owners of medium sized property, that it is the duty of the Communists to neutralise them at the beginning of the period of the proletarian dictatorship, but afterwards gradually to win over a considerable part of them to the Communist Party.

If all this was right in 1920 for international Communism, how much more right and more important it is for us, the Soviet Union in 1925!

The understanding of this thesis of Comrade Lenin is the key to the whole tactics of the Party in the present epoch. Only those who have understood what Comrade Lenin said about the relations between peasantry and proletariat after the secure seizure of political power by the proletariat, none but these will understand the slogan "The face to the village!"; these and only these will understand the deepest foundations of the policy of the Leninist C.C.; these and only these will, among other things, understand in what the fundamental difference between the tactics of our C.C. and of those who more or less clearly acknowledge Trotskyism or semi-Trotskyism consists.

II.

Communists, Working Class and Peasantry.

In 1921 Comrade Lenin, in an article on the occasion of the discussion as to the part played by, and as to the tasks of the trade unions in our country, wrote as follows:

"Communism says: The vanguard of the proletariat leads the non-party workers by enlightening, preparing, instructing and educating these masses, first the workers, but then the peasants also."

These words again are full of the most living actuality. First the workers, but then also the peasants! This is just what is important, that we are now entering the period when we must specially emphasise: but afterwards the peasants also.

We shall never be completely satisfied with our achievements in the sphere of the organisation and education of the workers. It will always seem to us as though not nearly enough has been done. This is as it should be. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that our Party has now established itself firmly as the ruler of the minds of the whole working class. This is evidenced by many facts: The Lenin recruitment and the work of the trade unions, the movement of the young pioneers and the movement of the worker correspondents, and many, many other facts. This matter is more or less ensured, it is on the right lines. We have now come right up to the second half of Comrade Lenin's formula: "but afterwards the peasants also". Comrade Lenin taught us more than once that it is impossible to bring about socialism through the hands of the communists alone. On the contrary, he pointed out that the proletarian vanguard, after it has thoroughly conquered the political power has before it the wearisome task of transforming the "human material" which we have inherited from capitalism, i. e. the task of a wearisome re-education of the working masses of town and country to socialism, which will need a whole epoch for its fulfilment.

We are now approaching this problem quite closely.

Needless to say, the enlightenment, the preparation, the instruction, the education of the peasant masses to socialism cannot by any means proceed in the same way as the education of the masses of town workers. We all know that, as far as the country is concerned, the peasants will be most effectively influenced by the living experience of long years, especially with the tractor, co-operative societies, the slow but sure introduction of co-operative agriculture, the gradual but sure demonstration of the advantages of co-operative farming as compared with individual farming. So far we have not spoken of the methods of enlightenment and re-education of the peasantry, so far we have only referred to the existence of the task of enlightening, preparing transforming and educating the peasant masses, to the task which only now rises before us as one of the most important tasks of the epoch.

This must be understood, if the meaning of the slogan: "the face to the village!" is to be accounted for. This slogan is by no means a vulgar bait for peasants' votes. It is not merely a matter of "agitation" among the peasantry, and this slogan is not a "peasant deviation". It in no case means a transition to some kind of shifting of the classes in the social frame-work of the proletarian dictatorship. No. It is just the interest of a real consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, taken on broad lines, i. e. on Leninist lines, which demands that the Party should take its political bearings "with the face towards the village". In this sense the slogan: "the face to the village!" is not a transitory slogan of the day, but a fundamental orientation to a whole phase in the development of the proletarian dictatorship. Until this is understood, nothing is understood.

III.

"The Face to the Village" — seriously, for a long time, for ever.

In the above sense the slogan: "The face to the village!" is not only a serious slogan, intended to last for a long time, but we may even say "for ever", i. e. until socialism has gained the final victory in our country and has, in the full sense of the word, become a reality. And the more socialism is victorious in the economic life of our cities, the greater attention we must give to the task of revising, reforming and re-building.

"The decided recognition of the progressiveness of large towns in a capitalist society, by no means prevents us including the annihilation of the antagonism between town and village in our ideal (and in our programme of action, for we leave unrealisable ideals to Messieurs Struve and

Berdjajew). It is untrue that this is equivalent to renouncing the treasures of art and science. Quite the contrary, it is necessary, in order to make these treasures accessible to the whole people, in order to destroy that estrangement from culture of millions of villagers, which Marx so sharply designated "the idiocy of village life".

(Lenin's collected works, Russian edition, vol. IX. p. 93.)

Comrade Lenin introduced one point into the programme of our Party which runs:

"The C.P. of Russia sees in the annihilation of this antagonism one of the chief tasks of communist construction and considers that simultaneously with general measures it is necessary systematically to attract industrial workers on a large scale to communist construction in agriculture."

The chief thing that matters is that we are now entering into that phase of the development of the proletarian dictatorship, in which we must formulate our immediate political tactics as regards the village just in the light of these tasks. It is not that we do not see the danger of a degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship into the rule of the petty bourgeoisie, it is not that we are not aware of the danger of a transformation of the workers' State into a kingdom of the narrow petty bourgeoisie of the villages. We do see all these dangers.

It is much more a case of, at the present moment, strengthening once for all the political power of the proletariat by a right policy towards the villages, and of preparing the actual possibility of reconstructing the villages on economic lines, naturally on the lines of continuous work in the course of a series of years.

We repeat, in this sense the slogan: "The face to the village!" is not a temporary but a permanent slogan. It is in this sense that we must understand what Lenin wrote in his last article on the introduction of cooperation to the peasantry, on cooperative "construction", on the peaceful penetration of socialism into the village.

In speaking thus we by no means fall into national narrowness. We know perfectly well that the final economic victory of socialism in our country is only possible if the proletarian revolution is victorious in some of the important countries of the world. To oppose the national (in Lenin's sense of this word it means including the "lower strata" of the nation in the whole of the people) revolution to the international revolution, as Comrade Trotzky sometimes does, is to put this question in another spirit than in that of Lenin. The problems which are now expressed in the formula "the face to the village", by no means exclude the tactics of the international proletarian revolution. on the contrary, they presuppose them.

"Salvation is only possible by way of the international socialist revolution which we have described" — thus wrote Lenin in an article "The chief tasks of our days" (vol. XV, p. 165—166) in which he approaches the justification of his theory of a breathing space.

"As long as we stand alone, our task consists in maintaining the revolution and keeping a certain fortress of socialism, however weak and limited it may be in extent, until revolution ripens in other countries, until other divisions draw nearer. But to expect from history that it would bring along the socialist divisions to close ranks strictly and systematically, would mean having no conception of the revolution, or else, through one's own stupidity, waiving all claim to the support of the socialist revolution." (Vol. XV, pr. 231—232.)

And from this Comrade Lenin formed the conclusion that our tactics "should be those of tacking, of biding one's time, of retreat". These views Comrade Lenin himself called the "breathing space theory".

"If we measure things by the standard of universal history, there is no doubt, that the final victory of our revolution would be hopeless, if it were to remain alone, if there were no revolutionary movement in other countries." (Lenin, vol. XV, p. 129.)

"We shall only arrive at final victory if we succeed in conclusively smashing up international imperialism, which relies on the enormous force of technique and discipline." (P. 187, from the speech at the Moscow Soviet on April 23, 1918.)

"We have always definitely maintained that this victory cannot be ensured unless it is supported by a proletarian revolution in the West, and that a correct estimate of our revolution is only possible from an international

point of view. In order to attain a permanent victory, we must bring about the victory of the proletarian revolution in all or at least some of the most important capitalist countries; and after three years of embittered, obstinate warfare we see in what respects our prophesies have, and in what respects they have not been fulfilled..."

It turned out that neither one side nor the other, neither the Russian Soviet Republic nor the whole of the rest of the capitalist world was either victorious or defeated, and it also turned out that although our prophesies were not fulfilled simply, quickly and justly; they were fulfilled in so far as they gave us what was most important; for the most important thing was to maintain the possibility of the continued existence of the proletarian power... even in the case of a delay of the socialist revolution in the whole world" (p. 180, from the speech "Our external and internal position and the tasks of the Party", at the Moscow Conference Nov. 20th, 1920).

These were the views of Comrade Lenin. Even he with his intuitive genius, overestimated quite in the beginning of the revolution, the rate of the development of the international proletarian revolution; even he (as indeed Marx in his days) reckoned, at the beginning of the revolution in months, where he ought to have reckoned at least in years. In his famous "Letter to the American workers" (Aud. 20th 1918) Comrade Lenin still wrote:

"We know that the European revolution, however quickly it may ripen towards the end, may possibly not flare up even in the next few weeks (emphasised by me G. Z.). Although we count on the inevitability of the international revolution, this in no way means that we are stupid enough to count on the inevitable revolution within a definite short space of time... We are in a besieged fortress until other divisions of the international socialist revolution come to our aid."

And at the same time Comrade Lenin was able as early as in the first weeks of the October revolution to explain to us why the prophesy of Marx and Engels, that "the French would begin and the Germans complete it", did not come true, why

"things turned out differently from what Marx and Engels had expected, and allotted to us, the Russian working and exploited classes, the place of honour in the vanguard of the international socialist revolution, and we now see clearly how the development of the revolution will proceed; the Russian began — the German, the French, the Englishman will complete it, and socialism will win the day... (Lenin, vol. XV. p. 87).

Very soon however Comrade Lenin began to estimate the factor "time" more exactly.

"The revolution will not come as soon as we expected. History has shown this. We must understand this, accept it as a fact. We must reckon with the circumstance that the socialist world revolution cannot begin so easily in advanced countries as in Russia... In such a country it was easy to begin the revolution, as easy as lifting a feather... There we are only approaching the painful period of the beginning of the socialist revolutions."

Thus spake Comrade Lenin at the 7th Party Congress (Lenin, vol. XV. p. 132).

Comrade Lenin predicted in his little book "Radicalism, the Infantile Disease of Communism" (1920) that

"in all probability a sudden change will occur at least in one of the advanced countries after the victory of the proletarian revolution, that is to say, Russia will, in a short time, no longer be a model country but (in the Soviet and Socialist sense) again fall behind the times" (Lenin, vol. XV. p. 115).

We have all now learned to value the factor of time more realistically. The whole Communist International has now learned this. While remaining international proletarian revolutionaries — for without that there is no Leninism — we know very well that with us (that is in the Soviet Union) final certain victory is only possible after socialism has gained the victory in some other countries. And just because we put this question of the tactics of our Party in the present period of the proletarian dictatorship in the light of the tasks of international proletarian revolutionaries, just for that reason we make use of the slogan "the face to the village!" as a serious and lasting slogan.

We shall not forget what Comrade Lenin said about the possibility and even probability of a new series of wars directed

against our Soviet Union. In the international situation during the past months there have been many features which directly remind us of this perspective. There can be no doubt that, if our Soviet Union were obliged once more to face the direct military attack of Imperialism, the result of this fight would be principally decided by two factors: 1. The attitude of the international working class towards us. 2. The attitude of the peasantry of the Soviet Union towards the proletarian dictatorship in the new situation.

It is just in the light of these great tactical tasks that we must now solve the actual general political and economic questions which form the heart of our tactics. The result of our tactics will now not be decided by the mutual relations between proletariat and peasantry "in general", but by the relations of the peasantry to the working class of our country after the conquest and consolidation of the political power of the proletariat.

(To be continued.)

POLITICS

The Treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan.

By Karachan.

Four fundamental questions presented us with difficulties in our negotiations with Japan. First, the question of the handing back of the Northern portion of the Isle of Sachalin, secondly the question of the old Treaties, thirdly the question of the Tsarist debts and of the damage suffered by us in consequence of intervention, and fourthly the question of the coal and oil concessions in the Northern portion of Sachalin.

These questions were solved in the following manner: Northern Sachalin will be evacuated by the Japanese as soon as the climatic conditions render this technically possible, but in any case not later than in May of this year. The old treaties are to be revised by subsequent negotiations. Only the Treaty of Portsmouth remains in force. We have expressed ourselves as agreed to regard this treaty as of purely historical importance, as its importance for Japan consists in the fact that it confirms the victory over the Tsarist army while the signing of the Treaty entitled Japan to the rank of a great power. At the same time with the recognition of this Treaty we repudiate all responsibility for its contents. The question of the Tsarist debts, as well as the question of mutual claims, will be dealt with later.

The most difficult question to solve was that regarding the concessions. Right from the outset of the negotiations Japan regarded the concessions as the price to be paid for recognition and for the losses it had suffered, as well as for the evacuation of Northern Sachalin. But in declaring ourselves ready to grant concessions to Japan we made this decision consistent with our general concession policy, and decided not to overstep the limits of the usual conditions in the granting of concessions. The final conditions which were agreed to are the same as those contained in all our concession treaties.

The importance of the concluded Treaty goes considerably beyond the points it actually contains. The Treaty with Japan liquidates in all forms the remnants of intervention which had already been liquidated in practice by the Red Army. The handing back of Sachalin completes the unity of the countries which had been torn from the Soviet Union. It is true there still remains Bessarabia, but it can be assumed that if Japan found it necessary to restore to us our territory, Roumania also, which is only brave when it feels sure of foreign support, will come to realise the difficulty of its situation.

The agreement with Japan, which has strengthened our position in the Pacific Ocean, serves as a warning to America, that by refraining from concluding a treaty with us, it is only worsening its own position. The agreement, which strengthens us in the Far East, secures at the same time the conditions for our further consolidation in the Pacific Ocean and the economic development of our territories in the Far East. Without the establishment of normal relations with Japan it would have been impossible to hope for a complete restoration of our rights to the Eastern Chinese Railway.

For Japan the agreement has at present a still greater importance than for us. The threat of isolation which charac-

terises the present situation of Japan, is removed by the existence of a power on the Asiatic Continent friendly to Japan. How important it is for Japan can be judged by the indescribable joy which seized the Japanese people after the announcement of the signing of this agreement. The first stone — the heaviest — of our relations with Japan has been laid. We look forward to extensive economic co-operation with Japan, which will offer us the possibility of developing our productive forces and of supplying Japan with those raw materials without which it is completely dependent upon America and England.

Reports received from America go to prove that America is beginning to perceive all the disadvantages of the non-existence of relations with us. It is true these reports express the fear that the negotiations with America will be as equally prolonged and difficult as were the negotiations with Japan. But I consider this to be incorrect. As a matter of fact, there are fewer disputed questions separating us from America than was the case in the negotiations with Japan. If America will begin to perceive that our inner social order is our own affair, and that it must reconcile itself with this, there will be no longer any obstacle to an understanding.

Mr. Hughes' Resignation.

By Peritus (Moscow).

The resignation of the United States Foreign Minister, Mr. Hughes, has been regarded by the whole world as a precursor of the recognition of the Soviet Union by America, and has therefore everywhere created a correspondingly profound impression. The key to the solution of this very interesting event is to be found in the increased activity of American world-policy. Viewed from this standpoint, the recognition of the Soviet Union is only part of a big scheme, but a part which has now become essential for the further development of America's active policy. This development is now becoming impossible without the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union.

Considered from the personal point of view, the resignation of Mr. Hughes is generally regarded as the result of a victory of his inveterate rival Senator Borah. Since Borah became chairman of the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs, it was no longer possible for the conflict between him and Hughes to be settled with the former means, and the removal of one of them became inevitable. After the last elections, which turned out so magnificently for the Republican Party and for President Coolidge himself, the latter became so strong that it was no longer necessary for him to capitulate before Hughes. At the same time Senator Borah became indispensable to Coolidge and the governing circles of the Republican Party in general, because he is surrounded with the halo of opposition against the reactionary leaders. During the election campaign he made no attempt to conceal his opinions and let no occasion go by without raising the demand for the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union, which demand and declarations met with a great response among the masses.

The political attitude of Hughes suffered from an inner contradiction which inevitably doomed him to a speedy end of his activity as a Minister. Hughes, the nominee of Standard Oil, and closely connected with the banking institutes possessing large capital investments abroad, was at the same time a definite, even though a somewhat cautious supporter of the intervention of America in the affairs of Europe and her participation in the reconstruction of the latter. But all attempts on the part of Hughes and his friends to oppose the recognition of the Soviet Union as being something alien to or even in contradiction to the active European policy, were absolutely illogical. The active participation of America in the reconstruction and pacification of Europe, by an inescapable logic leads America to the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union.

Hughes pointed out that from the economic point of view the Soviet Union is a void or a vacuum, but the facts have completely refuted this foolish assertion. The journey made last year by our late comrade Nogin to America and the work undertaken by him of creating special economic organs in America for the purchase of raw cotton for the Soviet factories brought about the collapse of Hughes' artificial construction. Circles in America connected with the sale of cotton could not avoid becoming active advocates of the establishment of relations with us, and thereby exposed the lies involved in Hughes' attitude.

The active policy of the Soviet Union in the Far East, the strengthening of its influence in China, the far-reaching changes which are taking place in China itself, the strengthening of the anti-American elements in China, the approaching arrival of an official representative of the Soviet Union in Tokio, these are some of those facts which are inevitably driving American policy to greater activity in the international field. Up till recently aggressive imperialism in the Far East was represented by the Anglo-Japanese alliance, whilst America represented the policy of non-intervention in the inner affairs of China and of the open door for all. Since the Conference of Washington the Anglo-Japanese alliance has ceased to exist. In its place there is at work in China the Anglo-American bloc, which is in no way an alliance. The Anglo-American bloc is due to the fact that England does not venture to intervene in China without America.

The participation of the American government in the reparation question was the work of Mr. Hughes himself, but the American government thereby adopted a course which renders it impossible to hold aloof from the Soviet government and to refuse any longer to establish formal relations. As the next step there appeared the necessity for a solution of the very acute problem of interallied debts: a problem which is indissolubly connected with the economic relations between the West and the Soviet Union. The problem of international debts and the resulting possible profound changes in French policy must compel American policy to a more active participation in all European affairs.

The economic interests of America, especially the oil interests, are drawing it into the affairs of the Balkans and the Near East. An important rôle in the raid of Achmed Zogu into Albania was played by the support of American agents who are connected with great American firms. The oil interests of America in Mesopotamia and the greed on the part of Americans for concessions in Asia Minor led to the well-known intervention of the American observer in Lausanne, who insisted upon the protection of American interests, the more so, as in Persia the policy of America is closely connected with the world interests of Standard Oil.

But the international policy of Standard Oil brings America into immediate contact with the Soviet Union. Standard Oil has for a long time favoured boycott and intervention against Soviet Russia and staked all its cards upon counter-revolution. Mr. Hughes, who is closely connected with the Standard Oil, was suited at the time to carry out its policy. But times change and the policy of Standard Oil towards the Soviet Union has undergone a complete alteration. More and more is Standard Oil becoming a big purchaser of the oil products of the Soviet Union. As Standard Oil is one of the largest undertakings in existence dealing with mineral oil, it has to purchase crude oil from abroad, particularly in view of the visible shrinking of the supplies in America.

In his time Hughes adopted a hostile attitude to the recognition of the Soviet Union, which attitude he supported by calling attention to the insignificant percentage which Russian trade constituted in the totality of American imports and exports. But the oil interests, the most powerful in the world, and the cotton interests, are compelling the leading circles of America to revise their attitude towards us. This must have a great effect upon the world situation. In so far, for example, as France requires an improvement of her relations with the Soviet Union, but is being kept back from this by the pressure of America and England, the change in America's policy towards the Soviet Union naturally has profound effects upon French policy. The Soviet Union cannot be ignored by any of the active factors in world politics.

Poland's Designs upon Danzig.

By U. Man (Danzig).

The conflict which has broken out between the government of white-guardist Poland and the senate of the "Free State" of Danzig, and which has become exceedingly acute, is of international importance. It can lead to serious results and therefore the proletariat must follow it with the closest attention. It is not the formal exchange of diplomatic notes, but the motives and the driving forces of the Polish government which go to show that here it is a question of a section of the ring with which the anti-Soviet front wishes to encircle Soviet Russia.

The apparent cause of the conflict was furnished by Poland, in that on the 1st of January it set up a post-office in Danzig and in the night of the 5th to 6th of January had Polish letter-boxes attached to various buildings in the city belonging to Polish citizens. The fascists, who are under the special protection of the reactionary senate of Danzig, on the following night smeared the red letter boxes with tar and white-wash so that they bore the black-white-red colours of the Hohenzollern Monarchy. The Polish rulers sought to ride the high horse. The Polish General Commissar, who maintained that the letter boxes had been daubed by the employees of the Senate, demanded in an extremely sharp note the punishment of the guilty, and as the honour of the Polish Republic has been insulted, an apology on the part of the senate. The German nationalist senate opposed this demand. According to its opinion, Poland had no right to set up its own postal service. It demanded the removal of the letter-boxes.

The Polish General Commissioner repeated his ultimative demand, and added that if the Danzig government was not willing to fulfil the Polish demands, Poland would be compelled to adopt appropriate measures.

The reactionary Polish press expressed itself in less diplomatic fashion. The "Kuriere Poranny" declared for example:

"Today this can still be regarded as an episode, but tomorrow it will mean armed war. We must keep in mind that behind us there stand powerful allies".

The situation became exceedingly acute. Finally, the senate, on the advice of the English League of Nations Commissioner, had to apologize.

The Polish Vice-Premier Thugut thereupon declared that the Poles are the most peaceable people in the world (!!) and that they know that today, any adventure on the part of Poland would mean a catastrophe. In spite of its confirmed pacifism (!) Poland would never permit an insult, no matter whether it came from a big or a small State. The Polish government considers the declaration of the Danzig Senate that it regrets the damage done to the letter boxes as sufficient satisfaction for the insulted Polish honour. Poland bases itself upon its natural rights to the harbour and defends Danzig better than the Danzig Senate, for the policy of the Senate is contrary to the true interests of Danzig.

The Warsaw press declared that Poland has shown too much patience towards Danzig, which today is planning an attempt against Poland. The "Kurjer Poranny" calls upon the government to free Danzig from its Senate.

The Polish bourgeoisie has great interest in annexing Danzig. The policy of Polish imperialism does not merely aim at obtaining control over Danzig as a commercial area and as a port of transit, but at annexing Danzig to Poland, and thereby to have a firm hold on the port as a naval basis for military purposes. Set up as a barbed wire against bolshevism, white-guardist Poland intends on behalf of its French patrons to establish in Danzig a naval base of the antisoviet alliance.

In spite of all the protests of the black-white-red Senate of Danzig, the League of Nations, the arbiter of world peace and the paradise of the II. International, has given permission to Poland to erect a munition depot at Wisteplatte (Danzig). Building is being eagerly carried on in this port, and already consignments of arms and munitions are continually arriving which are delivered by the dollar Republic, as well as by the pacifist Herriot, to Poland, the land of "confirmed pacifism". It is very clear, therefore, that the Polish militarists wish to occupy Danzig in order to defend the injured honour of the Polish nation "and for the realisation of the true freedom of Danzig", so that they can get safe possession of the munition port. They would have done so long ago, in the same way as they seized possession of Vilna, for example. It was only England who prevented this.

The Anglo-French antagonisms are very clearly reflected as regards Poland, as in fact they are in the border states in general. Whilst Lithuania, Lettland and Esthonia live upon English loans and diplomatic support and are de facto English colonies, the countries of the Little Entente, but in the first place Roumania and Poland, are pawns in the hands of French capital.

But the "Free State" of Danzig is economically dependent upon Poland (that means indirectly upon France) and also upon England. The annexation of Danzig to Poland would mean a blow for English trade and at the same time a considerable

strengthening of French influence in the border states, which England is trying to prevent by hindering Poland from doing in Danzig the same as was done in Fiume, Vilna and Memel.

If Poland now so openly speaks of the occupation of Danzig, and while doing so refers to the allies which are standing behind it, it follows from it, in view of the Chamberlain policy, that England would eventually agree to the occupation of Danzig by Poland, which, of course, is only to be done in the interest of the anti-soviet bloc and of the crusade against Soviet Russia. Sooner or later Poland will occupy Danzig. This is only a question of time.

The bourgeoisie of Danzig, who are now full of patriotism against Poland would — in return for suitable compensation — join the holy alliance against bolshevism.

The question is otherwise for the proletariat of the "Free State". The present regime, like the whole conditions of existence in Danzig, are oppressive for the proletariat. The reactionary senate is proceeding with all brutality against the proletariat. Nevertheless, the Danzig working class have not the least occasion to long for Polish rule, for it knows the conditions in the Republic of the white terror.

For the Danzig working class there is only one way, as the Communist Party in Danzig has again pointed out in its appeal: **Fight against Polish imperialism! Fight against the dictatorship of Danzig capital!**

The enemy is in your own camp! In this sense the C. P. of Germany is rallying the working class of Danzig to the fight against Polish imperialism and against the attack on Soviet Russia.

It is the duty of the International proletariat to support this fight.

The Situation in Roumania.

By I. Zamfirescu (Bucharest).

At the beginning of this month, the Minister of Finance, **Vintilla Bratianu**, presented a memorandum to the Reparations Commission of the League of Nations and to the Western States, stating that Roumania had by its own strength stabilised its currency, restored production and traffic and consolidated its foreign debts. It also states that Roumania's budget has been balanced and that it is prepared to pay all its war debts, but that it nevertheless needs credits in order to "accelerate" the development of the country.

Thus the memorandum. How do things actually look in Roumania?

The lei is by no means stabilised, there is not the least guarantee that it will not, in the immediate future, fall below $2\frac{1}{2}$ Swiss centimes. On the contrary, the fact that quite apart from other products, 1000 waggons of wheat must be imported in order to guarantee the food supply of the population until the next harvest, the 450 millions deficit in the balance of trade for 1924, the necessity of paying the State debts, all this makes a further fall of the lei very probable.

The restoration of production is also nothing but a myth. The wholesale bankruptcies, the closing down of numerous works and the increase of unemployment — even the organ of the Siguranza "Universul" puts the figure of unemployment at 100,000 — illustrate this statement in a most striking way.

In agriculture, things have come to such a pass, that wheat has to be imported, a standard loaf had to be introduced and the military has commandeered the stores of cereals throughout the country! Moreover last autumn, 500,000 ha. less were cultivated than in the previous year.

Transport shows itself equal to its task in that, as even the Minister of Commerce himself states, the number of waggons has dropped from 37,000 to 30,000. For this reason it is often impossible to make up the scheduled daily goods trains, but there are on an average two railway accidents daily. We have 1857 engines and 30,000 waggons, whereas according to expert judgement, 4000 engines and 100,000 waggons are required.

The consolidation of the foreign debts is dealt with in that enormous interest is to be paid for a delay of payment for several years.

In any case this new attitude of the Liberal Government to the question of war debts is remarkable. Whereas until recently the payment of these debts was always stigmatised as the begin-

ning of Roumania's enslavement and the Liberals marched under the banner of the reduction of debts and the increase of their share in Reparations, they now satisfy themselves with a request in general terms for financial support, and those in power, who are dripping with economic patriotism, consent on principle to a kind of **Dawes plan for Roumania**.

The budget is not only a class budget but is altogether fictitious. It does not even provide funds for the increase of salaries of the officials, which has been passed. This budget of 31,700,000,000 paper lei corresponds in reality to one of 700 million gold lei, whereas Roumania with its enlarged boundaries requires a budget of at least 1,200,000,000 gold lei, i. e. 50 milliard paper lei. For purposes of education it provides 10% less, but for war purpose 30% more than in 1921! The budget of the War Office provides $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions for ordinary expenses, whereas arms and munitions are to be bought with the help of foreign loans.

The Liberal Constitution, the "commercialising law", the mines law, the water power law have promoted the concentration of the whole wealth of the country in the hands of this oligarchy. The exceptional laws against the working class, the law regarding "the purchase and carrying of arms" and the law "for the protection of order" are an excellent supplement to the so-called "economic legislation". These laws force the C. P. of Roumania into a completely illegal position, all revolutionary propaganda (even reading Communist literature) is punished by 5—10 years imprisonment.

In spite of all this, the C. P. of Roumania managed, in five different manifestos to impart its ideas to the working population in the remotest corners of the country, without a single distributor of these pamphlets being caught. Filled with terror, all parties — from the liberals to the social democrats and the right wing of the peasant party — joined in the fight against the Bolshevist peril, fighting shy of no means, from the meanest lies and calumnies to the most brutal force. Our comrades were called spies, robbers, terrorists etc., 430 ex-members of the C. P. of Roumania were imprisoned. Throughout the country the working class and their real friends were ill-treated.

In view of the increasing strength of the Soviet power in general and of the Moldavian Soviet republic in particular, and of the increasing sympathy of the masses for them, the blood-stained and disgraced Roumanian oligarchy considers it necessary to suppress the mass movement by force and to prevent its organisation. For this reason the "Hungarian party" also has been dissolved, because it allowed a representative of the C. P. of Roumania, who was received with unanimous applause, to speak at their Party Congress; for the same reason it is persecuting the Unitarian trade unions, robbing the co-operative societies of their autonomy in order to make them tools of their lackeys.

Only a month ago, all attempts on the part of the Liberals to hobnob with the parties of the bourgeois opposition were roughly rejected, their intrigues and manoeuvres found no response and Fascist anti-semitic student rows had to be fanned into flame in order to procure a pretext for intensifying the martial law, for extending the apparatus of force and for creating exceptional laws. Today on the contrary, a few inciting articles in the Government papers against the peasant party are sufficient to persuade Dr. Lupu, the leader of the Left, to declare himself in his organ "Aurora" against the Peasant International, against revolutionary methods and for the nationalist and monarchist principle.

The National Party on its side has joined whole-heartedly in the campaign of lies against the Communists, has called them spies and murderers and declared that it, the Nationalist Party, cannot now enter into relations with the peasant party, since Moscow has taken the offensive and the whole civilised world is rising against the Soviets.

The petty bourgeoisie, part of which is still permeated with democratic illusions and still believes that its existence might be ensured by the setting up of a "larger Roumania", if a "democratic and just" government came into power, which indeed would have to fight most bitterly against the oligarchy but also against Bolshevism, is in this way to be brought into the ranks of the anti-Bolshevist front.

In foreign policy the Liberals are at present backed mainly by England. They have mortgaged their whole State income in order to guarantee to the English bourgeoisie the payment of Roumanian Treasury Bonds which are in their hands, and thus to

gain their favour. Since Admiral Beatty's visit, they are now negotiating with Armstrong with regard to the establishment of munition and aircraft factories. The Roumanian oligarchy has no intention of being left behind in the race. It marches well in the forefront of the world reaction, yesterday with France, today with England. Orders for war-material, aeroplanes, hydroplanes, guns and torpedo boats are now being given in England, preparations for war are being carried on feverishly. Roumanian officers take part in the Italian naval manoeuvres and visit the French fleet. The Minister of Finance is begging all round for credits for armaments.

At the same time, the old diplomatic relations with the reactionary States are being strengthened and new ones entered into. On the one side with Poland — a special ambassador was sent to Warsaw — the Baltic States and Turkey, on the other hand with the States which are to form the anti-Bolshevist block, in which Greece is included.

The preparations for war and the capital Terror against the masses with which they are unavoidably combined, will more and more force the broad masses of the people to an active participation in the political life of the country and will bring them to a distinct recognition of the fact that only a brotherly union of the Balkan peoples into a Balkan federation of workers' and peasants' republics, and alliance with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics can guarantee them a peaceable economic and cultural development in the future.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Conference of the C. P. of France and the Question of Trade Union Unity.

By Pierre Semard (Paris).

At the Third Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions three main theses were brought forward regarding the question of the realisation of international trade union unity:

1. The thesis of the Russian delegation, which raised the question of the return of the Russian trade unions to Amsterdam.
2. The thesis of the German delegation, which opposed the entry of the Russian trade unions into the Amsterdam International and, from reasons of utility and tactics, was opposed to any unity proposal being made to this international.
3. The thesis of the French delegation, which opposed the entry of the Russian trade unions into the Amsterdam International, but nevertheless demanded that unity proposals should be made to this international in the form of a general congress which would decide upon the question of the fusion and the creation of a united International.

After discussion the Third Congress adopted the proposal of the French delegation and appointed a special commission which should enter into negotiations with Amsterdam for the purpose of preparing a world unity Congress.

This was in August last. Since then, together with various political events, important demonstrations for unity have been carried out which have transferred this main question into quite another sphere.

At the Congress of the English trade unions in Hull the Russian delegation met with an enthusiastic reception, and firm bonds have been knit between the English and the Russian trade unions. These bonds were further strengthened during the course of the visit which the delegation of the English trade unions paid to the Congress of the Trade unions of the Soviet Union.

Purcell, speaking in the name of the delegation, declared himself in favour of realising international unity. The creation of an Anglo-Russian unity Committee was decided upon.

In this manner the cause of unity has made a great stride forwards in the last six months and the situation existing at the time of the Third Congress of the R. I. L. U. has become quite changed.

On the one hand, the Amsterdam Left, which is in favour of unity and is embodied in Fimmen, has been increased, not only by the entry of leaders such as Purcell, Cook, Ben Tillet and Bromley, but also by the rallying to it of workers in the English trade unions. On the other hand, general agreement exists, not only as regards the necessity of restoring international

trade union unity, but also as regards the aims of this uniting of the workers, which according to the declarations of Purcell consist in the common fight against the Dawes Plan, in the defence of Soviet Russia and in determined action against capitalism.

This declaration of the English delegation, which is not only a "unity" thesis but also an "offensive" thesis against capitalism, has not had the good fortune to please the leaders of the right wing of both the Socialist and the Trade Union International. Messrs Jouhaux, Vandervelde, Oudegeest and Mertens have fiercely attacked Purcell by declaring that he, along with the whole English delegation, would fall into disfavour with the English trade unionists.

This is the usual manoeuvre of the "leaders" and splitters of Amsterdam, which is directed against those among them who venture to express their desire for the unity of the trade unions and their sympathy with Soviet Russia.

This new situation, which can become dangerous for the Amsterdam Left and its leaders, calls for increased activity in the interest of national and international unity, and the proposal of a world congress must be propagated among the working masses of all countries.

If this "unity Left" within the Amsterdam International is not supported by all those elements which are in favour of the unity of the trade unions and by the whole revolutionary movement outside of Amsterdam, the advance forwards which has been made during the last six months will not proceed a step further.

For this reason the V. Congress of the Comintern decided that 75 per cent of the activity of the Communist Parties of all countries must be devoted to the realisation of the idea of trade union unity.

The Fourth Party Conference of the Communist Party of France which has just been held, has seriously considered the question of pushing forward the unity movement and has adopted a resolution laying down the tasks of the Communists in the trade unions.

In the first place our Party has decided, in agreement with the C. G. T. U., to strengthen the propaganda among the working masses in favour of a world congress for unity and to support with all its means the proposal of a joint congress for the establishment of trade union, which was recently made from the C. G. T. U. to the old C. G. T. of Jouhaux.

The C. G. T. U. has correctly appraised the fact that the old C. G. T. will hold its congress in Paris next September; it has convened its congress for the same time and proposed to the C. G. T. to extend the Congress for two or three days which will be devoted to a common unity conference of both Federations. In the meantime, a combined conference of the two federation secretariats will consider what preparations are to be made for the holding of such a congress.

In view of the fact that these preparations for joint congresses on an international and national scale will only have any prospects of success if the unity Left develops within the confines of the chief federations belonging to the Amsterdam International, our Party Conference has imposed the following duties upon the communists:

1. To strengthen the action of the communists and those groups in the old C. G. T. who sympathise with the idea of unity, in order to exercise a constant pressure upon all reformist workers and to induce them to unite with the unity trade unions upon the basis of the "combined committees".

2. To work with all energy within these "combined committees", which shall be composed of representatives of the revolutionary and reformist federations, so that these committees direct their activity to the preparation of a common conference of the C. G. T. and the C. G. T. U. and of the two trade union Internationals.

3. A basic condition for the realisation of the unity idea is that the reformist trade unions in which there exists a majority favourable to the C. G. T. U. shall remain within the old C. G. T.

4. To work in the direction of the affiliation of the reformist trade unions to the Anglo-Russian Committee and to get the reformist provincial federations and the industrial federations likewise affiliated to this committee.

5. To prevent by all means every split within the trade unions and to work along with all supporters of trade union unity towards obtaining the majority and the leadership of these trade unions.

Our Fourth Party Congress also expressed the opinion that, in view of the development and the organisation of the fascist bands in France, it is high time to realise the complete unity of the working class by actively propagating in all factories the creation of proletarian unity committees for combating fascism.

These committees, which shall include all workers without exception, shall not confine themselves to setting up the united bloc of the workers against the capitalist and fascist bloc, but they shall put forward all the immediate demands of the proletariat (defence of wages, and of the eight hour day, fight against unemployment etc.) and they shall exert pressure upon the workers organised in both C. G. Ts., so that the latter bring about the formation of combined committees and become active for the holding of the national and world unity congresses.

Our Party accepted these proposals in order to meet the great desire for unity which is to be seen in the heart of the French working class, and pledged itself to support the C. G. T. U. in its fight for trade union unity.

We hope that neither a national nor an international obstacle will be set up to the realisation of the idea of unity, and that the "reservations" which were made by our German comrades at the V. Congress of the Comintern and the III. Congress of the R. I. L. U. will no longer be maintained, in view of recent political events and the latest international demonstrations for unity.

If the unity idea has been taken up by the English trade unions with such eagerness, then it must be responded to with the same eagerness, not only in France but also in Germany and in Czechoslovakia, so that the unity left in the Amsterdam International shall not remain isolated.

In the present situation we must not only devote 75 per cent of our activity to the idea of unity, but we must be very careful not to limit the possibilities of the realisation of unity either nationally or internationally.

At the present time we must develop the greatest possible propaganda for the holding of the world unity congress of the two Internationals of Moscow and Amsterdam, and so far as France is concerned, for the holding of the joint unity congress of the C. G. T. U. and of the C. G. T. next September.

The future will without doubt offer us other means; for unity is marching on and nothing will stop it.

The All Russian Trade Union Council to the I. F. T. U.

Fresh Proposal for the Convening of a Joint Conference.

Moscow, 30th January 1925.

There took place in Moscow today an Enlarged Session of the All Russian Trade Union Council which was participated in by representatives of the Central Committees of all trade unions. After the letter from the Amsterdam International of 5th December had been thoroughly discussed, it was decided to send an answer to Amsterdam pointing out the erroneous interpretation the latter had given to the clear and definite proposals of the Soviet Trade Unions. The letter from the I. F. T. U. asserts that the Soviet Trade Unions had proposed as the first step to the realisation of trade union unity the convening of a world congress of all trade union federations. The trade unions of the Soviet Union, it is true, consider this measure as the most important, the most practical and desirable. But they had only proposed as the first practical step towards international trade union unity, a joint conference of representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Central Committee of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union. They state in their reply:

"This and only this is our practical proposal to you at the present moment. We believe that at this Conference, the number of delegates to which must be agreed upon, it will be best for six delegates to be present from either side. The Conference must set itself the task of finding some means which would render possible the establishment of complete unanimity. This unanimity is the most important pre-requisite for the creation of a united international organisation of the trade union federations, which would embrace all organisations affiliated to the Amsterdam International and the Red International of Labour Unions. Neither one side nor the other shall be

pledged to anything but the sincere endeavour to establish unity. This shall be the decisive factor for all. Any pre-condition could only hinder the cause of international unity. If a common basis be found at this Conference, then, in our opinion, the rest will be an easy matter. We therefore believe that the first preliminary step must take the form of that conference the convening of which we have already proposed to you. The idea of the international unity of the trade unions is making ever greater progress in a number of countries among the workers who hold the most divergent political opinions. This fills us with the conviction that the cause of international unity can now at last be promoted in a practical manner.

Signed: Tomsy, Dogadov.

The Undermining Work of the Right Wing Amsterdammers.

By Fritz Wieser (Basel).

In the present temporary period of "stabilising" important regroupings are taking place upon both social fronts — upon that of the revolutionary proletariat and upon that of capitalist reaction. The leading imperialist powers have exerted all their energies during the last few weeks in order to unite all capitalist states in a united front against Soviet Russia. The moving spirit in all this activity is to be found in the British Foreign Office.

What wonder that under such circumstances the genuine reformist Amsterdam Trade Union bureaucrats are hastening to join the anti-bolshevik coalition. The most important event in the international labour movement during the last few months was the visit of the English Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia, as well as the reports which Purcell and others have given regarding the economic progress of the Soviet Union. The workers in all countries immediately grasped the enormous importance of the fact that the English and Russian trade unions have united for the great purpose of fighting for the establishment of international trade union unity.

But it was not to be doubted for a moment that the consistent reformists of the right Amsterdam wing would do everything in order to prevent the establishment of a united trade union international and the unity of the revolutionary trade unions hitherto affiliated to the R. I. L. U. with the organisations at present under the influence of Amsterdam. That they are doing this precisely at the present moment when international reaction is summoning all its forces for a fresh attack upon the Soviet Union, once again proves their counter-revolutionary rôle.

At the commencement of the present year the Berlin "Rote Fahne" published from a Hungarian social democratic paper an extract from a letter which the Executive Committee of the Swiss Trade Union Federation had addressed to the Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U., as well as to the national federations affiliated to Amsterdam, in order to warn them against the communist propaganda caused by the report of Purcell and to summon them to the fight against the proposed world unity congress. The "Basle Vorwärts" called upon the Executive Committee and the secretariat to bring to the knowledge of the Swiss workers this important step, whereupon, two days afterwards, the letter was printed in full in the labour press.

We have to deal here with an authentic document which is all the more interesting as it was written in confidence and not meant for publication.

It shows plainly and clearly what means the right Amsterdammers intend to adopt in order to sabotage trade union unity. That the leaders of the Swiss Trade Union Federation have the ambition to take over the leadership of the right Amsterdam wing, this is what the non-communist workers have learnt to their surprise.

The letter to the Executive Committee of the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation is dated 2nd December 1924. It states: "We have followed with a certain amount of uneasiness the press reports regarding the attitude in Moscow of the present president of the I. F. T. U. It seems to be a second edition of the attitude of Fimmen." It further declares, that it was impossible for Purcell not to have seen that his statements could have "consequences" for the I. F. T. U. "The immediate result has been that, on the one hand Purcell is referred to

as a witness for the crown regarding the ideal conditions in Moscow, and on the other hand the I. F. T. U. is to be induced, with the help of Purcell, to convene a 'world congress' for the purpose of singing the praises of the saints of Moscow."

The letter contains the further observation that "judged by the experiences we have had up to now with Moscow, nothing is further from the thoughts of Zinoviev and Lozovsky than unity with Amsterdam". Moscow will certainly agree to the pre-conditions regarding the Congress, but will attempt to "expose" the Amsterdammers at the Congress.

"This cannot and must not be permitted. We would not attend a congress of this kind and we would call upon the national central committees not to allow themselves to be made fools of."

Therefore, any negotiations that may take place must only be carried on by committees. As regards any revision of the statutes, this must be decided by an Amsterdam Congress "without representatives of the Reds". Only after a congress of the Amsterdammers has first decided upon the conditions, "will it be time to inform the Red International that nothing stands in the way to an amalgamation upon the agreed basis". Only then could a joint congress take place, for such a congress "must never form the introduction to discussion but only the concluding point of the same after agreement has been arrived at".

This indicates with sufficient clearness the sabotage tactics to be expected from the right Amsterdammers. The letter further adds: "We further expect that only such comrades will be appointed to participate in the mutual negotiations who do not wish merely to make themselves agreeable, but who are conscious of the fact that the Moscow gentlemen broke away from the Trade Union International with the intention of destroying it. The statutes of the Red International of Labour Unions are sufficient proof of this".

It must not be forgotten that all this is contained in a communication marked "confidential". First, we are pleased to hear with what uneasiness these reactionary trade unions observe the development within the West-European labour movement, the impression of Purcell's report and the growth of the left wing. Secondly, we clearly see what their aims are in the fight for the unity of the trade unions: to exclude the workers themselves from the decision and to settle the negotiations at secret committee meetings attended by "safe" persons.

Should this not be possible, should the "unfortunate conflict of tendencies" again revive, then, concludes the secretary of the Swiss trade union federation, "there remains nothing else for us to do but to confine ourselves to our internal affairs until the international hub-bub dies down". — In addition to this investigation has to be made as to whether the sections of the R. I. L. U. consist of actual trade unions at all. "It is certain that to some extent they are organs for the consolidation of communist state power, but outside of Russia they consist of so-called nuclei which have poisoned our trade union movement. We will never permit our trade unions to give up their political independence and to permit themselves to be misused by political parties. We would rather renounce the whole idea of international unity".

This should suffice in order to enable one to estimate correctly the strength of the will to unity of the Amsterdammers, and needs no further comment.

The reason why the Amsterdammers are trying so desperately to prevent the penetration of the revolutionary trade unions into the I. F. T. U. and why they are doing everything possible to prevent the unfortunate "conflict of tendencies" and the discussion by the workers themselves of the question of unity, is to be seen from the following sentence of this interesting document: "We succeeded after great efforts in steering our movement into a peaceful channel". That is to say: after we have so successfully introduced class collaboration with the bourgeoisie into all countries, after we have succeeded in the period of "stabilisation" in continually holding back the workers from struggles, we will do everything in order to prevent Moscow from disturbing the social peace.

The Amsterdammers are afraid of the decisions of the workers; this strengthens our certainty of victory. The Central Committee of the C. P. of Switzerland immediately sent an appeal to the trade union organised workers of Switzerland, in which it challenged the competency of the Federation Committee to issue declarations of such importance; the Central Committee has also called upon all organisations to discuss these questions among their members. This appeal has met with a response among the organised workers of Switzerland.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The „Pravda“ on the Conference of the English Minority Movement.

Moscow, 29th January 1925.

An article in the "Pravda" dealing with the Conference of the English Minority Movement states:

"The presence of representatives of 600,000 workers at the Conference, the clear definite left orientation, the sympathy for communism and the appearance of representatives of the colonial peoples point to a new spirit in the labour movement of Great Britain.

The swing to the left in the English trade union movement has taken place very rapidly. Our estimation of this turn to the left in the English movement has proved to be correct, as is shown by the delegations of the English workers to the Minority Conference. Radicalisation is also noticeable in the General Council of the English Trade Unions and among the trade union functionaries, but chiefly among the masses.

The right wing of the trade union movement, as well as the bourgeoisie, are carrying on a fight against this radicalising, as is to be seen by the attacks upon Purcell and Cook. The Minority Movement actually constitutes a left wing of the left opposition of the English trade union movement.

The Minority Conference demanded the unity of the trade union movement. In view of the offensive of capital, the fight against the unity of the trade union movement on the part of the right wing is becoming more difficult. All honest proletarians welcome the decisions of the Minority Conference.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Results of the Enlarged Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Russia.

Report of Comrade Kamenev and Resolution of the Moscow District Conference.

At the XIII. Moscow District Conference of the C. P. of Russia, Comrade Kamenev reported on behalf of the C. C. regarding the results of the Enlarged Plenum of the C. C.

He pointed out that the aim of the C. C. is to strengthen the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry. This aim will be achieved: first by the money reform, secondly by the improvement of industry, thirdly by extending the exchange of goods between the village and the town by means of reduction of prices, and fourthly by raising the level of agriculture.

In spite of the pessimism of some comrades, the money reform has succeeded. The production of petrol and coal has increased rapidly. The production of fuel and of textiles is making gigantic strides forwards. The chief task at present is to promote metallurgy.

The policy of reduction of prices has promoted the exchange of goods between the village and the town. The declassing of the working class has ceased. In the country, a process of class differentiation of the peasantry is taking place and a revival of political interest is noticeable.

"The face to the village" must be the main slogan. Our economic policy must be adapted to the interests of the peasantry.

Thereupon the report dealt with the decision of the Plenum regarding the question of comrade Trotzky. After a thorough discussion the following resolution was adopted:

"The Party Conference expresses its complete confidence in the C. C. regarding the practical successes in all spheres of economic life.

The Conference regards the strengthening of the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry by the extension and cheapening of industrial production, which will result in increasing the prosperity of the working class and of agriculture, as the most important task for the improvement of the Party and Soviet work in the country. The greatest attention must be devoted to attracting non-party peasant masses into the work of the Soviets and of the co-operatives.

The Conference considers it necessary to make clear to the broadest masses of workers and peasants the injuriousness of the revision of Leninism on the part of Trotzky, and expects

that the next Party Conference will draw the necessary political and organisatory conclusions therefrom.

In view of the hostility of the capitalist classes to the Soviet State, the Party Conference welcomes the measures for strengthening the Red Army in regard to its leadership and preparedness for fight."

The Leningrad District Conference of the C. P. of Russia for the

Decisions of the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee.

The Leningrad District Conference of the C. P. of Russia, after hearing the report of Comrade Zinoviev, has adopted the following resolution:

"The Conference fully and entirely approves of the activity of the C. C., and congratulates the leading staff of the Party. The Conference endorses the resolution of the Enlarged Plenum of the C. C. regarding the attitude of Comrade Trotzky against the Party, and welcomes the magnificent campaign of the C. C. against the attempt to replace Leninism by Trotzkyism. The Leningrad organisation is convinced that the next Party Conference will draw all the necessary organisatory conclusions which are necessary in view of the attitude of Comrade Trotzky directed against the Party, especially in view of the character of his letter addressed to the Enlarged Plenum, in which Trotzky insists upon his anti-Bolshevik attitude."

The speakers in the discussion, all of whom were workers from the factories, called attention to the mildness of the decision of the Enlarged Plenum regarding the case of comrade Trotzky. Some delegates declared that Comrade Trotzky ought to have been removed from the Polit Bureau.

The resolution was adopted unanimously with six abstentions. These abstentions were due to the mildness of the tone of the resolution.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Persecution of the Spanish Communists.

By El Encerrado (Barcelona).

In the model prison of Barcelona there are about 30 communists along with about 100 syndicalists and anarchists.

In Madrid there are about 30 communists in prison: among them being all the members of the former central committee of the C. P. of Spain.

The suppression of Communism, which the Spanish directorate has carried on without interruption, has become more acute during the last two months or so. The government terror is assuming more and more brutal forms.

The victory of the left wing in the Party, which is the prelude to a new period of organisatory and propagandist activity, was a signal for the ruling class to institute fresh persecutions and arrests. Before the members of the new central committee of the Party could get to work, the majority of them were imprisoned. Nevertheless, the Party is still continuing its activity, but in a more underground manner.

Our old comrade Hilarius Arlandis who is well known in the R. I. L. U. has been in prison in Barcelona since the 14th July. Only recently the hired assassins of the "free syndicates" murdered his brother.

The arrest of Joaquin Maurin is undoubtedly the most important event of recent times in the heroic fight of the young communist Party of Spain.

Maurin, who had come over to communism from the ranks of revolutionary syndicalism, is one of the most gifted and energetic men of the Spanish proletariat. His revolutionary conviction had been ripened by several visits to Russia, where he took part in various international congresses, and he was beginning to be appreciated in the Communist International as well as in the R. I. L. U. During the long period of Martinez Anidos and Arlegnis, Maurin succeeded in retaining his freedom, although he was fiercely persecuted by the police. For the last four months, as his comrades are able to confirm, he has endured a perfectly hellish existence. Whilst he carried on the greatest journalistic, organisatory and propagandist activity, whilst he was continually compelled to step into the place of

those comrades who had been arrested, he was being hunted down day and night by the police, who finally had to confess that they could not lay hold of him. He assumed a fresh disguise every week and changed his residence every 48 hours. This fight, in which he had placed his life at stake — for murders by the police are an every day occurrence with us —, involved a tremendous strain upon his nerves.

Maurin had decided to go abroad in order to obtain a little rest and was about to resign his functions in the Party, when the police got wind of his return from Madrid to Barcelona. On the 14th of January he was seized by two police officials as he was leaving the Athenaeum of Barcelona (that is the big Catalonian secondary people's school). Maurin held a sealed letter in his hand, which he succeeded in tearing up. He offered resistance and took flight through the narrow streets of this crowded quarter of the town. But he was thrown to the ground by other members of the police. And now, when there was no longer any possibility of his escaping them, the police directed the barrels of their rifles upon him. He was hit by two bullets, but the wounds did not appear to endanger his life.

The whole thing was nothing else than a classical attempted murder — in accordance with the traditions of the police code regarding escaping prisoners: "killed while attempting to escape". The murder this time was unsuccessful, thanks to the clumsiness of aim of those who fired.

But the outrageous crimes against our champion went further. Maurin was conveyed to the hospital, where he was closely watched, and was operated on Thursday afternoon (the 15th January). The next morning, the police, in spite of the energetic protest of the surgeons, seized hold of him and removed him to prison, where he was brought to a cell and thrown on a straw bed without any covering. He was refused any medical assistance. Only after 48 hours did he receive a blanket and medical attention. This is a model of bourgeois justice. But our comrade has shown great power of resistance.

Since then Maurin has been kept in strict solitary confinement. No one is allowed to speak with him. The police have discovered his lodgings and it appears have confiscated numerous documents. The military justice will attempt to bring him to trial.

It is a dangerous thing for proletarian fighters to fall into the hands of a Spanish military court. Every possible charge will be brought against Maurin. Everything will finally turn upon one fact: he is a communist. It is a well-known fact that no proof of guilt was needed in order to shoot Ferrer. And with us, men have been shot whom even a military court would not condemn and whom a judicial senate of Madrid had pronounced to be not guilty.

Only the solidarity of the international proletariat can bring help to our champion.

Justice in Finland.

By Allan Valenius.

A bourgeois Swedish advocate, George Branting, the son of the well known social democrat and state minister, Hjalmar Branting, has published a book upon judiciary conditions in Finland. The 100 pages of this book contain a weighty condemnation of the hangmen of the Finnish working class, the present ruling bourgeoisie of Finland*).

Mr. Branting collected his facts and documents during a visit to Finland in 1923. Two Swedish advocates were commissioned at that time from the Communist Party of Sweden to defend the arrested officials of the Workers Party of Finland (over 200 were under arrest) before the Abo Supreme Court in Finland. These two advocates were Dr. jur. Nils Söderquist and George Branting. At first the Finnish government refused to provide vises but the official scandal, even for the Finnish government, was so great that after a note from the Swedish government, it gave way. The few weeks which Branting spent in Finland were sufficient to convince this respectable bourgeois liberal that bourgeois "democracy" had gone so far in Finland that common justice had ceased to exist and in its place stood only the naked class force of the bourgeoisie against the outlawed working class.

Referring to the direct white murder terror in Finland, Branting states:

*) George Branting: "Justice in Finland." With Documents and Commentaries. Stockholm, Tidene Publishing House 1924.

"During the insurrection several thousand workers were immediately executed. Later during the spring and summer of 1918 at least 15,000 persons were executed and during the same period approximately 15,000 workers died from starvation and neglect in the internment camps."

Branting emphasises that these figures can be statistically corroborated by official figures published on the 10th of March 1919, long before all the murders and executions had been registered.

In 1918 the population of Finland was 3 millions, of these not more than approximately 300,000 were industrial and agricultural workers. From these figures therefore a tenth part of the Finnish proletariat has been annihilated by the white terror.

Most of the death sentences were passed by field courts and were quite illegal, for the law in Finland recognises no such institutions. These courts proceeded in a very summary manner. A list of prisoners was taken and crosses were made opposite certain names. These workers were then taken from the prisons and shot. After these courts had worked long enough, they were replaced by 140 "State Criminal Courts" which settled no fewer than 75,200 processes in four months!

George Branting shows how a wonderful law of the 16th of July 1918 permitted the deportation of political prisoners abroad (into imperial Germany) to do hard labour. This modern slave trade, he says, was only made impossible by the collapse of the German front. Branting is not aware of the fact that a number of workers from the Aland Islands and other places were actually deported to Germany in 1918 for this slave work and were only sent back after a considerable time had elapsed.

Many cases are shown where workers, even in the years 1920 to 1924 were summarily arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment because they were members of trade unions or a revolutionary party. Branting even shows how the government used direct provocation in order to be able to arrest and convict the workers.

An incident typical for the situation in Finland is the sentencing of workers who had placed grave stones upon the graves of their fallen comrades. These stones were even without inscription. The workers were convicted and the fascists who destroyed the grave stones received praise for their act from the bourgeois press. And all this, despite the fact that the authorities had previously permitted the setting up of the stones!

Branting shows how Finnish Fascism determines the foreign policy of Finland when he deals with the process against the accused in connection with the "Peace Manifesto". This manifesto of the Workers Party of Finland protested against the intervention of white Fins in Russian Karelia. The government which officially maintains peace with the Soviet Power, secretly supported the fascist attack against Karelia and for this reason the publishers and distributors of the "Peace Manifesto" were legally convicted. Somewhat later the fascists shot dead the Minister for the Interior Ritavuorim, a bourgeois liberal who was unwilling to obey the orders of the fascists, in broad day light in a street in Helsingfors.

Branting deals thoroughly with the process instituted through the attack of the Finnish government against the Workers Party of Finland in the autumn of 1923 in which approximately 200 Party officials were arrested and accused. The Party archive was confiscated, in this way it was hoped to obtain material for the trial, but the government was unsuccessful. All printing shops of the party were closed quite against the law and all newspapers and other publications of the Party were prohibited. All these actions were directly opposed to the constitution of the Finnish Republic. The meeting places of the workers were closed in many districts, and even economic undertakings of the workers were strangled, the activity of the trade unions was prevented, etc. Branting shows how the government has broken all the laws of Finland in order to crush the revolutionary workers movement. The crime was so obvious that even bourgeois newspapers in Scandinavia were compelled to protest.

The examination lasted more than ten months, this was also a crime against the law of Finland. Then a few workers were acquitted after they had spent almost a year in prison. It was not possible to confiscate the printing shops, but during this period they naturally had immense losses. The workers who were not released were sentenced to a total of 400 years hard labour and to 1200 years loss of all civil right. Only because they were members of a Party sympathising with the Communist International. The government was unable to discover a single paragraph in the Finnish laws which would permit the conviction of the accused. Nevertheless they were convicted.

The naked brutality of the bourgeoisie is clearly and simply exposed with dry data and documents in Branting's book. The author himself is shocked by the unheard of lack of elementary right of the working class in present day Finland. The insolent arbitrariness of the Finnish butchers, the decisive influence of the fascists over the government, the brutal murder terror of the fascists which even kills liberal bourgeois politicians in the open street has filled this Swedish lawyer with horror, although he takes the standpoint of an honest petty bourgeois.

The book has naturally caused a howl of anger in white Finland, but the white governmental bands and their lackeys can certainly not produce a syllable against the truth of the accusations which Branting makes. The facts given by Branting speak in such a clear tone that the Finnish butcher bourgeoisie will never be able to clear themselves before the world.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Workers' Education in the Soviet Union.

By A. Prigradow-Kudrin (Moscow).

The successful development of industry in the Union of SSR. in the course of the last few years of peaceful constructive work, has brought into the foreground the question of the necessity of increasing the number of qualified workers. This question is of great importance, not only because its solution goes hand in hand with the increase of productivity on which the increase of production depends, but also because by a qualified worker we understand something more than a more skilled or technically better educated craftsman.

In the Soviet State, where the workers are at the helm and have the whole of the construction and administration of industry in their hands, only those can be called qualified workers who, in addition to technical perfection, have sufficient political and technical education to be able to understand the problems of State industry.

For this reason the question of workers' education is in Soviet Russia closely connected with the general question as to the education of the broad masses of workers.

For the purpose of workers' education at present exist: schools of the Fabsawutsch (factory apprentices), railway traffic schools, various evening classes, technical schools and technical colleges.

It is therefore of the greatest importance to combine all these organisations into one system, to lay the foundations of the school curriculum, to become clear as to the part played by and the participation of the trade unions, the economic organs the young Communist league etc. in the education of the workers.

All these circumstances explain the interest in the work of the recent **Union Congress on workers' education**, displayed by the masses of workers of the U. S. S. R., and the great significance which was attached to this congress.

More than 400 delegates from united and autonomous republics and from local institutions took part in the congress.

We would here point out some of the results of the congress. The congress came to the conclusion that it is necessary to combine the work of the organisations for workers' education more closely with the trade unions and the Youth Communist league, and that further the social political and productive activity of the pupils as well as the study of the history of the Party and of Leninism should form the basis of the school curriculum.

Besides this the congress considered it necessary to extend the already existing network of training courses, to organise agricultural training schools and schools for workers education in the national frontier districts, as well as to renew the education and training of the teaching staff, and to engage the interest of women in workers' education.

As regards the participation of the economic authorities, the congress worked out a plan for the equipment and financing of schools and training courses for workers' education on the lines of incorporating it in the budget of the respective factory or economic associations, further by founding workshops attached to the schools of the Fabsawutsch, to which materials and tools are granted at the cost of the works.

The congress acknowledged the great amount of work accomplished by the trade unions and the Young Communist league

in the sphere of workers' education, and resolved that the trade unions are to take a share in deciding on the network of technical schools in the individual branches of production, that it is their duty to engage suitable directors and to admit pupils into the schools and training courses for the proletarian youth, and that they must turn their attention to raising the qualifications of the female workers etc.

The time is not far off when Soviet Russia will have at its disposal such numerous cadres of qualified workers who are socially and politically educated, that it will be possible to raise our industry to the desired level. It cannot be otherwise in a country in which the workers themselves rule, where they themselves are interested in raising the standard of industry and where they are perfectly clear as to the connection between education and productivity of labour.

The Activity of the Marx-Engels Institute.

In December 1924 a session of the Council of the Marx-Engels Institute took place in which comrades Riasianov, Yenikudse, Bela Kun, Molotov, Varoskis, Syrnov, Deborin and Vassilchenko took part. The chairman of the presidium of the Institute, Comrade Riasianov, presented a report to the session upon the activity of the Institute and the prospects of its further work.

The chief task of the Institute is the scientific publication of the complete collection of the works of Marx and Engels in the Russian language and in those languages in which they were written by their authors (international edition). The preparatory work which consists in the collection of manuscripts, newspapers, books, etc. and in the photographic reproduction of such material which cannot be permanently obtained, is almost completely concluded. The two last journeys of Comrade Riasianov abroad in the years 1923 and 1924 were particularly successful in the collection of the material referred to.

According to the amount of material collected up to the present, (for the scientific edition of Marx and Engels) the Institute stands as the first research institute in the world. This refers not only to the field of Marxism, but also to the history of socialism and the workers' movements of all countries.

Work is at present proceeding in the Institution upon all the collected material. Four volumes of the work of Marx and Engels (the I., II., X. and XI.) have already appeared in the Russian language and three new volumes are being prepared for the print.

With reference to the international edition of the works of Marx and Engels, the first volume of this edition will appear in the spring of 1925. For this purpose the Marx-Engels Institute will organise together with the Society for Social Research in Frankfurt the "Publishing House for the Marx-Engels Archive". The journal of the Institute will also appear in the German language. Apart from the issue of the works of Marx and Engels in the Russian language, the Institute undertakes also the issue of the works of the later representatives of modern socialism who have gone through the school of Marx and Engels: Kautsky, Lafargue, Labriola, Luxemburg, Plechanov, Sassulitch, Axelrod, and others. The edition of the works of Plechanov will be completed in the near future. The first volume of Lafargue is already in print.

Apart from the edition of this series of modern socialist classics, a popular scientific library in the Russian language is being prepared for print in which the most prominent works of Marxist thought adapted to our Party schools, communist high schools and to the average reader will be found. In order to give the young Marxists the possibility of making themselves fundamentally acquainted with the chief predecessors of Marx and Engels, upon the field of philosophy, economy and socialism, the Institution undertakes the issue of three series of writings: a philosophical, an economic and a socialist library.

Apart from this, the Institute undertakes the issue of a number of editions dealing with the history of the workers' movement in Western Europe and America, above all a documentary history of the First and Second International and then a history of the class organisations and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in Great Britain, France and America.

Apart from the works mentioned as being in print or in preparation the Institute is at present preparing the second volume of the "Archives" for the print. The contents of this volume is the work of Frederic Engels "Dialectics in Nature".

After hearing the report of Comrade Riasianov, and approving the general line of the work, the Council of the Institute declared its recognition of the intensity and success of the work and expressed the wish that the works of the Institute would have the greatest possible distribution amongst the broad masses of the workers.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

Letter from the Workers of the „Spartak“ Factory.

Dear fellow workers!

Hitherto we, the workers of the world, used to communicate with each other through our leaders (of the Communist Parties) at international congresses.

In this letter I wish to describe to you the life of the workers at the factory where I am working.

Our factory, named "Spartak", is engaged in the manufacture of spades. Before the war, and particularly during the war, the owner of the factory reaped huge profits, waxing fat at the expense of our underfeeding. But, as you know, we, the workers of USSR, have taken the factories and workshops into our own hands. The factory came into our possession (it is owned by the State, but since the State belongs to the workers, we speak of it as ours) in an antediluvian state of equipment, because the owner used all his profits for his personal pleasure, not for the improvement of the plant. We began normal work in 1922, and working in roofless sheds and on broken stands, we turned out from 20 to 23 thousand spades a month. Having gone through starvation, it was not easy matter for us to reconstruct our industries.

Nevertheless, we have already achieved a good deal. We now produce not 23,000, but 112,000 spades per month, the highest pre-war output was 85,000 and that with the same number of working people that we have now.

But this is not all. We have repaired and overhauled our factories. We now have new roofs, we now have new walls; almost with our very teeth we constructed our machines, which were destroyed during the years of civil war, and not only reconstructed but also installed a new press of improved construction. Hence we got an improvement in our living standard. The wages of our unskilled workers are now 103% of pre-war, and only the wages of skilled workers are so far at 87% of the pre-war rate.

It is true that our requirements have increased, too. We have got used to books, to the newspaper and to the theatre. We don't manage any more with our pre-war wages, but we know that we are working for the improvement of our own position, and that our life gets better year by year, because we are the masters in our country, having got rid of the parasites who used to live at our expense. We still have cases of two or three weeks delay in the payment of wages. But it is fully compensated by the credits which we get.

The workers of the "Spartak" factory enjoy credit at the cooperative store from pay day to pay day, and we also get on 4 to 6 months credit such articles as coal, wood, warm clothing, footwear, etc. Furthermore, we have our mutual loan society, which advances loans in case of need.

There are many things which I would like to write about, dear comrades, but it is impossible to say everything in one letter. In my next letter I will tell you about the cultural activities in the various circles at our factory. We often speak about Germany and England, about your position, about the manner in which you are betrayed, but I leave this for next time.

With warm fraternal greetings,

Amitri Scepanovitch Koretzky.

A worker in the "Spartak" factory at Ekaterinoslav.